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Reconstruction of initial consonants in Proto-South Mande

1.1. In comparative Mande studies the Southern group is usually neglected. Unfortunately, this situation is only but natural, it is very much in conformity with the degree of availability of the data on these languages. Until recently, only Guro, Tura and Dan had more or less advanced grammatical descriptions, and dictionaries were published only for Guro, Gban and Beng. The data on the other languages of the group were restricted mainly to the short sketches and wordlists in (Prost 1953), which ignored tones and important segmental phonological oppositions. Nevertheless, there were two attempts of reconstruction of the Proto-Mande consonants where South Mande data were taken into account. The first one was undertaken by Konstantin Pozdniakov in his unpublished PhD thesis (1978). The second one belongs to Claire Grégoire (1988) and deals with labial consonants.

1.2. Since 2000, a considerable change took place. Within the framework of the Swiss-Russian joint research project 'Mande Lexicology' supported by the Swiss National Foundation of Scientific Research (SUBJ 062156.00), a team of Russian researchers and students accomplished four field trips to Côte d'Ivoire working on grammars and dictionaries of nearly all the languages of the South Mande group. Only a small part of the language data collected during the trips has been handled so far, but even at the current stage, creation of a relatively reliable comparative database became possible, from which stems the presented reconstruction of the Proto-South Mande consonant system.

1.3. Before proceeding to the reconstruction, I am going to present a short survey of the language group and the sources of the language data.

1.3.1. The languages of the South Mande group, a subbranch of the Eastern Mande branch of the Mande family, are located almost exclusively in Côte d'Ivoire (see the map). The only exception is **Mano**, spoken mainly in the north of Liberia, plus a small compact area at the extreme South of Guinea. I used two language manual of Mano: (deZeeuw, Peter & Kruah, Rexanna 1981) and (Neal et al. 1946), and my modest field notes for the Guinean dialect of this language. Unfortunately, the data in (Becker-Donner 1965) are too unreliable.

1.3.2. **Dan** is spoken by nearly one million of people in Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and in some single villages of Guinea. Being the largest language of the group, it represents, in fact, a continuum of about 40 dialects only in Côte d'Ivoire. In the course of the dialectological study by Summer Institute of Linguistics in the late 1960s, it was decided that the divergences between Dan dialects are considerable enough to elaborate two literary norms. The Eastern Dan is based on the **Gweetaa** dialect. First phonological study of this dialect was performed by Th. Bearth and H. Zemp (1967), this job was continued by Margrit Bolli and Eva Flik; a grammatical description and dictionary work was begun by my student Alyona Tcherdynteva and continued by myself (unfortunately, only small part of the data collected has been handled). The **Blo** dialect is taken as reference for the Western Dan. Its phonological study was performed by Margrit Bolli and Eva Flik (Bolli & Flik 1973; Bolli 1976). My student Anna Erman continues a grammatical study of this dialect (unfortunately, the unpublished dissertation of Eva Flik remains inaccessible to us) and works on the Blo dictionary initiated by Margrit Bolli. This dictionary is in a relatively advanced stage (more than 2800 well

elaborated entries). Jean Doneux's grammar of the Ka dialect, close to Blo, should be also mentioned (Doneux 1968). The current name for the Liberian variants of Dan is **Gio**. They might be close enough to the Western Dan, but for the political reasons, a separate literary norm was elaborated for Gio by missionaries.¹ There seems to be no dictionary or reference grammar for the Liberian Dan, for which reason its data will not be used for the current study. The Ivoirean dialects of Dan are currently referred to as Yakuba (Yacouba). However, there is a Dan-speaking enclave in the North, in the Kla area to the West of Touba, which stands apart. Speakers of the local Dan do not consider themselves as «Yakuba», and my short study proved that their variant is different enough from the Gweetaa dialect (not to speak about Blo) to make mutual understanding difficult or even impossible. For this reason, **Kla** can be considered as a separate language.

So, we deal, within the Dan entity, with at least three (closely related) languages: Western Dan (Blo), Eastern Dan (Gweetaa), and Kla. If we consider Gio as a separate language, their number reaches four.

Occasionally, forms from other Dan dialects (from my field data) will be given too.

1.3.3. **Tura** is adjacent to Dan. Its dialects are not very divergent (at least, those whose data is available). Its grammatical description is represented in the works of Thomas Bearth (1971, 1986, and numerous articles) and by of student Dmitry Idiatov (most of them are not yet published) who also works on a Tura dictionary. At the current stage, the dictionary counts about 2500 well elaborated entries.

1.3.4. **Guro** is next to Dan in what concerns the number of speakers (more than 300 thousand). Its dialects must be rather divergent, but a study of the Guro dialectology is yet to be done. So far, most of published data on this language stems from the northern dialect group (the Zuénoula area; there are however some forms from other dialects in Benoist's works). There is one typically «missionary grammar» of Guro by Jean-Paul Benoist (1969) and two medium-size dictionaries, (Benoist 1977) and (H.-C. Grégoire 1976). Unfortunately, the former makes no distinction between implosive *ɓ* and explosive *b*, and the latter marks this difference inconsistently and with errors; both do not distinguish between +ART and –ATR vowels. This flaw can be only partly amended by the data from the phonological study by Le Saout (1979) and from my own data.² The phonology of Guro has been dealt with by H.-C. Grégoire (1976), Le Saout (1979) and myself (2003).

1.3.5. **Yaure** is a language closely related to Guro (for some tonal correspondences between both languages see (Vydrine 2003)). Some central segments of its grammar and phonology are represented in (B. Hopkins 1982, 1987; E. Hopkins 1987; Lautenschlager 1992), these publications provide, at the same time, some lexical data for comparative work. Unfortunately, no dictionary is available so far.

1.3.6. **Gban** is a southern neighbour of Guro. Its phonological description was done by Le Saout (1973), this work contains at the same time a vocabulary of about 1000 units. This vocabulary was transformed into electronic form by my colleague Alexandre Zheltov, who, unfortunately, has completed it with only some single forms from his own data collected during two field trips.

1.3.7. **Mwan** is the western neighbour of Wan, the close interaction between speakers of both languages results in a great number of mutual borrowings. The main source for the Mwan data is a dictionary by my colleague Elena Perekhvalskaya which counts presently 1000 entries.

¹ It is difficult to say anything about the state of the literacy and language planning work in Liberia after the long civil war.

² A work on Guro lexicography was started by my student Irina Jouk, but her dictionary is not yet at the stage where it could be treated as a reliable source.

1.3.8. **Wan** is spoken by a small language community to the north of the Guro area. Its data were collected by my student Tatiana Nikitina who continues her work on Wan grammar and dictionary. The dictionary, in its present form, counts more than 1300 well elaborated entries (it also includes the data from the publications of predecessors); unfortunately, lots of further Wan data are not yet incorporated.

1.3.9. **Beng** is the easternmost language of the group, it is geographically isolated of the other South Mande languages and seems to have undergone the strongest in the SM group influence of Jula and Baoule. There is a Beng-English Dictionary (Gottlieb & Murphy 1995), which provides rich anthropological data, but contains very numerous errors in tonal notation. There is a phonological description by Wolfgang Paesler (1992), who also created an unpublished Beng dictionary in electronic form. My student Denis Paperno has transformed this dictionary into usable form, but has not yet completed it with his own field data collected in January-February 2004.

1.4. Some notes on the phonetic notation. The available descriptions use different systems of tone marking. To maintain them in this paper would make difficult the understanding. For this reason, the International Phonetic Alphabet marks will be used:

a) Level tones:

Name of the tone	2-level systems (not represented in SM)	3-level systems (Guro, Dan-Blo, Wan, Mwan, Beng)	4-level systems (Gban, Yaure, Tura, probably Kla-Dan)	5-level systems (Dan-Gweeta)
Extrahigh			ẽ	ẽ
High	é	é	é	é
Middle		ē		ē
Low	è	è	è	è
Extralow			ë	ë

b) Contour tones:

ẽ – rising tone, ê – falling tone. In the languages where two rising tonemes are distinguished, ẽ is used for the mid-rising (MR) tone. In the languages distinguishing two falling tones, ē is used for the mid-falling (MF) tone.

According to the predominant practice for African languages, *j* is used for the voiced palatal affricate *ɟ*; *c* goes for the unvoiced palatal affricate *ç*; *y* stands for the palatal resonant *j*. –ATR vowels in Guro and Yaure will be designated, following the established practice of the current orthography, with symbols for open vowels: *ɪ* for *i*, *ɛ* for *e*, *ʊ* for *u*, *ɔ* for *o*.

1.5. The relevant rhythmic unit of South Mande languages is a foot, which can be mono- or dissyllabic. A foot is characterized by a high degree of internal cohesion; in some languages, its integrity is reinforced by a dynamic accent (like in Guro), in some others (like Tura), there seems to be no accent. The other factors of the integrity of the foot are: tonal harmony (number of tonal combinations within a foot is limited, in some languages, like Guro, a foot bears only one tone); vocalic harmony (only a limited of vocalic combination within a foot is possible); nasal harmony (the entire foot is either nasal or oral, with the exception of the final element *-ŋ* which can belong to both nasal or oral foot); consonantal homoresonance (realisation of the foot-internal alveolar consonant depends on the type of the foot-initial consonant).

In fact, foot is relevant in other Mande languages too, but in the Southern group the degree of its internal cohesion is much higher than elsewhere. One of the consequences is the strong tendency to the reduction of the internal structure of the foot: in some contexts, foot-internal

consonants are elided, in some others, inter-consonantal vowels drop. The inventory of foot-internal consonants in South Mande is reduced (with some rare exceptions) to *-l-*, *-w-*, *-y-* and their nasal allphones.

As it was demonstrated by Le Saout, nasal consonants in South Mande languages (with the exception of Beng) have no phonological statut. They should be considered as allophones of corresponding oral sonants or implosives in the nasal context (i.e., in a nasal foot): /b/ = [b, m]; /d/ = [d, n] or [l, n]; /ɲ/ = [y, ỹ, ɲ]; /w/ = [w, w̃, ɲ]. Following the established practice, nasal allophones of /b/ and /d/ will be designated by *m* and *n*.

A drastic reduction of the foot-internal consonants started most probably at the Proto-South Mande stage. Their reconstruction goes together with the diachronic study of the evolution of the morphophonemics, which is outside the scope of this paper. So, only foot-initial consonants will be the object of the current reconstruction.

2. Let us consider the phonological systems of each single language, then proceed to the lexical correspondences.

2.1.1. Dan-Blo (Bolli, Flik 1973)

Consonants

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>b/m</i>	<i>d/n</i>	<i>y/ɲ</i>		<i>w/w̃</i>	
	<i>l</i>				

Notes

a) *kw-*, *gw-* go together with non-back vowels only (the only exception seems to be *gwââ* ~ *gwùâ* ‘taro, Colocasia exculenta’). It is highly probable that they come back to combinations of *k-* and *g-* with back vowels followed by non-back vowels (**gua* > *gwa*, **gue* > *gwe*, etc.). Anyway, in the modern language their phonemic status seems to be firmly established, cf. *kwlàâ* ‘tendon of animal’ : *klââ* ‘whip’, *gwê* ‘ceiba tree’ : *gê* ‘Guere language’, etc.

b) The foot-initial phoneme *l-* is firmly established. It goes together with nasal vowels (*lââ* ‘sort of pepper’, *lâ* ‘sun’, *lâ* ‘worm’), so that it falls apart from the row of the resonants where oral and nasal consonants constitute allophonic pairs.

Vowels

	Oral				Nasal	
<i>i</i>	<i>ɯ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ɷ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>o</i>				
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>		<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>õ</i>
<i>æ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>æ̃</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>ã</i>

The “nasal semi-vowel” *ɷ* appears only at the end of feet; the only exception is the 1sg. non-subject pronoun. *ɷ* carries a tone of its own.

Tones

Dan-Blo has 3 level and two modulated tones, mid-falling and assimilated-falling. Each vowel of a feet carries a tone of its own.

2.1.2. Dan-Gweetaa (Bearth, Zemp 1968)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>b/m</i>	<i>d/n</i>	<i>y/n</i>		<i>w/ũ</i>	
	<i>l</i>				

Note: The same comments as for Blo.

	Oral				Nasal	
<i>i</i>	<i>ɯ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
<i>ɪ</i>	<i>ʏ</i>	<i>ʊ</i>				
<i>e</i>	<i>ɤ</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>õ</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>				
<i>æ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>æ̃</i>	<i>ã</i>	<i>ã</i>

Tones

Dan-Gweetaa has 5 level and two modulated tones, high-falling and mid-falling. It is extra-law ton Gweetaa that corresponds to the assimilated-falling tone of Blo.

2.1.3. Kla-Dan (my field data)³

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c (?)</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j (?)</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š (?)</i>			
<i>(v)</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž (?)</i>			
<i>b/m</i>	<i>d/n</i>	<i>y/n</i>		<i>w/ũ</i>	
	<i>l</i>				

Notes

- Status of *kw-*, *gw-*: most probably, like in Blo and Gweetaa.
- There are two different realisations of *l-*, simple («weak»), [l], and geminated, [ll]. Their phonological status in relation to each other is not yet clear.
- The phonological status of palatal obstruents is doubtful. It is evident that they result from the combinations of the corresponding alveolar consonants with front vowels.
- In my small dictionary *v-* is attested in only one word, *vʃʃ̃nɔ* ‘honey-producing midge’.

Vowels: Like in Dan-Blo.

Tones: presumably, 4 level tones.

2.2. Tura (Bearth 1971)

Consonants

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>b/m</i>	<i>d ~ l/n</i>	<i>y/n</i>		<i>w/ũ</i>	

³ Unfortunately, only a small portion of my data has been handled so far (my Kla dictionary counts just about 630 entries), for which reason these conclusions are preliminary.

Vowels

	Oral			Nasal	
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>ẽ</i>		<i>õ</i>
<i>ε</i>	<i>ɔ</i>				
	<i>a</i>			<i>ã</i>	

Tones: four level tones.

2.3. Mano (deZeeuw & Kruah 1981)

Consonants

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			
<i>β/m</i>	<i>l/n</i>	<i>y/n</i>		<i>w/ũ</i>

Vowels

	Oral			Nasal	
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>ẽ</i>		<i>õ</i>
<i>ε</i>	<i>ɔ</i>				
	<i>a</i>			<i>ã</i>	

Mano has 3 level tones.

2.4. Guro (Le Saout 1979)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>β/m</i>	<i>d' ~ l/n</i>	<i>y/n</i>			<i>w/ŋ^w</i>

Note: *kw* and *gw* appear only before non-back vowels.

Vowels

+ATR series		-ATR series		Nasal series	
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ụ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ọ</i>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>õ</i>
	<i>a</i>		<i>a</i>		<i>ã</i>

As it was mentioned above, for the commodity reasons the -ATR vowels will be designated with characters for “open” vowels: *ɪ* for *ĩ*, *ɛ* for *ẽ*, *ʊ* for *ụ*, *ɔ̣* for *ọ*.

Guro has no semi-vowel *ŋ*.

Tones

Guro has 3 level tones.⁴ The tone domain is a foot, i.e., a foot carries only one toneme.

2.5. Yaure (Lautenschlager 1992)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			
<i>b/m</i>	<i>l/n</i>	<i>y/ɲ</i>		<i>w/ɰ̃</i>

Note: *ʃ* is interpreted as a separate phoneme in (B. Hopkins 1987; E. Hopkins 1987), but Frank Lautenschlager (1992: 13) argues that it should be considered as an allophone of /s/ in combination with high back vowels followed by front middle vowels: /sue/ = [sue] or [ʃe], /sve/ = [sve] or [ʃe].

