



HAL
open science

Loanwords in South-Bauchi-West Chadic Languages

Bernard Caron

► **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

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Loanwords in South-Bauchi-West Chadic Languages

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 14th 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 14th 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,

* UMR 8135 (Llacan). CNRS-Inalco. PRES Sorbonne Paris-Cité. caron@vjf.cnrs.fr. <http://llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr/>.

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)¹. British colonization set about pacifying the area at the turn of the 20th Century, intent on securing access to the tin mines near Jos². 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*³) ; 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.

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

² 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 Goemal and 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)

³ 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.

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

meat⁴: P.Chad (N): **l̥aw-*; P.SB (Sh) **l̥aw*

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

die⁵: SBW: *məs*; P.Chad (N) **mətə*

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

mosquito⁶ P.Chad 'fly' (N):**pərə*

- Zr (fly): *bǎrám*; Sg: *vùrùŋ-sə* (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 : *zà:m*; Zar: *zà:m*
- Zđ: *kún* ; cf. Bankala: *kúwún*; Jaku: *kùn* , 'beans'.

Bird: P.Chad (N): **ɕəy-7*;

- Zr : *yéí* ; Sg : *yà:ǰí* ; Pol : *yá:ǰì* ; Lur : *yá:í* ; Zar : *yá:ǰì*
- Zđ : *ǰàl* ; cf. Bankala : *ǰél* ; Jaku : *ǰul* , 'bird'.

⁴ 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

⁵ AA (OS): **wah-*; **gwāɽ-*; **mawVt-*.

⁶ 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

⁷ 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: *mbáɬi*.
- Heart: Zda: *mbáɬi* (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*⁸
- 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: *fökn*; 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*⁹
- 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'

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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: *kúdák*; Pol: *kwádák*
- Bankala: *kwədək*; 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 too¹⁰.

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	%
Zaar (B.)	2959	422	14,2%	459	5	1
Sigidi	846	109	13%	336	5	1,5
Zodi	1082	260	24%	386	17	4,5
Polci	890	142	16%	364	10	2,7%
Luri	145	7	2,75%	101	1	1%
Zaranda	848	192	22,7%	324	2	0,5%

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

¹⁰ NB: the form *la:wur* is furthermore present in Mwavavul, 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 English¹¹, 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.¹²

¹¹ One exception concerns the verb 'tear' in the Kal dialect of Zaar.

¹² 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 Klingenheben¹³, 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.

¹³ Klingenheben, 1927/28°

References

- Awagana, A., H. E. Wolff & D. Löhr (2009). Hausa Vocabulary. The World Loanword Database, Max Planck Digital Library, Munich.
- Ballard, J. A. (1971). Historical inferences from the linguistic geography of the Nigerian Middle Belt. *Africa* **41**: 294-305.
- Bruce, R. (1982). The Fulani Settlement of Butu, Slavery and the Trade in Slaves. In Isichei, E. A. (ed.) *Studies in the history of Plateau State, Nigeria*. London: Macmillan. 191-205.
- Caron, B. (2006). South-Bauchi West Pronominal and TAM Systems. *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel*. B. Caron and P. Zima. Louvain/Paris, Peeters: 93-112.
- 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.
- Caron, B. (2009). Les Zaars et leurs voisins. *Migrations et mobilité dans le bassin du lac Tchad*. H. Tourneux and N. Woïn. Marseille, IRD.
- Caron, B. (2011, 2011-09-30). "Number in South-Bauchi-West Languages." *Number in Africa and Beyond: Grammar, Semantics and Social Deixis.*, [<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00645133>].
- Gouffé, C. (1971 / 1972). Notes de lexicologie et d'étymologie soudanaises. III : Contacts de vocabulaire entre le haoussa et le berbère. *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Etudes Chamito-sémitiques - G.L.E.C.S.* **16**: 155-73.
- Hausa On-line Bargery Dictionary. [<http://maguzawa.dyndns.ws/>]
- Isichei, E. A. (1982). Colonialism Resisted. In Isichei, E. A. (ed.) *Studies in the History of Plateau State, Nigeria*. London: Macmillan. 206-23.
- Klingenheben, A. (1927/28). Die Silbenauslautgesetze des Hausa. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* **18**: 272-97.
- Kraft, C. H. (1981). *Chadic Wordlists*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Löhr, D., H. E. Wolff & A. Awagana (2009). Kanuri Vocabulary. The World Loanword Database, Max Planck Digital Library, Munich.
- Mohammadou, E. (2002). History, climatology, and linguistics. Jarawan Bantu expansion from Upper Benue Valley, c. 1750. *Environmental and cultural dynamics in the West African Savanna*. Maiduguri (Nigeria).
- Mohammadou, E. (2004). From Lake Chad to Bauchi along the Northern Migratory Corridor: The Zaar Case. *Man and the Lake. Proceedings of the 12th Mega Chad Conference. Maiduguri, 2nd-9th December 2003*. C. Baroin, G. Seidensticker-Brikay and K. Tijani. Maiduguri (Nigeria), Centre for Trans-Saharan Studies: 75-120.
- Nettle, D. (1998). *The Fyem Language of Northern Nigeria*. Newcastle: LINCOM Europa.
- Orel, W. E. & O. V. Stolbova (1995). *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a reconstruction*. Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill.
- Shimizu, K. (1978). "The Southern Bauchi Group of Chadic Languages. A survey report." *Africana Marburgensia* **2 (Special Issue)**: 50.
- Skinner, N. A. (1996). *Hausa Comparative Dictionary*. Koeln: R. Köppe.

