

PROTO-IJOID RECONSTRUCTIONS
VERSION 2.0: 19 August 2004

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Since Version 1, the following changes have been made:

- Many corrections to remove errors and inconsistencies
- Items on the Swadesh 100 list added even if no Proto-Ijò reconstruction can be found.
- A few other new items added
- Comparisons added with Nilo-Saharan (NS) (mainly Blench), Westermann's (1927) Proto-West Sudanic (PWS), Proto-Potou-Akanic-Bantu (PPAB) (Stewart 2002), and *Bantu lexical reconstructions 3* (BLR3), Tervuren.

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

Reconstruction of Proto-Ijò

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

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Eastern Ijò (EI) | 1. Kalabari-Kirike-Ibani (KaKiBa) plus Nkoro =KOIN |
| | 2. Nembe-Akaha (NA) |
| Western Ijò (WI) | 3. Izon |
| | 4. Inland Ijò (Oruma plus Akita plus Biseni) Note: Inland Ijò, especially Oruma, shows resemblances to EI, suggesting they were once adjacent and have been split by the intrusion of Central Delta languages. |

Reconstruction of Proto-Ijoid

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

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

Arrangement of table by columns:

1. English gloss; glosses in double quotes are Nigerian usages.
2. Proto-Ijò reconstruction, segmentally.
3. Tone class of Proto-Ijò reconstruction, because actual phonetic realization is complicated. Basically, tone class 1 is low with a high (or accent in pitch accent lects) realized either finally or on a later morpheme; tone class 2 is high (or unaccented in pitch accent lects); tone class 3 is high-low-high (merging with tone class 1 in pitch accent lects, realized with a downstep in Kalabari-Kirike-Ibani (henceforth KaKiBa); tone class 4 contains all words which do not fit into one of the other tone classes; tone class 5 is low with a final high that does not move like the final high of tone class 1 or moves only one syllable.
4. Defaka: Jenewari's *i* and *u* have been retranscribed as /i u/, as [i] and [u] have been found to be non-contrastive in Defaka (Shyrock et al. 1996/97: 4). Low tone is unmarked, ´ high, ↓ downstep.
5. Source of Defaka form: J = Jenewari 1983, followed by its number in his wordlist, or a reference to the example in which it occurs; or S, referring to the wordlist collected by Peter Ladefoged and Kay Williamson, published in Shyrock, Ladefoged and Williamson 1996/97, with a note where the gloss differs from that in column 1.
6. Proto-Ijoid reconstruction, without tone.
7. Notes on meanings, etc.
8. Brief partial indication of cognates outside Ijoid; only Westermann (1927) and BLR3 (Tervuren) have yet been searched systematically.

- C- = C1 in initial position
-C = C1 after vowel
-C- = C2

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
able to, be	inɛ̃j	2					
above = top	ɔ̀gɔ̀nɔ̀	4			**ɔ̀gɔ̀nɔ̀ ?		?PPAB julu <i>top; sky</i> ?BLR gudu LL 1486 <i>sky; top</i>
absent, be = finish vi	faa	1					
aerial yam	ɔ̀tʉmʉ	2			**ɔ̀tʉmʉ ?	<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i> <i>cf. Blench 1996, fc</i>	Aka C10 tombo Iten tom PIgboid *-dǔ
<i>Aframomum melegueta</i>	sanɿ	1				“alligator pepper”	
agree = believe	bebeɾi (?)	1					
air	ɛwu	2					
all	sɛ	2			* sɛ 2?	= <i>tribe, nation</i> in KI	?BLR ce L 499 <i>all</i>
“alligator pepper”	sanɿ	1				<i>Aframomum melegueta</i>	
“alligator”	isibiri	2				<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i> = crocodile, Dwarf	
angle (for fish)	ɗaa/ɗai	2					
animal <i>cf.</i> meat	nɔ̀mɔ̀	2	ami, onuma	J 137 <i>animal</i>	**ɔ̀nɔ̀mɔ̀		PWS -niàm-, -nàm- <i>Tier, Fleisch</i> BLR nama LL 2241 <i>animal; meat</i>
another	jinɿ	2					
answer = reply v.	pakarai (?)	3	pakara	J 313	**pakarai ?		
ant	isɔ̀dɔ̀u (?)	2			**isɔ̀dɔ̀u (?)		?BLR cadaku HLL 409 <i>driver or army ant</i>
“antelope” = sitatunga	utubara (?)	4				<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> (male)	
arm = hand	bara	3	káa	J 18	**káa		PWS -ka <i>Hand</i> Igbo áká BLR kaca LL 1647 <i>palm, hand, foot, footprint</i>
armpit	ɔ̀tonɔ̀li (ɓiyo/ɓileɓu)	2 (3/2)				Ijò: <i>armpit (inside)</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
ascend = climb	iwou	3	tandi ángí	J 281 S			
ashes	fɛ̃y	3	lári wāã	J 66			
ask	ɓii	1	bie	S	**ɓie	(general)	PWS bí- (bítíà) <i>fragen</i>
ask (question)	EI gbelɜ 3 (question)	1	gbilia	J 312	**gbeliz ?	(question)	?BLR badi H_ 8891 <i>ask</i>
ask (request)	ɓii	1	mundu	J 314		(request)	
axe	akpa	4	ngi ĩngi	J S			
axe	kɔ̃bu	1	ngi ĩngi	J S			
back	ɔbu	1	obo okpo	S J 17	**ɔbu		
back of	tɔgu	1					
back of head	(tɪ́ɓi) tɔgu	(2) 1					
bad, become	sei	1	sei	J 256	**sei		
bag	akpa	1			**akpa		PWS -kua, -kual- Tasche, Köcher BC: Igbo àkpà ?BLR pago LL 9340 <i>bladder, bag</i>
bale out	owɛj	2					
bamboo”	ɓyɓɔ ?	1				<i>midrib of palm frond</i>	
bargain, “price”	tuɓo	2					
bark	tɛɪ ɔpara(y) ?	2 2				<i>tree-covering</i>	
barracuda	dɔ̃rɔɔ	2				<i>Sphyraena barracuda</i>	
basket	kana	1	lúá	J 81		round, handles	
basketwork fishing trap	ekere	1					
bat, fruit-	peekɔ	1	peku	J 173, S	**peekɔ ?	Contrast <i>listen</i>	
bathe	(ɓɛ̀di) biri	(1) 2	soro	J 354 <i>wash</i> (body)		<i>Cf. wash.</i>	
bead	ɪla	2			**ɪla	Derived from <i>intestines</i> [via	PPAB -l̩a <i>abdomen</i> BLR da L 773 <i>abdomen, intestines</i> ;

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
						<i>necklace]</i>	<i>pregnancy; inside</i>
bear (child)	jii	1	ezé	J 270	**eji ?	j = z cf. go down	Cf. Bisa (Naden) yi ?BLR jibud H 3392 <i>bear (child)</i>
beard	ipɔri	2	eferu	J 11	**ipɔri ??	p = f??	
beat (drum)	fari	2	onuna onuma	J 359 S			
beat, flog = hit	fɜmu	1	pini	J 358	**fɜmu		PPAB -pau shout; quarrel BLR pam H 2382 <i>hit</i>
bedroom, inner room	ojuguru	1					
bee	akama	4	ḡémí	J 167 cf. honey			
beg, pray	teke	3					
begin	koro	2					
believe = agree	ḡeḡeri (?)	1					
bell	igbema	2					
belly	(ḡiri) Izon	2			**ḡiri		NS RMB AU Mundang ḡér
belly = stomach	furou	3	ito	J 15, S	**furou		PWS -pu- Bauch, Magen Mande: Bam, Dju furú BLR puḡu 3958 <i>stomach, belly</i>
beside = side	aga	2					
big	opu	1	ibo	J 243, S	**Vpu	-p = -b cf. bow	
big = fat, become	ḡeḡa	1				cf. white	
bile = gall	ilakɔɔ (?) akryɔu (?)	4				Ijo: metathesis?	
bind = tie (bundle)	fiḡa	3	kuma	J 273 tie	**fiḡa		BLR pind H 2578 <i>tie knot</i>
bird	ofonj	2	yei yee	J 170 S	**yei/yee		?BLR pundi LL 9769 <i>bird; senegali</i> With DF cf Yoruba, but Fyem yèré/yéré is loan from Chadic (Nettle p.33)

