

**PROTO-IJOID RECONSTRUCTIONS**  
**VERSION 1: 30 July 2004**

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This is work in progress with many gaps and inconsistencies. Improved versions will be provided in future.

**Reconstruction of Proto-Ijò**

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

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <b>Eastern Ijò (EI)</b> | 1. Kalabari-Kirike-Ibani (KaKiBa) plus Nkorò =KOIN   |
|                         | 2. Nembe-Akaha (NA)  |
| <b>Western Ijò (WI)</b> | 3. Izon  |
|                         | 4. Inland Ijò (Oruma plus Akita plus Biseni) Note: Inland Ijò, 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-Ijò and Defaka, but doubtfully (indicated by (?)) if it is so similar in form as to suggest the Defaka word may be borrowed from Ijò;
- b) it occurs in part of Ijò and Defaka, but doubtfully (indicated by (?)) if the Defaka word is so similar in form to its nearest neighbours (Nkorò and KaKiBa) as to suggest it may be borrowed from Ijò.
- c) it occurs in either Ijò or Defaka and also in one or more non-Ijoid branches of Niger-Congo. In this case Ijò 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 Nigerian usages.
  2. Proto-Ijò reconstruction, segmentally.
  3. Tone class of Proto-Ijò 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 Kalabari-Kirike-Ibani (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 *u* have been retranscribed as /i u/, as [i] and [u] have been found to be non-contrastive in Defaka (Shyrock et al. 1996/97: 4). Low tone is unmarked, ´ high, ↓ downstep.
  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

Gloss	Proto-Ijo	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
able to, be	inɛ̄i	2					
above, top	ɔgɔnɔ	4					
absent, be = finish vi	faa	1					
aerial yam <i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>	ɔtumɔ	2					Aka C10 tombo Iten tom PIgboid *-dǔ Blench 1996, fc
<i>Aframomum melegueta</i> = “alligator pepper”	sanɔ̄	1					
agree, believe	beberɔ̄ (?)	1					
air	ɛwu	2					
“alligator pepper” = <i>Aframomum melegueta</i>	sanɔ̄	1					
“alligator” = crocodile, Dwarf	isibiri	2				<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	
angle (for fish)	ɗaa/ɗaɪ	2					
animal cf. meat	nɔ̄mɔ	2	ami, onuma	J 137 <i>animal</i>	**ɔnɔ̄mɔ	Why has this -m- not been lost?	
another	jinɔ̄	2					
answer = reply v.	pakaraɪ (?)	3	pakara	J 313	**pakaraɪ ?		
ant	isɔ̄dɔu (?)	2					
“antelope” = sitatunga	utubara (?)	4				<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> (male)	
arm = hand	bara	3	káa	J 18			Cf. Igboid and PB kàcà ‘palm of hand’
armpit	ɛtonɔ̄lɔ̄ (biyo/bilebu)	2 (3/2)				Ijo: <i>armpit (inside)</i>	
ascend = climb	iwou	3	tandi ángí	J 281 S			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
ashes	fɛ̃y	3	lári wãã	J 66			
ask	ɓii	1	bie	S	**ɓie	(general)	PWS bí- (bítiá) fragen
ask (question)	EI gbelɜ 3 (question)	1	gbilia	J 312	**gbeliz ?	(question)	
ask (request)	ɓii	1	mundu	J 314		(request)	
axe	kɔ̃bu	1	ngi iṅgi	J S			
axe	apala	4	ngi iṅgi	J S			
back	ɔ̃bu	1	obo okpo	S J 17	**ɔ̃bu		
back of	tɔ̃gu	1					
back of head	(tɪɪ) tɔ̃gu	(2) 1					
bad, become	sei	1	sei	J 256	**sei		
bag	akpa	1					BC: Igboid àkpà
bale out	owɛ̃j	2					
bamboo”	ɓỹbɔ̃u ?	1				midrib of palm frond	
bargain, “price”	tuɓo	2					
barracuda	dɔ̃rɔ̃u	2				<i>Sphyraena barracuda</i>	
basket	kanɔ̃	1	lúá	J 81		round, handles	
basketwork fishing trap	ɛkɛɛ	1					
bat, fruit-	peku	1	peku	J 173, S	**peku ?		
bathe = wash	(ɓɛ̃di) biri	(1) 2	soro	J 354 wash (body)		Ijo: (water) bathe	
bead	ila	2					
bear (child)	jii	1	ezé	J 270	**eji ?	j = z cf. go down	Cf. Bisa (Naden) yi
beard	ipɔ̃ri	2	ɛferu	J 11	**ipɔ̃ri ??	p = f??	
beat (drum)	fari	2	onuna onɔ̃mɔ̃	J 359 S			
beat = flog	fɜ̃mɔ̃	1	pini	J 358			

Gloss	Proto-Ijo	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
bedroom, inner room	ojuguru	1					
bee	akama	4	ḃémí	J 167 <i>cf. honey</i>			
beg, pray	teke	3					
begin	koro	2					
bell	igbema	2					
belly	(ḃiri) Izon	2			**ḃiri		NS RMB AU Mundang ḃór
belly = stomach	furu	3	ito	J 15, S			
beside = side	aga	2					
big	opu	1	ibo	J 243, S	**Vpu	-p=-b <i>cf. bow</i>	
big = fat, become	dɛba	1				<i>cf. white</i>	
bile, gall	ɪlakɔɔ (?) akɪyɔɔ (?)	4				Ijo: metathesis?	
bind = tie (bundle)	fina	3	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>			
bird	ofonj	2	yei yɛɛ	J 170 S	**yei/yɛɛ		With DF <i>cf.</i> Yoruba, but Fyem yèré/yéré is loan from Chadic (Nettle p.33)
bite	owɔj	2	agba	J 263, S			
bitter, become	akɔɔ	3					Ohiri-Aniche reconstructs PIYE kũ ‘taste bitter’. <i>Cf.</i> Mande forms (Mukarovsky 1987:97)
black, become	kúrúkúrú		ḃire	J 240	**ḃire		ḃire old root, kúrúkúrú Ijo innovation
blend = mix vi	kobu-i	5					
blind	ḃaga	2					
blood	asɪ	1	asi	J 26		some euphemisms	
blow (nose)	ɔfɪ	2				=sweep	
blow (with mouth)	ofuro	3/2	oforo	J 381	**oforo ?	Doubtful because of f = f	
board (boat)	ḃikɔɔ (?)						

