

**INDEX AND CLASSIFICATION
TO
WESTERMANN'S NIGER-CONGO
RECONSTRUCTIONS**

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WORKING DOCUMENT: NOT A DRAFT PAPER

NOT TO BE QUOTED WITHOUT PERMISSION

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Printed out:

16 October, 2003

Abbreviations, conventions and sources

Reconstructed languages:

CB	Common Bantu	Guthrie 1967-71
CP	Common Potou	Stewart 1973
PAC	Proto-Atlantic-Congo	
PBC	Proto-Benue-Congo	
PBK	Proto-Benue-Kwa	
PDC	Proto-Dogon-Congo	
PE	Proto-Edoid	Elugbe 1989
PEBC	Proto-East-Benue-Congo	
PI	Proto-Ijò	Williamson in prep
PIC	Proto-Ijò-Congo	
PKC	Proto-Kordofanian-Congo	
PLC	Proto-Lower Cross	Connell 1991 & p.c.
PN	Proto-Nupoid	Blench 1982, 1989
PUC	Proto-Upper Cross	Dimmendaal 1978
PWN	Proto-Western Nigritic	Mukarovsky 1976/77
PWS	Proto-West Sudanic	Westermann 1927
PY	Proto-Yoruboid	Akinkugbe 1978

This paper adopts the convention for reconstructions used in the Niger-Congo volume edited by Bender-Samuel (1989), distinguishing those established by regular sound-correspondences from those derived by quick inspection of cognates. By this criterion, most major reconstructed forms are quasi-reconstructions (inevitably). The effect of this is to translate the starred forms of various writers to hache '#'.

Tones are shown as follows;

High	´
Mid	Unmarked
Low	`
Rising	˘
Falling	ˆ

Since the data are drawn from a variety of sources, some words are not tone-marked. Using the present conventions these are not distinct from words with only mid-tone. To clarify such words, a + is added to words with mid-tone.

Vertical alignment of cognate consonants is used in some glosses to illustrate proposed sound correspondences.

1. Introduction

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/ Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
	W.	RMB										
1.	-ba		something, someone	A,G,Kw	PAC							
2.	-ba-		wide, thick	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							M.15
3.	-ba-		crocodile, monitor	M, A, Kr,	PMC					Also Songhai		
4.	ba		to be	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC							M. 2
5.	ba		they	A,G,Kw,B	PAC				+			M. 4
6.	-ba		mat	Kw,B	B							
7.	-ba		granary	B	WBC							
8.	-ba-		two	A,Kr,Kw,B	PAC		+	+				M. 12
9.	-ba,-baba		father	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC				+	Worldwide root		
10.	(m)-ba-		salt	G,Kw,B	PVC							
11.	ba, bal-		to count	B	PBC							
12.	-ba, -bat		swamp	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
13.	-baka		basket	A,B	—					Wanderword?		
14.	-bal-		palm-frond	M,Kw,B	PMC							M. 1,11,29
15.	-ban-, -bal-		man, male	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC					M. 10		
16.	bali		to bind, to roll up	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC					Weak evidence		
17.	balanda, bananda		banana	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	—					Wanderword		
18.	-be-		time	M,Kw,B	PMC							
19.	bel-		to cheat	Kr,B	PVC							
20.	-bi		wound	G,Kw,B	PVC				+			
21.	-bi-	biri	black	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+		cf. 91.,314., 369. Also in Songhai		G.:15

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
22.	-bi-		bad	G,Kw,B	PVC			+			M. 18
23.	-bi-		child	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						M. 20a
24.	-bi-		breast	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						M. 28
25.	-bi-		drum	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					Doubtful	
26.	(m)-bi, (m)-bu		dew	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					Mande, Atlantic uncertain	
27.	(m)-bi, (m)-bin		dung, excrement, shit, faeces	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						M 32
28.	bia, ba	bya	to come	A,G,Kw,B	PAC			+	+	Also in Adamawa e.g. Waja ba-	
29.	-bia-		place	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+			
30.	bo		to be	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					Westermann's secondary gloss 'to have' is excluded by virtue of the small number of examples.	
31.	bobo		to be dumb	M,A,G,Kw	PMC						
32.	bu-		to bend, to kneel	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
33.	-bu-		hut	M,Kw,B	PMC						
34.	bu		to cry out	Kw,B	PBC						
35.	(m)-bu-		mosquito	Kr,Kw,B	PVC						
36.	-bua-	bwa(ga)	dog	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	+					
37.	-bua-		soft, smooth	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					Wide semantic spread	M. 33
38.	-bua-, - buak-	gbaga	shoulder, upper arm	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	+					
39.	-bua-,-buo-		nose	G,Kw,B	PVC						
40.	buo	ḃuru	to rot	Kw,B	PBK		+	+			
41.	-ga		hundred	Kw,B	PBK						
42.	-ga		place	M,Kw,B	—					Mande very doubtful	
43.	-gan-		large, tall	M,Kw,B	PMC						
44.	-gan-		arrow	A,G,Kw,B	PAC		+	+	+		
45.	-ganga		drum	M,A,Kw,B	—					Also Hausa. Wanderword?	

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
46.	-gi-		vein	G,B	PVC					Also in Songhai		
47.	-gi-, -gia-	-ji	egg	G,Kw,B	PVC	+						
48.	gi, gia		to cut	G,B	PVC			+				
49.	gi, gia		to buy	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
50.	-gia		witchcraft	Kw,B	PBK					Westermann claims this is a wanderword. His quasi-reconstruction is unlikely.		
51.	-gia	-gya	blood	Kw,B	PBK	+		+				
52.	-gia-		offering	Kr,Kw,B	PBK					Kru citation isolated		
53.	-giama, -gama		chameleon	G,Kw,B	PVC							
54.	gian-		red	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					Also Hausa and perhaps a widespread loanword		
55.	-giata		lion	M,Kr,Kw,B	PMC					Westermann marks as a wanderword		
56.	-gidi(gidi)		unruly	M,Kw,B	—					Mande very doubtful. As this is an ideophone it is unlikely to reconstruct		
57.	gil-		to tremble	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
58.	-gil-		wall	Kw,B	PBK							
59.	gio	-jo	to dance	Kw,B	PBK							
60.	-gu-		silk-cotton tree	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
61.	gua-		to break, to destroy	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC			+				
62.	gua		very much	A,Kw,B	PAC							
63.	-gua		thirty	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
64.	-gua-		maize	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	—					A widespread loanword. Maize is of New World origin		
65.	-gua-		public place	A,Kw,B	PAC							
66.	-gua		gate, entrance	M,Kw,B	PMC					Single Mande citation		
67.	-gua	-gba	shelter, scaffold	M,A,Kr,Kw,B	PMC				+			
68.	-gua-	-gbala	stool, chair	M,Kr,Kw,B	PMC							

