

# **The Ogoni languages: comparative word list and historical reconstructions**

**[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT]**

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<b>Abb</b>	<b>Common</b>	<b>Orthog.</b>	<b>Phonetic</b>	<b>Source 1</b>	<b>Source 2</b>	<b>Source 3</b>	<b>Source 4</b>
TE	Tai	Tẹè	[tèè]	NB=Nwi-Bari 2001	I=Ikoro 1989		
YG	Yeghe	Yẹgẹ	[jègè]	K=Kobo 1991	I=Ikoro 1989		
BO	Bo'ue	Bo'ue	[bo?ue]	K=Kobo 1991			
BB	Babbe	Babe	[bábe]	I=Ikoro 1996	K=Kobo 1991		
KK	Ken-Khana	Ken-Kana	[kẽkānã]	NW=N Williamson	K=Kobo 1991	I=Ikoro 1989	
NK	Nor-Khana	Noo-Kana	[nõõkānã]	K=Kobo 1991	I=Ikoro 1989		
BO	Bodo	Boodoo	[bòodòò]	I=Ikoro 1989			
NW	Nweol	Nwe'ol	[ñëëñ'ol]	I=Ikoro 1989			
GK	Gokana						
BA	Ban-Ogoi	Baan	[bäǟ]	NH=Nakagawa, H 1992	Ng=Ngulube 2001	NW=N Williamson n.d.	I=Ikoro 1989
EL	Eleme	Eleme	[èlémé]	I=Ikoro 1989	Ng=Ngulube 2001	O=Obele 1998	KW=K Williamson 1973

## Preface

The origin of this a draft of a list of comparative Ogonic, the languages of the Ogoni group of the Niger Delta in Nigeria. Kay Williamson (†) began typing this some years ago by in an old Macintosh format but only got as far as a small part of the Baan column and listing the sources she proposed to use. I converted the file to Unicode and begun the process of typing in recently available data. I have re-arranged the list radically and both added numerous entries and split several headwords into multiple lines, where the semantics appeared to warrant it. However, this is a long task and so I am placing this draft on the web to make available a couple of initial lists while I work on getting the rest of the data typed in. I do not have access to all the sources Kay listed below, so some data may not be available at all.

Roger Blench  
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## 1. Introduction: the Ogoni languages

### 1.1 General

The Ogoni languages are a group of 4-8 languages spoken in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. They are usually considered to be part of the Cross River group of Benue-Congo, although the evidence for such a grouping remains tenuous. They constitute a very cohesive group, with common lexemes often shared between all five lects. This suggests that the break-up of the group is relatively recent, perhaps roughly coincident with early European contact, although there is no direct documentation for such an event. It is striking, however, that they are lexically and morphologically very distinct from their alleged nearest relatives, the Central Delta languages. This rather suggests that the ancestral language was isolated for a long period of time and underwent an expansion some centuries ago.

A large-scale reconstruction of the Ogoni lects is possible in part due to the interest of Kay Williamson (†) who spent over forty years in the Niger Delta. She was not the first researcher to identify the coherence of the Ogoni lects, which were first drawn to attention by Hans Wolff in the 1950s. However, it was under her guidance that orthographies were developed for several of these languages and she read and encouraged speakers to write about their languages. Several valuable MAs were conducted under her supervision. Regrettably little of this material ever reached formal publication. As the person responsible for curating her legacy, I have spent considerable time restructuring and converting electronic files and posting them on a specialised website. But Kay was unable to ever undertake the comparative project she projected. Discussion of materials on individual languages is given in §2.

The name Ogoni is no longer without political resonance due to the infamous murder of Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1992, and as a consequence the name Ogoni is well-known compared with neighbouring populations. One result of this, is that there is also a great deal of misinformation available on the internet and elsewhere. Correcting all of it would be a major task, but I hope this monograph will set the record straight as far as local populations go.

Ogoni has drawn some attention from general linguists; Hyman (1983) used examples from Gokana in developing his theories of the syllable. More recently, Bond and Anderson (2003) have compared logophoricity in the ‘Ogonoid’ lects. Most striking, however is the presence of a series of numeral classifiers. Typical of many Asian language families, these are extremely rare in Africa, and their evolution therefore typologically extremely unusual.

This monograph has two predecessors. Ikoro (1991) reconstructed ‘Kegboid’ [a name constructed from the initials of the four languages (Kana, Eleme, Gokana, Baan) at the time considered to be part of the group. Vobnu (2001) is not a reconstruction, but provides some valuable information on each lect and a short comparative wordlist (partially tonemarked). Vobnu (op. cit.) also includes some cultural background and information on orthographic systems.

One of the key uses of historical reconstruction is to shed light on the past movements and migrations of peoples. The shallow time-depth of the Ogoni languages means that reconstruction will not give us access to the remote past. However, since the origin of the Ogoni has been the subject of a substantial highly speculative literature, part of the review will cover some of these theories in more detail than may be usual for a linguistic monograph.

### 1.2 Ogoni names and nomenclature

The name ‘Ogoni’ is not local; indeed its origin is unclear. Before it became politically prominent, there was a move to discard it; hence it is not used in some student dissertations on these languages in the early 1990s. However, it is now in regular use and is instantly recognisable, hence its adoption in this monograph.

Some of theories of its origin are reviewed in Vobnu (2001).

### **1.3 Ogoni: the political context**

The Ogoni have come to prominence following the execution of the political activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa.

### **1.4 Literacy and language policy issues**

The most significant language development has been in the Kana language

### **1.5 Dialect issues**

#### **1.5.1 General**

Apart from Teç and Baan, the three other Ogoni languages all have differing dialects. None of these are sufficiently distinct to impede mutual comprehension, but they have been important in issues of literacy development. In earlier materials, Teç (Tai) was often listed as a Kana dialect, but its highly distinctive phonology usually means that it is now treated as a separate language.

#### **1.5.2 Kana**

The most significant study on Kana dialects is Kobo (1991). Six dialects are listed;

Babbe  
Bo'ue  
Ken-Khana  
Nor-Khana  
Tai  
Yeghe

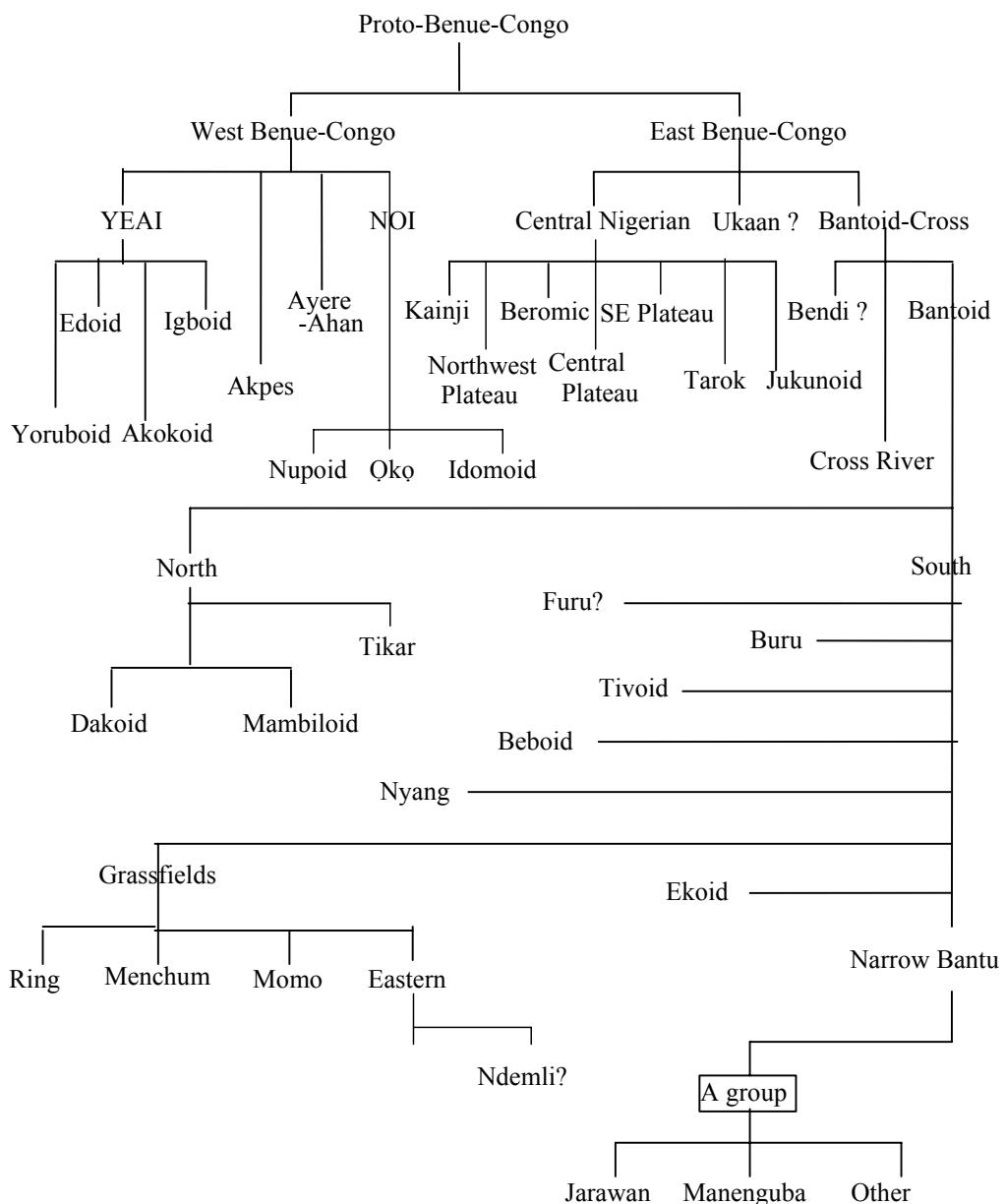
Following Ladefoged et al. (1995) Tai is excluded. Ikoro (1996:6) mentions another lect, Kaani, as a possible dialect, but no further information is available.

