

## Some Bantu roots in a wider context

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

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

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

It is the aim of this paper to provide a modest supplement to Mukarovsky's great compilation by drawing attention to some roots which can be regarded as Atlantic-Congo (Western Nigrític) because

they can be attested in at least one Bantu language and in Ijò. I have, however, not restricted myself to roots which can be reconstructed to Proto- or Common Bantu.

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

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

Forms are cited as follows: my tentative pseudo-reconstruction for Proto-Atlantic-Congo, preceded by \*\*; my own reconstruction for Proto-Ijò or, where the root is not widely enough distributed within Ijò, citations from particular lects; any cognates I am aware of within New Kwa (former Western Kwa or Western South-Central Niger-Congo), citations from New Benue-Congo (Bennett and Sterk's Eastern South-Central Niger-Congo), on which my data is much fuller, ending up with citations from South Bantoid, which is equivalent to Wide Bantu.

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

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

1.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - 'b	ɔ̃	k	ɔ̃	"monkey"
	or	** - 'p	ɔ̃	k	ɔ̃
Ijò	P-Ijò	ɔ̃ - ɓ	ù	k	ɔ̃
NEW BENUE-CONGO					"monkey" (general term)
Yoruboid	Yoruba	ɔ̃ - b	ɔ̃		"monkey" Armstrong 1965
	Igala	ɔ̃ - b	à	gw	ù "Patas monkey" Armstrong 1965
Edoid	Ivie	o - vh	e		"monkey" orthographic
Idomoid	P-Idomd	ɔ̃ - b	à	gw	ù "red monkey" Armstrong 1983/2
Nupoid	Nupe	e - b	e		"monkey" Banfield 1914-16
	Kakanda	b	ā	gw	ù "monkey" R. Blench
L.Cross	Anaang	é - b	ɔ̃	k	"monkey"
U.Cross	PUC	- pp	ò	k	à "monkey" Dimmendaal 1978
	Ukpet	e - v	o	k	"monkey"
	Uzekwe	ɔ̃ - b	aà	gg	ɔ̃ "monkey" J. Fajen
S.Bantd	Tiv	(à) - b	à	g	ù "red monkey" Abraham 1940
	Kaka	m - b	u		"monkey" R. Koops
	Ekoid A	m - p	ò	g	"monkey" Crabb 1965
	N	m - b	ɔ̃	g	"monkey" O. Asinya

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

2. This appears to be a purely oral root.

2.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - c	ɛ̃	k-		"slice v."
Ijò	P-Ijò	s	ɛ̃	g	f "slice v."
		s	ɛ̃	g	ì
	Gbanrajn	s	ɛ̃	ng	f "slice v."
NEW KWA					
Tano	Akan	- s	l	n	l "cut into slices" J. Stewart
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Edoid	Arɛ	ch	ɛ	r	ɔ̃ - i? "slice" orthographic
S.Bantd	CB	- c	è	ng-	"cut" G.321

Notes: 1. Cf. Armstrong 1964/23, who cites PWS \*gi,giá; without any C2 it is impossible to be sure if all the items are cognate.

2. The correspondence of velars to alveolars in Tano is regular (J. Stewart, p.c.); cf. item 10.

3. I assume that a nasalized vowel before a non-lenis plosive causes nasal epenthesis in both Ijò and South Bantoid. Other examples are found in Items 3, 5, 9, 15, 17 and 23.

3.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	**-	c	i	k-	"rub"
Ijò P-Ijò		s	i	k i r i	"rub"
NEW KWA					
Tano Akan	-	c <sup>w</sup>	i	w	"rub" J. Stewart
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Igbo	Igbo		ch	i	"smear, rub" Green & Igwe 1963
Platoid	Kpan		c	è ù-ŋá?	"rub" K. Shimizu
C.Delta	Ođual	-	s	i y ə	"rub (oil on body)" Wolff 1969
S.Bantd	Tiv		f	i y è	"anoint, smear" Abraham 1940 (retranscribed)
	Esimbi	-	s	i ŋg i	"wipe, rub, clean" J.-M. Hombert
	P-Mbam-Nkam	-	c	ɨ k-	"rub" Elias & al.1984/297
	CB		c	ɨ ŋg -	"rub" G.358

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

4.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	**-	d	ɔ	k u	"paddle (canoe)"
Ijò P-Ijò		d	ɔ	k ù	"paddle (canoe)"
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
S.Bantd	CB	-	d	ɨ g -	"paddle" G.735

Note: This appears to be an entirely oral root.