Vowels: like in Guro.

Tones: 4 level tones.

2.6. Gban (Le Saout 1973)

	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>ϕ</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>β</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>b/m</i>	<i>l/n</i>	<i>y/ɲ</i>		<i>w/ɰ̃</i>	

Notes

a) Le Saout mentions that [b] is sometimes realized as slightly ingressive.

b) /c/ and /j/ are marginal phonemes which appear only in expressive words and loanwords.

c) In what follows, bilabial *ϕ* in Gban will be designated by *f* (in the absence of the phoneme /f/, this will not lead to a confusion)..

Vowels

Oral		Nasal	
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>		
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>õ</i>
	<i>a</i>		<i>ã</i>

There is no nasal semi-vowel.

Tones: 4 level and two modulated tones, rising and mid-rising.

2.7. Mwan (Bolli, Flik 1978)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
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⁴ Le Saout (1979) interprets Guro tonal system as 2-level one plus two modulated tones, falling and rising. According to this author, the level tones are in complimentary distribution: high tone does not go together with voiced initial consonants, and low tone do not appear with voiceless, sonant and implosive consonants. My interpretation is different: first, the complementary distribution of tones does not work in the personal pronouns; second, Le Saout's "modulated tones" can be reinterpreted: "falling tone" is the low tone for the feet with voiceless, sonant and implosive consonants, and "rising tone" is the high tone for the feet with voiced initial consonants. For the discussion see (Vydrine 2003).

<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>b/m</i>	<i>d ~ l/n</i>	<i>y/ɲ</i>		<i>w/ɰ̃</i>	

Vowels

Oral			Nasal		
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>				
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>		<i>ẽ</i>		<i>õ</i>
	<i>a</i>		<i>ã</i>		

Nasal semi-vowel *ɨ* is relatively rare.

Tones: three level and one modulated (falling) tones. Each vocalic element of a foot can carry a tone of its own.

2.8. Wan (field data of Tatiana Nikitina and of myself)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
<i>b/m</i>	<i>d ~ l/n</i>	<i>y/ɲ</i>		<i>w/ɰ̃</i>	
	<i>ll (?)</i>				

Note: The phonological status of *ll-* is yet to be confirmed.

Vowels

Oral			Nasal		
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>				
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>		<i>ẽ</i>		<i>õ</i>
	<i>a</i>		<i>ã</i>		

Tones: three level tones. Each vocalic element of a foot can carry a tone of its own.

2.9. Beng (Paesler 1992)

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gb</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>			
	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋm</i>

Notes

a) According to Paesler, Beng seems to be the only South Mande language where the principle of nasal harmony is not valid. But even in Beng, oppositions *l : n*, *y : ɲ* are marginal, and forms contravening the nasal harmony are attested only in some single words, mainly grammatical ones (*yã̃* '3sg. pronoun', cf. *ɲã̃* 'to end'; *nẽ* 'therefore', cf. *lẽ* 'sp. of

fruit’). It can be concluded that the emergence of these forms, and the end of the nasal harmony rule must a recent innovation.

b) *ŋm* is a rare phoneme, it is attested in 6 words only.

Vowels

	Oral			Nasal	
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>			
<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>		<i>ẽ</i>	<i>õ</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>ã</i>	

Each vocalic element of a foot can carry a tone of its own.

Tones: 3 level and 4 modulated tones: low-high, mid-high, high-low, mid-low.

3. At the moment, there are altogether 770 correspondence sets in my South Mande database, including doubtful ones and those which are represented by pairs of lexical items from closely related languages (Dan – Tura, Dan – Mano, Dan – Tura – Mano, Guro – Yaure, Mwan – Wan; those sets will not be given in this paper, unless they represent some special interest). Let us consider correspondence series attested in South Mande.

In the following comparative sets, semantics of the word in each single language is not indicated if it corresponds directly to the semantic key of the set (given at the beginning of each set; a number with a dash corresponds to the number of the root with the indicated semantic in my comparative database).

In the correspondence sets, sources of information are indicated with two-digit letter codes (cf. “Abbreviations” at the end of this paper). # signifies that the data stems from the unpublished dictionaries of my students, colleagues from St. Petersburg State University (mentioned in the division 1.3.) and myself; for Beng, it is the unpublished dictionary of Wolfgang Paesler. Names of the languages are given in bold. Translations of the words and comments are in italics. Forms whose belonging to the set is questionable are given with question mark, (?). Sometimes, forms are given which are (almost) certainly do not ascend to the proto-form, but still represent some interest (i.e., loanwords from related languages); they are put in curly braces, {}. In nasal feet, nasality can be indicated in the consonant (*n-*, *m-*), in vowel (with a tilde) or both. In other words, transcriptions *mɔ́* and *mɔ̃́*; *yēnē*, *yēlē̃*, *yēnē* and *yēnē̃* should be regarded as equivalent; their phonological transcription is /bɔ́/ and /yēlē̃/ respectively. *-r-* is always a combinatory variant of the phoneme /-l-/.

Reconstructions for vowels, internal consonants and tones are tentative. I proceed from the hypothesis that the Proto-South Mande language had vocalic system like in modern Guro and Yaure (3 vocalic series: +ATR, –ATR and nasal), a nasal semi-vowel *ŋ* (like in Dan, Tura, Wan, Gban, Wan, Mwan), nasal and oral homoresonance; it had 3 level tones, and each vocalic element of a foot could carry a tone of its own (for a partial substantiation of the phonological type of Proto-Mande, on the basis of the SM evidence, see: Vydrine, ms.; Vydrine 2001).

3.1. Unvoiced labials

3.1.1. There are two series of correspondences which can ascend to the Proto-SM **p*, series 1 and 2. These are reflexes in Mwan and Wan that set them apart: *p-* in the first series, *f-* and sometimes *p-* in the second. The question is: should we postulate two different proto-phonemes, or may these cases be in a complementary distribution?

The sets representing the first series are considerably more numerous: 12 against 5 (plus 9 sets where Mwan and Wan forms are missing: ‘piece-1’, ‘small-2’, ‘tale’, ‘tear’, ‘testicles’, ‘thing-3’, ‘twin’, ‘untie’, ‘winnow’). If we examine closely the sets of the series 2, it becomes evident that

– the Mwan and the Wan forms have always structures CV, CVV or CVŋ, while the Proto-SM form should be reconstructed as *CVLV or, rarely, as *CVyV;

– the initial consonant in both languages is always followed by a front vowel.

In the meantime, among the sets of the series I this conditioning is not attested (with one exception: Mwan *pīī-ḃē* ‘iron’). Therefore, we can postulate **p-* > *f-* in Mwan and Wan before a front vowel which goes together with simplification of the foot structure: **pVLV* > *fE*, *fEE* or *fEŋ*, **pVyV* > *fE*. It is interesting to note that in the set «wash», where this simplification of foot structure occurred in Mwan, but not in Wan, **p-* > *f-* only in the former. If so, both series I and II ascend to the Proto-SM **p-*.

Series 1

Smande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>

pḥ dig-2 (to)* > **Dan (bl) *pḥ*, **Dan (gw)** *pḥ* vt dig out, **Tura** # *pḥ* vt dig (soil; hole), **Guro** # *fḥ*, **Mwan** # *pḥ* vt pierce, **Wan** # *pḥ* vt pierce, **Beng** *pḥ* vt pierce

pīlīŋ drum-3* > **Guro VV *fīnī*, **Mwan** *plī*, **Wan** # *plīŋ*, *plīŋ*

pèlè *fall (to)-3* > **Dan (bl) *pûrḥ*, **Dan (gw)** *pḥ*, **Dan (kl)** *pḥ* vi fall; (bl) make a mistake, **Tura** # *pèlè*, *pèlè* vi fall down; vt inflict (smb. – *tà*) with, **Mano ZE, VV** *pèlè*, **Mwan** *pḥ* (?) vt drop, cut down

pá fill (to)* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl) *pā* vt fill; ptp filled, **Tura** # *pá* vt fill; draw (water), **Mano NE** *pā*, **Guro BN, GR** *fā* vt fill, **Yaure HB** *fā*, **Mwan** # *pá* vt fill; pile, **Wan** # *pāà* vt fill; adj full, **Beng** # *pā* vi be filled; vt fill

pólīŋ iron* > **Dan (gw) *pìḥ*, **Dan (kl)** *píyḥ*, **Dan (bl)** *pîḥ*, **Tura** # *pé-wéé*, *pé-éé*, **Mano VV** *pē-kúlú*, **Guro BN, GR** *fōlī* n smithery; anvil, # *fōlī-éwéLé*, *fōlī-wéLé*, **Gban ST** *fē* vt forge, **Mwan** *pīī-ḃē*, **Wan** # *péli*, **Beng** *pēnīŋ*

pānā lick-2* > **Dan (bl, gw) *pā* vt lick, lap, suck; sting (of insect), **Tura** # *pāà* vt lick, lap, **Guro** # *mā-fānā*, **Yaure HB** *fāNā* vt lap, **Gban ST** *flà* vt lick; carry food to the mouth, **Wan** # *plā* vt lap, lick

pélé market-3* > **Guro # *félé* n commerce; market; goods, **Yaure HO** *félé*, **Gban ST** *fē* n selling; exchange; embezzlement, **Mwan** # *pléé*, **Wan** # *pléē*, *pléé* n market; price; expenciveness, **Beng PA** *plé-blē-lè* vt sell

púlú open* > **Dan (bl) *pó*, **Dan (gw)** *pú*, *pú*, **Dan (kl)** *pú* vt open; unwrap; undo, untie; vi open; stretch oneself, **Tura** # *póló* vt open; unwrap; undo, untie, **Wan** # *plóó* vi unwrap; vt open, **Beng** *pùū* vt open; untie

pē say-1* > **Dan (bl, gw) *pḥ*, **Dan (kl)** *pḥ*, **Tura** # *pé* (?) vt say, tell (smb. – *nè*, about – *gá*); ask for, **Guro BN** *fē*, **Yaure HP** *ví* (or *vì* ?) (the irregular voiced consonant can be explained by a semi-grammatical character of this word), **Gban** # *fè* vt say (name), **Mwan** # *pē* vi speak, say, **Wan** # *pé*, **Beng PA** *pē* v talk

pē thing-2* > **Dan (gw) *pā*, **Dan (kl)** *pā* n thing; reason, **Tura** # *pó-*, **Mano NE, ZE** *pē*, **Guro** # *fé*, **BN** *fē*, **Yaure HP:93** *fē* n thing, *vè* rn property, part (the voiced consonant to be explained), **Mwan** # *pē*

pīī-lēŋ two* > **Dan (bl) *plè*, *pèedā*, **Dan (gw)** *plè*, **Dan (kl)** *plè*, *pèèdà*, **Tura** # *pīīlé* num two, **Mano NE, ZE** *pèèlè*, **Mano ZE** *pèètè*, **Guro** *fié*, **Yaure HP** *flí*, *fíí*, **Gban ST** *fēí*, **Mwan** # *plē*, **Wan** *pīlōŋ*, **Beng GL, PA** *plāŋ*

*púLú *white-2* > **Dan (bl)** púú, **Dan (gw, kl)** púú, **Tura #** púú *adj white; clear*, **Mano** púlú, **Guro** fúú, **Gban ST** fǒ *adj snow white*, **Mwan** pú, **Wan** pú, **Beng GL** pū, **Beng PA** púú

*pá *touch (to)-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** pá *vi touch (sth. – ká); wake up (smb. – b̂â)*, **Mano ZE** pá, **Mwan** pàà *vt sting*, **Beng #** pa *vt hit, knock; sting*

Series 2

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*p	p	p	p	f	f	f	f~p	f~p	p

*péyà *blow* > **Dan (kl)** pī v *blow (with mouth, fan)*, **Mano VV** pīyè, **Guro BN** fē, **GR** fē *vt whistle; blow (horn)*, **Gban ST** fěá *vi whistle*, **Mwan #** p̄é *vi whistle*, **Wan #** fē *vt blow (an instrument); produce (cough)*, **Beng GL** pē, **PA** pé *vi blow; fan (fire)*

*péní *fonio (Digitaria exilis)* > **Dan (kl)** p̄ǎ, **Guro BN** fní, **VV** f̄nì, **Mwan #** f̄í, **Wan #** fēj

*pélé *house-3* > **Dan (bl)** p̄, **Dan (gw)** p̄, **Dan (kl)** p̄ǎ *n village*, **Tura #** p̄é *n village, town*, **Mano NE, ZE** p̄ē *n village, town*, **Guro** fálá *n village*, **Yaure HP** flá, flà, **Yaure HO** fálá *n village*, **Mwan #** fé

*pū vomit-4 > **Dan (bl)** p̄, **Dan (gw)** p̄, p̄, **Dan (kl)** p̄ *vi vomit; n (bl) vomit*, **Tura #** piè, p̄ *vi vomit; blow (nose)*, **Guro BN, GR** fēē, f̄, **Yaure HB** fēí, **Gban ST** f̄, **Wan #** fēi, fēí *vi vomit, vt make smb. vomit; n vomit*, **Beng PA** p̄ *n baby's vomit*

*pólé *wash-1* > **Mano NE, VV** p̄élé *vt wash (clothes)*, **Guro GR** fólí, **BN** fólí, -ē, **Yaure HP, HB** f̄, fwé, *perf. fwèé vt clean; wash*, **Mwan #** fé(?), **Wan #** pólí, **Beng #** p̄ *vt wash (clothes); rub (hands)*

Sets which may belong to both Series I or II (Mwan and Wan data missing):

*p̄éé *piece-1* > **Dan (bl)** p̄é, **Dan (gw)** p̄é *rn loaf, piece*, **Tura #** p̄éé *n piece; group (opposed to another group)*, **Guro BN** fé *rn piece (of orange, etc.); block, quarter (of town)*

*p̄ū-né *small-2* > **Tura #** p̄ū-né *adj small*, **Mano NE** péétí, **Mano ZE** p̄éí *adj small*, **Guro BN** fēēné *adj thin*

*pīyà *tale* > **Dan (bl)** pīâ *n proverb*, **Dan (gw)** pīâ, pīâ, **Dan (bh)** p̄, **Dan (kl)** p̄â *n tale*, **Mano ZE, VV** pīâ, pīâ, **Mano VV** pīyà *n story*, **Guro BN** f̄ *n tale*, **Gban ST** f̄â *n tale, legend*, **Beng** p̄ēñ

*pià *tear* > **Dan (bl)** p̄ē *vt tear; cut; split*, **Tura #** p̄éé *vt tear; split; wound; vi split, separate*, **Guro BN** fiā, **GR** fià, **Beng #** piá *vi burst; break; vt fire off; slap*

*p̄ànà *testicles* > **Dan (bl)** pl̄â, **Guro BN** f̄nā

*p̄ō *thing-3* > **Tura #** p̄ō *n thing; spirit, ghost, demon; morph. pej. agent mark (merged with another morpheme?)*, **Wan #** p̄ō, **Beng #** p̄ō *n thing; something*

*p̄ilàn *twin* > **Dan (bl)** fl̄â, fl̄â (< *Manding?*), **Dan (gw)** p̄ēñ, **Tura #** p̄éē-né, **Guro BN** fiā-né, **GR** fiā-nē, **Yaure HO** f̄L̄, **Beng** pīāñ

*p̄uló *untie* > **Tura #** p̄óló *vt untie; unpick, unstitch*, **Guro BN** fūō *vt untie; open*, **Yaure HB** f̄l̄, **Gban ST** fló

*piyè *winnow* > **Dan (bl)** pī, **Dan (gw)** pī, **Dan (kl)** p̄ē, **Mano VV** piyè, **Guro GR, BN** fēē *vt winnow; ? blow (with mouth)*, **Gban #** fē, **ST** fěá *vt winnow*

3.1.2. The third series is represented by two sets (see below), where Yaure, Mwan, and Wan forms are not attested. Its main characteristic feature is a voiced consonant in Gban and Beng. The sample is too narrow to provide any clue for «internal» interpretation of this Gban and Beng feature; an «external» explanation could be a presence of a nominal classificatory prefix *N̄- (for argumentation in favour of the reconstruction of this prefix in Proto-Western Mande

see: Pozdniakov & Vydrin 1987-1988; Vydrine 1989; Vydrine 1994; in more detail, Vydrine 2001), which could, at the same time, explain occasional nasalization in some languages.