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
69.	-gua		fig	A,Kw,B	PAC							
70.	(ñ)-guan-		okra	M,G,Kw	—					It seems unlikely that Westermann's examples form a set		
71.	-guani		goat, sheep	M,Kw,B	PMC							
72.	(ñ)-gua(n)-		pot, calabash	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
73.	-guagia		girdle, to tie round	G,Kw,B	PVC							
74.	gue	gbe	to kill	Kw,B	PBK					Probably distinct from 106., 162.		
75.	-gue-	-gbe	voice, mouth	Kw,B	PBK							
76.	-gui-		leopard	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC							
77.	(guita)		silver	M,G,Kw,B	—					Westermann marks as a loanword		
78.	guni		lion	Kw,B	PBK					Westermann marks as a possible loanword		
79.	-guo (-gua)		ram	Kw,B	PBK							
80.	ga-		to scratch	Kw,B	PBK			+				
81.	ga-		to put on	Kw,B	PBK							
82.	-ga-	-wa	side	M,Kw,B	PMC					All Westermann's examples have initial w-		
83.	ge		chalk	M,Kw	—					Only two citations. ? coincidence		
84.	-ge-, -gel-		skin	M,G,Kw,B	PMC					Westermann's reconstruction is very remote from the attestations which appear to give a quasi-reconstruction more like #wolo		
85.	gi-	yi	to take away, to steal	G,B,Kw	PVC					#yi is a more likely reconstruction		
86.	-gi	yi	world	G,Kw	PVC					#yi is a more likely reconstruction		
87.	-gi-	-wi	knife	Kw,B	PBK							
88.	-gi(-gi)		two	G,Kw,B	PVC			+				
89.	gi	yi	to be	A,Kr,Kw	PAC					#yi is a more likely reconstruction		
90.	-gi	yi	this	M,A,Kw,B	PMC					#yi is a more likely reconstruction		
91.	gi	ji	black	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC							

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/ Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
92.	-gi, -gia		water	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
93.	gi, gia-		to speak, to say	M,G,Kr,Kw,B	PMC							
94.	gi, gil-		cold	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
95.	-gi, -gia-, -gua-	kiyu	calabash	G,Kw,B	PVC							
96.	gia	ya	to be	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					Probably not distinct from gi (No.4.). #ya is a more likely reconstruction		
97.	gi, gia, giu		to steal	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC					cf. 85. with which it should be combined		
98.	gi, gia	gya	to go	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC	-			+	cf. 150.194. Almost certainly part of the same set		
99.	-gi, -gil-, (-git-)		tree	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC							
100.	-gi, -giu		sorghum	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
101.	gi, giu, gil-		to call	G,Kw,B	PVC							
102.	-gi-, -giu-	-gu	head	G,Kw,B	PVC				+			M. 133a
103.	gi, giu		to be full, to fill	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC							
104.	gia		to be putrid	Kw,B	PBK							
105.	gu		he/she	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
106.	gu	wu	to die, to kill	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC					To be combined with 74. 162. 'to kill'		
107.	-gu, -gua-		grey hair	Kw,B	PBK							
108.	-gua-		ten	A,G,Kw,B	PAC				+			
109.	-gua	-gwa	hand	Kw,B	PBK							
110.	-gua-		snake	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
111.	gua, gual-		to wash	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC				+			
112.	-gui-, -guia-		sun	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC							
113.	-gu		garment	Kw,B	PBK					Westermann notes this as a wanderword but it a perfectly reasonable item to reconstruct		
114.	—		board game	M,G,Kw	—					a wanderword		

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
115.	—		camel	M,A,G,Kw	—				a widespread loanword		
116.	ka-		to cut	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC						
117.	-ka	ka	hand, five	A,G,Kw,B	PAC				Attested as 'five' in Atlantic suggesting a meaning shift		
118.	ka		no	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						
119.	-ka-		sorghum	G,Kw,B	PVC						
120.	-ka		ring	Kw,B	PBK						
121.	-ka-	-ka	meat, wild animal	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC						
122.	ka		and	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC						
123.	ka		to scatter	M,Kr,Kw,B	—				includes ideophones and is unlikely to form a set		
124.	ka-		to open/to close	M,A,Kr,Kw,B	PMC						
125.	-ka,-kaka		father	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC				worldwide root		
126.	ka, kal-	kara	to sit, to remain	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	+		+			G. 156
127.	-ka,-kal-		crab	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+	worldwide root		
128.	ka-,kan-		to say	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC				cf. 93.		
129.	-ka (-kia), -kan	-kan-	side	Kw,B	PBK				+		
130.	-ka,-kan,-kal-		charcoal	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC				+	Africa-wide root	
131.	-kal-		soul, spirit	G,Kw,B	PVC						
132.	-kam-		elephant	M,A,Kw	PMC						
133.	ka + nasal		to squeeze	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC			+	Also in Songhai		
134.	-kan,-kal-		bread (porridge?)	G,Kw,B	PVC						
135.	-kan-, -kal-		mat	M,G,Kw,B	—				This is likely to be a culture word		
136.	-kati		donkey, horse	Kw,B	—				A widespread loanword as W. observes		
137.	-keke-		wheel, spindle	M,G,Kw,B	—				Also in Hausa. A widespread loanword		
138.	-keteku-		bag	M,G,Kw,B	—				A widespread loanword as W. observes		