5.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	**-	d	ɔ	k i	"burn"
Ijò P-Ijò		d	ɔ	k i	"burn v.i."
	Kalaɓari		d	ɔ	'k i "burn"
	Izɔn (Mein)		y	ɔ	ɨ "burn"
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Yorubd	P-Yoruboid		j	ó	"burn" Akinkugbe 1978/247
Idomoid	P-Idomoid		y	i	"burn" Armstrong 1983/127
Igbo	P-Igbo	-	d	ɛ	"burn v.i." W and O-A
Nupoid	Nupe		d	i	"burn" Banfield 1914-16
	Ebira		r	i	"burn" R. Blench
Platoid	Kpan		y	ó	"burn" K. Shimizu
C.Delta	Abuan	-	l	e	"burn" Wolff 1969
S.Bantd	Tiv	-	y	è y	"be alight" Abraham 1940
	Ekoid A		r	ɔ	i "burn" Crabb 1965
	Ekoid F		r	i	g i "burn" Crabb 1965
	or		d	i	g i
	CB	-	d	ɨ	g - "become burnt" G.612
		-	d	ù	ng u d- "become burnt" G.719

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

6.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	**-	d	a	'p a	"swamp, pool"
	or	**-	d	ɔ	'p a
Ijò P-Ijò		-	d	á	p á "swamp, pool"
	Okrika		d	á	p á "lake"
	Izɔn (Bumɔ)		d	á	b á "swamp"
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Nupoid	Nupe		l	e	b ú ? "rain puddles" Banfield 1914-16
C.Delta	Agholo	ɔ	-	l	à b "swamp" Wolff 1969
S.Bantd	Ekoid F		á	-	y í b "water" Crabb 1965
	M		à	-	l ó b "water" Crabb 1965
	P		à	-	n ā b "water" Crabb 1965
	P-Mbam-Nkam	-	d	ɨ	b "water" Elias et al. 1984/390
	Kenyang	-	ny	ɛ	b "water" Mieke 1985
	P-Manenguba	-	d	í	b "water" Hedinger 1987/125
		-	d	i	b "deep water, lake" Hedinger 1987/127-8
	Londo	-	d	i	b á "water, river" Kuperus 1985
	CB	-	d	i	b à "pool" G.557
		-	d	ɨ	b á "pool, (well), (deep water)" G.603
		-	d	ɨ	b á "water" G.605

Note: This root is listed by Mieke (1985) as having /n/ alternation in the first consonant, but it is possible that the nasality results from the Class 6a prefix.

7.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - 'd i 'p i (k)	"bury"	
IJO P-Ijɔ	- d' i p i	"bury, plant"	
NEW KWA			
Tano Akan	- s i	- é? "bury"	J. Stewart
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Yorubd P-Yoruboid	'd i	"bury (object)"	Akinkugbe 1978/122
Nupoid Nupe	dz u	"bury"	Banfield 1914-16
Idomoid Idoma	ny i	"bury, plant, sow"	Armstrong 1963
Igboid P-Igboid	- 'l i	"bury"	W and O-A
Platoid PP 4	d u	"bury"	Gerhardt 1983
	PJ nd i P	"bury"	Shimizu 1980
U.Cross PUC	n i	"bury"	Dimmendaal 1978
C.Delta Abuan	d' i	"bury"	Gardner 1980
	Agholo - d' i	ɣ "bury"	Wolff 1969
S.Bantd Tiv	i	i "bury"	Abraham 1940
	Ba'ban ny in	"bury"	K. Shimizu
	Noni dy e	y "bury"	Mieke 1985
	CB - d i	j k- "bury; plant"	G.615

Notes: 1. This root has usually been reconstructed as monosyllabic; cf. PWS li. If the P-Ijɔ form is a direct cognate, then the labial C2 has been lost in most forms; indeed, the only other evidence for it here is the PJ reconstruction, which in turn is based on the single form njip (Bika dialect of Kuteb). Mieke (1985:266) apparently does not regard the PJ reconstruction as cognate with the other Benue-Congo forms; she lists the root with /n/ alternation.

