Some Bantu roots in a wider context

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Hans Mukarovsky attended the Fifth West African Languages Congress held in Accra in 1965, and there delivered a paper on "The comparative method applied to Twi", in which he compared Akan forms with cognates in both Proto-Bantu and the (West) Atlantic languages and pointed out regular sound correspondences. He later participated in the Benue-Congo Working Group which was set up at the Sixth Congress in Yaoundé. He contributed a long list of comments and probable cognates to the first circulated list of what was eventually published as the *Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist* (Williamson & Shimizu 1968; Williamson 1973). At this period he was no doubt drawing on the rich comparative data which he published in 1976/77 as *A Study of Western Nigritic*. This massive and well-organized work contains the results of many years' work of compiling cognates from a large number of languages.

The family which Mukarovsky calls Western Nigritic (earlier Bantu-Guinean) is equivalent to Atlantic-Congo (Bendor-Samuel 1989), which in turn is equivalent to Niger-Congo in the sense of Bennett and Sterk 1977, and to Greenberg's Niger-Kordofanian without his Mande and Kordofanian.

This means that there is a post-Greenberg consensus that the languages in Western Nigritic or Atlantic-Congo form a unity, even though there is no complete agreement on either the higher or the lower nodes of the family tree. Mukarovsky's work forms an extremely useful guide to the reconstructed lexicon of this family. It is important to note, however, that he includes roots only if he can cite a Common Bantu (Guthrie) or Proto-Bantu (Meinhof, Bourquin, Dempwolff, or Homburger) reconstruction; this is because he is using Bantu as a control factor, on the assumption that reconstructed Bantu represents a much older stage than any present-day language, and that it will help to confirm any reconstructions for West African languages which go back to Proto-Western Nigritic. Thus it is possible for a root to be very widely attested but not to appear in Mukarovsky's work because no Bantu reconstruction can be cited.

It is the aim of this paper to provide a modest supplement to Mukarovsky's great compilation by drawing attention to some roots which can be regarded as Atlantic-Congo (Western Nigritic) because
they can be attested in at least one Bantu language and in JjQ. I have, however, not restricted myself to roots which can be reconstructed to Proto- or Common Bantu.

This is because it has become increasingly clear in recent years that the various reconstructions of Proto-Bantu do not give enough emphasis to North-West Bantu; indeed, Stewart (1989) regards the existing reconstructions of "Proto-Bantu" as approximations to Proto-Congo Bantu, the ancestor of the languages of the main Bantu area, which excludes North-West Bantu.

Consequently, the occurrence of a root both in one of the North-West Bantu languages, or in one of the groups of "Wide Bantu" (which includes the languages regarded as Bantu by Greenberg but not by Guthrie) and in at least one non-Bantu language shows that such a root must be reconstructed to the latest common ancestor of both languages. The emphasis given to JjQ is because it has become clear from Bennett and Sterk (1977) and later work that JjQ represents an earlier branching off the main stock than either Kwa or Benue-Congo, which are now united under Volta-Congo; indeed, Williamson (1989a) suggests that UQ may have branched off at about the same time as (West) Atlantic. If this is correct, then any root found in both JjQ and Bantu has to be reconstructed off at about the same time as (West) Atlantic. If this is correct, then any root found in both JjQ and Bantu has to be reconstructed to their common proto-language, Atlantic-Congo in the new terminology. This can in principle be tested by investigating whether the roots proposed here can also be traced in (West) Atlantic; if they can, then they are correctly attributed to the Proto-Atlantic-Congo level; if a substantial number of them cannot, then Proto-JjQ must have branched off from the main stock later than (West) Atlantic. Such a test is, however, not embarked upon here.

Forms are cited as follows: my tentative pseudo-reconstruction for Proto-Atlantic-Congo, preceded by **; my own reconstruction for Proto-JjQ or, where the root is not widely enough distributed within JjQ, citations from particular lects; any cognates I am aware of within New Bantu, citations from South Bantoid, which is equivalent to Wide Bantu.