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: *zìnā*) [*< Arabic* *zināʿ*] Zđ: *zəná*;
 Gj: *zəná*; Pel: *zìná*.
Advice (Ha: *shāwarā*) [*< Arabic* *šāwar*] Zđ:
fā:wari.
After (Ha: *bāyan*) Zđ: *bá:yán*.
Agree (Ha: *yàrda*) [*< 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: *tìrú:rúwa*.
Antelope sp. (Ha: *kankī*) Zda: *kaníki*.
Antelope sp. (Ha: *māzō*) Ch: *mà:zò*; Gj:
ma:zò.
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: *mày bìfá: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: *ḍámá:ge*.
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:bà*; 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 kâm*.
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: *pitó*.
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: *bél*) [*< English belt*] Zr.K: *bé:l*; Pol: *bél*.
Bench (Ha: *bencī*) [*< English bench*] Zda: *bénfi*.
Between (Ha: *tsàkānī*) Zr: *tsàkà:ní*.
Bicycle (Ha: *kèkè*) [*< Yoruba kẹkẹ*] Zr: *kè:ke*; Ch: *kè:ké*.
Big plate, tray of enamelled metal (Ha: *fàrantī*) Zr: *pàránti*.
Bird's crop (Ha: *màkòkò*) 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: *takàrdā*) [*< Tamasheq takarđe < Arabic qartās*] Zr: *tágàrda*; Zr.M: *tágàrda* Sg: *tágàrdà*; Pol: *tákàrdá*; Dr: *tágaddá:*; Ch: *tágàrdá*.
Book (pl.) (Ha: *tàkàrdū*) [*< Tamasheq takarđe < 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: *məndi*.
Brain (Ha: *kwakwalwā*) Zda: *ko:kolwa*.
Brake (Ha: *birki*) [*< English brake*] Zr: *bárki*.
Brave (Ha: *jārumī*) [*< 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: *démí*; Dr: *dámi*; Bl: *dàmi*; Ch: *dómi*; Zda: *dami*.
Bush-cow (Ha: *baunā*) Zr.M: *bawna*; Zr.K: *bawna*; Ch: *báwná*.
Business (Ha: *jāřī*) [*< 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 ləgəmal*] 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 *tāqīya*] Zr: *tá:gya*; Zr.M: *tá:giyá* Zr.K: *tà:giya*; Sg: *tà:gijà*; Pol: *tà:gi:ya*; Dr: *tá: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: *àlbarkā*) [< Arabic 'al-barka] Pel: *àlbárka*.
Chance (Ha: *dāmā*) Zđ: *dá:má:*; Pel: *dá:má*.
Change (Ha: *canjā*) [< English change] Zr: *fandzā*; Zđ: *féndzj*.
Chatter (Ha: *sūrūtū*) Zr: *sù:rú:tu*.
Chatting (Ha: *tādī*) Zr: *tá:dí*.
Cheap, flimsy gown (Ha: *àlkāshāfā*) [< Arabic (?) Zr: *àlkāšá:fa*.
Cheapness (Ha: *àrāhā*) [< Arabic arḥaṣ] Zr: *àrha*.
Cheat (Ha: *cūcè*) Zđ: *fú:fe*; Pol: *fu:fe*; Pel: *fú:fe*.
Cheating (Ha: *zamba*) [< Arabic za'bar] Zr: *zamba*; Dr: *zámbe:*; Ch: *zámbe*.
Chief (administrative district ~) (Ha: *hükumā*) [< Arabic *ḥukūma*] 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: *fí:sər* Gj: *fí:səl*.

