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► **To cite this version:**

Bernard Caron. Loanwords in South-Bauchi-West Chadic Languages. Tourneux, Henry. Topics in Chadic Linguistics VII, Papers from the 6th Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages, Villejuif, September 22-23, 2011, Rüdiger Köppe, pp.77-85, 2013, Chadic Linguistics / Linguistique Tchadique / Tschadistik. halshs-00770965

**HAL Id: halshs-00770965**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00770965>**

Submitted on 8 Jan 2013

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# Loanwords in South-Bauchi-West Chadic Languages

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B. CARON\*

## Abstract

The name “South-Bauchi-West (SBW) Chadic languages” identifies a dialect cluster located in the south of Bauchi State (Nigeria), first described in (Shimizu 1978). SBW languages can be characterized as both very close and united as a whole, and heterogeneous if we compare Zaar, the southernmost and numerically most important of them on the one hand, to the rest of the 25 or so other lects on the other hand (Caron 2006; Caron 2011). One way to account for this discrepancy is to start by reconstructing their proto-language and establishing their internal classification, which can then be plotted against their history and their socio-linguistic situation. This can only be done by setting the SBW lexical stock apart from the loanwords.

Once they have been set apart, the study of these loanwords provides some information which will contribute to the history of SBW languages. The present study aims at sorting out borrowings from Hausa and/or Arabic, from current neighbouring languages (Pyem, Afizere, Angas, etc.), and from languages that SBW speakers must have encountered during their migration from the Lake Chad area (Mohammadou 2004; Caron 2009).

This paper aims at identifying loanwords in SBW languages with the help of the RefLex lexical database [<http://www.reflex.cnrs.fr/>]. This study has a twofold interest: apart from the information on the lexicon and history of SBW languages, it will be an opportunity to test the performances of the database and its associated tools.

## Introduction

SBW languages share the complex situations of all Nigerian languages of the Middle Belt. SBW populations arrived in the area, around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, where they migrated from their original situation in Kanem, east of Lake Chad, round the North, before moving south-west. They went up the valleys of the rivers Yobe and Gana up to their sources north of the Bauchi hills where they settled around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Mohammadou 2004 : 116 ; see map XXX) . They migrated along with other Chadic and non-Chadic populations with whom they have kept and developed links mainly due to the slave trade (Bruce, 1982). Around 1750, there arrived in the area another group of Bantu settlers who came from the Upper Benue Valley (Ballard, 1971,

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Mohammadou, 2002). The area came under the domination of the Hausas under Yakubu I, Emir of Bauchi (who reigned 1805-1845), and his successor Ibrahim (1845-1877)<sup>1</sup>. British colonization set about pacifying the area at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, intent on securing access to the tin mines near Jos<sup>2</sup>. This has resulted in the present complex linguistic situation.

Apart from the dominant languages: English (official national language) and Hausa (dominant all over Northern half of Nigeria), SBW languages are surrounded by Niger-Congo languages in the West (*Izere, Birom*) ; in the East (*Jarawan Bantu*<sup>3</sup>) ; in the South (*Tapshin, Fyem, Kwanka*) and further South-East (*Tarok*). There exist isolates inside SBW languages (*Bankal* in the North and *Boi* in the South).

From the point of view of genetic classification, these surrounding languages belong to two sub-groups of Niger-Congo languages, Plateau and Jarawan Bantu languages.

#### **Plateau :**

- Izere (=Zarek, Afizere, Jarawan Dutse) : Central Plateau;
- Boi (=Ya, Tiya), just like Kwanka (=Kadung), belongs to the Ya-Vaghat-Bijim group, i.e. Western Plateau;
- Tapshin (=Sur), Tarok : Tarokoid Plateau;
- Fyem (=Pyem) : Southeastern Plateau;
- Birom : Biromic Plateau.

#### **jarawan bantu :**

- Bankal(awa) =Jaar(aawaa) : bantoïde, méridional, jarawan, nigérian.

#### **SBW Languages**

(Shimizu 1978) has identified South-Bauchi languages in the form of a dialect continuum with 9 language clusters defined by the classical method of lexical comparison and reconstruction. These *language clusters* are : 1 – Boghom ; 2 – Kir ; 3 – Tala ; 4 – Guruntum ; 5 – Zaranda ; 6 – Polci ; 7 – Zeem ; 8 – Dass ; 9 – Saya (see Map XXX in Annex). He has gathered the last 5 clusters into the South-Bauchi West group (SBW) which is studied here.

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<sup>1</sup> Hogben & Kirk-Green (66 :464). (Mohammadou 2004) wrongly identifies Yakubu I's successor as Yakubu II. This Yakubu II reigned 1907-1941.

<sup>2</sup> The Royal Niger Company set a post at Ibi, on the river Benue, in 1883. From this base, they captured Wase in 1898 and moved northward into Goemalanda the following year. The decisive steps were taken in 1902 when Temple, British resident in Bauchi, "first invaded the Plateau area in direct response to the needs of white tin prospectors". (Isichei 82:209)

<sup>3</sup> The name Jar, or Jarawa is misleading since it refers to different populations, speaking different languages: the Jarawan dutse (Mountain Jars) speak Zarek (Zere, Zarek, Afizere, Ifizere), a Benue-Congo language, and the Jarawan Kogi (Plain Jars), speaking Jààr (Zhar), a Bantu language, commonly called Jarawan Bantu. Finally, the Jerawa are another population, speaking Zele, a Benue-Congo language from the Kainji group (Shimizu 1975).

The SBW languages are 23 in number :

- **zaranda** : bolu ; pelu ; geji (=gyaazi, gezawa) ; zaranda (=buu) ;
- **polci** : zùl (=mbarmi, barma) ; baram (=mbaram, barang) ; dir ; luri; buli ; langas (=nyamzax) ; lundur ; polci (=posə) ;
- **zeem** : zeem† (=tulai†) ; danshe (=chaari) ; lushit† (=lukshit†, dokshit†) ;
- **dass** : bàraza ; dùr (=bandas) ; zumbul (=bòodli) ; wandi (=wangdày) ; zòdì (=dott, dwàt) ;
- **saya** : zakshi (=zaksə) ; boto (=boot, bibot) ; zari (=kopti, kwapm) ; sigidi (=sugudi, sigdi, guus) ; zaar (=vikzar, avec les dialectes de Kal, Bogoro, Marti).

In the Megachad Congress that took place in Maroua in 2005, I gave a detailed account of the grammatical interferences between SBW languages and their neighbours, while giving only two or three examples of lexical borrowings. This paper is an attempt at providing a clearer picture of lexical borrowings in SBW languages, both in a qualitative and quantitative way.

## Method

The survey was done in two stages: the first one consisted in a general systematic survey of the SBW vocabulary; the second one was aimed at comparing SBW languages with neighbouring non-Chadic languages with the help of Reflex. The sources used to identify and check the possible loanwords against other languages and reconstructions are listed at the end of the paper. These are essentially: Skinner 96 & Bargery for Hausa; Awagana, Löhr and Wolff for loanwords in Hausa and Kanuri; Newman, Ibrizimow & Jungraithmayr, Orel & Stolbova for reconstructions.

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## RefLex.

I used the RefLex database for this second part of the study. The available sources in the database were linked with Kraft's 434words list (Kraft, 1981). The resulting data sheets were checked manually. The choice of a wordlist ensured comparability for quantitative evaluation, and Kraft's was the largest available in the database. However RefLex still needs to be developed for the languages in study to be properly represented. At the moment, the only available sources are my own published lexical data on Zaar (Bogoro), Sigidi (aka Guus), Zodi, Luri and Zaranda, and some of Kraft's own data that were entered into RefLex: Bankala, Jaku (Jarawan Bantu) and Izere, or Jari (Benue-Congo). Pyem (Nettle, 1998) was added to the comparative table to complement the available sources. However limited, the results are still significant as will be seen below.

## General survey.

The survey consists in a complete review of all the lexical data that I have collected and checked. These were tagged for borrowing, essentially from Hausa, when they were entered into a Toolbox database. These consist in 14 lects : Zaar (3 dialects : Bogoro (Zr), Kal (Zr.K) and Marti (Zr.M)); Sigidi (Sg); Zakshi (Zk); Chaari (Ch); Zodi (Zd); Polci (Pol); Diir (Dr); Luri (Lu); Buli (Bu); Geji (Gj); Pelu (Pel); Zaranda (Zda). The quantity of the

lexical data for each language is about 1,000 lexical items, with two exceptions: just under 3,000 items for Zaar of Bogoro; 145 items for Luri.

## Analysis

### RefLex as a tool for reconstruction and sociolinguistic analysis

Using RefLex spreadsheets, the comparative study of SBW and their neighbouring non-Chadic languages can be done quite easily. Out of an ideal situation where a regular series enables us to find a common root, some exceptions point at a possible loanword (one way or another), while other cases are more confusing and point to the possibility of a word common to the whole area.

### Bona fide AA/Chad & SB etymologies

#### meat<sup>4</sup>: P.Chad (N): \**l̥aw-*; P.SB (Sh) \**l̥aw*

- Sg : *tù*; Zđ : *tòò* ; Pol : *tó* ; Lu : *túú* ; Zar : *tùù* ;
- Hausa : *nāmā* ; Angas : *nam*

#### die<sup>5</sup>: SBW: *məs*; P.Chad (N) \**mətə*

- Zr: *məs*; Sg: *məs*; Pol: *məs*; Zđ: *məs*; Lu: *məs-kù*; Zar: *máf*
- Hausa: *mutù* ; Angas: *mùt*

#### mosquito<sup>6</sup> P.Chad 'fly' (N):\**pəra*

- Zr (fly): *bǎrám*; Sg: *vùrùŋ-sà* (pl.); Zđ: *fùrèèn*; Pl: *vùrèn*; Lu: *vùrèèn*
- Hausa: *kudā*, 'fly'; *saurō*, 'mosquito'; Angas: *nf\*út* (mosquito)

## Anomalies

Some forms stand out from the SBW series and can be related to neighboring non-Chadic languages, e.g. Jarawa (Bankala, Jaku) and Plateau (Fyem).

### Beans

- Zr: *zà:m* ; Sg : *zà:m* ; Pol : *za:m*; Zar: *za:m*
- Zđ: *kún* ; cf. Bankala: *kúwún*; Jaku: *kùn* , 'beans'.

### Bird: P.Chad (N): \**ɕəy-7*;

- Zr : *yeʔí* ; Sg : *yà:ʔí* ; Pol : *yá:ʔí* ; Lur : *yá:ʔí* ; Zar : *yá:ʔí*
- Zđ : *ɲàl* ; cf. Bankala : *ɲél* ; Jaku : *ɲul* , 'bird'.

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<sup>4</sup> P.WChadic (OS): \**ɕa/uw-*; Meaning: 'meat' 1; \**lwa-*; Meaning: '(wild) animal' 1, 'meat' 2; \**laHam-/\*lamam-* Meaning: 'meat' 1, 'k of gruel' 2; \**ɽara/w/*; Meaning: 'bull' 1, 'meat' 2; \**nim-/\*nam-*; Meaning: 'bull' 1, 'meat' (?pl.) 2, 'wild animal' 3

<sup>5</sup> AA (OS): \**wah-*; \**gwāɽ-*; \**mawVt-*.

<sup>6</sup> P.AA (OS): \**bariy-* (?); Meaning: insect; Berber: \**bVriḵ-* 'mosquito' 1, 'flying ant' 2 ; Western Chadic: \**buruk-* 'mosquito' ; Central Chadic: \**bwarVg-* 'louse' ; East Chadic: *bVrVg-* 'water insect' 1, 'caterpillar' 2

<sup>7</sup> No clear correspondance in P.Chad or P.AA.

These are clear cases of Zodi borrowing from the neighbouring Jarawa languages of Dass.

### Heart and liver

In SBW, 'heart' and 'liver' are originally referred to by the same word, *mbaɬ*. In some cases, individual languages have borrowed to differentiate the two meanings:

- Heart & liver: Pol: *mbaɬ*; Bl: *mbáɬ*; Lr: *mbàɬ*; Gj: *mbáɬ*; Pel: *mbáɬì*.
- Heart: Zda: *mbáɬì* (liver: *hántà*: < Hausa *hantà*)
- Liver: Zr: *mbaɬ* (heart: *rā*; cf. Pyem *ría*)

In this case, Zaar seems to have borrowed the word for 'heart' from Pyem, the neighbouring Plateau language. Another case of borrowing from Pyem comes from the word for 'quiver' in Sigidi:

### Quiver

- Zr: *kibm*; Zda: *kibàn*<sup>8</sup>
- Sig: *bùtúr*; cf. Pyem *botori*, 'quiver'

This points at Sigidi borrowing from their neighbour Pyem, a Plateau language related to Birom. However, other cases point in a different direction, with neighbouring Plateau and Jarawa languages borrowing from SBW.

### Baboon

- Zr: *fwǎkn*; Sg: *fǒkn*; Zđ: *fwàŋ*; Zda: *hó:gèŋ*
- Pyem: *fwàŋ*

### Sour

- Zr: *ndzáŋ*; Zr.K: *ndzam-ní*; Zr.M: *ndzam*; Zk: *ndzâm-i*; Zđ: *nzòŋ-í*; Pol: *ndzwan*; Ch: *ndzâm*<sup>9</sup>
- Pyem: *nzɔŋ*, 'sour'.

When the root is present all over the SBW area, and not only in Sigidi (close to Pyem) or Zodi and Polci (close to Bankala and Jaku), it is difficult to decide in which direction the borrowing took place. The situation is that of a vocabulary common to the area, regardless of the genetic affiliation of the individual languages.

### Man/Child

Two etymons (*máni* and *wún*) are found straddling the language borders:

- *máni*: Sg: *ma:n*, Zđ & Lu: *máni*, 'man, husband'; Pol: *máni*, 'man, husband'; Zđ: *mán*, 'male'; Zr: *məmwâ:n*, 'man', *môn* 'slave'; Bankala: *món*, 'boy'; *món bàrò*, 'baby'; Jaku: *mín*, 'child'; *mínmin*, 'baby'

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<sup>8</sup> Note: Zaar is situated in the extreme South and Zaranda in the extreme North of the SBW area, which gives weight to the hypothesis that *kibàn* is the common SBW form.

<sup>9</sup> Sigidi uses *ɬaw*, 'be sour', which is another meaning of the verb *ɬaw*, 'to cut'. The Zaranda group of SBW languages (Zaranda, Geji, Pelu) share another root: Zaranda: *mbéy*; Geji: *mbay*; Pelu *mbàyí*.

- **wún**: Pyem: **wún**, ‘boy’; Zodi: **wún**, ‘daughter’, ‘child’ in **wún mán**, ‘male child’, **wún bàrtò** ‘baby’ (cf. Bankala: **mún bàrò**, ‘baby’); Polci: **wún**, ‘daughter’, ‘child’ in **wún kòn**, ‘male child’ (cf. Zr **kúni**, ‘boy’), **wún bàrtó** ‘baby’

### Horse (< Arabic)

- Zr: **pərfi**; Zd: **pərsi**; Pol: **pírsí**; Lu: **pərzí**; Zda: **bə:sí**
- Bankala: **pírís**; Jaku: **pírsi**

NB: Sg and Zr.K **zúr** probably borrowed from Pyem **zirí**.

### Vulture

- Zr: **kwádâk**; Zd: **kúdáak**; Pol: **kwádák**
- Bankala: **kwədák**; Jaku: **kwòdoyò**

### Sweet potato

- Zr: **la:wur**; Sg: **la:wur**; Pol: **làwúr**
- Bankala: **làwóru**; Pyem: **lávúr**

NB: the other SBW languages have borrowed the Hausa form **dànkali** (Zd: **dànkáli**; Zda: **dànkáli**). The form **la:wur** may have been borrowed from Hausa too<sup>10</sup>.

### General survey

The loanwords are listed in the Annex, sorted in alphabetical order by their English translation, followed by their Hausa translation and the forms in the SBW languages. They reach 825 items in number.

### Quantitative elements

	Gen.Surv. (Ha & Eng)			Reflex (non-Chad)		
	Total	Loans	%	Total	Loans	%
<b>Zaar (B.)</b>	2959	422	14,2%	459	5	1
<b>Sigidi</b>	846	109	13%	336	5	1,5
<b>Zodi</b>	1082	260	24%	386	17	4,5
<b>Polci</b>	890	142	16%	364	10	2,7%
<b>Luri</b>	145	7	2,75%	101	1	1%
<b>Zaranda</b>	848	192	22,7%	324	2	0,5%

Comments : Luri, with a very short wordlist limited to basic vocabulary, has unsurprisingly few loanwords

<sup>10</sup> NB: the form **la:wur** is furthermore present in Mhavavul, Ron Fyer, and North Bauchi languages (Skinner 96). Cf. Hausa **lávur** “(n.m.). 1. The white variety of sweet potato, but sometimes applied also to the red kind. (Vide *dankali*.) 2. A short variety of bulrush-millet which ripens quickly. 3. Applied to the meat which was dried in huge quantities at the time of the rinderpest of 1890-91. 4. Trousers embroidered with magenta thread.” (On-line Bargery). Cf. the Hausa ideophone: **wur** “(adv.). Emphasizes redness. e.g. ja wur, very red. (= jir; zir; zur.)” (*idem*)



In the general survey, Zodi, Polci and Zaranda have the highest score. For Zodi and Polci, this may be due to their total conversion to Islam, which is accompanied by a strong Hausa influence. As for Zaranda, this may be due to language attrition.

Zodi is the language that shows the highest influence from the non-Chadic neighbours, i.e. Jarawan Bantu Bankala and Jaku.

### Qualitative elements

The influence of Hausa is very strong on all the languages of the area. As expected, it is mainly concentrated on the activities connected to modern life (cars, motorcycles, petrol lamp, etc.), and especially the vocabulary of state, administration (traditional titles, police, prison), Islam and activities associated with the Hausa (trade, horses and their equipment, clothes, etc.).

This holds true for English as well, when its vocabulary is directly borrowed into SBW, especially by the younger educated generation.

More surprisingly, a large part of the vocabulary associated with nature, e.g. large animals is borrowed from haoussa, as well as the name of a certain number of trees. This is probably linked to the extinction of large animals from the area, and the shift of interest of the speakers from rural life to modern life. As a result, these animals and plants have disappeared from their active practical knowledge, and they only have a theoretical, abstract knowledge that has reached them through Hausa.

From a grammatical point of view, contrary to the vocabulary directly borrowed from English<sup>11</sup>, the parts of speech concerned are not only nouns but also:

- verbs, including the auxiliary verbs (*taba, riga, dinga*, 'have already');
- grammatical tools such as conjunctions (*ko da shi ke*, 'although'; *don*, 'because, in order that'; *in*, '(conditional) if'; *dã*, '(hypothetical) if' *'kafin* 'before'), the reported speech particle *wai*;
- relative pronouns (*yaddà*, 'the way that'),
- copulas (*akwai*, 'there is'; *kenan*, 'it is');
- negative markers (*bã*, 'not')
- discourse particles (*kõ*, 'as for'; *dai*, 'indeed'; *sam*, 'at all'; *mã*, 'even'; *mànà*, 'indeed', etc.)
- ejaculations of surprise (*inã, àshē*), pain (*wáyyō*), etc.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> One exception concerns the verb 'tear' in the Kal dialect of Zaar.

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that, contrary to what use to be held as true, grammatical morphemes and systems are not immune to replacement by loanwords. This confirms what was noted in Caron, B. (2009). *Les Zaars et leurs voisins*. In Tourneux, H. & N. Woïn (eds.) *Migrations et mobilité dans le bassin du lac Tchad*. Marseille: IRD. concerning the influence of Niger-Congo languages on the morphology of northern SBW languages, e.g. the second person plural verbal suffix *-əN*, Zaar sentence-final interrogation morphemes, etc. Cf. (Nettle 98) for the same phenomenon in Pyem.



## Dating loanwords

We shall take examples from Zaar concerning the clues we can use if we want to know how more or less recent a Hausa loanword is. These are essentially due to phonological properties that were first established in (Schneeberg 1974)

## Tones

Hausa words with \*High tone patterns are lowered to \*Mid when borrowed into Zaar, a 3-tone language: Ha *mákáǎántá* > Zr *mákarántá*. In recent borrowings, this rule has not (yet) applied: Ha *kúmá*, 'too' > Zr *kúmá*; Ha *gárá* 'it's better that...' > Zr *gárá*, which contrasts with the older loanword *gárá*, 'a type of gift' > Zr *gárá*.

## Consonant mutation

Intervocalic plosives are glottalized in Zaar. Older Hausa loanwords follow the rule: Ha *dàbāǎǎ*, 'plan' > Zr *dàbá:ra*. Recent loanwords that have not been integrated into the phonological system do not follow the rule: Ha *ǎǎdiyò* [< English 'radio'] > Zr: *rè:díyo*.

## Older Hausa etymons

Some Hausa words are borrowed with a form that does not correspond to the dialectal form used in Bauchi, but to a form that is identified with the Sokoto/Katsina dialect, and pre-dating the consonant mutation that has been identified by Klingenheben<sup>13</sup>, e.g. Zr *dàmru* < Sokoto Ha *dàmrō*, *dàrmō* (Standard Ha, *dàurō*), 'type of bulrush millet'; Zr *sapká* < Sokoto Ha *sàpka* (Standard Ha *sàuka*), 'alight'.

Since SBW speakers are not in contact with these dialects, the loanword is necessarily ancient, or, at least, predates the spread of Hausa through school and the modern media.

