

PROTO-IJOID RECONSTRUCTIONS
VERSION 3.1: 4 October 2004

Kay Williamson (†)
Roger Blench

[This version was left by KW after her death. I subsequently converted it to Unicode and reconverted to Modern Unicode in June 2012. In 2005 I added many more potential Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo cognates, but did not eliminate some of the more problematic insertions by KW such as PBAB, an idea whose time came and went. We now have much better ideas about Defaka, which should be included, and I see many more Niger-Congo cognates which could be entered. But the whole document needs radical reshaping, which is not going to happen immediately. RMB]

Original note by KW

Since Version 1, the following changes have been made:

- Many corrections to remove errors and inconsistencies
- Items on the Swadesh 100 list added even if no Proto-Ijɔ reconstruction can be found.
- A few other new items added
- Comparisons added with I ilo-Saharan (I S) (mainly Bender , Blench ined., Ehret 2001), Westermann's (1927) Proto-West Sudanic (PWS), Proto-Potou-Akanic-Bantu (PPAB) (Stewart 2002), *Bantu lexical reconstructions 3* (BLR3), Tervuren, Dogon (Calame-Griaule 1968, I ewcomer 2000), and Mandinka and Wolof (from Fari Supiya).

This is still work in progress. Improved versions will be provided in future.

See Figure 1 (at end) for map of Ijoid, and Figure 2 for classification of Ijoid lects.

Reconstruction of Proto-Ijɔ

A word is reconstructed to Proto-Ijɔ (PI) if it occurs in any three of the four following groups of lects:

- Eastern Ijɔ (EI)** 1. Kalabari-Kırıkę-İbanı (KaKiBa) plus I koro =KOI!
 2. I embe-Akaha (I A)

- Western Ijɔ (WI)** 3. Izon
 4. İnland Ijɔ (Oruma plus Akita plus Biseni) I ote: Inland Ijɔ, especially Oruma, shows resemblances to EI, suggesting they were once adjacent and have been split by the intrusion of Central Delta languages.

Reconstruction of Proto-Ijoid

A word is reconstructed to Proto-Ijoid (PIjd) if

- a) it occurs in Proto-Ijɔ and Defaka, but doubtfully (indicated by (?)) if it is so similar in form as to suggest the Defaka word may be borrowed from Ijɔ;

- b) it occurs in part of Ijɔ and Defaka, but doubtfully (indicated by (?)) if the Defaka word is so similar in form to its nearest neighbours (I kɔrɔ and KaKiBa) as to suggest it may be borrowed from Ijɔ.
- c) it occurs in either Ijɔ or Defaka and also in one or more non-Ijoid branches of I iger-Congo. In this case Ijɔ or Defaka, whichever does not have the word, is assumed to have innovated.

Arrangement of table by columns:

1. English gloss; glosses in double quotes are I igerian usages.
2. Proto-Ijɔ reconstruction, segmentally.
3. Tone class of Proto-Ijɔ reconstruction, because actual phonetic realization is complicated. Basically, tone class 1 is low with a high (or accent in pitch accent lects) realized either finally or on a later morpheme; tone class 2 is high (or unaccented in pitch accent lects); tone class 3 is high-low-high (merging with tone class 1 in pitch accent lects, realized with a downstep in Kalabarj-Kırıke-İbanj (henceforth KaKiBa); tone class 4 contains all words which do not fit into one of the other tone classes; tone class 5 is low with a final high that does not move like the final high of tone class 1 or moves only one syllable.
4. Defaka: Jenewari's i and v have been retranscribed as /i u/, as [ɪ] and [ʊ] have been found to be non-contrastive in Defaka (Shyrock et al. 1996/97: 4). Low tone is unmarked, ' high, ^ downstep. [dʒ] of Shyrock et al. retranscribed as j.
5. Source of Defaka form: J = Jenewari 1983, followed by its number in his wordlist, or a reference to the example in which it occurs; or S, referring to the wordlist collected by Peter Ladefoged and Kay Williamson, published in Shyrock, Ladefoged and Williamson 1996/97, with a note where the gloss differs from that in column 1.
6. Proto-Ijoid reconstruction, without tone.
7. Notes on meanings, etc.
8. Brief partial indication of cognates outside Ijoid.

C- = C1 in initial position

-C = C1 after vowel

-C- = C2

Dogon t = tɔrɔ

Dogon ds = donno-so from Bandiagara

Dogon m = mombo [Kolum] from Kori-Kori

Dogon jt = jamsay-tegu from Mondoro

Dogon tk = tengu-kan from I ombori

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
able to, be above, top	inẽ̃ əgənɔ̃	2 4			**əgənɔ̃ ?		?PPAB jɔlv <i>top; sky</i> ?BLR gvdɔ LL 1486 <i>sky; top</i>
absent, be = finish vi	faa	1					
aerial yam	ətɔm̩	2			**ətɔm̩ ?	<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i> <i>cf.</i> Blench 1996, fc	Aka C10 tombo Iten tom PIgboid *-d᷑
<i>Aframomum melegueta</i>	sanĩ	1				“alligator pepper”	
agree = believe	bebeři (?)	1					
air	ɛwɔ	2					
all	sɛ	2			* sɛ 2?	= tribe, nation in KI	?BLR ce L 499 <i>all</i>
“alligator”	see crocodile						
angle (for fish)	daa/dai	2					
animal <i>cf.</i> meat	nãmã	2	ami, onuma	J 137 <i>animal</i>	**ənãmã		PWS -niàm-, -nàm- <i>Tier, Fleisch</i> Dogon d-s nama <i>animal, meat</i> BLR nama LL 2241 <i>animal; meat</i>
another	jim̩	2					
answer = reply v.	pakarai (?)	3			**pakarai ?		
ant	isõdɔv (?)	2	pakara	J 313	**isõdɔv (?)		?BLR cadaku HLL 409 <i>driver or army ant</i>
“antelope”	see sitatunga						
arm = hand	bara	3	káa	J 18	**bara		Mandinka buloo <i>arm</i>
arm = hand	bara	3	káa	J 18	**káa		PWS -ka <i>Hand</i> Igbo áká BLR kaca LL 1647 <i>palm, hand, foot, footprint</i>
armpit	ətoŋđl̩i (biyo/bilebu)	2 (3/2)				Ijo: <i>armpit (inside)</i>	
ascend = climb	igou	3	tandi ángí	J 281 S			

Gloss	Proto-Ij̥o	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ij̥oid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
ashes	fẽ̃	3	lári wãã	J 66			?Dogon t úno <i>cendre</i>
ask (general)	bii	1	bie	S	**bie	(general)	PWS bí- (bítíá) <i>fragen</i>
ask (question)	gbel3 3 EI (question)	1	gbilia	J 312	**gbeli3 ?	(question)	?BLR badi H 8891 <i>ask</i>
ask (request)	bii	1	mundu	J 314		(request)	
axe	apala	4	ngi	J			
			in̥gi	S			
axe	kũbu	1	ngi	J			
			in̥gi	S			
back	ɔbʊ	1	obo	S	**ɔbʊ		
			okpo	J 17			
back of	tõgu	1					
back of head	(tibí) tõgu	(2) 1					
bad, become	sei	1	sei	J 256	**sei		PWS -kua, -kual- <i>Tasche, Köcher</i>
bag	akpa	1			**akpa		BC: Igbo àkpà ?BLR pago LL 9340 <i>bladder, bag</i>
bale out	õw̃t̃i	2					
“bamboo”	b̃b̃b̃õ ?	1					
							<i>midrib of palm frond</i>
bargain, “price”	tubo	2					
bark	t̃ẽi ɔpār̃ā(õ) ?	2 2					<i>tree-covering</i>
baracuda	d̃ər̃õv	2					<i>Sphyraena barracuda</i>
basket	kanã	1	lúá	J 81			round, handles
basketwork	ɛkere	1					
fishing trap							
bat, fruit-	peekū	1	peku	J 173, S	**peekū ?	Contrast <i>listen</i>	
bathe	(b̃d̃i) biri	(1) 2	soro	J 354 <i>wash</i> (body)		Cf. <i>wash.</i>	
bead	ila	2			**ila		PPAB -lã <i>abdomen</i>
							BLR da L 773 <i>abdomen, intestines; pregnancy; inside</i>
bear (child)	jii	1	ezé	J 270	**eji ?	j = z cf. <i>go down</i>	Cf. Bisa (I aden) yi