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/ Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
139.	ki		to stay	Kw,B	PBK							
140.	ki-		to abstain from	G,Kw,B	PVC							
141.	-ki		tail	G,Kw,B	PVC							
142.	-ki		market	Kw,B	PBK							
143.	ki		to bite, to scratch	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
144.	-ki-		woman, wife	G,Kw,B	PVC							
145.	-ki,-ku		yam	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
146.	ki-, kia-		to greet	G,Kw,B	PVC							
147.	-ki-, -kiu-		moon	G,Kw,B	PVC			+				
148.	kia		to make	M,G,Kr,B	PMC							
149.	kia		day, to be light	G,Kw,B	PVC							
150.	kia + nasal	can	to go	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	-				cf. 98.194.		
151.	-kiam-		guinea-fowl	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
152.	-kin-		needle	G,B	PVC							
153.	ku-	ku	to dig	G,Kw,B	PVC							
154.	-ku		matter, thing	M,G,Kw	PMC				+			
155.	ku		with, accompany	to M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
156.	-ku, -ko		parrot	M,G,Kw,B	—					Wanderword found throughout Central Africa		
157.	-ku-		belly	A,Kr,Kw,B	PAC							
158.	ku-,kua	kunu	to cry out	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC				+			
159.	ku, kul-	kuru	old	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 163. with which it should be conjoined		M. 242
160.	-ku,-kua-	kpaN-	oil, fat	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC	-				cf. 247.		
161.	-ku,-kua		skin	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC			+		cf. 84.		
162.	ku, kua, kui	kpa	to kill, to die	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 74.		
163.	-kua-, -kua-	kpaN-	to be old	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 159. with which it should be conjoined		M. 242
164.	-kua		oil palm	G,B	—					Also Westermann observes, also in Hausa and		

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
									likely a widespread loanword		
165.	kua-	to fade	Kr,Kw,B	PVC							
166.	-kua-	kpa(re) leg, foot	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC				+			
167.	-kua-	-kpa road	G,Kw,B	PVC							
168.	kua-	kpara to rub in	A,Kw,B	PAC							
169.	-kua-	slave	G,Kw,B	PVC							
170.	kua-	to be bald	G,Kw,B	PVC							
171.	-kua-	guinea-fowl	Kr,G,B	PVC					cf. 151. These two reconstructions should probably be united		
172.	kua	to cease	M,G,Kw	PMC							
173.	-kua-, kuaki-	calabash	A,G,Kw,B	PAC					cf. 95.		
174.	kua, kual-	to be dry, to be hard	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
175.	-kua,-kual-	bag	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 138.		
176.	kua, kual	to drive	Kw,B	PBK							
177.	kua, kual	to sweep	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
178.	-kuakua	duck	Kw,B	—					A widespread loanword although not noted by W. as such		
179.	kuakua	shiveringly	A,Kw,B	—					ideophones and as such unlikely to reconstruct		
180.	-kual-	frog	Kw,B	PBK							
181.	kual-	to snore	Kr,Kw,B	PVC							
182.	-kuan-	life	G,Kw,B	PVC							
183.	-kuan-	hunter	G,Kw	PVC							
184.	(-kuata)	platform	M,Kw,B	—					Wanderword		
185.	kui	kpi many	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
186.	-kuni	husband, man	Kw,B	PBK							
187.	-kuia-	spear	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC							

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
188.	kuia		to cut	G,Kw,B	PVC						
189.	-kuku		pigeon	Kw,B	PBK						
190.	-kut-		iron	M,G,Kw,B	PMC				This must be a widespread loanword, as iron is not very ancient in West Africa		
191.	ku-,k <u>u</u> a-		to ladle out	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
192.	-ku,-k <u>u</u> a		house	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
193.	k <u>u</u> a		to have	A,Kr,Kw,B	PAC						
194.	k <u>u</u> a	kwa	to go	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC	-			cf. 98.150. Almost certainly part of the same set.		
195.	k <u>u</u> a	kwa	to give	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC	-			cf. 257., 347.		
196.	k <u>u</u> a, k <u>u</u> al-, (k <u>u</u> an-)		to cough	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC						
197.	-k <u>u</u> a, -k <u>u</u> an-		war	M,G,Kw,B	PMC						
198.	-k <u>u</u> a, -k <u>u</u> an-	k(w)ang o	neck	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC		+		+		
199.	-k <u>u</u> a-, -k <u>u</u> a-		soap	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC				W. identifies this as a wanderword, but there is no reason why it should not be reconstructible		
200.	-k <u>u</u> am-		hunger	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC						
201.	n/r		donkey, horse	M,G,Kw,B	PMC				cf. 136.		
202.	la		to want	G,Kw,B	PVC						
203.	(a)-la		cutlass	G,Kw,B	—				cf. 87. A wanderword. Also in Kanuri		
204.	la		mouth	M,Kw	—				With a single citation outside Mande this is likely to be a coincidence		
205.	-la		jaw	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC						
206.	la		to sleep	M?,A,Kw,B	PMC						
207.	la		this, these	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
208.	-la		ground, under	A,Kw,B	PAC						
209.	la, lala		old	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC				cf. 159.,163.		

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
210.	la (lia, lua)	la	to buy	G,Kw,B	PVC	+				Also in Songhai		G. 154
211.	(-laka)		box	M,G,Kw,B	—					A widespread loanword		
212.	-laŋki-		crocodile	G,Kw,B	PVC					cf. 3.		
213.	le		slowly	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
214.	le (de, do)		one	M,Kr,Kw,	PMC							
215.	le		to be	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
216.	li		to be	A,G,Kw,B	PAC					Should almost certainly be united with previous entry. cf. also 4., 30., 89., 96.		
217.	-li		cereal	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
218.	li	dibi	grave, to bury	Kw,B	PBK		+					
219.	-li-		root	G,Kw,B	PVC							
220.	-li-, -lu-	li-	head	A,Kr,Kw,B	PAC	+						
221.	-li-, -lu-		ten	Kw,B	PBK					cf. 108.		
222.	li, lia	di	to eat	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC	+						G. 155
223.	lib-		to die	A,Kr	PAC					Unusual distribution suggests a regional word		
224.	lim-, nim-		to extinguish	A,Kw,B	PAC			+				
225.	-lima		tongue	A,G,Kw,B	PAC			+				M. 332,339
226.	-lu, -li		cow, antelope	M,A,Kw,B	PMC					It seems uncertain that these words form a set		
227.	-lu-		powder	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
228.	-lu-		knee	G,Kw,B	PVC							
229.	-lu-		tail, handle	Kw,B	—					This is probably a conflation of two separate roots. See commentary		G. 158
230.	lu, lua		to plant	Kr,Kw,B	PVC							
231.	lu, lua		to weave	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
232.	-lua-		tree, wood	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
233.	lum-		to bite	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
234.	(digu)		glass, mirror	G,Kw,B	—					A widespread loanword. Also in Songhai		
235.	n/r		cotton	Kw,B	—					A widespread loanword perhaps originally from		