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
bite	owɔ̄j	2	agba	J 263, S			
bitter, become	akɔ̄ɔ	3					Ohiri-Aniche reconstructs PIYE kū <i>taste bitter</i> . Cf. Mande forms (Mukarovsky 1987:97)
black, become	kurukuru	2	ḡire	J 240	**ḡire	DF ḡire old root, kúrúkúró Ijo innovation	PWS -bì- <i>schwarz</i>
blend = mix vt	kobu	2			**kobu ?		?BLR kib L <i>mix clay</i>
blend = mix vi	kobu-i	5			**kobu-i ?		?BLR kib L <i>mix clay</i>
blind	ḡaga	2					
blood	asɪ̄	1	asi	J 26	**asɪ̄	some euphemisms	BLR cii LH 6453 <i>blood</i>
blow (nose)	ɔ̄fɪ̄	2			**ɔ̄fɪ̄ ?	=sweep	PPAB p̄mbɪ BLR pemb H 2440 ?BLR pion 6445 <i>blow the nose</i>
blow (with mouth)	ofuro	3/2	oforo	J 381	**oforo ?	Doubtful because of f = f	PWS pú- <i>blasen, wehen</i> PPAB -pulu BLR pud H 2672 <i>blow (with mouth)</i>
board (boat)	ḡikɔ̄lu (?)	3					
boat = canoe	aru	2	ádu	J 106	**ádu		Gur: Kusaal ?aarɔ̄ŋ , Dagbani ḡarɔ̄ŋ , Mampruli arɪ̄ŋɔ̄ (Naden 1989:152) BLR jato HL 3252 <i>canoe</i>
body	ḡu	2	óḡí	J 24			
body	oju	3	óḡí	J 24			
boil (of water)	ḡari	2					
bone	ɔ̄gbəu	2	míbuá	J 24	**ɔ̄gbəu/ɔ̄gbuz	gb = b ?other examples?	NS: PN *kāw , Lokai kwa , Katcha kùbà , ... PWS -kú-, -kúp-, -kúá <i>Knocken</i> BLR kupa HL 2132 <i>bone</i>
bottle	ololo	2					
bottom	tuku	2					
bow (shooting)	(Izɔ̄n opomɔ̄, apobu, etc.)	2	obum	J 77	**opomɔ̄ ?	Izɔ̄n forms perhaps indicate a PIjd root.	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
						-p = -b <i>cf. big</i>	
bows (of boat)	ukulou	4					
box vt	gboli	2					
branch	ikpagi	1					
branch	tɛ̃ɪ bara	2 3				Ijo = <i>tree-arm</i>	common in Nilo-Saharan (RMB)
break (pot, calabash) = kill	ɓaa	2	ɓaa	J 360	**ɓaa		
break (stick)	yayu-ma (?)	3	ayu-ma	J 361	**yayu-ma	0 = y	
breakable plate	ɛfere	2	alilá	S			culture word? <i>cf. Nupe fèrè</i> ‘cover for pots’
breast	ɟɔy	2	ónúó	J 13	**ɟɔy ?	<i>cf. suck</i> d>Df n /V--V ?	widespread
breast milk	ɟɔy bɛdi	2 1				Ijo: <i>breast water</i>	
breathe	iyɔ/ɟba sara	2/1+?				Ijo: <i>breath +breathe</i>	
bring	aki ɓo	2 2				Ijo: <i>take-come</i>	
bring up = look after (child)	gbali	1					
bring up = look after (child)	kokou	3					
broom	ɪla	2					
brother	ɓɪna owei/ɓo	1 2/-	món↓gí/ agbara ɓáí	J 190/1 <i>elder/ younger male</i>		Ijo: <i>sibling man/person</i>	
bundle	poku	2/1			**poku ?		?BLR pudukutu LLLL 3964
burn (as fire) vi	kɔri/kuarɪ	1					
burn (as house) vi	ɪjɔkɪ	3			**ɪjɔkɪ		BLR jokɪ L 3532 <i>roast; burn</i> BLR jonki L 3578 <i>roast; burn; tr.</i>
bury	ɖipi	1	libi	J 367	**ɖipi	-p- = -b-	PWS li <i>begraben</i> PPAB -di BLR dink L <i>bury; (plant)</i>
bush = forest	ɓeu	1	ónúmá	J 103, S	**ɓou ?	In EI, <i>mangrove forest</i> as opposed to <i>dry land forest</i>	?PWS -pú- <i>Busch, Feld</i>
bush-pig = Red	ɔbi	?	ebe	S <i>pig</i>	**ɔbi	<i>Potamochoerus</i>	AU Mundang bili <i>porc</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
River Hog						<i>porcus</i>	
buy	fɛɛ/fɛɪ	2	sonɔ				
calabash cup	paga	1					
call vt	tɛɪ	1	ɓɪɔ	J 309			?BLR ta H 2710 <i>call; name</i>
canoe = boat	aru	2	ádu	J 106	**ádu		Gur: Kusaal ?aarun , Dagbani narɔŋ , Mampruli arɪŋgu (Naden 1989:152) BLR jato HL 3252 <i>canoe</i>
cap = hat	tou	2	okpobiri	J 88			
carry (child at side)	dɛkɪ	3					Mundang dɛŋgɛl ‘carry on head’
carry (load)	pera	3	éɓké	J 324		<i>cf. big, white</i>	?BLR peek L_ 7924 <i>carry (on back)</i>
carve	kara	2	ebe eɓe	J 370 S			BLR kad H 1659 <i>tear; cut</i>
case = dispute	ɓere	2					
catch = hold	kɔɪ	1	ari	J 372	**kɔɪ ?	DF: k- lost? <i>cf. heavy</i>	?BLR kod H 6999 <i>take; touch</i>
causative suffix	-ma	toneless	-ma	J various	**ma ?	DF: meaning? vt + vi	Mande?
<i>Centropus senegalensis</i> = coucal, Senegal	otiti	2					
chair, seat	ɪkasɪ	4?			**ɪkasɪ ?		?BLR kuaca 4915 <i>chair</i>
change	idoi/idoj ?	1					
charcoal	agɪ ?	2	áí	J 63	**agɪ	<i>cf. egg for sound correspondences</i>	
charm, book = “medicine”	dɪri	2					
cheek	agbaa	1			**agbaa	<i>cf. jaw</i>	BLR bang a HH 108 <i>jaw</i>
chest, width (of chest)	kubu	3			**kubu		BLR kuba HL 2106 <i>chest</i>
chew	tokori	1			**tokori ?		??PWS -tá (+ Nasal) <i>kauen</i> ?BLR takun H 2742 <i>chew</i>
chewing stick	dɔkɔɔ ?	2					
child	tɔɔku	1	awo	J 186, S		<i>cf. children</i>	Defaka <i>cf. Plateau e.g. Ikulu</i> ɛ-wen

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
				<i>young person</i>			and others (RMB)
children	ɔ̀gɔu ?	1	ewere míní ewere	J 187 S			
choose	sele	1			**sele		BLR cad L 401 <i>choose</i>
clean	fia-fia	2					
clean, become	paka	2					
climb	tàdɪ (EI)	1	tandi ángí	J 281 S	**tadɪ ?		
climb = ascend	iwou	3	tandi ángí	J 281 S			
climbing rope	ɪgàà	2					culture word? seems familiar (RMB)
close vt =cover vt	gbaj	3	kpana	J 377	**kpanɪ/gbanɪ	-n->0/Ṽ—Ṽ	?BLR pamik H_ 8210 <i>close tightly</i>
cloth	birɛ	1	ókúrí	J 86			
cloth, raffia	okuru (KOIN)	2	ókúrí	J 86	**okuru ?	<i>raffia cloth</i>	?BLR kuto HL 2077 <i>garment</i>
cloud						not reconstructable	
club = society	ogbo	1					
cold	oboku (KOIN) dɔ̀ɔ-dɔ̀ɔ (Izɔ̀n) ɪgbe (II)	3 2 2					
collect, gather, pick up (small objects)	tàà	2	ngbé	<i>S pick</i>			
comb vt	jala/sala ?	3/1?			**sala ?	Irregular correspondences for *j	?BLR can L V 441 <i>comb</i>
come	bo	2	soo	J 278	**bo		PWS bía, bá <i>kommen</i>
compound = quarter (of town)	pele	2	ókúná	J 95 <i>compound, S</i>			
conceive	ufurɜ	3					
congeal	ɪde	2					
conquer	dɛ̀gi-mà	1				<i>surpass-causative</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
contribute	otuwo/otuɓo	2					
cook vt	tuwɔ	1	tua	J 338 <i>cook, fry</i>	**tuwa	-ɔ =-a <i>cf. enter</i>	TR: Adele tɔ̄ (Heine 1968:97)
cooking pot	ɓele	2	íjǎ ídZǎ	J 68 S	**ɓele		Mande
corpse	d̥ɔwɛɪ	2	eze nólǎmí	J 206		Df <i>dead person</i>	
cotton tree, kapok	asíkaka ?	4					
coucal, Senegal	otiti	2				<i>Centropus senegalensis</i>	
cough	ɔlɔyɔ ?	2	óló	source??	**ɔlɔ ?		
count	kɪɛ	1					Nilo-Saharan: Kunama kala , Bari ken , P-Daju * ɲgan- , ... NC: Akan kàŋ , PTR -kálà , PJ -kwèŋ , ...
covenant	ɔvɔɔ	4?				<i>cf. Igbo òfó</i>	
cover vt =close vt	gbaj	3	kpana	J 375 <i>cover (a pot)</i>	**kpana/gbana	-n->0/V--V	?BLR pamɪ H_ 8210 <i>close tightly</i>
cow	ɔvj	2	ánám ¹ bá	J 141 (<i>zebu</i>)	** anam ¹ ba ?	Ijo: probably original reference to muturu; <i>cf. Igbo</i> id éfí	PWS -na- , -nak- <i>Rind</i>
co-wife	fara	3?			**fara ?		?BLR padɪ HL 2358 <i>polygamy</i>
crack vt	ɓakɪ ?	2					
crawl	ikuri	2			**ikuri ?		?BLR kududuk L 4665 <i>stretch oneself; crawl along</i>
create = mould	temɛ	2	búrá	J 369	**temɛ		?BLR dem L 7451 <i>create, make sp.</i>
crocodile, Dwarf = “alligator”	isibiri	2				<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	
crocodile, Nile	sɔki/sɔku	1	sako	J 155	**sɔku	<i>Crocodylus niloticus</i>	Mundang sii 63
cross vt	ɓɛɪ	2					
cross vt = step across	asaba	2					
cry vi	yowu	2	lúa	J 301 <i>weep</i>			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
				(<i>cry</i>)			
cure = save	jùwò	3				<i>cure, save</i>	
curse vt	weri/wori	1	kari	J 307, S			
curse, invoke a conditional curse on	kari	1	kari	S <i>curse</i>	**kari ?	<i>“swear juju”</i>	
cut	pɛlɛ	2	kéé	S	**pɛlɛ **kee ?		cf. Ayere pě and related other words (RMB) ?BLR kek H 1762
dance v & n	seki	2	séséki	J 303	**seki		P-Central Gur *sa and elsewhere
daughter	ḅau	1	éséré ḅó↓ní	J 189			
day	erɛj	2	ofifio baa	J 119 S			
deaf	inɛki	3					
death <i>cf.</i> die	fɪɪ	1	idZe	S	**fɪɪ		PWS pi sterben , Fyem hʷi
debt	saa/sai	2					??BLR cango LL 8763 <i>fault; debt</i>
defecate = excrete	ḅɪɛ	2	ngo	J 269	**ḅɪɛ		PWS (m)-bi, (m)-bin- <i>Kot</i> BLR bii HL N 6425 <i>excreta</i>
definite article, feminine singular	mɔ	enclitic					
definite article, masculine singular	bei	enclitic					
definite article, neuter singular	mɔ	enclitic					
definite article, plural	mɔ	enclitic					
deity = fetish	eru	2	óu	J 205	**eru		
descend = go down	ijeri	3	izé	J 282	**ijeri	DF: -r->0 -j = -z <i>cf. give birth</i>	?BLR git L <i>go down; come down</i>
die <i>cf.</i> death	fɪɪ	1	eze	J 271	**fɪɪ		PWS pi sterben , Fyem hʷi