Series 3

Smande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*Ñ-p	p	p	p	f	?	β	?	b	b, p

*Ñ-pōù *frog-1* > **Dan (gw)** pō, **(bl)** pōō *n toad*, **Tura** # púò, **Guro BN** fóli, **GR** fōlì *toad*, **Gban ST** βōũ

*Ñ-píyé *trace-1* > **Dan (bl)** pí *rn footprint; trace*, **Tura** # píě, **Mano VV** pè-píyé *trace; sign*, **Gban ST** βé, **Beng GL, PA** bē *n tracks, footprints; scab, wound (probably, in Beng we have a convergence of two proto-stems, *Ñ-píyé ‘a trace’ and *bīlē ‘a wound’)*

Taking into account a sporadic character of the reflexes of the nasal prefix in modern languages, similar interpretation can be proposed for another set:

*Ñ-pùlù *stomach, belly-5* > **Wan** # blū *rn stomach*, **Beng PA** plù *n paunch*

3.1.3. There is only one set where Guro *p-* probably corresponds to *p-* in languages outside the Guro-Yaure subgroup. It is hardly enough to establish a separate series; it may be a share coincidence, in which case the Guro form should be considered etymologically different from those in the other languages:

*páá *bowl-2* > **Dan (bl)** páá *n wooden or clay bowl*, [**Guro BN, GR** pāLā *n wooden basin*] **Mwan** # páá *n calabash*

3.1.4. Series 4 and 5 differ only by the reflex in Beng, *f-* vs. *p-*. As there is only one set in my data for the series 5, it would be precarious to venture hypotheses explaining unusual *p-* in Beng: it could be a coincidence or a borrowing from an unrelated language, a trace of a prefix morpheme... Until further examples are found, I have to reconstruct **f-* for both series.

Series 4

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f

*fī̄ *ant-1* > **Guro GR, ST** fī̄, **Gban** # fī̄ *n black ant*

*fīlá *better* > **Tura** # fīlá, **Beng GL** fīàà, **PA** fīà

*fīlí *boil-3* > **Guro BN** fīlí, **GR** fīlí, **Beng** # fīlí

*fīnī *breathe* > **Guro BN** fīnī, **Wan** flē, flēē

*fāgá *cap-2* > **Tura** # fāá, **Mwan PM** fāá, **Wan** # fāgá, fāgà

*sòó-fàlì *donkey* (may be a loanword from Manding) > **Dan (bl)** sòò-fāñ, **Tura** # sùù-fái, **Guro GR** sōō-fālī, **Mwan** # sòó-fālī, **Wan VV** sò-fálí

*fílèñ *empty-2* > **Dan (gw)** fíllá, **Dan (bl)** fláá, **Dan (bh)** fúú, **Dan (yi)** fúúá, **Dan (gw)**, **Tura** # fù, **Tura (w)** fìè, **Mano VV** fēlē, **Mwan PM** fléñ

*fāgā *force-1* > **Dan (bl)** fāā, **Dan (gw)** fāā, **Mwan AY** fāñgà, **Wan** # fāgā, fāgà *n force; adj strong*, **Beng** # fāñā

*fūā *force-3* > **Guro BN** fūā *n richness; glory*, **Mwan** # fúú *n force*, **Wan** # fú

*fūō(-fūō) *light (not heavy)* > **Dan (bl)** fýíŋ, fýíŋ, **Dan (gw)** fýíŋ, **Dan (kl)** fýíŋ-dâ, **Dan (bh)** fýñ, **Dan (yi)** fýíŋ (tone?) *adj light (not heavy); weak*, **Dan (gw)** fýíŋ, fýíŋ *adv easily, without effort*, **Tura** # fófò, fúúfùù *adj weak*, **Mano VV** fúáfùà, **Guro ST** fūōfūō, **Beng** # fófó

*fúyè *powder-1*, **Guro ST** fúè, **BN** fúyé, **Beng GL** fwē *n talc, talcum powder*, **PA** fúè *n powder*

*fūé *sweat* > **Dan (bl)** f̄x-yí, **Dan (gw)** f̄l-yí, **Dan (kl)** f̄ùè-yí, **Gban ST** f̄óá *vi be hot*, **Mwan #** f̄úú

*f̄ù sponge (*zool.*) > **Dan (bl)** f̄ùū, **Dan (gw)** f̄ùù, **Dan (kl)** f̄ù, **Guro GR** f̄ùú

Series 5

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	p

*f̄éíŋ (*N̄-f̄éíŋ ?) *dew* > **Dan (bl)** fl̄íŋ, fl̄í, fl̄íŋ, fl̄éíŋ, fl̄éíŋ, **Dan (gw)** fl̄íŋ, **Dan (kl)** fl̄íŋ, **Guro GR, VV** fl̄í, **Wan #** f̄elē, fl̄é, **Beng PA** pl̄íŋ

3.1.5. There is one correspondence set displaying variations among Dan dialects:

lungs-1 > **Dan (kl)** f̄òò, **Dan (bl)** v̄òŋ, **Mano ZE** f̄àà, **Guro (nya) VV** f̄ùù, **GR** f̄òò, **Yaure HO** f̄ùù, f̄ùù, **Beng GL** f̄òkó

A clue to this variation can be probably provided by reflexes of the same root in Mande languages outside the South Mande group:

Vai v̄òòv̄òò *rn lungs*, **Maninka** f̄òf̄ò *rn lung*, **Bamana** f̄ógonf̄òḡó *rn lung*, f̄ógonf̄oḡó *vi be very light or porous; vt make pant (breathe hard and quickly)*, **Soninke** furugu (?), **Bozo-Hainyaxo** f̄òx̄òv̄òx̄ò, **Bisa-Lebir** f̄ùf̄ùr, *pl. f̄ùf̄ù:ró*, **Bisa-Barka** f̄ofo

We can see that the Vai form also has a voiced initial consonant. William Welmers suggested that such cases should be explained through reconstruction of a nasal classificatory prefix in the proto-language (Welmers 1975). In my works (1994, 2001, etc.) I demonstrated a highly instable character of the reflexes of this prefix in West Mande languages. The set in question seems to be a proof that its reflexes in SM also have sporadic character. I would propose to reconstruct for the Proto-SM a form with a nasal prefix, *N̄-f̄òḠòŋ.

It we accept this explanation, it might be also valid for another set:

*N̄-f̄úlŋ *foam* > **Dan (gw)** v̄úú, **Dan (bl)** v̄úú, **Tura** f̄ùù, f̄òù, **Beng** fl̄óŋ

3.1.6. There is another set where Dan-Blo reveals an irregular reflex:

comb-1 **Dan (bl)** p̄áá, **Dan (gw)** f̄áá-ḡā, **Dan (ka)** f̄áá, **Dan (kl)** p̄éé, **Mano ZE** ȳíí-f̄ā

This stem is not represented in other Mande branches. It can be a loanword to the proto-language of the Mano-Dan-Tura branch from a non-Mande language or languages, so that the set can be regarded as spurious.

3.2. Voiced and implosive labials

3.2.1. The first three series (6-8) do not arouse questions. For the Series 6, reconstruction of *b- is self-evident. Spirantization *b- > *v- in the Proto-Guro-Yaure follows the same pattern as the spirantization of the voiceless labial (*p- > f-); *v- > f- in Yaure is also a regular process. *b- and *m- represent one phoneme, in oral and nasal contexts respectively. In Beng *b- > b- which resulted in a merger of the reflexes of *b- and *b-. This led to the phonologization of m-. In Gban also *b- > b-, but this change has not led to a merger of two phonemes, because *b- > β-, so that the phonological opposition has been maintained, it just modified its nature. Occasional lost of nasality in Wan (*moon-2*) should not astonish: in this language nasality of vowels is relatively weak and tends to disappear in the presence of the final -ŋ. There is nothing unusual in the lost of nasality of the postposition ‘on’ in Dan and Tura: being a grammatical word, a postposition may undergo irregular phonetic transformations.

Series 6

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*b	b	b	b	v	f	β	b	b	b

- *bìlìŋ *bury* > **Dan (bl)** bî hide, **Tura** # bìi, **Mwan** # bīŋ, **Wan** # blàà (?), **Beng** # blì
- *būnū *crumb* > **Dan (gw)** blū, **Tura** # būnū, būnūbūnū, **Guro GR** búlū-vulu («*bread-crumb*» ?)
- *bàlā *cut-2 (to)* > **Dan (bl)** blāl vt *cut in small pieces, pierce multiple holes*, **Gban ST** βlā vt *cut (with a matchet)*
- *bīyé *elephant-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** bīy, **Dan (kl)** bé, **Tura** # bíéi, bíái, bíài *n pig*, **Mano VV** bīyē, **Guro VV** vū, **Yaure HO** fií, **Gban ST** βíé, **Mwan** # biē, **Wan AT** bè, **Wan** # bē, **Beng GL** bié, **PA** biè
- *bèbè *much* > **Tura** # béé (?) *adj numerous*, **Mwan** # bèbè *adv much, adj numerous*, **Wan** # bèbè, **Beng** bēbē *adj big, large; old*
- *bōlì *mud-2* > **Dan (bl)** bōú, **Dan (gw)** bōy, bōy, bōy, bōy, **Dan (kl)** bōy, **Dan (yi)** bōy, **Guro BN** vòlì
- *būlū *navel* > **Dan (kl)** bū, **Dan (bl)** blū, **Tura** # búlù, **Gban ST** βū
- *bíé *night-3* > **Dan (bl)** bí, **Dan (gw)** bí *n night; shadow; image, photograph, picture*, **Mano ZE** bíé, **Mwan PM** bi, **Wan** # bi
- *bōlōŋ *paste-2* > **Dan (bl)** bōŋ, **Dan (gw)** bōy, **Dan (kl)** bōy, **Gban ST** βlō
- *bilāŋ *run-2* > **Dan (gw)** bēŋ ~ bíāŋ, **Dan (kl)** bēŋ, **Dan (bl)** blā *n running*, **Tura** # bàlā *n running*, **Mano NE, VV** bàlā *n running*, **Guro BN** vālā, **GR** vānā *n running*, **Wan** # blè-kó *vi run*, **Beng** # bèē
- *bìlìŋ *throw-1 (to)* > **Tura** # bìlì *vi jump; vt throw; throw away*, **Guro GR** vūlí, **Guro BN, ST** vùlì *vt throw, fling*, **Gban ST** βì, **Mwan** # blìŋ

Series 7

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*6	6	6	6	6	6	b	6	6	b

- *6òlō *bag-1 (< Manding?)* > **Dan (bl)** 6òō *n bag; wealth*, **Dan (gw)** 6òō, **Dan (kl)** 6òó *n large bag (for grain, etc.)*, **Tura** # 6òlō, **Mano ZE** 6òó, **Guro BN** bōlō (6òlō ?), **Gban ST** blō *n big bag*
- *6úà(-lá) *bend-2* > **Tura** # 6úò *vt cover (with – t̃à)*, 6úò-lá *vi overturn, fall over; prostrate oneself (before – g̃èè p̃é); vt turn over; collapse*, **Guro** # 6úá *vi, vt bend*, **Wan** # 6íá, 6íáá *vi bend, vt bend*
- *6ēlí *dry up-1* > **Dan (bl)** 6yū, 6yū, **Dan (gw)** 6y, 6y, **Dan (kl)** 6y *vi*, **Guro BN, #** bēlí (= 6élí ?) *vi, vt dry up*
- *6ìlì *eat (to)-2* > **Dan (bl)** 6y, **Dan (gw)** 6y, **Dan (dh, kl)** 6y, **Tura** # 6èlè, **Mano NE** 6èlè, **Guro** # 6ìlì, **Yaure HP** 6lì, **Gban ST** bè *vt eat; have sex with*, **Mwan** # 6lè, **Beng GL** blè, **Beng PA** blè
- *6ō *extract* > **Dan (bl, gw)** 6ō *vt extract; pluck; harvest; weed (field); remove; send away, dismiss; bury*, **Mano ZE** 6ō *vt pull out, pick; take off (clothes); weed (grass)*, **Wan** # 6ō *vi arrive, come; happen; ooze; sound*, **Beng GL, PA** bō *vt extract; unearth; tap (palm tree); flake off; remove; shave*
- *6āā *fructify* > **Dan (bl, gw)** 6ā *vi fructify in abundance*, **Tura** # 6á, **Guro BN** bāá, **ST, GR** 6āā *vi fructify in abundance*, **Yaure HP** 6à *vi fructify in abundance*, **Gban** # blà (?) *vi fructify in abundance*, **Wan** # 6á, **Beng GL, PA** bā *vi bear fruit*
- *6ēēŋ *fruit* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** 6ē *rn fruit*, **Mano ZE** 6ēē, **Guro BN** bēē (= 6ēē ?), **GR** 6ē, **Beng GL, PA** bēŋ

*b₅ go out (to) > **Dan (bl, gw)** b₅ vi grow, put forth (of plant, hair); (bl; gw rare) be born; enter (of spirit; smb. – dλ); resemble (smb. – b̂à/b̂â); flow, ooze; (gw) leak (of roof, boat, vessel); exterminate (smb – b̂â); be about to (do smth. – b̂â); vr step back; vt (gw) make, fabricate, **Tura** # b₅ vi come (of time); be about to (do sth. – d̂èè b̂à); appear (of plants, insects, etc.); be about to; resemble (smb. – b̂à); vt reach (some degree of maturity, etc.), **Mano NE, ZE** b₅ vi arrive, reach; grow (of plant), **Guro BN, GR** b₅ (= b₅?) vi arrive; resemble (smb. – m̂ā); help (smb. – v̂à); be able **Yaure HP** b₅ vi arrive, **Gban ST** b₅ vi leak (of water); come, arrive; sound, **Mwan** # b₅ vi come (of time, season); help (smb. – b̂ā) **Wan** # b₅ vi outreach (sth. – l̂èŋ), **Beng GL** b₅, **Beng PA** b₅ vi leave, vt come from

*b₅lì goat-2 > **Dan (bl)** b₅l, **Dan (gw)** b₅l, **Dan (kl)** b₅l (b₅l?), **Tura** # b₅l (?), **Mano NE, ZE, VV** b₅l, **Guro BN** b₅l, **GR** b₅l, **Yaure HP** b₅l, **Gban** # b₅l, **Mwan** # b₅l, **Wan** # b₅l

*b₅lì God-3 > **Guro** # b₅l, **Yaure HO** b₅l, **Wan** # b₅l

*b₅ head-2 **Gban** # b₅ rn head; v lead, **Wan** # b₅-íglò

*b₅lù hippopotamus > **Tura** # b₅l, **Guro** # b₅l, **BN** b₅l, **GR** b₅l, **Yaure HO** b₅l, **Mwan** # yibā-b₅l, **Wan** # b₅l

*b₅lā leaves > **Dan (bl)** b₅lā, **Dan (gw, kl)** b₅lā n grass, plant; savannah, wilderness; litter, garbage, **Gban ST** blā n grass; turf; savannah

*b₅lì life (subsistence) > **Dan (kl)** b₅lì n remedy, medicine (medicinal and magic), **Guro GR** b₅lì vi heal oneself; get rid of trouble; vt heal; relieve, **Yaure HO** b₅lì, perf. b₅lì, impf. b₅lìá vt heal; n healing, **Wan** # b₅lì, b₅lì vi live, be alive; vt heal; n life

*b₅lù liver-2 > **Dan (bl)** b₅l, **Dan (gw)** b₅l, **Dan (kl)** b₅l rn, **Tura** # b₅l rn, **Mano ZE** b₅l, **Guro BN, GR** b₅l, **Beng GL** blōŋ

*b₅lù mute-1 > **Dan (gw)** b₅l, **Dan (kl)** b₅l, **Guro GR, BN** b₅l, **GR** b₅l (= b₅l, b₅l ?) n mute; adj tasteless, **Wan** # b₅l

*b₅l neck-3 > **Dan (bl, gw)** b₅l, **Dan (kl)** b₅l, **Guro** # b₅l

*b₅l other-2 > **Dan (yi)** b₅l, **Tura** # *b₅l-yè > b₅l, b₅l, **Mwan** # b₅l-ké

*b₅l pangolin-1 > **Dan (bl)** b₅l-dl, **Dan (gw)** b₅l-dl n long-tailed pangolin, **Tura** # b₅l-kíānē, **Guro BN** b₅l, **GR** b₅l (= b₅l ?)