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
									Berber?		
236.	-ma	mother	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC				+	A worldwide root		
237.	-ma-	back	G,Kw,B	PVC							
238.	ma	no	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC							
239.	ma	this	M,G,Kw,B	PMC		+					
240.	-ma-	-ma	town	Kw,B	PBK		+				
241.	ma, man-	to finish	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
242.	-man-	gum, rubber	M,G,Kw,B	PMC					W. marks this as a possible wanderword but there are plenty of indigenous types of latex in West Africa		
243.	ma, man-	to continue	M,Kw,B	—					Single Mande citation is isolated and probably a coincidence		
244.	-malu	rice	M,A,G,Kw	PMC					W. marks as a wanderword, though wild <i>Oryza</i> is indigenous to W. Africa. The term has been diffused via Fulfulde in recent times.		
245.	man-, mal-	flame, light	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
246.	mi	me	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					A worldwide root		
247.	-mi	fat, oil	G,Kw,B	PVC	+				cf. 160. Also in Hausa		
248.	mi, min-	to drink, to swallow	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC				+	This shifts to 'neck' in East Benue-Congo		
249.	mi, mina	to press down	Kw,B	PBK					cf. 133.		
250.	mi, mu	in	Kr,Kw,B	PVC							
251.	mu, mumu	mute	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
252.	mu, mua-	to catch	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
253.	mu, muan-	to bear a child	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC							
254.	mua- (mu-)	to laugh	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
255.	mua-, mia-	to be sweet	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC							
256.	-mui	bee	Kw,B	PBK							

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
257.	na	na	to give	M,G,Kw,B	PMC	-						
258.	na	na	to go	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC	-				Westermann lists a series of related glosses, such 'foot', 'road', 'journey'		
259.	na		to keep on doing s.t.	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					The common factor is likely to be a verbal extension -na		
260.	na	na	to come	M,A,G,Kw	PMC	+				This may be connected with <i>na</i> 'to go' (cf. 258.)		
261.	na		me	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 261.		
262.	-na		this	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 90., 207., 239.		
263.	na		no	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC					cf. 118., 238.		
264.	na		upon	A,Kr,Kw,B	PAC					widely scattered citations		
265.	-na-		spider	A,G,Kw,B	PAC				+			
266.	-na-	na	fire	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC	-						
267.	-na		mother	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
268.	-na-, -nak-		cow	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
269.	-na-, -nan-	nani	four	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC		+					
270.	-ni-	-ni	elephant	A,Kw,B	PAC	+				Unlikely to be distinct from #ni (276.)		G. 155
271.	-ni		earth, world	A,G,Kw,B	PAC					Atlantic citation somewhat doubtful		
272.	-ni		this	M,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 90.,207.,239.,262.		
273.	ni		me	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 246., 261.		
274.	-ni		in	G,Kw,B	PVC							
275.	ni	nani	to be	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC							
276.	-ni		four	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC		+			Unlikely to be distinct from #na (269.)		
277.	-ni		mother	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 236. Unlikely to be distinct from #na (267.) Also in Songhai		
278.	-ni-, -nini		soul	M,A,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 131.		
279.	-ni, -nia	-ni	eight	G,Kw,B	PVC		+					
280.	ni-, nia- + nasal	nima	to know	A,G,Kw,B	PAC		+					

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
281.	-ni-		water	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC						
282.	-ni + nasal		name	Kr,Kw,B	PVC			+			
283.	-ni-, -nik-		cow	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC				Very unlikely to be distinct from #na (268.)		
284.	-ni, -nin-		tooth	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC			+			
285.	-ni, -nu-, -nia-	nima	eye, to see	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC	-					
286.	-ni-, -nu-		person	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC						
287.	ni, nu, niu, niua	nun-	to drink	G,Kw,B	PDC			+	Also in Songhai		
288.	nia		to excrete	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC						
289.	-niam-, -nam-		meat, animal	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC		+	+	Also in Hausa and Fulfulde		
290.	(nono)		milk	M,A,Kw,B	—				A Hausa word and almost certainly a widespread loan		
291.	nu		to say	Kw,B	PBK						
292.	nu-		to hear, ear	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC	+					G. 154
293.	-nu-		hand	G,Kw,B	PVC			+	W. almost certainly correctly connects with the following gloss 294. for 'five'		
294.	-nu-		five	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC			+	cf. 109.		
295.	-nu, -nua, niua		two	M,G,Kw,B	PMC						
296.	-nu, -nua, (-ni, -nia)		mouth	A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PAC	+		+			
297.	nwa-		eat	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						
298.	nwa, nwal-		to scratch, scrape	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						
299.	-nwu-		nose	M,G,Kw,B	PMC			+			
300.	pa(-i)		to be full	M,A,G	PMC				cf. 103.		
301.	-pa		leaf, medicine	G,Kw,	—				It seems unlikely that these words all form a set, but see commentary		

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
302.	(-pa)	divination	Kw,B	—					A wanderword. Also in Chadic		
303.	pal, pel-, (pat-)	thin	M,A,Kw,B	—					Single Mande and Atlantic examples are doubtful		
304.	-pali	shame	Kw,B	PBK							
305.	-pat-	slime	M,A,Kw,B	PMC							
306.	-pat-	sun	A,Kw	PAC					W. seems to have made a (rare) error as Karekare (Chadic) is cited as a Benue-Congo language		
307.	-pap-, -pep-	wind	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC					This may be ideophonic		
308.	pe-, po-	to pluck	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
309.	pel-, pol-	lungs	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC			+		W.'s association with words for 'cork' seems to be rather idiosyncratic		
310.	-pi	grass	Kw,B	PBK	-						
311.	pi	to die	A,Kw,B	PAC					cf. 106.,162.,223.		
312.	pi-	small	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
313.	-pi-	house	M,Kw,B	—					Doubtful Mande citations		
314.	pi + nasal	black	M,A,G,Kw	PMC	+				cf. 21.91. Should almost certainly be conjoined with #bi (21.)		
315.	pi, pil-	to fly	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
316.	pi, pina	to press down, squeeze	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
317.	-pi-, -pu-	ten	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					cf. 108.,221.,108.		
318.	-pia	axe	Kw,B	PBK		+					
319.	pia	red	G,Kw,B	PVC							
320.	-pian-	pile	moon	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	-	-	-	cf. 147.		W. 276, G. 20, M. 428a
321.	-pita	leaf	M,G,Kw,B	PMC	-				Also attested in Songhai		
322.	-po	person	Kr,Kw,B	PVC							
323.	-pol-	empty	M,A,Kr,Kw,B	PMC							