2. Stewart (1989:72-3) draws attention to Meeussen's (1979:72) discussion of this root as one where the long vowel which appears in Guthrie's reconstruction can clearly be shown to be secondary, resulting from the suffixation of a verbal extension. Stewart then reconstructs \*-li for Proto-Bantu and refers Guthrie's reconstruction to Proto-Congo Bantu, i.e. Bantu without North-West Bantu. The long vowel in Tiv is then problematical. An alternative view, suggested here, is that the 'b is original; the long vowel of Tiv results from its loss. The -k- of CB also possibly corresponds to ɣ in Agholo and if so is older than Proto-Bantu.

3. The Akan form, which shows a voiceless initial consonant, is possibly not cognate with this root but rather with PWN -TIM-, TUIM- "dig" or PWN TİM-, TİMB- "stick into the ground, plant". Conceivably these two roots are ultimately related to the "bury" root.

8.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - 'd i k i	"rope"	
IJO P-Ijɔ	- d' i k i	"rope"	
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Edoid P-Edoid	- 'd u N i	"rope"	Elugbe 1989/70
	~ - 'd i N i		
Nupoid Gade	ù - r i	"rope"	R. Blench
Idomoid P-Idomoid	o - r i	"rope"	Armstrong 1983/106
Igboid P-Igboid	-d' i - d' i	"rope"	W and O-A
Platoid PP 2-K	- d i k	"rope"	Gerhardt 1983
	PP 2-J - l i k	"rope"	Gerhardt 1983
	PP 4 - d i k	"rope"	Gerhardt 1983
	PJ - d i k	"rope"	Shimizu 1980
U.Cross PUC	- d i k i	"rope"	Dimmendaal 1978
L.Cross Obolo	ó - l i k	"rope"	
C.Delta Kugbɔ	-d' i - d' i	ɣ "rope"	Wolff 1969
S.Bantd Ekoid A	- d i g i	"rope"	Crabb 1965
	PEG - l i k	"rope"	L. Hyman
	CB - d i g i	"rope"	G.613

Notes: 1. Cf. Greenberg 1963:157/29.

2. Nasality is reconstructed in the second syllable to account for the Edoid forms.

3. Reduplication in Igboid and Central Delta is probably the result of a frozen Class 5 prefix.

9.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - g ɛ d i	"walk, go"	
	or *** - 'k ɛ d i		
IJO P-Ijɔ	w ɛ d i	"walk"	
	Akassa m ɛ nd i	"walk"	
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Nupoid Gade	g ɛ	"go"	R. Blench
Idomoid P-Idomoid	y ɛ	"go, walk, travel"	Armstrong 1983/128
Igboid P-Igboid	'g i ɛ	"go"	W and O-A
S.Bantd Tiv	dz ɛ nd ɛ	"walk"	Abraham 1940
	Ekoid F j ɛ n	"walk"	Crabb 1965
	Mbe - k ɛ n	"walk"	BCCW/46
	Londo - k ɛ nd-	"walk"	Kuperus 1985
	CB - g ɛ nd-	"walk, travel"	G.807
	- y ɛ nd-	"go, walk, travel"	G.1975-6

Notes: 1. See BCCW/46.  
2. The voiceless/voiced alternation suggests an original voiceless lenis consonant.

10.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - 'gw əə k-	"bathe, swim"			
Ijò	P-Ijò	ó k i	"swim"		
	Kalaɓarj	ó k i	"swim"		
	Biseni	é c i	"swim"		
NEW KWA					
Tano	Akan	- g <sup>w</sup> à. r f	"bathe"	Stewart 1989	
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Yorubd	P-Yoruboid	gw é	"wash body, bathe"	Akinkugbe 1978/312	
Nupoid	Nupe	gb i	"swim"	Banfield 1914-16	
Igboid	P-Igboid	- gw ú	"swim"	W and O-A	
Idomoid	P-Idomoid	g ā	"bathe"	Armstrong 1983/27	
Platoid	PCJ	vw o g	"bathe, swim"	Shimizu 1980	
	PP 4	w a k	"swim"	Gerhardt 1983	
	Kuteb	jw e	"bathe"	Armstrong 1964/19	
U.Cross	PUC	gw ʃ k	"swim"	Dimmendaal 1978	
L.Cross	Efik	w ʃ k	"swim"		
S.Bantd	Tiv	ʃ ?	"wash body, clothing"	Abraham 1940	
	Tiv	ú - w é ?	"swimming"	Armstrong 1983/27	
	Ekoid	A w ʃ g	"swim"	Crabb 1965	
		F y ʃ g	"swim"	Crabb 1965	
		T ɲ əʔ g	"swim"	Crabb 1965	
	Kenyang	- ɣ ʃ k			
	P-Manenguba	- w ʃ g	"wash, bathe"	Hedinger 1987/651	
	Londo	- ʃ k	"wash"	Kuperus 1985	
	CB	- y ó g-	"bathe"	G.2107	
		- y óó g-			