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates <b>INCOMPLETE</b>
boat = canoe	aru	2	ánda	J 106	**adu		Gur: Kusaal ?aarun, Dagbani ñarən, Mampruli, arinngu (NadE) 1989:152 Bantu
body	oju	3	ómí	J 24			
body	bu	2	ómí	J 24			
boil (of water)	darí	2					
bone	ugbəu	2	míbuá	J 24	**ugbəu/ugbuə	gb = b ?other examples?	
bottle	ololo	2					
bottom	tuku	2					
bow (shooting)	(Izən opomu, apobu, etc.)	2	obum	J 77	**opomu ?	Izən forms perhaps indicate a Pljd root. - p=-b cf. big	
bows (of boat)	ukuləu	4					
box vt	gbəli	2					
branch	ikpaɣi	1					
branch	tɛɪ bəra	2 3				Ijò: tree-arm	common in Nilo-Saharan (RMB)
break (pot, calabash) = kill	baa	2	baa	J 360	**baa		
break (stick)	yayə-ma (?)	3	ayu-ma	J 361	**yayə-ma	0 = y	
breakable plate	ɛfɛɛ	2	alilá	S			culture word? cf. Nupe fèrè 'cover for pots'
breast	ɪdɔy	2	ónúó	J 13	**ɪdɔy ?	cf. suck d>Df n /V--V ?	widespread
breast milk	ɪdɔy bɛdi	2 1				Ijò: breast water	
breathe	iyɔ/ɪba sara	2/1+?				Ijò: breath +breathe	
bring	akɪ ɓo	2 2				Ijò: take-come	
bring up/look after (child)	gbalı	1					
bring up/look after (child)	kokou	3					
broom	ɪlɪa	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
brother	ḃina ɔwei/ḃo	1 2/-	món↓gí/ agbara báí	J 190/1 <i>elder/ younger male</i>		Ijo: <i>sibling man/person</i>	
bundle	poku	2/1					
burn (as fire) vi	kɔri/kuari	1					
burn (as house) vi	ɪjɔkɪ	3					BC: Bantu *-dòk- 'burn' CHL Tv Gen *-dòngod- 'be burnt' Bantu has same variation as Ijoid: - jòk-, -jònki 'roast, burn'
bury	dipi	1	libi	J 367	**dipi	-p=-b-	old root
bush, forest	ḃeu	1	ónúmá	J 103, S			
bush-pig = Red River Hog	ɔbi	?	ebe	S <i>pig</i>	**ɔbi	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	AU Mundang bíli <i>porc</i>
buy	fɛɛ/fɛi	2	sɔnɔ				
calabash cup	paga	1					
call vt	tɛɪ	1	ḃyɔ	J 309			
canoe = boat	aru	2	ádu	J 106	**adu		Gur: Kusaal ʔaarɔɲ, Dagbani ɲarɔɲ, Mampruli ariɲɲu (NadE) 1989:152 Bantu
carry (child at side)	dɛkɪ	3					Mundang dɛɲgɛl 'carry on head'
carry (load)	pɛra	3	é↓ké	J 324		<i>cf. big, white</i>	
carve	kara	2	ebe eḃe	J 370 S			
case, dispute	ḃere	2					
<i>Centropus senegalensis</i> = coucal, Senegal	otiti	2					
chair, seat	ikasɪ	4?					
change	idoi/idoj ?	1					
charcoal	agi ?	2	ái	J 63	**agi	<i>cf. mangrove, egg</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijọ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
charm, book = medicine	diri	2					
cheek	agba	1				cf. <i>jaw</i>	PB -bángá
chew	tokori	1					
chewing stick	dúkú ?	2					
child	tóboku	1	awo	J 186, S <i>young person</i>		cf. <i>children</i>	Defaka cf. Plateau e.g. Ikulu ε-wen and others (RMB)
children	ogou ?	1	ewere míní ewere	J 187 S			
choose	sele	1					
clean	fiafia	2					
clean, become	paka	2					
climb	EI: tǎdɪ	1	tandi ángí	J 281 S	**tǎdɪ ?		
climb = ascend	iwou	3	tandi ángí	J 281 S			
climbing rope	iga	2					culture word? seems familiar (RMB)
close vt	gbaj	3	kpana	J 377	**kpanɪ/gbanɪ	-n->0/V—V	
cloth	bite	1	ókúrú	J 86			
cloth, raffia	KOIN okuru	2	ókúrú	J 86	**okuru	<i>raffia cloth</i>	
club = society	ogbo	1					
collect, gather, pick up (small objects)	tǎa	2	ngbé	S <i>pick</i>			
comb vt	jala ?	3/1?				Irregular correspondences for *j	
come	fo	2	soo	J 278			PWS #bía, bá <i>kommen</i>
compound = quarter	pele	2	ókúná	J 95, S			
conceive	ufurɛ	3					