### **1.6 Historical background**

### **1.7 Broader genetic affiliation**

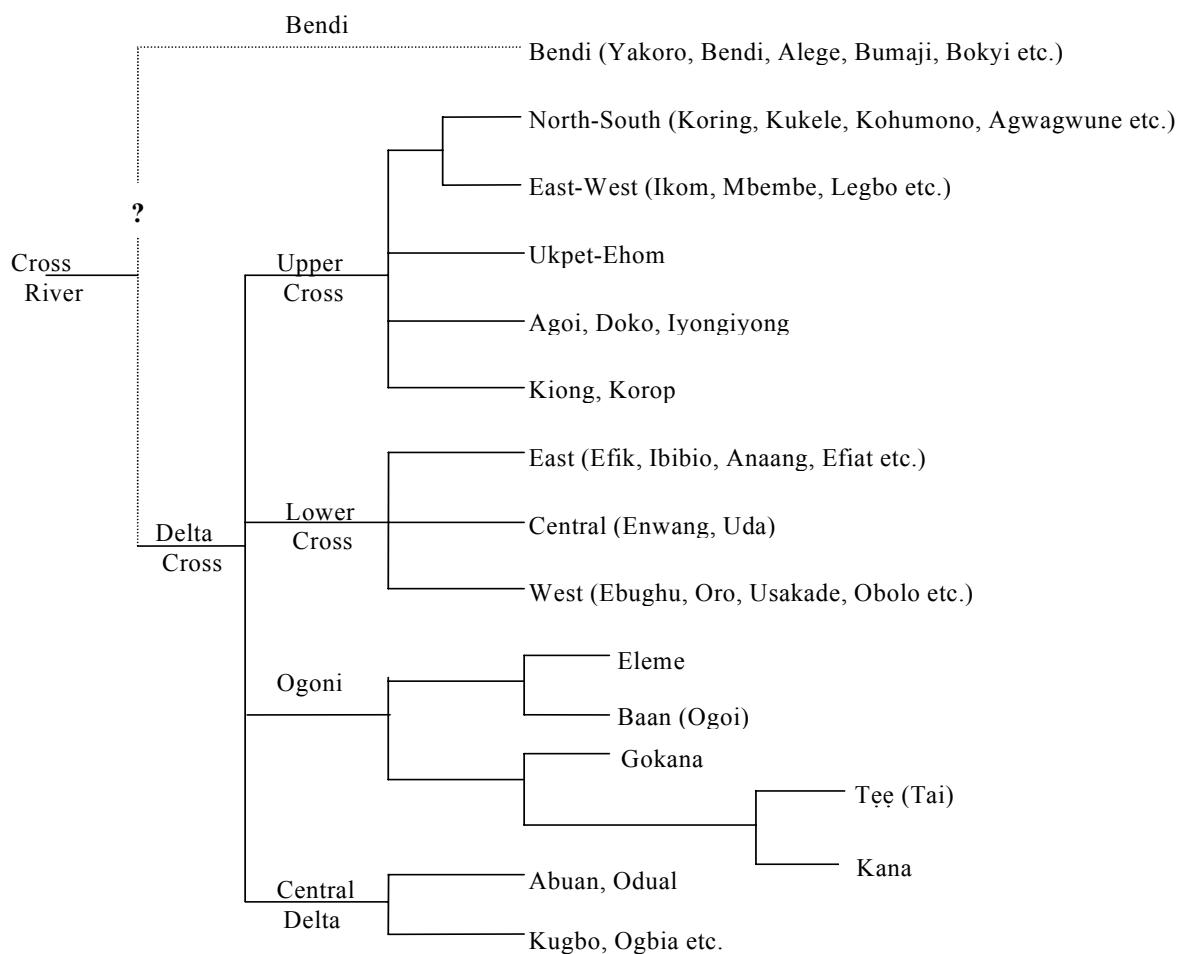
As has been mentioned, the Ogoni languages are considered to be part of Cross River, which in turn is part of Benue-Congo and then Niger-Congo.

**Figure 1. Revised subclassification of Benue-Congo languages**



Based on Williamson & Blench (2000)

**Figure 2. Classification of Cross River**



### 1.8 Aims of this monograph

The aim of this monograph is then to provide up-to-date information about the Ogoni peoples and their languages, and to set out a large-scale comparative wordlist. In part this is to establish reconstructions for proto-Ogoni, but also to look at loanwords, and semantic scattering. In particular, a knowledge of the Ijo data makes it possible to reconstruct a hypothetical history of interaction between these two families. This in turn makes it possible to explore what historical hypotheses can be developed from such material. A reconstructed list of proto-Ogoni will also make possible more straightforward comparison with other branches of Cross River and establishing whether the hypothesis of genetic affiliation is really supported by the data. In a broader context, the monograph also identifies cognates with Igbo-Congo, which makes it possible to speculate more broadly on the historical morphology of the group.

### 2. Sources on the Ogoni languages

### 3. Phonology

#### 3.1 Overview

Ogoni languages have fairly similar phonological inventories, with divergent lects showing fairly regular correspondences with more mainstream forms.

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### **3.2 Kana**

#### **3.3 Tee**

#### **3.4 Gokana**

#### **3.5 Eleme**

#### **3.6 Baan**

### **4. Morphology**

### **5. Syntax**

## 6. Comparative wordlist with reconstructions

No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tęę	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
1.	head		bóó	èbó	togó	ákóbee	ákóbee	kóbee	ákóbee	ákóbee	ékóbee		
2.	hair (head)	*èdžía	záa	èdžía	záa	zía	zía	zìa I		zìa	zia	jaa	jáa
3.	eye	*adéε	déε	adé	déε	déε	déε						
4.	face	*ñsí	ñsí	øgbōsi	sí	sí	sí						
5.	ear	*òtš	tš	òtš	tš	tš	tš						
6.	nose	*mbíč	mbíč	mbíč	bíč	bíč	byč						
7.	mouth		deènū	?	gá	égá	?ágá						
8.	lip				búúñú								
9.	tooth	*àdáI a	dáa	àdáa	dáa	ádéń	dáa						
10.	tongue	*àdídéI é	ñdídéé	àdídé	déń	édém	?ádéń						
11.	jaw	*àbèlèkè	ke-béré-kë	àbèlèkè	bérékè	béé, élág	béé						
12.	chin	*kebemb ε	ke-béé	?	kebém	bèb	bèb						
13.	cheek				béé								
14.	beard		záa ke-béé	?	fèrè	fíri	míri						
15.	neck	*òměé	měé měé lowered mid = 'stone' à	òmě	mě	mee	měé						
16.	voice	*mõnõ	mõõ		mõn	müé							
17.	throat				òò	òò	?òò						
18.	breast	*mímá	mímá	mímimá	má	má	má						
19.	chest				nú yíé								
20.	navel		mpipú	òpú	óó	èkpòlög òlò	lóó						
21.	back		bokò-wéé		nvéé	dùmę, dumę	dùmě						
22.	shoulder		bokówí		tútúm bá	gàŋjànà, gáléb	gàgànà, ?agáléb, beéléb						
23.	arm	*òbó	bá	òbó	bá	ékpóbá	?ákpóbá or léb						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
24.	hand		ká-bá	òbó	bá	ákpóbá	bá						
25.	fist		mùnù			mùnù	mùnù						
26.	armpit		kèságá		kekú								
27.	leg		léé	ò?ó	kpóótó	ékpótó	?ákpótó						
28.	thigh		ìmbúù	ìmbóló?ó	büütó	èbùbùì	bùbùì						
29.	knee		ìmkpogi		dúdúm tó	zú	beèdú						
30.	nail <sup>1</sup> , claw	*àbíñ	bíñ or bñ	àbibíñ or àbibíñ	byñm	píø	pyñ						
31.	buttocks	*ápáté	bóó-?úu, páté	ojú	páté, dùté	té	?ápáté						
32.	penis		ìmpiñ		píñ	píñ	píñ						
33.	vagina		bi		bí	mà	mà						
34.	anus				dèè bí								
35.	testicles				tjúú								
36.	body		kékpá	èka	lóó	namlöó	lóó						
37.	skin		kpíkpá	èkpá	kpá	ékpá	?ákpá, ?ákpáló, kpá						
38.	bone	*ákpogó	kpógó	kpögó, èkpipií	kpóó	ékpó	?ákpó						
39.	rib				kpóó pyñ								
40.	stomach		ìkúú	èkú		èdè	?adè						
41.	belly, pregnancy		gbàà	ègbà	gbàà	bu	bu						
42.	brains	*ìpúní	ìpú	ìpuni	púm	púí	púí						
43.	liver		néé		píe zib	píøò							
44.	intestine, guts	*ìnfá	ìnfá	efa	fá	fá	ñá						
45.	heart		kóókóró	esúù	píe	píé	píé						
46.	lung				pyñ								
47.	blood I	*ìmmíl i	mí	ìmmí	míñ	míí	míñ						
48.	blood II	*ìmmuI u	múú	ìmmú	múú	máá	máá						
49.	vein		ní		ní	síb							

<sup>1</sup> Ikoro (1989) glosses this under ‘finger’

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
50.	saliva		ñtáá	-ñtá	múú cāā	máásá	máásíá						
51.	urine	*mmání	mání	mmání	mání	máni	mání						
52.	faeces	*òbí	bí	òbí	bí	bí	bí						
53.	sweat				cèèrè								
54.	pus		būū				būī						
55.	scar		nīgī				dá						
56.	sore, wound				kōm								
57.	food <sup>2</sup> I	*ñdžá! á	ñzáá	ñdžá	gyáá	zíá [=yam]	zíá [=yam]						
58.	food II		ñdé (=meat)			núèdé	núdé						
59.	soup/sauce/stew		mááró I W		mááró	mááló	mááló						
60.	meat		ñdé	ñnā	nōm	nam	nām						
61.	fat		ñdóò I W		dóó, dí	lég	lēb						
62.	oil	*ñnōõ	nōõ	ñnōõ	nōõ	nóó	nōõ						
63.	salt	*nló	ñdó	ñló	ló	ló	ló						
64.	wine/beer	*mmíí	míí	mmii	míí	míí	míí						
65.	palm wine		tòo-míí	mmí		míí	míí kuwe						
66.	seed	èsúú	sísúú, súú	ètseré	súú	éyúú	?áeúú[té],						
67.	grass	*-vílí	wíí	ñsàrà	víl	ébíé	?áwíí						
68.	river-reed, sedge												
69.	tree, handle	*été	té	éte	té	té	té						
70.	stick		kérè-té		kpóó té	ékéé-té	kérè-té [=piece of wood]						
71.	walking stick		ñkpóró-té			ékpóté	?ákpó-té						
72.	leaf		ñsã, pa-nsã	?	pásãã	yá	?ápahíñã						
73.	bark (of tree)	*èkpá	kpíkpá-té	èkpíkpá	kpá	ákpá	?ákpá té						
74.	branch				gbónõ								
75.	root	*òní	ní	òní	ní	li	li						li

<sup>2</sup> Williamson (1985:440) presents this as ‘food, yam’ but although the lexemes are similar and possibly cognate in Ban-Eleme they are not identical. Only for Gokana do they appear to be the same word.