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
different	kiri	4					
dig	soku	2	soki	J 365	**soki		
digit (finger/toe)	ɪtɔ̃gbalɪ ?	2					
dirty, be	ɪlɔ̃lɪ	3					
dispute = case	ɓere	2					
dive = sink vi	ɓile	1	sij	S			
divide	ɗiyɔ	1	ɓara	J 332			
do	EI: iye	2	yáa	J 371	**iyɔ	EI: often imperative <i>let it be done!</i>	
do = make	mɪyɛ	1	yáa	J 371	**mɪyɛ		<i>cf. P-Igboid -me do, make</i>
doctor (traditional)	ɓiri-ɓo	2 enc.	ɓó↓tó-tí	J 201	**ɓiri-	<i>divine-er</i>	
dog	obiri	1	ebere	J 143	**obiri		?BLR budu HH 309 <i>jackal</i>
door	ɓopoko ?	2	ó↓bú	J 91, S	**ɓopoko ?	Unclear if DF, Ijò are related.	?BLR bubud L 5229 <i>open</i>
drag	fɔ̃gɔ/ fɔ̃gi/ fɔ̃no	3					
draw (water)	ɗuu	3			**ɗuu ?		Cf. P-Gbe ɗy , P-Gbaya-Manza-Ngbaka ɗu , Fali ɗuk ?BLR deg H 8049 <i>collect liquid; draw water</i>
dream vi	ɗabar	2	ibi esé	J 276 <i>sleep see</i>	**ɗabar ?		Mundang l̄wàmĩ 52, LCross ??BLR doot H 1145 <i>dream</i>
dress (up)	ɓiri	5					
drift = flow	tɛɪ	3					
drink	ɓou ?	2	míbú	J 262	**m b u _b o u	Appear connected, but reconstruction?	??BLR mu H 2225 <i>drink</i>
dry	sáɓɪla (EI, II)	2	kákárí	J 250		Only 2 groups of Ijò	
dry (fish/meat)	jaa	1/4					
dry season	ɓekurar ?	1	úo kia	J 131 <i>sun (season?)</i>			
dry up	iri	3					
duiker, Maxwell's	ɔwɔ	2			**ɔwɔ ?	<i>Cephalophus monticola</i>	??BLR bambi 8336 <i>antelope; Cephalophus sp.</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
ear	beri	1	ḃasi	J 4	**ḃasi		
earthworm = worm	isɔy	1			**isɔy ?		?BLR cango LL 8761 <i>intestinal worm</i>
eat	fii	2	éé	J 261	**fii	Ijo f = Df 0 cf <i>roast, salt</i>	
ebb (as tide)	ɔmɔy	1					
edge	aka	2 ?					
egg	agɔa ?	1	ítéí	J 149	**agɔa ?	<i>Cf. charcoal</i> for sound correspondences	NS: Kanuri ngówúl ... PWS -gì-, -gia- <i>Ei</i> BLR gje LH 1385
eight	nɪɪɪɪ	4	túatúa	J 215	**nɪɪɪɪ ?	Ijo: 4 4, DF: 5 5?	PWS -ní-, -nía <i>acht</i> BLR nainai L L 6434 <i>eight</i>
elephant	ḃila	1	bila	J 156	**ḃila		Mundang bàli , Mande: Ngain (Mande) biè ; Deg (Gur) bàlà
end <i>n.</i>	kuney ?	2				*kuney-ɔ <i>deverbal sfx?</i>	
end vt	kuney-ma	?				-ma <i>causative</i>	
endure	inej-ma ?	5?					
enter	sowa	2	sua	J 280	**sowa	-owa = -ua <i>cf. cook</i>	
entertain	kamaɔ ?	1				EI: -m->0/√--√ after voiceless stop??	
escape	tei	2			**tei ?		
evening	ḃopori	1					
excrement = faeces	afɪya	1	ḃáta	J 29, S			
excrete = defecate	ḃɪɛ	2	ngo	J 269	**ḃɪɛ		PWS (m)-bi, (m)-bin- <i>Kot</i> BLR bii HL 6425 <i>excreta</i>
extinguish vt	oboɔj-ma	1	ḃɔɔ-ma	J 346	**oboɔj-ma ?	-ma <i>causative</i>	
extinguished, become	oboɔj-i	5				-i <i>process</i>	
eye	torɪ	3	óyɔ	J 3, S			
faeces = excrement	afɪya	1	ḃáta	J 29, S			
faint vi	fomy	2			**fomy		PPAB -puyy <i>breathe; rest</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
							BLR puum H 2647 <i>breathe; rest</i>
fall	ḡikɪ/ḡeke	2	ḡéké	J 283, S	**ḡikɪ/ḡeke		
fall = go down	koro	2					
far, be	ala	3			**ala ?		?BLR da L N 779 <i>olden times</i>
farm <i>n.</i>	dūwe	1	ído ido	J 102 S	**íduwe ?	d' = d?	
fat = big, become	dɛba	1				<i>cf. white for sound correspondences</i>	
fat <i>n.</i>	ɪḡɛkɛɪ	2	ɔsɔ	J 34		EI: V̥ > V/ [-nas]—[-nas]	
father	ḡaa	1	ḡaá	J 184	**ḡaa	Ijò: daa-ḡɔ > ḡaú ? d' = d ?	?PWS -tá <i>Vater</i>
father	ḡaa	1	izulo idZule	J 184 S			
father/son-in-law	fuz	3	wɔ ḡáí	J 195 <i>in-law</i>			
fear v	ḡala faa	2 1	mḡbugbo	J 305		EI: V̥ > V/[-nas]—[-nas]	
feather	ɪpɪkɔy	2	píóm	J 151	**ɪ-pɪkɔ-my	Ijò: -m ₃ ->0/V̥--V̥ in all lects after voiceless stop?? EI: V̥ > V/[-nas]—[-nas]	PWS -pí-, -pú- <i>Feder</i> BLR piko LL 2515 <i>wing</i>
female	iyɔɔ	2	ésé↓ré tí	J 179 <i>woman</i>		II: VrVrV Ijò: < *yere <i>woman</i> + *arau <i>feminine suffix</i> ?	
fetish = deity	eru	2	óu	J 205	**eru		
fifteen	jiyei	1	úwei túno	J 222 10+5	**jiyei		UCross *dyidV (Sterk), Nupe gw-egi
fight vt and <i>n.</i>	yowu	1					
fill	ḡej-mḡ	2 -				causative of <i>full, become</i>	
finger	ḡara ɪtɔḡbalɪ ?	3 2					
finish vi = be	faa	1					

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
absent							
fire	finɪ	1	ayom	J 64	**finɪ ?		??BLR pɪda H_H 5905 <i>bush fire, burnt grass, burnt field</i>
firewood	finɪ	1	áyó	J 62			
first	tarɪ	2					
fish	ɟɟi	1	tina	J 35	**ɟ-tɪnV	Ijo: -n->0/V--V	?BLR tur HH 3098 <i>fish</i>
five	sɔŋɔɔ	2	túúno túúnɔ	J 212 S	**tɔŋɔɔ		NS: Shabo tuul , Ik tud-on , P-Surmic *tur , Masalit tóor , ... PWS -nú- fūnf [but longer: Mandino lòólú , Tarok túkún , etc.] BLR caanũ HLL 448 <i>five</i>
fix, pin	pike	3			**pike		BLR pigɪk H 6190 <i>fix</i>
flay = skin vt	ɔŋɪ	1	íkpa	J 337		DF <i>skin n. ?</i>	
flesh	ɟɟeli ?	1			**ɟɟeli ?		AU: Geme mbúúr , Nzakara mǔlú (Moñino 1988:82) ?BLR bɪdɪ LL 188 <i>body</i>
float	ofɪweɪ	2					
flow (as river) = drift	tɛɪ	3					
flow (as tide)	isori	2	búú	<i>S flowing tide</i>			
fly vi	ifoɟ	5?	yéema	J 287	**ifoɟ		PWS pi, pil- (and worldwide?) ?BLR pumbok L_() 3819 <i>fly, fly away</i>
fog	oɓutou	1					
follow	ɟukɔ	1, 3?	pirima	J 290			
food	fɪ-ye, fɪ-yai <i>eat-thing/things</i>	2	é-yáa	J 30 <i>eat-thing</i>	**fɪ-iyɔ		
foot = leg	ɓɪwɔ	2	pára	J 23 <i>leg, S</i>	**para		?BLR padi LH 2361 <i>foot</i>
forehead	okoti/okoto	1					
forget	bara	2?	ɓatama	J 298	**ɓata-	-t- > -r- in Ijo	
four	inoɟ	2	néɟ	J 211	**inoɟ		NS: Fur ɔŋal , PN *(ɔ)ŋwan PWS -na-, -nan- <i>vier</i> [but longer: Manding *nagani]