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
congeal	jde	2					
conquer	d̥ɛgi-ma	1				<i>surpass-causative</i>	
contribute	otuwo/otuɓo	2					
cook vt	towa	1	tua	J 338 <i>cook, fry</i>	**towa	-ɔ =-a <i>cf. enter</i>	Adele (TR) tó (Heine 97)
cooking pot	ɓele	2	íjá ídZá	J 68 S	**ɓele		Mande
corpse	d̥ɥwɛɪ	2	eze nóɓmí	J 206		<i>Df dead person</i>	
cotton tree, kapok	asikaka ?	4					
coucal, Senegal	otiti	2				<i>Centropus senegalensis</i>	
cough	ɔloyu ?	2	óló	source??	**ɔlou ?		
count	kɪɛ	1					
covenant	ɔvɔ	4?				<i>cf. Igbo ðfó</i>	
cover vt	gbaj	3	kpana	J 375 <i>cover (a pot)</i>	**kpana/gbana	-n->0/V--V	
cow	ɛvj	2	ánám'ba	J 141 ( <i>zebu</i> )	** anam'ba ?	Ijo: <i>cf. Igboid éfí</i>	PWS #-na-, -nak- <i>Rind</i>
co-wife	fara	3?					
crack vt	ɓakɪ ?	2					
crawl	ikuri	2					
create = mould	temɛ	2	búra	J 369			
crocodile, Dwarf = "alligator"	isibiri	2				<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	
crocodile, Nile	sɔki/sɔku	1	sako	J 155	**sɔku		Mundang sù 63
cross vt	ɓɛɪ	2					
cross vt = step across	asaba	2					
cry vi	yowu	2	lúa	J 301 <i>weep (cry)</i>			
cure = save	jɔwɔ 3					<i>cure, save</i>	
curse	wori	1	kari	S			
curse vt	weri	1	kari	J 307			
curse, invoke a	kari	1	kari	S <i>curse</i>	**kari	"swear juju"	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
conditional curse on							
cut	pele	2	kéé	S			cf. Ayere <b>pě</b> and related other words (RMB)
dance v & n	seki	2	séseki	J 303			P-Cenral Gur *sa and elsewhere
daughter	bau	1	éséré bódú	J 189			
day	erej	2	ofifio baa	J 119 S			
deaf	ineki	3					
death <i>cf.</i> die	fii	1	idZe	S			PWS #pi <i>sterben</i> , Fyem h <sup>w</sup> i
debt	saa/sai	2					
defecate = excrete	hje	2	ngo	J 269			PWS #(m)-bi, (m)-bin- <i>Kot</i>
deity = fetish	eru	2	óu	J 205	**eru		cf. Yoruba ? (RMB)
descend = go down	ijeri	3	izé	J 282	**ijeri	DF: -r->0 -j = -z <i>cf. give birth</i>	
die <i>cf.</i> death	fii	1	eze	J 271	**fii		PWS #pi <i>sterben</i> , Fyem h <sup>w</sup> i
different	kiri	4					
dig	soku	2	soki	J 365	**soki		
digit (finger/toe)	itugbalí ?	2					
dirty, be	ilóli	3					
dive = sink vi	bile	1	sji	S			
divide	díyɜ	1	bara	J 332			
do	EI: iye	2	yáa	J 371	**iyɜ		EI: often imperative <i>let it be done!</i>
do = make	míyɜ	1	yáa	J 371			Ijo: <i>cf.</i> P-Igboid –me <i>do, make</i>
doctor (traditional)	birí-bó	2 -	bódútó-tí	J 201	**birí-	<i>divine-person</i>	
dog	obiri	1	ebere	J 143	**obiri		
door	bópókó ?	2	óǎbú	J 91, S	**?	Unclear if these are related.	
drag	fɔ̀gɔ/ fɔ̀gu/ fɔ̀no	3					
draw (water)	duu	3					Cf. P-Gbe <i>du</i> , P-Gbaya-Manza-Ngbaka <i>du</i> , Fali <i>duk</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates <b>INCOMPLETE</b>
dream vi	dábar	2	ibi esé	J 276 <i>sleep see</i>	**dabar		Mundang lã lwàmĩ 52, LCross
dress (up)	biri	5					
drift = flow	tɛɪ	3					
drink	ḃou ?	2	míbú	J 262	**m b u _ḃ o u	Appear connected, but reconstruction?	
dry (fish/meat)	jaa	1/4					
dry season	ḃekurai ?	1	úo kia	J 131 <i>sun (season?)</i>			
dry up	iri	3					
duiker, Maxwell's	ɔwɔ	2				<i>Cephalophus monticola</i>	
ear	beri	1	ḃasi	J 4	**ḃasi		
earthworm = worm	isɔɔ	1					
eat	firi	2	éé	J 261	**firi	Ijo f = Df 0 cf <i>roast, salt</i>	
ebb (as tide)	ɔmɔɔ	1					
edge	aka	2 ?					
egg	agɪa ?	1	ítéí	J 149		<i>Cf. charcoal</i>	widespread
eight	nɪnɪnɪ	4	túatúa	J 215		Ijo: 4 4, DF: 5 5?	
elephant	ḃila	1	bila	J 156	**ḃila		Mundang bàlì, Mande: Ngain (Mande) <b>bíè</b> ; Deg (Gur) <b>bàlà</b>
end n.	kunɛɔ ?	2				*kunɛ-ɔ <i>deverbal sfx?</i>	
end vt	kunɛ-mɔ	?				-mɔ <i>causative</i>	
endure	inɛɪ-ma ?	5?					
enter	suwɔ	2	sua	J 280	**suwa	-uwɔ = -ua <i>cf. cook</i>	
entertain	kamɔɔ ?	1				EI: -m->0/V--V after voiceless stop??	
escape	tei	2					
evening	ḃopori	1					
excrement =	afɪɔ	1	ḃáta	J 29, S			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
faeces							
excrete = defecate	ḃṽḡ	2	ngo	J 269	**ḃṽḡ		PWS #(m)-bi, (m)-bin- <i>Kot</i>
extinguish vt	oboṽ-ṽa	1	ḃṽṽ-ma	J 346	**oboṽ-ma ?	<i>-ṽa causative</i>	
extinguished, become	oboṽ-i	5				<i>-ṽ process</i>	
eye	tṽri	3	ṽyṽ	J 3, S			
faeces = excrement	afṽya	1	ḃáta	J 29, S			
faint vi	fṽmṽ	2					
fall	ḃṽki/ḃeke	2	ḃéké	J 283, S	**ḃṽki/ḃeke		
fall = go down	koro	2					
far, be	ala	3					
farm <i>n.</i>	dṽwe	1	ído ido	J 102 S	**ídoṽwe		
fat = big, become	dḃḃa	1				<i>cf. white</i>	
fat <i>n.</i>	ṽḃḃekeli	2	ṽṽṽ	J 34		EI: ṽ > V/ [-nas]—[-nas]	
father	ḃáá	1	ḃáá	J 184	**ḃáa	Ijo: daa-ḃṽ > ḃáṽ ?	
father	ḃáá	1	izulo idZule	J 184 S			
father/son-in-law	fṽṽ	3	wṽ ḃáí	J 195 <i>in-law</i>			
fear v	ḃála faa	2, 1	mḃbugbo	J 305		EI: ṽ > V/ [-nas]—[-nas]	
feather	ṽṽkṽṽ	2	píṽm	J 151	**ṽ-ṽṽkṽ-mṽ	Ijo: -m <sub>3</sub> ->0/ṽ--ṽ in all lects after voiceless stop?? EI: ṽ > V/ [-nas]—[-nas]	widespread
female	ṽyṽṽ	2	ésé↓ré tí	J 179 <i>woman</i>		Inland: VyVrV > VrVrV	
fetish = deity	eru	2	ṽu	J 205	**eru		

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates <b>INCOMPLETE</b>
fifteen	jiyei	1	úwei túúno	J 222 10+5	**jiyei		UCross *dyìdV (Sterk), Nupe gw-egi
fight vt and <i>n.</i>	yowu	1					
fill	ḅej-ma	2 -				causative of <i>full</i> , <i>become</i>	
finger	bara ɪtɔ̀gbalɪ ?	3 2					
finish vi = be absent	faa	1					
fire	fiɲ	1	ayɔm	J 64			
firewood	fiɲ	1	áyó	J 62			
first	taɾɪ	2					
fish	ɪdji	1	tina	J 35	**ɪ-tɪnV	Ijo: -n->0/V--V	old root
five	sɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ̀	2	túúno túúnɔ̀	J 212 S	**tɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ̀		old root
fix, pin	pike	3					
flay = skin vt	ɔ̀nɪ	1	íkpa	J 337		DF <i>skin n.</i> ?	
flesh	ɪbeli ?	1			**ɪbeli ?		Cf. Geme mbúùr, Nzakara mu#1)u#ed Monino 1988:82
float	ofuwei	2					
flog = beat	fɜ̀mɪ	1	pini	J 358			
flow (as river) = drift	tɛɪ	3					
flow (as tide)	isori	2	búú <i>flowing tide</i>	S			
fly vi	ifoɪ	5?	yéema	J 287			PWS #pi, pil- (and worldwide?)
fog	oɓutou	1					
follow	ɖukɜ̀	1, 3?	pirima	J 290			
food	fi-ye, fi-yaɪ <i>eat-thing/things</i>	2	é-yáa	J 30 <i>eat-thing</i>	**fiɪ-iyɜ̀		
foot = leg	ḅiwo	2	pára	J 23 <i>leg</i> , S			
forehead	okoti/okoto	1					