## Conclusion

This study of loanwords in SBW confirms what has been already underlined in my previous paper on the grammatical influence of Niger-Congo languages on SBW: an original complex situation, with long-standing (600 years) commercial and marital relationships between all the populations of the area (Pyem and the southern SBW; Jarawan Bantu and the Northern SBW) further compounded by the (relatively) recent linguistic domination of Hausa. This forces us to be extra careful when trying to reconstruct, classify or simply compare these languages. It's only after close examination of the situation to remove areal and borrowed lexical and grammatical features that the classical tools of comparative linguistics can be used to elicit the true nature of SBW and other languages spoken in the Nigerian Middle Belt. And once again, we need good, reliable, well analysed data to rely on.

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<sup>13</sup> Klingenheben, 1927/28°

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## Direct loans from Hausa

- Abcess** (Ha: *gyàmbō*) Zda: *gyambó*.  
**Abdim's stork** (Ha: *shāmuwā*) Zr: *fā:mwa*;  
 Zr.M: *fa:mú* Zr.K: *fā:mú*; Zđ: *fa.múwá*; Ch:  
*fā:múwá*; Pel: *fā:múwá*.  
**Ablutions (ritual ~)** (Ha: *àlwàlā*) [*< Arabic*  
*ʿal-waḍāʿ*] Pol: *àlwàlá*; Gj: *alwalá*.  
**Acacia** (Ha: *gāwō*) Ch: *gà:wó*; Pel: *gà:wó*.  
**Accusation** (Ha: *tùhumā*) [*< Arabic* *tuhma*]  
 Zđ: *tuhúma*.  
**Acha** (Ha: *accā*) Dr: *áfífa*; Gj: *áfífa*; Pel:  
*áfífa*; Zda: *afífa*.  
**Adultery** (Ha: *zīnā*) [*< Arabic* *zināʿ*] Zđ: *zəná*;  
 Gj: *zəná*; Pel: *zíná*.  
**Advice** (Ha: *shāwarā*) [*< Arabic* *šāwar*] Zđ:  
*fā:wari*.  
**After** (Ha: *bāyan*) Zđ: *bá:yán*.  
**Agree** (Ha: *yārda*) [*< Arabic* *yardā*] Zr: *yardá*;  
 Dr: *yaddá*.  
**Alms** (Ha: *sadakā*) [*< Arabic* *ṣadaqa*] Sg:  
*sadāka*; Zđ: *sádāka*; Dr: *sadáká*; Bl: *sádāka*.  
**Already (have ~ done sth); Aux** (Ha: *rigā*)  
 Zr: *rigá*.  
**Already (have ~; Aux)** (Ha: *tabā*) Zr: *tabá*;  
 Zđ: *tába*; Dr: *tabá*.  
**Also** (Ha: *kuma*) Zr: *kúmá*; Zđ: *kúmá*.  
**Although (Conj)** (Ha: *kō dà shi/ya kè*) Zr:  
*kó.dàfiké*.  
**Ambush** (Ha: *dākō*) Zr: *dá:ko*.  
**Amulet** (Ha: *lāyā*) [*< Arabic* *ʿal-ʿāya*] Zr.M:  
*lá:ya* Zr.K: *la:yá*; Zđ: *lá:ya*; Pol: *lá:ya*; Dr:  
*lá:yá*; Ch: *lá:yí*.  
**Angel** (Ha: *mālāʿikā*) [*< Arabic* ?] Zr.M:  
*màláyka* Zđ: *malá:ʿika*.  
**Answer** (Ha: *amshī*) Zr.K: *amsá*; Zđ: *ámfi*;  
 Dr: *amsá*.  
**Ant sp.** (Ha: *kiyāshī*) Gj: *kíyá:fi*; Pel: *kíyá:fi*.  
**Ant sp.** (Ha: *kwārkwāsā*) Zđ: *kwárkwa:sa*; Ch:  
*kwárkwàsà*; Gj: *kwárkwa:sa*; Pel:  
*kwárkwa:sa*; Zda: *kwárko:sa*.  
**Ant sp.** (Ha: *shā-zumāmī*) Ch: *fā: zúmà*; Zda:  
*fa:zúma*.  
**Ant sp.** (Ha: *tūrūruwā*) Ch: *tírú:rúwa*.  
**Antelope sp.** (Ha: *kankī*) Zda: *kaníki*.  
**Antelope sp.** (Ha: *māzō*) Ch: *mà:zō*; Gj:  
*ma:zō*.  
**Argument** (Ha: *mūsū*) Zr: *mú:su*; Sg: *mu:sa*;  
 Dr: *mú:su*.  
**As to (Ptcl)** (Ha: *kō*) Zr: *kò*; Zđ: *kó*.
- Ask** (Ha: *tàmbayā*) [*< Arabic* *istanbaʿa*] Dr:  
*també*.  
**Assistant to the pastor** (Ha: *bishārā (mài ~)*)  
 [*< Arabic*] Zr: *mây bīfā:ra*.  
**Attention (pay ~)** (Ha: *kulā*) Zđ: *kula*.  
**Attention (pay ~)** (Ha: *lūrā*) Zđ: *lu:rá*.  
**Aunt** (Ha: *gwaggò*) [*< Fulfulde* *goggo*] Sg:  
*góggó*.  
**Awl** (Ha: *bàsillā*) [*< Berber (Latin) sūbul*] Pel:  
*màsillá*.  
**Awl; Bicycle spoke** (Ha: ) Zr: *kùré:fe*.  
**Baby** (Ha: *jārīrī*) Zr: *ḍèrí:ri*; Zr.M: *ḍàrí:ri*.  
**Baby** (Ha: *jìnjīrī*) Zr: *ḍìndžiri*; Zda: *ḍìndžiri*.  
**Bag** (Ha: *jàkā*) Sg: *ḍàkà*; Pel: *ḍíkà*.  
**Ball of tuwo** (Ha: *malmālā*) Zđ: *málmálá*.  
**Bamboo** (Ha: *gōrā*) Zr: *góra*; Zr.M: *gò:rá*;  
 Zr.K: *go:rá*.  
**Bamboo flute** (Cf. Ha. *sàrēwā*) Ch: *sàré:ré*.  
**Banana** (Ha: *àyàbà*) [*< Nupe* *yaba*] Zr: *àyàbà*;  
 Zr.M: *àyàbà*; Zr.K: *àyàbà*; Zđ: *ayaba*; Pol:  
*àyàbà*; Dr: *ayabá*; Bl: *ʿàyàbà*; Ch: *àyàbà*; Gj:  
*ayabà*; Pel: *àyàbà*; Zda: *ayaba*.  
**Baobab** (Ha: *kūkā*) Zđ: *kú:ka*.  
**Barter** (Ha: *tayā*) Zđ: *táya*; Ch: *téyè*; Pel:  
*táya*.  
**Bastard** (Ha: *shēgē*) Zđ: *fé:ge*.  
**Bat** (Ha: *jēmāgē*) Zr.M: *ḍá:má:gi*; Zr.K:  
*zamá:ge*; Lr: *ḍámááge*.  
**Battery** (Ha: *bātīr*) [*< English* *battery*] Zr:  
*bá:tír*.  
**Be (Cop)** (Ha: *kēnan*) Gj: *kè:nán*.  
**Be accustomed** (Ha: *sābā*) [*< Arabic* *ṣuḥba*,]  
 Zr: *sa:bá*; Zr.M: *sa:bá* Zr.K: *sa:bá*; Sg: *sa:ba*;  
 Zk: *sá:bá*; Pol: *sá:ba*; Dr: *sá:bá*.  
**Be narrow** (Ha: *matsā*) Zr: *matsá*; Pel: *mási*;  
 Zda: *mási*.  
**Be proper** (Ha: *kāmātā*) Zr: *kama:tá*.  
**Be tired** (Ha: *gāji*) Zr: *gadži*.  
**Be unable to, fail** (Ha: *rasā*) Zr: *rasá*; Zk:  
*rásà*; Zđ: *rása*; Pol: *rasa*.  
**Beans** (Ha: *wākē*) Zđ: *wa:ké*.  
**Beard** (Ha: *Ch* Ha. *gēmū*) Zr.M: *gà:fiñ bà:kí*;  
 Zr.K: *gà:fiñ bà:kí*.  
**Beard** (Ha: *gēmū*) Zk: *gé:mú*; Zda: *gé:mu*.  
**Because of (Conj)** (Ha: *à kân*) Zr: *á kám*.  
**Because, in order that (Conj)** (Ha: *don*) Zr:  
*dón*; Zđ: *dón*.

**Bed** (Ha: *gadō*) Zr.M: *gèdà*; Zđ: *gadó*; Pol: *gadó*; Gj: *gado*; Pel: *gàdó*; Zda: *gádó*.  
**Beer (millet ~ seasoned with roots, spices, etc.)** (Ha: *jikò*) Zr: *đjiko*.  
**Beer (settled millet ~)** (Ha: *fitō*) Zr: *pító*.  
**Before** (*Conj*) (Ha: *kàfīn*) Zr: *kà:fīn*; Zđ: *ka:fīn*.  
**Begin** (Ha: *sōmà*) Zđ: *só:ma*.  
**Beginning** (Ha: *farkō*) Zđ: *fárkó*.  
**Behaviour** (Ha: *hālī*) [*< Arabic ḥāl*] Zr: *ha:li*.  
**Belief** (Ha: *lāmīrī*) [*< Arabic damīr*] Zr: *lám:ri*.  
**Bell** (Ha: *kàrarrawā*) Zr: *kàrarrawa*; Zđ: *karárráwá*.  
**Belt** (Ha: *bēl*) [*< English belt*] Zr.K: *bē:l*; Pol: *bēl*.  
**Bench** (Ha: *bencī*) [*< English bench*] Zda: *bénfi*.  
**Between** (Ha: *tsàkānī*) Zr: *tsàkà:ní*.  
**Bicycle** (Ha: *kēkē*) [*< Yoruba kẹkẹ*] Zr: *kè:ke*; Ch: *kè:ké*.  
**Big plate, tray of enamelled metal** (Ha: *fàrantī*) Zr: *pàránti*.  
**Bird's crop** (Ha: *màkōkò*) Zđ: *ma:kó:ko*.  
**Bitter tomato** (Ha: *yālō*) Zr: *ya:lo*; Zr.K: *ya:lo*; Pol: *yá:ló:*; Dr: *yá:ló*; Ch: *yá:ló*; Gj: *yá:ló*; Pel: *yá:ló*; Zda: *ya:lo*.  
**Black acha** (Ha: *iburō*) Pol: *ibúru*.  
**Black pepper** (Ha: *màsōrō*) Zr.M: *masó:ró* Zđ: *masó:ró*; Dr: *masó:ró*.  
**Blacksmith** (Ha: *makērī*) Zr: *mákerí*.  
**Blacksmith chisel** (Ha: *kurfī*) Zr: *kurfi*; Zđ: *kúrú:fi*.  
**Blacksmith's tongs** (Ha: *àwàrtakī*) Zr: *ràftáki*; Zr.M: *araptaki*; Zr.K: *àwártáke*; Sg: *awartaki*.  
**Blanket** (Ha: *bàrgō*) [*< Tam abroy*] Zr: *bàrgo*; Pol: *bòrgó*; Bl: *bàrgo*.  
**Blow with bellows** (Ha: *zugā*) Zđ: *dzúga*.  
**Blue** (Ha: *shūdī*) Zr.M: *fú:dī* Zr.K: *fú:dī*; Dr: *fú:dī*.  
**Boghom (pl.)** (Ha: *burmāwā*) Zr: *Burma:wa*.  
**Bone marrow** (Ha: *bargō*) Zr.M: *bargo*; Lr: *bórgó*; Ch: *bárgó*.  
**Book** (Ha: *littāfī*) [*< Arabic 'al-kitāb*] Zr.K: *lítá:fi*; Zđ: *littá:fi*; Bl: *littá:fi*; Gj: *littá:pí*; Pel: *littá:pi*.  
**Book** (Ha: *takārdā*) [*< Tamasheq takarḍe*] [*< Arabic qartās*] Zr: *tágàrda*; Zr.M: *tágàrda* Sg: *tágàrdà*; Pol: *tákàrdá*; Dr: *tágaddá:*; Ch: *tágàrdá*.  
**Book** (pl.) (Ha: *tàkàrdū*) [*< Tamasheq takarḍe*] [*< Arabic qartās*] Zr: *tàgàrdu*.  
**Borrow (not money)** (Ha: *ar-*) Sg: *ará*.  
**Box** (Ha: *àkwātī*) [*< Yoruba apoti*] Zr: *àkwà:tì*.  
**Box** (Ha: *fànkō*) Zr: *pànkó*.

**Boxing** (Ha: *dambe*) (Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan) Zđ: *da:mbé*.  
**Bracelet** (Ha: *munduwā*) Dr: *māndi*.  
**Brain** (Ha: *kwakwalwā*) Zda: *ko:kolwa*.  
**Brake** (Ha: *birīkī*) [*< English brake*] Zr: *bárki*.  
**Brave** (Ha: *jārūmī*) [*< Arabic (?) šārim*] Zđ: *đá:rimi*; Zda: *đa:runtáka*.  
**Break (e]g] egg)** (Ha: *fashē*) Zr.K: *pas*.  
**Breakfast** (Ha: *kālācī*) Zr: *kàlā:fi*.  
**Brick (mud ~)** (Ha: *tūbālī*) [*< Arabic 'aṭ-ṭūb*] Zr: *túbali*.  
**Bridegroom** (Ha: *angō*) Zr.M: *ángo*; Zr.K: *ángo*; Sg: *ángò*; Zđ: *ángo*; Dr: *ángo:*; Ch: *ángò*.  
**Bridge** (Ha: *gadā*) [*< English girder*] Zr: *gadà*; Zr.M: *gadà*; Zr.K: *gáda*; Zđ: *gáda*; Pol: *gádà*; Dr: *gádá:*; Gj: *gadà*; Pel: *gadà*; Zda: *gáda*.  
**Bridle** (Ha: *līnzāmī*) [*< Kanuri lizam < Arabic lijām*] Zr: *lānzá:mi*; Zđ: *līnzá:mi*.  
**Bucket** (Ha: *bōkīti*) [*< English bucket*] Zr: *bo:kíti*; Zr.M: *bo:kíti*; Zr.K: *bo:kíti*; Zđ: *bó:kíti*; Pol: *bó:kíti*; Dr: *bó:kíti:*; Zda: *bó:kíti*.  
**Bull** (Ha: *bījimi*) Zr.K: *bìđjimi*; Bl: *bàđjímá*; Zda: *biđjímí*.  
**Bullet, cartridge** (Ha: *hàrsāshī*) [*< Kanuri arasə*] Zr: *hàrsá:fi*; Zđ: *harsá:fi*; Ch: *hàrsá:fi*; Pel: *hàrsá:fi*.  
**Bundle of grain** (Ha: *damī*) Zđ: *dámi*; Pol: *démî*; Dr: *dámi*; Bl: *dàmi*; Ch: *dómi*; Zda: *dami*.  
**Bush-cow** (Ha: *baunā*) Zr.M: *bawna*; Zr.K: *bawna*; Ch: *báwná*.  
**Business** (Ha: *jārī*) [*< Kanuri zar*] Zr: *đá:ri*.  
**But** (Ha: *ammā*) [*< Arabic 'ammā*] Zr: *ammá:*; Zđ: *ammá:*; Pel: *àma*.  
**Butcher** (Ha: *mahāucī*) Pel: *máhawfī*; Zda: *máhawfī*.  
**Butchering** (Ha: *fāwā*) Zr: *pá:wa*.  
**Cakes made from groundnuts after extracting the oil** (Ha: *bākūrū, àbākūrū*) Zr: *ba:kúru*.  
**Calculation** (Ha: *lissāfī*) [*< Arabic 'al-ḥisāb*] Zr: *lísá:fi*; Zr.K: *lísá:fi*; Ch: *lissá:fi*; Gj: *lissa:pí*.  
**Calf** (Ha: *màrakī*) Ch: (*ná*) *màríki*.  
**Camel** (Ha: *rākumī*) [*< Berber alghum; Arabic laḡəmal*] Zr: *rà:kumí*; Zr.M: *ra:kumí* Zr.K: *rà:kumí*; Sg: *rà:kumí*; Zđ: *ra:kumí*; Pol: *rà:kumí*; Dr: *rà:kumí:*; Bl: *raḡkúmə*; Ch: *rà:kumí*; Gj: *ra:kumí*; Pel: *rà:kumí*; Zda: *ra:kumí*.  
**Can** (Ha: *gwangwanī*) Zr: *pampami*.  
**Can (tin ~)** (Ha: *kùzà*) Sg: *kùzà*; Zđ: *kuza*; Zda: *kuza*.  
**Can, know** (Ha: *iyā*) Zr.M: *đyá:*.

**Candle** (Ha: *kendīr*) [*< English candle*] Zr: *kéndār*.  
**Canoe** (Ha: *kwàlekwaìle*) [*< Mande kulu*] Zr: *kòlé kòlé*; Zđ: *kwalé-kwalé*.  
**Cap** (Ha: *tàgìyà*) [*< Arabic taqiya*] Zr: *tà:gya*; Zr.M: *tà:giyá* Zr.K: *tà:giya*; Sg: *tà:gijà*; Pol: *tà:gi:ya*; Dr: *tà:giyá*; Ch: *tà:giyà*; Zda: *ta:giya*.  
**Car, Lorry** (Ha: *mōtā*) [*< English motor*] Zr: *mó:ta*; Zr.M: *mó:to* Zr.K: *mó:to*; Zk: *mó:tè*; Pol: *mó:ta*; Dr: *mó:tá*; Ch: *mó:tà*; Pel: *mó:ta*; Zda: *mó:ta*.  
**Car, Lorry (pl.)** (Ha: *mōtōcī*) Zr: *mo:to:fi*.  
**Carpenter** (Ha: *kāfintā*) [*< English carpenter*] Zr: *ka:finta*.  
**Cassava** (Cf. Ha. *rōgō*) Dr: *dó:yá*.  
**Cassava** (Ha: *rōgō*) [*< Tiv rogo*] Zr.M: *ró:gò* Zr.K: *ró:go*; Zđ: *ró:go*; Pol: *ró:gò*; Ch: *ró:gò*; Pel: *ró:gò*; Zda: *ró:go*.  
**Castrate animals** (Ha: *dakā*) Zr: *daká*; Sg: *dáke kà káro*; Zk: *dákè*; Dr: *dáke*; Ch: *dákè*.  
**Cat** (Ha: *kulè*) Zk: *kulé*.  
**Cat** (Ha: *mūshè*) Zr.K: *mū:s*.  
**Catfish** (Ha: *tarwādā*) Ch: *tárwádá*; Pel: *táráwdá*.  
**Cattle egret** (Ha: *bálbēlā*) Sg: *bélbéla*; Bl: *bélbála*; Ch: *bélbé:là*.  
**Celebration** (Ha: *bikī*) Zr: *biki*; Zr.M: *bikí*; Zr.K: *biki*; Zđ: *bákí*; Dr: *bikí*; Pel: *bikí*; Zda: *bikí*.  
**Certainly, for sure** (Ha: *lallē*) Zr: *lalláy*.  
**Chain** (Ha: *sarkā*) Zr: *sárka*; Zđ: *sárka*; Pol: *sárka*; Dr: *sárká*.  
**Chance** (Ha: *àlbārka*) [*< Arabic 'al-barka*] Pel: *àlbárka*.  
**Chance** (Ha: *dāmā*) Zđ: *dá:má*; Pel: *dá:má*.  
**Change** (Ha: *canjā*) [*< English change*] Zr: *fanđzá*; Zđ: *fyéndzi*.  
**Chatter** (Ha: *sūrūūtū*) Zr: *sù:rú:tu*.  
**Chatting** (Ha: *tādī*) Zr: *tá:dí*.  
**Cheap, flimsy gown** (Ha: *àlkāshāfā*) [*< Arabic (?)*] Zr: *àlkāfā:fa*.  
**Cheapness** (Ha: *àrāhā*) [*< Arabic arḥaṣ*] Zr: *àrha*.  
**Cheat** (Ha: *cūcè*) Zđ: *fyú:fyé*; Pol: *fyú:fyé*; Pel: *fyú:fyé*.  
**Cheating** (Ha: *zamba*) [*< Arabic za'bar*] Zr: *zamba*; Dr: *zámbe*; Ch: *zámbe*.  
**Chief (administrative district ~)** (Ha: *hükumā*) [*< Arabic hüküma*] Zr: *hukúma*.  
**Chief** (Ha: *bāsarakè*) Zđ: *basará:ki*.  
**Chieftaincy** (Ha: *sàrautā*) Zđ: *másáráwtá*; Dr: *saráwtá*; Zda: *saráwtá*.  
**Chisel** (Cf. Ha. *cīsūr*) [*< English chisel*] Zr.M: *fi:sar* Gj: *fi:sâl*.