Names preceded by initials represent unpublished materials made available to me by the person named, to whom I am very grateful. Special thanks go to Roger Blench and John Stewart for comments including additional cognates. Abbreviations are listed at the end.

The transcription of lenis consonants from all authors has been harmonized so that they are all written as 'C rather than Ch, to avoid confusion with aspirated consonants and English orthographic "ch".

1. forms are closely similar across different language groups and usually refer specifically to the Patas monkey, have spread across the northern part of the area from a single source, which is, however, ultimately cognate with this root. Thus within Yoruboid, the Yoruba form may represent the cognate showing the regular sound development for the group, while the Igala one is the result of a later loan; similarly, the Kakanda and Uzekwe forms may be loans in their groups.

2. This appears to be a purely oral root.

The transcription of lenis consonants from all authors has been harmonized so that they are all written as 'C rather than Ch, to avoid confusion with aspirated consonants and English orthographic "ch".

1. *P-ATLAN-CONGO* **- b ö k ö -"monkey"
   or **- p ö k ö -"monkey" (general term)

   *NEW BENU-BANGU*

   Yoruboid *Yoruba* ɔ - b ö -"monkey" Armstrong 1965
   *Igala* ɔ - b á ɗu -"Patas monkey" Armstrong 1965

   Edoid *Ive* o - ɗe -"monkey" orthographic

   *Nupoid* ɗe - b ö -"monkey" Banfield 1914-16
   *Kakanda* b á ɗu -"monkey" R. Blench
   *L.Cross* *Aniang* e - b ö -"monkey"
   *U.Cross* *PUC* ɗpödak ö -"monkey" Dimmendaal 1978
   *Ukpet* ɗvok "monkey" J. Fajen
   *Uzekwe* ɔ - b å ɗu -"red monkey" Abraham 1940
   *S.Bandg* *Tiv* (a) - b á ɗu -"red monkey" R. Koops
   *Kaka* m - b å -"monkey" Crabb 1965
   *Ekold* A - p ö g -"monkey" O. Asinya

   *N - b å g -"monkey"* G.321

   Notes: 1. It is likely that the -bagwu forms, which are closely similar across different language groups and usually refer specifically to the Patas monkey, have spread across the northern part of the area from a single source, which is, however, ultimately cognate with this root. Thus within Yoruboid, the Yoruba form may represent the cognate showing the regular sound development for the group, while the Igala one is the result of a later loan; similarly, the Kakanda and Uzekwe forms may be loans in their groups.

   2. This appears to be a purely oral root.
Notes: 1. Cf. Armstrong 1964/23, who cites PWS *gi, gia; without any C2 it is impossible to be sure if all the items are cognate. 2. The correspondence of velars to alveolars in Tano is regular (J. Stewart, p.c.); cf. item 10. 3. I assume that a nasalized vowel before a non-lenis plosive causes nasal epenthesis in both Ijo and South Bantoid. Other examples are found in Items 3, 5, 9, 15, 17 and 23.

3. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** c i k- "rub"
Ijo P-Ijo s i k i r i "rub"
NEW KWA
Tano Akan - c w "rub" J. Stewart
NEW BENUE-CONGO
Igbo c i "smear, rub" Green & Igwe 1963
Platoid Kpan c e u-ni? "rub" K. Shimizu
C.Delta Odual - s i y a "rub (oil) on body)" Wolff 1969
S.Bantoid Tiv f i y e "anoint, smear" (retranscribed) Abraham 1940
Esimbi - s l g i "wipe, rub, clean" J.-M. Hombert
P-Mbam-Nkam - c i k- "rub" Elias & al.1984/297
CB c i g "rub" G.358

Note: The first syllable was originally nasalized, as indicated by Esimbi and CB; the aspiration in Igbo indicates an earlier nasalized vowel. The nasality has been lost entirely in Ijo.

4. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** d o k u "paddle (canoe)"
Ijo P-Ijo d o k e "paddle (canoe)"
NEW BENUE-CONGO
S.Bantoid CB - d o g "paddle" G.735

Note: This appears to be an entirely oral root.

5. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** d 2 k i "burn"
Ijo P-Ijo d 2 k i "burn vi."
Kalabari d 2 k i "burn"
Izon (Mien) y i i "burn"
NEW BENUE-CONGO
Yoruba P-Yoruboid j o "burn" Akinkugbe 1978/247
Idomoid P-Idomoid y i "burn" Armstrong 1983/127
Igbo P-Igbo d e "burn vi." W and O-A
Nupoid Nupe d i "burn" Banfield 1914-16
Ebira r t "burn" R. Blench
Platoid Kpan y d "burn" K. Shimizu
C.Delta Abuan - l e "burn" Wolff 1969
S.Bantoid Tiv - y e y "be alight" Abraham 1940
Ekoid A r o i "burn" Crabb 1965
Ekoid F r o i "burn" Crabb 1965
or d e i
CB - d g - "become burnt" G.612
- d å n g u d- "become burnt" G.719

Note: The two CB forms suggest variation between oral and nasalized first vowel. I have assumed that the nasalized form is older and that the oral form results from loss of nasality at some stage creating a variant. Such oral/nasal variants also occur in Ijo, suggesting that they are very old.

6. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** d a p a "swamp, pool"
or ** d a p a "swamp, pool"
Ijo P-Ijo d å p å "swamp, pool"
Okrika d å p å "lake"
Izon (Bumu) d å b å "swamp"
NEW BENUE-CONGO
Nupoid Nupe l e b ü? "rain puddles" Banfield 1914-16
C.Delta Agholo j l å b "swamp" Wolff 1969
S.Bantoid Ekoid F å y e b "water" Crabb 1965
M å l å b "water" Crabb 1965
P å n å b "water" Crabb 1965
P-Mbam-Nkam - d i b "water" Elias & al.1984/390
Kenyang - n e b "water" Miehe 1985
P-Manenguba - d i b "water" Hedinger 1987/125
Londo - d i b "water, river" Kuperus 1985
CB - d å b å "pool" G.557
- d å b å "pool, (well), (deep water)" G.603
- d å b å "water" G.605
Note: This root is listed by Miehe (1985) as having /n/ alternation in the first consonant, but it is possible that the nasality results from the Class 6a prefix.

7. P-ATLAN-CONGO **- d ɨ ɨ p i (k) "bury"
P-JjQ - d ɨ p i "bury, plant"

NEW KWA
Tano Akan - s i - e? "bury" J. Stewart

NEW BENUE-CONGO
Youubd P-Yoruboid 'd i "bury (object)" Akinikube 1978/122
Nupoid Nupe dz u "bury" Banfield 1914-16
Idomoid Idoma ny i "bury, plant, Armstrong 1963
Platoid PP 4 d u "bury" Gerhardt 1983
PJ nd i P "bury" Shimizu 1980
U.Cross PUC n i "bury" Dimmendaal 1978
C.Delta Abuan - d i "bury" Gardner 1980
Agholo - d i y "bury" Wolff 1969
S.Band Tiv i i "bury" Abraham 1940
Ba ban ny in "bury" K. Shimizu
Noni dy e "bury" Miehe 1985
CB - d i j k "bury; plant" G.615

Notes: 1. This root has usually been reconstructed as monosyllabic; cf. PWS li. If the P-JjQ form is a direct cognate, then the labial C2 has been lost in most forms; indeed, the only other evidence for it here is the PJ reconstruction, which in turn is based on the single form njip (Bika dialect of Kuteb). Miehe (1985.266) apparently does not regard the PJ reconstruction as cognate with the other Benue-Congo forms; she lists the root with /n/ alternation.