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
76.	thorn	*ètʃúu	suu	ètʃu	súú	súu	εúu						
77.	fruit	*-bóló	bóó		ból		bee						
78.	flower		suulè				?aεòòrì						
79.	bud, seedling		méé				méé						
80.	yam		saà	èsáa	gyááá	zíá	zíá						
81.	aerial yam, up-yam		ñsaà	àdú									
82.	3-leaved yam					túú	túú						
83.	cassava I		záákpõ	òjákpo		ázákpm	?ázákpõm						
84.	cassava II			èbibóròw a		èkpàkpò rò	bòrò?m						
85.	sweet potato		mípigímpì			pítímpì							
86.	maize		kpá ñzirà	akúkúri	kpákírà	kpààkpà à	?ákpákírà						
87.	beans	*kérè	kérè	cácáàmá	bññ	kérè	kérè						
88.	pumpkin					yoò	yoò						
89.	fluted pumpkin <sup>3</sup>	*n?éé	n?éé			eé	?éé						
90.	melon <sup>4</sup>						bògómìbò						
91.	onion		?áyo		ázo	g	?áyo						
92.	garden-egg						çúúkàà						
93.	vegetable [?]		sògo	èsó		sògo	sògo						
94.	tea-bush						coori						
95.	pepper		ñsíññ	ndóò mbó	saàkéè	kààkírí	sábekéè						
96.	groundnut		wí-kuekúèrè, wánkéré	asúkéré	àhãnkéré	àwékéré	ñéñkéré						
97.	alligator pepper			okoféé		èkëe	?akee						
98.	okra	*ókòrò	kòrò	ókòrò	kòrò	étíkíég	?òkòrò						
99.	sugar-cane		míbògò			míimòñò							

<sup>3</sup> *Telfairia occidentalis*

<sup>4</sup> A small squash cultivated for its edible seeds, (*Cucumeropsis mannii* I aud.)

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
100.	plantain		tàa-bèè	?		èbùè	?abùè						
101.	banana		bèè- ñkìrimà	òbínòó ófa	beè	éèé èbùè <sup>5</sup>	?abùèdè						
102.	orange		ñdéndèrè	?		méné èdè	?áñéndè						
103.	pawpaw		kùááñ			témene							
104.	pineapple		zógómáá			èkpàmb orò							
105.	mango		fií kúa				llií						
106.	kola nut	*ègbíí	bóó-gbíí	ègbí	gbíí	búú	búú						
107.	tobacco		sã-mbiè		síí	sõo	sõj <sup>wẽ</sup>						
108.	cotton		wõ, I W	wo		èwoo	?amø						
109.	Indian bamboo			tʃàrà I g									
110.	oil palm	*ñdžóó	zoo, džoo	(ñ)- àdžo	yõó	té zóo	zóo						
111.	young palm frond		mínñ	òmíññ, òmñ	mñn	émuñé							
112.	palm-nut kernel		?íb	è?í	?íb	?íb	?íb						
113.	palm-frond	*-la	la			la	la						
114.	wine palm		ñkõo	ñkõ	kõl	kuε							
115.	coconut		zòò kèè	ífá ch									
116.	mangrove	*ñgálá	ñgárá	ñgálá	ñgálá	gárá	gárá						
117.	star-apple <sup>6</sup>		ñdáro	ñdálo		darà							
118.	African pear <sup>7</sup>	*mbèI è	mbèè				pèè						
119.	oil-bean <sup>8</sup>						gbàra						
120.	fern				kévé	kébé							
121.	mushroom	ñdžù	ñdù			zù	?áceá?wø						

<sup>5</sup> lit. ‘ripe plantain’

<sup>6</sup> African Star Apple, *Chrysophyllum delevoyi* De Wild.)

<sup>7</sup> *Dacryodes edulis*

<sup>8</sup> *Pentaclethra macrophylla*

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tęę	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
122.	fruit (from bush)		džá	òdžá									
123.	itching leaf			(ɛ)kākā									
124.	firewood	*ɔkááñí	kááñí	òkàñí	kááñí	kááni	kááñí						
125.	charcoal, soot I		mbíbíí		bírí	ébíí							
126.	charcoal, soot II				gíní		?ágíñí						
127.	water	ìmmúú	múú	ìmmú	múú	maá	máá						
128.	foam, froth	aféé	féé	afe	fé	fé	uí						
129.	fire		nsá	nsá	sá	míá	hípá						
130.	smoke		nsíí	ètʃéí I . ètʃíí O.	kéy, coy	sóòmíá	sóhíjá						
131.	ashes	*ntő	ntő, mtő	ntő	tő, bùùlù	tő	tő						
132.	water pot		káñá	ékáñá, àkpíkpé	káñá	káná	káñá						
133.	cooking pot	*abáÍ á	báá	àbá	bá	bá	bá						
134.	basin, zinc		lálá	àláálá		èlálá	lálá						
135.	headpad		wísílikí										
136.	dish		wáro I g		bü								
137.	plate			èféré	bü [= wooden]	féré							
138.	spoon		pà	èpà	pà	èpà	?apà						
139.	metal spoon				ikpè								
140.	bottle		lóló	òlífó	lóló	élóló, álóló	?álóló						
141.	calabash I		kpúgu	ègbüü	kpügū	kpúgu	gbúgu						
142.	calabash II				feé	féé	léé						
143.	calabash III					ékób							
144.	grinding stone		wññdéé I W			dém gbéànu	dëm-gbëà-nü						
145.	mortar I		kpòzèè		e	n/a	kporokúŋʷá						
146.	mortar II		kúá										
147.	pestle			ècú		túm	mtígi						
148.	knife I	*ñzímá	ñzímá	ñgúgwá	gímá	zíma	zímá						

Roger Blench Comparative Ogoni: main text. Circulation draft

No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
149.	bush-knife, matchet	*ògè	gè	ògè	gè	gè	gè						
150.	hoe I		tò		tò	tùà	tùwà						
151.	hoe II	* ìmkàbè	ìmkàwe				kpàbè						
152.	handle												
153.	parcel		kó										
154.	sickle				kòvègè								
155.	scissors				síšín								
156.	axe	ìmpaté, sii	èbaté I g	kígí	nukùá	?apáté							
157.	iron nail	ìntúrú	ètúrú										
158.	spear (war)	kɔɔ̄		sòi, soba	sùe	kɔɔ̄							
159.	bow (weapon)	bú		bò díra	bú	bú							
160.	arrow	síšɔ̄	òbùu	díalá, díira	èkpá	kébá, pégé							
161.	shield	bè I g											
162.	gun	náá			náá, náá	náá							
163.	bullet	mígbóró, mìgbóró					?áceúu-náá						
164.	gunpowder	gíñí											
165.	match	kpànsá											
166.	iron (metal)		kpógó-kpé	èkpé	kpógóró	kpé	bíirakpé, ákpokpé						
167.	rake n.		ŋkuru lmm/lhmh	(è)kuru lmm									
168.	cast net	*-gbɔɔ̄	gbɔɔ̄				gbɔɔ̄						
169.	creel			urii tone?									
170.	fish-hook	*-kòvè	kòwè	ñkíkári	kòvè	tóbá	kòbe						
171.	fish-trap	*ñkàrà	ñkàrà			kàrà	kàrà						
172.	rack for fish				bɛ̄ɛ	bɛ̄ɛ	bɛ̄ɛ						
173.	fan n. (local type)		?ùlóó	pèèlè									

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
174.	fan n. (Hausa type)			èpèèlè									
175.	mat, hard	*èbúI ú	búú	èbú	búl	buí, búí	búí						
176.	basket	*òkùI ù	kùù	òkù	kùn	kùñ	k <sup>wñ</sup> , ?uwi						
177.	bag	*èbèrè	bèrè	èbèrè	bèrè	bèrè	bèrè						
178.	sack			àkpúrù									
179.	fruit-hook		ñsóo			gbágá							
180.	box I		gbé	ègbé			?ágbé						
181.	box II			èkpikpóó	kpo	èkpó							
182.	bicycle spoke (cf. iron)		kpógó-kpé	èkpókpé									
183.	bundle n.	*èbóbó	bóó	èbó	bób	bób	bób						
184.	bunch	*ekumu	ekū	ku	kum	kum	kūm						
185.	chair, stool I			ñkásí	kásì [=table]	kásì	té						
186.	chair, stool II		gànñ-té	èkpèté									
187.	bed		wéé	èwéé	vai	dáé	déé						
188.	comb		kpòì										
189.	sponge		sápú	sápñ									
190.	broom	*ñsári	sásàì	ñsisári	sã	sã, èsã	?asã, ?ákpító						
191.	ladder		bèbé			gó	gó						
192.	rope, string, cord	*òdžñ	dídíí	òdžídží	díí	ézñ	?ázñ						
193.	needle		gìgà			gà	?agà						
194.	ring				kpé								
195.	cloth (material), wrapper		wíkò	ekūu	kãn	kãè	këë						
196.	robe/gown/smock/man's		kòrò-lóó ?	ècù	kòlà ló	bé-lóó	yirà nüyààló						
197.	hat/cap		pègèrè		pègèlè	pègèrè	?akpabee						
198.	shoe		kpàagá-tó		kpágá tó		kpátó						
199.	money, tax	*èkpìgì	kpìgì	èkpìì	kpègè	kpùgì	kpìgì						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
200.	flute ?		koò										
201.	drum			ògùm									
202.	xylophone	*gérégéré é	géégéré			gérégéré	gérégéré						
203.	clapperless-bell, 'gong'	*-gírà	gérà			gírà	gírà						
204.	clapper-bell		géí	èmèrè	géí	géé	géé						
205.	iron bell?				koi								
206.	slit-gong, wood	*èkéré	kéré	èkéré	kèrè	kèrè	kèrè				kèrè		
207.	door	*-bū	kuutòò	mpipāra eté	bū	bū	bū						
208.	doorway	*ònú ótòò	deè nū-tòò	ònú ótòò	nù tò	nù tò	nù tò						
209.	wall (of house)		gbàà-tò		gbòò	dáé	déé						
210.	floor		ke tòò	àbàlà nkíkee	kè tò	kē tò	kē tò						
211.	room		?àà		àñ	n/a	tèm						
212.	thatch roof		kái		kòòrò	káé	kéé						
213.	pillar, post		bà			bà	bà [‘forked stick’]						
214.	fence		ìmgbà				?agbà						
215.	house	*òtòò	tò	òtòò, òtò	tò	tò	tò						
216.	compound		zèèbe			be	búbe						
217.	town		(gbénè) bõõ (I W)	ètà	bõn	büε	büŋ"ɛ						
218.	village		bõõ		bõn	?	?						
219.	hamlet		zõngõ										
220.	school		tɔkpá										
221.	well	*-bànà múú	bänä-múú		bànà múú	bànàmáá	bànàmáá						
222.	rubbish heap		bòmfá			ékpáékë	kpòbànà						
223.	road		kà-deè		elè	deè	?ègèrè						
224.	path, track		kpè		elè								