**Christian** (Ha: *kīristā*) [*< English Christian*] Zđ: *kírīsta*.  
**Clan** (Ha: *zūrīyā*) [*< Arabic tuṛīya*] Zr: *zù:rīya*.  
**Cleanliness** (Ha: *tsabtā*) Zr: *sápta*; Zk: *tsá:fi*; Zđ: *sápta*; Pol: *sápta*; Zda: *sápta*.  
**Cleverness, cunning** (Ha: *wāyō*) Zk: *wà:yú*; Ch: *wà:yó*.  
**Cloth** (Ha: *turmī*) Zr.K: *turmi*; Bl: *túrmá*; Ch: *túrmí*; Gj: *túrmí*.  
**Cloth** (Ha: *yādī*) [*< English yard*] Pel: *yá:dí*.  
**Clothes** (Ha: *tsūmmā*) Zr: *tsáma*; Pol: *tsúmma*; Dr: *súmmá*; Zda: *súmma*.  
**Cloud** (Ha: *gīrgijē*) Ch: *gīrgidzi*; Zda: *gīrgíza*.  
**Cloud** (Ha: *hadarī*) Dr: *hádá:ri*.  
**Club, Stick** (Ha: *kulkī*) Zr: *ngulki*; Zđ: *kúlkí*; Ch: *ákúlkí*; Pel: *kúlkí*.  
**Cold** (n.) (Ha: *sanyī*) Zr: *sányí*.  
**Colour** (Ha: *launī*) [*< Arabic lawn*] Zr.M: *lawni* Sg: *lawni*; Gj: *lawní*; Pel: *lawni*.  
**Communal work** (Ha: *gāyyā*) Zr: *gāyyá*.  
**Compensation** (Ha: *dīyyā*) Zđ: *dí:ya*.  
**Completely** (Ha: *kwata-kwata*) [*< Yoruba patapata*] Zr: *kwata*; Zda: *kotá*.  
**Completely** (Ha: *sarāi*) Zr: *saray*.  
**Completely, well** (Ha: *sōsai*) [*< Arabic sawiy*] Zr: *sòsáy*.  
**Confuse** (Ha: *birkītā*) Pel: *bírkíta*.  
**Controller (market)** (Ha: *sarkin mūdū*) Zr: *sarkin mú:dū*.  
**Copper** (Ha: *tagūllā*) [*< Tamasheq teyert*, eḡer(i)] Gj: *tágūllá*; Zda: *tágūllá*.  
**Corpse** (Ha: *gāwā*) Zr: *ga:wa*; Zr.K: *ga:wa*; Zđ: *gá:wá*; Pol: *gǎ:wá*; Ch: *gá:wá*.  
**Cotton** (Ha: *audūgā*) [*< Arabic abu dagīg*] Zr.K: *dugá*; Sg: *dūgá*; Dr: *áwdugá*; Gj: *ábdəgá*; Pel: *ábdəga*; Zda: *áwdugá*.  
**Count** (Ha: *kīrgā*) Zk: *kīrgà*; Ch: *kīrgá*.  
**Court of the chief** (Ha: *fūdā*) (Nilo-Saharan; Niger-Congo) Zr: *pá:dà*; Zr.M: *pá:dà* Zr.K: *pá:da*; Sg: *pa:dá*; Zđ: *pá:dá*; Pol: *pá:da*; Gj: *pá:dá*; Pel: *pá:dá*.  
**Co-wife** (Ha: *kīshiyā*) Zr.K: *kafi*; Zda: *kí:fiyá*.  
**Crested crane** (Ha: *gaurākā*) Zr.K: *gàwráka*; Sg: *gáwrakí*.  
**Crow** (Ha: *hànkākā*) Pel: *hànká:ka*.  
**Cunning** (Ha: *mākirīcī*) [*< Arabic mākir*] Zr: *ma:kírfi*.  
**Curse** (Ha: *la'antā*) [*< Arabic la'ana*] Pel: *lá'ána*.  
**Custom** (Ha: *àl'ādā*) [*< Arabic 'al-'āda*] Zr: *àl'a:dá*; Zđ: *al'á:da*.  
**Damage** (Ha: *bārñā*) Zr: *bàrna*.  
**Darkness** (Ha: *duhū*) Zda: *dúhu*.  
**Date palm** (Ha: *dābīnō*) [*< Kanuri difúnò < Berber təbinawt*] Zr.M: *dabí:no*; Zr.K:

*dábi:no*; Zđ: *dábi:no*; Pol: *dàbíno*; Dr: *dábi:no*; Bl: *dábinu*; Gj: *dabi:nó*; Pel: *dabi:no*.

**Datura** (Ha: *zakámī*) Sg: *zàgámì*.

**Deaf** (Ha: *kurmā*) Zr.K: *kurma*; Zk: *kúrmá*; Pol: *kúrmá*; Bl: *kurma*; Zda: *kúrmá*.

**Deaf-mute** (Ha: *bēbē*) Zđ: *bé:bé*; Pol: *bèébé*; Bl: *be:be*; Zda: *bé:bé*.

**Decoration** (Ha: *adō*) Zđ: *ádó*; Dr: *ádó*; Pel: *ádo*; Zda: *ado*.

**Decrease** (Ha: *ragē*) Zr: *ragé*; Zr.M: *rigí* Sg: *ragé*; Zk: *rígì*; Zđ: *ráge*.

**Deleb-palm** (Ha: *giginyā*) Sg: *gìgínjà*; Gj: *gigijná*; Pel: *gìgìna*.

**Desire** (Ha: *kwàdāyī*) Pel: *kwàdāyí*.

**Destruction** (Ha: *kaca-kaca*) Zr: *kaŋfa-kaŋfa*; Sg: *kaŋfa:fa*.

**Dibs** (Ha: *carabkē*) Zđ: *ŋárápke*.

**Differentiate** (Ha: *bambānta*) Zr: *bambánta*.

**Difficulty, pain** (Ha: *wūyā*) Pol: *wùyá*; Ch: *wùyá*; Zda: *wuyá*.

**Digging** (Ha: *kāftū*) Sg: *kaptá*; Pol: *kaptú*; Bl: *kàptú*; Zda: *kawtú*.

**Disciplining as done by masquerades** (Ha: *hòrō*) Zr: *fo:ró*; Pol: *fo:ró*.

**Disease** (Ha: *cīwō*) Zđ: *ŋí:wo*; Pol: *ŋí:wo*; Dr: *ŋí:wo*; Gj: *ŋō*; Pel: *ŋíwo*; Zda: *ŋí:wo*.

**Dish made of cassava flour** (Cf. Ha. *gārin rōgō*) [*< Yoruba, Nupe gari*] Zr: *gà:rí*.

**Dish made of stewed vegetables** (Ha: *gwātē*) Zr: *gòté*.

**Dish rack** (Ha: *dankī*) [*< Fulfulde danki*] Gj: *danki*; Pel: *dāŋki*.

**Disorderly** (Ha: *bārkatāi*) [*< Arabic barqata*] Zr: *bàrkàdè*.

**Do again** (Ha: *sākē*) Zr: *sa:ké*; Zk: *sá:kì*; Zđ: *sá:ke*; Ch: *sá:kè*; Gj: *sa:ká*; Pel: *sá:ke*; Zda: *sá:ká*.

**Do completely** (Ha: *cikā*) Zr: *ŋíká*.

**Domestic animals** (Ha: *dabbā*) [*< Arabic dabbāb*] Zr: *dabbà*; Zđ: *dábba*; Pol: *dabbà*; Dr: *dábbá*; Pel: *dabbà*; Zda: *dábbe*.

**Donkey** (Ha: *jàktī*) [*< Tamasheq ejak*] Zr: *za:ki*; Zr.M: *zà:kì* Zr.K: *zà:kí*; Sg: *zà:ki*; Zk: *zà:kí*; Zđ: *ǎa:kí*; Pol: *zà:kí*; Dr: *ǎa:kí*; Ch: *ǎa:kí*; Gj: *zyà:kì*; Pel: *zà:kí*; Zda: *za:kí*.

**Doubt** (Ha: *shakkā*) [*< Arabic šakka*] Zr: *šákka*; Zr.M: *šákka* Zk: *šákka*; Zđ: *šákka*; Bl: *shákka*; Ch: *šákka*; Zda: *šákka*.

**Dowry** (Ha: *dūkiyā*) [*< Arabic dunya*] Zr: *dú:kiyá*; Sg: *du:kija*.

**Drawing, decoration** (Ha: *zānē*) [*< Arabic zāna*] Zr: *zà:ne*; Sg: *zāni*; Pol: *zāni*; Gj: *za:ní*.

**Drive (car)** (Ha: *tūkā*) Zđ: *táká*; Pol: *tu:ka*.

**Drum** (Ha: *gangā*) Sg: *gàngà*; Zđ: *gàngó*; Pol: *gàngá*; Dr: *gàngá*.

**Drum (talking ~)** (Ha: *kàlàngū*) [*< Yoruba koṅongo; Nupe kanangun*] Zr.M: *kalangú*; Zđ: *kalangú*; Pol: *kàlàngó*; Dr: *kalangú*; Ch: *kàlàngú*; Gj: *kalangu*; Zda: *kalangú*.

**Drum sp.** (Ha: *kòtsō*) Sg: *kò:só*; Pel: *kò:só*.

**Drummer** (Ha: *makādī*) Zr: *mákadi*; Zr.K: *mákadi*; Sg: *mákadi*.

**Duck** (Ha: *àgwāgwā*) [*< Nupe gbangba*] Zr: *àgwà:gwā*; Zr.M: *àgwà:gwa*; Zr.K: *àgwà:gwá*; Sg: *àgwà:gwa*; Zk: *àgwà:gwá*; Zđ: *agwa:gwá*; Pol: *àgwà:gwá*; Dr: *agwá:gwá*; Bl: *'agwa:gwá*; Ch: *àgwà:gwá*; Gj: *àgwà:gá*; Pel: *àgwà:gá*; Zda: *agwa:gwá*.

**Dum palm** (Ha: *gòrubā*) ] Zr: *gò:rubà*; Zr.M: *gwòràbà*; Sg: *gò:rúbà*; Zđ: *go:rúba*; Bl: *gò:ràba*; Gj: *go:ribà*; Pel: *gò:rúbà*.

**Dung** (Ha: *tākī*) Sg: *ta:kí*; Zda: *tá:kí*.

**Dung-beetle** (Ha: *būzūzū*) Zr.K: *bù:zú:zu*.

**Dusk** (Ha: *àlmūrū*) Pol: *almú:ru*.

**Dyeing** (Ha: *rinī*) [*< Kanuri àrīn < Arabic 'an-nīl*] Zr.M: *riná* Zđ: *rini*; Ch: *rínì*; Pel: *rína*.

**Dysentery** (Ha: *atīnī*) Zđ: *átiní*; Zda: *átuní*.

**Eagle** (Ha: *juhūrmā*) Zr.M: *zìnkìrmá* Zr.K: *zìngirma*; Ch: *ǎjìmfàrmá*; Gj: *ǎjìmpàrmá*; Pel: *ǎjìmpàrmá*.

**Early start at dawn** (Ha: *sàmmakō*) Zr: *sàmàkó*.

**East** (Ha: *gabàs*) Zr: *gábàs*; Dr: *gábàs*; Ch: *gábàr*; Gj: *gàbàs*; Pel: *gabàs*; Zda: *gábàs*.

**Education** (Ha: *ilmī*) [*< Arabic 'ilm*] Zr: *ílmi*.

**Effort** (Ha: *kòkārī*) Zr: *kò:kari*; Zk: *kò:kàrí*; Zđ: *ko:kàrí*; Pol: *ko:kàrí*; Ch: *kò:kàrí*; Pel: *ko:kari*.

**Egyptian mimosa** (Ha: *gàmàruwā*) Zr: *gàmà:ruwa*; Zr.M: *gàmà:ruwa*; Zr.K: *gàmà:rúwá*; Zđ: *gama:rúwá*; Pol: *gàmà:rúwá*.

**Election** (Ha: *zābē*) Zr: *zà:be*; Sg: *za:ba*; Zk: *zà:bà*; Pol: *za:bà*; Dr: *zà:bé*; Ch: *zà:bè*; Zda: *za:bé*.

**Elephant** (Ha: *gīwā*) Zr.M: *gì:wà*; Zr.K: *gì:wa*; Zđ: *gí:wá*; Ch: *gí:wá*.

**Embrace** (Ha: *rungūmā*) Ch: *rùngùmé*; Gj: *rungúma*.

**Emigrate** (Ha: *kaurā*) Zr: *kawrá*.

**Emphasizes negation (PtcI)** (Ha: *sam*) Zr: *sám*.

**Enamel dish** (Ha: *kwānō*) [*< English pan*] Zr: *kwá:no*; Zr.M: *kwá:no* Sg: *kwá:nò*; Zđ: *kwá:no*; Pol: *kwá:no*; Dr: *kwá:no*; Ch: *kwá:nò*; Gj: *kwá:nò*; Zda: *kwá:no*.

**End** (Ha: *kārshē*) Pel: *karfé*.

**Engine** (Cf. Ha. *injī*) [*< English engine*] Zr: *ínǎjin*.

**Engineer** (Ha: *inj̄ñiyā*) [*< English engineer*] Zr: *ind̄j̄ñiya*.  
**Enjoy** (Ha: *mōrā*) Zr: *mo:ra*.  
**Entrance hut** (Ha: *zaurē*) Zr.K: *zú:ri*; Sg: *záwre*; Ch: *záwrē*.  
**Epilepsy** (Ha: *far̄fad̄iyā*) Zr: *farfa:da*.  
**Epithet** (Ha: *kirārī*) Zđ: *kirá:ri*.  
**Escape** (Ha: *tsērē*) Sg: *tsi:rá*; Dr: *sí:rá*; Zda: *si:rē*.  
**Euphorbia** (Ha: *kyàranā*) Zda: *kyara:na*.  
**European** (Ha: *bātūrē*) Zr: *bátú:re*.  
**Europeans** (Ha: *tūrāwā*, pl.) Zr: *tu:ra:wa*.  
**Even** (*Ptcl*) (Ha: *mā*) Zr: *má*; Zđ: *má*.  
**Evil** (Ha: *mūgū*) Zda: *mú:gu*.  
**Exactly, well** (Ha: *daidai*) Zr: *de:dé*; Gj: *déydé*; Zda: *deydey*.  
**Exam** (Ha: *gwadāwā*) Zr: *godà:wà*.  
**Example** (Ha: *misālī*) [*< Arabic miṭāl*] Zr: *misá:li*.  
**Exchange** (Ha: *mūsāyā*) Zđ: *musá:yá*.  
**Exclamation expressing incredulity** (*Intj*) (Ha: *inā*) Zr: *inā*.  
**Exclamation expressing surprise** (*Intj*) (Ha: *āshē*) Zr: *āfé*; Zđ: *afē*; Gj: *asé*.  
**Expensiveness** (Ha: *tsādā*) (Nilo-Saharan) Zr: *tsà:da*.  
**Expert** (Ha: *gwānī*) Zđ: *gwaní*.  
**Explain, Describe** (Ha: *kwatāntā*) Zr: *kwatantá*.  
**Explanation** (Ha: *bāyānī*) Zr: *bà:yá:ni*; Zk: *bà:yà:nì*.  
**Explanation** (Ha: *fassārā*) [*< Arabic fassara*] Zr: *fasára*.  
**Extreme** (Ha: *tsananin*) Zr: *tsananin*; Zđ: *sánání*.  
**Extreme** (Ha: *tsantsā*) Zr: *tsantsa*.  
**Eye, Type** (Ha: *irī*) Zr: *í:ri*; Zđ: *í:ri*.  
**Face** (Ha: *fuskā*) Zr: *fú:ka*.  
**Faint** (v) (Ha: *sūma*) Pel: *sú:má*.  
**Fan** (Ha: *fīfū*) Sg: *pipi:tá*.  
**Fasting** (Ha: *azūmī*) [*< Tuareg əzum*] [*< Arabic 'aṣ-ṣawm*] Zđ: *ázumi*; Pol: *ázumí*.  
**Fault** (Ha: *lāifī*) [*< Arabic 'al-'ayb*] Zđ: *lāyfi*; Dr: *lāypí*.  
**Female relationship** (Ha: *gārā*) Zr: *ga:ra*.  
**Fence** (Ha: *dārni*) (P- (OS)) Zr: *dárné*; Zr.M: *dárné*; Zr.K: *dárné*; Zk: *dární*; Zđ: *darní*; Dr: *darní*.  
**Fever** (Ha: *zāzzābī*) Sg: *zázzabí*; Zđ: *zazzabí*; Pol: *zāzzābí*; Dr: *zazzabí*; Gj: *zāzzābī*; Pel: *zāzzābí*; Zda: *zazzabí*.  
**Fig tree** (Ha: *cēdiyā*) Ch: *fé:díyá*; Gj: *fé:díyá*.  
**Fine** (Ha: *tārā*) Zr: *tà:ra*; Zk: *tá:rà*; Zđ: *ta:re*.  
**Fine sand** (Ha: *ràiràyī*) Zđ: *rayrayí*.  
**Fine sand** (Ha: *yāshī*) Ch: *yà:fí*.

**Finish** (Ha: *gamā*) Zr: *gamá*.  
**First wife** (Ha: *uwař gidā*) Zr: *wargida*.  
**Fisherman's net** (Ha: *kōmā*) Pel: *kó:má*.  
**Flag** (Ha: *tūtā*) Sg: *tu:tá*; Zđ: *tú:ta*.  
**Flesh** (Ha: *tsōkā*) Zđ: *só:ka*; Ch: *só:kà*; Zda: *só:ka*.  
**Flint and tinder lighter** (Ha: *masabī*) Zr: *masabi*; Pel: *másà:bí*.  
**Flower** (Ha: *fūrē*) Zr.M: *furí*; Zr.K: *fūrē*; Sg: *pùre*; Ch: *pàré*.  
**Foam** (Ha: *kumfā*) Sg: *kumpa*; Ch: *kúmpá*; Gj: *kúmpá*; Zda: *kúmpá*.  
**Fold, roll up** (Ha: *nadē*) Zk: *nádí*; Ch: *nádē*.  
**Fool** (Ha: *dōlō*) Zr: *do:lo*.  
**Foolishness** (Ha: *shirmē*) Zr: *řirmé*; Zr.K: *řirmi*.  
**Football** (Ha: *bōl*) [*< English ball*] Zk: *bó:l*; Pol: *ból*; Zda: *ból*.  
**Forbid** (Ha: *hanā*) Zk: *hánà*; Dr: *haná*; Pel: *háne*; Zda: *hané*.  
**Forest** (Ha: *kurmī*) Pol: *kúrmi*; Gj: *kúrmí*; Pel: *kúrmi*; Zda: *kúrmi*.  
**Friday** (Ha: *jumma'ā*) [*< Arabic ġum'a*] Dr: *čjumma'á*.  
**From** (Ha: *dàgà*) Zr: *dàgà*; Zđ: *daga*.  
**Frotter** (Ha: *shāfē*) Zk: *řá:pè*; Ch: *řá:pè*.  
**Fry** (Ha: *sōyā*) Zr: *so:yá*; Zda: *só:yá*.  
**Fulani camp** (Ha: *rugā*) Zda: *rúgà*.  
**Galadima** (Ha: *gālādīmā*) [*< Kanuri galtima*] Zr: *gà:là:dí:ma*; Gj: *gà:lādīmā*.  
**Gallop** (Ha: *sukūwā*) Sg: *súkúwa*; Pel: *súkúwa*.  
**Game** (Ha: *wargī*) Dr: *wárgí*; Gj: *wórgi*.  
**Games of draught, dibs, etc** (Ha: *darā*) Zr: *dára*; Zđ: *dára*.  
**Garden, irrigated farming of tomatoes, onions, etc** (Ha: *lāmbū*) [*< Songhay lombu*] Zr: *lāmbu*; Zr.K: *lāmbú*; Sg: *lāmbu*; Pol: *lāmbú*; Dr: *lambú*; Gj: *lambu*; Pel: *lambú*; Zda: *lambu*.  
**Gather, mix, meet** (Ha: *gamā*) Zr: *gamá*; Zđ: *gáma*.  
**Gazelle** (Ha: *bārēwā*) Zr.M: *bèré:wá*; Zr.K: *bàre:wa*.  
**Get down** (Ha: *sàuka*) Zr: *sapká*.  
**Ghost** (Ha: *fatalwā*) Zđ: *fátálwá*.  
**Gift** (Ha: *tsàrabā*) Zr: *tsàrabà*.  
**Gift (wedding ~)** (Ha: *gārā*) Zr: *ga:ra*.  
**Ginger** (Ha: *citta*) [*< Fulfulde citta*] Zr.M: *řittá*; Zr.K: *řita*.  
**Girl** (Ha: *bùdurwā*) Zr: *bèdərwa*.  
**Glue** (Ha: *mannā*) Zk: *mánnà*; Gj: *manná*.  
**God** (Ha: *Allāh*) [*< Arabic 'allāh*] Zr: *Álla*.  
**Gold** (Ha: *zīnārīyā*) [*< Kanuri dinar < Arabic dīnār*] Zr.M: *zíná:riyá*; Zr.K: *zóná:riyá*; Sg:



*zíná:rìjà*; Zđ: *zí:ná:riyá*; Pol: *ziná:riyá*; Bl: *zíná:riyá*; Ch: *zóná:rìyá*; Gj: *zəna:riya*; Pel: *zəná:riyá*; Zda: *zí:ná:riyá*.  
**Good!** (*Intj*) (Ha: *yáwwā*) Zr: *yáwwà*.  
**Government** (Ha: *gwánnátì*) [*< English government*] Zr: *gopmnáti*.  
**Gown sp.** (Ha: *taguwā*) Pol: *tágùwá*.  
**Grandchild** (Ha: *jīkǎ*) Zr.M: *džíka*; Zr.K: *dží:ka*; Sg: *dží:ka*; Pel: *dží:ka*.  
**Grass** (Ha: *hakǎ*) Zda: *hákí*.  
**Grave** (Ha: *kùshāyā*) Zda: *kufya.ya*.  
**Greed** (Ha: *kwáwdāyī*) Zda: *kwadāyi*.  
**Green** (Ha: *algāshī*) Pel: *álgāfí*.  
**Green** (Ha: *kōrē*) Ch: *kó:ré:ná*.  
**Greeting** (Ha: *barǎ*) [*< Arabic baraka*] Zđ: *bárka*; Pol: *sámbaráká*.  
**Greetings** (Ha: *sallamā*) [*< Arabic sallama*] Zđ: *sálláma*.  
**Ground sloping downward** (Ha: *gangārā*) Zr: *gàngára*; Gj: *gàngarā*.  
**Groundnut** (Ha: *gujīyā*) Pol: *gǎǎ*; Gj: *gùdzyá*; Pel: *gùdzyá*; Zda: *gudzya*.  
**Guinea-corn sp.** (Ha: *dàurō*) Zr: *dámru*; Zr.K: *dàwró*.  
**Gun** (Ha: *bindigā*) [*< Arabic bunduqiya*, *bunduq*] Zr: *bindógà*; Pol: *bíndígà*; Dr: *bíndígá*.  
**Gunpowder** (Ha: *tōkǎ*) Dr: *to:ká*.  
**Hair (head)** (Ha: *sūmā*) Zda: *su:ma*.  
**Half** (Ha: *rabī*) Zr: *rábi*; Dr: *rabá*.  
**Hammer** (Ha: *gùdumā*) Zr: *gùdúma*; Zr.M: *gùdúma*; Sg: *gùdúmà*; Zđ: *gudúma*.  
**Hang** (Ha: *rātáyē*) Zk: *rá:táyà*; Gj: *ra:táyé*.  
**Happen, Begin** (Ha: *fārā*) Zr: *fa:rá*; Zk: *pá:rà*; Zđ: *fá:ra*; Dr: *pá:rá*; Ch: *pá:rè*; Pel: *pa:rúwá*; Zda: *fá:rá*.  
**Hardness** (Ha: *taurī*) Ch: *táwri*.  
**Harmattan** (Ha: *hùntūrū*) Zđ: *huntú:ru*; Dr: *huntú:ru*; Zda: *huntú:ru*.  
**Harvesting** (Ha: *girbī*) Pol: *gírbi*; Ch: *gírbi*.  
**Hawk** (Ha: *shāhō*) Pel: *fá:ho*.  
**Head-tie** (Ha: *kallābī*) Zr.M: *kállapí*; Zđ: *kálapí*.  
**Head-tie** (Ha: *kwalliyā*) Dr: *kwá:li*; Zda: *kwá:li*.  
**Heal** (Ha: *warkē*) Pol: *warke*; Dr: *wárke*; Ch: *wárkè*.  
**Healing** (Ha: *saukī*) Zđ: *sáwkíya*.  
**Health (used in greetings)** (Ha: *lāfiyā*) [*< Arabic 'al-'āfiya*] Zr: *la:fiya*; Zr.M: *la:fyá* Zđ: *lá:fiya*; Pel: *lá:fiya*.  
**Hedgehog** (Ha: *būshiyā*) Lr: *bú:fiyá*.  
**Heir, first born** (Ha: *magājī*) Zr: *mágà:dží*.  
**Hello!** (Ha: *sànnu*) Zr: *sànnú*; Zđ: *sannú*.