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
beard	ipɔri	2	eferu	J 11	**ipɔri ??	p = f??	?BLR jibvud H 3392 <i>bear (child)</i>
beat (drum)	fari	2	onuna onũmã	J 359 S			
beat, flog, hit	fɔmū	1	pini	J 358	**fɔmū		PPAB -pāv̄i <i>shout; quarrel</i> BLR pam H 2382 <i>hit</i>
bedroom, inner room	ojukuru	1					
bee	akamã	4	6éṁ	J 167 cf. <i>honey</i>			
beg, pray	tke	3					
begin	koro	2					
believe	see agree						
bell	igbemɔ̄	2					
belly	(biri) Izon	2			**biri	check RMB	Pi S pér/péd 567 <i>lower side of body</i> Dogon j-t bere <i>stomach</i> Wolof biir AU Mundang bér PWS -pu- <i>Bauch, Magen</i> Mande: Bam, Dju furu PPAB fu <i>stomach</i> BLR pudv 3958 <i>stomach, belly</i>
belly, stomach	furou	3	ito	J 15, S	**furou		
beside, side	ãgã	2					
big adj.	opu	1	ibo	J 243, S	**Vpu	-p = -b cf. <i>bow</i>	
big/fat, become	dẽba	1				cf. <i>white</i>	
bile, gall	ılakɔlo (?)	4				Ijo: metathesis?	
akiyɔ́ (?)							
bind, tie (bundle)	fẽnã	3	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**fẽnã		BLR pind H 2578 <i>tie knot</i>
bird	ofon̄i	2	yei yee	J 170 S	**yei/yee		?BLR pundi LL 9769 <i>bird, senegali</i>
bite	oŵõi	2	agba	J 263, S			With DF cf Yoruba, but Fyem yèré/yéré is loan from Chadic (I ettle p.33) ?? Mandinka kiŋ <i>to bite</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
bitter, become	akɔɔ̄	3					Mandinka kúnaj <i>bitter, hot (of pepper)</i> Ohiri-Aniche reconstructs PIYE kũ <i>taste bitter</i> . Cf. Mande forms (Mukarovsky 1987:97)
blind	ɓāga	2					
blood	asiī	1					BLR cii LH 6453 <i>blood</i>
blow (nose)	ɔfiī	2	asi	J 26	**asiī **ɔfiī ?	some euphemisms =sweep	PPAB pimbí BLR pemb H 2440 ?BLR pion 6445 <i>blow the nose</i> PWS pú- <i>blasen, wehen</i> PPAB -pulu BLR pud H 2672 <i>blow (with mouth)</i>
blow (with mouth)	ofuro	3/2	oforo	J 381	**oforo ?	Doubtful because of f = f	
board (boat)	ɓikəlɔ̄ (?)	3					
boat = canoe	arɔ̄	2	ándu	J 106	**ãdv̄		Wolof gaal g- F Gur: Kusaal ?aarur Dagbani ŋarɔŋ Mampruli ariŋgu (I aden 1989:152) BLR jato HL 3252 <i>canoe</i>
body	ɓv̄	2	óm	J 24			
body	ojū	3	óm	J 24			
boil (of water)	dári	2					
bone	ígbɔ̄ñ	2	m̄buia	J 24	**ügbəu/ügbuz	gb = b ?other examples?	I S: PI *käw, Lokai kwa , Katcha kùbà , ... PWS -kú , -kúp- , -kúá <i>Knocken</i> BLR kupa HL 2132 <i>bone</i>
bottle	ololo	2					
bottom	tuku	2					
bow (shooting)	ʒpep̄í (Izqon opomū, apobu, apepi, etc.)	2	obum	J 77	**ʒpʒp̄í	-p = -b cf. <i>big</i>	
bows (of boat)	ʊkvłɔ̄v̄	4					
box vt	gbəli	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
branch	ikpágí	1					
branch	té̄ñ bara	2 3					common in I ilo-Saharan (RMB)
break (pot, calabash) = kill	baa	2	baa	J 360	**baa	Ijo = <i>tree-arm</i>	
break (stick)	yayʊ-mā (?)	3	ayu-ma	J 361	**yayʊ-ma	0 = y	
breakable plate	efere	2	alilá	S			culture word? cf. I upe fèrè 'cover for pots'
breast	ídõú/ídõú	2	ónúó	J 13	**ídõú ?	<i>cf. suck</i> d>Df n /V--V ?	Dogon j-t iru
breast milk	ídõú/ídõú bëdi	2 1				Ijo: <i>breast water</i>	
breathe	iỹ/íba sara	2/1+?				Ijo: <i>breath +breathe</i>	
bring	akí bø	2 2				Ijo: <i>take-come</i>	
bring up = look after (child)	gbali	1					
bring up = look after (child)	kokou	3					
broom	ilia	2					
brother	bĩnã owei/bø	1 2/-	món ^t gí/ agbara bái	J 190/1 <i>elder/</i> <i>younger male</i>	**bĩnã	Ijo: <i>sibling man/person</i>	Dogon t mènɛ <i>parenté</i>
bundle	poku	2/1			**poku ?		?BLR pudžkvtv LLLL 3964
burn (as fire) vi	kɔri/kvarí	1					Pi S k'bɔr 1050 <i>to burn (intr.)</i>
burn (as house) vi	ijɔkř	3			**ijɔkř		BLR jokř L 3532 <i>roast; burn</i> BLR jonki L 3578 <i>roast; burn; tr.</i>
bury	dipi	1	libi	J 367	**dipi	-p- = -b-	PWS li <i>begraben</i> PPAB -di
bush = forest	þeu	1	ónúmá	J 103, S	**þou ?	In EI, <i>mangrove forest</i> as opposed to <i>dry land forest</i>	BLR dirk L <i>bury; (plant)</i> ?PWS -pú- <i>Busch, Feld</i>
bush-pig = Red River Hog	ðbi	?	ebe	S <i>pig</i>	**ðbi	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	AU Mundang bílì <i>porc</i>
buy	fœ/fœi	2	cœcs				
calabash cup	päga	1					
call vt	té̄ñ	1	þüñ	J 309	**té̄ñ		?BLR ta H 2710 <i>call; name</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
call vt canoe = boat	t̩̄i arv	1 2	bū̄š ándu	J 309 J 106	**bū̄š **ãdv		?PI S pá:ŋ 564 <i>to call</i> Wolof gaal g- F Gur: Kusaal ?aarun Dagbani ŋarɔŋ Mampruli ariŋu (I aden 1989:152) BLR jato HL 3252 <i>canoe</i>
cap = hat carry (child at side)	tō̄ū d̩ek̄i	2 3	okpobiri	J 88			Mundang dəŋgèl ‘carry on head’
carry (load)	p̄era	3	é̄ké	J 324		<i>cf. big, white</i>	?BLR peek L_ 7924 <i>carry (on back)</i>
carve	kara	2	ebe ēbe	J 370 S			BLR kad H 1659 <i>tear; cut</i>
case, dispute catch, hold	bere	2					
causative suffix	k̄ori	1	ari	J 372	**k̄ori ?	DF: k- lost? <i>cf. heavy</i>	?BLR kod H 6999 <i>take; touch</i>
<i>Centropus senegalensis</i> = coucal, Senegal	-mā	toneless	-ma	J various	**-mā ?	DF: meaning? vt + vi	Mande?
chair, seat	otiti	2					
change	íkasí	4?			**íkasí ?		?BLR kwasá 4915 <i>chair</i>
charcoal	idoi/ídõi ?	1					
charm, book = “medicine”	áḡi ?	2	áí	J 63	**áḡi	<i>cf. egg for sound correspondences</i>	
cheek	d̄iri	2					
cheek	loku (KOII)	1			**loku ?		Dogon j-t lege <i>cheek</i>
chest, width (of chest)	kubu	3			**kubu	<i>cf. jaw</i>	BLR kuba HL 2106 <i>chest</i>
chew	tokori	1			**tokori ?		Dogon j-t toguru
chewing stick	d̄vk̄ɔ̄š ?	2					??PWS -tá (+ Nasal) <i>kauen</i>
child	t̄bək̄v	1	awo	J 186, S <i>young person</i>		<i>cf. children</i>	?BLR takun H 2742 <i>chew</i>
							Defaka cf. Plateau e.g. Ikulu ε-wen and others (RMB)

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
cook vt	tɔwɔ	1	tua	J 338 <i>cook, fry</i>	**tɔwa	-ɔ =-a cf. <i>enter</i>	TR: Adele tɔ (Heine 1968:97)
cooking pot	ɓełɛ	2	íjá íjá	J 68 S	**ɓełɛ		Mande
corpse	dɔ̃w̃ẽi	2	eze nò'óm	J 206		Df <i>dead person</i>	
cotton tree, kapok	asíkaka ?	4					
coucal, Senegal	otiti	2					<i>Centropus senegalensis</i>
cough	əlɔ́yɔ ?	2	óló	source??	**əlɔ́yɔ ?		
count	kii̯e	1					Pi S kʰɛ'yɛl 1026 <i>to reckon (number or amount of)</i> I S: Kunama kala , Bari ken , P-Daju *ŋgan-, ... (RMB) I C: Akan kàṇ , PTR -kálà, PJ -kwèṇ
covenant	ɔvɔɔ	4?					
cover vt =close vt	gbāñ	3	kpana	J 375 <i>cover (a pot)</i>	**kpānā/gbānā	-n->0/V--V	?BLR pamík H_ 8210 <i>close tightly</i>
cow	zṽi	2	ánám'bá	J 141 (<i>zebu</i>)	** anam'ba ?	Ijo: probably original reference to muturu; cf. Igboid éfí	PWS -na- , -nak- <i>Rind</i>
co-wife	fāřā	3?			**fāřā ?		?BLR padí HL 2358 <i>polygamy</i>
crack vt	bak̃i ?	2					
crawl	ikuri	2			**ikuri ?		?BLR kvđvđvđk L 4665 <i>stretch oneself; crawl along</i>
create = mould	tem̃	2	búrá	J 369	**tem̃		?BLR dem L 7451 <i>create, make sp.</i>
crocodile, Dwarf = “alligator”	isibiri	2					
crocodile, I ile	sʒki/sʒku	1	sako	J 155	**sʒku	<i>Crocodylus niloticus</i>	Mundang sì 63
cross vt	ɓẽi	2					
cross vt = step across	asaňa	2					
cry vi	yowu	2	lúa	J 301 <i>weep (cry)</i>			
cure = save	jɔwɔ	3				<i>cure, save</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
curse vt curse, invoke a conditional curse on cut, end	weri/wori kari pele	1 1 2	kari kari kéé	J 307, S S curse	**kari ? **pele **kee ?	"swear juju"	
dance v & n daughter day	səki baø erẽi	2 1 2	séseki éseré bó'm ofifio baa	J 303 J 189 J 119 S	**səki		P-Central Gur *sa and elsewhere
deaf death cf. die debt	inẽki fii saa/sai	3 1 2	ije	S	**fii		PWS pi sterben, Fyem hʷi ??BLR cango LL 8763 fault; debt
defecate = excrete	bĩẽ	2	ngo	J 269	**bĩẽ		PWS (m)-bi, (m)-bin- Kot Dogon t-k bɛ/bi defecate Mandinka buu defecate BLR bii HL I 6425 excreta
definite article, feminine singular definite article, masculine singular definite article, neuter singular definite article, plural	mã bei mĩ mã		enclitic				
deity = fetish descend = go down	eru ijeri	2 3	óu izé	J 205 J 282	**eru **ijeri	DF: -r->0 -j = -z cf. give birth	?BLR git L go down; come down
die cf. death different	fii kiri	1 4	eze	J 271	**fii		PWS pi sterben, Fyem hʷi