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
225.	market		si	ètʃii I g ètʃii	kī	du	du						
226.	market day (specific)		bɔ̄d̄	òb̄d̄	bɔ̄m	bóm	bɔ̄m						
227.	farm, field		téé			wíí	?úwé						
228.	'bush' I		?óó	è?ó	ól								
229.	'bush' II					nám	balà						
230.	forest	*ɔkɔlɛ	ká I g	ɔká	kòl	kùè	kùwè						
231.	stream		dòò T?		oo	òo	máátee						
232.	river		fén̄e		pén̄e	yòò	pén̄e						
233.	sea, ocean		fén̄e	ìmpene	pén̄e	pén̄e	pén̄e						
234.	boat (canoe)	*òfàà	faà	òfàà	faà	fà	lááà						
235.	stone		déé T? LM I W lowered mid	ñŋád̄e	dém	dém	dém						
236.	mountain, hill		gbere kpòkẽ		gù	ègù	gbèn̄ekpò						
237.	ground	kóró ñkẽ	kórókikẽ I W	ñkikẽe	kúnū kẽ	kẽ, kenèkẽ	kòrokẽ						
238.	sand, soil	*ñsísãã	ñsísãã	ñsísã	sää	ésää	?asää						
239.	earth, land		kẽ	ñkikẽ	kẽ, bárà boo	kẽ	kòrokẽ						
240.	hole, hollow		kóró ['vessel']		deì		kóró <sup>9</sup>						
241.	dust	*dúu	dúu		duu, bùùrù	n/a	dúu						
242.	mud	*gbá	gbá		gbá	gbá	gbá						
243.	clay		wí kérn	ñsísã	gùdòò	agudòò	agudòò						
244.	dirt		dí			byáé	byéé						
245.	wind, breeze		péé, I W	òwìrì	fóóló	éfób	?ámáb						

<sup>9</sup> 'large hollow naturally scooped out by decay in a living tree where water collects'

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
246.	cloud				bù dee								
247.	rain		bòo	àkára	bóo	bòo	boo						
248.	sunshine		ìmgbee ímõ I W			dúe	dúwe						
249.	sun		ìmgbee	ìmgbe	gbei	ènààní	?ãnààní						
250.	moon, month		?é	ò?é	?é	ènóo	?ãñõõ						
251.	star		ñziá-káára	èṣúrí	džáá káárá	zína	zíñá						
252.	sky, heaven				káára	àgbákárá	kágara						
253.	sky II		bùññõ	bùññõ			bùññõ						
254.	day	*àdée	dee	àde	dee	dée	dée						
255.	night		?ìmmnë		ìmmnë	èdéé	?ùñùñë						
256.	morning				lòòle								
257.	dawn		lóó-lààle <sup>10</sup>			n/a	nùmàlòòle						
258.	evening	*lóó ìmmne	lóó ìmmne	o?une	ló ìmmne	ló ìmmne	ló ìmmne						
259.	darkness		ñdíní I W	ìmmüdží	kín	zii	zii						
260.	sleep n.		dìgì		dáá	dáá	dáá						
261.	death	*a?u	?ú	a?u	ú	lú	lú						
262.	grave		báñá ?ú				kpoli						
263.	work n.		ñtítõõ	ñtító	tóm	tám	táñ						
264.	war, fight	*-bé	bé		bé	bé	bé						
265.	language												
266.	mercy		ñsisà	ñsisà		tó èsàë							
267.	grace	*ovoI u	oworè		vòlé	èwònù	?awòñù						
268.	punishment		kpòté										
269.	fault		yogi										
270.	shame, shyness		múnù										
271.	fear n.	pòCò	pò			bòò	bòò						
272.	famine		síi		kíi		kíi						
273.	hunger		ñtání záá ?		tá kói	táá	táláa						

<sup>10</sup> ‘new day

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
274.	thirst		ñtānī mūū ?		tān mūū	tāémáá	tēémáá						
275.	poverty I	*èkpóró	kpóró	èkpóró	kpóró	kpóró							
276.	poverty II	*kpàrà	kpàrà				kpàrà						
277.	wealth		zó			zó	zó						
278.	disease, sickness		kõõ		zòkpáló	dùmènù							
279.	fever				sísá								
280.	madness		dáa				dáa						
281.	stupidity, foolishness		bolo				bòrò						
282.	place				tõõ								
283.	time				tõõ								
284.	week		kái		kái		kéé						
285.	year		gbáá	àgbá	gbáá	dúá	dúwá						
286.	rainy season		ñtõõ bòò	ntõ-akára	zèè mūū boo	ɔràbòò							
287.	dry season		ñtõõ míngbee		zèè gbei	sõódúe	kágará sõ						
288.	song	*sóló	sóó	èsõ	sól	yóó	sõ bòò, sõ dúe						
289.	dance		zee										
290.	story, tale		yógí	èlói	lóbí	lóó, loó	lóó, ?áló?uwè						
291.	word		bóó-bié, bié mm	èbié		béé' uwè	?uwè						
292.	lie(s)		ñdídéé (same as tongue?)	àdídé	kyáá, cáá bel	ésá	?ábéé						
293.	news		bié										
294.	thing				nū								
295.	shadow		kóori	òkíkoi	koòri	èkóò	?akoo						
296.	egg	*òkí	ké	òkí	ké	ké	ké						
297.	wing		ìmpó		pó	pää	labà						
298.	feather	*àpää	bã	àpää	paã	pää	?apää						
299.	scale of fish		ñkuri										

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
300.	horn	*ñtʃoò	ñkoò	ñtʃoò	kōò	kōò	koò						
301.	tail	*òdʒù	dù	òdʒù	dù	zù	dù						
302.	animal		ñdé (cf. 'fish')		nõm	nam	nãm						
303.	horse		yàyà		yèyèmbu	èpjàpà	pàpà						
304.	cow (zebu)	*nãmã	nãmã			nam, nám	nãm						
305.	cow (female)		lóò		láo	úú nám	úú nám						
306.	goat		mbóó	ból	ból	péé	péé						
307.	he-goat		kpè-mbóó ?T			èdámí- péé	akpèèpéé						
308.	sheep		nãänà- mbóó			naànàpé é	nãänà						
309.	pig		ñdimúú				zimáá						
310.	dog	*ìgbóbó	ìgbóbó	ìgbaó	gbóbó	gbó	gbó						
311.	cat		wíiyà	ékoom èree	vámbáná	bòósì	ŋwámbáná						
312.	chicken, fowl	*òkòò	kòò	òkò	kòò	kòò	kòò						
313.	duck	*kòò- békéè	kòò-békéè		kòò- békéè	n/a	kòò békéè						
314.	leopard	*ìmkpéé	ìmkpéé <sup>11</sup>	ìmkpéé	kpeè	kuè	kuwè						
315.	elephant	*ññí	ní	ññí	ní	ní	ní						
316.	hippo				ní muñú								
317.	red river hog	*zi		zi	zi	zi	zi						
318.	civet cat	*kpói	kpói		kpoi	kpoi	kpúwé <sup>12</sup>						
319.	palm civet <sup>13</sup>					bú	bú						
320.	genet spp.				kpeene	kpegene	kpegene						
321.	spot-necked otter					darama	darama						

<sup>11</sup> I akugawa (1992:125) erroneously has this for 'lion'. But lions are unknown in this region. Similarly his term for 'lion's mane' must be in error.

<sup>12</sup> As 'genet' in I wi-Bare (2001)

<sup>13</sup> Two-Spotted Palm Civet (*Nandinia binotata*)

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
322.	clawless otter					gbomaa							
323.	bushbuck	*òlóo	lóo <sup>14</sup>	òlóo	lóo	lóo	lóo						
324.	sitatunga	*tògbó	tògɔ <sup>15</sup>	tòbó	tògɔ	tòbó	anyane						
325.	Maxwell's duiker <sup>16</sup>				gbãm	gbam	gbãm						
326.	Ogilby's duiker				koo		koo						
327.	Bates's Dwarf Antelope <sup>17</sup>			gbè	gbè	gbè	gbè						
328.	Water chevrotain			naadaa		naadaa	naadaa						
329.	mona monkey		m̄fin̄i	òfèn̄i	f̄in̄i	nwìni	M̄in̄i						
330.	porcupine <sup>18</sup>		suúló	àbín̄à	bín̄à	bín̄à	bín̄àeúu						
331.	cane rat				delu	eti-bina	bín̄à						
332.	pangolin				kpurua	kwilaa	làa						
333.	tree hyrax	*kògòro		kogoro	kògòro	kogoro	kòòro						
334.	angwantibo				kiri	kiri	kiri						
335.	giant forest squirrel			pasi yeei	gai	pasi yeei	neenesi						
336.	squirrel				víjày								
337.	Geoffroy's Squirrel			winima	saluelue	winima	nlorlor						
338.	Red-legged sun squirrel <sup>19</sup>			yeei	yeei		zià						
339.	flying squirrel			dap		dap	dap						
340.	Egyptian mongoose, 'fox'		kpògòlò <sup>20</sup>		kpògòrò	kpògòrò	kpògòrò						

<sup>14</sup> I akugawa (1992:126) erroneously has this for 'impala'.

<sup>15</sup> I akugawa (1992:126) erroneously has this for 'zebra'.

<sup>16</sup> Blue or Maxwell's duiker (*Cephalophus monticola*, *C. maxwelli*)

<sup>17</sup> *Neotragus batesi*

<sup>18</sup> Probably the brush-tailed porcupine (*Atherurus africanus*) not the larger *Hystrix*

<sup>19</sup> *Heliosciurus rufobrachium*

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
341.	giant rat, 'rabbit'				fel, vél	lúé	lúé						
342.	rat	-fii	fii		fii	fii	euu						
343.	musk-shrew		zai <sup>21</sup>		dai	dai	zeɛ̄						
344.	bat		kpɔ̄ɔ̄	ɛkpõ	kpɔ̄n	bĩā	byã̄à						
345.	crocodile <sup>22</sup>			ètʃaaaré		mégé	?atèkúrú						
346.	'alligator' <sup>23</sup>	*àbá	ba	àbá	bā	pa	pa						
347.	snake		nã̄ãnã̄ T1 mid?		nã̄ãnã̄	yó̄o	eó̄o						
348.	viper	*aboI ɔ	bɔ̄ɔ̄	àbū	bɔ̄m	bɔ̄m	bɔ̄m						
349.	cobra		mbirimù		ɔ̄o								
350.	python		zòò										
351.	tortoise, turtle		kàri?óó		kúrù	kúrù	kúrù						
352.	agama lizard	*-gbèrè	gbèrè		gbèrè	kàgbèrè	gbèrè						
353.	monitor lizard <sup>24</sup>	*-bíā	bíā		byã̄	byã̄	byã̄						
354.	chameleon	*ánwɔ̄n̄í	n̄wɔ̄n̄í		n̄wɔ̄n̄í		?ánwɔ̄n̄í						
355.	crab I	*ákáI à	káà		gà	àka	?agà						
356.	crab II			əkóró	kóoró								
357.	toad		burufò ?			berèfà	bìrimò						
358.	frog	*-kárá	kárá		kárá								
359.	snail	*àkpéI é	kpẽ̄ẽ̄	àkpé	kpéé, fyób	bùé	kpéé						
360.	crayfish, lobster	*èsorò	sòrò	èsorò	?òrò	?òrò	eó̄rò						
361.	mussel	*èkóró	kóó		kóó	èkóró, ikálówló							
362.	oyster spat						èbáé						
363.	dogwhelk			gboro	gboro	egboro							
364.	whelk				kónò	kírikó							

<sup>20</sup> I akugawa (1992:125) erroneously has this for 'hyena'. But hyenas are unknown in this region.