**Help** (Ha: *taimākē*) Zr: *te:maké*; Dr: *taymaká*; Pel: *té:maka*; Zda: *téymáká*.  
**Henna** (Ha: *lallē*) Zr: *ná:lle*.  
**Hepatitis** (Ha: *cīwòn shāwārā*) Zr: *ǎfí:wòn fā:wára*.  
**Hill** (Ha: *hawā*) Zk: *háya*; Zda: *hává*.  
**Hill** (Ha: *tudū*) Zđ: *túdu*; Dr: *túdu*.  
**Hippopotamus** (Ha: *dōrinā*) Zr.K: *dò:rina*; Zđ: *do:ráná*; Pol: *dò:ráná*; Gj: *dò:ríná*; Zda: *do:rina*.  
**History** (Ha: *tārhī*) [*< Arabic ta'arīh*] Zđ: *tá:rihi*.  
**Honeycomb** (Ha: *sāká*) Zr.K: *sa:ká*; Pol: *sá:ka*; Ch: *sá:kà*; Zda: *sá:ka*.  
**Hoof** (Ha: *kōfatō*) Zr.M: *kòfáto*; Zr.K: *kòfá:to*.  
**Hook** (Ha: *kūgiyā*) Zr.K: *kú:gi*; Sg: *kù:gíya*; Pol: *kú:giyá*; Dr: *kú:giyá*; Gj: *kú:giyá*; Zda: *kúgiyá*.  
**Horn** (Ha: *kāhō*) Zr.K: *kāfú*; Ch: *kāhó*.  
**Hornbill** (Ha: *burū*) Sg: *burtu*; Ch: *búrtá*; Gj: *burtu*; Pel: *burtú*.  
**Hornbill sp.** (Ha: *cilākōwā*) Dr: *ǎfílakkó:wá*.  
**Hospital, dispensary** (Ha: *asibīti*) [*< English hospital*] Zr: *ásəbáti*; Zđ: *ásibíti*.  
**Hot season before the rains** (Ha: *bazarā*) Zr: *bazara*.  
**How (Pro)Rel** (Ha: *yaddā*) Zr: *yáddà*.  
**Hump** (Ha: *tōzō*) Zr: *to:so*.  
**Hundred** (Ha: *dārī*) Zđ: *dari*; Pol: *dá:ri*.  
**Hunting** (Ha: *fārautā*) Zđ: *faráwta*; Pol: *parú:tá*.  
**Hut (grass ~)** (Ha: *būkkā*) Dr: *bukká*; Pel: *bukká*; Zda: *búkka*.  
**Hyena** (Ha: *kūrā*) (Niger-Congo (?)) Zr: *kura*; Zr.M: *ku:ra* Sg: *ya:-ku:ra*; Zk: *kú:rá*.  
**I swear (Intj)** (Ha: *wāllāhi*) [*< Arabic*] Zr: *wállá:hi*.  
**Idol, fetish** (Ha: *gunkǎ*) Zr: *gúnki*.  
**If (Conj)** (Ha: *idan*) [*< Arabic 'idan*] Zr: *ín*; Zđ: *ín*; Gj: *in*; Zr: *idan*.  
**If (counterfactual; Conj)** (Ha: *dā*) Zr: *dà*.  
**Illiteracy** (Ha: *jāhīlǎ*) [*< Arabic ġāhil*] Zđ: *ǎǎhīlǎfí*.  
**Imam** (Ha: *līmān*) [*< Arabic 'al-'imām*] Zr: *limā:n*; Zđ: *li:má:mi*; Pol: *limā:n*; Ch: *lì:mān*.  
**Increase** (Ha: *kārā*) Zr: *ka:rá*; Sg: *ka:rá*; Zđ: *karfē*; Dr: *ká:rá*; Ch: *kàrsé*.  
**Indeed (Ptcl)** (Ha: *fa*) Zr: *fá*; Zđ: *fá*; Pel: *fá*.  
**Indeed (Ptcl)** (Ha: *mānā*) Zr: *mānā*.  
**Indian hemp** (Ha: *ramā*) Zr: *rá:má*; Zđ: *rá:ma*.  
**Indigo** (Ha: *bābā*) Sg: *bá:bá*.  
**Indigo** (Ha: *shūnǎ*) Zr: *fu:ni*; Zđ: *fú:dí*.  
**Injury** (Ha: *rāunǎ*) Zr: *rāwni*; Dr: *rawní*.

**Ink** (Ha: *tàwādā*) [< Tuareg taddawat  
[< Arabic dawa] Zđ: *tawá:da*; Pol: *tawádà*.  
**Insect** (Ha: *kwārī*) Zr: *kwà:ri*; Pol: *kwa:ró*; Dr:  
*kwá:ri*; Zda: *kwa:ró*.  
**Insult** (Ha: *zāgē*) Zr: *za:gá*.  
**Intelligence** (Ha: *hankālī*) [< Arabic 'aql] Zr:  
*hánkali*; Zđ: *hánkali*.  
**Jackal** (Ha: *dilā*) Zr: *di:la*; Zr.M: *dì:là*; Lr:  
*dílá*; Ch: *díllá*; Zda: *dílá*.  
**Jaw-trap** (Ha: *tarkō*) Zr: *tárko*; Zr.M: *tárko*  
Sg: *tàrkó*; Zđ: *tárko*; Pol: *tárko*; Pel: *tárko*.  
**Jeu de chevaux** (Ha: *līdō*) Zđ: *li:dó*.  
**Join, meet** (Ha: *hadā*) Zr: *hadá*; Zr.M: *hàdē*;  
Pel: *háda*.  
**Joy** (Ha: *muřnā*) [< H] Zr: *múrna*; Zđ: *múrna*.  
**Judge** (Ha: *alkālī*) [< Arabic 'al-qāđi] Zr:  
*álka:li*; Zđ: *alká:li*.  
**Justice** (Ha: *shārī'ā*) [< Arabic šarī'ā] Zr:  
*šēriya*; Zđ: *fari'a*; Dr: *fará'á*.  
**Jute** (Ha: *lālō*) Bl: *lá:lo*; Pel: *lá:lo*.  
**Kebabs** (Ha: *tsīrē*) Gj: *si:re*.  
**Keep cattle** (Ha: *kīwō*) Pol: *kí:wo*; Ch: *kí:wó*;  
Pel: *kíwo*; Zda: *kí:wo*.  
**Keep on doing** (Aux) (Ha: *dingā*) Zr: *dingá*.  
**Kettle** (Ha: *būtā*) Zđ: *bú:ta*.  
**Key** (Ha: *mabūđī*) Pol: *mábú:đi*.  
**Key, door** (Ha: *makullī*) Zr.M: *makulli*.  
**Kidney** (Ha: *kōđā*) Zr.M: *kwá:da* Zr.K:  
*kwá:dá*; Zk: *kwá:dà*; Dr: *kó:dá*; Lr: *kóóda*;  
Pel: *kwá:da*.  
**Kill** (Ha: *kashē*) Zđ: *ká:fe*; Dr: *kafé*.  
**Kite** (Ha: *shirwā*) Pel: *širwa*; Zda: *šilwa*.  
**Knowledge** (Ha: *ilīmī*) [< Arabic 'ilm] Zr:  
*ilimi*; Zđ: *ilimí*.  
**Labourer** (Ha: *lēbūrā*) [< English labourer]  
Zr: *lé:bàrà*.  
**Lack** (Ha: *rashī*) Zr: *rá:fi*; Gj: *rasá*.  
**Ladle (wooden ~)** (Ha: *kōshiyā*) Pel: *kó:fiyá*;  
Zda: *ko:fiya*.  
**Lame, cripple** (Ha: *gurgū*) Zr.M: *gūrùm*.  
**Lamp wick** (Ha: *lāgwānī*) Zr: *lāgwāne*.  
**Large red chillies** (Ha: *tattā:sai* (pl.)) Zr:  
*tattà:say*; Zr.M: *ata:fi*; Zr.K: *ata:fé*; Gj:  
*tatta:fi*; Pel: *tatta:séy*.  
**Last** (Ha: *dadē*) Gj: *dàde*; Pel: *dàdē*; Zda:  
*dadē*.  
**Last** (Ha: *jimā*) Zk: *đimá*; Pol: *đima*; Ch:  
*đimè*.  
**Laterite** (Ha: *marmarā*) Ch: *mármará*; Gj:  
*mármará*.  
**Law, rule** (Ha: *dōkā*) Zr.M: *dò:ká*; Zđ: *do:ká*;  
Pol: *dò:ká*.  
**Law, rule** (Ha: *kā'idā*) [< Arabic qaid] Pel:  
*ká:'idá*.  
**Lead (metal)** (Cf. Ha. *hārsāshī*) Dr: *dálmá*.

**Learn, etc** (Ha: *kōy-*) Sg: *ko:já*; Zk: *kwáyà*;  
Zđ: *kó:ya*; Gj: *ko:yá*; Pel: *kó:ya*; Zda: *kó:yá*.  
**Leather** (Ha: *fūtā*) Zk: *pá:tà*.  
**Leatherworker** (Ha: *bādūkū*) Sg: *bādúnkū*;  
Zđ: *badú:ku*; Pol: *bādúku*; Dr: *badú:ku*.  
**Let me, let us** (Ha: *bāri*) Zr: *bàri*.  
**Letter** (Ha: *wāsīkā*) [< Arabic waṭīqa] Zr:  
*wasí:ka*; Pol: *wási:ka*; Gj: *wasi:ká*; Zda:  
*wasí:ka*.  
**Liana sp.** (Ha: *yāđiyā*) Zda: *ya:điya*.  
**Lid** (Ha: *murfi*) Zr.K: *marfi*; Pol: *márpí*; Ch:  
*márfi*.  
**Lie** (Ha: *karyā*) Zr.M: *karya*; Zr.K: *karya*.  
**Life** (Ha: *rāi*) Zr: *rây*; Zr.K: *ra:yí*; Zk: *rá:yí*;  
Zđ: *rây*; Pol: *rây*; Pel: *rây*.  
**Lift** (Ha: *dagā*) [< CHADIC] Zr: *dagá*; Zr.K:  
*dagáy*; Sg: *daga*; Bl: *dagá*.  
**Light** (Ha: *haskē*) Zr: *haske*; Pol: *haské*; Ch:  
*háské*; Gj: *háské*; Pel: *háské*; Zda: *háske*.  
**Light up** (Ha: *kūnnē*) Dr: *kunná*.  
**Like** (Ha: *kāmā*) Zr: *kámár*; Zđ: *kamán*.  
**Like this** (Ha: *hakà*) Gj: *hákà*.  
**Limping** (Ha: *dingishī*) Bl: *dāngáf*; Gj:  
*dingífi*; Zda: *dingífi*.  
**Line, queue** (Ha: *lāyī*) [< English line] Zr:  
*lá:yi*.  
**Lion** (Ha: *zākī*) Zr: *zá:ki*; Zr.M: *za:ki*; Zr.K:  
*zá:ki*; Sg: *za:kí*; Zk: *zá:kí*; Zđ: *zá:ki*; Lr: *zki*;  
Bl: *za:kā*; Ch: *zá:kí*.  
**Liver** (Ha: *hantā*) Sg: *hántá*; Zda: *hánta*.  
**Load** (Ha: *kāyā*) Zr: *ka:ya*; Zr.M: *ka:ya*; Zr.K:  
*ka:ya*; Zđ: *ká:yá*; Dr: *ká:yá*; Gj: *ká:yá*; Pel:  
*ká:yá*; Zda: *ká:yá*.  
**Loan** (Ha: *arō*) Zr: *aró*; Gj: *aró*.  
**Loan, debt** (Ha: *bāshī*) Zr: *bá:fi*; Zr.M: *bà:fi*;  
Bl: *bà:fi*; Zda: *bá:fi*.  
**Loincloth** (Ha: *bāntē*) [< English panty] Zr.M:  
*bēntí*, *byēndi*; Zr.K: *bēnté*; Zđ: *benté*; Pol:  
*bēnte*; Dr: *benté*; Ch: *byēnté*.  
**Look at, look for** (Ha: *dūbā*) Pel: *dū:ba*.  
**Loom** (Ha: *masākā*) Zr.K: *masa:ka*.  
**Louse** (Ha: *kwārkwatā*) Zđ: *kwarkwáta*; Pol:  
*kwarkwáta*; Dr: *kwarkwátá*; Zda: *kwárkwáta*.  
**Lumps in gruel or mush** (Ha: *gūdājī*) (Niger-Congo (Songhay)) Zr: *gúdà:đi*.  
**Lungs** (Ha: *hūhū*) Zr.M: *hu:hú*; Zr.K: *fu:fú*;  
Zk: *fū:fú*; Zđ: *fu:fú*; Ch: *hùhú*; Pel: *hu:hú*;  
Zda: *hu:hú*.  
**Lute sp.** (Ha: *gārāyā*) Dr: *gará:yá*.  
**Lute sp.** (Ha: *mōlō*) Pol: *mó:ló*.  
**Magenta dye** (Ha: *gārūrā*) Zr: *gálú:ra*; Ch:  
*gálú:rà*.  
**Maize** (Ha: *masārā*) [< Kanuri masar < Arabic  
miṣr] Zr.K: *másará*.

**Mango** (Ha: *mangwàrò*) [< Yoruba mangoro < Portugese] Zr: *mángórò*; Zr.M: *mángòrò* Zr.K: *mángorò*; Sg: *mángoro*; Pol: *mángòrò*; Dr: *mángoro*; Bl: *mángəro*; Ch: *mángòrò*; Gj: *mángòrò*; Pel: *mángorò*; Zda: *mángoro*.  
**Market** (Ha: *kàsúwā*) [< Kanuri kàsúgù < Arabic 'as-sūq] Zr: *kà:suwa*; Zr.M: *ka:suwa*; Zđ: *ka:súwa*; Dr: *ká:súwá*; Zda: *ka:súwá*.  
**Market stall** (Ha: *shāgò*) Zr: *šá:gò*; Zr.K: *ša:gú*.  
**Marriage** (Ha: *aurē*) Zr: *awre*; Sg: *awre*; Zđ: *áwré*; Dr: *áwré*; Zda: *áwré*.  
**Marshy ground** (Ha: *fàdamā*) Zr: *fàdáma*; Pol: *pàdáma*; Dr: *padámá*.  
**Mason wasp** (Ha: *zànzarō*) Zr.M: *zùnzurá* Zr.K: *zànzəri*; Ch: *zànzóró*.  
**Mat** (Ha: *tàbarmā*) Zr: *tà:barma*; Zr.M: *tà:bàrəm*; Zr.K: *tà:bərma*; Bl: *tà:bərmə*; Ch: *tà:bármá*; Zda: *ta:barma*.  
**Maternal uncle** (Ha: *kàwu*) [< Fulfulde kàwu] Zr: *kà:wú*; Sg: *ká:wù*; Bl: *kawu*; Gj: *kawu*; Pel: *ka:wú*; Zda: *ka:wú*.  
**Mating by animals** (Ha: *barbarā*) Zr.K: *barbara*; Zđ: *bárbará*; Ch: *bárbára*.  
**Measure** (Ha: *aunā*) Zr: *áwná*.  
**Measure** (Ha: *gwàda*) Zda: *godá*; Zk: *gwáda*.  
**Measure (n)** (Ha: *mūdū*) [< Arabic] *muddu* Zr: *mú:dù*.  
**Melon** (Ha: *gunā*) Pel: *gúna*.  
**Merely** (Ha: *kurūm*) Zr: *kúrúm*.  
**Midwife** (Ha: *ùngòzòmà*) Ch: *àngwónzòmà*.  
**Milk** (Ha: *madařā*) Zr.K: *madara*; Ch: *mádará*; Zda: *mádará*.  
**Milk (v)** (Ha: *tàtsā*) Zr.K: *tsa:t*; Sg: *ta:tsá*; Zđ: *ta:sá*.  
**Millet (bulrush ~)** (Ha: *gērō*) Zr: *gyo:ro*; Zr.M: *gyò:rò*; Zr.K: *ge:ro*; Zđ: *gé:ró*; Pol: *gye:ro*; Bl: *ge:ró*; Ch: *gyáwró*; Gj: *gye:lo*; Zda: *ge:ló*.  
**Millet sp.** (Ha: *màiwā*) Zr.M: *maywá* Zr.K: *màywá*.  
**Minute** (Ha: *minī*) [< English minute] Zr: *mínti*.  
**Mirror** (Ha: *bōkà*) Zr: *bo:ka*; Pol: *mágá:ní*; Bl: *bo:ka*; Ch: *bó:ká*; Zda: *bó:ka*.  
**Mirror** (Ha: *madūbī*) Zr.M: *madù:bì* Zr.K: *màdu:bí*; Sg: *madu:bi*.  
**Mistletoe** (Ha: *kaucī*) Dr: *káwfi*; Gj: *káwfi*; Pel: *káwfi*; Zda: *káwfi*.  
**Mix, confuse** (Ha: *dāmā*) Ch: *dá:mè*; Pel: *dà:múwá*.  
**Moisten** (Ha: *jikā*) Zr.K: *ɔjik*.  
**Moment** (Ha: *sā'ā*) [< Arabic sā'-] Zđ: *sá:'i*.  
**Monday** (Ha: *lītinīn*) Pol: *li:tinín*; Dr: *li:tənin*; Gj: *li:tinín*.