Christian (Ha: *kīristā*) [< English Christian] Zđ: *kírīsta*.
Clan (Ha: *zūrīyā*) [< Arabic *tuṛīya*] Zr: *zù:rīya*.
Cleanliness (Ha: *tsabtā*) Zr: *sápta*; Zk: *tsá:fí*; 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: *gīrgījē*) Ch: *gīrgidzj*; 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: *lawní*.
Communal work (Ha: *gāyyā*) Zr: *gāyyà*.
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: *bírkitá*.
Controller (market) (Ha: *sarkin mūdū*) Zr: *sarkin mú:dū*.
Copper (Ha: *tagūllā*) [< Tamasheq teyert, eṣer(i)] Gj: *tágūllá*; Zda: *tágullá:*.
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: *dūgà*; Dr: *áwdugá:*; Gj: *ábdəgà*; 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:dá*; Gj: *pá:dá*; Pel: *pá:dá*.
Co-wife (Ha: *kīshiyā*) Zr.K: *kaḥí*; 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:kírḥí*.
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 *difúnō* < Berber *təbinawt*] Zr.M: *dabí:no*; Zr.K:

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

Datura (Ha: *zakàmī*) 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:ŋfa*.

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: *bārkatàì*) [*< 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: *zìnkirmā* Zr.K: *zìngirma*; Ch: *ǎjìmfàrmā*; Gj: *ǎjìmpàrmā*; Pel: *ǎjìmpàrmā*.

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: *ind̄j̄niya*.
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: *si: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: *déydéy*; 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: *iná:*.
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: *fúska*.
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: *zāzzābì*; Pel: *zāzzābì*; 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: *bíndigà*; Dr: *bíndigá*.
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: *gùdumà*; 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: *táwrí*.
Harmattan (Ha: *hùntūrū*) Zđ: *huntú:ru*; Dr: *huntú:ru*; Zda: *huntú:ru*.
Harvesting (Ha: *gīrbī*) Pol: *gīrbì*; Ch: *gīrbì*.
Hawk (Ha: *shāhō*) Pel: *fá:ho*.
Head-tie (Ha: *kallābī*) Zr.M: *kállapí*; Zđ: *kállapí*.
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: *fi: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:róná*; Pol: *dò:róná*; Gj: *dò:ríná*; Zda: *do:rina*.
History (Ha: *tārhī*) [*< Arabic ta'arīh*] Zđ: *tá:rihi*.
Honeycomb (Ha: *sākā*) Zr.K: *sa:ká*; Pol: *sá:ka*; Ch: *sá:kà*; Zda: *sá:ka*.
Hoof (Ha: *kōfatō*) Zr.M: *kòfátó*; Zr.K: *kòfá:to*.
Hook (Ha: *kūgiyā*) Zr.K: *kú:gi*; Sg: *kù:gíja*; 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: *búrtú*; Gj: *burtu*; Pel: *burtú*.
Hornbill sp. (Ha: *cilākōwā*) Dr: *filakkó:wá*.
Hospital, dispensary (Ha: *asibiti*) [*< English hospital*] Zr: *ásəbáti*; Zđ: *ásibítí*.
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: *gunkī*) 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: *jāhīlī*) [*< Arabic ḡāhil*] Zđ: *džáhílfí*.
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: *karfé*; Dr: *ká:rá*; Ch: *kàrsé*.
Indeed (Ptcl) (Ha: *fa*) Zr: *fá*; Zđ: *fá*; Pel: *fá*.
Indeed (Ptcl) (Ha: *mānā*) Zr: *mānāṅ*.
Indian hemp (Ha: *ramā*) Zr: *rá:má*; Zđ: *rá:ma*.
Indigo (Ha: *bābā*) Sg: *bá:bá*.
Indigo (Ha: *shūnī*) Zr: *fu:ni*; Zđ: *fú:dí*.
Injury (Ha: *rāunī*) Zr: *ràwni*; 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: *zāgè*) 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: *hàdè*;
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: *kōdā*) 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: *dàdè*; Zda:
dadē.
Last (Ha: *jimā*) Zk: *đjímà*; Pol: *đjima*; Ch:
đjímè.
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:'idà.
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: *bàdúku*; Dr: *badú:ku*.
Let me, let us (Ha: *bāri*) Zr: *bàri*.
Letter (Ha: *wāsikā*) [< 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: *kāmāř*) 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: *aro*; 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: *kwāřkwatā*) Zđ: *kwarkwáta*; Pol:
kwarkwáta; Dr: *kwarkwátá*; Zda: *kwářkwáta*.
Lumps in gruel or mush (Ha: *gūdāđi*) (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: *masāřā*) [< Kanuri masar < Arabic
miṣr] Zr.K: *másará*.