*b₅l press-2 (to) > **Dan (bl)** b₅l, **Dan (gw)** # b₅l, **Dan (kl)** b₅l vt press, squeeze, **Mano ZE** b₅l vt wring (clothes), **Guro VV** b₅l, **GR** b₅l vt press; squeeze, **Yaure HB** b₅l, impf. b₅l, **Beng** # bló vt press, twist, wrinkle

*b₅l respect-2 > **Tura** # b₅l, **Guro VV** blē n gift (meaning to honour smb.)

*b₅l sheep-1 > **Dan (bl)** blā, blā, **Dan (gw)** blā, **Dan (kl)** blā, **Tura** # b₅l, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** b₅l, **Guro ST** blā, **Yaure HB** blā, **Gban ST** blā, b₅l, blāblā, b₅l, **Mwan** # blā, **Wan** # blā

*b₅l termite (flying, ephemera)-1 > **Dan (bl)** blā, **Dan (gw)** blā, **Dan (bh, yi)** blē, **Dan (kl)** blā, **Tura** # b₅l, **Guro GR, BN** blē, **Guro (Yasua) VV** blē, **Mwan** # blē n termite, **Wan** # blē

*b₅l this-4 > **Dan (bl, kl)** blā pron. that; (bl) there, **Guro BN** bé (= b₅l ?) pron. this, that, **Gban ST** b₅l pron. that, **Mwan CF** b₅l pron. this, that, **Wan** # b₅l pron. this, that

*b₅l venom > **Dan (kl)** b₅l vr venom (of snake, etc.), **Guro VV** b₅l vi aggress (smb. – tà), jump (on smb. – tà)

*b₅l wound (a)-2 > **Dan (gw)** b₅l, **Dan (kl)** b₅l, **Dan (bl)** b₅l, b₅l, **Tura** # b₅l, **Mano ZE, VV** b₅l, **Gban** # b₅l, **Mwan PM** b₅l, **Wan AT** b₅l, **Beng GL, PA** b₅l n tracks, footprints; scab, wound (probably, in Beng we have convergence of two proto-stems, *N̄-píyē ‘a trace’ and *b₅l ‘a wound’)

*b₅l yams (wild) > **Dan (gw)** b₅l, **Tura** # b₅l, **Gban ST** b₅l

Series 8

SMande Dan Tura Mano Guro Yaure Gban Mwan Wan Beng

* /6/ [m] * /6/ [m] * /6/ [m] * /6/ [m] * /6/ [m] * /6/ [m] * /6/ [m] * /6/ [m], 6 * m

- *māā *bird-2* > **Dan (bl)** mâ, **Dan (gw)** mää, **Dan (kl)** mää, **Tura #** màà, **Mano NE** mòò, **Guro GR** màà-né *n chicken*, **Yaure HP** mēè (< *màà-né?) *n chicken*, **Yaure HO** mànè *n rooster*, **Gban ST** mò *n chicken*, **Mwan #** mää *n chicken*, **Beng GR** mēlè *n chicken*
- *māā *broom-2* **Dan (bl)** mää *n broom to sweep in the house; fly swatter*, **Mwan #** màà, **Beng PA** mēè
- *mēnē *cowrie-1* > **Guro #** múnú (?), **Gban ST** mlě, **Wan #** mlēnì-ṣṣ, mēlènì-ṣṣ
- *mīnì *drink (to)* (cf. *swallow-2) > **Dan (bl, gw)** mū *vt drink, swallow*, **Dan (kl)** mǎṣ *vt drink, suck; swallow*, **Tura #** mí *vt drink; suck*, **Mano NE** mī, **Guro GR** mīNì *vt drink*, **Yaure HB** mìnì, *impf. mìnìá vt drink; smoke*, **Wan #** mǐ-plà *vt suck*, **Beng PA** mǐṣ *vt swallow*
- *mā *hear (to)* > **Dan (bl, gw)** mǎ *vt hear; understand*, **Tura #** má, **Mano ZE** mā *vt hear; understand*, **Guro GR** mà, **Guro BN** mǎ, *hab. mǎ*, **Yaure HO** mà *vt understand*, **Gban MB** ma, **Mwan #** mā, **Wan #** mǎ, mǎ *vt learn*, **Beng GL, PA** mǎ
- *mēē *human* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** mē, **Tura #** mēè, *arch. miè n person, human; someone, mò n human (in compound words)*, **Mano NK, VV, ZE** mī, *pl. miā*, **Guro BN** mī, *pl. mūnū*, **Yaure HP** mī, **Gban ST** mú, **Mwan #** mēē, **Wan #** mī
- *mǎ *last (to)* > **Tura #** mǎ *vi last long; adv long time*, **Guro GR** mó *vi*, **Yaure HP** mǎ, **Gban ST** mǎ *vi last long*, **Mwan #** mò *vi*, **Wan #** mǎ *vi last long; adv long time*
- *mǎgólóṣ *mango* > **Dan (bl)** mǎṣlò, mǎṣṣ, **Dan (gw)** mǎṣṣlò, **Dan (kl)** mǎṣlò, **Mwan #** mǎṣṣ, **Wan #** mǎṣlò
- *mēnēṣ *moon-2* > **Tura #** mēè *n moon; month*, **Mano ZE, VV** mēnē, mǎ *n moon; month*, **Guro ST, GR** mǎnè *n moon; month*, **Yaure MB** mēnē, **Gban ST** mē, **Mwan #** mǎṣ-klēnē *n star*, **Wan #** ṣlēṣ *n moon; month*, **Beng GL, PA** mǎ *n moon; month*
- *mǎṣ *mouse-1* > **Dan (bl)** mǎ, **Dan (gw)** mǎṣ, **Tura #** mǎṣ, **Guro #** mǎ-né, **Yaure HP** mǎ, **Mwan #** mǎṣ
- *mǎ *on (postposition)* > **Dan (bl)** bǎ, **Dan (gw)** bǎ *pp by side of; on the slope of*, **Tura #** bǎ *n surface; bottom, lower part; pp on, upon; into; to (meaning of possession in a locative construction); for*, **Mano ZE** mò, **Guro BN** mǎ *rn surface (of body); pp on, upon; for (cause); about*, **Yaure HP** mà *rn body; pp on; at; during*, **Mwan CF:34** mǎ *pp on*
- *mǎnṣ *rice-1* > **Dan (bl)** mlú, **Dan (gw)** mlú, **Dan (kl)** mlṣ *n uncooked rice*, **Tura #** mǎnì, **Mwan #** mlú, **Wan #** mǎṣ, **Beng GA** mǎnṣ, **Beng PA** mǎnṣ
- *mǎ *ripen (to)* > **Dan (bl)** mǎ, mǎ *vi ripen*, **Dan (gw)** mǎ *vt cook*, **Tura MB** ma, **Mano MB** ma, **Guro #** má *vt cook*, **Yaure MB** ma, **Gban #** mà *vt cook; n food*, **Mwan MB** ma, **Wan MB** mǎ, **Beng #** mǎ *vt cook*
- *mēnē *snake-2* > **Dan (bl)** mēè, **Dan (gw)** mlē, **Dan (kl)** mēè, **Dan (wa)** mēiṣ, **Tura #** mēé, **Mano NE, VV** mēnē, **Guro #** mēnē, **Yaure** mlē, **Gban ST** mēè, **Mwan #** mlē, **Wan #** ṣlè, **VV** mlēè, **Beng GL** mlē, **Beng GR** mēlè
- *mǎā *strike-2* > **Dan (bl)** mâ, **Dan (dh)** mà, **Dan (gw)** mà, **Tura #** màà *vt strike, beat; vi bump (into – bǎ); fall (upon – tǎ, of a bird of prey)*, **Mano MB** mē, **Gban ST** mē, **Beng GL** mē
- *mǎnṣ *swallow-2 (to)* (cf. *drink), **Dan (gw)** mǎṣ *vt swallow (sth. non-liquid)*, **Mano ZE, VV** mǎnì, **Guro GR, ST** mǎnì, **Gban ST** mlē *vt swallow*
- *mǎmǎ *thank* > **Mano ZE** mǎmǎ, **Guro BN** mǎ (?) *please*
- *mēē *where? what?* > **Dan (ka)** mǎ, **Tura #** mēē *where?* **Mano ZE** mēē *what? which? mé where? what?* **Mwan #** mē *what?*

3.2.2. The series 9 is of special interest, in particular because it made Konstantin Pozdniakov (1978) and Claire Grégoire (1988) postulate separate Proto-Mande phonemes: **b̥*- (“a weak *b*”) by Pozdniakov, **v*- by Claire Grégoire. Taking into account general trends in evolution of phonological systems of Mande languages, transformation **v* > *b* seems rather unusual, while **b* > *v* looks much more natural. Let us examine the sets of correspondences.

It is easy to notice that

a) all 7 stems are of the types CV, CVV or CVŋ; in other words, there is no single example of the type CVIV;

b) all these stems have a labial vowel following the initial consonant.

In the meantime, there is not a single set in the Series 6 which would fulfill these conditions. Therefore, *b*- and *v*- in Mano and Beng, and to some extent in Wan and Mwan, are in complimentary distribution. There is no reason to reconstruct for the Series 9 an initial consonant other than **b*-.

In fact, in Mwan, Wan and Beng the conditions of the diachronic transformation **b*- > *v*- must be more complex than those formulated above, so that we find some forms having *b*-: Mwan ‘grave-2’, ‘send-2’; Wan ‘send-2’, Beng ‘ten-2’. The initial *b*- in Mwan *bíá-gā* ‘wake up’ can be explained by the change of the subsequent vowel **u* > *i*, which prevented the initial consonant from the transformation.

Series 9

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>b, v</i>	<i>b, v</i>	<i>b, v</i>

b̥*ŋ *grave-2* > **Dan (gw) *b̥*, **Dan (kl)** *b̥*, **Tura** # *bú n grave; mound*, **Guro GR, VV** *v̥*, **Yaure HP** *fú n mound*, **Gban ST** *β̥*, **Mwan PM** *b̥*, **Wan** # *v̥áŋ, v̥àŋ (< *v̥òŋ ?) n mound; vi trip (over – mí)*, **Beng** # *v̥òŋ n mound*

b*ù *harmattan* > **Dan (bl) *bù*, **Dan (gw)** *bù*, **Tura** # *bù*, **Guro GR** *fū* (?), **Gban ST** *fù* (?), **Mwan** # *v̥*

b*̥ *rot-2* > **Dan (bl) *b̥*, **Dan (gw)** *b̥* *vi*, **Tura** # *b̥ú* *vi*, **Mano ZE** *v̥ú* *adj, vi rot*, **Guro BN** *v̥*, *hab. v̥*, **Gban ST** *β̥* (?), *vi rot, spoil*, **Beng GL** *v̥*, **Beng PA** *v̥* *vi rot; be ugly*

b*̥ *send-2* > **Dan (bl, gw) *b̥* *vi pass; cross (river, road); overcome; vt send; sow (rice); produce (sound); fell (tree); add, mix (with – píx’); till, cultivate*, **Dan (kl)** *b̥* *vt cultivate*, **Tura** # *b̥* *vt send; sow (rice); produce (sound)*, **Mano ZE** *v̥* *vt send; fell (tree)*, **Guro** *v̥*, *hab. v̥á* *vt rise; enter; fell (tree); send; sow; mount; speak (language); say (proverb); fell; put, throw*, **Yaure HB** *f̥* *vt sow*, **Mwan** # *b̥* *vt put*, **Wan** # *b̥*, *b̥* *vi pass; vt touch; allow; mix*

b*̥ *ten-2* > **Tura # *b̥*, **Mano NE** *v̥*, **Guro GR** *v̥*, **Gban ST** *β̥*, **Mwan** # *v̥*, **Beng GL, PA** *b̥*

b*̥ *wake up-2* > **Dan (bl) *b̥ú* *vi*, **Mano ZE** *v̥*, **Guro BN, ST** *v̥*, **Yaure HB** *f̥*, *impf. f̥-á* *vi wake up; vt wake smb. up*, **Gban ST** *β̥*, **Wan** # *b̥á-gā*

To this series can be also attributed two other sets where Mano forms (which is the only language where the transformation **b*- > *v*- in the conditions in question seems to be regular) are absent, and among Mwan, Wan and Beng, only one Wan form is available:

b̥* *carry* > **Dan (bl) *b̥* *vt carry; support*, **Dan (gw)** *b̥* *vt accomodate (guest)*, **Tura** # *b̥* *vt suport (physically, ex. an old person when walking)*, **Gban ST** *β̥*

b̥* *end-2* > **Dan (bl, gw) *b̥* *vi stop; finish, terminate (sth. – ká); deliver oneself of (excrement); get better; vt cure*, **Tura** # *b̥* *vi? vr? finish, terminate (sth. – b̥à, -á-gerund)*, **Guro BN, GR** *v̥*, *perf. v̥*, *hab. v̥* *vi remain; vt leave*, **Yaure HB** *f̥* *vi remain*, **Gban ST** *β̥* *vt finish*, **Wan** # *b̥* *vi remain; finish (sth. – yā)*

It is highly probable that the set ‘flower’ also belongs to this series:

*bū́í *flower* > **Dan (bl)** bǐ́, **Dan (gw)** bǐ́, **Dan (kl)** bǐ́ *rn flower; vi blossom*, **Tura** # bǐ́, **Mano ZE** bǐ́, **Guro MB** vui, vi, **Guro GR** wǐ́ (< *vū́í ?) *n flower; ear (of corn, etc.); animal's tail*, **Yaure MB** fi, **Beng** # vǐ́

b- in the Mano form can be explained by the lost of *-u-* in the position after the consonant, which prevented the latter from the change **b-* > *v-*. In Beng the vowel was retained and the consonantal change took place.

There is one set which contradicts the established rules: we have *v-* in Wan, although it is not followed by a labial vowel, and the foot structure of the of the proto-stem is CVIV. In the meantime, there is no change **b-* > *v-* in Beng:

*bù́lǐ́j (?) *porcupine-3* **Dan (bl)** blúúúj, blúúú, blúúj, **Dan (gw)** blúú *n porcupine; (bl) African brush-tailed porcupine*, **Guro BN** vlù, **Gban ST** Blú, **Wan** # vlì, **Beng** blí *n big porcupine*

This probably means that the rule of change should be modified in Wan, or that the Wan form has undergone some intermediate stages.