**Mongoose** (Ha: *tùnkū*) Ch: *tùnkú*.  
**Morning star** (Ha: *gàmzākī*) Zr: *gàmzá:ki*; Zr.K: *gàmzá:ki*.  
**Mosque** (Ha: *masallācī*) [< Arabic ṣalāh] Zr: *masalla:fi*; Zđ: *másállá:fi*; Pol: *másállá:fi*; Ch: *másállá:cí*.  
**Motorbike** (Ha: *bābūr*) [< Arabic bābur, wābur] Zr: *bà:bār*.  
**Motorbike** (Ha: *māshīn*) [< English machine] Zr: *mà:fin*.  
**Movement** (Ha: *mōtsā*) Sg: *mo:tsá*; Zđ: *mo:sí*.  
**Mud** (Ha: *tābō*) Ch: *tābó*.  
**Muezzin** (Ha: *lādān*) [< Arabic 'al-'āḍan] Zr: *là:dā:n*.  
**Muslim prayer** (Ha: *sallā*) [< Arabic ṣalāh] Zr: *sálla*; Zđ: *sálla*; Pol: *sálla*.  
**Nail (metal)** (Ha: *ku:sā*) Zr: *kú:sa*.  
**Near** (Ha: *kusa*) Zda: *kúsá*.  
**Necessary (It is ~; Pctl)** (Ha: *dōlē*) [< Arabic dawla] Zr: *dó:lé*.  
**Necessary (it is ~; Pctl)** (Ha: *gāra*) Zr: *gá:rá*.  
**Need** (Ha: *būkātai*) Zr: *búka:táy*.  
**Needle, Injection** (Ha: *àllūrā*) [< Arabic 'al-'ibra] Zr: *àllú:ra*; Zr.M: *alibra*; Zr.K: *àlú:ra*; Sg: *àllú:rà*; Zđ: *allú:ra*; Dr: *allú:rá*; Bl: *'alípra*; Gj: *aliblá*; Pel: *alíbra*; Zda: *allú:ra*.  
**Neem** (Ha: *dōgon yārō*) Zr: *do:gon yá:ro*.  
**Neg** (Pctl) (Ha: *bā*) Zr: *bá*.  
**Neg** (Pctl) (Ha: *bābū*) Zr: *ba:bù*.  
**Neg** (Pctl) (Ha: *bā*) Zr: *bá*.  
**Neg** injunction (Pctl) (Ha: *kadū*) Zr: *kádā*; Zđ: *káda*; Pol: *káda*.  
**Neighbour** (Ha: *makwābcī*) Zr: *mákobfi*.  
**Next world** (Ha: *lāhīrā*) [< Arabic 'al-āhira] Zđ: *lá:híra*.  
**North** (Ha: *arēwā*) Zr.M: *áre:wá*; Zđ: *áre:wa*; Pol: *áre:wá*; Dr: *áre:wá*; Ch: *árè:wá*; Gj: *áre:wa*; Pel: *áre:wá*; Zda: *áre:wá*.  
**Now** (Ha: *yānzū*) Zr.K: *yānzú*.  
**Now** (Ha: *yāu*) Zr.K: *yá:w*.  
**O'clock** (Ha: *karfē*) Zr: *kárfé*.  
**Of all kinds** (Ha: *kashī-kashī*) Zr: *káfe káfe*.  
**Oil-palm tree** (Ha: *kwākwā*) [< Twi, Ashanti, Fan papā] Zđ: *kwá:kwa*; Zda: *kwá:kwa*.  
**Old woman** (Ha: *gyātumā*) Zđ: *gya:támá*.  
**Onion** (Ha: *àlbāsā*) [< Arabic 'al-baṣal] Zr: *àlbása*; Zr.M: *albása*; Zr.K: *àlbísa*; Sg: *àlbàsá*; Zđ: *albása*; Pol: *àlbása*; Dr: *albúsá*; Bl: *'àlbàsá*; Ch: *àlbàsá*; Gj: *albà:sá*; Pel: *àlbása*.  
**Only** (Pctl) (Ha: *kadūi*) Zr: *kadé*; Zr.M: *kadūya*.  
**Only** Pctl) (Ha: *kawāy*) Zr: *káwây*; Zđ: *káway*; Gj: *káwey*; Pel: *káway*.  
**Open space** (Ha: *fitī*) Zđ: *pí:lí*.

**Or else** (Ha: *kō kùwā*) Zr: *kó:kùwá*.  
**Orphan** (Ha: *mārāyā*) Sg: *mará:ja*; Dr: *mará:yá*; Pel: *márá:ya*; Zda: *mará:ya*.  
**Ostrich** (Ha: *jìminā*) Zr: *zìmina*; Zr.M: *ɕìminà*; Zr.K: *zìmina*; Sg: *ɕìminà*; Zđ: *ɕì: míná*; Bl: *ɕìmina*; Gj: *zìmnà*; Pel: *zìminá*; Zda: *ɕìmina*.  
**Ouch!** (Ha: *wáyyō*) Zr: *wáyyō*.  
**Outcry, Law suit, case taken to court** (Ha: *kārā*) Zr: *ka:ra*.  
**Outer wall** (Ha: *katangā*) Dr: *kátángá*; Ch: *kátángá*; Zda: *katángá*.  
**Paganism** (Ha: *tsāfī*) Zr: *sá:fī*.  
**Palm oil** (Ha: *mān jā*) Zr: *mánɕa*; Zr.M: *mánɕa* Sg: *mánɕa*; Zđ: *mánɕa*; Pol: *mán ɕá*; Dr: *mánɕá*; Pel: *mān ɕa*; Zda: *mánɕa*.  
**Palm sp.** (Ha: *kwārā*) Zda: *kwá:ra*.  
**Pancakes** (Ha: *māsā*) Dr: *má:sá*; Bl: *má:sa*; Gj: *má:sá*.  
**Papaya** (Ha: *kābūs*) Zr.M: *kabú:s*; Zr.K: *kabú:s*.  
**Paradise** (Ha: *àljannā*) [*< Arabic 'al-ğanna*] Zđ: *alɕánna*.  
**Parrot** (Ha: *àku*) [*< Kanuri àkú*] Zr: *akú*; Zr.M: *àkú*; Zđ: *akú*; Pol: *àkú*; Bl: *'àkú*; Ch: *àkú*; Pel: *àku*; Zda: *akú*.  
**Part** (Ha: *kashī*) Zr: *ká:fī*.  
**Pass by** (Ha: *wucē*) Dr: *wú:fe*.  
**Pass judgement** (Ha: *hukuncī*) [*< Arabic hukm*] Zđ: *húkúnfī*.  
**Pastor** (Ha: *fastō*) [*< English pastor*] Zr: *pásto*; Zđ: *pásto*.  
**Patience** (Ha: *hākuri*) Zr: *hākuri*.  
**Pay** (Ha: *biyā*) Zr.M: *byā*.  
**Peace treaty** (Ha: *sulhū*) [*< Arabic ṣulḥ*] Zr: *súlfu*.  
**Peddling** (Ha: *tàllà*) [*< Arabic dalla(la)*] Zr: *tàllè*.  
**People** (Ha: *jāma'ā*) [*< Arabic ġamā'a*] Zđ: *ɕámá'a*.  
**Pepper** (Ha: *bār̀kòndò*) (Niger-Congo & Nilo-Saharan) Bl: *bàrkùnà*; Gj: *bàlkùnò*; Pel: *gwàlkènò*; Zda: *barkono*.  
**Pepper** (Ha: *kimbā*) Zda: *kimbá*.  
**Petrol lamp** (Ha: *fitilā*) [*< Arabic fatīla*] Zr: *fitíla*; Zr.M: *pítilla* Pol: *pitóla*; Dr: *pitillá*; Bl: *pítla*; Ch: *fitíllà*; Gj: *pitilá*; Pel: *pitíla*; Zda: *fitíla*.  
**Photograph** (Ha: *hōtō*) [*< English photo*] Zr: *fo:tó*.  
**Pig** (Ha: *àládè*) [*< Yoruba eḷeḷe*] Zr: *àle:dè*; Zr.M: *àlé:dè*; Zr.K: *àléde*; Sg: *àládé*; Zk: *àládè*; Zđ: *aláde*; Pol: *aládè*; Dr: *aláde*; Bl: *'aládè*; Ch: *àléde*; Gj: *aladè*; Pel: *aladè*; Zda: *aláde*.

**Pig of traditional local iron** (Ha: *būyā*) Zr: *bú:ya*.  
**Pigeon** (Ha: *bārū*) Zr.M: *bàrú*; Zr.K: *bàrú*; Zda: *barú*.  
**Pigeon** (Ha: *tàttabārā*) Zr: *kàttabàra*; Sg: *tàttabàrá*; Zđ: *tattábará*; Pol: *tàttabàrá*; Dr: *tattábará*; Bl: *tàttabàrá*; Ch: *tàttabàrá*.  
**Pile up** (Ha: *jìbgā*) Zr.K: *ɕìbgá*.  
**Place** (Ha: *dōrā*) Gj: *dō:rá*; Zda: *dō:rá*.  
**Plan** (Ha: *dābārā*) [*< Arabic dubāra*] Zr: *dābá:ra*; Pol: *dābá:ra*; Zda: *dabá:ra*.  
**Pleasure** (Ha: *dādī*) Zđ: *da:dī*.  
**Poison** (Ha: *gubā*) Sg: *gúba*; Zđ: *gúba*; Pol: *gúba*; Ch: *gúbè*; Pel: *gùbà*; Zda: *guba*.  
**Police officer (D.P.O.)** (Ha: *dīfī'ō*) [*< English D.P.O.*] Zr: *dì: pí: o*.  
**Politics** (Ha: *siyāsā*) [*< Arabic siyāsa*] Zr: *sèyá:sa*.  
**Poor** (Ha: *matsiyācī*) Dr: *másiyá:fī*.  
**Poor man** (Ha: *talākà*) [*< Kanuri talaga < Arabic (?) ta'alluq*] Bl: *tálka*; Zda: *tálaka*.  
**Potash** (Ha: *kanwā*) Zr: *kaŋwa*; Zr.M: *kanwa*; Zđ: *káywá*; Pol: *kaŋwa*; Dr: *káywá*; Bl: *kanwa*; Ch: *kánwá*; Gj: *kánwá*; Pel: *káywá*; Zda: *kánwá*.  
**Pound** (Ha: *surfē*) Zr.M: *surfī*.  
**Pounded yam** (Ha: *sàkwārā*) Zđ: *sakwará*.  
**Pour out in drops** (Ha: *dīgā*) Zr: *dígá*.  
**Power** (Ha: *mulkī*) [*< Arabic mulk*] Zr: *múlki*; Zđ: *múlki*; Zda: *múlki*.  
**Prayer** (Ha: *aduwā*) [*< Arabic ad-du'a*] Zr: *ádúwa*; Sg: *ádúwa*; Zda: *adú'a*.  
**Prepare, get ready** (Ha: *shiryā*) Zr: *firyá*; Zđ: *firi*.  
**Press** (Ha: *dannā*) Zr: *danná*; Zk: *dárnà*; Zda: *danné*.  
**Prison** (Ha: *fúrsúnà*) [*< English prisoner*] Zr: *púrsúnà*; Zđ: *púrsúna*; Gj: *púrsúnà*.  
**Prison** (Ha: *jārum*) [*< English guard-room*] Zr.M: *ɕà:rám*.  
**Profit** (Ha: *rībā*) [*< Arabic ribḥ*] Zr: *rí:bà*; Zđ: *rí:ba*; Pol: *rí:bà*; Dr: *rí:bá*; Ch: *rí:bà*; Gj: *rí:bà*; Pel: *rí:bà*.  
**Promise** (Ha: *àlkawārī*) [*< Arabic 'al-qawl*] Zr: *àlkáwalí*; Zđ: *alkáwarí*.  
**Prophet** (Ha: *ànnabī*) [*< Arabic 'an-nabīy*] Zđ: *annábi*.  
**Prostitute** (Ha: *kārūwā*) [*< Kanuri kárúá < Arabic 'āhira*] Zđ: *ká:rúwa*; Dr: *ká:ruwá*; Ch: *ká:rúwà*; Pel: *ká:ruwá*; Zda: *ká:ruwa*.  
**Protect** (Ha: *tsarē*) Sg: *tsare*; Bl: *saré*; Ch: *tárè*; Zda: *sará*.  
**Protection** (Ha: *magādā*) Zr: *maga:da*.  
**Pull** (Ha: *ja:*) Zr.M: *ɕa:*; Zr.K: *ja:*.

**Push** (Ha: *tūrā*) Zr: *tu:rá*; Zr.M: *tu:rá* Zr.K: *tu:rá*; Zda: *tú:rá*.  
**Put, cause** (Ha: *sā*) Zđ: *sa*.  
**Quickly** (Ha: *maza*) Zđ: *mázá*.  
**Radio** (Ha: *řēdiyò*) [*< English radio*] Zr: *rè:diyo*.  
**Ram** (Cf. Ha. *karò*) Zr: *káro*; Zr.K: *káro*.  
**Read** (Ha: *karāntā*) [*< Kanuri kèràtò < Arabic qara'a*] Zk: *kàrà:tú*; Zđ: *kárantá*; Pol: *kàrà:tú*; Dr: *karantá*.; Gj: *karántá*; Pel: *káránta*.  
**Real, really** (Ha: *asālī*) [*< Arabic*] Zr: *asali*; Zda: *ásólí*.  
**Really** (Ha: *ainihī*) [*< Arabic 'ayni-hi*] Zr: *anihí*.  
**Reason, cause** (Ha: *dālītī*) [*< Arabic dalīl*] Zr: *dāl:li*.  
**Red-flanked duiker** (Ha: *gādā*) Zr: *gàda*; Zr.M: *gàda*; Zr.K: *gáda*.  
**Reign, power** (Ha: *ikò*) Sg: *i:kú*; Zđ: *i:ko*.  
**Relatives, clan** (Ha: *dangī*) Zr: *dóngi*; Zr.M: *dàngi*; Zr.K: *dìngi*; Pol: *dāngi*; Zda: *dángá*.  
**Remains** (Ha: *saurā*) Zr: *sawra*; Dr: *sawrá*.; Ch: *sàwrá*; Zda: *sawra*.  
**Remember** (Ha: *tunā*) Zr: *tuná*; Zr.K: *tuná*; Zk: *túnà*; Zđ: *túna*; Ch: *túnè*; Gj: *tuná*; Zda: *túní*.  
**Respect, Politeness** (Ha: *ladābī*) [*< Arabic 'al-'adab*] Gj: *ladabí*.  
**Rest** (Ha: *hūtā*) Zr.M: *pufī* Zr.K: *pu:fi*.  
**Righ now** (Ha: *nan dà nan*) Zđ: *nán-da-nan*.  
**Ring** (Ha: *zōbbē*) [*< Tamasheq*] Zr: *zobbè*; Zr.M: *zo:bè* Zr.K: *zó:be*; Sg: *zóbbè*; Zđ: *zó:be*; Dr: *zóbbe*.; Ch: *zóbbè*; Gj: *zobbè*; Pel: *zòbbè*; Zda: *zó:be*.  
**Roof** (Ha: *rufī*) Pol: *rúpi*.  
**Rosary** (Ha: *tāsbī*) [*< Arabic tasbīh*] Zđ: *tasbí*.  
**Rubber** (Ha: *dankò*) [*< Kanuri danko*] Zr.K: *danko*; Ch: *dánkò*; Gj: *danko*.  
**Ruins of compound** (Ha: *kufai*) Dr: *kúfá.yí*.; Zda: *kúféy*.  
**Ruminating** (Ha: *tùkā*) Zđ: *táká*; Pol: *táká*; Zda: *təka*.  
**Sack** (Ha: *bùhū*) Zr: *bùhú*.  
**Sacrifice** (Ha: *yāfē*) Gj: *ya:pe:-ti*.  
**Saddle** (Ha: *siřā*) [*< Kanuri sərdə < Arabic sarj*] Sg: *sərdí*; Zđ: *sárdi*.  
**Saliva** (Ha: *yau*) Zr.M: *ya:wú*.  
**Saturday** (Ha: *ásabār*) [*< Arabic 'as-sabt*] Dr: *asábarí*; Gj: *asábàr*.  
**Saw** (Ha: *zārto*) [*< Kanuri darto < Arabic*] Zr: *zárto*; Zr.M: *zárto* Zr.K: *zárto*; Zđ: *zárto*; Pol: *zarto*; Zda: *zárto*.  
**Scatter** (Ha: *wātsā*) Gj: *wa:sá*.  
**School** (Ha: *makařantā*) [*< Arabic qara'a*] Zr: *makaranta*; Zđ: *mákárántá*.

**Secret** (Ha: *āsīřī*) [*< Arabic 'as-sirriy*] Zr: *ās:ri*.  
**Secretary of the local government** (Ha: *sakatarē*) [*< English secretary*] Zr: *sakatáre*.  
**Sergeant** (Ha: *sājā*) [*< English sergeant*] Pel: *sá:džèn*.  
**Shadow** (Ha: *kūr wā*) Zr: *kūr wá*; Pel: *kurwá*.  
**Shawl (women's ~)** (Ha: *gyàlè*) [*< Yoruba gele*] Zr: *gèlè*.  
**Shed** (Ha: *rùm fā*) Ch: *rìmpá*; Gj: *rimpa*.  
**Shield** (Ha: *gàrk uwā*) Sg: *gàrk wá*; Ch: *gàrkúwá*.  
**Shilling, in old Nigerian currency** (Ha: *sulē*) [*< English shilling*] Zr: *súle*.  
**Shinbone** (Ha: *sangalī*) Zr.M: *fyendari* Zr.K: *řandari*.  
**Shirt** (Ha: *řam fā*) [*< English jumper*] Zr: *řám pa*; Sg: *řám pà*.  
**Shivering** (Ha: *řarī*) Zr.K: *řari*; Zda: *řarí*.  
**Shoes** (Ha: *tākālmī*) Sg: *tà:kà:lmí*; Pol: *tà:kālmí*.  
**Show** (Ha: *nūnā*) Dr: *nu:ná*.; Bl: *nu:ná*; Gj: *nu:né*.  
**Shrew-mouse** (Ha: *řābā*) Sg: *řa:ba*; Gj: *řa:ba*; Pel: *řá:bá*.  
**Sickle** (Ha: *lāujē*) Zđ: *lawdže*; Pol: *lāwdžé*; Dr: *lawdži*; Ch: *lāwdžé*.  
**Side** (Ha: *gēfē*) Dr: *gē:fe*.  
**Sieve, filter** (Ha: *řāriyā*) Zr: *ra:raya*; Zr.M: *la:riya* Zr.K: *ra:riya*; Zđ: *rá:riyá*; Dr: *rá:riyá*.; Bl: *rá:riyá*; Ch: *rá:riyá*; Gj: *rá:ryá*; Pel: *lá:riyá*.  
**Silk cotton-tree** (Ha: *řīmī*) Pel: *ri:mí*.  
**Silver** (Ha: *ázūr fā*) [*< Tamasheq āzřaf < Arabic 'ař-řarif*] Zr.M: *ázūr fá*; Zr.K: *ázūr fá*; Sg: *ázūr pà*; Zđ: *ázūr fá*; Pol: *ázūr pà*; Bl: *'ázūr fá*; Gj: *ázūr pà*; Pel: *ázūr pà*; Zda: *ázūr fá*.  
**Singlet** (Ha: *'yař cikī*) Zr: *erřiki*.  
**Skin (untanned ~)** (Ha: *būzū*) Zđ: *bú:zú*.  
**Slap** (Ha: *mārā*) Zr: *ma:rá*.  
**Slap on the face** (Ha: *mārī*) Zr: *má:ri*.  
**Slap, snap** (Ha: *tas*) Zr: *tás*.  
**Slave** (Ha: *bāwā*) Dr: *bá:wá*.  
**Slippers** (Ha: *fādē*) Zr.K: *pádí*; Zda: *páde*.  
**Slippers** (Ha: *síl fā*) [*< English slippers*] Zr.M: *síl pa* Sg: *síl pàs*; Dr: *síl pa*; Gj: *síl pà*; Pel: *síl pas*.  
**Slope** (Cf. Ha. *gāngarā*) Pel: *súnkúyi*.  
**Smoke** (Ha: *hayākī*) Zr.M: *yaka.yi*.  
**Snail** (Ha: *kōdī (dōdōn ~)*) Zr: *kóde*; Zr.M: *kó:dí*; Zr.K: *kó:dí*; Zđ: *kó:dí*; Zda: *kó:dí*.  
**Snare** (Ha: *ashūtā*) Sg: *āfū:ta*; Zđ: *ífú:tē*; Pol: *āfū:tà*.

**Snare** (Ha: *zàrgē*) Ch: *zàrgá*; Gj: *zàrgáw*; Pel: *zàrgáw*.

**Sneezing** (Ha: *atishāwā*) Bl: *'attífo*; Gj: *áttijā*; Pel: *áttāfā*.

**Soap** (Ha: *sābulū*) [*< Kanuri savəl < Arabic ṣābun*] Zr: *sà:fúlu*; Zr.M: *sa:púlu* Zr.K: *sà:púlu*; Pol: *sà:búlu*; Dr: *sá:búlu*; Bl: *sà:búlu*; Ch: *sà:púlú*; Pel: *sà:búlú*; Zda: *sa:búlu*.

**Soldiers** (Ha: *sōjōjī*) Zr: *so:ḍo:ḍji*; Sg: *so:já*.

**Sorcerer** (Ha: *māyē*) Zda: *má:ye*.

**Sorcery** (Ha: *māitā*) Zda: *mēyta*.

**South** (Ha: *kudū*) Zr.M: *kúdù* Zđ: *kúdu*; Pol: *kúdù*; Dr: *kúdu*; Ch: *kúdù*; Gj: *kúdù*; Pel: *kúdù*; Zda: *kúdu*.

**Space (open ~)** (Ha: *sararī*) Gj: *sárarí*.

**Speech** (Ha: *jāwābī*) [*< Arabic ḡawāb*] Zđ: *ḡawá:bi*.

**Spice** (Ha: *yājī*) Sg: *já:ḍji*; Dr: *yá:ḍji*.

**Spider** (Ha: *gizōgizō*) Ch: *gízōgízō*.

**Spin (coton)** (Ha: *kadā*) Gj: *kadā*; Pel: *káda*.

**Spinach sp.** (Ha: *alēfū*) Dr: *aléyefó*.

**Spinning stick** (Ha: *mazarī*) Zr: *mazəri*; Zr.M: *mázəri* Zr.K: *mazari*; Sg: *mazari*; Zđ: *mázáré*; Bl: *mázárí*; Pel: *mázarí*.