Gloss	Proto-Ijọ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
forget	bara	2?	batama	J 298	**bata-	-t- > -r- in Ijo	
four	inoi	2	neí	J 211	**inoi		PWS #-na-, -nan-; -ni
four hundred	ɔde	2	óbóó	J 239			
friend	iki3-	1	ókó báí	J 197	**iki3- ?? vowels?	<i>friendship + person = friend</i>	
frog	akpalar ?	4	akalámí	J 164 <i>toad</i> ( <i>'frog'</i> )			widespread
front	beɛu	2					
fruit	(teɪ) beɪ-ye/yai	2 2 2				<i>(tree) bear thing/-s</i>	
fry	gbagari/kpagari ?	2	tua	J 338 <i>cook, fry</i>		Df: <i>cf. cook</i>	
full, become	beɪ	2	báya	J 259 <i>full</i>	**bɛyi ??		
gather vt	EI: *kobiri	3	kobiri	J 321	**kobiri ?		
gills	isagolo	1					
give	piri	1	ama	J 326			
give (formally)	seɪ	1					
go	mɔ	2	sia	J 277	**mɔ		Kru mu
go down = fall	koro	2					
go up	igou	3					
go/come out	paka	2					
goat	oɓori	2	óbórí	J 138	**oɓori ?		old root
God, Creatrix	teme-arau	2	tabíó	J 207		Ijo: <i>create- female</i>	
good, become	eɓi	1	íyókó	J 255			
grass	otɔkɛ ?	2	míbóbárí	J 55		t/s	
grave <i>n.</i>	idupu	2				Ijo: <i>dipi-yɔ bury-place</i>	
grey hair	iɓulu	4					
grind	saa	2	saa	J 341	**saa	DF indicates oldest root, <i>cf. new</i>	
ground	kiri	3	ɔɔ	J 108	**kiri ??	Assumes DF loss of k- ( <i>cf. heavy</i> ), loss of -r- ( <i>cf. go down</i> ), but Ijo	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
						loss of nasality has no precedent.	
guest, stranger	igoni	1	ikéní- <sup>h</sup> tí	J 96	**ikeni ?		PB <b>-geni</b> and elsewhere
hair (of head)	id̥im̥ɔ	2	jímé	J 2	**id̥im̥ɔ ?	why is -m- not lost? only after voiceless stops?	
half	ikiɓɓ	2					
hand = arm	ɓara	3	káa	J 18	**káa		<i>Cf.</i> Igboid and PB kàcà ‘palm of hand’
hard = strong	kurɔ	1	ḿbé	J 260			
harmattan	ikir̥ika/o- ?	4					
hat = cap	tɔ̥	2	okpobiri	J 88			
hat = cap	tɔ̥	2	okpobiri	J 88			
hatch vt	kɛke	3					
have, possess	ỹana	1					
hawk	odoko	1	ákpánákpá ákpánákpá	J 172 S			
head	tɪɪ	2	tóbó	J 1 < tébé < tíɪ	**tɪɪ		Old root; -ɓ- probably original, <i>cf.</i> Bantu with 2 vowels, and -i-/-u- variation throughout.
hear	naa	1	naa	J 292	**naa ?		PWS #nú-
heavy, become	iku	3	ii iima	J 258 S	**iku ?	DF: k > 0 /V—V ? other clear examples?	
help v	ɓara tua	3 2				<i>Ijo: hand put</i>	
hide vi	sɔ̥ɔɪ-ɪ	5					
hide vt	sɔ̥ɔɪ	2					
hippopotamus	otoɓɓ ? otoɓɓi ?	1					
hold	kɔɪ	1	ari	J 372			
hole	opokolo	2			**opokolo	KaKiBa: <i>deep</i>	Nilo-Saharan (RMB)
honey	ɓem̥ɔ	1	ɓémí	J 167 <i>bee</i>	**ɓem̥ɔ		