Finally, the same pattern partly follows yet another set:

*bò *plural marker-2* > **Dan** bò *fossilized plural marker in several words*, **Tura** # bò, **Mano VV** vò, **Mwan** # mū *plural marker*, mú *they*, **Wan** # mū

The nasalization in Mwan and Wan which also led to the irregular change **b-* > *m-* should be attributed to the grammatical character of the lexeme.

3.2.3. This brings us to the reconstruction of only two proto-phonemes, **b̥-* and **b-*. However, the situation is seriously complicated by the presence of numerous sets where would-be reflexes of **b̥-* and **b-* are «mixed» unpredictably (in the data presented below, the names of the languages where the form is irregular are underlined).

3.2.3.1. In some sets («Irregularities 6 ~ (b)»), reflexes of what looks like **b̥-* predominate, with one exception in each set. Most often (5 cases out of 9) the «irregular» form, *b-*, belongs to Wan, sometimes (3 cases) in Mano; Dan (*b-*) and Guro (*v-*) count one case each.

Some of these irregularities can be explained through borrowing (‘eagle-1’); some may arise through erroneous transcription of the forms in the sources;⁵ non-cognate forms may also appear. However may it be, we have to postulate, at least in some cases, an unexplainable change **b̥-* > *b-*.⁶

For all these cases I will reconstruct **b̥-* with a question mark.

Irregularities 6 ~ (b):

?*b̥ú *alive-2* > **Dan (bl)** b̥éé, **Dan (gw)** b̥ú, **Mano** b̥éé, b̥é

?*b̥í *be-1* > **Tura** # b̥é *exist*, **Wan** # b̥í *vi be (in possession of – go)*; *be (in the course of doing sth. – lé)*; *vt have*

?*b̥è *bunch* > **Dan (gw)** b̥è, **Dan (bl)** b̥è *n bunch, bundle*, **Mano ZE** b̥è

?*b̥íbí *eagle-1* > **Guro ST** b̥íbí (< *Jula?*), **Wan** b̥íbí *n vulture* (< *Jula?*)

?*b̥ílǐ́j *garbage-3* > **Guro BN** b̥ílǐ́ *n garbage; garbage heap*, **Yaure HB** b̥ílǐ́ *n garbage heap*, **Wan** # b̥ílǐ́, b̥ílǐ́

⁵ So, I have used a preliminary version of Tatiana Nikitina’s Wan dictionary, before she imputed her more reliable data collected in Januray 2004.

⁶ One could try to establish a phonetic conditioning: position before vowel *-i* in Wan (3 out of 5 cases), before *-i* or *-e* in Dan and Mano, but the data are too slim to establish a reliable rule.

?*bèlí horn-1 > **Mano ZE** bé, **Guro VV** béí ~ béli, **Gban ST** bí *n horn; whistle; trumpet*, **Wan** # bōlī, bōlì (= bōlì ?) *n horn; trumpet; cannon (of gun)*, **Beng GL** bèn, **Beng PA** béŋ *n horn; trumpet*

?*mùmú powder-2 > **Guro BN, GR** vùù *n dust, sowdust; sugar or salt powder*, **Gban** # búbú, büú *n dust*, **Wan** # bú

?*bàlí rope > **Dan (gw)** bī́k̄k̄, ~-gā, **Dan (bl)** bũ̄x̄ *n rope; (bl) liana; intestinal worm*, **Tura** # bēè *n rope; thread; line, queue (of people)*, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** bēlè *n rope; liana*, **Guro ST** bālī, **Yaure HO** bāà, bā̀, **Gban ST** bà *n rope; thread; liana*, **Mwan CF:35** bēlē, bēlē, **Wan AT** bālè, **Wan** # bālè, bālè *n rope, liane; line; trap*, **Beng GL, PA** bāŋ (?)

?*bílí shine > **Dan (kl)** bl̄x̄, **Dan (bl)** búú *vi shine*, **Dan (kl)** blúú (?) *n light*, **Mano ZE** bí, **Guro** #, **BN, GR** bí *vi shine; burn; vt ignite; light up*, **Wan** # blī *n light; vi shine*, **Beng GA** bīē, **PA** bí-é |bí-lé| *vi shine, be lit, be illuminated; vt ignite, set fire on, bí vi shine; vt lighten*

3.2.3.2. In others cases («Irregularities b ~ (b)»), situation is inverse: the majority of the languages in the set display reflexes of *b-, while one language has a form which looks like a reflex of *b̄-. This time, among the languages displaying irregularities we find Mwan, Dan (2 cases each) and Gban (1 case).

All the reservations expressed in the previous paragraph can be repeated here. The sets are too few for establishing any diacronic phonological rule. For a while, *b- with a question mark will be given as a reconstruction for these sets.

Irregularities b ~ (b):

?*bèlè dry season > **Dan (gw)** blēē-yī, **Dan (kl)** blèè-lé, **Dan (bl)** blāā, ~yīā, **Dan (dh)** blāā, ~yīā, **Tura** # bālā-lé, **Gban ST** blē *adj dry*, **Wan** # blè-yà *n harmattan*

?*bēlē lie (untruth) > **Tura** # bēlè, **Guro BN** vè, **ST** vīē, **Mwan** # blā

?*bà by (a postposition) **Dan (bl, gw)** bāà *pp in (water), near (water)*, **Mano ZE** bà *pp in (water)*, **Guro BN** vā *pp by, at (smb's place)*, **Yaure HP** vá *pp with (the retention of the voiced initial can be probably explained by the grammatical character of the word)*, **Mwan** # bā *pp in (water); at (smb.'s place)*

?*bāá mush-1 > **Dan (bl)** bāá, bāā, **Dan (gw, kl)** bāā *n cooked rice*, **Guro BN** bāà (= bāà?) *n rice mush*, **Mwan** # bāā *n cooked rice*

?*bádòŋ squirrel-5 > **Dan (bl)** bádúŋ, bádúŋ, **Dan (gw)** bádúŋ *n striped ground squirrel*, **Tura** # bódò-né *n striped ground squirrel*, **Gban ST** bā̄ *n Beecroft's anomalure*

3.2.3.3. There is another series where Guro and Yaure display initial b- instead of the expected b̄-. In all the cases the initial consonant is followed by a front vowel, and in 4 sets out of 5, this vowel is -e. It could be interpreted as the phonetic condition of the change *b̄- > b- in Guro and Yaure, but there are counterexamples where *b̄- > b- in the same context (*bēēŋ fruit, *bēlē respect-2, *bēlēŋ termite (flying, ephemera)-1 in the Series 7), unless there is a supplementary, more subtle conditioning. I reconstruct for this series *b̄, but mark it with a question mark.

?*bēlē antelope-2 > **Guro GR** bēlē *n red bushbock*, **Gban** # bē *n antelope (sp.)*

?*bēlē big-1 > **Mano ZE** bēlē *n human fat*, **Guro** # bēē *adj big, large; important*, **Gban ST** blē, **Wan** # bālè

?*bēē friend-3 > **Mano NE, ZE** bēē, *pl. -nī*, **Guro** # bēē, **Yaure HP** bēē, bḕ, **Gban** # bē *n friend; friendship*, **Mwan** # bē

?*bé here-1 **Tura** # bē *adv here (nearby)*, **Guro VV** bē *adv here (in a distance, but within visibility)*

?*bèlí viper **Dan (bl)** b̄x̄û, b̄x̄û, b̄x̄û, **Dan (gw)** b̄x̄x̄, b̄x̄x̄, b̄x̄x̄, blū, **Dan (kl)** blūù, **Dan (yi)** blū, **Tura** # bēi, **Mano VV** bìlì, **Guro ST** bìLí, **BN, GR** bīlī *n naja, cobra*, **Yaure HO** b̄lì, **Mwan** # brù

One set seems to combine «irregular» changes in Guro (analyzed in the current paragraph) and in Wan (see 3.2.3.1.):

?*b̥èŋ *granary-3* > **Guro BN** béŋ *n granary; hayloft*, **Wan** # bēŋ, **Beng GL, PA** b̥əŋ, b̥èŋ *n granary (for corn or rice)*

3.2.3.4. There are several sets where initial *p-* emerges in some single languages, while other languages have regular reflexes of **b-*. So far, I have no reasonable explanation for these irregularities; it is more appropriate to consider them as unrelated forms:

*b̥iē *powder-4* > **Dan (gw)** b̥i, **Dan (bl)** b̥i *n powder; flour*, **Tura** bíi *n powder; flour*, **Mano ZE** bíi, **Gban** # bíè *n ash; powder; flour*, {**Mwan PM** p̥ii}

*b̥û *grass-1* > **Tura (n)** b̥û, **Tura (w)** béi, {**Beng PA** p̥iŋ *n grasses; weeds*}

*b̥ā *rain (to)* > **Dan (bl)** b̥ā, **Dan (kl)** b̥āŋ *vi rain*, **Tura** # b̥ā *vi rain; place oneself; vt make rain; pour; put*, **Mano ZE** b̥ā *vi rain*, **Mwan CF** b̥ā, {**Wan** # p̥ā} **Beng** b̥ā

3.2.4. It is interesting to compare results of my reconstruction with the data of Claire Grégoire (1988). South Mande was in her work just one among many Mande branches to be compared, but she affirmed repeatedly that the East Mande data may be decisive for the reconstruction of the proto-language of the entire family.

Claire Grégoire singled out 8 labial «types», for each of them she reconstructed a Proto-Mande phoneme. Let us examine each of them.

Type I: **m*. This series rises no questions, it should be just noted that in Proto-South Mande it is not a separate phoneme, but a nasal allophone of **/b/*.

Type II: **mb*. Two of Claire's sets, 'to go out' and 'dumb', have in my Proto-SM reconstruction initial **b-* ('go out (to)' and 'mute-1', cf. 3.2.1.), rather than **b-*. Her Guro forms, *b̥ɔ* 'to look like' and *b̥ɔ̄(b)ɔ̄* 'dumb' are most probably taken from the dissertation of H.-Cl. Grégoire (unfortunately, Claire does not provide the list of her sources of data).⁷ As for the Yaure form *bura*, it is certainly not genetically identical to the other forms for 'go out'; there is another form in this language, *bɔ*, which fits the set very well, especially if we take into account the polysemy of this verb in the languages of the group (and of other Mande languages too).

The third set, 'to cover', is represented in my data as **b̥iŋ bury* > **Dan (bl)** b̥i *hide*, **Tura** # bíi, **Mwan** # b̥iŋ, **Wan** # blàà (?), **Beng** # bl̥i, which corresponds more or less to Claire's data for South Mande. At the same time, this set rises two serious problems.

First, my Proto-SM form has **b-*, unlike those for 'go out' and 'dumb', which is incompatible with their putting together into one "type".

Second, I disagree with Claire in what concerns the links of the stems in other Mande groups. For me, this stem corresponds to **Soso** bírí *vt bury (animal, object)*, **Mogofin** biri *vt bury*, **Nyokolo Maninka** and **Xasonka** bùruu *vt bury*, **Kankan Maninka** bírí *vt bury*, **Soninke** bulu/bullu *vt bury, dig in*. As for the forms for the Manding and many other West Mande languages provided by Claire, I consider them as a different stem 'bend-1', whose reflexes follow:

Vai bí'í *vi stumble; get caught (as in a trap)*

P.Manding *bíDi(n), **Mandinka** bíti *vt shut, close; cover; finalize marriage with*, **Nyokolo Maninka** bidi *vt cover*, **Xasonka** búti *vt cover with sth. (sth. – kùnnà); vr bend down, curve; hide oneself*, **Kagoro VV** bíti *vi overturn, come down; vt bend; turn over (vessel); cover with sth. (sth. – na); vr bend down, curve*, **Maninka** bídí, bírĩ, bídi *vi fall*

⁷ As it was mentioned above, in this dissertation *b* and *b̥* are often not distinguished.

prone; vt bend (one's back, head), curve, stoop; cover with sth. (sth. – lá, kǎ̃); sit on (eggs); vr bend down, stoop; lie face down, fall prone; n ambush, Bamana bíri vi fall prone; overturn, come down (upon – kǎ̃); vt bend (one's back, head), curve, stoop; turn over (vessel); cover with sth. (sth. – lá, kǎ̃); vr bend down, stoop; conceal oneself, skulk, lurk; lie face down, fall prone; lean back

Bobo p̄l̄ē/p̄l̄ē *vi bend (of a vessel)*

Guro BN blí (= 6lí ?) *vi bend; rise; swell*

So, finally, the stem ‘cover’ is represented in SM, although in a different form.

Type III: **mp*. It consists of only one set, ‘to sting’. Unfortunately, among the SM forms provided by Claire, only one (that of Dan) belongs to the stem in question, and even that one is given in a form that is impossible in Dan, *bō̄* (as it was mentioned, in the nasal context only *mō̄* is possible, rather than *bō̄*); in my data, the Dan-Gweetaa form is *bō̄* ‘to sting (of insect)’. As for the other SM forms given by Claire, some of them (Yaure *pō̄*, Mwan *fō̄*) are absent in my data (and seem to me doubtful), others belong to a quite different stem:

**p̄ō̄ dig-2 (to) > Dan (bl) p̄ō̄, Dan (gw) p̄ō̄ vt dig out, Tura # p̄ō̄ vt dig (soil; hole), Guro # f̄ō̄, Mwan # p̄ō̄ vt pierce, Wan # p̄ō̄ vt pierce, Beng p̄ō̄ vt pierce*

(After some hesitation, I checked out the Mano form *fō̄* ‘to dig’; otherwise, it should be considered as irregular.)

Therefore, all reasoning based on the presumption of existence of the Type III cannot be considered as valid.

Type IV: **b*. Both sets, ‘stomach, belly’ and ‘white’, seem to be valid, but there is one detail to add: in Wan, the reflex of the stem for ‘stomach, belly’ is *blū̄*, which makes me reconstruct Proto-SM form **Ñ-pùlù* (see 3.1.2.).

Type V: **v*. As it was said in 3.2.2., *v-* in Mano, Mwan, Wan and Beng can be explained through diachronic change of **b-* before back labial vowels in certain contexts. This makes unnecessary differentiating of Claire’s types IV and V.

As for Claire’s stem ‘to throw’, she fused two different SM stems, my **bīlīŋ throw-1 (to)* and **bō̄ send-2* (see 3.2.1.), both well represented in the languages of the group.

Type VI: **p*. Claire’s sets seem to be valid, I disagree in just one point concerning her set ‘to tear, to split’: I consider the Wan form *plá* or *plāā* as belonging to a stem different from all others (see **pīā tear* in 3.1.1.), which is yet to be confirmed.

Type VII: **f*. This type rises no questions; about the reconstruction of a nasal prefix in the stem **Ñ-f̄ō̄Gō̄ŋ* ‘lungs’ see 3.1.5.

Type VIII: **b*. Claire’s sets are valid, there are just minor corrections to be done:

- 1) ‘liver, heart’: the Wan form (*ka*)*blū̄* ‘belly’ given by Claire is in fact *ká-blū̄*, I mentioned the second component of this form when discussing the type IV. I do not think that it belongs to the type VIII;
- 2) for the same stem, the Mano form given by ZE is *būlū̄* (rather than *bulu*);
- 3) ‘antelope, goat’: the Mano form is *bò* (rather than *gbó, bú, bō*).