<sup>21</sup> I akugawa (1992:126) erroneously has this for 'squirrel'.

<sup>22</sup> *Crocodylus niloticus*, the I ile crocodile

<sup>23</sup> *Osteolaemus tetraspis*

<sup>24</sup> 'iguana'; monitor lizard (*Varanus niloticus*)

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
365.	periwinkle			ocucűñ	túu	èsúu							
366.	mudskipper			obẽ̄i	tiã	túnwã	túŋʷà						
367.	fish (general)	*-báří	báří, ñdé (=meat, animal)	ñdžírá, òbúí ɪ g	gyáá [=food]	báří	báří						
368.	shark spp.		ñkõdɔ		ofuruma	ofírima							
369.	royal threadfin			inda	te	téé							
370.	Madeiran sardinella			øbaſí	báří	kàbáří	báří						
371.	ribbonfish				gbóó	gbógó							
372.	tarpon				dònví	dowíi							
373.	croaker						póro						
374.	weakfish				dom yðrð	yønð							
375.	hard-scale mullet			suri	surū								
376.	barracuda				dóró	dóró							
377.	Tilapia spp.			ekpaú	kpau	káábàa	?ákpwé						
378.	fish (type)												
379.	electric fish				gui								
380.	bonga						kùwa						
381.	<i>Tilapia galilea</i> ?						?ɔm						
382.	fish (type)			òbúí ɪ g									
383.	fish (sp.)		farí ɪ g										
384.	fish (sp.)		kpé	òkpí	kpé	kpε	kp̊é						
385.	housefly	*ñtʃí	ñsi	ñtʃí	kí	sí	sí						
386.	tsetse fly				pyob								
387.	bee	*-yáágó	yááyó		záázóó	yááyó	yáágó						
388.	cockroach	*ñkò	ñkíkò		kò		?akò						
389.	scorpion		pèère		pèérè		?agāburè						
390.	jigger	*ìmkpóró ko	ìmpóó				kpóróko						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
391.	spider		ñdiiáká		káà	laà	láa						
392.	yam beetle	*-kpàà	kpàà				kpàà						
393.	mosquito	*mfeéé	mífiféé	mífiféé	fééé	énwéé	?ámééé						
394.	flea				kávà								
395.	louse	*ètſuu	suu	ètſu	suu, kib	súu	éuu						
396.	maggot		ñdúé				wé						
397.	butterfly		gângó			ègo	?ago						
398.	cricket	*-pìnã	pìnã				pìnã						
399.	earthworm		túmbèrè										
400.	intestinal worm		mîñ		myô	jô	jô						
401.	centipede		ñsáà				gbùrùnôô						
402.	millipede		ñtítôô										
403.	termite				bébel								
404.	driver-ant		ságá										
405.	stink-ant		?ílo										
406.	wasp				byom								
407.	ant		yôôñôô	jôôrôô	yêéñêé	jénêñêé	jéñéñé						
408.	ant-hill	*-nàà	nàà		nàà	nàà	nàà [=termite]						
409.	bird	*-vínôôm	wîñôô	enô	ññôôm, vínôôm	ènùè	ŋʷîñâm						
410.	crow		ìmpîñôô										
411.	stork		wárá										
412.	parrot				kyá								
413.	dove				kúkúúké								
414.	kite		ìmkpòô	ìmkpòô	kpòô	kínáá kòò	bári kwá						
415.	hawk I <sup>25</sup>		kwá	-kwá	?	ékwá	?ákwá						
416.	falcon		ìgò		gò								
417.	eagle	*àgò	gó	àgò	gó	gó	gó						
418.	vulture	*òdèlè	dérè	òdèlè	dérè	dérè	dérè						

<sup>25</sup> According to I wi-Bari (2001) the Lizard Buzzard (*Kaupifalco monogrammicus*)

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
419.	guinea-fowl		ìkpàalò I W			n/a	n/a						
420.	hornbill						ɳà						
421.	owl						?agbuùb						
422.	person <sup>26</sup>	*ònññè	nññè	ònñè	nññ	nεε	nññè						
423.	name	*àbée	bée	àbée	bée	bée	bée						
424.	namesake	*ègó	gó	ègó	gó	gó	gó						
425.	man		dõõ I W		págbárà	gbärà	gbárà						
426.	male		nññ-dõõ		gbálà	neèdám	nññdám						
427.	husband	*òdáI ó	dõõ	òdó	dõm	dámí	dámí						
428.	woman	*ò-nvaà	nwââ	ònwâ	nvaà, pábya	nwaà	ŋʷââ						
429.	female I					nééwa	nññéwa						
430.	female II		wíí-wâ- mbaa I W	okúmba	bya	byá							
431.	female animal				uu	úù	?úú						
432.	wife	*òva	wa	òwa	va	wa	wa						
433.	old person		náñá nññ, kâbaarì I W		nññá	námá nεε	náñá nññ						
434.	senior/older		kanññ ['adult']			kanεε	kánññ						
435.	youth		?áá nññ		kyo	zège							
436.	father	*ètè	tè	ètè	tè	tè	tè						
437.	mother	*ákà	kà, ?ímì ?,	ákà	kà	kà	kà						
438.	child, baby	*nvíní	wíí	òwíí	nvín	nwíí	ŋʷíí						
439.	sibling	*avígà	yíga	àwíà	vígà	wúgà							
440.	first son	*sáá	sááñá	òsáró	sááñá	sááró	sááró						
441.	second son	*lá	lá			lá	lá						
442.	first daughter	*òsíla	síra	òsíla	síra	síra	síra						
443.	second daughter	*núâ	núâ			núâ	núâ						

<sup>26</sup> I ot ‘corpse’ as Williamson (1985:435) has it.

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
444.	in-law, male		?ogò, gò I W										
445.	in-law, female	*kajʷāā	kàwa			ka nwaa ['mother -in-law']	kajʷāā ['wife's mother']						
446.	age-group	*ogbò	gbò	ogbò	gbò	gbò	gbò						
447.	clan I		z̩g̩										
448.	clan II		g̩										
449.	guest ('stranger')	*sáānēē	sáà-nēē	saa nee	nen kyaà	saanee	sáānēē						
450.	friend, companion		kóò	èko	kóo								
451.	chief, king	*èméné	méné(-bɔ̄)	èméré	méné	méné	méné						
452.	slave		sú		dʒóoro								
453.	thief		zii		nēn zib								
454.	doctor (native)		nēē-bó-mbiè, dɔ̄ mbiè	òbiè	nēn d̩m byè								
455.	witch	*otáā	táā	otáā	táā	waàtáā	táā						
456.	medicine (charm)		m̩biè	m̩biè, òbiè	biè	piè	piè						
457.	fetish ('juju')		zo	èdʒɔ̄ I g	zo	yɔ̄	yɔ̄						
458.	spirit of dead		z̩ī	èdʒ̩ī	g̩im	z̩im							
459.	soul		yáamá		y̩má								
460.	ghost		bèe nū <sup>27</sup>										
461.	masquerade I		m̩im̩										
462.	masquerade II		?árú										
463.	meeting		bɔ̄ná										
464.	cripple				kòvà								
465.	corpse	*?íí	?íí	?íí	?íí	?íí	?íí						
466.	God	*òbàri	bàri	òbàri, yɔ̄	bàri	bàri	bàri						

<sup>27</sup> lit. 'hot thing'

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
467.	law		yogi	òloi	log	log							
468.	debt		bùd										
469.	witchcraft		?ibem										
470.	poison		tǎā			tǎa	tǎā						
471.	crying, weeping		tó	ètó	tó								
472.	pocket			bèrè									
473.	brother (<English>)		bòró	bòró									
474.	blessing			òkàkà									
475.	message		ńtítõõ (=work)	òkú									
476.	namesake		gògo										
477.	country		kpádó										
478.	world		bo?òo										
479.	life	*ńdžùñ	ńdùñ	ńdžù	dùm	dùm	dùm						
480.	question		bíná	èbírá									
481.	lord, father			òbári T?									
482.	promise, oath		zíí										
483.	advice			òtotò									
484.	gossip			òbùì I g									
485.	counting			òbui lmm I g									
486.	load	*ètò	tò	ètò I g	tò	tò	tò						
487.	pillar (of wall)		bã I g										
488.	book, letter	*kpá	kpá	ńsã	kpá	kpá	kpá						
489.	paper		bààkpá										
490.	line		tǎā										
491.	home		bē I g		bē								
492.	respect, glory, honour	*òka	ka	òka	ka	ka	ka						
493.	race (of people)			òjuí lmm I g									

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
494.	I, me		m	ami	ṁ	mε	m, m̩						
495.	you sg.		oro	à?ò	o								
496.	he, she, it				a								
497.	we, us												
498.	you pl.												
499.	they, them												
500.	something		nū	ènu	nú	nu	nū						
501.	one		?ènē ?T	ìnē	ènε								
502.	first		sáá										
503.	two		bàà	òbéré	bàà								
504.	three		tàà ?T taá	òtaá	taa	tàa	taa						
505.	four		tàale ?T	ètaálè	tán̩								
506.	five	*èvòò	wòò ?T	èwòò	vòò	?ò?òò	?òò						wòò
507.	six		?òòlè	è?òrò	òòlè								
508.	seven		?àràbà	è?àràbà	àlábà								
509.	eight	*èrààtàà	?aátaá ?T	è?ààtàà	ààtàà	èrétàa	?èrètaa						
510.	nine		siná?ò, dó?ò	èsíra?a?ò	siina òb								
511.	ten		?òwì	à?ò	òb	lòb	lòb						
512.	eleven		?òwì n̩ ?ènē ?T	à?ò r̩ ìnē	òb nè enε								
513.	twelve		?òwì n̩ bàà	à?ò r̩bérè tone?	òb nè baà								
514.	thirteen		?òwì n̩ tàa ?T	à?ò r̩taá	òb nè								
515.	fourteen		?òwì n̩ tàalè ?T	à?ò r̩taálè	òb nè								
516.	fifteen		?òwì n̩ wòò ?T	à?ò r̩wò	òb nè								
517.	sixteen		?òwì n̩ ?òòlè	à?ò r̩?òrò	òb nè								