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
							PPAB -nà BLR nai LL 3683 <i>four</i>
four hundred	ɔɖɛ	2	óbóó	J 239			
friend	ikiɜ-	1	ókó báí	J 197	**ikiɜ- ?? vowels?	<i>friendship + person = friend</i>	
frog	akpalai ?	4	akalámí	J 164 <i>toad</i> (<i>'frog'</i>)	**akpalai ? **akalámí ?	-kp does not correspond to -k	PWS -kual- Frosch ?BLR kede HH 1759 <i>kind of frog</i>
front	ɓɛɛu	2			**ɓɛɛu		BLR bede LL 121 <i>front; before</i>
fruit	(tɛɪ) bɛj-ye/yai	2 2 2				<i>(tree) bear thing/-s</i>	
fry	gbàgari/kpàgari ?	2	tua	J 338 <i>cook, fry</i>		Df: cf. <i>cook</i>	?BLR kadang H 1665 <i>fry, roast</i>
full, become	ɓɛj	2	ɓáya	J 259 <i>full</i>	**ɓɜyi ??		?PWS pa(-i) <i>voll sein</i> PPAB -mɔɔ <i>become full</i> BLR mem H 2165 <i>be filled</i>
gall = bile	ɪlakɔɔ (?) akryɔu (?)	4				Ijò: metathesis?	
gather vt	EI: *koɓiri	3	kobiri	J 321	**koɓiri ?		
gills	ɪsagolo	1					
give	pɪɪ	1	ama	J 326			
give (formally)	sɛɪ	1					
go	mɔ	2	sia	J 277	**mɔ		Kru mu
go down = fall	koro	2					
go up	igou	3					
go/come out	paka	2			**paka ?		?PWS pu- <i>sich öffnen, erscheinen</i> BLR pakud H 2376 <i>take out (from container); empty</i>
goat	obori	2	óbórí	J 138	**obori ?		BLR budi HL 303 <i>goat</i>
God, Creatrix	tɛmɛ-arau	2	tabíɔ	J 207		Ijò: <i>create-female</i>	
good, become	eɓi	1	íyókó	J 255	**eɓi		?BLR boi 7060 <i>good</i>
grass	otɔkɜ ?	2	míbóbárí	J 55	**otɔkɜ ?	Ijò: t/s	?BLR cua HH 684 <i>grass</i>
grave n.	idupu	2				Ijò: <i>dipi-yɔ bury-place</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
grey hair	ib̩ɥlu	4			**ib̩ɥlu ?		?RWS -gù, -gùà- <i>graues Haar</i> [but all exx show w-, possibly < 6] BLR budi LL 304 <i>hair on head; grey hair</i> BLR bur HL 364 <i>white hair</i>
grind	saa	2	saa	J 341	**saa	DF indicates oldest root, <i>cf. new</i>	?BLR ceag L 7953 <i>grind</i>
ground	kiri	3	ɥɥ	J 108	**kiri ?	Could assume DF loss of k- (<i>cf. heavy</i>), loss of -r- (<i>cf. go down</i>), but root is not nasal; n.c.	?PPAB -ci ?BLR ci H 562 <i>ground; country; underneath</i>
guest, stranger	igonj	1	ikéní- ⁴ tí	J 96	**ikenj/igonj ?	DF -k = Ijò -g no precedent	Nupe ega BLR geni LL 1359 <i>stranger; visitor</i>
hair (of head)	id̩im̩ɥɥ	2	jímé	J 2	**id̩im̩ɥɥ ?	d̩ = d > j	
half	ikiɓɓ	2					
hand = arm	bara	3	káa	J 18	**káa		PWS -ka <i>Hand</i> Igbo áká BLR kaca LL 1647 <i>palm, hand, foot, footprint</i>
hard = strong	kuro	1	míbé	J 260	**kuro ?		BLR kut H 5215 <i>be dry; hard</i> BLR kod H 1874 <i>be strong; be hard; be difficult</i>
harmattan	ikirika/o- ?	4					
hat = cap	tɔɥ	2	okpobiri	J 88			
hatch vt	kɛkɛ/kɛge	3					<i>cf. Plateau e.g. Ningye kpe ...</i>
have = possess	ỹana	1					
hawk	odoko	1	ákpánákpá ákpánákpá	J 172 S			
head	tíɓi	2	tóóó	J 1 < téóé < tíɓí	**tíɓi		PWS -ti <i>Kopf</i> -ɓ- probably original, <i>cf. Bantu</i> with 2 vowels, and -i/-u- variation

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
							throughout. BLR tue HL 3023 <i>head</i>
hear	n̄āa	1	n̄āa	J 292	**n̄āa ?		PWS nú- <i>hören</i>
heart	*(kuku) bio mgbòlu (EI) *bio-wei (NA) *ɔdudu (Izɔn)	2 3 2 3 enc. 4	kúó	J 14		EI: <i>chest-inside-seed</i> II: <i>inside-one</i>	
heavy, become	iku	3	ii iima	J 258 S	**iku ?	DF: k > 0 /V—V ? other clear examples?	
help v	bara tua	3 2				Ijo: <i>hand put</i>	
hide vi	sɔgɔɪ-ɪ	5			**sɔgɔɪ-ɪ		?BLR cork L 7216 <i>hide, tr.; cover</i>
hide vt	sɔgɔɪ	2			**sɔgɔɪ		?BLR cork L 7216 <i>hide, tr.; cover</i>
hill = mountain	tɔ̄du/tɔ̄du	2			**tɔ̄du/tɔ̄du	Borrowed into Hausa as tu du (Skinner 1996)	NS: Songhay tondi , Bagirmi tode , toto , Teda tu PWN - TÚNDA <i>hill, mountain</i> BLR tunda LL 3069 <i>heap; hump; hill</i>
hippopotamus	otoɔ̄ɔ̄j ?	1					
hit, flog = beat	fɛ̄mɔ̄	1	pini	J 358	**fɛ̄mɔ̄		PPAB - paɔ̄ <i>shout; quarrel</i> BLR pam H 2382 <i>hit</i>
hold, catch	kɔ̄ɪ	1	ari	J 372			?BLR kod H 6999 <i>take; touch</i>
hole	opokolo	2			**opokolo ?	KaKiBa: <i>deep</i>	Nilo-Saharan (RMB) ??BLR padu LH 8917 <i>artificial hole in ground</i>
honey	ɛ̄mɔ̄	1	ɛ̄ém	J 167 <i>bee</i>	**ɛ̄mɔ̄		PWS muì <i>Biene</i> Limba bume , Bayun biom , Duala bombó
horn	*ɪfalɪ (KOIN) *ɪkpalu (NA) *ɔkuraj (WI)	3/2 2 2	ífa ^l lí	J 152		DF loan from KOIN	
hot, become	ɔ̄fɪɪ	3	oro	J 251 (<i>as fire</i>), S	**ɔ̄fɪɪ ??	Assuming loss of f- in DF.	BLR pi H 2491 <i>be hot</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
house	wari	3	jíka	J 93			
house-fly	ɔmɔmɔ / ɔmɔmɔ	4	ɔmɔmɔ	J 166	**ɔmɔmɔ / ɔmɔmɔ ?		
how many?	ɟɛ a ?	5					
how?	te ɓara	1 3				<i>what way?</i>	
hump	ɟɓu	1			**ɟɓu ?		?BLR bumbu 3800 <i>hump; cavity in chest of hunchback</i>
hunger	ɔmɔy/ɔ-/ɪ- ?	1/4/5?					
husband	jei	1	jei	J 178	**jei		
I	a i/ɛ	1	i	J p. 30	**a ? **i/ɛ ?		<i>cf. Nilo-Saharan</i>
imitate	ɗaa	2/3?					
inheritance	ɗuu	2					
inside	EI: *ɓiyo WI: *ɓileɓu	3 2				These are presumably related, but reconstruction unclear.	
inside of elbow	ɓara yari-mɔ	3 ?					
intestines	ila EI	2			**ila	Original meaning only in EI, but derived <i>necklace, bead</i> is general.	BLR da L 773 <i>abdomen, intestines; pregnancy; inside</i>
<i>Irvingia gabonensis</i> = mango, wild	ogboi	1					
island	ɔtuwɔ	2					
jaw	agbaa	1	ɛbɛku	J 9	**agbaa		BLR banga HH 108 <i>jaw</i>
jelly-fish	alapa	4?					
jump	ɗosi	1	yéi	J 286			DF root widespread?
keep = store	kokou	2					
keep wake	ɗóí kori	2 2				<i>night-watch</i>	
keep watch	kori	2					

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
kill = break (pot, calabash)	ḡaa	2	ḡaa	J 360	**ḡaa		
king	ama yḡaḡ ḡo/owe	2 1 -/2	ámá ete ḡái	J 198		<i>town-own-er/man</i>	
kite (bird)	ekulej ?	4			**ekulej ?	<i>Milvus migrans</i>	?PPAB koli kind of hawk ?BLR kodi HL 1883 <i>bird of prey spp.</i> , <i>hawk spp.</i>
knee	*ḡiwo ikpuku (EI) *jḡbele (Izḡ)	2 2				EI: <i>leg joint</i>	
kneel	ikoi	5	páḡráanga	J 274		DF: <i>cf. leg?</i>	
know	nemj	2	jíríma	J 295	**nemj ?		?NS: Gaam jel , Ma'di ni , etc. PWS ní- , -níá (+Nasal) <i>wissen</i>
know how to	ḡi	2					
kola(nut)	idḡpiyo ?	2	kúmbé	J 50			
lake (EI), swamp (WI)	ḡapa	2			**ḡapa		NS: Ik tabarr , Kunama dàà'ḡà , Lopit táḡár , Mòdò tà'ḡúlú , etc. NC: Heiban libuḡ , Nupe lebú BLR diba LL 1025 <i>pool, pond; deep water; well</i>
lame, become	ikulz ?	2					
laugh vi	ḡeri	1	kété	J 300			
law	oloko	2			**oloko		?BLR dago LL 815 <i>law; affair</i>
lay (eggs)	koro-ma	2 /3?				<i>causative of fall</i>	
leaf	tḡi beri	2 1	jírí ápá	J 57		<i>Ijo = tree-ear</i>	common compound in Nilo-Saharan (RMB)
leak vi	ifiri	1					
learn	ḡaḡar	5	ḡíḡéj	J 299			
left (hand)	kḡḡo	2	kóndó ḡa	J 254			
left, be = remain	kḡḡ	1					
leg = foot	ḡiwo	2	pára	J 23 <i>leg, S</i>			
lick	taḡa	3	ḡúḡ	J 265			