By this criticism I do not want, by no means, to belittle Claire’s work which was an important input to the development of the Mande comparative studies. It is just meant to demonstrate the progress made in the Mande studies during last 15-20 years which allows a comparatist to work with much preciser data, and also to continue our discussion about the importance of internal sub-group reconstructions, which, according to Claire, «seem to be doomed to failure» (Grégoire 1988: 104).

3.3. Alveolars and platal

3.3.1. In the great majority of cases, the proto-phoneme *t- is reflected in modern SM languages without any change (Series 10).

Series 10

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t

*tīi black-2 > **Dan (bl, gw, ka)** tīi, **Dan (kl)** tī *adj black; dark; (bl) unknown; (bl, ka) dirty*, **Tura** # tīi, **Mano NE, VV, ZE** tīi, **Guro BN, GR, ST** tī, **Gban ST** tīé *vi be black*, **Mwan** # tī, **Wan AT** tī, **Beng** # tīi

*túnē charcoal-2 **Tura** # tūé, **Mano ZE** tūē, **Guro GR** tēè, **Gban ST** tūé, **Beng** # tǎnīj (?)

*tòj chest-2 > **Dan (gw, kl)** # tōj, **Wan** # tǒj

*tā close-2 (to), shut (to) > **Dan (bl)** tā *vt close; bar*, **Tura** # dē-tá *vi close; vt close*, **Mano ZE** lé-tā, **Guro** # lé-tā *vt*, **Wan** # tā *vt close, shut; bar; damn; n damnation*, **Beng GA, PA** tā *vt close; stick, clue*

*tēlē darkness-2 > **Dan (gw)** trēē, **Dan (kl)** trū *vi grow dark; n darkness; adj dark*, **Tura** # tǎlā *vi blacken, darken*, **Wan** # trē *n night*, **Beng** # trī *vt blacken, darken*

*tōj draw (to; water)-2 > **Dan (bl)** tó, **Guro BN,** # tó, *hab. tōā*, **Yaure HO** tó, **Mwan** # tó, **Wan** # túnj

*tū drop-2, point > **Guro** # tū *vt pour by drops*, **Gban ST** tō *n drop*, **Beng** # tótó *vi leak water*, tō-lá *vt pour by drops*

*tōlé earth-4 > **Mano ZE** tǎá ? *n earth; pp down*, **Guro** # tēLè, **Yaure HP** trē, **Gban ST** tǎá (?), **Mwan** # tré, **Wan** # trós, trōs *n earth; soil; life*, **Beng GL** tló *n bottom; adv low*

*tólōj ear > **Dan (bl)** tó, **Dan (gw)** tú, **Dan (kl)** tó, **Tura** # tǎlǎ *rn*, **Mano ZE, VV** tóó, **Guro ST** tō-nē, **Yaure HP** tǎé, **Gban ST** tó, **Mwan** # trǎ, **Beng** # trój

*tǎ fart > **Guro BN** tǎ, **Beng** # tǎ

*tí father-3 > **Guro** tí *rn father; adult male*, **Yaure HP** tǎ, **Yaure HO** tí *rn father*, **Yaure HO** tí *n Mister*, **Mwan** # tí *n uncle (mother's brother)*

*tǎá go (to)-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** tá, **Dan (kl)** tǎ *n walking; travel; step*, **Tura** # tǎá *n walking; travel*, **Mano NE** tǎá *n walking*, **Guro GR** tá *vi*, **Yaure HP** tǎ *vi*, **Gban ST** tá, **Mwan** # tǎá *n walk*, **Wan** tá-ò *vi walk*, **Beng GL** tǎ, **Beng PA** tá

*tǎ hill-1 > **Dan (gw)** tǎ, **Dan (bl)** tǎ, **Dan (kl)** tǎ *n mountain*, **Tura** # tǎ *n mountain*, **Mano ZE** tǎ *n hill*, **Beng** tǎ *n termite hill*

*tǎj law > **Dan (bl)** tǎj, **Dan (gw)** tǎj *n law; taboo; (bl) advice*, **Tura** # tǎj *n law*, **Mano VV** tǎ, **Mwan PM** tǎj

*tǎkō mongoose > **Mwan** # tǎkō *n mongoose; civette*, **Wan** # tǎgō *n long-snouted mongoose*

*tǎo mush-2 > **Dan (gw)** tǎo *n sticky cassava or millet mush*, **Guro BN** tǎo, **GR** tǎo *n pounded and dried manioc*, **Gban ST** tǎo *n maize*, **Mwan** # tǎo *n paste*

*tǎlú mushroom-2 > **Dan (bl)** tǎ-dé, **Dan (gw)** tǎlǎ(dé), **Tura** # tǎlǎ *n edible mushroom (sp.)*, **Guro GR** tǎlǎ, **Gban ST** tǎ, **Wan** # tǎlǎ

*tǎ name-1 > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** tǎ *rn*, **Tura** # tǎ *rn name; reputation*, **Mano NE, ZE** tǎ *rn*, **Guro** # tǎ, **Yaure HP** tǎ *rn*, **Gban ST** tǎ, **Mwan** # tǎ, **Wan** # tǎ, tǎ, **Beng GL** tǎ, **PA** tǎ

*tǎ orphan-2 > **Dan (bl)** tǎ-nǎ, **Dan (kl)** tǎ-nǎ, **Tura** # tǎ-nǎ, **Mano VV** tǎ, **Mwan PM** tǎ-nǎ

*tǎlí porcupine-4 > **Dan (gw)** tǎ, **Dan (kl)** tǎ, **Mano VV** tǎ, **Guro BN** tǎlí *n small porcupine (Atherurus africanus)*

*tǎn profit-2 **Dan (bl)** trǎ, **Dan (kl)** trǎ, **Dan (gw)** trǎ, **Tura** tǎLǎ *n profit; reward*, **Mano VV** tǎn, **Guro BN** tǎLǎ, **Mwan** # trǎ, **Beng GL** trǎ, trǎ (< Julia?)

*tɛ́ɛ́ red-1 > **Dan (bh, yi)** tɛ́ɛ́, **Dan (kl)** tá, *pl. tɛ́ɛ́-nù, adj red, Dan (gw) tɛ́ɛ́ *adj (rare, obsc.) bright red, Tura # tɛ́ɛ́, Guro* tɛ́ *adj (pej.) red, Gban ST, VV* tɛ́ *adj reddish, Mwan # tɛ́, Wan # tɛ́, Beng GL, PA* tɛ́ɛ́*

*tánā red-2 > **Dan (kl)** tnā *vi ripen, Tura # tãã vi redden; ripen, Mano ZE* tãã, tãã *adj ? ripe, Guro # tɾãã adj ripe and red; vi ripen (of fruits which become red, yellow, orange...); redden; vt paint in red, make red, Gban ST* tá *vi ripen, Mwan PM* tLãã-lē *adj ripe, Wan # trõõ adj ripe and red; vi ripen (of fruits which become red, yellow, orange...), Beng # trã vi ripen, vt make red*

*tú remain-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** tó *vi remain; vt leave, abandon, Tura # tó vi remain; continue; be (sth. – gá); become (sth. – gá); vt leave, let remain; make, transform (into – gá), Mano ZE* tō, **Yaure HB** túí, *impf. tũé vt leave, Gban ST* tó *vt leave; forget, Mwan PM* tō *vt leave; let, Beng GL* twā, **Beng PA** túá *vi leave*

*tóló spoon-3 > **Tura # tóló, Mwan # tó**

*tálin stranger-2 > **Tura # tōḡ, tōḡ, Wan # táli n stranger, foreigner; adj foreign, Beng # téníj**

*tV then > **Mano ZE** tó, tō, tōó *conj. then (in this case), Guro BN* té, **Yaure HB** tè *conj as, as far as; when; if*

*tūj time-4 > **Dan (gw)** tŷj, **Dan (kl)** tŷj, **Dan (bl)** tŷj *n time; (kl) weather, Guro BN* tō, **GR** tū (= tū?) *n day and night, Yaure HP* tū

*tōlē tomorrow > **Tura # tili, Mano NE, ZE, VV** tōò, **Guro # tɛ̀Lè, Guro BN** tLē, **Yaure HP** tré, **Mwan # tōō (?), Wan # tólì**

*tá weave (to) > **Guro # tá, tã vt weave; plait, tress; play (cards); do (sorcery); put together (fetishes), Gban** tà (?) *vt produce, make, or, Gban ST* tó *vt weave, Mwan # tá, Wan # tã vt weave, plait, Beng GL* twōō, **PA** túá *vt weave; plait*

*tūā yet **Tura # tūā part still, Guro BN** tãā *part (not) yet*

There is one set whose irregular forms (*d-* in Tura, *d-* in Yaure) can be most probably explained by the grammatical function of the words (postpositions; cf. an irregular voiced consonant in the reflex of the postposition *bā in Yaure, section 3.2.3.2.):

*tà surface > **Dan (bl)** tâ, **Dan (gw)** tà, **Dan (kl)** tà *pp on, upon; rn surface, Tura # tà, dà rn surface; hundred (?); pp on, upon, Guro (Sinfra) BN* tā *pp on, Yaure HO* dà *pp on, Mwan # tā pp on; in, Wan # tā pp on, upon; rn surface.*

3.3.2. In monosyllabic oral feets *t- > c- in Guro before –e.

Series 11

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*t	t	t	t	c	?	t	t	t	?

*té fire-1 > **Tura # tɛ́-í n sweat, Mano NE, ZE, VV** tíé *n fire; light, Guro GR, ST* cé *n fire; heat; light; electricity, Gban ST* tɛ́ *n heat, Mwan # yērē-té n sun, Wan # té.*

There is another example where *t > c in Guro in a different context, but I am not sure that the Guro form (as well as Wan) represents the same stem as in Kla-Dan and Mano:

*tīs sneeze-1 > **Dan (kl)** tīsē, **Mano ZE** tīséè, **Guro GR** cǐ (?), **Wan # tiǎ (?)**

3.3.3. There are three sets where *d-* in Beng corresponds to *t-* in all other languages of the group. It is tempting to reconstruct *t- for these cases too, but there seems to be no common phonetic or morphophonemic conditioning for the change *t- > d- in Beng (we can just mention that this change was accompanied with lowering of tone). For the time being, I will reconstruct for these sets *t- with a question mark. It is also possible that the Beng forms do not belong to the same sets (in this case, the set ‘dance’ can be merged with the set ‘to weave’).

Series 12

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*?t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	d

?*tǎ *dance* > **Dan (gw)** tǎ, **Dan (bl)** tǎ *n dance; music; song*, **Tura** # tǎǎ *n dance; music; song*, **Mano NE** tǎ *n dance*, **Yaure HP** tǎ *vt dance sth.*, **Mwan** # tǎ *vt dance sth., vi tread (on – t̄ā)*, **Wan** tǎ *vt dance sth.*, **Beng** # dà *vt sing*

?*túlú *oil-1* > **Dan (bl)** túε-yǒ (?), **Guro GR** tūLū *n shea tree butter*, **Gban ST** tlú *n shea tree, shea butter*, **Beng GL** drū-ìi, **PA** dlù-í

?*tǎ *sow (to)-1* > **Dan (bl, gw)** tǎ *vt plant, sow; cultivate*, **Tura** # tá *vt plant, sow; cork, fill*, **Mano ZE** tǎā *vt sow (seeds)*, **Yaure HP** tǎ *vt plant*, **Gban ST** tà, **Mwan CF:40** tǎ, **Wan** # tá, tǎ *vt plant, sow, seed*, **Beng GL** dà, **PA** dâ

3.3.4. In two other sets, *d-* in Guro corresponds to *t-* in the other languages.

These irregularities may have different grounds. The first lexeme belongs to the semantic group «names of elder relatives». Nouns of this group display in many West Mande languages traces of a prefix morpheme that I reconstruct as *N̄- (Vydrine 1994, 2001). According to this hypothesis, the Proto-SM form for this word could be reconstructed as *N̄-tén̄.

As for the other set, I do not see any reasonable explanation; the Guro form *dì* may be just non-cognate with the forms of the other languages.

*N̄-tén̄ *paternal aunt* > **Tura** # tée, **Guro BN** dnì

*tìj̄ *heap* > **Tura** # tìj̄ *adj numerous, in a great number; n pile, heap; scrap-heap*, [**Guro** # ðì *adv much; very; adj numerous, in a great number*] **Gban ST** tũ, **Wan** # tí *adv much*, **Beng GL** t̄ij̄ *n heap, pile*, # t̄ij̄ *vi gather together, vt gather*

3.3.5. The Series 13 (*t-* in Yaure, *d-* elsewhere) corresponds undoubtedly to the Proto-SM **d-*.

Series 13

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*d	d	d	d	d	t	d	d	d	d

*d̄ōn̄ē *ant-3* > **Dan (bl)** drūā *n small black ants (sp.)*, **Guro** # d̄ōn̄ē *n small red ants*

*d̄òl̄ōj̄ *beer* (< **Jula** d̄òl̄ó, d̄òr̄ó; *the word may be also borrowed independently to each SM language*) > **Dan (bl)** dl̄ôô, **Dan (gw)** dl̄ôô *n red wine (imported)*, **Tura** # d̄òl̄ôj̄ *n red wine (imported)*, **Guro BN** dl̄ò *n red wine*, **Gban ST** dl̄ò, **Wan** # dr̄ò *n wine*

*d̄ōn̄ó *borrow* > **Guro BN** d̄ōn̄ó *n debt, credit*, **Gban** # d̄ũ (?) *n debt, credit*, **Mwan** # dr̄ó *n debt*

*d̄ōn̄é *cook (to)-4* > **Guro** # d̄ōn̄é *vt*, **Yaure HP** tw̄éé, t̄éé *vt*, **Wan** dr̄ò

*d̄òl̄ō *cold-2* > **Mano ZE, VV** d̄óó *adj cold; slow*, **Guro BN** dl̄ò, **GR** d̄ōr̄ó *adj fresh; humid; calm; peaceful, good*, **Mwan** # d̄ò *adj fresh; wet*, **Wan** # d̄òl̄ō *adj cold, cool; soft; humid; slow*

*d̄il̄á *fall (to)-2* > **Guro** # d̄il̄á *vi fall, vt drop*, **Yaure** t̄il̄à, **Beng** # dr̄à

*d̄ā *female-1* > **Tura** # d̄á *adj female*, **Guro BN, GR** d̄ā, **Gban ST** d̄à, **Mwan PM** d̄ā

*d̄à *hibiscus* > **Gban** # d̄à *n shrub (sp.); sauce of leaves of this shrub*, **Mwan** # d̄à

*d̄ul̄ēj̄ *hook-1 (fishing)* > **Guro BN** d̄ul̄ē *n fishing rod*, **Mwan** # d̄ul̄éj̄

*d̄aw̄il̄í means (< **Manding** d̄àb̄ári < **Ar.** d̄abbara *take measures; machinate; independent borrowing to single SM languages is also possible*) > **Guro BN (north)** d̄ābli, **(south)** d̄āw̄li *n deception*, **Yaure HB** d̄aw̄il̄i *n trick, ruse*, **Mwan** # d̄aw̄l̄i, **Mwan** # d̄aw̄l̄i *n secret; trick, ruse*, **Wan** # d̄āur̄í

*dā measure (to)-2 > **Dan (bl, gw)** dā vt measure, weigh; taste, **Tura** # dā n attempt, **Mano ZE** dā vt taste; learn; take; see, **Guro BN** dā, hab. dā vt measure, weigh; taste, **Mwan** dā vt taste

*dīñ noise-3 > **Dan (bl)** dīñ, **Gban** # dī

*dō one-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** dō, **Dan (kl)** dō, **Tura** # dō num one; adv immediately, instantly, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** dō num one, dō pron. some; other, **Guro GR** dú, **Yaure HP:94,95** tú ~ tū ~ tū, **Gban ST** dō num one; adv once upon a time, **Mwan** # dō, **Wan** # dō, **Beng GL, PA** dō

*dùgón ostrich > **Tura** # dùgón, **Guro GR** dùò

*dòkó pot-1 > **Guro GR** dòò n big pot for sauce, **Gban ST** dòkó, dòó (?), **Beng GL, PA** dā (?), n large ceramic water pot

*dī spear-2 > **Dan (gw)** dú(-gā), **Dan (kl)** dú(-nā), **Dan (bl)** dú n spear, javelin (in Bl. – arch.), **Tura** # dī, **Guro BN, GR, ST** dī n spear; arrow, **Gban ST** dī n arrow, bow, **Mwan** # dī n spear, arrow, **Wan VV** dī n spear, arrow

*dā-né spider-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** dā, **Tura** # dā-í n spider (generic name), **Guro BN** dūāní, **GR** dwāné, **Gban ST** dié-glò, dié-ò n spider (sp.)