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
dig	soku	2	soki	J 365	**soki		
digit (finger/toe)	ĩt̩gbalı ?	2					
dirty, be	ilɔlɪ	3					
dispute = case	bere	2					
dive = sink vi	bile	1	sī	S			
divide	diy3	1	bara	J 332			
do	EI: iye	2	yáa	J 371	**iy3	EI: often imperative <i>let it be done!</i>	
do = make	m̩y̩ɛ	1	yáa	J 371	**m̩y̩ɛ		cf. P-Igboid -me <i>do, make</i>
doctor (traditional)	biri-bɔ	2 enc.	bó'tó-tí	J 201	**bíti-	divine-er	
dog	obiri	1	ebere	J 143	**obiri		?BLR bɔdɔ HH 309 <i>jackal</i>
door	bɔpɔkɔ ?	2	ó'bú	J 91, S	**bɔpɔkɔ ?	DF, Ijɔ probably not related.	?BLR bubɔd L 5229 <i>open</i>
drag	fɔgɔ/ fɔgi/ fɔnɔ	3					
draw (water)	duu	3			**duu ?		Wolof duy P-Gbe đū , P-Gbaya-Manza-İ gbaka ěu , Fali ěuk ?BLR deg H 8049 <i>collect liquid; draw water</i>
dream vi	dabai	2	ibi εsé	J 276 <i>sleep see</i>	**dabai ?		Mundang lā lwàmì 52, LCross ??BLR doot H 1145 <i>dream</i>
dress (up)	biri	5					
drift = flow	t̩r̩	3					
drink	bõu ?	2	m̩bú	J 262	**m b u f o u	Appear connected, but reconstruction?	??BLR mu H 2225 <i>drink</i>
dry	sãbila (EI, II)	2	kákári	J 250			
dry (fish/meat)	jaa	1/4					
dry season	bekvrai ?	1	úo kia	J 131 <i>sun (season?)</i>		Only 2 groups of Ijɔ	
dry up	iri	3					
duiker, Maxwell's	ɔwã	2			**ɔwã ?		??BLR bambi 8336 <i>antelope</i> ; <i>Cephalophus monticola</i>
ear	beri	1	basi	J 4	**b̩si		
earthworm =	isɔɔ	1			**isɔɔ ?		Dogon j-t susum <i>worm</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
worm							?BLR cango LL 8761 <i>intestinal worm</i>
eat	fII	2	éé	J 261	**fII	Ijo f = Df 0 cf <i>roast, salt</i>	
ebb (as tide)	ɔmɔ̃ð	1					
edge	aka	2 ?					
egg	ãgĩā ?	1	ítẽ́	J 149	**ãgĩā ?	Cf. <i>charcoal</i> for sound correspondences	I S: Kanuri ŋgəwúl ... PWS -gi-, -gia- <i>Ei</i> BLR gije LH 1385 PWS -ní, -nía <i>acht</i> BLR nainai L_L_ 6434 <i>eight</i> Mundang bàli , Mande: I gain (Mande) bíè ; Deg (Gur) bàlà
eight	nĩjñiñ	4	túatúa	J 215	**nĩjñiñ ?	Ijo: 4 4, DF: 5 5?	
elephant	bila	1	bila	J 156	**bila		
end n.	kunẽū ?	2				*kunẽ-ū <i>deverbal sfx?</i>	
end vt	kunẽ-mã	?				-mã <i>causative</i>	
endure	inẽi-ma ?	5?					
enter	sɔwɔ	2	sua	J 280	**sɔwa	-ɔwɔ = -ua cf. <i>cook</i>	
entertain	kãmãð ?	1				EI:-m->0/V--V after voiceless stop??	
escape	tẽi	2			**tẽi ?		
evening	bopori	1					
excrement = faeces	afĩyã	1	báta	J 29, S			
excrete = defecate	bĩẽ	2	ngo	J 269	**bĩẽ		PWS (m)-bi, (m)-bin- <i>Kot</i> Dogon d-s bëde BLR bii HL 6425 <i>excreta</i>
extinguish vt	obõi-mã	1	bõo-ma	J 346	**obõi-ma ?	-mã <i>causative</i>	
extinguished, become	obõi-ĩ	5				-ĩ <i>process</i>	
eye	tõri	3	óyɔ	J 3, S			
faeces = excrement	afĩyã	1	báta	J 29, S			
faint vi	fõmõ	2			**fõmõ		PPAB -põñð <i>breathe; rest</i> BLR põñm H 2647 <i>breathe; rest</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
fall	bíkɪ/beke	2	béké	J 283, S	**bíkɪ/beke		?Dogon t bàga <i>tomber</i>
fall = go down	koro	2					
far, be	ala	3			**ala ?		?BLR da L I 779 <i>olden times</i>
farm <i>n.</i>	dʊwɛ	1	ido	J 102	**idʊwe ?	d̪=d?	
			ido	S			
fat = big, become	dɛba	1					<i>cf. white</i> for sound correspondences
fat <i>n.</i>	ĩbẽkɛlɪ	2	ɔsɔ	J 34			EI: V>V/ [-nas]—[-nas]
father	daa	1	daá	J 184	**daa	Ijo: daa-ɔsɔ > dəv̪? ? d̪=d ?	?PWS -tá <i>Vater</i>
father	daa	1	izulo ijule	J 184 S			
father/son-in-law	fuz	3	wɔ bái	J 195 <i>in-law</i>			
fear v	bãla faa	2 1	mgbugbo	J 305			EI: V>V/[-nas]—[-nas]
feather	ipíkɔð	2	píom	J 151	**i-píkɔ-mɔ	Ijo: -m ₃ >0/V--V in all lects after voiceless stop??	PWS -pí-, -pú- <i>Feder</i> BLR píko LL 2515 <i>wing</i>
female	iyɔrɔ	2	éssé ^t ré tí	J 179 <i>woman</i>			EI: V>V/[-nas]—[-nas] II: VrVrV Ijo: < *yere <i>woman</i> + *araʊ <i>feminine suffix</i> ?
fetish = deity	eru	2	óu	J 205	**eru		
fifteen	jiyei	1	úwei túúno	J 222 <i>10+5</i>	**jiyei		UCross *dyidV (Sterk), I upe gw-egi
fight vt and <i>n.</i>	yowu	1					
fill	bẽi-mã	2 -					causative of <i>full, become</i>
finger	bara ìtõgbalí ?	3 2					
finish vi = be absent	faa	1					
fire	finĩ	1	ayɔm	J 64	**finĩ ?		??BLR pñda H_H 5905 <i>bush fire, burnt grass, burnt field</i>
firewood	finĩ	1	áyó	J 62			
first	tari	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ij̥o	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ij̥oid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
fish	ĩd̥ĩ	1	tina	J 35	**ĩ-t̥ĩnV	Ijo: -n->0/V--V	Dogon d-s i:du <i>fish</i> ?BLR tui HH 3098 <i>fish</i>
five	sɔŋ̥ɔ̃r̥ɔ̃	2	túúno túúnɔ̃	J 212 S	**tɔŋ̥ɔ̃r̥ɔ̃		I S: Shabo tuul , Ik tud-on , P-Surmic *tur, Masalit tóor , ... PWS -nú- <i>fünf</i> [but longer: Manding lòòlú , Tarok tükún , etc.] BLR caanv HLL 448 <i>five</i> BLR taano HLL 2768 <i>five</i> BLR pigik H 6190 <i>fix</i>
fix, pin	pike	3			**pike		
flay = skin vt	ən̥ĩ	1	íkpá	J 337		DF <i>skin n.</i> ?	
flesh	ĩbeli ?	1			**ĩbeli ?		AU: Geme mbúùr , I zakara mūlū (Moñino 1988:82) ?BLR bıdı LL 188 <i>body</i>
float	ofūwẽi	2					
flow (as river) = drift	t̥̃i	3					
flow (as tide)	isori	2	būú	S <i>flowing tide</i>			
fly vi	ifõ̃i	5?	yéema	J 287	**ifõ̃i		?PI S p̥er 571 <i>to fly</i> ?PWS pi , pil- (and worldwide?) ?BLR pumbv̥k L_() 3819 <i>fly, fly away</i>
fog	obutou	1					
follow	d̥ukz	1, 3?	pirima	J 290			
food	fi-ye, fi-yai	eat- thing/things	é-yāã	J 30 <i>eat-thing</i>	**fii-iyz		
foot = leg	biwɔ̃	2	pára	J 23 <i>leg</i> , S	**para		?PI S p̥ah <i>leg/foot</i> ?BLR padi LH 2361 <i>foot</i>
forehead	okoti/okoto	1					
forget	bara	2?	batama	J 298	**bata-	-t- > -r- in Ijo	I S: Fur ɔŋal , PI *(ɔ)ŋwan
four	inõ̃i	2	ñé̃i	J 211	**inõ̃i		Dogon d-s naij PWS -na- , -nan- <i>vier</i> [but longer: Manding *nagani] PPAB -nä

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
four hundred	ðde	2	óbōõ	J 239			BLR nai LL 3683 <i>four</i>
friend	iki3-	1	ókó báí	J 197	**iki3- ?? vowels?	<i>friendship + person = friend</i>	
frog	akpalai ?	4	akalám	J 164 <i>toad ('frog')</i>	**akpalai ? **akalám ?	-kp does not correspond to -k	PWS -kual- Frosch ?BLR kede HH 1759 <i>kind of frog</i> BLR bede LL 121 <i>front; before</i>
front	b̥eləv	2			**b̥eləv		
fruit	(t̥̄l) b̥ē̄-ye/yai	2 2 2				(tree) bear thing/-s	
fry	gb̥agari/kp̥agari ?	2	tua	J 338 <i>cook, fry</i>		Df: cf. <i>cook</i>	?BLR kadang H 1665 <i>fry, roast</i>
full, become	b̥ē̄l	2	báya	J 259 <i>full</i>	**b̥eȳl ??		?PWS pa(-i) <i>voll sein</i> PPAB -m̥iv̥i <i>become full</i> BLR mem H 2165 <i>be filled</i>
gall = bile	ɪlakələ (?) akiyɔv (?)	4				Ijo: metathesis?	
gather vt	EI: *kobiri	3	kobiri	J 321	**kobiri ?	DF < EI	
gills	isʒgolo	1					
give	piri	1	ama	J 326			
give (formally)	s̥̄l̥̄	1					
go	mū	2	sia	J 277	**mū		Kru mu
go down = fall	koro	2					
go up	igou	3					
go/come out, appear	paka	2			**paka ?		?PWS pu- <i>sich öffnen, erscheinen</i> BLR pakv̥d H 2376 <i>take out (from container); empty</i> Dogon j-t bɛ:ru <i>goat</i> BLR bv̥di HL 303 <i>goat</i>
goat	obori	2	óbórí	J 138	**obori ?		
God, Creatrix	t̥em̥-araav	2	tabíɔ	J 207			
good, become	ebi	1	íyókó	J 255	**ebi	Ijo: <i>create- female</i>	?BLR boi 7060 <i>good</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
grass	otũk ³ ?	2	m̄bóbáří	J 55	**otũk ³ ?	Ijɔ: t/s	?BLR c̄wa HH 684 grass
grave n.	iđupu	2				Ijɔ: d̄ipi-yɔ bury-place	
grey hair	iňulu	4			**iňulu ?		?PWS -gù, -gùà- graues Haar [but all exx show w-, possibly < 6] BLR b̄vdi LL 304 hair on head; grey hair BLR bui HL 364 white hair
grind	sãã	2	sãã	J 341	**sãã	DF indicates oldest root, cf. new	?BLR ceag L 7953 grind
ground	kiri	3	üü	J 108	**kiri ?	Could assume DF loss of k- (cf. heavy), loss of -r- (cf. go down), but root is not nasal; n.c.	?PPAB -ci ?BLR cr H 562 ground; country; undeneath
guest, stranger	igonĩ	1	ikéni- ^t i	J 96	**ikeni/igonĩ ?	DF -k = Ijɔ -g no precedent	Wolof gan visitor, guest I upe ega BLR geni LL 1359 stranger; visitor
hair (of head)	id̄imžũ	2	jímé	J 2	**id̄imžũ ?	d̄ = d > j	
half	ikiňz	2					
hand = arm	bara	3	káa	J 18	**bara		Mandinka buloo arm
hand = arm	bara	3	káa	J 18	**káa		PWS -ka Hand Igbo áká BLR kaca LL 1647 palm, hand, footprint
hard = strong	kvrɔ	1	m̄bé	J 260	**kvrɔ ?		BLR kvt H 5215 be dry; hard BLR kod H 1874 be strong; be hard; be difficult
harmattan	ikiňk ³ /o- ?	4					
hat = cap	tõõ	2	okpobiri	J 88			
hatch vt	kẽke/kẽge	3					
have = possess	ÿänä	1					cf. Plateau e.g. I ingye kpe ...
hawk	odoko	1	ákpánákpá	J 172			
			ákpánákkpá	S			