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
hot, become	ɔfiri	3	oro	J 251 ( <i>as fire</i> ), S	**ɔfɔri ??	Assuming loss of f- in DF.	
house	wari	3	jíka	J 93			
house-fly	ɔmɔmɔ /ɔmɔmɔ	4	ɔmɔmɔ	J 166	**ɔmɔmɔ ?		
how many?	ɟde a ?	5					
how?	te bara	1 3				<i>what way?</i>	
hump	ɟgbu	1					
hunger	ɔmɔɔ/ɔ-/ɪ- ?	1/4/5?					
husband	jei	1	jei	J 178	**jei		
imitate	ɗaa	2/3?					
inheritance	ɗuu	2					
inside	EI: *ɓiyo WI: *ɓilebu	3 2				These are presumably related, but reconstruction unclear.	
inside of elbow	bara yaɲmɔ	3 ?					
<i>Irvingia gabonensis</i> = mango, wild	ogboj	1					
island	ɔtuwɔ	2					
jaw	agba	1	ɛbeku	J 9	**agba		widespread
jellyfish	alapa	4?					
jump	ɗosi	1	yéi	J 286			DF widespread?
keep = store	koko(u)	2					
keep wake	ɗɔ́j kori	2 2				<i>night-watch</i>	
keep watch	kori	2					
king	ama yana ɓɔ/owei	2 1 -/2	ámá ɛte báí	J 198		<i>town-own-er/man</i>	
kite (bird)	ekulej ?	4					
kneel	ikoi	5	páɽráanga	J 274			
know	nemi	2	jíríma	J 295			
know how to	ɗi	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
kola(nut)	idɛpiyo ?	2	kúmbé	J 50			
lake (EI), swamp (WI)	ɖapa	2					Bantu <i>water</i> , etc.
lame, become	ikulɜ ?	2					
laugh vi	ɖeri	1	kété	J 300			
law	oloko	2					
lay (eggs)	koro-ma	2 /3?				causative of <i>fall</i>	
leaf	tɛɽ ɖeri	2 1	jírí ápá	J 57		Ijo = <i>tree-ear</i>	
leak vi	ifiri	1					
learn	ɖabar	5	ɖíɖéjì	J 299			
left (hand)	kɔ̀nɔ̀	2	kóndó ɓa	J 254			
left, be = remain	kɔ̀	1					
leg = foot	ɓiwo	2	pára	J 23 <i>leg</i> , S			
lick	taɓa	3	ɖújɔ̀	J 265			
lick (with finger, as soup)	taɓa	3	ɖújɔ̀	J 265			
light vt	tɔ̀ɖi/tɔ̀ɖi	1				(as light a lamp)	
listen	poki	3	naagara	J 293			
little	kala	3	agbara	J 244			
live = stay	timi	3/2?	mbaa	J 384 <i> dwell</i>			
load (canoe)	sai	1					
lock <i>n.</i>	igodo	1					
long, tall, become	ɖaŋalɪ	3	nán'gá	J 245	**ɖagalɪ		
look at	ɖiki	2					
look for	ɖokɪ	1	kara	J 318			
louse	iku ?	2?	mkpi	J 169			
love	tarɪ	1					
mad, become = madness	nemu	1	álaga	S <i>madness</i>	**alaga		Cf. Igboid and elsewhere
madness = mad, become	nemu	1	álaga	S <i>madness</i>	**alaga		Cf. Igboid and elsewhere
make = do	mɽyɛ	1	yáa	J 371			Ijo: cf. P-Igboid – <i>me do, make</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijọ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
male	oweí	2	óḃáí	J 177	**oḃzi ?	DF ḃ=Ijọ w ?	
manatee	imej ?	4				<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>	
mango, wild	ogboj	1				<i>Irvingia gabonensis</i>	
mangrove	ḡgala	2					Partly in LCross, but probably as loan from Ijoid
many	ḃuj	1					
market	fe-yo	2-2	kia	J 101		Ijọ: buy-place	
mash = trample	ḃaga	1					
masquerade	owu	2	egbelegbe	S			
massage vt	lɔlɪ	1					
mat, sleeping	ɜḃilɜ ?	2				EI: <u>V</u> /l -- # > V	
matchet	ɜgidi	1	óḡíóm	J 75			
measure vt	tɔɔ	2					
meat <i>cf.</i> animal	nḃamḃ	2	ámi	J 33 <i>meat</i>		Why has this -m- not been lost?	
medicine"	ḃiri	2					
melt vi	sani-I	5					
melt vt	sani	1					
mix (dry particles) vi	gua-I	5					
mix (dry particles) vt	gua	3					
mix = blend vt	kobu	2					
monkey (generic)	oḃoko	1	tj̄i kambáí	J 158 <i>tree</i> ?			old root
monkey, White-throated Guenon	aka	1				<i>Cercopithecus nictitans</i>	widespread?
moon	akalu	1	ḃáá	J 117	**akalu **ḃaa ??		Mande PWS #-pian- <i>Mond</i>
mosquito	ɜtɜgbolo	2	nóní peyaa	J 168 <i>person-biter</i> ?			
mother	yegi	1	iziza(m)	J 185	**naa		PWS #-nà <i>Mutter</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
			naa	J 185			widespread ya root? (RMB)
mould (food with fingers)	kpoo	3					
mourn	kururu	5?					
mouth	ḍipɪ	2	ḍíí	J 6	**ḍipɪ	DF: -p- > 0	
move against current /tide	tɔḍuru	2					
nail (finger-/toe-)	in̄imej/im̄imej 2	2	ámémé	J 19 <i>nail (finger-/toe-)</i>	**Vm̄imej	Only KI shows -n; if original, others assimilate.	
nail = claw	imemej	2	ámémé	J 19	**imemej/a-		
name	ire	2	ítá	J 175	**ite/ita Ijo: -t- > -r- <i>cf. forget</i>		
navel	jbu	2	ísóró ósóró	J 16 S			
neck	kɔ̄gɔ̄u	1	omu	J 12	**kɔ̄gɔ̄u		PWS #-kùàn-
needle	ɪlaka	2	ílá↓gá	J 84	**ɪlaka		
net, cast-	ɪgbɔ̄	3? 4?					
new, become	aja	2	áyá	J 248	**aja	NK áyá, KaKiBa íwó	
night	ḍoj	2	ḍíí	J 120			
Nile monitor	abedi	1					<i>Varanus niloticus</i>
nine	isioni ?	2	túunej	J 216		DF: 5+4	
nose	nini	3	níni	J 5			
obstruct = prevent	kiki	1					
ocean	abadɪ	1					
oil-palm	ḍɛ̄gɔ̄	3	lom t̄ij	J 53			
one	kaɲani ?	5	gbórí	J 208			Ijo: old root
open space, playground	tiri	1					
order vt	ḍɛ	1					
<i>Osteolaemus</i>	isibiri	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
<i>tetraspis</i> = “alligator” = crocodile, Dwarf							
paddle (canoe)	jɔ̄gɔ	1					
paddle <i>n.</i>	jɔ̄gɔ-ye/yɛ	1-2				Ijo: <i>paddle-thing</i>	
palm kernel	ɔ̄bɔ ?	2					
palm of hand	bara kuɓu	3 2				Ijo: <i>hand-width</i>	
palm oil	pulou	1	pira	J 36 <i>oil</i>	**pilɔu	p- = p-, -l- = -r-	
palm, wine	kɔ̄rɔ	2					
parrot	ɔ̄kɔ̄lɔ̄bɔ	1					ɔ̄kɔ̄lɔ̄bɔɔ by association with ɔ̄ɔ̄bɔ <i>mouth?</i>
penis	tɔ̄gɔ	3					
pepper	ɔ̄sani	1	agada akada	J 44 S			Original reference probably to <i>Aframomum melegueta</i>
person	kɔ̄mɔ	2	nɔ̄m	J 174			DF: old <i>male</i> root?
person	ɔ̄ɔ	enclitic	ɔ̄tɔ̄	J 179, 182-3, 200-2			
piece = fraction	pakaraɔ	2				Ijo: <i>half</i> in some lects	
pierce (ear)	tolu	2					cf. Geme tol- percer Monino 1988:83
pierce = stab	temi	2	anga	J 364 <i>pierce</i>			
place	ɔ̄yɔ̄ ?	2					
plait (hair)	kɔ̄y	2	luo	J 347 (= <i>weave</i> )			
plant	ɔ̄ɔ̄pɔ̄ (=bury)	1	kura	J 366 <i>sow,</i> <i>plant</i>			
plant	gboro	1	kura	J 366 <i>sow,</i> <i>plant</i>			
plate, breakable	ɛfɛɛ	2	alilá	S			
platform	atɔ̄dɛ	1					
play	toi	3	tei tee	J 304	**toi		