*dō stand (to) > **Dan (gw)** # dó, dō (?), **Dan (bl, kl)** dō vi stop (to wait); vt put; build; give (to – gō); charge; accompany; accuse; be suitable for; n building (process), **Tura** # dó vi stand up; be standing; stop; wait (for – gō); live (in - gí); vt build; put, place; wait for (?); rn wall; bone, **Mano NE, ZE** dō vi stand, stand up; stop; vt build; dam, **Guro** dō, hab. -ā vi stop; stand up; vt build, erect, **Yaure HB** tò vi stop; vt build; stop, **Gban ST** dō vt put, install, **Mwan CF:76** dō vt put; say (name); build; vi grow (of plant), **Beng GA** dō, **PA** dō vt stop; stand sth. up; erect, construct (house)

*dānā teach > **Dan (bl)** dāā, dāā, **Dan (gw)** # drāā vt teach smb.; learn sth., **Tura** # dōò vt teach smb.; learn sth., **Guro BN** dlā, **GR** dānāā vt learn, **Yaure** tārā-lá vt learn, **Mwan AY** dāā, **Beng** # dódò vt learn sth.

*dōgō termite (flying, ephemera)-2 > **Dan (gw)** dōò n flying termite (appears in February, after the first rain), **Tura** # dōó n night termite, **Guro GR** dōó n flying termite (appears at the time when corn is ripening), **Yaure HO** tōó, tō' n tremite (sp.), **Wan** # dōgó (?) n termite

*dōō that (conjunctive)-2 > **Mwan** # dōō object clause conjunctive, **Wan** # dōò object clause conjunctive

*dōñ-dōñ wasp > **Guro ST, GR** dōñdōñ, dōñdōñ, **GR** dlōñ n mason wasp, **Mwan** # dōñdōñ

*dūláj web (of spider) > **Dan (bl)** drój, dró, **Tura** # dū, **Guro BN** dūā

*dē who? > **Dan (bl)** dē, **Dan (gw)** # dē, dē, **Gban** # dé, **Mwan CF** dè-lè, **Wan** # dè, dèè pron who? what kind of?

3.3.6. The next series is characterized by appearance of z- in Beng, sometimes in Wan (where it appears sometimes in free variation with d-, see ‘deep-1’; in one case, j- is attested) and sporadically in Guro (‘axe-1’) and Mano (‘buffalo’; [j-] in my field data is most probably a contextual realization of /z-/).

Analysis of the data demonstrates that we have here a contextual change *d > z before a labial vowel, which is more or less consequent depending on language. It is undoubtedly the same process of spiranization of voiced occlusives before back labial vowels as attested in the change *b > v in the same SM languages.

Series 14

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*d	d	d	d, z	d, z	t	d	d	z, d	z

*dũā axe-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** dùà, **Dan (kl)** dùà, **Tura #** dùà, **Guro BN** zàā, **GR** zāá, **Beng GL, PA** zā

*dũú bud > **Tura #** dũ̀j *n bud; rice basket; vi bud*, **Mano ZE** dēj̄ ?, **Gban #** dũ̀, **Wan #** zṑù̀, **Beng #** z̄̀j̄

*dùò buffalo > **Dan (gw)** dũ̀x̄, **Dan (kl)** dũ̀x̄x̄, **Dan (bl)** dũ̀x̄, dũ̀x̄x̄, **Tura #** dùò, **Mano VV** jũ̀ò, **Guro BN, GR** dù, **Gban ST** dùè, **Mwan #** dũ̀, **Wan #** j̄ò

*dũ̀l̄i cow, cattle-2 > **Dan (bl)** dũ̀, **Dan (gw)** dũ̀, **Dan (kl)** dũ̀, **Tura #** d̄il̄i, **Mano ZE** d̄i, **Guro GR** d̄il̄i, **Yaure HO** t̄ir̄i, **Gban ST** d̄òd̄ò, d̄ò, **Mwan #** d̄r̄i, **Wan #** d̄i, **Beng GL** z̄ò, **Beng PA** z̄ò

*dũ̀j̄ deep-1 > **Mwan #** dũ̀ *adj deep*, dũ̀ũ̀ *n deep part of water*, **Wan #** z̄̀j̄, dũ̀j̄ *n deepness*
 *dũ̀ē hang-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** dũ̀, **Tura #** dũ̀ *vi*, **Guro BN, LS, GR** dũ̀, *hab. -w̄ò*, **Guro VV** dũ̀ũ̀ *vt*, **Mwan #** dũ̀ũ̀ *vt hang*, **Beng GL** z̄ē, **PA** z̄ē *vi hang down; lean; slip down*

3.3.7. The specificity of the Series 15, in comparison with the Series 13, is in the Wan reflexe, *t-*. In one case ('cough'), *t-* appears also in Gban.

In 4 cases out of 5, the initial consonant in Wan is followed by a back labial vowel, which can be a phonetic condition for the change **d-* > *t-*. The counterarguments against this interpretation are:

- in the set 'lie down-1', this condition is not observed;
- the same phonetic condition is established in 3.3.6. for the change **d* > *z* in a number of languages, including Wan.

I can suggest only tentative answers:

- the Wan form *tá* in the set 'lie down-1' is probably irregular, it could be result of a merger of **da* with a different verb (cf. *tá* 'to plant, to seed');
- the phonetic conditioning for both series 14 and 15 can be subtler and include such factors as tones and \pm ATR harmony, which cannot be established in this first approach.

For the time being, I shall reconstruct for these sets **d-* with a question mark.

Series 15

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
?*d	d	d	d	d	t	d, t	d	t	d

*d̄s̄n̄ũ̀ cough > **Dan (bl, gw)** d̄s̄, **Dan (kl)** d̄s̄ *n*, **Tura #** d̄s̄s̄ *n*, **Mano ZE** d̄s̄, d̄s̄ũ̀, **Gban ST** t̄l̄s̄ *vi*, **Wan #** t̄s̄n̄i, t̄s̄n̄i *n cough, cold (illness)*, **Beng #** dr̄s̄ *n*

*dũ̀ò francolin > **Tura #** dũ̀ó, **Guro BN, GR** d̄òò *n harlequin quail (Coturnix delegorguei)*, **Yaure HO** tũ̀ó, **Wan #** tũ̀ *n Francolinus albogularis*

*d̄s̄ know (to) > **Dan (bl, gw)** d̄s̄, **Dan (kl)** d̄ò *vi know; (rare) speak (a language)*, **Tura #** d̄s̄ *vt know; understand; speak (a language)*, **Mano NE** ȳi-d̄s̄ *vt know, understand*, **Mano ZE** d̄s̄ *vt know*, **Guro GR** d̄òò, **Guro BN** d̄ò, *hab. -ā*, **Gban ST** d̄ò, **Mwan CF** d̄s̄ *vt know; make (smb. - b̄ā) know sth.*, **Wan #** t̄s̄, t̄s̄ *vt know; recognize, identify*, **Beng GL** d̄s̄, **Beng PA** d̄s̄

*d̄à lie down-1 > **Dan (bl)** d̄à *vi come; enter; shoot, sprout; rise, ascend; join (smb. - p̄íx̄); commit adultery (with a woman - d̄ē p̄íx̄); vt put; add (to - t̄â); throw; store; wear*, **Dan (gw)** d̄à *vi rise; land; vt lift; attach; wear (clothes); draw alongside (boat); (gw) helve; create; rear (poultry, livestock); name smb. (as - d̄ē)*, **Dan (kl)** d̄à *vi walk; vt kindle (fire)*, **Tura #** d̄à *vi lie down; enter (in - ḡí), come, accede, arrive; fall; appear, happen; go up; occur; come to existence; result (in - ḡí); vt put (on - t̄à); name smb. (as - n̄ē); make enter; add (to - l̄é, t̄à); drop; apply; create (of God); reveal, make public; baptize smb. (with the name of - n̄ē); rear, keep (cattle, birds)*, **Mano ZE, VV** d̄à *vi fall; vt drop; put (clothes; on - m̄ò)*, **Guro** d̄ā, *hab. d̄āā vi come; pour (of rain)*, **Yaure HB** tá *vi come*, **Gban ST** d̄à *vt put, place*, **Mwan CF:40** d̄ā *vi come*, [**Wan #** tá *put; wear; tell (story); vi happen, take place; throw oneself; start, begin (sth. - l̄é),*] **Beng #** d̄à *vi come; lay (egg); sing (song)*

?*d̥l̥ new-2 > **Dan (bl)** d̥l̥, d̥l̥, **Dan (gw)** d̥l̥, **Dan (kl)** d̥l̥, **Dan (bh, yi)** d̥l̥, **Tura #** d̥l̥, **Mano VV, ZE** d̥l̥ *adj new; young*, **Guro ST, BN, GR** d̥l̥, **Gban ST** d̥l̥, **Mwan #** d̥l̥, **Wan #** d̥l̥, **Beng #** d̥l̥.

Another option would be to reconstruct a separate phoneme, for example *t̥.

3.3.8. There is one set which differs from the Series 13 only in the Tura form, where *n-* appears instead of *d-*. As it is a name of an elder kin, I can suggest the same explanation as for the set ‘paternal aunt’ in 3.3.4.: the nasalization of the initial consonant may be a trace of the archaic prefix *N̄-, a noun classifier.

Series 13a

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*N̄-d	d	n	d	d	t	d	d	d	d

*N̄-d̥l̥ father-2 > **Dan (bl)** d̥l̥, **Dan (gw)** d̥l̥, **Dan (kl)** d̥l̥ *rn father, paternal uncle*, **Tura #** n̄l̥ *rn father, paternal uncle*, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** d̥l̥, *pl. -n̄l̥*, **Gban ST** d̥l̥, **Mwan #** d̥l̥, **Wan #** d̥l̥, **Beng GL** d̥l̥, **Beng PA** d̥l̥.

3.3.9. In one more set, the Guro form with an initial *t-* falls out. For a while, I do not have a reasonable explanation for this irregularity; it is possible that the Guro form is just unrelated to the forms in other languages.

*d̥n̄ snail-2 > **Dan (bl)** d̥n̄, d̥n̄, d̥n̄, **Dan (gw)** # d̥n̄, **Dan (kl)** d̥n̄, **Mano ZE** d̥n̄, {**Guro GR** t̥l̄, } **Gban ST** d̥n̄ *n snail (sp.)*

3.3.10. Series 16 and 17 represent reflexes of the proto-SM implosive *d̥- in oral and nasal contexts respectively. There are some sets (given after the Series 17) where in some SM languages we have *n-*, in some others *l-* or *d̥-*. This fact does not represent a problem for the reconstruction of initial consonants, because it depends on the nasality/orality of the foot, which lies outside the scope of this paper. As it was already mentioned, among the languages of the SM group, *n-* and *l-* are opposed only in Beng, and even in this language that opposition is recent.

What is a real problem that I am not yet ready to handle is the status of the oppositions *l- : ll-* in Kla-Dan and in Wan, and also the distribution of *l-* and *d̥-* in Kla-Dan. It is hardly possible to produce any statement about their history before a thorough synchronic description is done. In other Dan variants (Blo, Gweetaa), *l-* and *d̥-* are distinct phonemes, but it is *d̥-* who reflects the proto-phoneme *d̥-, and *l-* is an innovation resulting from monosyllabification of former dissyllabic feet, cf. 3.5.4., 3.5.9. In other languages *l-* and *d̥-* are in free variation (Tura, Guro, Mwan, Wan), or only *l-* is attested (Mano, Yaure, Gban, Beng).

Series 16

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*d̥	d̥	d̥~l	l	d̥~l	d̥~l	l	d̥~l	d̥~l	l

*d̥l̄ advice > **Dan (gw)** d̥l̄, **Dan (bl)** d̥l̄, **Dan (kl)** l̄wèè (?), **Tura #** d̥l̄, **Mano VV** l̄wè-wè, **Wan #** l̄wè

*d̥l̄ buy-2 > **Dan (bl, gw)** d̥l̄, **Dan (kl)** l̄l̄ *vt buy sth. (from – g̥l̄)*, **Tura #** d̥l̄, **Mano NE, ZE** l̄l̄, **Guro GR, BN** l̄l̄, **Yaure HP** l̄l̄ *vt buy (from – l̄l̄)*, **Mwan #** l̄l̄, **Wan #** l̄l̄, **Beng GL, PA** l̄l̄ *vt buy (for – n̄l̄)*

*d̥l̄ call-3 > **Dan (gw)** d̥l̄, **Dan (kl)** d̥l̄, **Dan (bl)** d̥l̄ *vt call; call, name*, **Tura #** d̥l̄ *vt call; call, name*, **Guro BN** l̄l̄, **GR** l̄l̄, **Yaure HP** l̄l̄-b̄l̄ *vt call, name*

*d̄l̄ desire-2 > **Dan (bl)** d̄l̄, **Dan (gw)** d̄l̄ *rn love for; desire for*, **Tura #** -d̄l̄ *n love for*, **Guro ST** l̄l̄, **Guro GR** l̄l̄ *v ST desire; n GR thirst*, **Wan #** l̄l̄ *rn desire for; intention*

*díé *front* > **Dan** díŷŷ *pp before, in front of*, **Tura** # díé-lé, dě-lé *adj first; pp before*, **Guro GR** lé *n front; pp in front of, before*

*dũví *hare-2* > **Tura** # dũvĩ-né, dũĩ-né, **Mwan** # lóó-nē, **CF** lōō-nè, **Wan** # lòn̄

*d'ééŋ *leaf-3* > **Dan (gw)** d'ě, **Dan (kl)** d'ē, **Dan (bl)** d'ē *rn*, **Tura** # d'ě-kw'ě, **Mano ZE** léé, **Guro BN** láá, **Yaure HP** lá *n leaf; hand (in relation to arm, pé); peace (of cloth)*, **Gban ST** lá *n leaf; plate*, **Mwan** # làà, **Wan** # lāŋ (?), **Beng** # lá

*dó *leave (go away)-1* > **Dan (bl, gw)** d'ó, **Dan (kl)** ló *vi go; leave; (kl) auxiliary for future tense*, **Dan (bl)** d'ô *auxiliary for future tense*, **Tura** # d'ó *vi go; leave; bring away (sth./smb. – nà ... g'á); continue (to – -á-gerund); vt make leave; n going*, **Mano NE, ZE** ló, **Wan** # lō ? *vt take away*

*d'om̄i (?) *lemon (a loanword from European languages?)* > **Dan (gw)** d'õŷŷ ~ d'õŷŷ, **Dan (kl)** ll'õŷŷ (ll'õŷŷ?) *n lemon, mandarin*, **Guro** # lówó, **Mwan CF:60** lòm̄in̄i ? *n orange*