Mango (Ha: *mangwàrò*) [< Yoruba mangoro < Portuguese] Zr: *mángòrò*; Zr.M: *mángòrò* Zr.K: *mángòrò*; 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: *bárbará*.

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: *kurúm*) 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: *áré: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: *fiṭi*) 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: *bārkòndò*) (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: *talākā*) [*< 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: *fúrsúnā*) [*< 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 *kàràtá* *<* 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: *dàl: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: *dǎngi*; 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: *ládabí*.
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: *sīřā*) [*<* 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: *makařántā*) [*<* Arabic *qara'a*] Zr: *makaranta*; Zđ: *mákárántá*.

Secret (Ha: *āsīřī*) [*<* Arabic 'as-sirriy] Zr: *ási: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: *gārkuwā*) Sg: *gàrkwá*; 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 pá*.
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: *jābā*) Sg: *řa:ba*; Gj: *řa:ba*; Pel: *řá:bá*.
Sickle (Ha: *lāujē*) Zđ: *lawđže*; Pol: *lāwđže*; Dr: *lawđží*; Ch: *lāwđže*.
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 fā*; Zr.K: *ázūr fā*; Sg: *ázūr pā*; Zđ: *ázūr fā*; Pol: *ázūr pā*; Bl: *ázūr fā*; Gj: *ázūr pā*; Pel: *ázūr pā*; Zda: *ázūr fā*.
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: *páđi*; Zda: *páđe*.
Slippers (Ha: *síl fā*) [*<* English *slippers*] Zr.M: *síl pa* Sg: *síl pās*; Dr: *síl pa*; Gj: *síl pā*; Pel: *síl pās*.
Slope (Cf. Ha. *gāngarā*) Pel: *súnkúyi*.
Smoke (Ha: *hayākī*) Zr.M: *yaka:yi*.
Snail (Ha: *kōđī* (*dōđòn* ~)) Zr: *kóđe*; Zr.M: *kó:đi*; Zr.K: *kó:đi*; Zđ: *kó:đi*; Zda: *kó:đi*.
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: *áttifā*; Pel: *áttāfā*.

Soap (Ha: *sābulū*) [*< Kanuri savəl < Arabic ṣābun*] Zr: *sà:fūlu*; Zr.M: *sa:pūlu* Zr.K: *sà:pūlu*; Pol: *sà:būlu*; Dr: *sá:būlu*; Bl: *sà:būlu*; Ch: *sà:pūlū*; Pel: *sà:būlú*; Zda: *sa:būlu*.

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: *mázaré*; Bl: *mázarí*; Pel: *mázarí*.

Spite (Ha: *rainī*) Zr: *ré:ni*.

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

Star (Ha: *tāurārō*) Ch: *tàwrá:rò*.

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: *kárfí*.

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:di*; Pol: *lā:di*; 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: *ranfī*; 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:ḡé*.

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

Tasteless (Ha: *lāmī*) Zr: *la:mi*.

Taxes (Ha: *gandū*) Zr: *gandu*.