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
head	tíbí	2	tóbó	J 1 < tébé < tíbí	**tíbí		PWS -ti Kopf -b- probably original, cf. Bantu with 2 vowels, and -i-/u- variation throughout. BLR t̄we HL 3023 head PWS nú- hören
hear	nāā	1	naa	J 292	**naa ?		
heart	*(kuku) b̄iyo mgb̄ol̄s (EI) *b̄iyo-wei (I A) *əd̄v̄ds (Izq̄n)	2 3 2 3 enc. 4	kúó	J 14		EI: chest-inside-seed II: inside-one	
heavy, become	iku	3	ii iima	J 258 S	**iku ?	DF: k > 0 /V—V	
help v	b̄ara t̄s̄a	3 3				Ijo: hand put	
hide vi	s̄ok̄oi-i/s̄oḡoi-i	5			**s̄oḡoi-i		?BLR c̄oik L 7216 hide, tr.; cover
hide vt	s̄ok̄oi/s̄oḡoi	2			**s̄oḡoi		?BLR c̄oik L 7216 hide, tr.; cover
hill = mountain	t̄udu/t̄vd̄s	2			**t̄udu/t̄vd̄s	Borrowed into Hausa as t̄udu (Skinner 1996)	I S: Songhay tondi, Bagirmi tote, toto, Teda tu PW̄ -TÚNDA hill, mountain BLR t̄s̄nda LL 3069 heap; hump; hill
hippopotamus	otob̄z̄i ?	1					
hit, flog = beat	f̄zm̄ū	1	pini	J 358	**f̄zm̄ū		PPAB -p̄aȳi shout; quarrel BLR pam H 2382 hit
hold see catch							
hole	opokolo	2			**opokolo ?	KaKiBa: deep	I ilo-Saharan (RMB) ??BLR padu LH 8917 artificial hole in ground
honey	b̄em̄s̄	1	b̄ém̄	J 167 bee	**b̄em̄s̄		PWS muì Biene Limba bume, Bayun biom, Duala b̄omb̄ó

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
horn	*ifalɪ (KOI ^I) *ɪkpals (I A) *əkʊrāĩ (WI)	3/2 2 2	ífá'lí	J 152		DF loan from KOI ^I	
hot, become	əfirɪ	3	oro	J 251 (<i>as fire</i>), S	**əfəri ??	Assuming loss of f- in DF.	?PI S pùd/pùd <i>to burn tr.</i> BLR pɪ H 2491 <i>be hot</i>
house	wari	3	jíka	J 93			
house-fly	əmɔ̃mɔ̃ / əmɔ̃mɔ̃	4	əmɔ̃mɔ̃	J 166	**əmɔ̃mɔ̃ / əmɔ̃mɔ̃ ?		
how many?	ídɛ a ?	5					
how?	te bara	1 3				<i>what way?</i>	
hump	ígbʊ	1			**ígbʊ ?		?BLR bumbu 3800 <i>hump; cavity in chest of hunchback</i>
hunger	əmɔ̃ɔ̃/ʊ-/ɪ- ?	1/4/5?					
husband	jei	1	jei	J 178	**jei		
I	a	1			**a ?		<i>cf.</i> I ilo-Saharan ai
	i/ɛ		i	J p. 30	**i/ɛ ?		
imitate	daa	2/3?					
inheritance	duu	2					
inside	EI: *biyo WI: *bəlebu	3 2				These are presumably related, but reconstruction unclear.	
inside of elbow	bara yăi-mɔ̃	3 ?					
intestines	ila EI	2			**ila	Original meaning only in EI, but derived <i>necklace, bead</i> is general.	BLR da L 773 <i>abdomen, intestines; pregnancy; inside</i>
<i>Irvingia gabonensis</i> = mango, wild	ogbōñ	1					
island	ətswɔ̃	2					
jaw	ãgbää	1	əbəku	J 9	**ãgbää		?PI S ká:p' 970 <i>lower part of face</i> BLR banga HH 108 <i>jaw</i>
jelly-fish	alapa	4?					

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
jump	dosi	1	yéi	J 286			DF root widespread?
keep = store	kokou	2					
keep wake	dō̄i kori	2 2				<i>night-watch</i>	
keep watch	kori	2					
kill = break (pot, calabash)	baa	2	baa	J 360	**baa		
king	amā yānā bɔ́/owei	2 1 -/2	ámá ete báí	J 198			
kite (bird)	ekulē̄i ?	4			**ekulē̄i ?	<i>Milvus migrans</i>	?PPAB koli <i>kind of hawk</i> ?BLR kodi HL 1883 <i>bird of prey spp., hawk spp.</i>
knee	*b̄iwɔ́ ikpɔ́kv (EI) *īgbele (Iz̄on)	2 2				EI: <i>leg joint</i>	
kneel	ikoi	5	pá̄ráanga	J 274			
know	nē̄m̄i	2	jírima	J 295	**nē̄m̄i ?	DF: <i>cf. leg?</i>	
know how to	d̄i	2					
kola(nut)	idʒpiyo ?	2	kúmbé	J 50			
lake (EI), swamp (WI)	d̄apa	2			**d̄apa		I S: Ik tabarr , Kunama dàà'bà , Lopit táφár , M ödö tà'búlú , etc. I C: Heiban libuŋ , I upe lebú BLR diba LL 1025 <i>pool, pond; deep water; well</i>
lame, become	ikul̄ə ?	2					
laugh vi	d̄eri	1	kéte	J 300			
law	oloko	2			**oloko		?BLR dago LL 815 <i>law; affair</i>
lay (eggs)	koro-ma	2 /3?				causative of <i>fall</i>	
leaf	t̄ē̄i beri	2 1	jíri ápá	J 57		Ijo = <i>tree-ear</i>	common compound in I ilo-Saharan (RMB; cf. Ehret under root 937)
leak vi	ifiri	1					
learn	d̄abai	5	dídē̄i	J 299			
left (hand)	kõd̄o	2	kóndó ba	J 254			
left, be = remain	kõo	1					

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
leg = foot	bíwɔ	2	pára	J 23 <i>leg</i> , S	**para ?		?PI S p̥àh 602 <i>leg/foot</i> ?BLR padi LH 2361 <i>foot</i>
lick	tafa	3	dúó	J 265			
lie down <i>vi</i>	*bələlə (KKB) *koro s̥v̥ (I A) *koro b̥vn̥ (Izon)	5 2 2 2 3	ibi	J 275 = <i>sleep</i>		<i>fall stretch</i> <i>fall sleep</i>	
light vt	tɔ̄dɪ/tādɪ	1				(as light a lamp)	
listen	poki	3	naagara	J 293	**poki ?		?BLR pɔdik H 2626 <i>hear; listen in silence</i>
little	kala	3	agbara	J 244			
live = stay	tim̥	3/2?	mbaa	J 384 <i>dwell</i>			
liver	pābala	1					
load (canoe)	sai	1					
lock <i>n.</i>	igodo	1					
long, tall, become	dāgalɪ	3	nán'gá	J 245	**dāgalɪ		?BLR dai LL A <i>long</i>
look after = bring up (child)	gbalɪ	1					
look after = bring up (child)	kokou	3					
look at	diki	2			**diki ?		Berom dí <i>see, look</i> ?BLR ding H 997 <i>search for; desire; watch for</i> ?BLR dingid H 5672 <i>look for</i>
look for = want	dɔ̄ki	1	kara	J 318			
louse	iku ?	2?	mkpi	J 169		DF probably loan from Igbo	
love	tari	1			**tari ?		?BLR tand 8568 <i>love; like; wish</i>
mad, become = madness	n̥m̥m̥	1	álaga	S <i>madness</i>	**alaga		PPAB -dalɪ <i>madness</i> BLR daduk L V 794 <i>be mad; be drunken</i>
madness = mad, become	n̥m̥m̥	1	álaga	S <i>madness</i>	**alaga		PPAB -dalɪ <i>madness</i> BLR daduk L V 794 <i>be mad; be drunken</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
make = do	m̩yɛ̃	1	yáa	J 371			Ijo: cf. P-Igboid -me <i>do, make</i>
male	owei	2	óbái	J 177	**oβzi ?	DF 6=Ijo w ?	
man	owei-βɔ	2 enc	emene bái	J 176		male person	
	owei kím̩	2 2					
manatee	im̩ẽ ?	4			**im̩ẽ ?	<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>	cognates in Mande and Bantu A
mango, wild	ogbɔ̃	1				<i>Irvingia gabonensis</i>	now commonly applied to the Indian mango, <i>Mangifera indica</i>
mangrove = charcoal	ãgala	2			**ãgala ?		? I S: Kanuri kèlgímì, Fer kùl ... WS -kà-, -kàn-, -kàl- <i>Kohle</i> . Wolof xal <i>ember; hot charcoal</i> BLR kada HL 1662 <i>ember(s); charcoal</i>
							Partly in Lower Cross as <i>mangrove</i> , but probably as loan from Ijoid. Since charcoal is made from mangrove-wood, one expects that <i>mangrove</i> > <i>charcoal</i> , but if cognate with PWS, other way must be assumed.
							Dogon j-t bəŋɔ(ka) <i>many</i>
many	bɔ̃/bẽ̃	1					
market	fɛ-yɔ	2-2	kia	J 101		Ijɔ: <i>buy-place</i>	
mash = trample	dãga	1					
masquerade	owu	2	egbelegbe	S			DF: = an Igbo name for a type of xylophone (RMB)
massage vt	lɔlɪ	1					
mat, sleeping	ebilɔ ?	2				EI: V /l -- > V	
matchet	ʒgidi	1	ógíóm	J 75			
measure vt	tɔɔ̃	2					
meat cf. animal	nãmã	2	ámi	J 33 <i>meat</i>	**nama ?		PWS -níàm-, -nàm- <i>Tier, Fleisch</i>
							BLR nama LL 2241 <i>animal; meat</i>
“medicine”	díri	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
melt vi	san̩-̩	5			**san̩-̩		?BLR caanUdUd L__ 9267 <i>melt, tr.</i>
melt vt	san̩	1			**san̩		?BLR caanUdUd L__ 9267 <i>melt, tr.</i>
<i>Milvus migrans</i>	ekul̩e̩i ?	4			**ekul̩e̩i ?	kite (bird)	?PPAB ƙoli <i>kind of hawk</i> ?BLR kodi HL 1883 <i>bird of prey spp., hawk spp.</i>
mix (dry particles) vi	gva-i	5					
mix (dry particles) vt	gva	3					
mix (blend) vi	kobu-i	5			**kobu-i ?		?BLR kib L <i>mix clay</i>
mix (blend) vt	kobu	2			**kobu ?		?BLR kib L <i>mix clay</i>
monkey (generic)	ɔbəko	1	t̩i̩ kambáí	J 158 <i>tree ?</i>			old root
monkey, White-nosed Guenon	akāā	1			**akāā ?	<i>Cercopithecus nictitans</i>	?BLR kima HL 1798 <i>monkey sp.</i> Very widespread and also in Hausa
moon	akalɔ	1	bāā	J 117	**akalɔ		Mande
moon	akalɔ	1	bāā	J 117	**bāā ?		?PI S àp'á:y <i>moon</i> ?PWS -pian- <i>Mond</i> PWI -PIAL, -PIAN- (-PIANG-) <i>moon</i>
mosquito	ʒtʒgbolo	2	nóm peyāā	J 168 <i>person-biter?</i>			
mother	yēgi	1	iziza(m) naa	J 185 J 185	**nāā ?		PWS -nà <i>Mutter</i> PPAB -nīnī <i>his mother</i> BLR jīna LL 3368 <i>mother</i> BLR nīna LL 2277 <i>his mother</i>
mould (food with fingers)	kpoo	3					
mountain = hill	tūdu/tōdɔ	2			**tūdu/tōdɔ ?	Borrowed into Hausa as tudu (Skinner 1996)	I S: Songhay tondi , Bagirmi tode , toto , Teda tu