**Spite** (Ha: *rainī*) Zr: *ré:ni*.

**Squeeze** (Ha: *mātsā*) Zr: *ma:tsá*; Zđ: *mása*; Ch: *má:tsè*.

**Star** (Ha: *tāurārō*) Ch: *tāwrá:rō*.

**Station** (Ha: *tashā*) [*< English station*] Zr: *táfa*.

**Stick (walking ~)** (Ha: *sāndā*) Zda: *sandá*.

**Stir** (Ha: *burgā*) Zr: *burgá*.

**Stirring stick** (Ha: *mūciyā*) Ch: *mú:cyá*.

**Stirrup** (Ha: *kaimī*) Zđ: *káymí*.

**Stirrup** (Ha: *likkāfā*) [*< Kanuri elakef < Arabic ar-rikāb*] Zđ: *liḡká:hu*.

**Stone sp.** (Ha: *fā*) Gj: *pá*.

**Story** (Ha: *lābārī*) [*< Arabic 'al + aḡbār*] Zr: *lā:bá:ri*; Zđ: *la:bá:ri*.

**Stove** (Ha: *rīshō*) [*< French réchaud*] Zr: *rīfō*.

**Straight on** (Ha: *santā*) [*< English center*] Zđ: *sánta*; Zda: *sánta*.

**Straighten** (Ha: *mīkē*) Zr: *mi:ké*.

**Straw hat** (Ha: *mālāfā*) Sg: *mālápá*; Zđ: *malafá*; Zda: *marufa*.

**Strength** (Ha: *karfī*) Zr: *karfi*; Zk: *kárpí*; Pol: *kárpí*; Zda: *karfí*.

**Strive** (Ha: *dāgē*) Zr: *da:gé*.

**Such and Such** (Ha: *kāzā*) [*< Arabic kitā*] Zđ: *kazá*.

**Suffering** (Ha: *wāhalā*) Zr: *wāhála*; Zk: *wāhálá*; Pel: *wahála*; Zda: *wahala*.

**Sugar cane** (Ha: *rākē*) [*< Yoruba ireke*] Zr: *ràke*; Zr.M: *rikí* Zr.K: *ràké*; Sg: *ràké*; Zđ: *raké*; Pol: *ràké*.

**Sugar-cane cakes** (Ha: *màzàrkwailā*) Zr: *bàzàrkó:la*.

**Sunday** (Ha: *lādī*) [*< Arabic 'al-'aḡad*] Zr: *lá:dì*; Pol: *lā:dì*; Dr: *lahádi*.

**Surprise** (Ha: *māmākī*) Zr: *mà:má:ki*; Zr.K: *ma:má:ki*; Dr: *má:má:ki*; Gj: *ma:ma:kí*; Pel: *ma:má:ki*; Zda: *ma:má:ki*.

**Swear** (Ha: *rantsē*) Zr: *rantséy*; Zr.M: *ranfī* Zr.K: *ranfí*; Zđ: *ránse*; Pol: *rantse*; Gj: *ransé*; Pel: *ránse*; Zda: *ranse*.

**Sweet potato** (Ha: *dānkālī*) Zđ: *danḡkáli*; Pel: *dānkálé*; Zda: *danḡkáli*.

**Sword** (Ha: *takōbī*) [*< Tamasheq takoba*] Zr: *takobí*; Zr.M: *táko:bí* Pol: *táko:pí*.

**Sword, machete** (Ha: *addā*) [*< Yoruba ada*] Zr: *adda*; Zr.K: *addá*; Sg: *addā*; Zđ: *addá*; Pol: *addá*; Dr: *addá*; Pel: *addá*; Zda: *adda*.

**Taboo** (Ha: *harām*) [*< Arabic ḡarām*] Zđ: *harām*.

**Tailor** (Ha: *tēlā*) [*< English tailor*] Zr: *té:la*.

**Take by force** (Ha: *kwācē*) Zda: *kwá:fé*.

**Tarred road** (Ha: *kwāltā*) [*< English coaltar*] Zr: *kwāltā*.

**Tasteless** (Ha: *lāmī*) Zr: *la:mi*.

**Taxes** (Ha: *gandū*) Zr: *gandu*.

**Taxes** (Ha: *harājī*) [*< Arabic xarāj*] Zđ: *hará:ḍji*.

**Teacher** (Ha: *mālāmī*) [*< Arabic mu'allim*] Zr: *má:lami*; Zr.M: *má:lāmí*.

**Terror** (Ha: *rāzanā*) Pel: *rà:zána*.

**Thank** (Ha: *gōdē*) Zr: *go:dé*; Zđ: *go:díyá*; Dr: *gò:ro*; Gj: *gò:dè*; Pel: *gò:dé*; Zda: *go:dé*.

**That is** (Ha: *wātō*) Zr: *wà:tò*; Gj: *wa:to*.

**Theatre** (Ha: *kwaikwayō*) Zr: *koykoyo*.

**Then, only** (Ha: *sai*) [*< Arabic siyā*] Zr: *sé*; Zđ: *sáy*.

**There is** (Ha: *àkwai*) Zr: *àkóy*.

**They say...** (evidential *Ptcl*) (Ha: *wai*) Zr: *wáy*; Zđ: *wáy*; Pel: *wé*.

**Think** (Ha: *tsāmmānī*) Zđ: *sammá:ni*.

**Thirty** (Ha: *tālātin*) [*< Arabic ṭalāṭīn*] Zr: *tàlā:tín*.

**This year (adv)** (Ha: *bāni*) Zr.M: *bāní*.

**Thought** (Ha: *tūnānī*) Zr: *tūnā:ni*; Zr.M: *tūnā:ni* Zr.K: *túná:ni*; Zk: *tūnā:ní*; Ch: *tēnā:ní*.

**Thousand** (Ha: *dubū*) [*< Kanuri dāvu*] Zr: *dubu*; Zđ: *dúbú*; Zda: *dúbú*.

**Thread (cobbler' ~)** (Ha: *kīrtānī*) Zr: *kēltá:ni*.

**Thread (cobbler's ~)** (Ha: *lūlō*) [*< English nylon*] Zr: *lì:lo*.

**Throat, windpipe** (Ha: *mākōḡwārō*) Sg: *mākó:gòró*; Lr: *makóḡworó*.

**Thunder** (Ha: *tsāwā*) Zda: *sá:wá*.  
**Thursday** (Ha: *Ālḥamīs*) [< Arabic 'al-ḥamīs] Pol: *àlàmi:s*; Dr: *alhamīs*.  
**Tick** (Ha: *kaskā*) Ch: *káskà*.  
**Time** (Ha: *lōkàcī*) [< Kanuri loktu < Arabic 'al-waqt] Zr: *lō:kafī*; Zr.M: *lō:kafī* Zr.K: *lō:kafī*; Zđ: *lō:kafī*; Pol: *lō:kafī*; Dr: *lō:kafī*; Ch: *lō:kàci*; Gj: *lō:káfī*; Pel: *lō:kafī*; Zda: *lō:kafī*.  
**Time** (Ha: *zāmānī*) [< Arabic zamān] Zr: *zà:má:ni*; Zđ: *zá:maní*.  
**Tiredness** (Ha: *gājīyā*) Zr: *gàđziya*.  
**Tiredness** (Ha: *rāi, rāyī*) Zr.M: *ra:yí* Gj: *rāy*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *ciřòmà*) [< Kanuri ciroma] Zr: *řórmà*; Gj: *řúlá.ma*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *madādī*) Zr: *mádadí*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *sarkin dūstē*) Zr: *sarkin dú:tsey*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *sarkin fādà*) Zđ: *sárink pá:da*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *sarkin yāki*) Zđ: *sárink-yá:ki*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *sarkin yārā*) Gj: *sálki yá:la*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *tafidà*) Zr: *tapídà*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *tùràkī*) Gj: *tura:ki*.  
**Title sp.** (Ha: *wàkīlī*) [< Arabic wakīl] Zr: *wàkí:li*; Gj: *woki:li*.  
**Toad, frog** (Ha: *kwàdō*) Ch: *kwà:dó*.  
**Tobacco** (Ha: *tābā*) [< Yoruba taba < Portugese tabaco] Zr: *tá:ba*; Zr.M: *ta:bá* Pol: *tá:ba*; Dr: *tá:ba*; Bl: *tá:bə*; Ch: *tá:bà*; Pel: *tá:ba*; Zda: *tá:ba*.  
**Tomato** (Ha: *tùmātir*) [< English tomato] Pol: *tumá:tār*; Ch: *təmá:tār*; Zda: *təmá:tir*.  
**TOP** (Ha: *kwā*) Zr: *kwà:*; Zđ: *kuwa*.  
**Topic of conversation, matter** (Ha: *zàncē*) Zr: *zànfē*.  
**Towards** (Ha: *zuwā*) Zr: *zúwa*; Zđ: *zúwa*.  
**Town** (Ha: *gārī*) Zr: *gàri*; Zđ: *garí*.  
**Trade** (Ha: *cinikī*) Zđ: *řinikí*; Pol: *řinikí*; Dr: *řinikí*.  
**Trade** (Ha: *kāsuwancī*) [< Kanuri kāsúgù < Arabic 'as-sūq] Zr: *ka:suwánři*; Zr.K: *kà:suwá*.  
**Trade** (Ha: *sàna'ā*) [< Arabic šan'a] Zr: *sàná:*; Zđ: *saná'a*; Gj: *sana'a*.  
**Traditional title** (Ha: *māđākī*) Zr: *máda:ki*; Gj: *máda:ki*.  
**Travel** (Ha: *tāfiyā*) Zđ: *tafiya*; Dr: *tapíyá:*; Ch: *tà:řé*.  
**Tree sp.** (Ha: *kiryā*) Zr: *kírya*; Zr.M: *kírya*; Ch: *kíryà:*; Pel: *kírya*; Zda: *kírya*.  
**Tree sp.** (Ha: *shiwākā*) Zda: *řiwa:ka*.  
**Tree sp.** (Ha: *tūmfāfiyā*) Pel: *tūmfá:fiyá:*.  
**Tribal marks on cheek, fanning from the corner of the mouth** (Ha: *zàrē*) [< Tamasheq āžār] Zr: *zàri*; Zr.M: *zìri* Zr.K: *zàri*; Sg: *zàrē*; Zđ: *zaré*; Gj: *zàrē*; Pel: *zàrē*.

**Tribe** (Ha: *kābīlā*) Zđ: *kabí:la*.  
**Trousers** (Ha: *wāndō*) [< Arabic bantalun] Zr: *wāndó*; Zr.K: *wāndo*; Sg: *wāndó*; Zđ: *wandó*; Pol: *wāndo*; Dr: *wandó:*; Pel: *wandó*.  
**Trust** (Ha: *āmānā*) [< Arabic 'amāna] Pel: *amá:na*.  
**Truth** (Ha: *gaskiyā*) Zr: *gáskiyá:*; Zr.M: *gàskyá*; Zk: *gàskiyá*; Zđ: *gaskiyá*; Zda: *gáskiyá*.  
**Tse-tse fly** (Ha: *tsandō (kudān ~)*) Gj: *sándō*; Pel: *sándo*.  
**Tuesday** (Ha: *tālātā*) [< Arabic talāṭā'] Pol: *talá:ta*; Dr: *talá:tá:*; Gj: *tala:tá*.  
**Turban** (Ha: *rawānī*) Zr: *ráwoní*; Zr.M: *ráwaní* Zr.K: *ráwaní*; Sg: *ràwāni*; Zđ: *ráwaní*; Pol: *ráwaní*; Pel: *ráwaní*; Zda: *ráwaní:*.  
**Turkey** (Ha: *tàlotàlo*) [< Nupe, Yoruba tolotolo] Zr: *tòlótóló*; Zr.M: *toló:toló* Zr.K: *tóló:toló:*; Sg: *tàlótàlò*; Zk: *tòlólóló*; Zđ: *tolótóló*; Pol: *tolótóló*; Dr: *tolótóló:*; Bl: *tàlótàlò*; Ch: *tòlótòlò*; Gj: *tólótóló*; Pel: *tolótóló*; Zda: *toló:toló:*.  
**Turn round** (Ha: *jūyā*) Zr: *đju:yá*; Zda: *đju:yé*.  
**Type, Colour** (Ha: *kalā*) [< English colour] Zr: *kála*.  
**Ululations of joy done by women** (Ha: *gūdā*) Zr: *gu:dá*; Zr.M: *gù:dā*; Pel: *gù:dá*.  
**Understand** (Ha: *gānē*) Zr: *ga:né*; Zđ: *gá:ne*.  
**Unit of one hundred heads in a flock of cattle** (Ha: *garkē*) Zr: *gárke*.  
**Unit, Complete** (Ha: *gūdā*) ( Niger-Congo (Songhay)) Zr: *gùdá*; Zda: *gù:dá:*.  
**Until** (Ha: *har*) [< Arabic ḥattā] Zr: *hár*; Zđ: *har*.  
**Used for emphasis** (Ha: *kām*) Zr: *kām*; Zđ: *kam*.  
**Used to express disapproval, doubt or surprise** (Ha: *kāi*) Zr: *kāy*.  
**Usefulness** (Ha: *āmfānī*) [< Arabic anfa'a + ni] Zđ: *ampa:ní*; Pel: *āmpà:ní*.  
**Valley** (Ha: *kwārī*) Pol: *kwári*; Ch: *kwàri*; Zda: *kwári:*.  
**Vehicle gen**] (Ha: *řirgī*) Zr: *řirgi*; Zr.M: *zìrgi* Zr.K: *řirgi*; Sg: *đřirgi*; Zđ: *đřirgi*; Pol: *đřirgi*; Dr: *đřirgi:*; Ch: *đřirgí*; Gj: *đřirgi*.  
**Vein, artery, nerve** (Ha: *řřiyā*) Sg: *đři:đřija*; Ch: *đři:đřiyá*.  
**Very** (Ha: *kalau*) Zr: *káláw*.  
**Very close** (Ha: *dáp*) Zr: *dáp*.  
**Very much, truly** (Ha: *ainūn*) [< Arabic 'ayni-hi] Zr: *áyunn*.  
**Victory** (Ha: *nasarā*) [< Arabic nařr] Zr: *nasára*.



**Village** (Ha: *kauyè*) Zr: *kâwye*; Pol: *káwye*; Zda: *káwye*.  
**Village chief** (Ha: *màì ànguawā*) Zr: *myà:ngwá*.  
**Viper** (Ha: *jìgūrī*) Zr: *ɖìgu:ri*.  
**Vizier** (Ha: *wàzīrī*) [*< Arabic wazīr*] Zr: *wàzī:ri*; Zđ: *wazī:ri*.  
**Vulture** (Ha: *ùngùlū*) Sg: *àngulu*; Ch: *àngùlù*.  
**Wait** (Ha: *dàkatā*) Zda: *da:káté*.  
**Wall** (Ha: *bangō*) Zda: *bóngó*.  
**War** (Ha: *yākī*) Zđ: *yá:ki*.  
**Ward, village** (Ha: *ànguwā, ùnguwā*) Zr.M: *angwa*.  
**Warm up** (Ha: *dumā*) Dr: *dumá:*; Zda: *dumí*.  
**Warp thread** (Ha: *abāwā*) Zđ: *ába:wá*.  
**Watch** (Ha: *àgōgo*) [*< Yoruba agogo*] Zr: *àgo:go*.  
**Watch guard** (Ha: *gādī*) [*< English guard*] Zr: *gá:di*.  
**Watermelon** (Ha: *kankanā*) Zr.M: *kankana*; Sg: *kaṅkana*; Zđ: *káṅkáná*; Dr: *káṅkáná*; Ch: *káṅkáná*; Pel: *káṅkána*.  
**Weapon** (Ha: *makāmī*) Zr.K: *maka:mi*; Sg: *màkà:mì*; Zđ: *máká:mí*; Ch: *máká:mí*; Zda: *maka:mi*.  
**Wednesday** (Ha: *làràbā*) Pol: *làrbá*; Dr: *lá:rabá:*; Gj: *larbà*.  
**Week** (Ha: *sāfī*) [*< English Saturday*] Zr: *sa:ti*.  
**Welcome** (Ha: *marābā*) [*< Arabic marḥab-*] Zđ: *má:ra:bá*.  
**Well** (Ha: *rījīyā*) Zr: *rí:ɖjiya*; Zr.M: *rí:ɖjiyá* Zr.K: *rí:ɖjiya*; Zđ: *rí:ɖjiyá*; Dr: *rí:ɖjiyá:*; Ch: *rí:ɖjiyá*; Zda: *rí:ɖjiyá:*.  
**Well...** (Ptcl) (Ha: *tō*) Zđ: *to:*.  
**West** (Ha: *yamma*) Dr: *yámmá:*; Ch: *yámmá*; Gj: *yèmmê*; Pel: *yámmá*; Zda: *yámma:*.  
**Western cob, Puku** (Ha: *mārīrī*) Zr: *mà:ri:ri*; Zđ: *má:riyá:*; Zda: *ma:ri:ri:*.

## Direct loans from English

**Biscuit** (Ha: *biskât*) [*< English biscuit*] Zr: *baski:t*.  
**Borehole** (Cf. Ha: *rījīyā būrṣātsē*) [*< English bore-hole*] Zr: *bó:fô:l*.  
**Cashew tree** (Cf. Ha: *kanjū*) [*< English cashew*] Zr: *kà:fū:*; Zr.M: *ka:fū:*; Zr.K: *kà:fyū:*; Bl: *kàfī:*; Ch: *kà:fyū:*; Gj: *ka:fū:*; Pel: *kà:fū:*.  
**Clay blocks for building** (Ha: *bùlô*) [*< English block*] Zr: *bàlô:k*; Sg: *bùlók*; Zđ: *bàlók*; Dr: *bulók*; Ch: *bàlók*.  
**Country** (Cf. Ha: *kasā*) [*< English country*] Zr: *kántíri*.

**Wheat** (Ha: *àlkamā*) [*< Arabic 'al-qamḥ*] Zr: *àlkáma*; Zr.M: *àlkáma*; Zr.K: *'alkáma*; Sg: *àlkámá*; Zđ: *àlkáma*; Pol: *àlkáma*; Dr: *àlkámá:*; Bl: *'àlkáma*; Ch: *àlkámá*; Gj: *àlkámá*; Pel: *àlkáma*; Zda: *àlkáma:*.  
**White man** (Ha: *nāsārā*) [*< Arabic naṣārā*] Zr: *nàsa:ra*; Dr: *nasá:rá:*; Zda: *nására*.  
**Window** (Ha: *tāgā*) [*< Kanuri tákkà/táà < Arabic tāqa*] Dr: *tá:gá:*; Zda: *tá:ga:*.  
**Winnowing basket** (Ha: *matankadī*) Zr: *matankadī*; Zr.K: *màtankadī*; Zđ: *matáṅkádí*; Dr: *mátáṅkádí*; Bl: *màtáṅkádí*; Gj: *matankadī*; Pel: *màtáṅkádí*.  
**Witness** (Ha: *shaidā*) [*< Arabic šahida*] Zr: *fe:da*.  
**Woman's wrapper** (Ha: *zanè*) Zr.K: *zaní*; Dr: *záne:*; Bl: *zani*; Gj: *záni*; Zda: *záne:*.  
**Work** (Ha: *aikī*) Zr.K: *aykí*; Zk: *áyki:*; Zda: *áyki:*.  
**World** (Ha: *dūniyā*) Bl: *dūnyà*; Ch: *dú:níyá*.  
**Worship** (Ha: *bautā*) Zr: *bawtá*; Sg: *bàwtá*; Dr: *bawtá:*.  
**Wrap** (Ha: *kunsā*) Zr.K: *kumtsá*.  
**Write** (Ha: *rūbūtā*) [*< Kanuri rəvòtə < Arabic rubu' < P.Tuareg \*h<sub>1</sub>rb (cf. Gouffé 1972:165)*] Zk: *rúbú:tá*; *rùbù:tù*.  
**Writing board** (Ha: *allō*) [*< Kanuri allo < Arabic 'al-lawḥ*] Zđ: *álló*; Pol: *alló*.  
**Year** (Ha: *shēkarā*) Pol: *fe:kára*; Dr: *fe:kára:*; Ch: *fe:kára*; Zda: *fe:kára:*.  
**Younger wife** (Ha: *amaryā*) Zr: *amarya*; Dr: *ámaryá:*; Zda: *amarya:*.  
**Youngest son** (Ha: *autā*) [*< Proto-Berber \*awtəm*] Zr: *àwtá*.  
**Youth** (Ha: *sāmārī*) Dr: *samarí*; Pel: *sama:lí*.  
**Zero** (Ha: *sifīrī*) [*< Arabic ṣifr*] Zđ: *sípilí*.  
**Zr** (Ha: *sayāwā*) Zr: *Seya:wa:*.

**Christmas** (Cf. Ha: *kiṛsimatī*) [*< English Christmas*] Zr: *Kármās*.  
**Cup** (Ha: *kwâf*) [*< English Cup*] Zr: *kô:p*; Sg: *kô:pì*; Pol: *kô:pi*; Dr: *kô:pu:*; Ch: *kô:fi*; Gj: *kóp*.  
**Electric bulb** (Ha: *gùláb*) [*< English 'globe'*] Zr: *gəlô:p*.  
**Identity card** (Cf. Ha: *kaitin shaidā*) [*< English I.D. card*] Zr: *áydí ka:t*.  
**Mobile phone** (Ha: *bugā*) [*< English handset*] Pel: *hánset*.  
**Mud brick** (Cf. Ha: *biṛkilà*) [*< English brick*] Zr: *bírki*.  
**O' clock** (Ha: *áwā*) [*< English hour*] Zr: *áwa*.