Taxes (Ha: *harāḡjī*) [*< Arabic xarāj*] Zđ: *hará:ḡji*.

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

Terror (Ha: *rāzanā*) Pel: *rà:zána*.

Thank (Ha: *ḡōdē*) 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: *ākwai*) Zr: *ākóy*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thread (cobbler' ~) (Ha: *kīrtānī*) Zr: *kèltá: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: *řfulá.ma*.
Title sp. (Ha: *madādī*) Zr: *mádadí*.
Title sp. (Ha: *sarkin dūtsē*) Zr: *sarkin dú:tsey*.
Title sp. (Ha: *sarkin fādà*) Zđ: *sáarkin pá:da*.
Title sp. (Ha: *sarkin yāki*) Zđ: *sáarkin-yá:ki*.
Title sp. (Ha: *sarkin yāra*) Gj: *sálki yá:la*.
Title sp. (Ha: *tafidà*) Zr: *tapídà*.
Title sp. (Ha: *turākī*) Gj: *tura:ki*.
Title sp. (Ha: *wākīlī*) [< Arabic wakīl] Zr: *wàkí:li*; Gj: *woki:li*.
Toad, frog (Ha: *kwādō*) 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: *tumātīr*) [< English tomato] Pol: *tumá:tār*; Ch: *təmá:tār*; Zda: *təmá:tir*.
TOP (Ha: *kwā*) Zr: *kwà:*; Zđ: *kuwa*.
Topic of conversation, matter (Ha: *zāncē*) Zr: *zānfē*.
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: *sána'ā*) [< Arabic šan'a] Zr: *sàná:*; Zđ: *saná'a*; Gj: *sana'a*.
Traditional title (Ha: *māđākī*) Zr: *máda:ki*; Gj: *máda:ki*.
Travel (Ha: *tařiyā*) Zđ: *tařiya*; Dr: *tařiyá:*; 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: *tumřāřiyā*) Pel: *tumřá:řiyá:*.
Tribal marks on cheek, fanning from the corner of the mouth (Ha: *zārē*) [< 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: *ràwānī*; Zđ: *ráwaní*; Pol: *ráwaní*; Pel: *ráwaní*; Zda: *ráwaní:*.
Turkey (Ha: *tàlotàlo*) [< Nupe, Yoruba tolotolo] Zr: *tòlotòlò*; Zr.M: *toló:toló* Zr.K: *tòlò:toló:*; Sg: *tàlotàlò*; Zk: *tòlòlòlò*; Zđ: *tolótoló*; Pol: *tolótoló*; Dr: *tolótóló:*; Bl: *tàlotàlò*; Ch: *tòlotòlò*; Gj: *tólótoló*; Pel: *tolótoló*; 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: *ḍìgu:ri*.
Vizier (Ha: *wàzīrī*) [*< Arabic wazīr*] Zr: *wàzī:ri*; Zđ: *wazī:ri*.
Vulture (Ha: *ùngùlū*) Sg: *àngulu*; Ch: *àngùlù*.
Wait (Ha: *dākātā*) 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: *lārābā*) Pol: *lārbá*; Dr: *lá:rabá*; Gj: *larbà*.
Week (Ha: *sāfī*) [*< English Saturday*] Zr: *sa:ti*.
Welcome (Ha: *marābā*) [*< Arabic marḥab-*] Zđ: *māra:bá*.
Well (Ha: *rījīyā*) Zr: *rí:ḍìya*; Zr.M: *rí:ḍìyá* Zr.K: *rí:ḍìya*; Zđ: *rí:ḍìyá*; Dr: *rí:ḍìyá*; Ch: *rí:ḍìyá*; Zda: *rí:ḍìyá*.
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:rí:ri*; Zđ: *má:riyá*; Zda: *ma:rí:ri*.

Direct loans from English

Biscuit (Ha: *biskât*) [*< English biscuit*] Zr: *baski:t*.
Borehole (Cf. Ha: *rījīyā būr̄tsātsē*) [*< 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: *bəlók*; Dr: *bulók*; Ch: *bəlók*.
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: *màtánkádí*; Gj: *matankadī*; Pel: *mátánkádí*.
Witness (Ha: *shaidā*) [*< Arabic šahida*] Zr: *fe:da*.
Woman's wrapper (Ha: *zanè*) Zr.K: *zaní*; Dr: *záne*; Bl: *zani*; Gj: *zání*; 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 rēvòtə < Arabic rubu' < P.Tuareg *h₁rb (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: *kiřsimatī*) [*< 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: *biřkilà*) [*< 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. *rākōdā*) [*<* 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: *fěngé*; Pel: *fěngé*;
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 *gfyís*.