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
518.	seventeen		?òwì n̩è ?àràbà	à?ò r̩?àràbà	òb n̩è								
519.	eighteen		?òwì n̩è ?aátaá ?T	à?ò r̩?ààtāà	òb n̩è								
520.	nineteen		?òwì n̩è siná?ò	à?ò r̩èsíra?a? ò check	òb n̩è								
521.	twenty	*àtʃubu	tuu mm	àtʃu	tub	tub	tub						
522.	thirty		tuu n̩è ?òwì	àtʃú r̩áò tone?	tùb n̩è òb								
523.	forty		bàà tuu	òbèré átʃú tone?	bàà tub								
524.	fifty		bàà tuu n̩è ?òwì	òbèré átʃú r̩á?ò tone?	bàà tub n̩è òb								
525.	sixty		tàà ?T tuu	òtaá atʃu tone?	tàà tub								
526.	seventy		tàà ?T tuu n̩è ?òwì	òtaá atʃu r̩á?ò tone?	tàà tub n̩è òb								
527.	eighty		tàalè ?T tuu	étaálè	tàà tǎñ̄i								
528.	ninety		tàalè ?T tuu n̩è ?òwì	étaálè atʃu r̩á?ò tone?	tàà tǎñ̄i n̩è òb								
529.	hundred		wòò tuu	èwò àtʃu	vòò tub								
530.	two hundred		?òwì tuu	à?ò àtʃu	òb tub								
531.	four hundred		bóó	òbó	tub tub bóó								
532.	black	*birá	birá	birá	birá	bíira	bíira						
533.	white	*?éé	?éé	?éé	?éé	ééé	?éé						
534.	red		do		míimíí								

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
535.	all		zòo	dàámo	dééééé	déne	dééééé						
536.	many		tɔɔ̄										
537.	half		kérè										
538.	big (great, large, important)	*egbeI ε	gbèrè or gbèrè	εgbèrε	gbere, pòb	gbènε	gbènε						
539.	small		pirí		kẽm								
540.	long (of stick)		mbegi		bég								
541.	short (of stick)		mkpurá		kpùru								
542.	old (opp. new)	ìnǎmǎ	nǎmǎ	ìnɔñɔñǎ	nǎmǎ	nǎmǎ (= 'old age')	nǎmǎ						
543.	new	*?áá	?áá	?à	ää	áàa	?áá						
544.	wet, be		tóo		dʒɔo								
545.	dry		kikǎä I W ?T		kákǎä								
546.	hot (as fire)		ñsá	ewara	sásá	álamyá	?àràhínpá						
547.	cold	*ètɔo	tóo	òtɔo, ajii	tóo	tóo	tóo						
548.	right (side)	*òlè	lè	òlè	lè	lè	lè						
549.	left		sèe, sìe	òtʃié I g	kyè	kìe	kìye						
550.	good, beautiful be		ñzóó	jime	lé	lée	lé						
551.	bad I	*èpòró	póró	èpòró	póró	póró	póró						
552.	bad II						píyà						
553.	fat, be		mbóo	gora	pòb	lég	gbùwè						
554.	thin				kẽm								
555.	raw		yūú				?ayìm						
556.	ripe, become		?éé			ééé	?éé [= 'white, pure]						
557.	unripe, be				búú								
558.	sweetness		mkpeè		kpeè		?ákpéè						
559.	bitter(ness)		ñdoo		nõn	lee	lee ['bitter']						
560.	heavy		yéé	epe	yéé	donyà	dõnà						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tẹẹ	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
561.	light				vàre								
562.	blunt				tūnū								
563.	strong				kpóó								
564.	weak				óó?róó								
565.	near				kùló								
566.	far				kpãã								
567.	cheap		wàre										
568.	round				kpùgùrù								
569.	deaf, dumb				bola								
570.	blind				gímã								
571.	full		awãã I W ?T		mmá								
572.	hard, strong		?àge	gbere	àge	àga ['strong' ]	?a?àga						
573.	soft		bòrì		bòl	bue	bùre						
574.	be old		?änä mm	?ärä mm									
575.	dirty v/n?	*òdží	dí m	òdží lm	dí								
576.	clean	*?ɔnɔma	?oona	?oro	ɔɔá	ɔɔma	?ɔoà						
577.	straight		àtárá	àtárá									
578.	abuse v. I		síimá múú	kò	ɔn	tùè	tùè						
579.	abuse v. II		lagara				sàb						
580.	add		wéé ló										
581.	admire		zigà										
582.	advise			tò			delete?						
583.	agree		zìgà				delete?						
584.	announce		lògorò	loí	lóngí	lòg							
585.	answer		áala	yira	aala	agala	?ágárá						
586.	arrange, put in order		nõõnë										
587.	arrive		dú, dù	džù		iná	?íná						
588.	ask (question)	*bíiná	bíiná bíí	bíiná	bíiná	bib	bíiná						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
589.	ask (request)	*bàna	bāā			bàra	bàra						
590.	bark (dog)		póm, gbó	poó	p̩m̩í	póm	póm						
591.	bathe o.s.	*bilà	birà mūú	bira	bilà	birà	bira māá						
592.	bear fruit	*mumu	mūú			mum	mūm						
593.	beat (drum)	*kpá	kpá	kpà			kpa						
594.	beat, strike, kick I		p̩i		d̩ib	z̩ib	bòb, z̩ib						
595.	beat (person) II		bɔɔ à bɔɔ lmm ‘he beat’		bɔm								
596.	beat, hit		kɔm̩í										
597.	beget			bù	lé	bùè							
598.	begin	*darà	dala	darà	dàrà togó	dana	bɔat̩é						
599.	believe		zigà	yira	zìgà	yìrà	yìrà						
600.	bend over		kɔwà				kɔɔbá						
601.	bite	*dómó	dɔɔ	dù	dɔm̩í	dam	dām						
602.	blow (fire)			pɛè			bèè						
603.	blow (of wind)		?urà		ùlà	dò	dò						
604.	blow (with mouth)		?úri	pɛè	ùuli	fùuli	ñìiri						
605.	boast I			wɔ m			wò						
606.	boast II	*kaagà	kaagà	pa m			kààgà						
607.	boil		?úrí [‘be boiled’]	?urí	?úrí, òori	òrí	?ure						
608.	borrow		bɔɔrè										
609.	break (a stick)		bǔnī or bǔnī	bütū mm èbütū lm lowered mid ‘he broke’	bǔnū	būu	bǔnā						
610.	break (pot, calabash)		túgí (smash),										

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
611.	break (pot, calabash)		fè I W				ségā						
612.	bring		zōō	dʒua	dōmā	nùa	nūā [=cause]						
613.	build (house)	*tóbó	tóó	cí	tib	wu	tob						
614.	burn (tr.)	*?oví	?óó	?ò	?oví	?ob	?ob						
615.	burn (intr.)		bé	pě	bè								
616.	bury	*lì	lì	li	lì	lì	lì						
617.	buy	*dʒalá	záá, dʒáá	dʒà	zal(i), yal	yaε	yεε						
618.	call (summon)		wígi										
619.	call				kólí	kúé							
620.	caress		gɛérè										
621.	carry (head)	*toorá	tóórá	torá	toorá	toorá	toorá						
622.	carry (load)	*dānà	darà	dàlà	dānà	dànà	dàrà						
623.	carry (on pole)		béera										
624.	carve I	*tògì	tògì	tòi	togí	tòg	tòg						
625.	carve II	*?ɔ	?ɔ			ɔ	?ɔ						
626.	catch		síi	sí m									
627.	chat		gɔɔrà										
628.	chew			tā	bà	taa	tàa						
629.	chew (palm-nut)		kòò	kò									
630.	choose	*sagi	sagà	tāá, sài	sà	sà, sàge	sàsu						
631.	circumcise	*kòò	koo				kòò						
632.	clean, wipe		fāánà										
633.	clap hands		kpábá										
634.	climb	*dʒéé	déé	dʒí	déé	déé	déé						
635.	close, shut	*kpubu	kuu		kùb		kpéé						
636.	coil around s.t., twine, be interwoven	*pigà	pigà				pìgà						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
637.	collect			là, kpo èkpo lm 'he collected ,									
638.	collect 2 (e.g. rain-water with receptacle)			bε m									
639.	come, arrive	*dʒù	dú	dʒù Odido dʒú ótɔ I chia dʒuú ótɔ 'come home'	dù	lu	lu						
640.	come down		saá			sa							
641.	come from		?aá			àà							
642.	construct (e.g. booth)			kpã m									
643.	consult		zõõnå										
644.	cook		dore	dole, kwɔ̄	bùl	bùì	bùì						
645.	cooked, be		biiñi			biiní ['be done, of soup']	biiñi						
646.	copulate		dorà										
647.	cough		?ɔ̄gẽ I g		bèè	ɔnge bẽẽ	bèè						
648.	count		bugi										
649.	cover (a pot)		kùù I W	dʒu m									
650.	crack			fà									
651.	crawl, creep (snake)		kuu				kùù						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
652.	create		dẽ̃	dẽ	dẽm	kwá	kwá						
653.	crow v.			da m									
654.	crowded, be		?ágá, wáá										
655.	cure, heal, treat	bó				bo	bo						
656.	curse	tà̃ágà											
657.	cut into two	fùl	fù	fùl	fì	ñì							
658.	cut indiscriminately						sàga						
659.	cut with knife I		kù		kù	kù							
660.	cut with knife II	*fulu	fuu	fu	fùl	fì	ñì						
661.	cut in pieces	*kpò	kpò	kpò	kpò	kpɔ	kpɔ						
662.	cut in many pieces				baa		bàgi						
663.	cut down	ké̃											
664.	dance v.	*dʒèb	zèb	dʒè	zòb	yèb	yèb						yòb
665.	deceive, trick		gáamá										
666.	decide		burà										
667.	defecate	*nɛ̃	nɛ̃										
668.	defend		kpegì										
669.	delay v.		bíẽ	bíẽ									
670.	deny s.t.		?ánà										
671.	descend		saá kẽ̃										
672.	die	*?ú	?ú, ?ù	?ù à?ú 'he died'	?ú	u	?u						
673.	dig, till		?uu		?ùb	?ùb							
674.	dig up, harvest yam					dòòrà	dòòrà						
675.	dismiss		zààrà										
676.	disordered, be		lagàrà										