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
mourn	kururu	5?					PW <small>I</small> -TÚNDA <i>hill, mountain</i>
mouth	bípi	2	bíí	J 6	**bípi	DF: -p- > 0	Wolof <i>tund, tunda hill</i>
move against current /tide	tɔbɔrɔ	2					BLR t onda LL 3069 <i>heap; hump; hill</i>
nail (finger-/ toe-)	in̩m̩e̩i/im̩m̩e̩i	2	ámémé	J 19 <i>nail (finger-/toe-)</i>	**Vm̩m̩e̩i	Only KI shows -n; if original, others assimilate.	
nail = claw	in̩m̩e̩i/imem̩e̩i	2	ámémé	J 19	**imem̩e̩i/a-		
name	ire	2	ítá	J 175	**ita	Ijo: -t- > -r- cf. <i>forget</i>	BLR ta H V 2710 <i>call, name</i>
navel	íbū	2	ísóró	J 16			
			óṣóró	S			
neck	kõgɔv	1	omu	J 12	**kõgɔv		PWS -kùà, -kùàn-
							Mandinka kango <i>voice, neck</i>
							BLR kingo HH 1845 <i>neck; nape; voice</i>
needle	ílaka	2	ílá ⁴ gá	J 84	**ílaka		??PWS -gan- <i>Pfeil</i>
negative	ka		enclitic		**ka		PWS ka <i>nicht</i>
negative imperative	mã	2? or enclitic			**mã	Only found in KOII , but reconstructed because of outside cognates.	PWS mà <i>nicht</i>
net, cast-	igbɔ	3? 4?					
new, become	aja	2	áyá	J 248	**aja	I K áyá, KaKiBa ı□wó	
night	dõi	2	bíí	J 120	**dõi ?		BLR do H 1082 <i>night</i>
I ile monitor	ʒbʒdi	1			**ʒbʒdi ?	Varanus niloticus	?BLR bvdv HH 308 <i>reptile; monitor lizard; lizard</i>
nine	isioní ?	2	túunẽi	J 216		5+4	

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
no = negative nose	ka nĩñ̄i	enclitic 3	níni	J 5	**ka **nĩñ̄i		PWS ka <i>nicht</i> ??BLR jindo HL 6276 <i>nose; nostril</i>
obstruct = prevent	kiki	1			**kiki ?		BLR kuk H 1796 <i>put across; obstruct</i>
ocean	abadi	1					
oil-palm	dẽmẽ	2	lom t̄i	J 53	**dẽmẽ	EI + DF, not loan	Dogon t̄oro némé <i>palmier (rônier)</i> Degema idí , Gbari èzí , Yala ali , I inzo iri , Abua əlhè , Legbo èli , ...
oil-palm one	d̄ekv kaŋān̄i ?	3 5	lom t̄i gbóri	J 53 J 208			I S: Ik kõn , Berta killíŋ , Mangbetu kànà , Temein kìdəŋ , Maiak kèl , etc. I C: Manding * kengele , Akan ɛ-kó , Fyam kèŋ , PLC cèd , ...
open space, playground	tiri	1					
order vt	þee	1					
<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	isibiri	2					= “alligator” = crocodile, Dwarf
paddle (canoe)	jøgv	1			**jøgv ?	I A *j > d	BLR dug H 1248 <i>paddle</i>
paddle n.	jøgv-ye/yě	1-2			**jøgv- ?	Ijo: <i>paddle-thing</i>	BLR dug H V 1248 <i>paddle</i>
palm kernel	ibõi ?	2					
palm of hand	bara kubu	3 2				Ijo: <i>hand-width</i>	
palm oil	pulou	1	pira	J 36 <i>oil</i>	**pilz̄u	p- = p-, -l- = -r-	??BLR pute H_ 5398 herbaceous: castor oil: <i>Euphorbiaceae: Ricinus communis</i>
palm, wine	kõrõ	2					
parrot	əkələb̄i	1				əkələb̄i by association	

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
penis	tɔ̄go	3				with ɓibɪ <i>mouth?</i>	
pepper	isan̄i	1	agada akada	J 44 S		Original reference probably to <i>Aframomum melegueta</i>	
person	bɔ	enclitic	¹tí	J 179, 182-3, 200-2	**¹tí ??		?BLR nt̄s L 3005 <i>person</i>
person	kim̄i	2	nóm̄	J 174		DF: old <i>male</i> root?	
piece = fraction	pakarai	2				Ijo: <i>half</i> in some lects	
pierce (ear)	tolu	2			**tolu ?		cf. Geme tol- <i>percer</i> Monino 1988:83
pierce = stab	tem̄i	2	anga	J 364 <i>pierce</i>	**tem̄i ?		BLR t̄s H 3037 <i>pierce</i>
place	iyɔ̄s ?	2				I C: Buru et̄um <i>spear</i>	
plait (hair) <i>cf. weave</i>	kõū	2	luo	J 347 (=weave)	**luo ?	BLR d̄sk H 3108 <i>stab</i>	PWS lù, lùà <i>flechten, werben</i>
plant	d̄ipi (=bury)	1	kura	J 366 <i>sow, plant</i>	**d̄ipi **kura ?		PPAB -l̄ɔŋk̄s <i>plait</i>
plant	gboro	1	kura	J 366 <i>sow, plant</i>	**gboro ?? **kura ?		BLR d̄sk L 1177 <i>plait</i>
plate, breakable platform	efere atāde	2 1	alilá	S			PWS li <i>begraben</i>
play	toi	3	tei tee	J 304 S	**toi		BLR d̄ink L <i>bury; (plant)</i>
							?BLR k̄sə H 5280 <i>sow broadcast</i>
							?BLR k̄sən H 2041 <i>plant; sow</i>
							Dogon: dono-so te:ndu <i>bed</i>
							BLR tada HL 2720 <i>platform; rack; granary</i>
							BLR tanda HL 2778 <i>bedstead; mat</i>
							?BLR ta H 2708 <i>throw away; throw; lose; put; trap; play</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
poor, become	̄iguwō̄? ?	2					game; do
possess = have	̄yānā	1					
<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	̄b̄i	?	ebe	S <i>pig</i>	**̄b̄i	= <i>bush-pig</i>	AU Mundang bili <i>porc</i>
pound vt	tem̄i	1	tuka	J 340 <i>pound (in mortar)</i>	**tem̄i		?BLR timp 5999 <i>pound</i>
poverty	̄iguwō̄? ?	2					
pray	teke	3					
precious, become	iye laa	2 2				<i>thing reach</i>	
present, be	em̄i/om̄i	2					
present, was	tim̄i/tim̄e	2					
prevent = obstruct	kiki	1					
profit	s̄oɔ-ye	2 2				<i>enter-thing</i>	
proverb	k̄bo	1					
pull	d̄n̄s̄	2	iyāma	J 356 <i>pull</i>	**d̄n̄s̄ ?		?PPAB -dutu ?BLR dut L 1267 <i>pull; drag</i>
put down	koro-ma	2-enc				koro <i>fall + -ma</i> <i>causative</i>	
put on (to)	gbanā	1/3			**gbanā ?		?BLR badık H_ 9018 <i>put something on high place</i>
python	əd̄m̄s̄	2					
quarter (of town) = compound	pele	2	ókúná	J 95 <i>compound, S</i>			
rain n.	er̄̄t̄	3	s̄̄t̄	J 115			?Dogon t̄ ána <i>pluie</i>
rain n.	osuwo	1	s̄̄t̄	J 115	**osuw̄s̄ ?		Cf. Urhobo osio <i>rain</i>
							??BLR conc H V 7270 <i>start raining; rain drop by drop</i>
reach =arrive	laa	3	iso	J 279			Basaá lo <i>come, arrive</i>
read	goo	3				Original meaning?	
red	aw̄-aw̄ (EI, II)	2	áwó- ⁴ kó			EI = reduplication of <i>camwood</i>	
	woo-woo (I, A,						

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
	Izon)	2					
Red River Hog	õbɪ	?	ebe	S <i>pig</i>	**õbɪ	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i> = bush-pig	AU Mundang bílì porc
remain = be left	kɔɔ	1					
remember	ukiyɔ 3	3?	íkéré ísooma	J 297 <i>think+?</i>		= <i>think</i>	
remove = undress	sǐi	1					
rich, become	pere	1			**pere ?		BLR pet L 8087 <i>acquire; be rich</i>
riches	ĩgɔ	2					
right(-hand)	amā	1	emene kaña	J 253			
river	tɔrɔ	2	biɔ	J 104, S			
road	ʒteli ? (EI)	4	ia biɔ	J 100 <i>road = ?</i>	**ʒteli ?		?Mandinka siloo road
	igɔv (WI)	2		<i>river</i>			Bubi ètéllé (Janssens doc. 205)
							??BLR cinda HL 6258 <i>path; track</i>
roast	fɔ̃i/fɔi	1	ɔɔ	J 329, S	**fɔ̃i		
roof	itu	1					
root	ikemĩ	1	tǐi ili	J 59 <i>tree root</i>	**ili		PWS li- <i>Wurzel, Ader</i>
rope	diki	2					BLR di L <i>root, fibre</i>
rotten, become	bɔrvɔ	1	se yáã	J 378	**bɔrvɔ		old root
							PWS buó <i>faulen</i>
							BLR bod L 253 <i>be rotten</i>
							BLR bodu LH A 6921 <i>rotten</i>
round	*ikele-kele (KKB)	1					?I S: Kanuri korkór , Fur
	*tekereke (izon)	1					kɔrola , M ödö gúrúgúrú , etc.
							?I C: Moro gereðeðo , Akan
							kúrukuruwa , I upé kuru , ...
rub (on body)	õbĩ	1					
run	bãgi/bãgv	1	ńgíe	J 285			
rust	EI: ajari	2	ájáré	S	**ajari ??	Probably DF loan from EI.	