Notes: 1. Reconstructed as PWS gua, gual "waschen", PVCg 'gbaagV "bathe" (Stewart 1983, revised as suggested in Stewart 1989.71). Cf. Armstrong 1964/41.

2. Nasality is very elusive in this root. It is found in the second syllable of only one group of Ijò lects, in Nupe, and in 5 Ekoid lects. If it were originally in the first syllable, it might conceivably be responsible for the "heavy" syllable of Akan and the long vowel of CB, as nasalized vowels are often longer than oral ones.

11.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - l ɛ	"intestines"			
Ijò	P-Ijò	f - l á	"intestines"		(East Ijò)
NEW KWA					
	Akan	- y á	"intestines"		Stewart 1989
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Nupoid	Ebira	i - n é	"stomach"		Adivé 1989
	Gade	gì - ny ē	"stomach"		Sterk 1977
Platoid	PP 2-K	- n a	"intestines, belly"		Gerhardt 1983
	PP 2-J	- n e (ŋ)	"belly"		Gerhardt 1983
	PP 2-J	- n a (ŋ)	"intestines"		Gerhardt 1983
	PP 3	- l a	"intestines"		Gerhardt 1983
	PP 4	- n e	"belly"		Gerhardt 1983
C.Delta	Abuan	- 'l a	"intestines"		Gardner 1980
N.Bantd	Mambila	- l a	"stomach"		D. Zeitlyn
S.Bantd	Tiv	i - y ǎ -v	"stomach"		Abraham 1940
	Ekoid A	- l à	"belly"		Crabb 1965
	Ekoid F	- y à	"belly"		Crabb 1965
	Ekoid O	- n à	"belly"		Crabb 1965
	Mbe	- l è	"belly"		Miehe 1985
	Kenyang	- ny é	"belly"		Miehe 1985
	CB	- d à	"intestines"		G.442
			"abdomen"		G.443

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

12.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - l ə l ə	"watch"			
Ijò	Izɔn	l è é	"keep an eye on; watch (someone)"		W and T 1983
	(Kolokuma)				
NEW KWA					
Tano	Akan	- y <sup>w</sup> è ŋ	"watch"		Stewart 1989
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Nupoid	Nupe	l ē -	"see"		Banfield 1914-16
	Ebira	r é	"see"		Adivé 1989
Igboid	P-Igboid	- 'l e	"look at"		W and O-A
C.Delta	Oɔual	- n o n	"look after"		Wolff 1969
S.Bantd	CB	- d ò d-	"look, look at"		G.641

Notes: 1. Stewart (1989.53, 84) reconstructs PVCg \*-n-, i.e. the allophone of \*-d- in a nasal environment, for the second syllable of this item. The l/n alternation in this root, which is not listed by Miehe (1985), is thus due to a nasal second syllable. Igbolects also show l/n alternation in this item.

2. Ijọ shows \*-l- as C1 in both Items 11 and 12 corresponding to PVCg \*-l-. The loss of \*-l- in Ijọ before a nasalized vowel in C2 position is also observed in Item 18.

13.						
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** -	'k ə	'g ə n i	"one"		
Ijọ P-Ijọ		k à	ŋ à n í	"one"		
Izọn		k é	ŋ é n í	"one"		
(Koluama)				(counting form)		
Biseni		k à	n í	"one"		
NEW KWA						
Tano Akan	è -	k ɔ		"one"	Christaller 1933	
NEW BENUE-CONGO						
Nupoid Gbagyi-Nkwa	-	gm à	ny i	"one"	R. Blench	
Yorubd Yoruba	ò -	k ɔ		"one"	Armstrong 1965	
Akpes Ikeram	e -	k i	n í	"one"		
Idomoid Eloyi		k ò	n z é	"one"	H. Mackay	
Platoid PP 2-J	-	g í	n í	"one"	Gerhardt 1983	
PP 4	-	ɣ a	n	"one"	Gerhardt 1983	
Bendi Bekwarra	o -	k i	n	"one"		
U.Cross PUC		g á-	n í?	"one"	Dimmendaal 1978	
L.Cross PLC	-	k è	è n	"one"	B. Connell	
N.Bantd Tiba	à -	k i	n a	"one"	R. Blench	
S.Bantd Esimbi		k e	n í	"one"	J.-M. Hombert	