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)		Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
324.	-pi-, -pu-		feather	Kw,B	PBK							
325.	pi, pu (pwu)		to throw out	M, Kw, B	PMC							
326.	-pu-		foam	M,G,Kw,B	PMC							
327.	pu-		to blow	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC					Also in Songhai		
328.	-pu-		belly	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+	+			
329.	pu-		to come out	A,G,Kw,B	PAC							
330.	pu-	puru	white	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC			+	+			
331.	-pu-		field	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
332.	pu, pua		foetus	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC							
333.	-pu, -pua		stranger, guest	G,Kw,B	PVC							
334.	pu, pul-		empty	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
335.	pua		to strike	G,Kw	PVC							
336.	-ta-		bow	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	+	-	+	+			
337.	-ta-		war	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC							
338.	-ta-		palm-wine	G,Kw,B	PVC							
339.	ta		to stay	G,Kw,B	PVC							
340.	ta		to rub on	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC							
341.	-ta		father	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+				
342.	-ta		thing	M,A,Kr,Kw,B	PMC							
343.	-ta	-ta	hand	A,Kw,B	PAC	+						
344.	-ta-		sky	G,Kw,B	PVC							
345.	ta-		to say	A,G,Kw,B	PAC			+		cf. 93.,128.,291.		
346.	ta-	ta	to go	M,G,Kw,	PMC	+				cf. 98.,150.,194.,258.		
347.	ta	ta	to give	A,G,Kw,B	PAC	-						
348.	-ta-	ta	fire	M,Kr,Kw,B	PMC							
349.	ta-		to buy	Kr,G,Kw,B	PVC			+				

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
350.	ta		to castrate	Kw,B	PBK						
351.	ta		no	M,A,Kw,B	PMC						
352.	ta-		to take	M,G,Kw,B	PMC						
353.	-ta-		to spread out	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
354.	-ta-		spittle	G,Kw,B	PVC						
355.	-ta-, -tali		stone	A,G,Kw,B	PAC			+			
356.	ta + nasal		to chew	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						
357.	ta + nasal		to forget	G,Kw,	PVC						
358.	ta + nasal		to be finished	M,G,Kw,B	PMC						
359.	-ta-		thigh	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
360.	-ta-, -tan-		cloth	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC						
361.	-tam-		horse	G,Kw	—				A wanderword. Also in Songhai. cf. 201.		
362.	tan-, tal-		to know	M,A,Kw,B	PMC						
363.	-tata		ostrich	G,Kw	—				A wanderword. Also in Songhai		
364.	-te, tete		then, since that time	A,G,Kw,B	PAC						
365.	te + nasal		to cut	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC	+			cf. 48.,116.,188.		
366.	te + nasal		straight	M,G,Kw,B	PMC						
367.	ti	ti	head	Kw,B	PBK	+			cf. 102., 220.		
368.	ti		thatch	M,Kw	—				Scattered distribution		
369.	ti	tiN	black	M,A,Kr,Kw	PMC	+			cf. 21., 91., 314.		
370.	ti-		to sneeze	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
371.	ti-		to open, to close	G,Kw	PVC						
372.	-ti, -tia		middle, between	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
373.	ti-, tu-		to take	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC						
374.	-ti-, -tu-		tree	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC			+			
375.	tie		to hear	Kw	PKw						

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
376.	tu-	to pound, to strike	M,A,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC			+				
377.	tu-	to encounter	Kr,G,Kw	PVC							
378.	tu-	to heap up	M,Kw,B	—					Mande citation is isolated		
379.	tu-	to wander off	M,G,Kw,B	PMC					Small number of citations and wide semantic spread make this a doubtful reconstruction		
380.	tu-	to spit	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+	+	Also found in other language phyla		
381.	-tu-	iron	A,G,Kw,B	—					cf. 190. Unlikely to be reconstructible for historical reasons		
382.	-tu-	termite mound	Kr,G,Kw	PVC							
383.	-tu-	flint (for gun)	M,G,Kw,	—					A recent loanword, often also applied to the gun itself		
384.	-tu-, -tua-	water	Kw	PKw							
385.	-tu-, -tua-	forehead	M,A,G,Kw	PMC							
386.	tua, (to)	to roast	A,Kw,B	PAC							
387.	tua	to push, to pound	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+	+	Almost certainly to be conjoined with 376. #tu 'to pound'		
388.	tum-	to work, to send	M,A,G,Kw,B	PMC			+				
389.	tuna	tini	M,A,Kw	PMC				+			
390.	n/r	lead (mineral)	A,Kw	—					A loanword from Portuguese		
391.	n/r	trousers	G,Kw,B	—					Probably a loanword from Hausa		
	Affixes										
392.	-a	verbal noun	M,Kr	—					A regional form?		
393.	-ya	completive	M,G	—							
394.	-li	infinitive	M,Kw	—							
395.	-mo	infinitive	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							
396.	-ki	reversive	G,Kw,B	PVC							

No.	Quasi-reconstruction(s)	Meaning	Attestations cited by Westermann	Probable level	K	I	A	D	Comment	Westermann/Mukarovsky	Greenberg/
397.	-ti	reversive	M,Kr,G,Kw,B	PMC							

Commentary:

2. 'be flat'

4. 'to be'

Westermann **Proposed here**

**Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning**

5. 'they'

Westermann **Proposed here**

**Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning**

9. 'father'

Westermann **Proposed here**
#ba

**Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning**

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	bé		GCG
Ijoid					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

8. 'two'

Westermann **Proposed here**

**Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning**

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Ijoid			ma-		W
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	bà	bear twins	Sh

Commentary: M. (12) gives some possible examples of Gur cognates

9. 'father'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ba, -baba	baba
Reconstructed level		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian	Koalib	Otoro	baba	RCS
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	bà pl. bàũ	GCG
Ijoid				
Adamawa	Mumuye			

Commentary: This root is found so widely in the languages of the world that it cannot be held to constitute proof of a linguistic relationship between and two groups of languages.