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
677.	dispute, argue		káná										
678.	disturb, shake		zugɛ <sup>28</sup>				zùge <sup>29</sup>						
679.	dive			dʒi m									
680.	divide (share out)		dɔɔnà	dò	dɔɔ	dɔɔ	dɔɔ						
681.	divide into two		àpoo ‘he divided into two’										
682.	do, act		nãã m I g	nãã	nãã	dòò	dòò						
683.	do with			nãmã									
684.	draw water		tawì										
685.	dream v.	*àdžágár á	mɔnà záará	àdžará	zágará	zárá	zárá						
686.	drink, smoke		wáá	wà	ž	ž	?ž						
687.	drip		kári										
688.	drive (vehicle)	*kɔbɔ	kɔo	kʷɔ	?ɔb	?ɔb	?ɔb						
689.	drop		tóré, karè, fée										
690.	dry s.t. on fire		wâã										
691.	dry up (v.t.)	*kágará	káã	ékíkáí	kãã	kágará	kágará						
692.	dwell		tɔɔ	tɔ		tɔò	tɔɔ						
693.	eat	*dè	dé, dè	dè	dè	de	de						
694.	eat (fish/meat)	*bà		bà			bà						
695.	ebb			tà									
696.	economise <sup>30</sup>	*sènjí	sẽngí	séí mh I g	sẽnjí	seŋ	sẽm						
697.	endure, bear		?iimã										
698.	enter		bá-tɔ, bá	bá	bá	yìì	yìì						
699.	enumerate			ku m									

<sup>28</sup> ‘to shake a tree to bring down fruit’

<sup>29</sup> ‘disturb a hiding place for an animal so that it runs out’

<sup>30</sup> Williamson (1985:436) has the secondary meaning ‘chop in pieces’ but this is not confirmed by other sources

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tęę	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
700.	erect (structure)		nīnā										
701.	exchange		yāānā										
702.	extinguish (tr.)	*dʒim̩	dím̩, dim̩	dʒi̩e	gim̩	zime	zim̩						yim̩
703.	fail		dɔ										
704.	fall (general), stumble	*dò	dɔ, dò àdɔ lm ‘he fell’	dò èdɔ ‘he fell’	dò	dò	dò						
705.	fart		sɔmbí	sāmbí									
706.	fear v.	*bòò	sírá pò	èpò	pò	bòò	bòò						
707.	fetch (water from pot)		?uwi mm	?ii mm	?ívi, ?íb	?íbi							
708.	fetch (water from stream)			?è									
709.	fight v.	*bé	bé bé	bè	bé	bé	be						
710.	fill v.t.		ŋwáámè	ŋwa	mm̩	m̩m̩	m̩m̩						
711.	filter	kúl é	kóré, saa	sa m	sá	kúè	küe						
712.	find	*gbí	gbí(ná)	gbí	gbí	mùè	gbímùè						
713.	finish (v.i.), get exhausted	*ta	tá(y)è	tà	tá	ta	ta						
714.	finish (v.i.) II			wεε	lɔl								
715.	flourish (as plant)			m̩ m									
716.	fly v., jump	*pee	péε, péé	pε	pεε	pèε	pèε						
717.	follow		dʒɔ wɛ̩̩	dʒɔ	yɔð n̩								
718.	forbidden, to be		bé̩̩má										
719.	forget		tá n̩̩		tà yí̩								
720.	fry	*?ɛ̩ŋɛ	?ãã à?ãã ‘he fried’	?ã m à?ãã ‘he fried’	?ãã	ɛ̩ŋɛ	?ɛ̩gɛ						
721.	gather (things)		bɔ̩n̩ à bɔ̩n̩ lmll ‘he gathered’ k ure I W ?T		bɔ̩n̩	bɔŋáná	bɔ̩gɛ̩n̩						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
722.	gather (things)	*labi	lɔɔ	là	laví	lab, dà	lab						
723.	gather (things)		kúrε		ጀጀ								
724.	get (obtain)		?égé, tú		tù								
725.	get lost			pe m?									
726.	give	*nèI è	nɛ	nɛɛ	nɛ	nè	nɛ						
727.	give birth, deliver	*mānà	mānà, māā, māā	mà	mān	màè	mɛ̄ɛ						
728.	go (2) (to return, as on message)	*sì	sì	sì	sì	si	si						
729.	go (away)	*?àà	?àà, ?àà	?a	àà	kìi	?àà, kìi						
730.	go back		?òòbà	?à		àà ['return' ]							
731.	go out				dɔ ke dɛɛ								
732.	grab			bū m									
733.	greet (salute)		tāāmጀጀ	owe	kànà mon	kàna múé	kànà müe						
734.	grind	*gbɛ	gbɛ	gbɛ	gbɛ	gbɛ	gbɛ						
735.	grow		bɔɔ, dùū	bɔ m	bɔɔ	jìm	dum						
736.	grow (as yam stem)			mɛ m									
737.	hang, suspend (s.t. on wall)		kere										
738.	have				ie	ére	?ère						
739.	hear	*dà	dá	dà	dà	dà	dà						
740.	help, assist, aid		wɛɛ bá	wɛɔ bɔru	vɛɛ bá	yèrèbá	yèrèbá						
741.	hide v.i.		gǔā, gǔyá	giā	gǔā		gǔā						
742.	hide v.t.	*gɔ	gɔ	gɔ	gɔ	gɔ	gɔ						
743.	hoe v.		būmā										
744.	hold (in hand)		sii mm	si m									
745.	hope		burà										
746.	imitate		imà bá										

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
747.	incline		kpogà										
748.	invite		wígi										
749.	itch I	*lá	lá			lá	la						
750.	itch II		táñi	táñi mm									
751.	jump	*péé	péé	pé	péé	péé	péé						
752.	jump about	*pégi	pégi		pégi		pégi						
753.	kidnap		kee										
754.	kill, butcher	*kele	fuu	ke	kèl	kèè	kèè						
755.	kill fish	*fè	fè	fè	fè	fè	fè	ʌε					
756.	kiss		lérá										
757.	kneel		kú m̩kpɔgí kẽ	at᷑ m̩kpɔy o᷑ó	dú	kùnu zú	bààdú						
758.	knit		lo m I g										
759.	knock (on head)		wééé	fá Odido fá óbó I chia faá óbó 'knock with hand'									
760.	know		yímá	yá	yímá	súa	súnwá						
761.	know the art of			walá									
762.	laugh	*mágà	mágà	màà	mágà	?	kège						
763.	leak		kórí										
764.	lean, be		bogí mh	boí mh			delete?						
765.	lean against		bérà				bérà						
766.	learn		n᷑	n᷑	n᷑								
767.	leave		lobá										
768.	lend		bore mm	bore mm									
769.	lick	*dà	dá, dà, daà tone?	dà		da	da						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
770.	lick (soup)		pìò tone? or pió ?	pìò									
771.	lie (down)		mãá kẽ, mãã		ma kẽ	mà	mã kẽ						
772.	lift		darà		dàrà								
773.	light (fire)			gb□□ò Odido gbó ñsá I chia gboó ñsá 'light fire'									
774.	like		wurè, lémám										
775.	list			ku m									
776.	listen		gbää tɔ̄ mmh I g	kpää mm I g									
777.	load		nɔɔ̄										
778.	look		berè I g mb̄erè 'I looked'										
779.	look at		?irì, zirì I g			ɛb	?ɛb						
780.	look for	*gbĩ	gbĩ I W			boo	gbĩ						
781.	loose		gbaàrà	tſuu mm									
782.	lose (something)		pe(y)ε	gbε tone									
783.	lost, get		dágí,pe										
784.	love		wurè										
785.	make		kpaágá	kpaá									
786.	make into heap/bundle		bɔɔ̄nén	nɔ̄ m									

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
787.	marry (of man)	*?ii	?ii	?i à?í 'he married'	ia, ilí	ii	?ii						
788.	measure		do										
789.	meet		zõõnã										
790.	melt		légá										
791.	mix		gwá	tʃɔ m?	pìg	pìg							
792.	mould (pot)		dẽẽ										
793.	nail v.t.		kà check	kà									
794.	offer				vób	wób	wób						
795.	ooze		gbórá										
796.	open (s.t.)		kuurà				kòòrà						
797.	open, be		seerà		kùùrà	èèrà	èèrè						
798.	open, leave		yãänã			yèère	èèrè						
799.	overcome			dʒimã lm									
800.	overcook			tí									
801.	overpower			bù									
802.	own		à?ege lmm 'he owned'	à?ee lmm 'he owned'									
803.	pass (by)		téé		téñí	téé							
804.	pay (for something)		kpé										
805.	peck		tõgí				tùgu						
806.	peel I		gbágí			gbàgárá							
807.	peel II			dʒè			yε						
808.	pick fruit	*kãänã	kãänã				kãänã						
809.	pierce		woorà				tuwe						
810.	pin (stick)		tí	tí	tia	sib	sib						
811.	pinch		zúwí										
812.	plait (hair)		lojá bóbó		lò								

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
813.	plan		nõõ										
814.	plant	*fò	fò	fò	fò	fo	mo				wo		
815.	plant (tubers)		?uu I W										
816.	play (games)		birà (biri)										
817.	pluck			tù ètú 'he plucked'									
818.	point at		zere bá			jè bá							
819.	possess		à?ege lmm 'he possessed'	à?ee lmm 'he possesse d'									
820.	possessed, be		siirá I g				delete?						
821.	pound (in mortar)		kũñ or kũñ I g	kũ	kum	kúrn	kũm						
822.	pour out (as water)		?eerà	?urá									
823.	pour out (from container)			tɔ	tɔ								
824.	praise I					kà	kà						
825.	praise II	*leerà	leerà		lèèlè		lèèrà						
826.	pray	*tãägã	tãägã		tãaga		tãägã ló						
827.	preserve			lè									
828.	press		bii ['shut door']			bìi ['press']	bìi [= 'squeeze']						
829.	press out (as kernels)		sõnõ	sõnõ									
830.	proclaim			we m									
831.	promise		zìgà										
832.	pull out, up	*džùrà	duurà	džùri	dùùra	zùùrà	dùùrà						
833.	pull, drag	*-džùñ	džùñ	òdžù	džù	zù	džù						
834.	purify		?õõnã										
835.	pursue (game)		kpó										