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

14.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** -	k ɔ	d ɔ	"be(come) strong, hard"	
Ijọ P-Ijọ	-	k ù	r ɔ	"be(come) strong, hard"	
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
U.Cross PUC		kp o	D e?	"strong, hard"	Dimmendaal 1978
S.Bantd CB	-	k ó	d-	"become strong"	G.1104

Notes: 1. Cf. PWN 301 KWUA- "strong, hard", which includes a number of kp- reflexes but does not connect the CB form, and BCCW/48.

2. This appears to be a purely oral root.

15.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** -	k ɔ	g ɔ	"neck"	
Ijọ P-Ijọ		k ò	g ò	"neck"	
Kalabari		k ò	ŋg ò	"neck"	
Tano Akan	e -	k ɔ	ŋ	"neck"	Christaller 1933
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
N.Bantd Tiba	a -	k u	ŋ a	"neck"	R. Blench
S.Bantd Ekoid N	ɲ -	k ɔ	ŋ	"throat"	Crabb 1965
CB	-	k i	ŋg ò	"neck"	G.1086
	~	-	k ɪ	ŋg ò	
P-Manenguba	-	k i	ŋ	"neck"	Hedinger 1987/60

Notes: 1. Cf. PWS -kùà, -kùàn- "Hals", Greenberg 1963.21/35, and Armstrong (1964/43); but many of the forms there belong to PVCg 'kɔ'u, CB -kòtj.

2. Cf. discussion in Bennett and Sterk (1977.253) and Williamson (1989b.250,253-4).

16.					
P-ATLAN-CONGO	** -	'k ɥ	m i	"medicine"	
Ijọ P-Ijọ		k ú	m ú	"medicine"	
NEW BENUE-CONGO					
Yorubd P-Yoruboid	o -	g ɥ		"medicine"	Akinkugbe 1978/311
Edoid Arę	i -	k u	m i	"medicine"	orthographic
Ivie	i -	'k u	'm i	"medicine"	
Igboid P-Igboid	ò -	gw ɥ		"medicine"	W and O-A
L.Cross Obolo	ú -	ù m		"medicine"	
S.Bantd P-Mbam-Nkam	-	k ù	m	"medicine"	Elias et al. 1984/230
Ekoid O	è -	k ɔ	m	"medicine"	Crabb 1965

17.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - 'p ó k i	"listen"	
Ijò P-Ijò	p ó k i'	"listen"	
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Yorubd P-Yoruboid	gb ò	"hear"	Akinkugbe 1978/360
Nupoid Nupe	w o	"hear"	Banfield 1914-16
Idomoid P-Idomoid	pw a	"hear"	Armstrong 1983
Platoid PP 2-K	p o k	"hear"	Gerhardt 1983
	PJ	pw o g	Shimizu 1980
N.Bantd Samba Daka	w uu g -	"hear"	R. Blench
S.Bantd Tiv	ù ngw à	"hear"	Abraham 1940
	P-Mbam-Nkam	- j ù k-	Elias et al.1984/169
	P-Manenguba	- w ó g	Hedinger 1987/550
	Londo	- ó k	Kuperus 1985
	CB	- y ú g-	G.2152
		- y ú g ù	G.2154
		- y í g ù	G.2043
		- y í ñg ù	G.2084.5
		- y ù ñg ù	G.2183

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

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

18.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - p ò l i	"fly v."	
Ijò P-Ijò	f ò i	"fly v."	
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Yorubd P-Yoruboid	f ò	"fly v."	Akinkugbe 1978/70
Nupoid Nupe	f ù	"fly v."	Banfield 1914-16
	Gade	f u r u	Sterk 1977
Igboid P-Igboid	f e	"fly v."	W and O-A
Platoid PJ	p e n	"fly v., jump"	Shimizu 1980
U.Cross PUC	p e	"fly v., jump"	Dimmendaal 1978
C.Delta PCD	** - p e l	"jump"	Wolff 1969
S.Bantd Tiv	- p ù r ù y	"fly"	Abraham 1940
	Esimbi	o - v í	J.-M. Hombert
	P-Manenguba	- p ù m- V ?	Hedinger 1987

Notes: 1. Cf. PWS pi, pil "fliegen".  
2. Mieke (1985) lists this root with l/n alternation.