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
				S			
poor, become	ḡuwoḡ ?	2					
<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i> = bush-pig	ṽbɪ	?	ebe	S pig	**ṽbɪ		AU Mundang bílɪ porc
pound vt	temḡ	1	tuka	J 340 pound (in mortar)			
poverty	ḡuwoḡ ?	2					
pray	teke	3					
precious, become	iye laa	2 2				thing reach	
present, be	emi/omi	2					
present, was	timi/time	2					
prevent = obstruct	kiki	1					
profit	sɔɔ-ye	2 2				enter-thing	enter-thing
proverb	kaβu/kɜβo	1					
pull	ḡyṽy	2	iyama	J 356 pull			
put down	koro-ma	2-enc				koro fall + -ma causative	
put on (to)	gbana	1/3					
python	ɔḡumu	2					
quarter (of town)	pele	2	ókúná	J 95 compound			
quarter = compound	pele	2	ókúná	J 95, S			
rain	ereḡ	3	sḡḡ	J 115			
rain	osuwo	1	sḡḡ	J 115	osuwoḡ ?		Cf. Urhobo osio rain
reach	laa	3	iso	J 279			
read	goo	3				Original meaning?	
Red River Hog = bush-pig	ṽbɪ	?	ebe	S pig	**ṽbɪ	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	AU Mundang bílɪ porc
remain = be left	kɔ	1					
remember	ukiyo ?	3?	íkéré ísooma	J 297			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
remove = undress	sii	1					
rich, become	pere	1					
riches	ɪgɔ	2					
right(-hand)	ama	1	emene kaɓa	J 253			
ripe, become	pina	3				=white	
river	tɔru	2	biɔ	J 104, S			
roast	fɔɪ/fɔɪ	1	ɔɔ	J 329, S	**fɔɪ		
roof	itu	1					
root	ikemi	1	tii ili	J 59 tree root			
rope	diki	2					old root
rotten, become	ɓuru	1					old root
rub (on body)	ɔbi	1	se yáa	J 378			
run	ɓagi	1	ngie	J 285			
rust	EI: ajari	2	ádZaré	S	**ajari ??	Probably DF loan from EI.	
saliva	fela	3	kuta	J 27		Ijo: cf. white, etc.	
salt	fuy	2	óó	J 37, S	**fuy	Loss of f-	
sand	iyowu	3	waa	J 110	**??	Look related, but reconstruction?	
sandbank	ɓumɔ(y)	2					
save = cure	jowɔ 3					cure, save	
sawfish	oki	1					
say	fiye	2	faa	J 311, S			
see	ɔri/ari	2	ese	J 291	**ɔsi/asi	Ijo: -s > -r	DF s = Ijo r
seeds of <i>Irvingia gabonensis</i>	ikpukpa ?	4					Irregular vowel correspondences may indicate loaning of name of this commercially important food
sell	jeri	1	lele	J 327, S	**jeri		
send (someone)	firi-ma	1 causative	ɔniɔ-ma	J 310			-ma causative

Gloss	Proto-Ijọ	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
set (trap)	pɪta	1					
seven	sɔnɔ-ma	2-1	túá-ma	J 214			<i>five-two</i>
sew	gbéí	2	gbíí	J 351	** gbéí		
shadow = spirit	temɛ	2					
shadow = spirit	temɛ	2	éwɛɛ	<i>S spirit</i>			
shake vt	jike	3					<i>Cf. PLC pèk</i>
shark	ɔfɪrɪma	2					
sharp	ɔ̀bu/íbu	3					
sharpen (knife)	fari	2					
shave	sɛɪ	1					
sheep	ónáná	2	ánáná	J 140	**ónáná		
shoe	agbaka	1	agbaká	J 89	**agbaka		
shoot	tɛɪ	1	tɛɪ	J 335	**tɛɪ		
shoulder	ɔpɛdɛ ?	1	ápá	J 150 <i>wing</i>			
shout	oloku	3					
show	díyɜ ?	1					
shrimp	opuru/opuro	2					
sibling	ɓmɔ	1					
side = beside	ɔ̀ga	2					
sing	tɔ̀u	2	ótúó túó	J 302 S	**tɔ̀u/tɔ̀o		
sink vi = dive	ɓile	1	síí	S			
sister	ɓmɔ arau/ɓo	1 -/-	món↓gí/ agbara ála	J 192/3 <i>elder/ younger female</i>		<i>Ijo: sibling female/person</i>	
sitatunga = “antelope”	utubara (?)	4				<i>Tragelaphus spekei (male)</i>	
six	*sɔnɔ-ye?  sɔnɔ-diye?	2  2	maango	J 213			5+?thing? Since the 1 <sup>st</sup> element is obviously *sɔnɔ- or the like, -n- must be original, hence there was stop epenthesis rather than nasal epenthesis. OR

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates <b>INCOMPLETE</b>
							*sòno-diye 2 where diye is 15 – but why?
skin <i>n.</i>	ɔpara(ɥ) ?		íkpa	J 337 <i>skin, flay</i> Probably the noun recorded rather than the verb			Ijo: General sense of ‘covering’, hence often compounded with <i>body</i> to distinguish from <i>bark = tree-covering</i>
skin vt = flay	ɔnɪ	1	íkpa	J 337		DF <i>skin n.</i> ?	
skull	tɪɪ okpolokpo	2 2				<i>head-[empty]case</i>	
sky	suó	1					
slash	kuj	2					
slave	omɔɲi	2				-n- preserved after sonorant	
sleep vi	*ɓunu ? (vowels irregular)	3	ibi	J 275, S			
slice vt	sɛgi						
smell (usually bad) vi	furu	3	ɔruɔ	J 379	**furuɔ	?f > 0	
smell vt	ini	1					
smoke	ogoj ?	1	eweni	J 65	**ogonj ??	Ijo: g >w, vowels irregular -n- lost after voiced stop?	
snail (large edible)	osi	1	osi	J 165	**osi		
snake (general)				sese yáa	J 160	Ijo: not reconstructable	
sneeze	dɪsaj	5					
snore	ɔgɔɪ	1					
soap	ɔsɛ	1					
society = club	ogbo	1					
soft = weak	ɓu	1					
soft = weak	lɔkɔ	3					