2. Stewart (1989.72-3) draws attention to Meeussen's (1979.72) discussion of this root as one where the long vowel which appears in Guthrie's reconstruction can clearly be shown to be secondary, resulting from the suffixation of a verbal extension. Stewart then reconstructs *-l for Proto-Bantu and refers Guthrie's reconstruction to Proto-Congo Bantu, i.e. Bantu without North-West Bantu. The long vowel in Tiv is then problematical. An alternative view, suggested here, is that the 'b' is original; the long vowel of Tiv results from its loss. The 'k' of CB also possibly corresponds to /y/ in Agholo and if so is older than Proto-Bantu.

8. P-ATLAN-CONGO **- d ɨ k i "rope"
P-JjQ - d ɨ k i "rope"

NEW BENUE-CONGO
Edoid - d u N i "rope" Elugbe 1989/70
Nupoid Gade ū r i "rope" R. Blench
Idomoid P-Idomoid o r i "rope" Armstrong 1983/106
Igbooid P-Igbooid -d i "rope" W and O-A
Platoid PP 2-K - d i k "rope" Gerhardt 1983
PP 2-J - l i k "rope" Gerhardt 1983
PP 4 - d i k "rope" Shimizu 1980
PJ - d i k "rope" Dimmendaal 1978
U.Cross PUC "rope" L. Hyman
C.Delta Kugbô -d i y "rope" Wolff 1969
S.Band Ekold A - d i g i "rope" Crabb 1965
PEG - l i k "rope" L. Hyman
CB - d i g "rope" G.613

2. Nasality is reconstructed in the second syllable to account for the Edoid forms.
3. Reduplication in Igbooid and Central Delta is probably the result of a frozen Class 5 prefix.

9. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** g ɨ t d i: "walk, go"
     or ** k ɨ t d i: "walk"
P-JjQ w ɨ d i: "walk" Akassa m ê nd l: "walk"

NEW BENUE-CONGO
Nupoid Gade g ū "go" R. Blench
Idomoid P-Idomoid y ū "go, walk, travel" Armstrong 1983/128
Igbooid P-Igbooid g ū "go" W and O-A
S.Band Tiv dz ū nd e "walk" Abraham 1940
Ekold F j ū n "walk" Crabb 1965
Mbe - k ū n "walk" BCCW/46
Londo - k ū nd- "walk" Kuperus 1985
CB - g ū nd- "walk, travel" G.807
   - y ū nd- "go, walk, travel" G.1975-6
Notes: 1. See BCCW/46.
2. The voiceless/voiced alternation suggests an original voiceless lenis consonant.

10. P-ATLAN-CONGO **- 'gw ̀o k- "bathe, swim"
   PO P-[j]o ̀ o ́ k "swim"
   Kalabari ̀ o ́ k "swim"
   Biseni ̀ e ́ k "swim"

NEW KWA
   Tano Akan - g- ̀ a r ! "bathe" Stewart 1989
   NEW BENUE-CONGO
   Yorubd P-Yoruboid gw â "wash body, bathe"
   Nupe gb - "swim" Banfield 1914-16
   Igbo P-Igbo ̀ - "swim" W and O-A
   Idomoid ̀ g "bathe" Armstrong 1983/27
   Platoid PCJ ̀ v o ́ g "bathe, swim" Shimizu 1980
   PP 4 w â k "swim" Gerhardt 1983
   Kuteb jw e "bathe" Armstrong 1964/19
   U.Cross PUC gw ̀ s k "swim" Dimmendaal 1978
   L.Cross Efik ws s k "swim"
   S.Bantd Tiv ̀ s ! "wash body, clothing, swimming" Abraham 1940
   Tiv ̀ ú - w é ? "swim" Armstrong 1983/27
   Ekold A w ̀ s g "swim" Crabb 1965
   F y ̀ s g "swim" Crabb 1965
   T n ̀ o ́ g "swim" Crabb 1965
   Kenyang ̀ y ̀ s k "wash, bathe" Hedinger 1987/651
   P-Manenguba ̀ w ̀ s g "wash" Kuperus 1983
   Londo ̀ s k "wash" Kuperus 1983
   CB ̀ y ̀ o ́ g- "bathe" G.2107
   ̀ y ̀ o ́ g- "bathe"