Sigidi

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

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

¹⁵ Also Zr.K *řù:r*, 'horse'.

- *ci-gár*, ‘old’; cf. Bankal *gíyís*

Zodí

- *mbyak*, ‘kidney’; cf. Bk *mbiyæk*, ‘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’
- *gʷábráŋ*, ‘okra’; cf. Bk *gwàprəŋ*, Jk *gwəŋrɪm*, ‘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’
- *kuŋət*, ‘chameleon’; cf. Bk *kŋut*, ‘chameleon’
- *ndzák*, ‘termite’; cf. Bk *njàk*, Jk *njàyal*, ‘termite’
- *gwàpiráŋ*, ‘okra’; cf. Bk *gwàprəŋ*, Jk *gwəŋrɪm*, ‘okra’

Luri

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

Zaranda

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

¹⁶ 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
asaṛ: real, really
àshē: expression of surprise
ashibtā: snare
ashūtā: snare
asibīti: hospital, dispensary

àsīṛṛ: 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
bùkātai: 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
dākatā: wait
dākō: ambush

dālīlī: reason, cause
dāmā: chance
dāmā: mix, confuse
dambe: boxing
damī: bundle of grain
dangī: relatives, clan
dānkālī: sweet potato
dankī: dish rack
dankō: rubber
dannā: press
dáp: very close
darā: games of draught, dibs, etc.
dārī: hundred
dārnī: fence
daurō: 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

fítílà: petrol lamp
fítò: type of settled millet beer.
fùrè: flower
fúrsùnà: prison
fuskà: face
gabàs: east
gàdā: red-flanked duiker
gadà: bridge
gādī: watch guard
gadō: bed
gàji: be tired
gàjyā: tiredness
gàlādīmā: galadima
gamā: finish
gamā: gather, mix, meet
gàmāruwā: egyptian mimosa
gàmzākī: morning star
gandū: taxes
gānè: understand
gangā: drum
gangàrā: ground sloping downward
gàngarā: slope
gāra: indicates necessity, obligation, recommendation
gārā: female relationship
gārā: gift (wedding ~)
gàrāyā: lute sp.
gārī: town
gàrin rōgō: dish made of cassava flour
garkē: unit of one hundred heads in a flock of cattle
gàrkuwā: shield
gàrūrā: plant with a tuberous rhizome from which a magenta dye is obtained
gaskiyā: truth
gaurākā: crested crane
gāwā: corpse
gāwō: acacia
gàyyā: communal work
gēfē: side
gēmū: beard
gērō: bulrush millet, pearl millet
giginyā: deleb-palm
girbī: harvesting
gīrgijē: cloud
gīwā: elephant
gīwā: elephant
gizōgizō: spider
gōdē: thank
gōrā: bamboo
gōrō: kolanut
gòrubā: dum palm
gubā: poison
gūdā: unit, complete
gūdā: ululations of joy done by women

gùdājī: lumps in fi: tuwo or fi: kunu.
gùdumā: hammer
gūgā: pail to draw water
gujiyā: groundnut
gunā: melon
gunkī: idol, fetish
gurgū: lame, cripple
gwàda: measure
gwadāwā: exam
gwaggò: aunt
gwámnāti: government
gwangwanī: tin
gwànī: expert
gwàtē: dish made of stewed vegetables like sweet potatoes, yam etc.
gyalè: women
gyàmbō: abcess
gyātumā: old woman
hadā: join, meet
hadarī: cloud
hakà: like this
hakī: grass
hàkurī: patience
hālī: behaviour
hanā: forbid
hànkākā: crow
hankālī: intelligence
hantā: liver
har: until
hàrājī: taxes
harām: taboo
hàrsāshī: lead (metal)
hàrsāshī: bullet, cartridge
haskē: light
hawā: hill
hayākī: smoke
hōrō: disciplining as done by masquerades
hōtō: photograph
hūhū: lungs
hùkumā: administrative district chief
hukuncī: pass judgement
hùntūrū: harmattan
hūtā: rest
iburō: black acha
ìdan: if
īkō: reign, power
ilimī: knowledge
ilmī: education
in: if
inā: exclamation expressing incredulity
injī: engine
injīniyā: engineer
irī: eye, type
iyā: can, know
ja:: pull