Gloss	Proto-Ijo	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
sole of foot	ḃiɽwɔ̄ kuḃu	2 2				Ijo: <i>foot-width</i>	
some	juɑ	1					
song	ḃumɑ̄u ?	2	túó	J 132, S			
sore <i>n.</i>	inɔ̄u	3					
sound vi	(o)fiyo/fiye	2					
soup	fɔ̄lɔ̄u	2	árúá	J 32	**falau/falua	DF: Loss of f-	
sour, become	kɛ̄mi	1					
speak (language)	fiye	2					
spear (fishing)	ḃomɔ̄u/ḃumɔ̄u	1					
spear (war)	ɛ̄bɛ̄kɛ̄rɛ̄/ɛ̄bɛ̄kɔ̄ra	4	ikpari gbe	J 76			
spill vi	ḃɔ̄si-ɪ	5					
spill vt	ḃɔ̄si	2					
spirit = shadow	temɛ	2					
spirit = shadow	temɛ	2	éwɛ̄rɛ̄	<i>S spirit</i>			
split vi	puu-i	5					
split vt	puu	2	paya	J 363 vt	**puyɜ ?		
squeeze	emí	3	imi	J 355 <i>wring (clothes)</i>			
squirrel	gbekuru ? vowels?	2					
stab = pierce	temi	2	anga	J 364 <i>pierce</i>			
stand	tiye	2	ɥu síá	J 272 <i>stand (up)</i>			
starch	os̄i	2				Vowels irregular	
stay = live	timi	3/2?	mbaa	J 384 <i>dwel</i>			
steal	furu	2	éw̄é	J 322, S			
step across	asaba	3?					
step across = cross vt	asaba	2					
stick <i>cf.</i> tree	tɛ̄i	2	tíí	J 61	**tɛ̄i		PWS #-tí <i>Baum</i>
stink	furu	3	ɔ̄ruɔ̄	J 379	**furuɔ̄	?f > 0	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
stir	wakɪ	1					
stomach = belly	furou	3	itɔ	J 15, S			
stone	ikputu	2					
store = keep	koko(u)	2					
story	egberi	1	lɔ'gɔ	J 133			
strain = filter	kɪya	3					
stretch	sɔɔ	2?	sɔɔ	S	**sɔɔ		
string (fish on bamboo)	tɪna	2					
strong = hard	kuro	1	m'bé	J 260			
suck (breast) = breast	ɪdɔɔ	2					
sugary = sweet, become	mɛlimɛɪ	1					
suit = fit	ɛgbɛ	2				EI gbɛɪ perhaps cognate	
sun	iruwau	3	úɔ	J 116	**??		
surpass	dɛɛɪ	1	n'éngéma	J 383			
swallow v.	(ɪ)ɓɛɪ ?	1	meni	J 263	**ɓɛɪ		
sweat n.	imou	3					
sweep vt	ɔfi	2	ofi	J 344	**ɔfi		
sweet, become = sugary	mɛlimɛɪ	1					
sweet, become = tasty	ɪɓɛɛ	4	ótómí	J 257			
swell vi	fukɜ	3	fuko	J 380 <i>swell (of boil)</i>	**fukɜ	f = f??	
swell vi	woyi	2					
swim	okɪ	2					
tail	ɜtumɜ ?	1	ɲɔ	J 153	**ɜtumɜ ?		
take	ɔkɪ	2	mgbe ita	J 323 S			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
tale	ɪdùkù	2	ló'gó	J 133 <i>story</i>	**ɪdùkù		
tall, long, become	dǎgalɪ	3	nán'gá	J 245	**dǎgalɪ		
taste vt	dáa (diki)	2 (1)				<i>taste (look)</i>	
tasty = sweet, become	ɪbɛɛ	4	ótómí	J 257			
teach	tolɪ-ma	3					
tear vt	kǎa/kǎu ?	2	kakara	J 362	**kǎkǎra ??		
tell	gbaa	3					
ten	woyi	2	úwei	J 217	**uwoyi		
ten	atoi	5?	úwei	J 217			
thatch (palm-leaf)	ɔkǎyɪ	2					
there	anɪ yɔ	1 2				<i>that place</i>	
thickness (of cloth)	ogbogbɔ	2					
thief	furu ɓɔ/kɪmɪ	2 -/2	éwǎǎ-tí	J 200		<i>steal-person</i>	
thigh	atɛnɛ	1					
thin (of cloth)	pɛrɛpɛrɛ	2					
thing	iyɛ/iyɛ	2	yáa	J 136, S	**iyɔ/iyɔ		
think	ikiyo	3	íkéré	J 296	**??		
thirteen	oyi taarɔ fɛni	2 2 1	úwei tá[á]tó	J 220		<i>ten three (add)</i>	
thirty	si oyi	2 2	síi te úwei te	J 230 20 & 10 &		<i>Ijo: 20 10 (add)</i>	
this way = thus	mɪ ɓara	4 3				<i>Ijo: this way</i>	
three	taarɔ	2	tátó táátó	J S	**taatu	**t- > Ijo -r-	
throat = voice	pǎkɔ ?	1					
throw	gbei	2	eve	S			
thus = this way	mɪ ɓara	4 3				<i>Ijo: this way</i>	
tie (bundle) = bind	fina	3	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>			
tie (cloth)	uwǎɪ	1	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
tie (rope)	kakar	2	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>			
time	ifiye	3/4					
tired, become	dɛ̃ɲɪ	1					
toad	ɪ̃ɡu/ɪ̃ɲu	1					
today	ɪ̃gbai ?	?					
toe	ɓɪwɔ ɪ̃tɔ̃gbalɪ ?	2 2					
tongue	ɪ̃ɓɛ̃lɛ̃u	2	menduɔ	J 8	**ɪ̃ɓɛ̃lɛ̃u ?		
tooth	aka	2	n̄ɪa	J 7			
tortoise	ɪ̃kaki	2	íkákí	J 159	**ɪ̃kaki		
touch	gbele	3	iyɔ̃ laa	J 294 ( <i>touch with hand</i> )			
town	ama	2	ámá	J 96	**ama		
<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> (male) = “antelope” = sitatunga	utubara (?)	4					
trample = mash	d̄aga	1					
treat with “medicine”	guwɔ 2					( <i>good/bad</i> )	
tree	tɛ̃ɪ	2	ibo t̄ɪɪ	J 56 <i>big tree</i>	**tɛ̃ɪ		
<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i> = manatee	imejɪ ?	4					
trick	opɔ̃lɔ̃	1	epele	S	**opɔ̃lɔ̃		
trunk (of tree)	tɛ̃ɪ ɓiri	2 2				<i>tree belly/middle</i>	
truth	kesi-ye	2 2				<i>true-thing</i>	
try	ɓu kuru-mɔ	2 1-0				<i>body strong-causative</i>	
turn	waki		kanama	J 289 <i>turn round (vi)</i>			
turn	akana <i>go round, encircle</i>	1	kanama	J 289 <i>turn round (vi)</i>			
turtle, river	ɔ̃ɓɔ̃	1				<i>Trionyx (or Amyda)</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijo	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
						<i>triunguis</i>	
twenty	sii	2	síi	J 227	**sii		
twist vi	fǎgala-ɪ	5					
twist vt	fǎgala	3					
two	mǎamɪ	1?	maama	J 209	**mǎamV		
untie	kpǎkpǎ	3	kpǎkpǎ	J 374	**kpǎkpǎ		
urinate	sǎǎ	2	sǎǎ	J 268	**sǎǎ		
urine	sǎǎ dǐnǎ	2 1	sǎǎ	J 28		Ijo: <i>urine fluid</i>	
vagina	teḃi	1	tabéé	J 22			
vein	ɪsɪyǎ	2					
verandah	ɪḃara	1					
viper (horned)	ofo	2				Gaboon Viper ( <i>Bitis gabonica</i> ) or Puff Adder ( <i>Bitis arietans</i> ) + ?Rhinoceros viper?	
voice = throat	pǎkǎ ?	1					
waist	kǎdu	1					
walk	wǎdɪ	2	yǎǎ	J 284			
want	dǎkɪ	1	karama	J 317 <i>want (desire)</i>			
war	ǎmǔgu	2	au	J 125 <i>war, fight</i>			
war	yowu EI	1	au	J 125 <i>war, fight</i>	**yǎwu		
wash (things)	sǎkǎɪ	3	suku	J 353 <i>wash (things)</i>	**sǎkǎɪ		Mundang cùù ‘wash hands’ 63 Chamba Leko sug M wash Ch. Daka suksi ML Pere sogdo L? Mumuye soke LL Boyd MS p.135
wash = bathe	(ḃedi) bɪri	(1) 2	soro	J 354 <i>wash (body)</i>		Ijo: ( <i>water</i> ) <i>bathe</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates INCOMPLETE
wasp	otogoi	4					
water	ḃedi	1	mḃíá	J 31	**??		
water-pot	kuku	2	mḃíá bórú	J 67			
waterside	pɔku	2					
waves	ɔḃȳgɔ(u)/ ɔḃɔ̄gɔ(u)	1					
weak = soft	ḃɔu	1					
weak = soft	lɔkɔ	3					
weave (net/cloth)	ḃori	3	luo	J 348 <i>weave (cloth)</i>			
well (for water)	tibe	2	mḃíá abana	J 98 <i>well [water-pit?]</i>			
wet, become	pesu ?	1	ḃubu	J 249			
what?	teye/tee	1	taá	J example 19	**tɔyɔ		
where?	teye yɔ	1 2				Ijo: <i>what place?</i>	
white, become	pena	3	penɛ	J 241	**pena	NB vowels	Mundang penɛ
who?	teye ḃɔ	1 -	tári	J example 19		Ijo: <i>what person?</i>	
wide, become	finíí	5					
width	kuḃu	3					
width	finíí	5					
wife	taa	1	taa	J 179, S	**taa		
wind <i>n.</i>	ɛferu	2	ímiɔ	J 114			
wine	iwuru ?	1	ilo	J 38 <i>wine (general)</i>	**iwulV		
wing	paba	1	ápá	J 150, S			
wipe	kuwɔ	1					
witch	ari-ḃɔ/kimɪ	1 -/2	íyóró↓-tí	J 202		<i>witchcraft person</i>	
woman	ere	2	ésé↓ré tí aála	J 179 <i>S the woman</i>			
work <i>n.</i>	firi	1	ɔkúɔ	J 124			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates <b>INCOMPLETE</b>
worm = earthworm	isɔ̃ɔ̃	1					
wring (cloth)			imi	J 355	**imi	imi in EI, Inland	
wrist	bara kɔ̃gɔ̃	3 1				Ijo: <i>arm neck</i>	
write	kɛ̃ɪ/gɛ̃ɪ	1					
yam	ɓuru	1	í↓ní	J 40			
yawn v.	awũa	1					
year	kurai	2	ɔ̃lɔ̃	J 129			
yesterday	aɓiɓai ?	4	íba	S			