19.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - t á 'g á	"tail"	
Ijò Ijò	s à à	"tail"	
	(Kolokuma)		
	Okordia	ì - s à	"tail"
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Nupoid Gbari-	ts á n	ts i	"tail" R. Blench
	Sumakpan		
U.Cross Abini	e - t a ñ	"tail"	
S.Bantd Tiv	ts a	"tail"	Abraham 1940
	Ba'ban	o - f a	"tail" K. Shimizu
	P-Mbam-Nkam	s á ñ	"tail" Elias et al. 1984/348

20.

P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - t á k í	"dance"	
Ijò P-Ijò	s é k í	"dance v., n."	
NEW KWA			
Guan P-Guan	c a w	"dance v."	Cleal 1972/2023
	- c a w	"dance n."	Cleal 1972/1402
Akan	s á w	"dance v."	Christaller 1933
	a - s á w	"dance inf."	Christaller 1933
NEW BENUE-CONGO			
Platoid Doka	- t a k	"dance v."	BCCW/25
	Ikulu	- t a g	"dance v." BCCW/25
S.Bantd Kaka	n - d a x	"dance v."	BCCW/25
	Londo	- s á k-	"dance v." Kuperus 1985
		- s á k í	"dancing" Kuperus 1985
	P-Manenguba	- s á g	"dance v." Hedinger 1987
	Bamvele	- s á k	"dance v." BCCW/25

Notes: 1. See BCCW/25.  
2. This appears to be a purely oral root.

21.	P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - t	à	l	ɪ	"choose"	
	Ijɔ̄	P-Ijɔ̄	s	è	l	è'	"choose"
	NEW BENUE-CONGO						
	Nupoid	Nupe	ts	à			"choose" Banfield 1914-16
	Edoid	P-Edoid	j	ɛ			"choose" Elugbe 1989/99
	U.Cross	Etuno	ch	e	r	e	"choose" orthographic
	S.Bantd	Tiv	ts	ò	r		"choose,select" Abraham 1940
		P-Manenguba	- s	à	l		"split" ? Hedinger 1987/704
		CB	- c	à	d-		"choose" G.245

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

22.	P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - t	ɔ̄	k	ɔ̄	"urine, urinate"	
	Ijɔ̄	P-Ijɔ̄	s	á	á	"urine, urinate"	
	NEW BENUE-CONGO						
	Nupoid	Gade	ù	- s	a		"urine" Sterk 1977
	Platoid	PP 2-K	- ty	a	k		"urine" Gerhardt 1983
	U.Cross	PUC	- dy	a	ng		"urinate" Dimmendaal 1978
	S.Bantd	P-Mbam-Nkam	- c	è	C-		"urine, urinate" Elias et al. 1984/377
		P-Manenguba	- s	à	ny		"urine" Hedinger 88
							"urinate" Hedinger 529

Note: Cf. Greenberg 1963.159/28? C2 of P-Mbam-Nkam is n, ŋ or zero.

23.	P-ATLAN-CONGO	**	- t	ɔ̄	d	a	"platform"
	Ijɔ̄	P-Ijɔ̄	- t	á	d	á	"platform"
		Okrika	t	à	nd	à	"platform"
	NEW BENUE-CONGO						
	S.Bantd	CB	- t	á	nd	á	"bedstead" G.1666

24.	P-ATLAN-CONGO	** - t	ɔ̄	l	ɔ̄	"pick up"	
	Ijɔ̄	Izɔ̄n	t	ó	l	ó	"pick up"
	NEW BENUE-CONGO						
	Nupoid	Nupe	t	ɥ			"pick up" Banfield 1914-16
	S.Bantd	Ekoid O	- t	ò	n		"pick up" Crabb 1965
		P-Manenguba	- t	ó	d		"pick up" Hedinger 1987/556
		CB	- t	óó	d-		"pick up" G.1773

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

#### Abbreviations

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



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