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
saliva = spittle	fela	3	kuta	J 27		Ijo: cf. white, etc.	
salt	fɔ̃š	2	óó	J 37, S	**fɔ̃š	Loss of f-	
sand	iyõwū	3	wāā	J 110	**??	Look related, but reconstruction?	
sandbox	b̥umā(ð)	2					
save = cure	jvwɔ	3				cure, save	
sawfish	oki	1					
say	fiye	2	faa	J 311, S			
see	ɔri/ari	2	esε	J 291	**ɔsi/asi	Ijo: -s > -r DF s = Ijo r	
seed	ĩgbolí	2			**ĩgbolí ?		?BLR b̥sto HL 351 seed
seeds of <i>Irvingia gabonensis</i>	ikpɔkpa ?	4				Irregular vowel correspondences may indicate loaning of name of this commercially important food	
sell	jeri	1	lεlε	J 327, S	**lεlε ?	j = l unique, so Ijo and DF probably not cognate.	?I S: I era tol/dol , Kaado déì , etc.
send (someone)	firi-mã	1 -	ɔníñ-ma	J 310	**firi-mã ?		?PWS la (lia, lua) kaufen
set (trap)	pita	1			**pita ?		?BLR psd̥sm̥sd L send down
seven	sɔnõ-mã	2-1	túa-ma	J 214			?BLR pia LL I 116 trap
sew	gbẽ̄i	2	gb̥ī	J 351	** gb̥ī		
shadow = spirit	tẽmẽ	2	éwεrε	S <i>spirit</i>	**tẽmẽ ?		?BLR dima HH 3820 spirit
shake vt	jike	3			**jike ?		Cf. PLC jèk Ekoid A jìnjí
shark	ɔfirimã	2					
sharp	ðbu/ibu	3					
sharpen (knife)	fari	2					
shave	sẽ̄i	1					
sheep	ɔnãñã	2	áñáná	J 140	**ónáná		cf. Ogonoid/ Ayere
shoe	agbaka	1	agbaká	J 89	**agbaka		

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
shoot	t̩̄i	1	t̩̄i	J 335	**t̩̄i		?PWS -tá- <i>schießen, Geschoß, Bogen</i>
shoulder	ɔpāda ?	1	ápá	J 150 <i>wing</i>			Dogon t tà: <i>tirer (fusil)</i> widespread
shout	oloku	3					
show	d̩iȳ ?	1			**d̩iȳ ?		?BLR deedi L 7907 <i>show</i>
shrimp	opuru/opuro	2					
sibling	b̩m̄n̄a	1					Dogon t-k mènɛ/manà <i>parent</i>
side = beside	ãgã	2			**ãgã ?		?PWS -ga- <i>Seite, -ka (-kia), -kan</i> Seite, -gà Ort
sing	t̩oú	2	ótúó túó	J 302 S	**t̩oú/túó		?BLR tong 2997 <i>recite; sing?</i>
sink vi = dive	bile	1	s̩i	S			BLR congo I 5108 <i>song</i>
sister	b̩m̄n̄a araɔ/b̩ɔ	1 -/-	món ⁴ gí/ agbara ála	J 192/3 <i>elder/ younger female</i>		Ijo: <i>sibling female/person</i>	Dogon t mènɛ <i>parenté</i>
sit	titim̄e pekerēi (Iz̄on)	1 1	ũú ba	J 273 <i>sit down</i>			
sitatunga = “antelope”	vtv̄bara (?)	4					
six	*sɔn̄ð-ye? sɔn̄ð-dye?	2 2	maango	J 213		5+?	
skin n.	ɔpařāð ?	2	íkpá	J 337 <i>skin, flay</i> Probably the noun recorded rather than the verb	**ikpa ?? **ɔpařāð ?	Ijo: General sense of ‘covering’, hence often compounded with <i>body</i> to distinguish from <i>bark</i> = <i>tree-covering</i> DF <i>skin n.</i> ?	?PWS -ku, -kua (+Nasal) <i>Haut</i> I upe epà ?BLR pv H 4790 <i>skin, bark, peel</i>
skin vt = flay	ɔn̄ñ	1	íkpá	J 337			
skull	tiþi okpolokpo	2 2				head-[empty]case	
sky	suo	1					
slash	kūw̄eñ ?	2					
slave	omõn̄ñ	2				-n- preserved after sonorant	
sleep vi	*b̩vn̄ð ? (vowels	3	ibi	J 275, S	**b̩vn̄ð ?		?BLR b̩ngid 4457 <i>be sleepy</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
slice vt	s̚eg̚i irregular)				**s̚eg̚i ?		
smell (usually bad) vi	fvr̚v	3	ənuɔ	J 379	**fvr̚vɔ	?f > 0	BLR ceng L 545 <i>cut spp.</i>
smell vt	in̚i	1					widespread
smoke	og̚oř ?	1	eweni	J 65	**og̚oři ??	Ijo: g > w, vowels irregular -n- lost after voiced stop?	??Dogon t kukumú <i>fume</i>
snail (large edible)	osi	1	osi	J 165	**osi		
snake (general)			sese yāă	J 160		Ijo: not reconstructable	
sneeze	d̚isāř	5			**d̚isāř ?		?PWS -ti- <i>niesen</i>
snore	žgɔri	1			**žgɔri ?		BLR gon L 1440 <i>snore; sleep; lie down</i>
soap	əs̚eř	1					
society = club	ogbo	1					also in CR languages ? Yoruba (RMB)
soft = weak	b̚ɔv	1			**b̚ɔv ?		PWS -bùà- <i>weich, langsam, sanft</i>
							?BLR bob L 6867 <i>be soft; be wet</i>
soft = weak	l̚kɔ	3					
sole of foot	biwɔ kubu	2 2				Ijo: <i>foot-width</i>	
some	jva	1					
song	d̚umžu ?	2	túó	J 132, S			PPAB -yžmbv <i>song</i>
							BLR dimb H V 5554 <i>sing</i>
							BLR jimbo HL 3364 <i>song; dance</i>
sore n.	mžv̚	3					
sound vi	(o)fijo/fiye	2					
soup	fɔlɔv	2	áruá	J 32	**falav̚/falva	DF: Loss of f-	?Dogon t ála <i>bouillie</i>
sour, become	kžbi	1					
speak (language)	fiye	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
spear (fishing)	dõmõũ/dũmõũ	1			**dõmõũ/dũmõũ ?		?BLR tumo HL 3109 <i>spear</i>
spear (war)	εbækere/εbækvra	4	ikpari gbe	J 76			
spill vi	dõsɪ-i	5					
spill vt	dõsɪ	2					
spirit = shadow	temẽ	2					
spittle = saliva	fela	3	kuta	J 27		Ijo: cf. <i>white, etc.</i>	
split vi	puu-i	5			**puyɜ̃-i ?		?BLR pongʊd L 6811
split vt	puu	2	paya	J 363 vt	**puyɜ̃ ?		?BLR pongʊd L 6811
squeeze	emĩ	3	imi	J 355 <i>wring (clothes)</i>	**emi		PWS mí, mína <i>drücken, quetschen</i>
							BLR mini L 2195 <i>press, squeeze (esp. with the fingers)</i>
squirrel	gbekuru ? vowels?	2			**gbekuru ?		?BLR bɔgi LH 320 <i>rodent; squirrel</i>
							?BLR bɔge LH 321 <i>rodent; squirrel</i>
stab = pierce	temĩ	2	anga	J 364 <i>pierce</i>	**temĩ		
stand	tryɛ	2	ũũ síá	J 272 <i>stand (up)</i>	**trya ?		BLR tum H 3108 <i>stab</i>
star	loliz (EI) íkakai (Izõn) kõweɪ (Izõn) emibala (II)	1 2 ? 1	ípí+ní	J 118			
starch	osĩ	2				Vowels irregular	
stay = live	timĩ	3/2?	mbaa	J 384 <i>dwell</i>			
steal	furu	2	éw̩ɛ	J 322, S			
step across	asaba	3?					
step across = cross vt	asaba	2					
stick cf. tree	tẽ̃	2	ibo tĩ̃	J 56 <i>big tree</i>	**tẽ̃		PWS -tí-, -tú- <i>Baum</i>
							Dogon j-t ti[w]ẽ <i>tree</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
stink	fɔrɔ	3	ɔruɔ	J 379	**fɔrɔɔ	?f>0	BLR t̄i H 2881 <i>tree; stick</i>
stir = turn	waki	1					
stomach = belly	furu	3	ito	J 15, S	**furou		PWS -pu- <i>Bauch, Magen</i> Mande: Bam, Dju furu PPAB -pu BLR pudv 3958 <i>stomach, belly</i>
stone	ikputu	2	kókó	J 70 (<i>grinding stone</i>)			
store = keep	kokou	2					
story	egberi	1	ló'gó	J 133			
strain = filter	kiya	3					Wolof xer <i>allow dirt to settle, esp. in water</i> BLR 1756 ked H <i>strain liquids</i>
stretch	sɔ̃ɔ	2?	sūū	S	**sɔ̃ɔ		
string (fish on bamboo)	tinā	2			**tinā ?		?BLR tɔng H 3081 <i>put through; thread on string; plait; sew; tie up; build; close (in)</i>
strong = hard	kvrɔ	1	m̄bé	J 260	**kvrɔ		BLR kvt H 5215 <i>be dry; hard</i> BLR kod H 1874 <i>be strong; be hard; be difficult</i>
suck (breast) = breast	ídõū/ídõū	2					
sugary = sweet, become	mẽlmẽli	1					
suit = fit	ɛgbɛ	2				EI gbẽ'í perhaps cognate	
sun	irɔwaw	3	úɔ	J 116	**irɔwaw??	DF uncertain cognatation	?PWS -gui-, -guia- <i>Sonne</i> ?BLR jɔba HL 1614 <i>sun</i>
surpass	dẽgi	1	néngéma	J 383			
swallow v.	(i)bẽli ?	1	meni	J 263	**bẽli		PWS mì, mìn- <i>schlingen, schlucken</i> Dogon j-t mine <i>swallow</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
swamp (WI) = lake (EI)	dapa	2					PPAB -mīlī <i>swallow</i> BLR medi L 2163
sweat <i>n.</i>	imōū	3					BLR diba LL 1025 <i>pool, pond; deep water; well</i>
sweep vt	ɔfī	2	ɔfī	J 344	**ɔfī		I upe fī BLR piang H 2500
sweet, become = sugary	m̥ɛlm̥ɛli	1					?PWS mua- , mia- <i>süß</i>
sweet, become = tasty	ĩbəle	4	ótóm	J 257	**ĩbəle ?		
swell vi	fūkɔ	3	fukɔ	J 380 <i>swell (of boil)</i>	**fūkɔ	f = f??	?BLR pag L 9339
swell vi	ŵõy̥i	2					
swim	ok̥i	2			**ok̥i		PPAB -gʷaṣpi <i>bathe</i> Horom wak , Hone wòk , Efik wók ... BLR jog H 3525 <i>bathe; wash; swim</i> Basaa hók
tail	otumʒ̥i ?	1	n̥ɔ	J 153	**otumʒ̥i ?		P-Edoid U-thiemhi
take	ɔki	2	mgbe	J 323			
			ita	S			
tale	idvkv	2	ló'gó	J 133 <i>story</i>	**idvkv	d = l	
tall, long, become	dãgalí	3	nán'gá	J 245	**dãgalí		?BLR dai LL A <i>long</i>
taste vt	daa (diki)	2 (1)				taste (<i>look</i>)	
tasty, become = sweet	ĩbəle	4	ótóm	J 257			
teach	toli-mã	3			**toli-ma ?		?BLR tund H 3122 <i>teach; punish; accuse</i>
tear vt	kāā/kāð ?	2	kakara	J 362	**kākārð ??		Dogon t kà:da/kà:la <i>déchirer</i> Wolof xar <i>tear, cut</i> BLR 1659 kad H <i>tear, cut</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
tell	gbaa	3			**gbaa ?		?BLR bad H 8985 <i>tell story</i>
ten	ztoi	5?	úwei	J 217			
ten	woyi	2	úwei	J 217	**uwoyi		
that	ani	1					
thatch (palm-leaf)	əkāyī	2					
there	anī yɔ	1 2				<i>that place</i>	
thickness (of cloth)	ogbogb3	2					
thief	furu bɔ/kim̩	2 /2	éw̚é ¹ -tí	J 200		<i>steal-person</i>	
thigh	atēdē ?	1			**atēdē ?		BLR tende HH 2851 <i>heel; foot; leg</i>
thin (of cloth)	pēr̚epēr̚e	2					?BLR peped L 8028 <i>be light</i>
thing	iye/iyē	2	yáa	J 136, S	**iy3/iy3		I upe enya , ...
think	ukiyo	3	íkéré	J 296	**??	= remember	
thirteen	woyi taarɔ fen̩	2 2 1	úwei tá[á]tó	J 220		<i>ten three (add)</i>	
thirty	si woyi	2 2	síi tε úwei tε	J 230 20 & 10 &		Ijo: 20 10 (add)	
this	m̩i	4 ?					
this way = thus	m̩i bara	4 3				Ijo: <i>this way</i>	
three	taarɔ	2	tátó táátó	J S	**taatɔ	**-t- > Ijo -r-	I S: Kwama twazan , PCS ɔta (Ehret) Dogon d-s ta:ndu PPAB -tānti
throat = voice	pɔkɔ ?	1			**pɔkɔ ?		BLR tatv HL 2811 <i>three</i> BLR pogo 7107 <i>throat</i>
throw	gbẽi	2	eve	S			
thus = this way	m̩i bara	4 3				Ijo: <i>this way</i>	
tie (bundle) = bind	finā	3	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**finā ?		BLR pind H 2578 <i>tie knot</i>
tie (cloth)	ɔw̚āi	1	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**ɔw̚āi ?		?PI S káth 971 <i>to tie up</i> ?BLR gang L 1331 <i>tie up</i>
tie (rope)	kakai	2	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**kakai ?		BLR kak L 1682 <i>tie up</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
time	ifiye	3/4					BLR kaak L_ 9294 <i>tie up</i>
tired, become	d̄eḡi	1					?Dogon t-k d̄ijɛ <i>tired</i>
toad	ĩgv	1					
today	iḡb̄ai ?	?					
toe	b̄iw̄o ɿt̄gb̄ali ?	2 2					
tongue	ĩb̄ẽlev	2	menduo	J 8	**ĩb̄ẽlev ?	metathesis – a Bel language!	PWS lima <i>Zunge</i>
tooth	aka	2	n̄ã	J 7	**n̄ã	Defaka old root, Ijɔ innovation	BLR dime HL 971 <i>tongue</i> I S: Birgid pildi , P-Kado -ini Dogon j-t ɛ:nɛ PWS -ní , -nín- <i>Zahn</i>
top <i>see above</i>							
tortoise	ikaki	2	íkákí	J 159	**ikaki		
touch	gbele	3	īȳõ laa	J 294 (<i>touch with hand</i>)			
town	am̄ã	2	ámá	J 96	**ama		PWS -má- <i>Stamm, Volk</i>
<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> (male)	vtv̄bara (?)	4				= “antelope”	
trample = mash	d̄aga	1				= sitatunga	
treat with “medicine”	gvw̄o	2				(good/bad)	
tree	t̄ẽi	2	ibo t̄ĩ	J 56 <i>big tree</i>	**t̄ẽi		PWS -tí- , -tú- <i>Baum</i>
<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>	im̄ẽi ?	4				= manatee	BLR ti H 2881 <i>tree; stick</i> ??BLR banga LL 9135 manatee: <i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>
trick	epel̄s	1	epele	S	**op̄sl̄s		
trunk (of tree)	t̄ẽi biri	2 2				Ijo = <i>tree belly/middle</i>	
truth	kesi-ye	2 2				<i>true-thing</i>	
try	b̄o k̄v̄o-m̄o	2 1-0				<i>body strong-causative</i>	
turn	akanã <i>go round, encircle</i>	1	kanama	J 289 <i>turn round (vi)</i>			
turn = stir	waki	1	kanama	J 289 <i>turn</i>			