## Reconstruction (INCOMPLETE)

The sequences nasal + homorganic stop can be reconstructed in two ways:

- $\check{V}NV > \check{V}NCV$ , i.e. nasalized vowel + nasal + oral vowel, where an oral stop homorganic with the nasal develops by stop epenthesis (Stewart's proposal); the break between the nasal and the oral part of the word is thereby emphasized
- $\check{V}CV > \check{V}NCV$ , i.e. nasalized vowel + oral stop + oral vowel, where a nasal homorganic with the oral stop develops by nasal epenthesis.

The second reconstruction is preferred in Ijò for the following reasons:

- It can be observed as a synchronic process in the adoption of loanwords:  $m\check{z}g\grave{o} > m\check{z}ng\grave{o}$  < English *mug* 'mug',  $am\grave{i}g\grave{o} > am\grave{i}ng\grave{o}$  < Spanish *amigo* 'friend'.
- In Iẓon, O. A. Egberipou has observed that –ngb- is a better spelling than –mgb- in words like otóngbolo 'mosquito' because nasality rather than a nasal homorganic with the following stop (as in Igbo) is heard.
- In an Iẓon word game where syllables are reversed, the sequence in-, as in indí 'fish', is realized as a nasalized vowel (Efere 199).
- Defaka tina and Ijò ẓidi 'fish' can be derived from  $**\check{i}t\check{i}n\check{V}$  by the following processes: Ijò  $\check{i}t\check{i}ni > \check{i}nt\check{i}n\check{i}$  (nasal epenthesis)  $> \check{i}nd\check{i}n\check{i}$  (voicing of stop by assimilation to voiced nasal)  $> \check{i}nd\check{i}$  (loss of nasal between two nasalized vowels)  $> \check{i}nd\check{i}$  (reduction of two identical vowels to one)  $>$  various developments in modern lects. Defaka:  $**\check{i}t\check{i}n\check{a} > t\check{i}n\check{a}$  (loss of initial vowel)  $> tina$  (loss of significant nasality next to –n-). The difference in final vowel is not yet accounted for.
- The analysis is more economical in terms of phonemes. Only /m/, /n/, and marginally /ŋ/ are required. Stop epenthesis would require an additional /ŋm/.

A major difference from the stop epenthesis analysis is that nasal epenthesis may take place even when the following vowel is nasalized, as in 'fish'. The final nasality is attested in AT and required to account for the loss of –n-.

## The Ijoid numeral system

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

1-5: ancient roots

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Comment	Defaka	Comment	Proto-Ijoid
one	*kaṇani ? 4	old root	gbórí	Also in EI	**kaṇani ?
two	*maam̩ 1	old root	maama		**maam̩
three	*taaru 2	old root	taato		**taatu
four	*inoj 2	old root	ngí		**inoj
five	*sɔŋɔɔ 2	old root	túúnḁ		**tɔŋɔɔ

6-9: generally built on 5

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Comment	Defaka	Comment	Proto-Ijoid
six					

(to be completed)

## APPENDIX

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

- A female Creatrix, as evidenced by the transparently feminine etymologies of the names for God. (As the Ijò 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 Ijò.)

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.

### **References (to be completed)**

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