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
kiryā: tree sp.
kīshiyā: co-wife
kīwō: keep cattle
kiyāshī: ants sp.
kō: as to
kō dà shī/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

kūgiyā: hook
kūkā: baobab
kulā: attention (pay ~)
kulē: cat
kulkī: club, stick
kuma: also
kumfā: foam
kūnnē: light up
kunsā: wrap
kūrā: hyena; type of dance for which rhythm is beaten with metal rings worn round the ankles
kurft: blacksmith chisel
kurmā: deaf
kurmt̄: forest
kurùm: merely
kùrwā: shadow
kusa: near
kùshāyā: grave
kùzā: tin
kwf âf: cup
kwā: top
kwācē: take by force
kwādāyī: desire
kwādō: toad, frog
kwaikwayō: theatre
kwākwā: oil-palm tree
kwākwāwā: brain
kwālbā: bottle
kwālekwāle: canoe
kwālekwāle: canoe
kwāliyā: head-tie
kwāltā: tarred road
kwānō: enamel dish
kwārī: insect
kwārī: valley
kwārkwāsā: ants sp.
kwārkwatā: louse
kwata-kwata: clearly, completely
kwata-kwata: completely
kwatāntā: explain, describe
kwāwdāyī: greed
kyāranā: cactus
la'antā: curse
lābārī: story
ladābī: respect, Politeness
lādān: muezzin
lādi: sunday
lāfiyā: health (used in greetings)
lāgwānī: lamp wick
lāhīrā: next world
lāift: fault
lallē: certainly, for sure
lallē: henna
lālō: jute

lāmbū: garden, irrigated farming of tomatoes, onions, etc.
lāmī: tasteless
lāmīrī: belief
lārābā: wednesday
lāujē: sickle
launī: colour
lāyā: amulet
lāyī: line, queue group
lēbūrā: labourer
lēmo: lemon
līdō: jeu de chevaux
likkāfā: stirrup
līlō: thick nylon thread
līmān: imam
linzāmī: bridle
lissāfi: calculation
lītīnīn: monday
littāfi: book
lōkācī: time
lūrā: attention (pay ~)
mā: even
mabūdī: key
madādī: title sp.
mādākī: traditional title
madarā: milk
madūbī: mirror
magādā: protection
magājī: heir, first born
mahāucī: butcher
māi ānguwā: village chief
māitā: sorcery
māiwā: millet sp.
makādī: drummer
makāmī: weapon
makārāntā: school
makērī: blacksmith
mākiřcī: cunning
mākōgwārō: throat, windpipe
mākōkō: bird's crop
makullī: key, door
makwābcī: neighbour
mālāfā: straw hat
mālā'ikā: angel
mālāmī: teacher
mālmālā: ball of tuwo
māmākī: surprise
mān jā: palm oil
mānā: indeed, for sure
māngwārō: mango
mannā: glue
mārā: slap
marābā: welcome
mārākī: calf
mārāyā: 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
ràirāyī: 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
ràunī: 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 ~)
sàrautā: chieftaincy
sàrēwā: 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: frother
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
siṛdī: 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
sūṛūtū: 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
tāttāsai (pl.): large red chillies
tāurārō: star
taurī: hardness
tāwādā: ink
tayā: barter
tēbūr: table
tēlā: tailor
tō: fill
tōcīlān: 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
zamba: 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, *birīkī*
brick: mud brick, *Cf. bīrkilā*
bucket: bucket, *bōkītī*
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, *asībītī*

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, *bārkatāi*
bunduqiyā, bunduq: gun, *bindigā*
dabbāb: domestic animals, *dabbā*
dalil: reason, cause, *dālīlī*
dalla(la): peddling, *tāllā*
ḍamīr: 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, *mākirīcī*
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'a: 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. gàrin 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