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
lie down <i>vi</i>	*bòlòlò (KKB) *koro syy (NA) *koro buny (Izòṅ)	5 2 2 2 3	ibi	J 275 = <i>sleep</i>		<i>fall stretch</i> <i>fall sleep</i>	
light <i>vt</i>	tɔdɪ/tɔdɪ	1				(as light a lamp)	
listen	poki	3	naagara	J 293	**poki ?		?BLR puḍík H 2626 <i>hear; listen in silence</i>
little	kala	3	agbara	J 244			
live = stay	timj	3/2?	mbaa	J 384 <i>dwel</i>			
liver	paḅala	1					
load (canoe)	sar	1					
lock <i>n.</i>	igodo	1					
long, tall, become	dagalɪ	3	nán ¹ gá	J 245	**dagalɪ		?BLR dai LL A <i>long</i>
look after = bring up (child)	gbalɪ	1					
look after = bring up (child)	kokou	3					
look at	diki	2			**diki ?		Birom dí <i>voir, regarder</i> ?BLR dmg H 997 <i>search for; desire; watch for</i> ?BLR dmgid H 5672 <i>look for</i>
look for = want	dɔki	1	kara	J 318			
louse	iku ?	2?	mkpi	J 169		DF probably loan from Igbo	
love	tari	1			**tari ?		?BLR tand 8568 <i>love; like; wish</i>
mad, become = madness	ngm̄y	1	álaga	S <i>madness</i>	**alaga		PPAB -dali <i>madness</i> BLR daduk L V 794 <i>be mad; be drunken</i>
madness = mad, become	ngm̄y	1	álaga	S <i>madness</i>	**alaga		PPAB -dali <i>madness</i> BLR daduk L V 794 <i>be mad; be drunken</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
make = do	m̩yɛ	1	yáa	J 371			Ijò: <i>cf.</i> P-Igboid -me do, make
male	oweì	2	óǒáí	J 177	**oǒzi ?	DF 6=Ijò w ?	
man	oweì-ǒǒ oweì k̩m̩r̩	2 enc 2 2	emene báí	J 176		<i>male person</i>	
manatee	imej̩ ?	4			**imej̩ ?	<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>	??BLR banga LL 9135 <i>manatee: Trichechus senegalensis</i>
mango, wild	ogboj̩	1				<i>Irvingia gabonensis</i>	
mangrove = charcoal	agala	2			**agala ?		?NS: Kanuri kólgim̩ , Fer kùl' ... WS -kà-, -kàn-, -kàl- Kohle. BLR kada HL 1662 <i>ember(s); charcoal</i> Partly in LCross as <i>mangrove</i> , but probably as loan from Ijoid. Since charcoal is made from mangrove-wood, one expects that <i>mangrove</i> > <i>charcoal</i> , but if cognate with PWS, other way must be assumed.
many	buì	1					
market	fe-yǒ	2-2	kia	J 101		Ijò: <i>buy-place</i>	
mash = trample	d̩aga	1					
masquerade	owu	2	egbelegbe	S			DF: = an Igbo name for a type of xylophone (RMB)
massage vt	lǒl̩r̩	1					
mat, sleeping	ǒbil̩ǒ ?	2				EI: $\sqrt{ / l -- } > V$	
matchet	ǒgidi	1	óǒǒm̩	J 75			
measure vt	tǒǒ	2					
meat <i>cf.</i> animal	n̩ama	2	ámi	J 33 <i>meat</i>	**nama ?		PWS -n̩àm-, -n̩àm- <i>Tier, Fleisch</i> BLR nama LL 2241 animal; meat
“medicine”	d̩iri	2					
melt vi	san̩j̩-ǒ	5			**san̩j̩-ǒ		?BLR caanUdUd L 9267 <i>melt, tr.</i>
melt vt	san̩j̩	1			**san̩j̩		?BLR caanUdUd L 9267 <i>melt, tr.</i>
<i>Milvus migrans</i>	ekulej̩ ?	4			**ekulej̩ ?	kite (bird)	?PPAB koli <i>kind of hawk</i> ?BLR kodi HL 1883 <i>bird of prey</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
							<i>spp., hawk spp.</i>
mix (dry particles) vi	gɔa-ɪ	5					
mix (dry particles) vt	gɔa	3					
mix = blend vi	kɔbu-ɪ	5			**kɔbu-ɪ ?		?BLR kib L <i>mix clay</i>
mix = blend vt	kɔbu	2			**kɔbu ?		?BLR kib L <i>mix clay</i>
monkey (generic)	ɔbɔkɔ	1	t̩j̩ kamɓáí	J 158 <i>tree ?</i>			old root
monkey, White-throated Guenon	akaa	1			**akaa ?	<i>Cercopithecus nictitans</i>	?BLR kɪma HL 1798 <i>monkey sp.</i> Very widespread and also in Hausa
moon	akalu	1	ɓáá	J 117	**akalu **ɓaa ??		Mande ?PWS -pian- Mond
mosquito	ɛtɛgbolo	2	nóm peyaa	J 168 <i>person-biter?</i>			
mother	yegi	1	iziza(m) naa	J 185 J 185	**naa ?		PWS -nà <i>Mutter</i> PPAB -nɪnj <i>his mother</i> BLR jma LL 3368 <i>mother</i> BLR ntna LL 2277 <i>his mother</i>
mould (food with fingers)	kpoo	3					
mountain = hill	tɔdu/tɔdu	2			**tɔdu/tɔdu ?	Borrowed into Hausa as tuɗu (Skinner 1996)	NS: Songhay tondi , Bagirmi tode , toto , Teda tu PWN -TÚNDA <i>hill, mountain</i> BLR tunda LL 3069 <i>heap; hump; hill</i>
mourn	kururu	5?					
mouth	ɓɪɪ	2	ɓíí	J 6	**ɓɪɪ	DF: -p- > 0	
move against current /tide	tɔɓuru	2					
nail (finger-/toe-)	ɪnɪmeɪ/ɪmɪmeɪ	2	ámémé	J 19 <i>nail (finger-/toe-)</i>	**Vmɪmeɪ	Only KI shows -n; if original, others assimilate.	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
nail = claw	in̩imej/imemej	2	ámémé	J 19	**imemej/a-		
name	irɛ	2	ítá	J 175	**ita	Ijo: -t- > -r- <i>cf. forget</i>	BLR ta H V 2710 <i>call, name</i>
navel	jbu	2	ísóró ósóró	J 16 S			
neck	kɔ̄gɔ̄u	1	omu	J 12	**kɔ̄gɔ̄u		PWS -kùà, -kùàn- BLR kingo HH 1845 <i>neck; nape; voice</i>
needle	ɪlaka	2	ílá↓gá	J 84	**ɪlaka		??PWS -gan- <i>Pfeil</i>
negative	ka	enclitic			**ka		PWS ka <i>nicht</i>
negative imperative	m̄a	2? or enclitic			**m̄a	Only found in KOIN, but reconstructed because of outside cognates.	PWS m̄a <i>nicht</i>
net, cast-	igbo	3? 4?					
new, become	aja	2	áyá	J 248	**aja	NK áyá, KaKiBa íwó	
night	d̄oj	2	ḅíí	J 120	**d̄oj ?		BLR do H 1082 <i>night</i>
Nile monitor	abedi	1			**abedi ?	<i>Varanus niloticus</i>	?BLR budu HH 308 <i>reptile: monitor lizard; lizard</i>
nine	isionj ?	2	túunej	J 216		5+4	
no = negative	ka	enclitic			**ka		PWS ka <i>nicht</i>
nose	n̄inj	3	n̄ini	J 5	**n̄inj		??BLR jindo HL 6276 <i>nose; nostril</i>
obstruct = prevent	kiki	1			**kiki ?		BLR kɪk H 1796 <i>put across; obstruct</i>
ocean	abadɪ	1					
oil-palm	d̄ɛgɔ̄	3	lom t̄ij	J 53			
one	kaŋaŋ ?	5	gbóri	J 208			NS: Ik kɔn, Berta k̄ill̄j, Mangbetu k̄anà, Temein k̄íḍɔŋ, Maiak k̄ɛl, etc. NC: Manding *kengele, Akan è-k̄ɔ, Fyam k̄ɛŋ, PLC c̄èèd, ...