14. 'palm', 'palm-frond'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Commentary: M. (1,11,29) shows that this root is found in Gur and Atlantic

20. 'wound, sore'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	#-bi	
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	bamá	sore	GCG
Ijoid					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

21. 'black'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-bi-	biri
Reconstructed level	PMC	PMC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	vi		Sh

Commentary: Although superficially similar to 314. #piN this root is probably distinct, especially in view of the second syllable which Westermann chose not to reconstruct.

22. 'to be bad'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	vin		Sh

Commentary:

28. 'to come'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	bia, ba	bya
Reconstructed level	PAC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Ijoid		Ijo	66		W
Adamawa		Waja	ba-		KI

Commentary: See also 260.

29. 'place'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	bii		Sh

Commentary:

36. 'dog'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-bua-	bwa(ga)
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Lafofa	bebu(i) pl. erui	Sch2
		Eliri	bwak pl. abuk	RCS
Mande				
Adamawa	Mumuye			

Commentary: Williamson (p.c.) notes Ijoid obiri but suggests that it is probably *not* cognate.

38. 'shoulder'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-bua-, -buak-	gbaga
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Otoro	g-əbo		
		Eliri	c-ebi		
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

40. 'to rot'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	buo	ɓuru
Reconstructed level	PBK	PIC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Ijoid		Ijoid	ɓuru		W
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	pun	rotten	Sh

44. 'arrow'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-gan-	ka-
Reconstructed level	PAC	PMC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande		Boko	kaa		
Ijoid		Ba?	ukpón		
Dogon		Donno So	kén		Kervran (1993)
Adamawa	Ubangian	Mundu	gbànjá		Moñino (1988)

Commentary: There is no trace of nasalisation in the Mande cognates and no prefix. It therefore seems likely these features were acquired at PAC level.

47. 'egg'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-gi-, -gia-	-gyi
Reconstructed level	PVC	PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Rashad	yi	RCS
	Koalib	Otoro	g-ei pl. y-ei	RCS
	Koalib	Moro	isi	Black
Mande				
Ijoid				
Adamawa	Mumuye			

Commentary: Kordofanian languages have various fricatives in the C₁ slot, corresponding very well to the Niger-Congo citations. Williamson (p.c.) notes Ijoid *anga* but suggests that it is probably *not* cognate.

48. 'to cut'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	yee		Sh

51. 'blood'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-gia	-giya
Reconstructed level	PBK	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Kajakja	wiyá		RCS
		Lafofa	nyì		RCS
	Katla	Katla	iyáá		RCS
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	kpaà		Sh

Commentary: This root appears to be much more widespread than Westermann envisaged. The Kordofanian forms have undergone initial weakening of the velar. The nasal in Lafofa is likely to be a prefix.

61. 'to break'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	ka		Sh

67. 'shelter, scaffold'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstructions
Reconstructed level
Meaning

-gua -gba
 PMC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	tógu		GCG
Ijoid					W.
Adamawa					

80. 'to scratch, draw line'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	gòn	draw line	Sh

88. 'two'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction					
Reconstructed level					
Meaning					
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source	
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	zit	Sh	

91. 'black'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction			gi		ji
Reconstructed level			PVC		PVC
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source	
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa					

98.150.194. 'to walk, to go'

It seems likely that there are two roots that Westermann has split into three.

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction	I	gi, gia		#gya	
	II	kia + nasal			
	III	kua		#kandi	
Reconstructed level		PMC		PMC	
Meaning					
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	yá		GCG
Ijoid		P-Ijoid	wéǵdí	walk	W
Adamawa	Mumuye				Sh

Commentary: Williamson (1993:393) provides additional comparative material.

cf. Tarok **cèn**, Nindem **sen**, Yashi **ʃin**, Tiv, **dzèndè**, Common Ekoid **jèn**, Legbo **seŋ**. These forms are probably related to a wider series with a stop in C₁, reflecting CB #-**gènd-**. Discussed in Williamson (1993: 393)

102. 'head'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction					
Reconstructed level					
Meaning					
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Tabi	ku		Bertho
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	yu		Sh

Commentary:

106. 'to kill, to die'

See also 74.162.

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction					
Reconstructed level					
Meaning					
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon					
Adamawa					

Commentary: There are probably a variety of roots that are intertwined together. The following tables propose a re-analysis of the existing materials. None of the various forms appear to be attested in Kordofanian.

74.

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction					
Reconstructed level					
Meaning					
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
			gue	gbe	
			PBK	PBK	

106.

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	gu	wu
Reconstructed level	PAC	PAC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
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Commentary: The *gu* and *wu* forms by Westermann are probably distinct. *wu* is extremely widespread in all groups of Atlantic-Congo and is probably the original form. *gu* should probably be combined with the widespread *ku* forms (see below).

108. 'ten'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
---------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------------	--------------	---------------

Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	kop		Sh

Commentary:

111. 'to wash'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	gua, gual-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	#g ^w oki
Meaning	to wash	to bathe

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
---------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------------	--------------	---------------

Kordofanian					
Mande					
Ijoid		Kalabari	ókí	to swim	
Adamawa	Mumuye				Sh

Commentary: Williamson (19xx:394) suggests the meaning would be better reconstructed 'bathe', 'swim'.