2. Masuality is very elusive in this root. It is found in the second syllable of only one group of jP lects, in Nupe, and in 3 Ekold lects. If it were originally in the first syllable, it might conceivably be responsible for the "heavy" syllable of Akan and the long vowel of CB, as nasalized vowels are often longer than oral ones.

11. P-ATLAN-CONGO **- l ̀ ò l ò "intestines"
   IJO P-[j]o ̀ l ̀ ò l ò "intestines" (East Ijo)

NEW KWA
   Akan - y á "intestines" Stewart 1989
   NEW BENUE-CONGO
   Nupoid Ebira ̀ l n á "stomach" Adive 1989
   Gade gl - ny á "stomach" Sterk 1977
   Platoid PP 2-K ̀ n a "intestines, belly" Gerhardt 1983
   PP 2-J ̀ n e (g) "belly" Gerhardt 1983
   PP 2-J ̀ n a (g) "intestines" Gerhardt 1983
   PP 3 ̀ l a "intestines" Gerhardt 1983
   PP 4 ̀ n e "belly" Gerhardt 1983
   C.Delta Abuan ̀ l a "intestines" Gardner 1980
   N.Band Mambila ̀ l a "stomach" D. Zeitlyn
   S.Bantu Tiv ̀ ñ y ̀ y "stomach" Abraham 1940
   Ekold A ̀ l á "belly" Crabb 1965
   Ekold F ̀ y á "belly" Crabb 1965
   Ekold O ̀ n á "belly" Crabb 1965
   Mbe ̀ l e "belly" Miehe 1985
   Kenyang ̀ n y e "belly" Miehe 1985
   CB ̀ d á "intestines" G.442
   ̀ d á "abdomen" G.443

Note: See BCCW/10. Miehe (1985) lists this root with Un alternation.

12. P-ATLAN-CONGO **- l ò l ò "watch"
   IJO P-[j]o ̀ l ò l ò "keep an eye on; watch (someone)"

NEW KWA
   Tano Akan - y é ò "watch" Stewart 1989
   NEW BENUE-CONGO
   Nupoid Nupe ̀ l ò e "see" Banfield 1914-16
   Ebira r é "see" Adive 1989
   Igbo P-Igbo ̀ l e "look at" W and O-A
   C.Delta Odual ̀ n o ̀ n "look after" Wolff 1969
   S.Bantu CB ̀ d ó d- "look, look at" G.641
Notes: 1. Stewart (1989.53, 84) reconstructs PVCg *mr, i.e. the allophone of *-d- in a nasal environment, for the second syllable of this item. The VN alternation in this root, which is not listed by Miehe (1985), is thus due to a nasal second syllable. Igbo lects also show VN alternation in this item. Ibo shows -n as C1 in both items 11 and 12 corresponding to PVCg *r. The loss of *-n- in Ibo before a nasalized vowel in C2 position is also observed in Item 18.

13. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** - k g g n i "one"
   Ijo P-Ijo - k g g n i "one"
      (Koluama)
   Biseni k g n i "one"

NEW KWA
   Tano Akan - k g "one" Christaller 1933

NEW BENUE-CONGO
   Nupoid Gbargyi-Nkwa - g m n y i "one" R. Blench
   Yorubd Yoruba - k q "one" Armstrong 1985
   Akpes Ikeram e - k i n i "one"
   Iboland Eloyo k o n z e "one" H. Mackay
   Plateid PP 2-J - g i n i "one" Gerhardt 1983
   PP 4 - y a n i "one" Gerhardt 1983
   Bendl Bekwara o - k i n i "one"
   U.Cross PUC g a - n i "one" Dimmendaal 1978
   L.Cross PLC - k e n i "one" B. Connell
   M.Bantu Tiba a - k i n i "one" R. Blench
   S.Bantu Eaimbi k e n i "one" J.-M. Hombert

Note: This root was proposed by Armstrong (1964/45) and discussed by Williamson (1989b.255). The counting form with -g- or a long vowel found in a few Ibo lects suggests that this was originally a trisyllabic root, a view supported by the long vowel of Lower Cross. See also BCCW/103.

14. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** - k q d o "be(com)e strong, hard"
    Ijo P-Ijo - k q r i "be(com)e strong, hard"

NEW BENUE-CONGO
   U.Cross PUC kp o D e? "strong, hard" Dimmendaal 1978
   S.Bantu CB - k o d- "become strong" G.1104

Notes: 1. Cf. PWN 301 KWUA- "strong, hard", which includes a number of kp- reflexes but does not connect the CB form, and BCCW/48. 2. This appears to be a purely oral root.

15. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** - k g g o "neck"
    Ijo P-Ijo k g g o "neck"
    Kalabari k g ng o "neck"

Tano Akan - k s "neck" Christaller 1933

NEW BENUE-CONGO
   N.Bantu Tiba a - k u n a "neck" Crabb 1965
   S.Bantu Ekoid N p - k g g o "throat" G.1086
   CB - k i n g o "neck"
   U.Cross PUC g a - n i "neck" Dimmendaal 1978
   S.Bantu CB - k i n i "neck" B. Connell

Notes: 1. Cf. PWS -k’u, -kú- "Hals", Greenberg 1963.21/35, and Armstrong (1964/43); but many of the forms there belong to PVCg ‘k’u, CB ‘kó’i. 2. Cf. discussion in Bennett and Sterk (1977.253) and Williamson (1989b.250,253-4).

16. P-ATLAN-CONGO ** - k u m i "medicine"
    Ijo P-Ijo k u m u "medicine"

NEW BENUE-CONGO
   Yorubd P-Yoruboid o - g ü "medicine" Akinkugbe 1978/31I
   Edoid Arq i - k u m i "medicine" orthographic
   Ivi i - k u m i "medicine" W and O-A
   Igbo P-Igboi s - g w ü "medicine" Elias et al. 1984/230
   L.Cross Obolo ü - ü m "medicine" Crabb 1965
   S.Bantu P-Mbam-Nkam - k u m "medicine"
   Ekoid O - k s m "medicine"
17. **P-ATLAN-CONGO** **- 'pokies** "listen"

**IJO** **P-Ijọ** **pówki** "listen"

**NEW BENUE-CONGO**

Yorubid P-Yoruboid

Nupoid Nupe

Idomoid P-Idomoid

Platoid PP 2-K

PJ

N.Bandt Samba Daka

S.Bandt Tiv

**P-Mbam-Nkam**

**P-Manenguba**

Lendo

CB

**P-Mbam-Nkam**

**P-Manenguba**

Akinkugbe 1978/360

Banfield 1914-16

Gerhardt 1983

Shimizu 1980

R. Blench

Abraham 1940

Hedinger 1987

Kuperus 1985

Wolff 1969

Hedinger 1987

Notes:

1. I have assumed the original meaning was "listen", as in **Ijọ**, because there is another old root **ng "hear"**, which also occurs in **Ijọ**, cf. Bennett & Sterk (1977.260).

2. Bennett & Sterk (1977.260) suggest that this root is an innovation in South Central Niger-Congo (= New Kwa + New Benue-Congo). Blench (1989) proposes **wo "hear"** for Benue-Congo. If all these forms are cognate, it is likely that the original initial was 'p, as that will allow for later weakenings (cf. Stewart 1989). As in Items 3 and 5, there is variation between nasalized and oral first vowel.

18. **P-ATLAN-CONGO** **- pólí** "fly v."