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
open space, playground	tiri	1					
order vt	ḅεε	1					
<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	isiḅiri	2				= “alligator” = crocodile, Dwarf	
paddle (canoe)	jògʊ	1			**jògʊ ?	NA *j > d	BLR dug H 1248 <i>paddle</i>
paddle n.	jògʊ-ye/yε	1-2			**jògʊ- ?	Ijo: <i>paddle-thing</i>	BLR dug H V 1248 <i>paddle</i>
palm kernel	ḅj ?	2					
palm of hand	ḅara kuḅu	3 2				Ijo: <i>hand-width</i>	
palm oil	pulou	1	pira	J 36 <i>oil</i>	**pilzu	p- = p-, -l- = -r-	??BLR pute H_ 5398 <i>herbaceous: castor oil: Euphorbiaceae: Ricinus communis</i>
palm, wine	kòrò	2					
parrot	òkòlòḅɪ	1				òkòlòḅɪ by association with ḅɪḅɪ <i>mouth?</i>	
penis	tògò	3					
pepper	isanḅ	1	agada akada	J 44 S		Original reference probably to <i>Aframomum melegueta</i>	
person	ḅò	enclitic	ḅtí	J 179, 182-3, 200-2	**ḅtí ??		?BLR ntu L 3005 <i>person</i>
person	kimḅ	2	nóm	J 174		DF: old <i>male</i> root?	
piece = fraction	pakarai	2				Ijo: <i>half</i> in some lects	
pierce (ear)	tolu	2			**tolu ?		cf. Geme tol- <i>percer</i> Monino 1988:83 BLR tud H 3037 <i>pierce</i>
pierce = stab	temḅ	2	anga	J 364 <i>pierce</i>	**temḅ ?		NC: Buru etùm <i>spear</i> BLR tum H 3108 <i>stab</i>
place	iyòu ?	2					
plait (hair) <i>cf. weave</i>	kou	2	luo	J 347 (=weave)	**luo ?		PWS lù, là <i>flechten, weben</i> PPAB -lunku <i>plait</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
							BLR duk L 1177 <i>plait</i>
plant	dīpi (=bury)	1	kura	J 366 <i>sow, plant</i>	**dīpi **kura ?		PWS li <i>begraben</i> BLR dirk L <i>bury; (plant)</i> ?BLR kuc H 5280 <i>sow broadcast</i>
plant	gboro	1	kura	J 366 <i>sow, plant</i>	**gboro ?? **kura ?		?BLR kun H 2041 <i>plant; sow</i>
plate, breakable	ɛfere	2	alilá	S			
platform	atáda	1					BLR tada HL 2720 <i>platform; rack; granary</i> BLR tanda HL 2778 <i>bedstead; mat</i>
play	toi	3	tei tee	J 304 S	**toi		?BLR ta H 2708 <i>throw away; throw; lose; put; trap; play game; do</i>
poor, become	ǰguwoǰ ?	2					
possess = have	ǰānā	1					
<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	ǰbɪ	?	ebe	S <i>pig</i>	**ǰbɪ	= <i>bush-pig</i>	AU Mundang bɪlɪ <i>porc</i>
pound vt	temǰ	1	tuka	J 340 <i>pound (in mortar)</i>	**temǰ		?BLR tɪmp 5999 <i>pound</i>
poverty	ǰguwoǰ ?	2					
pray	tɛkɛ	3					
precious, become	iye laa	2 2				<i>thing reach</i>	
present, be	emǰ/omǰ	2					
present, was	timǰ/timeǰ	2					
prevent = obstruct	kiki	1					
profit	sɔɔ-ye	2 2				<i>enter-thing</i>	
proverb	kabɔ/kɜbɔ	1					
pull	dǰnyǰ	2	iyama	J 356 <i>pull</i>	**dǰnyǰ ?		?PPAB -dutu ?BLR dut L 1267 <i>pull; drag</i>
put down	koro-ma	2-enc				<i>koro fall + -ma causative</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
put on (to)	gbana	1/3			**gbana ?		?BLR badik H_ 9018 <i>put something on high place</i>
python	ɔdumu	2					
quarter (of town) = compound	pele	2	ókúná	J 95 <i>compound, S</i>			
rain <i>n.</i>	erej	3	sɔ́j	J 115			
rain <i>n.</i>	osuwo	1	sɔ́j	J 115	**osuwo ?		<i>Cf. Urhobo osio rain</i> ??BLR conc H V 7270 <i>start raining; rain drop by drop</i>
reach	laa	3	iso	J 279			
read	goo	3				Original meaning?	
red	awu-awu (EI, II) woo-woo (NA, Izɔn)	2 2	áwú-↓kó			EI = reduplication of <i>camwood</i>	
Red River Hog	ɔbɪ	?	ebe	<i>S pig</i>	**ɔbɪ	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i> = bush-pig	AU Mundang bɪlɪ <i>porc</i>
remain = be left	koo	1					
remember	ukiyo ?	3?	íkéré ísooma	J 297			
remove = undress	sij	1					
rich, become	perɛ	1			**perɛ ?		BLR pet L 8087 <i>acquire; be rich</i>
riches	ɪgɔ	2					
right(-hand)	ama	1	emene kaba	J 253			
ripe, become	pena	3				=white	BLR pi H 2491 <i>be burnt; be hot; be cooked; be ripe ...</i>
river	tɔru	2	biɔ	J 104, S			
road	ɛteli ? (EI) ɪgɔu (WI)	4 2	ía biɔ	J 100 <i>road =</i> <i>? river</i>	**ɛteli ?		Bubi ètélélé (Janssens doc. 205) ??BLR cinda HL 6258 <i>path; track</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
roast	fɔ̄ɪ/fɔ̄ɪ	1	ɔ̄ɔ	J 329, S	**fɔ̄ɪ		
roof	itu	1					
root	ikem̄j	1	t̄ij ili	J 59 tree root	**ili		PWS li- <i>Wurzel, Ader</i> BLR di L <i>root, fibre</i>
rope	diki	2					old root
rotten, become	ɓuru	1	se yáa	J 378	**ɓuru		PWS buó <i>faulen</i> BLR bod L 253 <i>be rotten</i> BLR bod LH A 6921 <i>rotten</i>
round	*ikele-kele (KKB) *tekereke (Izòṅ)	1 1					?NS: Kanuri korkór , Fur kòrola , Mödü gúrúgúrú , etc. ?NC: Moro gereðeðo , Akan kúrukuruwa , Nupe kuru , ...
rub (on body)	ɔ̄bɪ	1					
run	ɓagɪ	1	ńgie	J 285			
rust	EI: ajari	2	ádZaré	S	**ajari ??	Probably DF loan from EI.	
saliva = spittle	fela	3	kuta	J 27		Ijo: <i>cf. white, etc.</i>	
salt	fɔ̄ɔ̄	2	óó	J 37, S	**fɔ̄ɔ̄	Loss of f-	
sand	iyɔ̄wɔ̄	3	wáa	J 110	**??	Look related, but reconstruction?	
sandbank	ɓomā(ɔ̄)	2					
save = cure	jɔ̄wɔ̄	3				<i>cure, save</i>	
sawfish	oki	1					
say	fiye	2	faa	J 311, S			
see	ɔ̄ri/ari	2	ese	J 291	**ɔ̄si/asi	Ijo: -s > -r DF s = Ijo r	
seed	ɪgbɔ̄li	2			**ɪgbɔ̄li ?		?BLR buto HL 351 <i>seed</i>
seeds of <i>Irvingia gabonensis</i>	ikpukpa ?	4				Irregular vowel correspondences may indicate loaning of name of this	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
						commercially important food	
sell	jɛrɪ	1	lɛlɛ	J 327, S	**lɛlɛ ?	j = 1 unique, so Ijo and DF probably not cognate.	?NS: Nera tol/dol , Kaado déi , etc. ?PWS la (lia, lua) kaufen
send (someone)	firi-ma	1 -	ɔɲɔ-ma	J 310	**firi-ma ?	-ma <i>causative</i>	?BLR puɗumɔɗ L <i>send down</i>
set (trap)	pɪta	1			**pɪta ?		?BLR pɪa LL N 116 <i>trap</i>
seven	sɔɲɔ-ma	2-1	túa-ma	J 214		<i>five-two</i>	
sew	gbɛɪ	2	gbɪɪ	J 351	**gbɛɪ		
shadow = spirit	temɛ	2	éwɛɛ	S <i>spirit</i>	**temɛ ?		?BLR dima HH 3820 <i>spirit</i>
shake vt	jike	3			**jike ?		<i>Cf.</i> PLC ɲèk Ekoid A ɲɪɲí
shark	ɔfirima	2					
sharp	ɔbu/ɪbu	3					
sharpen (knife)	fari	2					
shave	sɛɪ	1					
sheep	ɔɲaɲa	2	ánáná	J 140	**ónáná		<i>cf.</i> Ogonoid/ Ayere
shoe	agbaka	1	agbaká	J 89	**agbaka		
shoot	tɛɪ	1	tɛɪ	J 335	**tɛɪ		words for bow!
shoulder	ɔpáda ?	1	ápá	J 150 <i>wing</i>			widespread
shout	oloku	3					
show	díyɜ ?	1			**díyɜ ?		?BLR deedi L 7907 <i>show</i>
shrimp	opuru/opuro	2					
sibling	ɓɪɲa	1					
side = beside	aga	2			**aga ?		?PWS -ga- Seite, -ka (-kia), -kan Seite, -gà Ort
sing	tou	2	ótúó túó	J 302 S	**tou/tuɔ		?BLR tong 2997 <i>recite; sing?</i> BLR cungo N 5108 <i>song</i>
sink vi = dive	ɓile	1	sɪɪ	S			
sister	ɓɪɲa arau/ɓo	1 -/-	món↓gí/ agbara ála	J 192/3 <i>elder/ younger female</i>		Ijo: <i>sibling female/person</i>	