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
836.	push		tāā (bá) lòò, kùmī I g	tā m	tāá bá								
837.	put		wééé										
838.	put down		lawì										
839.	put on (clothes)		wénà										
840.	read		bugi	buì ml	bugi								
841.	rear		bómá [animals]				bùñwé [child]						
842.	refuse, reject		sí tone? ll? gàa zìgà	tʃí	kǐn	kǐi	kìm						
843.	remain		tɔmá										
844.	remember		kɔná néé		kéé boo								
845.	remove		lòò	lò	lòl	gbà	lèè						
846.	remove			gbà Odido gbá ádʒo I chia gbáá ádʒo 'remove palm- fruit'									
847.	reply v.		?áára, zigà										
848.	return (intr.)		sí dù, ?oora ?										
849.	return (s.t.)		?oomá										
850.	ride (bicycle)		téérá (kpé)										
851.	roast, burn		?óó	?ò	?óví	?òb	?òb						
852.	rotten, be	*bèmè	[bi]béé I W		bèm	bèm	bèm						
853.	rub (something)			tṣara mm I g									
854.	rule (a line)		kuu m	ku m									

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
855.	rule, be in charge		bεε										
856.	run	*téérá	téérá	tʃa tone?	téélá	tèèrá	teerá						
857.	sacrifice		zóo										
858.	save, reserve		kũmã, kpóogè										
859.	say (direct speech)		ló	labí	kò								
860.	scatter		làwì	lawɛ mm	làb	làb							
861.	scramble for			bū m									
862.	scrape off, scrape out		kɔɔ [also = 'grind'], kóó[rá]	kɔ m	kɔɔ		kòò [=smoothe, plane]						
863.	see	mɔɔ	mɔ	mɔn	mùè, eèb	mùè							
864.	seize	síi											
865.	sell	?óo		ōō									
866.	send (s.o. to do s.t.)	lèèrà I W ?T		lèèlà	lèèra, ture	lèèrà							
867.	set (trap)		gbí m										
868.	sew, join	gbá			gba	gba							
869.	shake		kpà				kpòge						
870.	shed skin (snake)	*kɔɔrà	kɔɔrà				kòòra						
871.	shiver, tremble	kẽní					kẽnã						
872.	shoot	tá		tãã									
873.	shout	tíɛ mm											
874.	show (something)		tògè I W	dòb	tòge	zòge							
875.	sift (grains) I		sa			sà [='choos e']	sà						
876.	sift (grains) II		saa				sà, scè						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
877.	sing		?óó sóó à?óó sóó 'he sang'	?ò èsò	?órí	?úé	?uwè						
878.	sit (down)		tɔɔ kẽ		ñíté kẽ	éñé tẽ	?ññé tẽ						
879.	skilful, be			walá			delete?						
880.	skin (flay)		kóórá kpá										
881.	sleep v.	dígí			dáá	dáá	dàa						
882.	slip		?órè [= 'make s.o. slip']			sore [= 'to slip s.t. in']	eoòri (v.i.)						
883.	sneeze	síí			síísí	sí	sí						
884.	soak, dip	dewe											
885.	sow (seeds in holes)	fò I W											
886.	speak			tà									
887.	spin (thread)	sári			tẽgẽ		eee						
888.	spit	túú					tub						
889.	split (tr.)	baa	ba m										
890.	split	dáárá											
891.	spread out to dry	yaare					yààri						
892.	sprinkle	píigå											
893.	squeeze, press	*bígí	bígí, ?iirà			bìi	bìi						
894.	stab	tìi											
895.	stand (up)	?éra bòò			elá boo	yira	yìra ya						
896.	start, begin	darà											
897.	stay	*tɔI ò	tɔɔ	tɔ m		tɔò	tɔɔ						
898.	steal	*dʒibì	zii, dʒii	dʒi	zib	yib	yìb						
899.	sticky, become	dáágá											
900.	sting	tââ					tââ						
901.	stir	kò				gwò	kwò						
902.	stop v.i.	?éra											

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
903.	stop s.t.		?émá										
904.	store		kūmā										
905.	stroll		péégá				kéegá						
906.	suck		píó		pyovi	pyorá	pyob						
907.	surpass		?ee bá		zelí								
908.	surprise		dègèrè										
909.	survive			dʒù									
910.	swallow	*mènɛ	mɛ̃, mɛ̃̄	mɛ̄	mèn	mè̄	cògàrà						
911.	swear		zírá										
912.	swear oath		gbéé										
913.	sweep	*kpáří	kpáří	kparí	kpáří	kpaé	kpeε						
914.	swell (intr.) (of boil)		abe I W	to m									
915.	swim		dʒɔ̄ɔ̄ I g	dʒò	zɔvi								
916.	take (one thing)		tú or tú ?ámā	tʃù	tù								
917.	take off (clothes)		lɔra										
918.	take down		lɔ̄										
919.	take out		lɔ̄?m										
920.	talk				lò								
921.	taste		?ira, ?iri										
922.	tasty, be		kpe			kpe	kpè						
923.	teach		tóge		nɔ̄ɔ̄mā								
924.	tear (tr.)		baa	ba m	baa								
925.	tell				kò								
926.	think		bugi bóó, bura	gbí	bùrà								
927.	throb		dɔ̄ m I g										
928.	throw		too		toví	tob	tob						
929.	throw away			gbε m									
930.	tickle		zugè										

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
931.	tie (rope), bind	bɔbí	bɔó	bò àbó 'he tied (it)', sù check	bɔví	bɔb	bɔb						
932.	tie (wrapper)		sà tone?										
933.	tie head-tie		bòra	pìi									
934.	torn, to get		baara			bààrà							
935.	touch (with hand)		kɔɔ bá lóó										
936.	travel, journey		sësë										
937.	try, make effort		do										
938.	turn round (intr.)		siirà										
939.	twist				iìlì								
940.	understand		dá										
941.	untie		gbaarà		taalá								
942.	urinate		támañí		tá mañí								
943.	use		náamá	námá									
944.	visit		kää										
945.	vomit		kpo			gbò							
946.	wait		?érá										
947.	wake up		këenà			loobá							
948.	walk		sää		cää	kípà							
949.	walk about (aimlessly)		tëe mm		këgili [=wander ]								
950.	want (desire) v.		gbí	kpárá	bù								
951.	wash (body)		birà mûú										
952.	wash (things)	*logbi	logí àlóbí 'he washed'	lói	logí	lòg, log	lob						
953.	wave v.	*darà	darà				dàrà ['raise hand']						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tee	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
954.	weave, sew, plait, knit	*lò	lò I W	lò	lò	lò	lò						
955.	weed v.	*duà	duà			dùa	dua						
956.	weed v.				gbāā		bù						
957.	weed v. (grass off road with hoe/spade)			wò		fà	mA						
958.	weep (cry), mew,	*tó	tó tó	toa T? ètò	tò	tó	tó						
959.	whisper		sáàrá										
960.	wipe		fāānà										
961.	wither, be old		kāā			kāá							
962.	work	*tɔ́l ɔ́	tɔ́ɔ	tó	tɔ́m	tám	tóm						
963.	worn out, be			?ɔ́sɔ́			delete?						
964.	wring (clothes)		?ɔ́ona I W ?T										
965.	write	*?emí	?éé	?e	?emí	em	?ém						
966.	yawn		?a		à?à	à	?						
<b>Adverbs</b>													
967.	today			niníini	níñ ?ei	níee	?ánñ						
968.	tomorrow			òsòó	lòòleáboo	n/a	éóó?e						
969.	yesterday			òsòóòó	sòò ?eá	n/a	n/a						
970.	earlier			ìnòñòá check									
<b>Conjunctions</b>													
971.	so	*vó	wo	wo	vó	wó	wó						
<b>Interrogatives</b>													
972.	Where?				ãàë								
973.	Who?				mëëë								
974.	What?				ee								
975.	When?				së, motomë		mësö						

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No.	Gloss	P-Ogoni	Baan	Eleme	Gokana	KK	Tęę	YG	BO	BB	NK	BD	NW
976.	How much, many?		méku		kuka ε								
	<b>Prepositions</b>												
977.	behind, back of		nwee	nnwe	nvée	dùmɛ, dumè	dùmɛ						
978.	between				gbàbá								
979.	in front				deèsí								
980.	inside	mm̄	osóo	mm̄	bu	bu							
981.	here				kiī								
982.	there				kiā̄								
983.	this				niī								
984.	that				niī								
	<b>Particles</b>												
985.	I ot				niī								
986.													
987.													
	<b>Numeral Classifiers</b>												
988.	1		kà	kà	kà	kà							
989.	2		tɔɔ̄	àtɔ̄	tóm	ső̄							
990.	3		kpógó	kpóró	kpóó	ábá							
991.	4		ŋwáá	wā	bíra	kō̄							
992.	5		ntó̄	ntó̄	dóm	àbà							
993.	6		kúú	gő̄	kò̄	kúm							

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## Commentary

116. mangrove. Borrowed from Eastern Ijo (*áŋgálá*).
117. star-apple. Perhaps borrowed from Igbo (*ódárá*).
134. zinc. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Eastern Ijo (*éféré*).
137. plate.
140. bottle. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Igbo or Eastern Ijo (both *ólóló*).
157. iron nail. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Eastern Ijo (*túrú*).
185. chair, stool I. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Igbo (*ikàsi*).
149. matchet One of the few cases where Ogoni shares a common form with Central Delta. PDC \*ɔgyɛ ‘knife’.
238. sand A common term shared with Central Delta, PCD \*. However, similar forms are extremely widespread in Africa, for example in I ilo-Saharan and a phonaesthetic component may be responsible for the similarity of forms.
311. cat. The cat is apparently a recent introduction into the I iger Delta. At least one term, Kana *bò́sì*, is borrowed from English ‘pussy’.
367. fish The diversity of generic terms for ‘fish’ in a region where the diet is dominated by fish is a fine example of the perplexities of historical linguistics. The Baan term is apparently polysemous with ‘meat, animal’ whereas Kana *bári* is the term for ‘sardine’ in Gokana and Tee.
368. shark spp. Applied to a variety of sharks such as the tiger-shark, *Galeocerdo cuvier*. A borrowing from Ijo, e.g.
369. royal threadfin. *Pentanemus quinquarius*. The Eleme form is apparently a borrowing from Ijo, e.g. I embe *indá*.
418. Apparently a loan-word, or at least common to many regional languages.
417. eagle. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Igbo (*ùgo*) or Eastern Ijo (*ìgo*, *ùgo*).
418. vulture. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Igbo (*ùdèlè*) or Eastern Ijo (*èdèlè*, *ṣdèlè*).
424. namesake. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Igbo (*ògó*).
181. box. A regional term, perhaps borrowed from Igbo or Eastern Ijo (both *igbé*).
462. masquerade II One of the few words shared with Upper Cross and Central Delta. Many UC languages have a cognate form, for example Ukpet *érít̄* / *i-*.

## 7. External affiliations of the Ogoni languages

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## 8. The history of the Ogoni peoples viewed from their language

### 9. Conclusions

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