**Sweet** (Cf. Ha. *à lēwā*) [*<* English sweet] Zr: *səwí:t*.

**Table** (Cf. Ha. *tēbùr*) [*<* English table] Zr: *té:bəl*.

**Tape recorder** (Cf. Ha. *řàkōdā*) [*<* English recorder] Zr: *ré:kót*.

**Tear** (Cf. Ha. *yāgā*) [*<* English tear (?)] Zr.K: *tya:r*.

**Tear (to ~)** (Cf. Ha. *yāgā*) [*<* English tear] Zk: *téri*.

**Torch light** (Cf. Ha. *tōcìlàn*) [*<* English torch(light)] Zr: *tó:fi*.

**Uniform** (Ha:) [*<* English uniform] Zr: *ináfôm*.

**Wallet** (Ha: *walāt*) [*<* English wallet] Zr: *wá:lét*.

**Christmas** (Cf. Ha. *kiřsimati*) [*<* English Christmas] Zr: *Kərmás*.

## Other languages

**Milk** [*<* Fulfulde kosam] Zr: *kósəm*.

## Doubtful direct origin

**Anyway, only** (Ha: *dai*) Zr: *de;*; Zđ: *dáy*.

**Bottle** (Ha: *kwalbā*) Zr: *kwalba*; Zr.M: *kwalba*  
Zr.K: *kwalba*; Sg: *kwalba*; Pol: *kwálbá*; Dr: *kwálbá*;  
Bl: *kwalba*; Ch: *kwálbá*; Pel: *kwólbá*;  
Zda: *kwálbá*.

**Farm fence** (Ha: *shingē*) Zr: *fiŋge*; Zr.M: *fiŋgi*  
Sg: *fiŋge*; Pol: *fiŋgi*; Gj: *féngé*; Pel: *féngé*;  
Zda: *fiŋge*.

**Grandchild** (Ha: *kākā*) Zr: *kà:ká*; Zr.M: *ka:ká*;  
Zr.K: *kà:ká*; Pel: *ka:ká*; Zda: *ka:ká*.

**Kolanut** (Ha: *gōrō*) Zr: *gó:ro*; Zr.M: *gó:ro*;  
Zr.K: *gó:ro*; Sg: *gó:rò*; Zđ: *gó:ro*; Pol: *gó:ro*;  
Dr: *gó:ro*; Bl: *gò:rò*; Gj: *gó:rò*; Pel: *gó:ro*;  
Zda: *gó:ro*.

**Lemon** (Ha: *lěmo*) [*<* Kanuri lēmûn *<* Arabic laymū] Zr: *lè:mú*; Zr.K: *lè:mú*; Sg: *lè:mu*; Zđ: *le:mó*;  
Bl: *lè:mú*; Gj: *le:mo*; Pel: *le:mó*; Zda: *le:mú*.

**Pail to draw water** (Ha: *gūgā*) Zr: *gù:ga*;  
Zr.K: *gù:gá*; Sg: *gù:gá*; Zđ: *gu:gá*; Pol: *gù:gá*;  
Ch: *gùùgá*; Gj: *gù:gá*.

**Rice** (Ha: *shinkafā*) Zr: *kafa*; Zr.M: *kafa*;  
Zr.K: *fiŋka:fa*; Sg: *fiŋkà:pá*; Dr: *fiŋkábá*; Bl: *fiŋka:bə*;  
Pel: *fiŋká:fá*; Zda: *fiŋka:fa*.

**Since** (Ha: *tun*) Zr: *tún*; Zđ: *tún*.

**Spoon** (Ha: *cōkālī*) [*<* Tamasheq cōkkol] Zr: *řō:kali*;  
Zr.M: *řō:kali* Dr: *řō:kali*.

## Possible non-Chadic loanwords in SBW

### Zaar

- *řòngà*, 'brains'; cf. Iz *kwongi*
- *rár*, 'heart'; cf. Py *ría*, Iz *riye*.
- *dòt*, 'baobab'; cf. Bk *mòt*; Jk *mʷođo*.
- *mbá:p*, 'rat, mouse'; cf. Bk *mbáp*; Jk *mbabù*
- *gàrá*, 'old'; cf. Bk *gíyís*.

### Sigidi

- *gùdún*, 'river'; cf. Iz *kudun*, 'pond'
- *rùndún*, 'cow'; cf. Py *rundón*
- *zaw*, 'stick'; cf. Bk *zòk*<sup>14</sup>
- *řù:r*, 'horse'<sup>15</sup>; cf. Py *řirí*, 'horse'
- *bùtù:r*, 'quiver'; cf. Py *botorí*

<sup>14</sup> However, cf. Zda *zòr*, 'stick' & P.W.Chad (OS) \**zaw-*; Meaning: 'stick'; Ngizim: *záwá*. The loan may be from Chad. To Bk.

<sup>15</sup> Also Zr.K *řù:r*, 'horse'.

- *ci-gár*, ‘old’; cf. Bankal *gíyís*

## Zodí

- *mbyak*, ‘kidney’; cf. Bk *mbyæk*, ‘kidney’
- *lèm-sì* (Polci *líyém*), ‘God, sky’; cf. Bk *díyàn*, ‘sky’
- *fyàkfyàk*, ‘star’; cf. Bk *jàkjàk*, ‘star’
- *ké:lóm*, ‘charcoal’; cf. Bk & Jk *kəl*, ‘star’
- *ngùñî*, ‘hyena’; cf. Bk *ngúwì*, Jk *ngwĩ*, ‘hyena’
- *bà:m*, ‘gazelle’; cf. Bk *‘bam’*
- *súkdí*, ‘rabbit’; cf. Bk *sòkdí*, Jk *suyudí*, ‘rabbit’
- *làdà*, ‘spider’; cf. Bk *làdà*, Jk *làdà*, ‘spider’
- *lukàt*, ‘man’s gown’; cf. Bk *lúyút*, ‘man’s gown’
- *ndzak*, ‘termite’; cf. Bk *njàk*, Jk *njàyal*, ‘termite’
- *gàkyù*, ‘ram’; cf. Bk *gəkyò*, ‘ram’
- *jal*, ‘bird’; cf. Bk *jél*, Jk *jil*, ‘bird’
- *kú:n*, ‘beans’; cf. Bk *kúwún*, Jk *kùn*, ‘beans’
- *gʷábráñ*, ‘okra’; cf. Bk *gwàprəñ*, Jk *gwəñrím*, ‘okra’
- *dzwak*, ‘stick’; cf. Bk *zòk*, ‘stick’
- *ndàk*, ‘short’; cf. Bk *ndik*, ‘short’
- *ndwàkàm*, ‘deaf’; cf. Bk *ndóyàm*

## Polci

- *sál*, ‘river’; cf. Bk *sál*, ‘river’
- *tùntúlù*, ‘harmattan’; cf. Bk *túntúli* < Ha *hùntūrù*
- *líyém* (Zd *lèmsì*), ‘God, sky’; cf. Bk *díyàn*, ‘sky’
- *tàt*, ‘mountain, stone’; cf. (?) Bk *tál*, Jk *təl*, ‘mountain, stone’
- *ndúwəp*, ‘mud’; cf. Bk *ndóp*, ‘mud’
- *yúru*, ‘small hoe’; cf. Iz *yùru*, ‘small hoe’
- *ngúwî*, ‘hyena’; cf. Bk *ngúwì*, Jk *ngwĩ*, ‘hyena’
- *kuñət*, ‘chameleon’; cf. Bk *kñut*, ‘chameleon’
- *ndzák*, ‘termite’; cf. Bk *njàk*, Jk *njàyal*, ‘termite’
- *gwàpíráñ*, ‘okra’; cf. Bk *gwàprəñ*, Jk *gwəñrím*, ‘okra’

## Luri

- *ngúdzí*, ‘hyena’; cf. Bk *ngúwì*, Jk *ngwĩ*, ‘hyena’

## Zaranda

- *ɖzom*, ‘guinea fowl’; cf. Py *zohóm*
- *zò:*, ‘stick’; ; cf. Bk *zòk*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Sg *zàw* & corresponding note.

## Indexes to borrowed forms

### Index to Hausa forms

*à kân:* because of  
*abàwā:* warp thread  
*accā:* acha  
*àddā:* sword, machete  
*adō:* decoration  
*aduwā:* prayer  
*àgōgo:* watch  
*àgwāgwā:* duck  
*aikì:* work  
*ainihī:* really  
*ainùn:* very much, truly  
*àku:* parrot  
*àkwai:* there is  
*àkwāti:* box  
*àl'ādū:* custom  
*àlādē:* pig  
*àlbaṛkā:* chance  
*àlbasā:* onion  
*àlēfū:* spinach sp.  
*àlēwā:* sweet  
*algāshī:* green  
*Àlhāmīs:* thursday  
*àljannā:* paradise  
*àlkālī:* judge  
*àlkamā:* wheat  
*àlkāshāfā:* cheap, flimsy gown  
*àlkawāṛṛ:* promise  
*Allāh:* God  
*allō:* writing board  
*àllūrā:* needle, injection  
*àlmūrū:* dusk  
*àlwālā:* ablutions (ritual ~)  
*àmānā:* trust  
*amaryā:* younger wife  
*àmfanī:* usefulness  
*àmmā:* but  
*amshī:* answer  
*amyā:* beehive  
*angō:* bridegroom  
*ànguwā, ùnguwā:* ward, village  
*ànnabī:* prophet  
*ar-:* borrow (not money)  
*àṛāhā:* cheapness  
*arēwā:* north  
*arō:* loan  
*àsabāṛ:* saturday  
*asaṭi:* real, really  
*àshē:* expression of surprise  
*ashibtā:* snare  
*ashūtā:* snare  
*asibīti:* hospital, dispensary

*àsīṛī:* secret  
*asūtā:* snare  
*atīnī:* dysentery  
*atīshāwā:* sneezing  
*audūgā:* cotton  
*aunā:* measure  
*aurē:* marriage  
*autā:* youngest son  
*áwā:* o' clock  
*àwārtakī:* blacksmith's tongs  
*àyàbà:* banana  
*azūmī:* fasting  
*azūṛfā:* silver  
*bā:* not  
*bābā:* indigo  
*bābù:* there isn't  
*bābūr:* motorbike  
*bādūkū:* leatherworker  
*bākūrū, àbākūrū:* cakes made from  
groundnuts after extracting the oil  
*bālbēlā:* cattle egret  
*bambānta:* differentiate  
*bangō:* wall  
*bāni:* this year (adv.)  
*bāntē:* loincloth  
*barbarā:* mating by animals  
*bārēwā:* gazelle  
*bargō:* bone marrow  
*bārgō:* blanket  
*bārgō:* blanket  
*bāri:* let me, let us.  
*barī:* shivering  
*baṛkā:* greeting  
*bāṛkātū:* disorderly  
*bāṛkōnō:* pepper  
*baṛnā:* damage  
*bārū:* pigeon  
*bāsarakē:* chief  
*bāshī:* loan, debt  
*bāsillā:* awl  
*bāsillā:* awl  
*bātūr:* battery  
*bātūrē:* 'europe'  
*baunā:* bush-cow  
*bautā:* worship  
*bāyan:* after  
*bāyānī:* explanation  
*bazarā:* hot season before the rains  
*bēbē:* deaf-mute  
*bēl:* belt  
*bencī:* bench

*bijimi*: bull  
*bikī*: celebration  
*bindigā*: gun  
*bir̄kī*: brake  
*bir̄kīlā*: mud brick  
*birkītā*: confuse  
*bishārā* (*mài* ~): assistant to the pastor  
*biskīt*: biscuit  
*biyā*: pay  
*bōkā*: mirror  
*bōkītī*: bucket  
*bōl*: football  
*bùdurwā*: girl  
*bùhū*: sack  
*bùkātāi*: need  
*bùkkā*: hut (grass ~)  
*bùlō*: clay blocks for building  
*burgā*: stir  
*burmāwā*: Boghom (pl.)  
*buṛtū*: hornbill  
*būshiyā*: hedgehog  
*būtā*: kettle  
*būyā*: pig of traditional local iron  
*būzū*: skin (untanned ~)  
*būzūzū*: dung-beetle  
*canjā*: change  
*carabkē*: dibs  
*càsbī*: beads (prayer ~)  
*cēdiyā*: fig tree  
*cikā*: do completely  
*cilākōwā*: hornbill sp.  
*cīnikī*: trade  
*cīrōmā*: traditional title borrowed from the hausas  
*cīsūṛ*: chisel  
*citta*: ginger  
*cīwō*: disease  
*cīwōn shāwārā*: hepatitis  
*cōkālī*: modern type of spoon  
*cūcē*: cheat  
*dā*: if  
*dàbārā*: plan  
*dabbā*: domestic animals  
*dàbīnō*: date palm  
*dadē*: last  
*dādē*: last  
*dādī*: pleasure  
*dàgā*: from  
*dagā*: lift  
*dāgē*: strive  
*dai*: anyway, only  
*daidai*: exactly, well  
*dakā*: castrate animals  
*dākātā*: wait  
*dākō*: ambush

*dālītī*: reason, cause  
*dāmā*: chance  
*dāmā*: mix, confuse  
*dambe*: boxing  
*damī*: bundle of grain  
*dangē*: relatives, clan  
*dànkālī*: sweet potato  
*dankē*: dish rack  
*dankō*: rubber  
*dannā*: press  
*dáp*: very close  
*darā*: games of draught, dibs, etc.  
*dārī*: hundred  
*dàrnī*: fence  
*dàurō*: guinea-corn sp.  
*dīfī'ō*: Police officer (d.p.o.)  
*dīgā*: pour out in drops  
*dilā*: jackal  
*dīngā*: keep on doing  
*dīngishī*: limping  
*dīyyā*: compensation  
*dōgon yārō*: neem  
*dōkā*: law, rule  
*dōlē*: it is necessary that ...  
*dōlō*: fool  
*don*: because, in order that  
*dōrā*: place  
*dōrinā*: hippopotamus  
*dūbā*: look at, look for  
*dubū*: thousand  
*duhū*: darkness  
*dūkīyā*: dowry  
*dumā*: warm up  
*dūniyā*: world  
*fa*: indeed  
*fa*: indeed  
*fā*: stone sp.  
*fādā*: cour du chef  
*fādā*: the court of the chief, emir, etc.  
*fādāmā*: marshy ground  
*fadē*: slippers  
*fānkō*: box  
*fārā*: happen, begin  
*fārāntī*: big plate, tray of enamelled metal  
*fārautā*: hunting  
*faṛfadiyā*: epilepsy  
*farkō*: beginning  
*fashē*: break (e.g. egg)  
*fassārā*: explanation  
*fastō*: pastor  
*fātā*: leather  
*fatalwā*: ghost  
*fāwā*: butchering  
*fīfītā*: fan  
*fīlī*: open space



*jābā*: shrew-mouse  
*jāhilcī*: illiteracy  
*jàkā*: bag  
*jàkī*: donkey  
*jàma'ā*: people  
*jamfā*: shirt  
*jàrī*: business  
*jàrīrī*: baby  
*jàrum*: prison  
*jàrūmī*: brave  
*jàwābī*: speech  
*jēmāgē*: bat  
*jībgā*: pile up  
*jīgūrī*: viper  
*jījīyā*: vein, artery, nerve  
*jīkā*: grandchild  
*jīkā*: moisten  
*jīkō*: type of millet beer seasoned with roots, spices, etc.  
*jīmā*: last  
*jīminā*: ostrich  
*jīnjīrī*: baby  
*jīrgī*: canoe ; any type of vehicle: boat, train, aeroplane  
*juhūrmā*: eagle  
*jumma'ā*: friday  
*jūyā*: turn round  
*kābīlā*: tribe  
*kābūs*: papaya  
*kaca-kaca*: destruction  
*kadā*: neg. injunctive  
*kadū*: don't  
*kadū*: spin (coton)  
*kadūi*: only  
*kāfin*: before  
*kāfin*: before  
*kāfintā*: carpenter  
*kāftū*: digging  
*kāhō*: horn  
*kāi*: used to express disapproval, doubt or surprise  
*kā'idā*: law, rule  
*kaimī*: stirrup  
*kaitīn shaidā*: identity card  
*kākā*: grandchild  
*kalā*: type, colour  
*kālācī*: breakfast  
*kālāngū*: drum (talking ~)  
*kalau*: very  
*kallābī*: head-tie  
*kām*: used for emphasis  
*kāmarī*: like  
*kāmātā*: be proper  
*kanjū*: cashew tree  
*kankanā*: watermelon

*kankī*: antelope sp.  
*kanwā*: potash  
*kārā*: outcry, law suit, case taken to court  
*kārā*: increase  
*karāntā*: read  
*kàrarrowā*: bell  
*karfē*: o'clock  
*karfī*: strength  
*karō*: ram  
*kārshē*: end  
*kārūwā*: prostitute  
*karyā*: lie  
*kasā*: country  
*kashē*: kill  
*kashī*: part  
*kashī-kashī*: of all kinds  
*kaskā*: tick  
*kāsuwā*: market  
*kāsuwancī*: trade  
*katangā*: outer wall  
*kaucī*: mistletoe  
*kaurā*: emigrate  
*kauyē*: village  
*kawāy*: only  
*kāwu*: maternal uncle  
*kāyā*: load  
*kāzā*: such and such  
*kēkē*: bicycle  
*kēnan*: it is  
*kēndīr*: candle  
*kimbā*: pepper  
*kirārī*: epithet  
*kirgā*: count  
*kirīstā*: christian  
*kirīmatī*: xmas  
*kīrtānī*: heavy thread used by cobblers  
*kiriyā*: tree sp.  
*kīshiyā*: co-wife  
*kīwō*: keep cattle  
*kiyāshī*: ants sp.  
*kō*: as to  
*kō dà shi/ya kē*: although  
*kō kùwā*: or else  
*kōdā*: kidney  
*kōdī (dōdōn ~)*: snail  
*kōfatō*: hoof  
*kōkarī*: effort  
*kōmā*: fisherman's net  
*kōrē*: green  
*kōshiyā*: ladle (wooden ~)  
*kōtsō*: drum sp.  
*kōy-*: learn, etc.  
*ku:sā*: nail (metal)  
*kudū*: south  
*kufai*: ruins of compound



<i>kūgiyā</i> : hook	<i>lāmbū</i> : garden, irrigated farming of tomatoes, onions, etc.
<i>kūkā</i> : baobab	<i>lāmī</i> : tasteless
<i>kulā</i> : attention (pay ~)	<i>lāmīrī</i> : belief
<i>kulē</i> : cat	<i>lārābā</i> : wednesday
<i>kulkī</i> : club, stick	<i>lāujē</i> : sickle
<i>kuma</i> : also	<i>launī</i> : colour
<i>kumfā</i> : foam	<i>lāyā</i> : amulet
<i>kūnnē</i> : light up	<i>lāyī</i> : line, queue group
<i>kunsā</i> : wrap	<i>lēbūrā</i> : labourer
<i>kūrā</i> : hyena; type of dance for which rhythm is beaten with metal rings worn round the ankles	<i>lēmo</i> : lemon
<i>kurft</i> : blacksmith chisel	<i>līdō</i> : jeu de chevaux
<i>kurmā</i> : deaf	<i>likkāfā</i> : stirrup
<i>kurmt</i> : forest	<i>līlō</i> : thick nylon thread
<i>kurūm</i> : merely	<i>līmān</i> : imam
<i>kūr wā</i> : shadow	<i>linzāmī</i> : bridle
<i>kusa</i> : near	<i>lissāfī</i> : calculation
<i>kūshāyā</i> : grave	<i>lītīnīn</i> : monday
<i>kūzā</i> : tin	<i>littāfī</i> : book
<i>kw f āf</i> : cup	<i>lōkācī</i> : time
<i>kwā</i> : top	<i>lūrā</i> : attention (pay ~)
<i>kwācē</i> : take by force	<i>mā</i> : even
<i>kwādāyī</i> : desire	<i>mabūdī</i> : key
<i>kwādō</i> : toad, frog	<i>madādī</i> : title sp.
<i>kwaikwayō</i> : theatre	<i>mādākī</i> : traditional title
<i>kwākwā</i> : oil-palm tree	<i>madarā</i> : milk
<i>kwākwāwā</i> : brain	<i>madūbī</i> : mirror
<i>kwālbā</i> : bottle	<i>magādā</i> : protection
<i>kwālekwāle</i> : canoe	<i>magājī</i> : heir, first born
<i>kwālekwāle</i> : canoe	<i>mahaucī</i> : butcher
<i>kwāliyā</i> : head-tie	<i>māi ānguwā</i> : village chief
<i>kwāltā</i> : tarred road	<i>māitā</i> : sorcery
<i>kwānō</i> : enamel dish	<i>māiwā</i> : millet sp.
<i>kwārī</i> : insect	<i>makādī</i> : drummer
<i>kwārī</i> : valley	<i>makāmī</i> : weapon
<i>kwārkwāsā</i> : ants sp.	<i>makarāntā</i> : school
<i>kwārkwatā</i> : louse	<i>makērī</i> : blacksmith
<i>kwata-kwata</i> : clearly, completely	<i>mākīrcī</i> : cunning
<i>kwata-kwata</i> : completely	<i>mākōgwārō</i> : throat, windpipe
<i>kwatāntā</i> : explain, describe	<i>mākōkō</i> : bird's crop
<i>kwāwdāyī</i> : greed	<i>makullī</i> : key, door
<i>kyāranā</i> : cactus	<i>makwābcī</i> : neighbour
<i>la'āntā</i> : curse	<i>mālāfā</i> : straw hat
<i>lābārī</i> : story	<i>mālā'ikā</i> : angel
<i>ladābī</i> : respect, Politeness	<i>mālāmī</i> : teacher
<i>lādān</i> : muezzin	<i>malmalā</i> : ball of tuwo
<i>lādī</i> : sunday	<i>māmākī</i> : surprise
<i>lāfiyā</i> : health (used in greetings)	<i>mān jā</i> : palm oil
<i>lāgwānī</i> : lamp wick	<i>mānā</i> : indeed, for sure
<i>lāhīrā</i> : next world	<i>mangwārō</i> : mango
<i>lāift</i> : fault	<i>mannā</i> : glue
<i>lallē</i> : certainly, for sure	<i>mārā</i> : slap
<i>lallē</i> : henna	<i>marābā</i> : welcome
<i>lālō</i> : jute	<i>mārakī</i> : calf
	<i>mārāyā</i> : orphan