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
sit	titime pɛkɛrɛɪ (Izòṅ)	1 1	ɥɥ ɓa	J 273 <i>sit down</i>			
sitatunga = “antelope”	utuɓara (?)	4				<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> (male)	
six	*sɔŋɔ-ye? sɔŋɔ-diye?	2 2	maango	J 213		5+?	
skin <i>n.</i>	ɔpaɾaɥ ?	2	íkpa	J 337 <i>skin, flay</i> Probably the noun recorded rather than the verb	**ikpa ?? **ɔpaɾaɥ ?	Ijo: General sense of ‘covering’, hence often compounded with <i>body</i> to distinguish from <i>bark</i> = <i>tree-covering</i>	?PWS -ku, -kua (+Nasal) <i>Haut</i> Nupe epà ?BLR pɔ H 4790 <i>skin, bark, peel</i>
skin vt = flay	ɔŋɥ	1	íkpa	J 337		DF <i>skin n.</i> ?	
skull	tɪɪ okpolokpo	2 2				<i>head-[empty]case</i>	
sky	suo	1					
slash	kɥi	2					
slave	omɔŋi	2				-n- preserved after sonorant	
sleep vi	*ɓɔŋɔ ? (vowels irregular)	3	ibi	J 275, S	**ɓɔŋɔ ?		?BLR bungɪd 4457 <i>be sleepy</i>
slice vt	sɛɛɪ				**sɛɛɪ ?		BLR ceng L 545 <i>cut spp.</i>
smell (usually bad) vi	furu	3	ɔruɔ	J 379	**furuɔ	?f > 0	
smell vt	inɪ	1					widespread
smoke	ogɔi ?	1	ɛweni	J 65	**ogɔni ??	Ijo: g > w, vowels irregular -n- lost after voiced stop?	
snail (large edible)	osi	1	osi	J 165	**osi		
snake (general)			sese yáá	J 160		Ijo: not reconstructable	
sneeze	dɪsaj	5			**dɪsaj ?		?PWS -ti- <i>niesen</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
snore	ɔ̀gɔ̀ɾɪ	1			**ɔ̀gɔ̀ɾɪ ?		BLR gon L 1440 <i>snore; sleep; lie down</i>
soap	ɔ̀sɛ̀ɛ̀	1					
society = club	ogbo	1					also in CR languages ? Yoruba (RMB)
soft = weak	ḅɔ	1			**ḅɔ ?		PWS -bùà- <i>weich, langsam, sanft</i> ?BLR bob L 6867 <i>be soft; be wet</i>
soft = weak	lɔ̀kɔ̀	3					
sole of foot	ḅɪwɔ̀ kɔ̀bɔ̀	2 2				Ijò: <i>foot-width</i>	
some	jɔ̀a	1					
song	ḅumɔ̀y ?	2	túó	J 132, S			PPAB -yumbu <i>song</i> BLR dmb H V 5554 <i>sing</i> BLR jmbo HL 3364 <i>song; dance</i>
sore <i>n.</i>	mɔ̀y	3					
sound vi	(o)fiyo/fiye	2					
soup	fɔ̀lɔ̀	2	árúá	J 32	**falau/falua	DF: Loss of f-	
sour, become	kɔ̀bɪ	1					
speak (language)	fiye	2					
spear (fishing)	ḅomɔ̀y/ḅumɔ̀y	1			**ḅomɔ̀y/ḅumɔ̀y ?		?BLR tumo HL 3109 <i>spear</i>
spear (war)	ɛ̀bɛ̀kɛ̀rɛ̀/ɛ̀bɛ̀kɔ̀rɔ̀	4	ikpari gbe	J 76			
spill vi	ḅɔ̀sɪ-ɪ	5					
spill vt	ḅɔ̀sɪ	2					
spirit = shadow	tɛ̀mɛ̀	2					
spittle = saliva	fɛ̀lɔ̀	3	kuta	J 27		Ijò: <i>cf. white, etc.</i>	
split vi	puu-i	5			**puyɜ-i ?		?BLR pongud L 6811
split vt	puu	2	paya	J 363 vt	**puyɜ ?		?BLR pongud L 6811
squeeze	emɪ	3	imi	J 355 <i>wring (clothes)</i>	**emi		PWS mí, míná <i>drücken, quetschen</i> BLR mini L 2195 <i>press, squeeze (esp. with the fingers)</i>
squirrel	gbekuru ?	2			**gbekuru ?		?BLR bugɪ LH 320 <i>rodent; squirrel</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
	vowels?						?BLR buge LH 321 <i>rodent; squirrel</i>
stab = pierce	tem̩	2	anga	J 364 <i>pierce</i>	**tem̩		BLR tum H 3108 <i>stab</i>
stand	trye	2	yy síá	J 272 <i>stand (up)</i>	**trya ?		
star	lolia (EI) rkakar (Izòṅ) kuwɛɪ (Izòṅ) emibala (II)	1 2 ? 1	ípi↓ní	J 118			
starch	os̩	2				Vowels irregular	
stay = live	tim̩	3/2?	mbaa	J 384 <i>dwell</i>			
steal	furu	2	éwǽ	J 322, S			
step across	asaba	3?					
step across = cross vt	asaba	2					
stick <i>cf.</i> tree	tɛɪ	2	ibo t̩ɪ	J 56 <i>big tree</i>	**tɛɪ		PWS -tí-, -tú- <i>Baum</i> BLR ti H 2881 <i>tree; stick</i>
stink	furu	3	ɔruo	J 379	**furuo	?f > 0	
stir = turn	wakɪ	1					
stomach = belly	furu	3	itɔ	J 15, S	**furu		PWS -pu- <i>Bauch, Magen</i> Mande: Bam, Dju furu PPAB -fu BLR pudu 3958 <i>stomach, belly</i>
stone	ikputu	2	kókó	J 70 <i>(grinding) stone</i>			
store = keep	kokou	2					
story	egberi	1	ló ^l gó	J 133			
strain = filter	kɪya	3					
stretch	syy	2?	syy	S	**syy		
string (fish on bamboo)	tin̩	2			**tin̩ ?		?BLR tung H 3081 <i>put through; thread on string; plait; sew; tie up;</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
							<i>build; close (in)</i>
strong = hard	kuro	1	m̀bé	J 260	**kuro		BLR kut H 5215 <i>be dry; hard</i> BLR kod H 1874 <i>be strong; be hard; be difficult</i>
suck (breast) = breast	jdou	2					
sugary = sweet, become	m̀lɪm̀lɪ	1					
suit = fit	ɛgbe	2				EI gbɛɽɪ perhaps cognate	
sun	iruwau	3	úo	J 116	**iruwau??	DF uncertain cognation	?PWS -gui-, -guia- <i>Sonne</i> ?BLR juba HL 1614 <i>sun</i>
surpass	dɛgi	1	néngéma	J 383			
swallow v.	(ɽ)ɛɽɪ ?	1	meni	J 263	**ɛɽɪ		PWS mì, mìn- <i>schlingen, schlucken</i> PPAB -mɽɪ <i>swallow</i> BLR medi L 2163
swamp (WI) = lake (EI)	dapa	2					BLR diba LL 1025 <i>pool, pond; deep water; well</i>
sweat n.	imou	3					
sweep vt	ɔfi	2	ofi	J 344	**ɔfi		Nupe fi BLR prang H 2500
sweet, become = sugary	m̀lɪm̀lɪ	1					?PWS mua-, mia- <i>süß</i>
sweet, become = tasty	ɽɛɛ	4	ótómí	J 257	**ɽɛɛ ?		
swell vi	fukɜ	3	fuko	J 380 <i>swell (of boil)</i>	**fukɜ	f = f??	?BLR pag L 9339
swell vi	woyi	2					
swim	okj	2			**okj		PPAB -gʷaui <i>bathe</i> Horom wak , Hone wòk , Efik wók ... BLR jog H 3525 <i>bathe; wash; swim</i>
tail	otumɽi ?	1	njɔ	J 153	**otumɽi ?		P-Edoid U-thiamhi

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
take	ɔkɪ	2	mgbe ita	J 323 S			
tale	ɪdũku	2	ló ^l gó	J 133 <i>story</i>	**ɪdũku	d̥ = l	
tall, long, become	d̥agalɪ	3	nán ^l gá	J 245	**d̥agalɪ		?BLR dai LL A <i>long</i>
taste vt	d̥aa (d̥iki)	2 (1)				<i>taste (look)</i>	
tasty, become = sweet	ɪb̥ele	4	ótómí	J 257			
teach	toli-ma	3			**toli-ma ?		?BLR tund H 3122 <i>teach; punish; accuse</i>
tear vt	k̥aa/k̥ay ?	2	kakara	J 362	**k̥akara ??		?BLR kad H 1659 <i>tear; cut</i>
tell	gbaa	3			**gbaa ?		?BLR bad H 8985 <i>tell story</i>
ten	atoi	5?	úwei	J 217			
ten	woyi	2	úwei	J 217	**uwoyi		
that	anɪ	1					
thatch (palm- leaf)	ɔk̥ayɪ	2					
there	anɪ yɔ	1 2				<i>that place</i>	
thickness (of cloth)	ogbogbɔ	2					
thief	furu ɓɔ/kɪmɪ	2 -/2	éw̥é↓-tí	J 200		<i>steal-person</i>	
thigh	at̥ɛɛ ?	1			**at̥ɛɛ ?		BLR tende HH 2851 <i>heel; foot; leg</i>
thin (of cloth)	p̥ɛɛp̥ɛɛ	2					?BLR peped L 8028 <i>be light</i>
thing	iye/iy̥ɛ	2	yáa	J 136, S	**iy̥ɛ/iy̥ɛ		Nupe enya, ...
think	ikiyo	3	íkéré	J 296	**??		
thirteen	oyi taaru f̥eni	2 2 1	úwei tá[á]tó	J 220		<i>ten three (add)</i>	
thirty	si oyi	2 2	sii te úwei te	J 230 20 & 10 &		Ijo: 20 10 (add)	
this	m̥ɪ	4 ?					
this way = thus	m̥ɪ ɓara	4 3				Ijo: <i>this way</i>	
three	taaru	2	tátó	J	**taatu	**.-t- > Ijo -r-	NS: Kwama twazan , PCS ɔta (Ehret)