126. 'to sit, to remain'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ka, kal-	kara
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning		to sit

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Tegali	ka	remain!	RCS
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	ga	to wait for	Sh

References: Greenberg (1963:156)

127. 'crab'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	shan	Sh

Commentary:

129. 'side'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ka (-kia), -kan	
Reconstructed level	PBK	PDC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	gène	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye			Sh

Commentary:

130. 'charcoal'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ka-, -kan-, -kal-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon			kiléé	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	shan	Sh

Commentary:

133. 'to squeeze'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	kan	wring out	Sh

Commentary:

147. 'moon'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	shélé		Sh

Commentary:

154. 'thing'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ku	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	kidé	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye			

Commentary:

158. 'to cry out'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ku-, kua-	kunu
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	kómɔ	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye			

Commentary:

160. 'fat, oil'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ku,-kua-	kpaN-
Reconstructed level	PAC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Mande				
Dogon				
Adamawa				

Commentary: cf. 247.

161. 'skin'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	koo		Sh

Commentary:

166. 'leg, foot'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction -kua- [kpa(re)] ka-
Reconstructed level PMC PKC
Meaning leg foot

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Koalib	Koalib	kaga	foot	RCS
	Tegali	Rashad	ekán	foot	RCS
	Katla	Katla	kàt pl.a-	foot	RCS

Mande
 Dogon
 Ijoid
 Adamawa

Commentary: For PMC, this should certainly be reconstructed with an initial labial-velar as shown in square brackets. However, the absence of /kp/ in the Kordofanian languages cited suggests that initial /k/ must be the quasi-reconstruction. C₂ probably cannot be reconstructed.

195. 'to give'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstructions k_ua kwa
Reconstructed level PMC PMC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Mande					
Dogon					
Dogon					
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

Commentary: A PMC innovation

198. 'neck'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstructions	#-k <u>u</u> a, #-k <u>u</u> an-	#k(w)ango
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	ỳ̀gɔ	throat	GCG
Dogon		Toro	kəkɔ́ɔ́	neck	GCG
Ijoid		Kalabari	k̀̀ng̀̀		W.
Adamawa					

Commentary: Discussed in Williamson (1989:250-254, 19xx:397)

206. 'to lie down, to sleep'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	roo	to sleep	Sh

Commentary:

210. 'to buy'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	la (lia, lua)	la
Reconstructed level	PVC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Katla	la		RCS
Mande					
Adamawa					

Commentary:

218. 'to bury'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	li	ɗibi
Reconstructed level	PBK	PIC
Meaning	grave	to bury

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Ijoid		Ijoid	ɗibi		W
Mande					
Adamawa					
Benue-Congo	Plateau	Tarok	li		

Commentary:

398.	-li-		root	G,Kw,B	PVC					
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219. 'root'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-li-	
Reconstructed level	PVC	PMC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande		Manding	*ɗɨ́nɨ́		Derive
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

Commentary:

220. 'head'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-li-, -lu-	li-
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Koalib	Heiban	ɪr̩à		RCS
Ijoid					
Mande					
Adamawa					

Commentary:

222. 'to eat'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	li, lia	rig-
Reconstructed level	PMC	PCK
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Lafofa	rik		RCS
	Talodi	Masakin	rigo		RCS
Mande					
Adamawa					

Commentary: This may well be the same as the forms in Kordofanian Katla-Tima languages, such as Tima *áluk* and Katla *ólák* but the vowel correspondences are hard to account for. The Kordofanian citations in Greenberg are much more obviously cognate but regrettably, they do not occur in any recently-collected data.

224. 'to extinguish'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	rin-kè		Sh

Commentary:

229. 'tail'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-lu-	-du-
Reconstructed level	PBK	PKC
Meaning	tail, handle	tail

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Masakin	ɥ-udi		tail
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

Commentary: Westermann's original set probably conflates two distinct roots; -du- which is widespread for 'hoe' in the Benue-Congo area and may sometimes be applied to hoe-handles and -lu-, which as Greenberg

(1963:158) points out is much more widespread for 'tail'. Whether the Kordofanian forms are cognate is at least doubtful.

236. 'mother'

		Westermann	Proposed here			
Quasi-reconstruction						
			-ma			
Reconstructed level			PMC			
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
Kordofanian						
Mande						
Dogon		Toro	àma	parents-in-law	GCG	
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing			Sh	

Commentary:

239. 'this'

		Westermann	Proposed here			
Quasi-reconstruction						
			-ma-			-ma
Reconstructed level			PBK			?
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
Kordofanian						
Mande						
Ijoid			ma	fem & pl. dem. and article	W	
Dogon						
Adamawa	Mumuye					

Commentary:

240. 'town'

		Westermann	Proposed here			
Quasi-reconstruction						
			-ma-			-ma
Reconstructed level			PBK			?
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source	
Kordofanian						
Mande						
Ijoid			ama		W	
Dogon						
Adamawa	Mumuye					

Commentary: Ijoid *ama* may be a loanword in view of the restricted geographical distribution of this root.

247. 'fat, oil'

		Westermann		Proposed here	
Quasi-reconstruction			-mi		ɲira
Reconstructed level			PVC		PKC
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Tagoi	ɲɪr	fat	RCS
		Koalib	ɲila	fat	RCS
Mande					
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Adamawa					

Commentary: cf. 160. This appears to be a rather strained correspondence, but there is good evidence the ɲ and m *do* correspond between Kordofanian and the rest of Niger-Congo. See Williamson (1989a).

248. 'to swallow'

		Westermann		Proposed here	
Quasi-reconstruction			mi, min-		
Reconstructed level			PMC		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	minè		GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing			Sh

260. 'to come'

		Westermann		Proposed here	
Quasi-reconstruction			na		nda
Reconstructed level			PMC		PKC
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Rashad	nda		RCS
	Koalib	Koalib	ila		RCS
Mande					
Dogon					
Adamawa					

Commentary: The form in Tima, another Kordofanian language is *dian*, and it is possible that the initial d/l/ in Kordofanian corresponds to the the n- of Niger-Congo and the nasal is an affix.

265. 'spider'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction					
Reconstructed level			-na-		
			PAC		
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	naná		GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing			Sh

269.276. 'four'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction I			-na-, -nan-		nani
Quasi-reconstruction II			ni		nani
Reconstructed level			PAC		PAC
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

Commentary: Westermann has almost certainly disaggregated a single root, #nani, as his footnote recognises.

270. 'elephant'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction					
Reconstructed level					
Meaning					

279. 'eight'

		Westermann	Proposed here		
Quasi-reconstruction I			-ni, -nia		-ni
Reconstructed level			PVC		PIC
Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Ijoid					
Dogon					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

Commentary: Probably originally a reduplicated form of 'four' (269.276.)