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
				round (vi)			
turtle, river	ጀጀጀ	1					
twenty	sii	2	síi	J 227	**sii		
twist vi	fāgala-i	5					
twist vt	fāgala	3					
two	māā-mī	1?	maama	J 209	**māā-mī		PWS -bà- zwei BLR bādī LH 36 two
untie	kpōkpō	3	kpōkpō	J 374	**kpōkpō		
urinate	sāā	2	sāā	J 268	**sāā		Wolof saw urinate ?BLR capu LL I 9460 urine ?BLR cubad L V 3907 urinate
urine	sāā dīnā	2 1	sāā	J 28		Ijo: urine fluid	?Dogon d-s indʒa:re urine ?BLR capu LL I 9460 urine ?BLR cubad L V 3907 urinate
vagina	tebi	1	tabéé	J 22			
<i>Varanus niloticus</i>	ʒbʒdi	1			**ʒbʒdi ?	= I ile monitor	?BLR bvdv HH 308 reptile: monitor lizard; lizard
vein, nerve	isiyā	2			**isiyā ?		Wolof caas tendon, muscle ?BLR cica LH 597 vein; tendon; sinew
verandah	ɪbara	1					
viper (horned)	ofo	2			**ofo ?		?BLR pidi HL 2508 puff-adder: Viperidae: Bitis arietans
voice = throat	pəkə ?	1			**pəkə ?		
waist	kōdu	1					
walk	ŵādī	2	yáā	J 284	**ŵādī ?		
want = look for	dəki	1	karama	J 317 want (desire)			