Gloss	Proto-Ijo	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
			táátó	S			PPAB -tántɪ BLR tatu HL 2811 <i>three</i>
throat = voice	pəkɔ̃ ?	1			**pəkɔ̃ ?		BLR pogo 7107 <i>throat</i>
throw	gbẽi	2	eve	S			
thus = this way	m̃ɪ bara	4 3				Ijo: <i>this way</i>	
tie (bundle) = bind	finã	3	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**finã ?		BLR pind H 2578 <i>tie knot</i>
tie (cloth)	uwãɪ	1	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**uwãɪ ?		BLR gang L 1331 <i>tie up</i>
tie (rope)	kakar	2	kuma	J 273 <i>tie</i>	**kakar ?		BLR kak L 1682 <i>tie up</i> BLR kaak L 9294 <i>tie up</i>
time	ifiye	3/4					
tired, become	dɛ̃gɪ	1					
toad	ɪgɔ	1					
today	ɪgbar ?	?					
toe	ɔ̃rwɔ ɪtɔ̃gbalɪ ?	2 2					
tongue	ɪbɛ̃leu	2	menduɔ	J 8	**ɪbɛ̃leu ?	metathesis – a Bel language!	PWS lima <i>Zunge</i> BLR dime HL 971 <i>tongue</i>
tooth	aka	2	ñja	J 7	**ñja		NS: Birgid pildi , P-Kado -ini PWS -ní, -nín- <i>Zahn</i>
top = above	ɔ̃gɔɔ̃	4			**ɔ̃gɔɔ̃ ?		?PPAB julu <i>top; sky</i> ?BLR gudu LL 1486 <i>sky; top</i>
tortoise	ɪkaki	2	íkákí	J 159	**ɪkaki		
touch	gbele	3	iyɔ laa	J 294 (<i>touch with hand</i>)			
town	amã	2	ámá	J 96	**ama		PWS -má- <i>Stamm, Volk</i>
<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> (male)	utuɓara (?)	4				= “antelope” = sitatunga	
trample = mash	d̃aga	1					
treat with “medicine”	guwɔ	2				(<i>good/bad</i>)	
tree	t̃ɛɪ	2	ibo t̃ɛɪ	J 56 <i>big tree</i>	**t̃ɛɪ		PWS -tí-, -tú- <i>Baum</i> BLR tɪ H 2881 <i>tree; stick</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
<i>Trichechus senegalensis</i>	imej̄ ?	4				= manatee	??BLR banga LL 9135 <i>manatee: Trichechus senegalensis</i>
trick	opɜlɜ	1	epele	S	**opɜlɜ		
trunk (of tree)	tɛ̄ɪ b̄iri	2 2				Ijo = <i>tree belly/middle</i>	
truth	kesi-ye	2 2				<i>true-thing</i>	
try	ɓu kuro-mo	2 1-0				<i>body strong-causative</i>	
turn	akana go round, encircle	1	kanama	J 289 <i>turn round (vi)</i>			
turn = stir	wakɪ	1	kanama	J 289 <i>turn round (vi)</i>			
turtle, river	ɔ̄bɔ	1				<i>Trionyx (or Amyda) triunguis</i>	
twenty	sii	2	sii	J 227	**sii		
twist vi	fagala-ɪ	5					
twist vt	fagala	3					
two	mɔ̄a-m̄ɪ	1?	maama	J 209	**mɔ̄a-m̄ɪ		PWS -bà- <i>zwei</i> BLR badi LH 36 <i>two</i>
untie	kpɔkpɔ	3	kpɔkpɔ	J 374	**kpɔkpɔ		
urinate	saa	2	saa	J 268	**saa		?BLR capu LL N 9460 <i>urine</i> ?BLR cubad L V 3907 <i>urinate</i>
urine	saa d̄ina	2 1	saa	J 28		Ijo: <i>urine fluid</i>	?BLR capu LL N 9460 <i>urine</i> ?BLR cubad L V 3907 <i>urinate</i>
vagina	tebi	1	tabéé	J 22			
<i>Varanus niloticus</i>	abedi	1			**abedi ?	= Nile monitor	?BLR budu HH 308 <i>reptile: monitor lizard; lizard</i>
vein	isiya	2			**isiya ?		?BLR cica LH 597 <i>vein; tendon; sinew</i>
verandah	ɪbara	1					
viper (horned)	ofo	2			**ofo ?	Gaboon Viper (<i>Bitis gabonica</i>) or Puff Adder (<i>Bitis arietans</i>)	?BLR prdi HL 2508 <i>puff-adder: Viperidae: Bitis arietans</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
						+ ?Rhinoceros viper?	
voice = throat	pòkò ?	1			**pòkò ?		BLR pogo 7107 <i>throat</i>
waist	kòdu	1					
walk	wàdì	2	yáa	J 284	**wàdì ?		BLR gend L 1362 <i>walk; travel; go; go away</i>
want = look for	dòkí	1	karama	J 317 <i>want (desire)</i>			
war	òmúgu	2	au	J 125 <i>war, fight</i>			
war	yowu EI	1	au	J 125 <i>war, fight</i>	**yɔwu		
wash (things)	sòkòrì	3	suku	J 353 <i>wash (things)</i>	**sòkòrì	<i>Cf. DF soro bathe.</i>	Mundang cùù 'wash hands' 63 Chamba Leko sug M wash ?Nupe fu Ch. Daka suksi ML Pere sogdo L? Mumuye soke LL (Boyd MS p.135) BLR cukud L 712 wash, cleanse
wasp	otogoi	4					
water	ḡedi	1	mbiá	J 31	**mḡedi ?	DF d > 0 ?	
water-pot	kukú	2	míbiá bórú	J 67			
musical pot	ùgu/ìgu	2			**ùgu/ìgu ?	musical instruments	< Igbo BLR jungu LH 1632 <i>cooking-pot</i>
waterside	pòku	2					
waves	òdùgò(u)/ òdùgò(u)	1					
we	wɔ	2	wá	J p. 30	**wɔ ?		
weak = soft	ḡòu	1			**ḡòu ?		PWS -bùà- <i>weich, langsam, sanft</i> ?BLR bob L 6867 <i>be soft; be wet</i>
weak = soft	lòkò	3					
weave (net/cloth)	dòri	3	luo	J 348 <i>weave (cloth)</i>	**dòri ?	vowels? d̥ = l (also d̥ = d)	PWS lù, lùà <i>flechten, weben</i> PPAB -lɔŋku <i>plait</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
<i>cf. plait</i>						r = 0	BLR duk L 1177 <i>plait</i>
well (for water)	tíbe	2	m̀bíá abana	J 98 <i>well</i> [<i>water-pit?</i>]			?BLR time HL 2920 <i>well</i>
wet, become	pesu ?	1	̀bubu	J 249			?BLR bomb L 262 <i>be soft; be wet</i> ?BLR bob L 6867 <i>be soft; be wet</i>
what?	teye/tee	1	taá	J example 19	**tɔyɔ		
where?	teye yɔ	1 2				Ijo: <i>what place?</i>	
white, become	pena	3	pene	J 241	**pena	NB vowels	NS: Kanuri búl , Nuer bor ... PWS pù- <i>weiß</i> , inc. Gur pie-n , ... Mundang peŋ BLR pe 7918
who?	teye ɓɔ	1 -	tári	J example 19		Ijo: <i>what person?</i>	
wide, become	finjì	5			**finjì ?		?BLR pana 8280 <i>wide</i>
width	finjì	5			**finjì ?		
wife	taa	1	taa	J 179, S	**taa		
wind <i>n.</i>	ɛferu	2	ímio	J 114	**ɛferu ?		?PWS -pap- , -pep- <i>Wind</i> ?BLR pepud H V 1469 <i>blow off</i> (<i>wind</i>)
wine	iwuru ?	1	ilo	J 38 <i>wine</i> (<i>general</i>)	**iwulV		
wing	paba	1	ápá	J 150, S	**paba ?		BLR pamp L V 9360 <i>flap wings, flutter</i> BLR papa LH 2410 <i>wing</i>
wipe	kowɔ	1					
witch	ari-ɓɔ/kimɪ	1 -/2	íyóró↓-tí	J 202		<i>witchcraft person</i>	
woman	ere	2	ésé↓ré tí aála	J 179 S <i>the woman</i>	**yere ?	KO archaic yéré	?BLR jadɪ LH 3158 <i>girl at puberty; woman; woman lately given birth</i>
work <i>n.</i>	firi	1	ókúǝ	J 124			
worm = earthworm	isɔy	1			**isɔy ?		?BLR cango LL 8761 <i>intestinal worm</i>

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Tone class	Defaka	Source of Defaka	Proto-Ijoid	Notes	Outside cognates: NS, PWS, PPAB, and BLR
wring (cloth)	imị (EI, Inland)	3	imi	J 355	**imị	probably = <i>squeeze e-</i>	
wrist	ḅara kɔ̣gɔ̣	3 1				Ijò: <i>arm-neck</i>	
write	kɛ̣ɪ/gɛ̣ɪ	1					cf. count! (RMB)
yam	ḅuru	1	íḷní	J 40			
yawn v.	awụa	1			**awụa ?		?BLR jaju HH 3259 <i>yawn</i>
year	kurai	2	óló	J 129			
yesterday	aḅíḅai ?	4	íba	S	aḅíḅai/íba ?		?BLR badi LL 44 <i>the next day/ the before day; yesterday; tomorrow</i>
you (pl.)	ɔ̣/o	2	ó	J p. 30	**ɔ̣/o	Ijò: vowel harmony	
you (sg.)	ɪ/i	2	í	J p. 30	**ɪ/í	Ijò: vowel harmony	check Nilo-Saharan

Reconstruction

For the justification of the Proto-Ijò reconstructions, please see separate file **Proto-Ijò phonology**.

The Ijoid numeral system

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

1-5: ancient roots

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Comment	Defaka	Comment	Proto-Ijoid
one	*kaŋaŋɪ ? 4	old root	gbórí	Also in EI	**kaŋaŋɪ ?
two	*ma̩a-mɪ 1	old root	maama		**ma̩amɪ
three	*taaru 2	old root	taato		**taatu
four	*inoj 2	old root	néj		**inoj
five	*sɔŋɔɔ 2	old root	túúnɔ		**tɔŋɔɔ

6-9: generally built on 5

Gloss	Proto-Ijò	Comment	Defaka	Comment	Proto-Ijoid
six					

(to be completed)

APPENDIX

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

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

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