**IJO** **P-Ijọ** **fólí** "fly v."

**NEW BENUE-CONGO**

Yorubid P-Yoruboid

Nupoid Nupe

Idomoid P-Idomoid

Platoid PP 2-K

PJ

U.Cross PUC

C.Delta PCD

S.Bandt Tiv

Estimbi

P-Manenguba

Akinkugbe 1978/70

Banfield 1914-16

Stark 1977

Shimizu 1980

Dimmenual 1978

Wolff 1969

Abraham 1940

J.-M. Hombert

Hedinger 1987

Notes:

1. See BCCW/25.

2. This appears to be a purely oral root.

19. **P-ATLAN-CONGO** **- tǎ g̣g̣** "tail"

**IJO** **Ijọn** **sâ sâ** "tail"

(Okolukuma)

Okordia

R. Blench

Sumakpan

Abraham 1940

K. Shimizu

Abraham 1984/348

Notes:

1. Cf. FWS pi, pil "fliegen".


20. **P-ATLAN-CONGO** **- tǎ ḳḷ** "dance"

**IJO** **P-Ijọ** **sî ḳḷ** "dance v., n."

**NEW KWA**

Guan P-Guan

Akan

P-Manenguba

S.Bandt Kaka

Londo

C.K. Shimizu

Christaller 1933

R. Blench

BCCW/25

BCCW/25

BCCW/25

BCCW/25

BCCW/25

Notes:

1. See BCCW/25.

2. This appears to be a purely oral root.
21. P-ATLAN-CONGO ***-t á l i
IjQ P- lý s i l i
NEW BENEUE-CONGO
Nupoid Nupe ts á
Edoid P-Edoid j t
U.Cross Etuno ch e r e
S.Bandt T’v ts ó r
P-Manenguba - s á l
CB - c á d-

Note: This appears to be a purely oral root. IjQ retains *-l- before an oral vowel, whereas it lost it before a nasalized one in Items 12 and 18.

22. P-ATLAN-CONGO ***-t á k á
IjQ P- lý s á á
NEW BENEUE-CONGO
Nupoid Gade 0 - s á
Platoid PP 2-K - t y á k
U.Cross PUC - d y á n g
S.Bandt P-Mbam-Nkam - c é C-
P-Manenguba - s á ny

Note: Cf. Greenberg 1963.159/287 C2 of P-Mbam-Nkam is n, 0 or zero.

23. P-ATLAN-CONGO ***-t á d á
IjQ P- lý t á d á
Okrika t á n d á
NEW BENEUE-CONGO
S.Bandt CB - t á n d á

Note: This root, which is not listed by Miehe, shows Un alteration in its second consonant. Nupe also shows nasality. IjQ retains *-l-, suggesting that the second vowel is oral (cf. Item 21, Note). I have therefore reconstructed nasality on the first syllable. Since *-l- is not a plosive, nasal epenthesis cannot take place; it is tentatively proposed that the long vowel of CB might be due to the loss of nasality on an originally nasalized vowel, which tends to be longer than an oral one (cf. Item 10, Note 2).

Abbreviations

C. = Central
CB = Common Bantu
G. = Guthrie 1967-71
L. = Lower
N. = North
P- = Proto-
PCJ = Proto-Central Jukunoid
PEG = Proto-Eastern Grassfields
PJ = Proto-Jukunoid
PLC = Proto-Lower Cross
PP 2-I = Proto-Plateau 2 (Jaba subgroup)
PP 2-K = Proto-Plateau 2 (Kagoro subgroup)
PP 3 = Proto-Plateau 3
PP 4 = Proto-Plateau 4
PUC = Proto-Upper Cross
PWN = Proto-Western Nigritic
PWS = Proto-Western Sudanic (Westermann 1927)
S. = South
U. = Upper
W and O-A = Williamson & Ohiri-Aniche (forthcoming)
W and T = Williamson & Timitimi 1983
Bibliography