280. 'to know'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ni-, nia- + nasal [nima]	niNi
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tagoi	Orig	-ɲini		S&E
	Koalib	Koalib	iliɲidhi		RCS
Mande					
Ijoid					
Gur					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

Commentary: The Koalib form may well not be cognate as the liɲ- element appears as a detachable element in some languages of the group.

282. 'name'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Gur		Lobiri	iri		M & T
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	riń		Sh
Kwa		Avikam	èńi		
Benue-Congo	Dakoid	Nnakenyare	yiri		B & F

Commentary:

284. 'tooth'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ni, -nin-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning	tooth	

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	inu		GCG
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

Commentary:

285. 'eye'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ni, -nu-, -nia-	nima
Reconstructed level	PMC	PMC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Dogon					
Ijoid					
Kru					
Adamawa					

Commentary:

287. 'to drink'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ni, nu, niu, niua	#nun-
Reconstructed level	PVC	PDC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	nò	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing		Sh

N.B. The Dogon form is identical with adjacent Gur languages and could be a loan to or from them.

Commentary:

121. 'meat'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-niam-, -nam-	
Reconstructed level	PVC	PDC
Meaning	meat, animal	

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	náma	flesh	GCG
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

292. 'ear'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	nu-	-eenu
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning	to hear, ear	ear

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Proto-Heiban	*-aani	ear	Sch1
		Proto-Talodi	*-eenu	ear	Sch2
		Katla	gunu	ear	RCS
Mande					
Dogon					
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

Commentary: The Kordofanian forms for ‘to hear’ are also clearly related.

293. 'hand'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-nu-	
Reconstructed level	PVC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Timiniri	nu-ma		Bertho
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

294. 'five'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-nu-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	nùmǝnǝ	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye			

296. 'mouth'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-nu, -nua,(-ni,-nia)	
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					

Mande					
Dogon		Toro	áɲa		GCG
Ijoid					
Adamawa					

299. 'nose'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				

Mande				
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	sun	Sh

301. 'leaf'

See also 321.

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	pi + nasal	piN
Reconstructed level	PMC	PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Lafofa	pi-în pl. yí-		RCS
Mande					
Adamawa					

318. 'axe'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Commentary: The Ijo citation is, however, almost certainly a loan

321. 'leaf'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-pita	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon					
Adamawa					

#fiCV. Leaf.

Kwa	Mbatto	õpi
Edoid	Emai	ébè
Nupoid	Nupe	fini
Idomoid	Akpa	afile
Platoid	Ayu	ififi

Commentary:

328. 'belly'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-pu-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	beré		GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	bùru		Sh

Commentary:

330. 'white'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	pu-	#puru
Reconstructed level	PMC	PMC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian				
Mande				
Dogon		Toro	pílu	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	pu	Sh

Commentary:

336. 'bow'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ti-, -tu-	
Reconstructed level	PAC	PNK

Family	Subgroup	Language	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Tegem	tʰaai	Schadeberg (1981b)
Mande		Boko	sa	Prost (1953)
		Mana	sã'	Prost (1953)
Dogon		Toro	tó	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	ta-kà	Sh
Unclassified		Pre	ta	Creissels (ms)

Commentary: This term must reconstruct to PNK

341. 'father'

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	daa		Sh

Commentary:

343. 'hand'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ta	-taN
Reconstructed level	PAC	PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Talodi	Acheron	kāṭā		RCS
	Koalib	Moro	ḍaŋ		RCS
Mande					
Adamawa					

Commentary: Several scattered forms in Kordofanian languages independently preserve a final velar nasal, hence its reconstruction here. It is interesting to note that -ta has a ka- prefix in Atlantic, e.g. Temne *kata*.

345. 'to say, to speak'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	shan	to speak	Sh

Commentary:

346. 'to go'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ta	ta
Reconstructed level	PMC	PKC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Tagoi	nde		RCS
	Koalib	Otoro	iḍi		RCS
	Katla	Tima	iḍi		RCS

Mande
Adamawa

Commentary: The Kordofanian citations are certainly cognate with each other and probably with the Mande and other forms.

347. 'to give'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ta	ta
Reconstructed level	PAC	PAC
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Mande					
Adamawa					

Commentary: An isolated Kordofanian language, Tuwal, has ʔe for 'to give' but this is not considered cognate unless further links are forthcoming.

348. 'fire'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ta-	tek-
Reconstructed level	PMC	PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian	Tegali	Lafofa	ʔ-éé	RCS
		Talodi	ʔek	RCS

Mande
Adamawa

Commentary: There is no trace of C₂ outside Kordofanian, suggesting that its loss is characteristic of PMC.

349. 'to buy'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction		
Reconstructed level		
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	shoo	to pay	Sh

355. 'stone'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	tar-a		Sh

365. 'to cut'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction te + nasal -ti
Reconstructed level PMC PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian		Karondi	ati		RCS
Mande					
Dogon					
Adamawa					

Commentary:

367. 'head' Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction ti -te
Reconstructed level PBK PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Source
Kordofanian	Koalib	Koalib	th-i	RCS
	Kolaib	Fungor	t-we	RCS
	Lafofa	Amira	te	RCS

Mande
Dogon
Adamawa

Commentary:

369. 'black'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	ti	-tuN
Reconstructed level	PMC	PKC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian	Katla	Tima	àtún		RCS
Mande					
Dogon					
Adamawa	Mumuye				

374. 'tree'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-ti-, -tu-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	tímu		GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing			Sh

376., 387. 'to pound, to push'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	-tu-, tua	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	time	to push	GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	du-n	mortar	Sh

380. 'to spit'

	Westermann	Proposed here
Quasi-reconstruction	tu-	
Reconstructed level	PMC	
Meaning		

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	tò		GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	ta		Sh

388. 'to work, to send'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing	shon	to send	Sh

389. 'to want'

Westermann Proposed here

Quasi-reconstruction
Reconstructed level
Meaning

tuna-
PMC

Family	Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Source
Kordofanian					
Mande					
Dogon		Toro	dène		GCG
Adamawa	Mumuye	Zing			Sh

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