*mārī*: slap on the face  
*mārīrī*: western cob, puku  
*marmarā*: laterite  
*māsā*: pancakes  
*masabī*: flint and tinder lighter  
*masākā*: loom  
*masallācī*: mosque  
*masārā*: maize  
*māshīn*: motorbike  
*māsōfo*: black pepper  
*matankadī*: winnowing basket  
*matsā*: be narrow  
*mātsā*: squeeze  
*matsiyācī*: poor  
*māyē*: sorcerer  
*maza*: quickly  
*mazarī*: spinning stick  
*māzārkwailā*: sugar-cane cakes  
*māzō*: antelope sp.  
*mīkē*: straighten  
*minū*: minute  
*mīsālī*: example  
*mōlō*: lute sp.  
*mōrā*: enjoy  
*mōtā*: car, lorry  
*mōtōcī*: car, lorry (pl.)  
*mōtsā*: movement  
*mūciyā*: stirring stick  
*mūdū*: standard vessel for measuring corn  
*mūgū*: evil  
*mulkī*: power  
*munduwā*: bracelet  
*murfī*: lid  
*murñā*: joy  
*mūsāyā*: exchange  
*mūshē*: cat  
*mūsū*: argument  
*nadē*: fold, roll up  
*nairū*: naira  
*nan dà nan*: righ now  
*nāsārā*: white man  
*nasarā*: victory  
*nūnā*: show  
*rabī*: half  
*ragē*: decrease  
*rāi*: life  
*rāi, rāyī*: tiredness  
*rainī*: spite  
*rāirāyī*: fine sand  
*rākē*: sugar cane  
*rākōdā*: tape recorder  
*rākumī*: camel  
*ramā*: indian hemp  
*rantsē*: swear  
*rāriyā*: sieve, filter

*rasā*: be unable to, fail  
*rashī*: lack  
*rātāyē*: hang  
*rāunī*: injury  
*rawānī*: turban  
*rāzanā*: terror  
*rēdiyō*: radio  
*rībā*: profit  
*rigā*: precede, have already done sth  
*rījiyā*: well  
*rījiyā rūrtsātsē*: borehole  
*rīmī*: silk cotton-tree  
*rinī*: dyeing  
*rīshō*: stove  
*rōgō*: cassava  
*rōgō*: cassava  
*rūbūtā*: write  
*ruftī*: roof  
*rugā*: fulani camp  
*rūmfā*: shed  
*rungūmā*: embrace  
*sā*: put, cause  
*sā'ā*: moment  
*sābā*: be accustomed  
*sābulū*: soap  
*sadakā*: alms  
*sai*: then, only  
*sākā*: honeycomb  
*sakatarē*: secretary of the local government  
*sākē*: do again  
*sākwārā*: pounded yam  
*sallā*: muslim prayer  
*sallamā*: greetings  
*sam*: emphasizes negation  
*sāmārī*: youth  
*sāmmakō*: early start at dawn  
*sāna'ā*: trade  
*sāndā*: stick (walking ~)  
*sangālī*: shinbone  
*sānnu*: hello!  
*santā*: straight on  
*sanyī*: cold (n.)  
*sañai*: completely  
*sararī*: space (open ~)  
*sārautā*: chieftaincy  
*sārēwā*: bamboo flute  
*sarkā*: chain  
*sarkin dūtsē*: traditional title  
*sarkin fādū*: title sp.  
*sarkin mūdū*: controller of the weight of the corn sold in the market  
*sarkin yāki*: title sp.  
*sarkin yārā*: title sp.  
*sātī*: week  
*sāuka*: get down

*saukī*: healing  
*saurā*: remains  
*sayāwā*: zaar  
*shāfē*: froter  
*shāgò*: market stall  
*shāhò*: hawk  
*shaidā*: witness  
*shakkā*: doubt  
*shāmuwā*: abdim's stork  
*shārī'ā*: justice  
*shāwarā*: advice  
*shā-zumāmī*: ant sp.  
*shēgē*: bastard  
*shēkarā*: year  
*shingē*: farm fence  
*shinkafā*: rice  
*shirmē*: foolishness  
*shirwā*: kite  
*shiryā*: prepare, get ready  
*shiwākā*: tree sp.  
*shūdī*: blue  
*shūnī*: indigo  
*sifīrī*: zero  
*siltfā*: slippers  
*sīrdī*: saddle  
*siyāsā*: Politics  
*sōjōjī*: soldiers  
*sōmā*: begin  
*sōsai*: completely, well  
*sōyā*: fry  
*sukūwā*: gallop  
*sulē*: shilling, in old nigerian currency  
*sulhū*: peace treaty  
*sūma*: faint (v.)  
*sūmā*: hair (head)  
*surfē*: pound  
*sūrūtū*: chatter  
*tābā*: tobacco  
*tabā*: have already done sth  
*tābarmā*: mat  
*tābarmā*: mat  
*tābō*: mudr  
*tādī*: chatting  
*tafīdā*: traditional title  
*tāfiyā*: travel  
*tāgā*: window  
*tāgiyā*: cap  
*tagullā*: copper  
*taguwā*: gown sp.  
*taimākē*: help  
*tākālmī*: shoes  
*takārdā*: book  
*takārdū*: book (pl.)  
*tākī*: dung  
*takōbī*: sword

*talākā*: poor man  
*tālātā*: tuesday  
*tālātin*: thirty  
*tāllā*: peddling  
*tālotālo*: turkey  
*tāmbayā*: ask  
*tārā*: fine  
*tārīhī*: history  
*tarkō*: jaw-trap  
*tarwadā*: catfish  
*tas*: slap snap  
*tāsbī*: rosary  
*tashā*: station  
*tātsā*: milk (v.)  
*tāttabārā*: pigeon  
*tātāsai (pl.)*: large red chillies  
*tāurārō*: star  
*taurī*: hardness  
*tāwādā*: ink  
*tayā*: barter  
*tēbūr*: table  
*tēlā*: tailor  
*tō*: fill  
*tōcilān*: torch light  
*tōkā*: gunpowder  
*tōzō*: hump  
*tsabtā*: cleanliness  
*tsādā*: expensiveness  
*tsāfī*: paganism  
*tsākānī*: between  
*tsāmmānī*: think  
*tsananin*: extreme  
*tsandō (kudan ~)*: tse-tse fly  
*tsantsā*: extreme  
*tsārabā*: gift  
*tsarē*: protect  
*tsāwā*: thunder  
*tsērē*: escape  
*tsīrē*: kebabs  
*tsōkā*: flesh  
*tsūmmā*: clothes  
*tūbālī*: brick (mud ~)  
*tudū*: hill  
*tūhumā*: accusation  
*tūkā*: ruminating  
*tūkā*: drive (car)  
*tūmātīr*: tomato  
*tūmfāfiyā*: tree sp.  
*tun*: since  
*tunā*: remember  
*tūnānī*: thought  
*tūnkū*: mongoose  
*tūrā*: push  
*tūrākī*: title sp.  
*tūrāwā*: european

*turmī*: cloth  
*tūrūruwā*: ant sp.  
*tūtā*: flag  
*ùngōzòmà*: midwife  
*ùngùlū*: vulture  
*uwar gidā*: first wife  
*wàhalā*: suffering  
*wai*: they say... [particle used to introduce reported speech]  
*wākē*: beans  
*wàkītī*: traditional title  
*walāt*: wallet  
*wàllāhì*: i swear  
*wàndō*: trousers  
*wargī*: game  
*warkè*: heal  
*wàsīkā*: letter  
*wātō*: that is  
*wātsā*: scatter  
*wāyō*: cleverness, cunning  
*wāyyō*: ouch!  
*wàzīrī*: vizier  
*wucè*: pass by  
*wùyā*: difficulty, pain  
*XXX*: mobile phone  
*XXX*: sergeant  
*yaddā*: how  
*yādī*: cloth  
*yādiyā*: liana sp.  
*yāfē*: sacrifice  
*yāgā*: tear (to ~)  
*yāgā*: tear  
*yājī*: spice  
*yākī*: war

*yālō*: bitter tomato  
*yamma*: west  
*yànzū*: now  
*'yar cikī*: singlet  
*yārda*: agree  
*yāshī*: fine sand  
*yau*: saliva  
*yāu*: now  
*yāwwā*: good!  
*zābē*: election  
*zāgē*: insult  
*zakāmī*: datura  
*zākī*: lion  
*zāmānī*: time  
*zāmba*: cheating  
*zāncē*: topic of conversation, matter  
*zānē*: drawing, decoration  
*zanē*: woman's wrapper  
*zānzarō*: mason wasp  
*zārē*: tribal marks on cheek, fanning from the corner of the mouth  
*zārgē*: snare  
*zārgē*: snare  
*zārtō*: saw  
*zaurē*: entrance hut  
*zāzzābī*: fever  
*zīnā*: adultery  
*zīnārīyā*: gold  
*zōbē*: ring  
*zugā*: blow with bellows  
*zūrīyā*: clan  
*zuwā*: towards

## Index to English forms

**ball**: football, *bōl*  
**battery**: battery, *bātīr*  
**belt**: belt, *bēl*  
**bench**: bench, *bencē*  
**biscuit**: biscuit, *bīskūt*  
**block**: clay blocks for building, *bùlō*  
**bore-hole**: borehole, *Cf. rījiyar būrītsātsē*  
**brake**: brake, *bīrkī*  
**brick**: mud brick, *Cf. bīrkilā*  
**bucket**: bucket, *bōkiit*  
**bulb**: electric bulb,  
**candle**: candle, *kendīr*  
**carpenter**: carpenter, *kāfintā*  
**cashew**: cashew tree, *Cf. Ha. kanjū*  
**center**: straight on, *santā*  
**change**: change, *canjā*

**chisel**: chisel, *Cf. cīsūr*  
**Christian**: christian, *kirīstā*  
**Christmas**: christmas, *Cf. kirīsimatī*  
**coaltar**: tarred road, *kwāltā*  
**colour**: type, colour, *kalā*  
**country**: country, *Cf. kasā*  
**Cup**: cup, *kwf āf*  
**D.P.O.**: district Police officer, *dīfī'ō*  
**engine**: engine, *Cf. injī*  
**engineer**: engineer, *injīniyā*  
**girder**: bridge, *gadā*  
**government**: government, *gwāmnātī*  
**guard**: watch guard, *gādī*  
**guard-room**: prison, *jārum*  
**Handset**: mobile phone, *wayā*  
**hospital**: hospital, dispensary, *asībīti*

**hour:** o' clock, *áwā*  
**I.D. card:** identity card, *Cf. kaitìn shaidà*  
**jumper:** shirt, *jamfā*  
**labourer:** labourer, *lebùrà*  
**line:** line, queue group, *lāyī*  
**machine:** motorbike, *māshīn*  
**minute:** minute, *mintī*  
**motor:** car, lorry, *mōtā*  
**nylon:** thick nylon thread, *līlō*  
**pan:** enamel dish, *kwānō*  
**panty:** loincloth, *bàntē*  
**pastor:** pastor, *fastō*  
**photo:** photograph, *hōtō*  
**prisoner:** prison, *fúrsùnà*  
**radio:** radio, *rēdiyō*  
**recorder:** tape recorder, *Cf. rùkōdā*  
**Saturday:** week, *sātī*

## Index to Arabic forms

**abu dagīg:** cotton, *audūgā*  
**ad-du`a:** prayer, *aduwā*  
**`āhira:** prostitute, *kārwā*  
**`al-`ada:** custom, *al`adā*  
**`al-`adab:** respect, Politeness, *ladābī*  
**`al-`ādān:** muezzin, *lādān*  
**`al-`āfiya:** health (used in greetings), *lāfiyā*  
**`al-`aḥad:** sunday, *lādī*  
**`al-`āhira:** next world, *lāhīrā*  
**`al-`aḥbār:** story, *lābārī*  
**`al-`āya:** amulet, *lāyā*  
**`al-`ayb:** fault, *lāifī*  
**`al-barka:** chance, *albarkā*  
**`al-baṣal:** onion, *albasā*  
**`al-ḡanna:** paradise, *alḡannā*  
**`al-ḥamīs:** thursday, *Alḥamīs*  
**`al-ḥisāb:** calculation, *lissāfī*  
**`al-`ibra:** needle, injection, *allūrā*  
**`al-`imām:** imam, *līmān*  
**`al-kitāb:** book, *littāfī*  
**`allāh:** god, *Allāh*  
**`al-lawḥ:** writing board, *allō*  
**`al-qāḍi:** judge, *alqāḍī*  
**`al-qamḥ:** wheat, *alkamā*  
**`al-qawl:** promise, *alkawārī*  
**`al-waḍā`:** ablutions (ritual ~), *alwālā*  
**`al-waqt:** time, *lōkacī*  
**`amāna:** trust, *āmānā*

**secretary:** secretary of the local government, *sakatarē*  
**sergeant:** sergeant, *XXX*  
**shilling:** shilling, in old nigerian currency, *sulē*  
**sisal:** sisal, agave,  
**slippers:** slippers, *siltfā*  
**station:** station, *tashā*  
**sweet:** sweet, *Cf. à lēwā*  
**table:** table, *Cf. tēbūr*  
**tailor:** tailor, *tēlā*  
**tear (?) :** tear, *Cf. yāḡā*  
**tear:** tear (to ~), *Cf. Ha. yāḡā*  
**tomato:** tomato, *tūmātūr*  
**torch(light):** torch light, *Cf. tōcìlàn*  
**uniform:** uniform,  
**wallet:** wallet, *walāt*  
**yard:** cloth, *yādī*

**`ammā:** but, *ammā*  
**anfa`a + ni:** usefulness, *amfanī*  
**`an-nabīy:** prophet, *annabī*  
**`an-nīl:** dyeing, *rini*  
**`aql:** intelligence, *hankālī*  
**arḥaṣ:** cheapness, *arḥā*  
**ar-rikāb:** stirrup, *likkāfā*  
**`as-sabt:** saturday, *asabār*  
**`aṣ-ṣarif:** silver, *azūrīfā*  
**`aṣ-ṣawm:** fasting, *azūmī*  
**`as-sirriy:** secret, *asīrī*  
**`as-sūq:** market, *kāsuwā*  
**`as-sūq:** trade, *kāsuwancī*  
**`aṭ-ṭūb:** brick (mud ~), *tūbālī*  
**`ayni-hi:** really, *ainihī*  
**`ayni-hi:** very much, truly, *ainùn*  
**bābur, wābur:** motorbike, *bābūr*  
**bantalun:** trousers, *wāndō*  
**baraka:** greeting, *barkā*  
**barqaṭa:** disorderly, *bārkaṭāi*  
**bunduqiyā, bunduq:** gun, *bindigā*  
**dabbāb:** domestic animals, *dabbā*  
**dalīl:** reason, cause, *dālīlī*  
**dalla(la):** peddling, *tāllā*  
**ḡamīr:** belief, *lāmīrī*  
**dawa:** ink, *tāwādā*  
**dawla:** it is necessary that ..., *dōlē*  
**dīnār:** gold, *zīnārīyā*

**dubāra:** plan, *dàbārā*  
**dunya:** dowry, *dūkiyā*  
**fassara:** explanation, *fassārā*  
**fatīla:** petrol lamp, *fiṭilā*  
**ġāhil:** illiteracy, *jāhilcī*  
**ġamā'a:** people, *jāma'ā*  
**ġawāb:** speech, *jāwābī*  
**ġum'a:** friday, *jumma'ā*  
**ḥāl:** behavior, *hālī*  
**ḥarām:** taboo, *harām*  
**ḥattā:** until, *har*  
**ḥukm:** pass judgement, *hukuncī*  
**ḥukūma:** administrative district chief,  
*hukumā*  
**'īdan:** if, *īdan*  
**'ilm:** education, *ilmī*  
**'ilm:** knowledge, *ilimī*  
**'in:** if, *in*  
**istanba'a:** ask, *tāmbayā*  
**kitā:** such and such, *kāzā*  
**la'ana:** curse, *la'antā*  
**lawn:** colour, *launī*  
**laymū:** lemon, *lēmō*  
**lāġamal:** camel, *rākumī*  
**lijām:** bridle, *linzāmī*  
**mākir:** cunning, *mākircī*  
**marḥab-:** welcome, *marābā*  
**miṣr:** maize, *masārā*  
**miṭāl:** example, *miṣālī*  
**mu'allim:** teacher, *mālāmī*  
**muddu:** standard vessel for measuring corn,  
*mūdū*  
**mulk:** power, *mulkī*  
**naṣārā:** white man, *nāsārā*  
**naṣr:** victory, *nasārā*  
**qaid:** law, rule, *kā'idā*  
**qara'a:** read, *karāntā*  
**qara'a:** school, *makarāntā*  
**qartās:** book (pl.), *tākārdū*  
**qartās:** book, *takārdā*

**ribḥ:** profit, *rībā*  
**rubu':** write, *rūbūtā*  
**sā'-:** moment, *sā'ā*  
**ṣābun:** soap, *sābulū*  
**ṣadaqa:** alms, *sadakā*  
**ṣahida:** witness, *shaidā*  
**ṣakka:** doubt, *shakkā*  
**ṣalāh:** mosque, *masallācī*  
**ṣalāh:** muslim prayer, *sallā*  
**sallama:** greetings, *sallamā*  
**ṣan'a:** trade, *sāna'ā*  
**ṣarī'ā:** justice, *shārī'ā*  
**ṣārim:** brave, *jārūmī*  
**sarj:** saddle, *siṛdī*  
**ṣāwar:** advice, *shāwarā*  
**sawiy:** completely, well, *sōsai*  
**ṣifr:** zero, *sifirī*  
**siyā:** then, only, *sai*  
**siyāsa:** Politics, *siyāsā*  
**ṣuḥba,:** be accustomed, *sābā*  
**ṣulḥ:** peace treaty, *sulḥū*  
**ta'alluq:** poor man, *talākā*  
**ta'arīḥ:** history, *tārīḥī*  
**ṭalātā':** tuesday, *tālātā*  
**ṭalātīn:** thirty, *tālātīn*  
**tāqa:** window, *tāgā*  
**ṭāqiya:** cap, *tāgiyā*  
**tasbīḥ:** rosary, *tāsbī*  
**tuhma:** accusation, *tūhumā*  
**ṭurīya:** clan, *zūrīyā*  
**wakīl:** traditional title, *wākīlī*  
**waṭīqa:** letter, *wāṭkā*  
**wazīr:** vizier, *wāzīrī*  
**xarāj:** taxes, *harājī*  
**yardā:** agree, *yārdā*  
**za'bar:** cheating, *zāmbā*  
**zamān:** time, *zāmānī*  
**zāna:** drawing, decoration, *zānē*  
**zinā':** adultery, *zinā*

## Index to Kanuri forms

**àkú:** parrot, *àku*  
**allo:** writing board, *allō*  
**arasə:** bullet, cartridge, *hàrsāshì*  
**àrîn :** dyeing, *rinī*  
**ciroma:** traditional title, *ciřòmə*  
**danko :** rubber, *dankò*  
**darto:** saw, *zarĩtò*  
**dəvu:** thousand, *dubū*  
**difúnò:** date palm, *dābīnò*  
**dinar:** gold, *zīnāřiyā*  
**elakef:** stirrup, *likkāfā*  
**galtima:** traditional title, *gàlādīmā*  
**kárùá:** prostitute, *kāřùwà*  
**kàsúgù:** market, *kāsuwā*

## Index to Yoruba forms

**ada:** sword, machete, *àddā*  
**agogo:** watch, *àgōgo*  
**apoti:** box, *àkwàtì*  
**ẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ̀:** pig, *àlúdẹ̀*  
**gari:** dish of cassava flour, *Cf. gàrìn rōgò*  
**gele:** women's shawl, *gyàlẹ̀*  
**ireke:** sugar cane, *ràkẹ̀*

## Index to Tamasheq forms

**abroy:** blanket, *bàřgō*  
**alghum:** camel, *rākumī*  
**awtəm:** youngest son, *àutā*  
**ǎzâr:** tribal marks on cheek, *zàřē*  
**āzrəf:** silver, *azũřfā*  
**cokkol:** modern type of spoon, *cōkālī*

## Index to Fulfulde forms

**kàsúgù:** trade, *kāsuwanci*  
**kèràtá:** read, *kařàntā*  
**lèmûn:** lemon, *lěmo*  
**lizam:** bridle, *linzāmī*  
**loktu:** time, *lōkàcī*  
**masar:** maize, *masàřā*  
**rəvòtá:** writing, *řubũtā*  
**savəl:** soap, *sābulù*  
**sərdə:** saddle, *siřdī*  
**sərdə:** saddle, *siřdī*  
**tákkà/táà:** window, *tāgā*  
**talaga:** poor man, *talàkà*  
**zar:** business, *jāřī*

**kẹ̀kẹ̀:** bicycle, *kẹ̀kẹ̀*  
**kọ̀nọ̀ngọ:** drum (talking ~), *kàlàngū*  
**mangoro:** mango, *mangwàřò*  
**patapata:** clearly, completely, *kwata-kwata*  
**patapata:** completely, *kwata-kwata*  
**taba:** tobacco, *tābā*



**citta:** ginger, *citta*

**danki:** dish rack, *dankì*

**goggo:** aunt, *gwaggò*

**kāwu:** maternal uncle, *kàwu*

**kosam:** milk