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
war	əm̚gʊ	2	au	J 125 <i>war, fight</i>			
war	yowu EI	1	au	J 125 <i>war, fight</i>	**y̚wu		
wash (things)	sɔkɔri	3	suku	J 353 <i>wash (things)</i>	**sɔkɔri	Cf. DF soro <i>bathe.</i>	Mundang cùù <i>wash hands</i> 63 ?I upe fu Chamba Leko sūg <i>wash</i> Ch. Daka sūksì Pere sògdo L? Mumuye sòkè (Boyd MS p.135) BLR cukvud L 712 <i>wash, cleanse</i>
wasps	ot̚goi	4					
water	b̚di	1	mbiá	J 31	**mb̚di ?	DF d > 0 ?	Dogon mombo mī <i>water</i>
water-pot	kukū	2	míbiá bórú	J 67			
musical pot	ígu	2			**úgu/ígu ?	+ musical instruments	BLR jvngv LH 1632 <i>cooking-pot</i>
waterside	p̚kv	2					
waves	əd̚g̚(v)/ əd̚g̚(v)	1					
we	w̚	2	wá	J p. 30	**w̚ ?		
weak = soft	b̚v	1			**b̚v ?		PWS -bùà- <i>weich, langsam, sanft</i> ?BLR bob L 6867 <i>be soft; be wet</i>
weak = soft	l̚kɔ	3					Dogon j-t l̚k <i>weak</i>
weave (net/cloth) <i>cf. plait</i>	d̚ori	3	luo	J 348 <i>weave (cloth)</i>	**d̚ori ?	vowels? d̚ = l (also d̚=d) r = 0	PWS lù, lùà <i>flechten, weben</i> PPAB -l̚ɔjkv <i>plait</i> BLR d̚vk L 1177 <i>plait</i>
well (for water)	tibe	2	míbiá abana	J 98 <i>well [water-pit?]</i>			?BLR time HL 2920 <i>well</i>
wet, become	pesu ?	1	b̚ubu	J 249			
what?	teye/tee	1	taá	J example 19	**tʒyʒ		
where?	teye yɔ	1 2				Ijo: <i>what place?</i>	
white/ light-coloured /ripe,	penā	3	p̚enɛ	J 241	**p̚enā	?PWS pù- <i>weiß</i>	PI S: p'èd <i>red</i> Dogon j-t piru <i>white</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
become							Mundang pεŋ BLR pe 7918 <i>white</i> ?BLR pi H 2491 ... <i>be ripe</i>
who?	teye bə	1 -	tári	J example 19	**fin̩j̩ ?	Ijo: <i>what person?</i>	
wide, become	fin̩-i	5			**fin̩j̩ ?		?BLR pana 8280 <i>wide</i>
width	fin̩-i	5			**fin̩j̩ ?		?BLR pana 8280 <i>wide</i>
wife	taa	1	taa	J 179, S	**taa		
wind <i>n.</i>	ɛfərʊ	2	imio	J 114	**ɛfərʊ ?		?PWS -pap- , -pep- <i>Wind</i> ?BLR pepəd H V 1469 <i>blow off (wind)</i>
wine	iwuru ?	1	ilo	J 38 <i>wine (general)</i>	**iwulV		
wing	pāba	1	ápá	J 150, S	**pāba ?		BLR pamp L V 9360 <i>flap wings, flutter</i> BLR papa LH 2410 <i>wing</i>
wipe	kvwə	1					
witch	ari-bə/kim̩i	1 -/2	iíyóró ⁴ -tí	J 202		witchcraft person	
woman	yere/ere	2	éssé ⁴ ré tí áala	J 179 S <i>the woman</i>	**yere ?	KO archaic yérē	?BLR jadı LH 3158 <i>girl at puberty; woman; woman lately given birth</i>
work <i>n.</i>	firi	1	ók̩z̩	J 124			
worm = earthworm	is̩v̩	1			**is̩v̩ ?		?BLR cango LL 8761 <i>intestinal worm</i>
wring (cloth)	im̩ (EI, Inland)	3	imi	J 355	**im̩	probably = <i>squeeze e-</i>	
wrist	bara k̩g̩o	3 1				Ijo: <i>arm-neck</i>	
write	k̩e̩i/g̩e̩i	1					cf. count! (RMB)
yam	buru	1	í ⁴ ní	J 40			
yawn v.	aŵūã	1			**aŵūã ?		?BLR jajʊ HH 3259 <i>yawn</i>
year	k̩vrai	2	ólōo	J 129			
yesterday	aþibai ?	4	íba	S	abíbai/íba ?		?BLR badi LL 44 <i>the next day/the before day; yesterday;</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijō	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
you (pl.)	ɔ/o	2	ó	J p. 30	**ɔ/o	Ijō: vowel harmony	<i>tomorrow</i>
you (sg.)	ɪ/i	2	í	J p. 30	**ɪ/i	Ijō: vowel harmony	

Reconstruction

For the justification of the Proto-Ijɔ̄ reconstructions, please see separate file **Reconstruction of Proto-Ijoid**.

The Ijoid numeral system

Bases 5, (marginally 15), 20, 400 (=20x20). Addition, multiplication, and subtraction processes.

1-5: ancient roots

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ̄	Comment	Defaka	Comment	Proto-Ijoid
one	*kaŋān̄i ? 4	old root	gbóri	Also in EI	**kaŋān̄i ?
two	*māā-m̄i 1	old root	maama		**māām̄i
three	*taarv 2	old root	taato		**taatv
four	*inōi 2	old root	n̄ēi		**inōi
five	*s̄eŋ̄ɔ̄v̄ 2	old root	túún̄ɔ̄		**t̄w̄ŋ̄ɔ̄v̄

6-9: generally built on 5

Gloss	Proto-Ijɔ̄	Comment	Defaka	Comment	Proto-Ijoid
six					

(to be completed)

APPENDIX

Cultural traits distinguishing Ijɔ̄ speakers from their Benue-Congo neighbours, except in some immediately adjacent groups which have undergone Ijɔ̄ influence:

1. A female Creatrix, as evidenced by the transparently feminine etymologies of the names for God. (As the Ijɔ̄ are now predominantly Christian, some of these names have been adopted for the Christian God and changed to the masculine gender; but I have never heard anyone attempt a sermon on the Trinity in Ijɔ̄.)
2. A system of several types of marriage, among which there is always a distinction between “big dowry” (=big bride-price) and “small dowry” (=small bride-price) types. With big, which is costly and uncommon, the children belong to the father and his family (patrilineal); with small, the common type, to the mother and her family (matrilineal).
3. Masquerades (*owu*) which are said to imitate the dances of water-spirits observed by solitary fishermen, etc. The carved head-piece is worn flat on the head instead of covering the face; and there is no prohibition on women observing the dances although they are not supposed to know about the dressing and preparation.
4. A pervasive number symbolism in which three is associated with men, four with women, and seven with the greater deities.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Fari Supiya for comments and additional cognates.

References (to be completed)

- Bantu lexical reconstructions 3.* Tervuren. Web: linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html.
- Blench, R.M. 1995. Is I iger-Congo simply a branch of I ilo-Saharan? In: *Proceedings of the Fifth Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium, Nice, 1992.* ed. R. I icolai and F. Rottland. 68-118. Köln: Rudiger Köppe.
- Calame-Griaule, Geneviève. 1968. *Dictionnaire dogon (dialecte tòrɔ): langue et civilisation.* Paris: Klincksieck.
- Ehret, Christopher. 2001. *A historical-comparative reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan.* Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Heine, Bernd. 1968. *Die Verbreitung und Gliederung der Togorestsprachen.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Elugbe, Ben Ohiomamhe. 1989. *Comparative Edoid: phonology and lexicon.* (Delta Series I o. 6.) Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press.
- Jenewari, Charles E.W. 1983. *Defaka: Ijo's closest linguistic relative.* (Delta series I o. 2.) University of Port Harcourt Press.
- Moñino, Yves (ed.). 1988. *Lexique comparatif des langues oubanguiennes.* Paris : Geuthner (LACITO-LAPAC).
- Mukarovský 1976/77
- Mukarovský 1987
- I aden 1989
- I ewcomer, Betsy. 2000. Exploring dialect difference of Dogon speakers in Mali. Senior thesis. Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College.
- Shyrock, Aaron, Peter Ladefoged, and Kay Williamson. 1996/97. The phonetic structures of Defaka. *Journal of West African Languages* 26.2.3-27.
- Stewart, John M. 2002. The potential of Proto-Potou-Akanic-Bantu as a pilot I iger-Congo, and the reconstructions updated. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 23.197-224.
- Westermann, Diedrich 1927. *Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Williamson, Kay. 1997. Defaka reconsidered. *The multidisciplinary approach to African history: essays in honour of Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa,* ed. I kparom C. Ejituwu. Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press.
- Williamson, Kay. 2000. Towards reconstructing Proto-I iger-Congo. *Proceedings of the 2nd World Congress of African Linguistics, Leipzig 1997,* ed. H. E. Wolff and O. Gensler, 49-70. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

Figure 1 Geographical position of Ijoid

PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF THE NIGER DELTA REGION

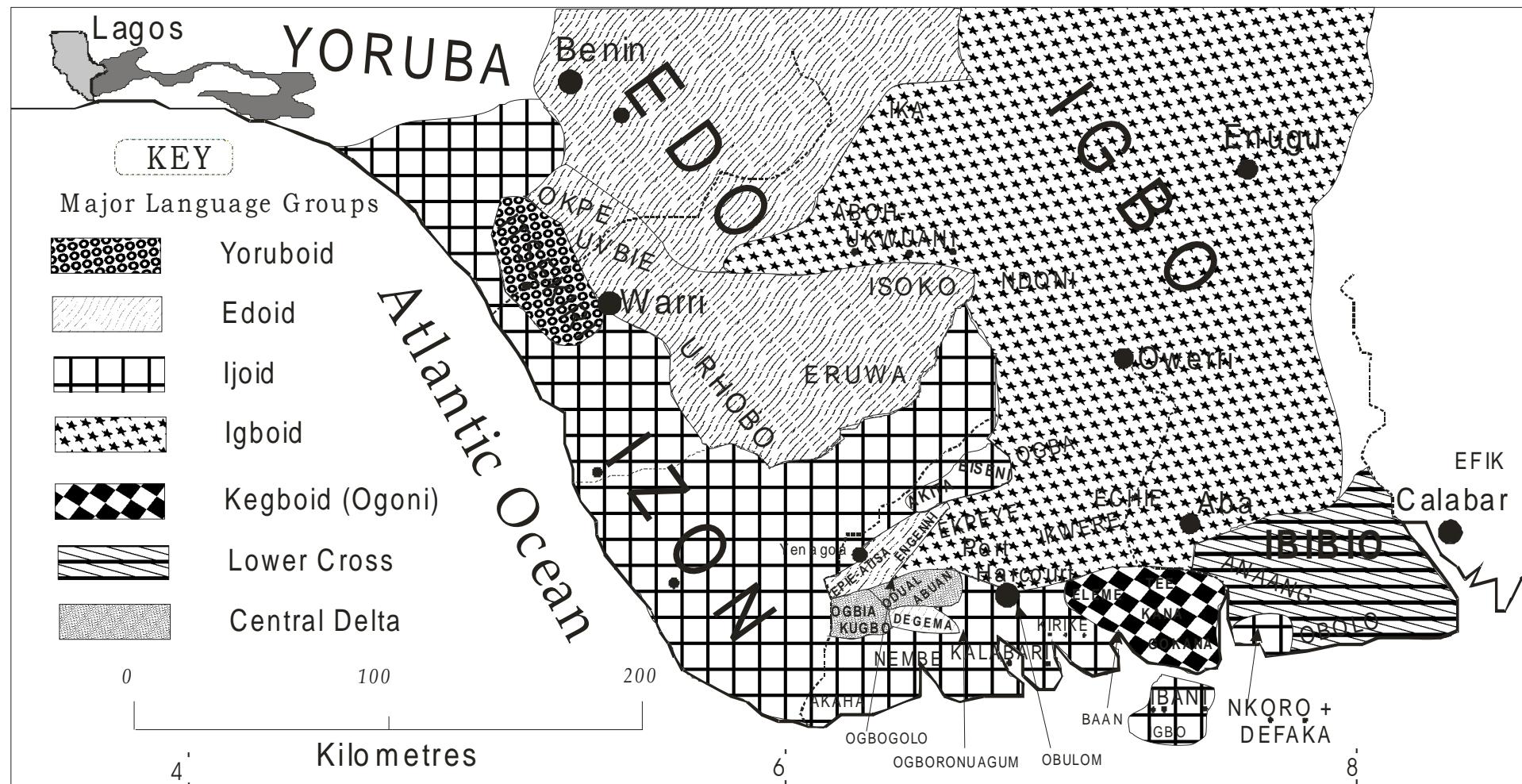


Figure 2 Classification of Ijoid by lexicostatistics