*lé *lip-1* > **Gban** # lé, líé, **Mwan** # lè *rn lip; edge*

*d'ós (< Manding *d'óg'ó ?) *market-1* **Dan (bl)** d'ós, **Dan (gw)** d'ós, **Tura** # d'óó, **Mano NE, ZE** lós *n market; week*, **Beng GL, PA** lóó

*dā (*postposition*) *at* > **Mano ZE** là *pp on, at, in*, **Mwan** # lā *pp in, at; under*

*dā *rain-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** dā, **Dan (kl)** là, **Tura** # dá *n rain; storm, tempest*, **Guro GR** lā *n sky*, **Mwan** # lā, **Beng GL, PA** lā, **GR** là

*d'ĩd'ĩ *round-1* > **Dan (bl)** d'ĩũd'ĩũ, d'ĩŷd'ĩŷ, **Dan (gw, gp, sa)** d'ĩŷŷd'ĩŷŷ, **Dan (gn, sl, pl)** d'ĩŷŷd'ĩŷ, **Dan (gb)** d'ĩŷŷd'ĩŷŷ, **Dan (te)** d'ĩŷŷd'ĩŷ, **Guro GR** ĩLĪ *vt make circular*

*d'ĩáŋ *speech-2* **Dan (gw)** d'ĩāŋ, **Dan (kl)** d'ĩáŋ *n speech, discourse*, **Tura** # d'ĩáŋ *n discourse*, **Mwan** # jã *n speech*

*d'ũlélé *thorn-3* > **Tura** # d'ũlélè *n thorn; acne, furuncle*, **Guro ST** lèlì, **Gban ST** lè *n thorn; fishbone*

*d'ĩ *woman-3* > **Dan (bl)** d'ē-ḃḃ, *pl.* d'ōōnũ, **Dan (gw)** d'ē-ḃḃ, *pl.* d'ē-ḃḃ-nũ, d'ōōnũ, **Dan (yi)** d'ē-ḃḃ, *pl.* d'ōŋ, d'ōŋ-nũ, d'ē-ḃḃ-nũ, **Dan (bln)** d'ē-bḃ, *pl.* d'ē-ḃḃnũ, d'ōō-nũ, **Dan (kl)** d'ē, *pl.* d'ē-ḃḃ-nũ *n woman; wife*, **Tura** # dé *n woman; wife; son's wife (for a man)*, **Mano NE, ZE** lēē, *pl.* lōà, **VV** lūá-vò, **Guro BN** lē, *pl.* lūũ, # d'ĩ, *pl.* d'omu, d'ũũ, **Yaure HP** ì-mò, **Gban ST** lè, *pl.* nùè, **Mwan** # lē, **Wan** lē, lé (?), **Beng GL** lén, **Beng PA** lēŋ *n woman; female*

Series 17

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*d/ [n]	[n]	[n]	[n]	[n]	[n]	[n]	[n]	[n]	n

*nũ *come-3* > **Dan (bl, gw)** nũ, **Dan (kl)** nũ *vi come; bring (sth. – ká), send (smb. – ká)*, **Tura** # nú *vi come; bring (sth. – nà...g'á)*, **Mano NE, VV, ZE** nũ *vi come; bring (sth. – ká); future time marker*, **Gban ST** nũ *vi come, nũ nearest future marker*, **Mwan** # nú, **PM** nũ, **Beng GL, PA** nũ-lè *vi come; return*

*n'èg'è *deceive* > **Mano ZE** n'è *n lie*, **Wan** # l'èg'è

*n'ãã *fasten* > **Dan (bl)** n'ãã, n'ãŋ *vi stick, adhere; get stuck, jam; get into trouble; vt stick, glue*, **Tura** # n'áá (?) *vi stick, adhere; vt stick, glue*, **Beng** # n'ã *vt stick, glue*

*n'õ *give (to)-4* > **Dan (bl, gw)** nũ, **Dan (kl)** nũ *vt give sth. (to – d'è/d'è)*, **Tura** # nú *vt give sth. (to – n'è)*, **Mano NE, VV, ZE** n'õ *vt give*, **Guro ST** n'õ *vt give (to – l'è)*, **Yaure HP** n'õ *vt give (to – l'è)*, **Gban ST** n'õ *vt give*, **Mwan CF** ná *vt give sth. (smb. – n'ĩ)*

*n'ãã *grandmother-2* > **Dan (bl)** ná, **Dan (gw, kl)** n'ã *rn grandmother, grand-grand-mother; elder paternal aunt; father's or mother's elder brother's wife; mather's elder co-wife; mother-in-law (for a man)*, **Tura** # n'ãã *rn grandmother; elder paternal aunt; father's or mother's elder brother's wife; elder sister-in-law; mother-in-law, grand-mother-in-law*, **Guro** n'ãá,

Yaure HO nàá *rn*, **Mwan** # nàà-lē *n mother-in-law (for a woman)*, **Wan** # nà, nàà *rn mother*, **Beng** # nà *rn mother*

*nónó *milk* (< **Manding** nónó, or independent borrowings to the single SM languages) > **Dan (bl, kl)** nónó, **Guro** # nònò *n milk in powder*, **Mwan** # nónó, **Beng** # nónó

*nù *plural marker-3* > **Dan (bl)** nù, **Dan (gw)** nù, **Tura** nù *associative plural mark*, àṅ (< *à-nù) *3pl. object pronoun*, **Mano ZE** nū *plural marker of "conjoined subject" pronouns*, **Guro** nù, **Yaure HP** nù

*néńé *taste* > **Dan (gw)** néńé, **Dan (kl)** néńé *adj testy, sweet (sugary)*, **Tura** # néńé *adj pleasant*, **Mano ZE** néńé, **Guro** # néńé *adj tasty; sweet; pleasant; true (of words); n good taste; adv tastiness; sweetness*, **Mwan** # nrāā *adj sweet*, **Beng** # néńé *adj sweet; good*

*nā *wife* > **Mano ZE, VV** nā, *pl. nānī rn*, **Guro** # nā, **Yaure HO** nà *rn*, **Gban ST** nà, **Mwan** # nā, nà, **Wan** # nò

Mixed sets *d' ~ n*:

*dōḡdōḡ *count-2* > **Dan (bl)** dōḡ, **Dan (gw)** dōḡ, **Dan (kl)** lóḡ, **Tura** # nūḡ *vt count, calculate*, **Mano VV** lùnì, **Guro** nōnō, **Yaure HB** yóLḡ (?), **Wan** # lrò, lró

*dú *daughter* > **Dan (bl, gw)** dú *rn daughter; brother's daughter (for a man); sister's daughter (for a woman)*, **Tura** # dū *rn daughter (including brother's daughters); female paternal cross-cousin (for a woman)*, **Mano ZE** lú, lí *rn*, **Guro BN, GR** lú *daughter; nephew (sister's and brother's daughter); daughter-in-law*, **Yaure HP** lú *rn daughter*, **Mwan** # lú, **Wan** # nùḡ

*dēḡ *postposition-for-2* > **Dan (bl)** dā, **Dan (gw)** dē *pp for, marker of the addressee*, **Tura** nē *pp for; as, like; for the reason of*, **Mano NE** lē, **Guro** dē *pp for; marker of purpose; marker of negation in Perfect*, **Yaure HP** lē *pp for; marker of purpose; marker of negation in Perfect*, **Mwan** lē *pp before; marker of "irrealis" (negation, Future)*, **Wan** # lēḡ

*dāḡ *sky-3* > **Dan (bl)** dāḡ, **Dan (gw)** dāḡ, **Dan (kl)** dāḡ-gà, **Mano ZE** lēí, léí *n sky; top, upper part, lē-yí, lē-yí n rain*, **Guro** # léé, **GR** lēé, **BN** lēé *n rain; year; age*, **Yaure HP** lē *n year*, **Mwan** # lēé *n year*, **Wan AT** nāḡ-gbani, nāḡ-gbàlí *n sky; above* (cf. Rain-2)

*dùāḡ *slave* > **Dan (bl)** nùā-mē, **Dan (gw)** # dùāḡ, **Dan (kl)** dùēḡ, **Tura** # nùā, **Guro BN, GR** lū *n slave; child given as surety*, **Yaure HO** nōā, **Gban ST** nùā, **Mwan PM** lū, **Beng GL** ló, **PA** lò *n slave; vi work as a slave*

*dēḡ *place-3* > **Dan (bl)** dē, **Dan (gw)** # dē *n place*, **Dan (kl)** dē *n soil, ground*, **Tura** # dēḡ, **Mano ZE** lē *n place; farm, field; yard*, **Guro BN** nā ~ nà *rn place; pred. marker of the progressive*, **Yaure HO, HP** nà *rn place; pred. marker of the progressive*, **Wan** # nē *n place; time (in counting); pp in*

Mixed sets *n ~ d'*:

*nēē *bat-4* > **Dan (bl)** nēē *n n straw-coloured fruit bat; flying calf*, **Dan (gw)** nēē *n bat*, **Tura** # nài, **Gban ST** lē

*né *child* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** n *n child; brother's child; young sister's child*, **Tura** # né, *pl. nāō, nāōbò rn (one's) child (both for humans and animals)*, **Mano NE, ZE** né, *pl. nòò; né-fú, pl. nòò-bē; VV pl. nós, nós-vò fn*, **Guro** né, *pl. núnū BN n child; baby*, **Yaure HO** né *n child*, **Gban ST** ní, **Mwan** # nē, **Wan** né, **Beng GL** léḡ, **Beng PA** léḡ *n child; offspring*

*néńé *cold-1* > **Dan (bl)** néńé, **Dan (gw, kl)** néńé *n cold; fever*, **Tura** # níńí *n cold; fever*, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** néńé *n cold*, **Mwan** # níńí *n cold*, **Wan** # lrē, lré, léré, dré, **Beng GL** néńé, **Beng PA** néńé

*nīī *life (spirit)* > **Dan (bl)** nīī, **Dan (gw)** nīī, **Dan (kl)** nīī *rn soul, spirit; character*, **Tura** # nīī *soul, spirit*, **Mano MB** ni, **Mwan** # líī *n shadow; soul; spirit*

*nīnēŋ *shadow-1* > **Mano VV** nīnī, **Guro LS, VV** dèlì *rn shadow; soul (of a living being), ghost (of a dead)*, **Wan** # lēŋ-lēlí, **RV** lérj-lèlì *n shade*, **Beng GL** nēnēŋ *n shadow; spirit; soul (of a living person)*

*nēnē *tongue* > **Dan (gw)** nēē(-gā), **Dan (bl)** nē(-gā), **Tura** # né-éé, **Mano ZE** nānà, **Guro** # nènè, **Yaure HO** nèné, **Gban ST** nē, **Mwan PM** néné, **Wan** # lēnī, **Beng** # nànáj

3.3.11. In monosyllabic words of the type CV, in Beng *d- > y- before front vowels:

Series IX

*dé *mouth* > **Dan (bl)** dí, **Dan (gw)** AT dí, **Dan (kl)** lí *rn mouth; orifice, opening*, **Tura** # dé; díé (arch.) *rn extremity, border; surface; pp on, upon*, **Mano ZE** lé *rn mouth; door; edge*, **Guro AT, ST** lèé, **Yaure AT** lē-bò, **Gban ST** lú *rn mouth; pp in; between; on the brink of*, **Mwan** # lé, **Mwan** # lí *rn mouth; pp on; in*, **Wan AT** lā-gá *rn mouth*, **Wan** # lé *rn border, edge*, **Beng GL, PA** yé *n mouth; edge, end; pp on, in*

*dī *hunger-2* > {**Dan (bl)** dīŋ, **Dan (bl, gw)** dī, **Dan (kl)** díŋ *n hunger; rn (bl, gw) taste*,} **Tura** # dí *rn taste*, {**Guro BN, GR** dōLō *n hunger; appetit, desire; love*} **Wan** # lū *n hunger; desire; intention*, **Beng** # yī

Dan and Guro forms in the latter set may belong to different roots (about irregular correspondences d- ~ d- see 3.3.12.).

3.3.12. Irregularities d ~ (d)

In some sets we find irregular correspondences: d- in Beng, Mwan, Wan, Tura or Guro may correspond to d- ~ l- ~ n- of other languages. In some cases, this irregularity may be explained through independent borrowing from Manding languages: Wan, Beng and Guro tend to maintain d- in loanwords, while in Dan, Tura, Mano these words acquire initial d- ~ l- ~ n-.

(**Maninka** dánka, **Bamana** dánga, **Mau** dǎǎ́) *damn, curse* > **Dan (bl)** dǎŋgá, **Dan (gw)** dǎŋ, **Dan (kl)** llǎŋ *n damnation*, **Tura** # dǎŋgá, dǎŋǎ *n damnation*, **Mano VV** nǎŋǎ *n damnation*, **Guro BN** dǎkǎ *n misfortune*, **Wan** # dǎŋǎŋ, dǎŋǎ *n curse; misfortune*

(**Maninka**, **Bamana** dònso, **Mau** lònzò) *hunter* > **Tura** # dònŋyó *n hunter; leopard*, **Wan** # dònzò

(**Maninka** dúŋa, **Jula** dúnupa < Ar. dunyaa) *world* > **Dan (gw)** # dǎŋŋ, **Dan (kl)** dūéŋ, **Tura** # dūyǎǎ *n long life*, **Wan** # drūyǎ, **Beng PA** dlúyǎ

Two other sets where irregularities of this kind occur are names of elder relatives and can be probably explained through the presence in the proto-language of a trace of the archaic prefix *N-:

*N-dòò *elder brother* > **Dan (bl, gw)** dōò, **Dan (kl)** lòò *rn elder brother; elder ortho-cousin*, **Tura** # dōó *rn elder brother; elder ortho-cousin*, **Mwan** # dòò-lē *rn elder sister*

*N-dēā *mother-4* > **Dan (bl)** dē, **Dan (gw)** dē (cf. *woman-3) *rn mother; mother's younger sister; younger paternal uncle's wife; mother's co-wife*, **Dan (kl)** dēé *rn mother*, **Tura** # dāà *rn mother; mother's younger sister; paternal uncle's wife*, **Mano ZE** lèē, **Mwan** # nēē, né *rn mother; elder female relative*, **Wan** # nǎǎ *rn*, **Beng GL, PA** dā.

In two other cases, I see no reasonable explanation of the irregular d-. It is probable that the forms with d- do not belong to these sets:

*dólú *fog-2* > **Dan (gw)** dūú, **Dan (kl)** dūlú, **Dan (bl)** dúú *n fog (at the rainy season)*, **Mano ZE** lúélúé (?) *n clouds*, **Guro ST, GR** lòlù, **Guro** # lolú *n cloud; fog*, **Yaure HO** lolú, **Gban ST** lō, **Wan** # lolū, lolu, {**Beng** # dónó}

*dīā *turn* > **Dan (bl)** dīl, **Dan (kl)** dīé *vi turn; change, transform (in - ká); vt mix; translate; misinterpret*, **Mano VV** nīǎ, {**Guro BN, GR** dīlī *vt turn; twirl; encircle*,} **Gban ST** lī, **Wan** # nrō (?) *vi circulate; vt turn; plate, weave*, **Beng** # lì

3.3.12. There is one set where all the languages of the Western branch of SM produce forms with initial *d'* ~ *l-*, while in the other languages *t-* appears. We have probably two different roots:

dùlì dirt-1* > **Dan (bl) *dîi, dîû*, **Dan (bh, bn, gw)** *dîi*, **Dan (kl)** *llùii*, **Tura** # *dîi*, **Mano ZE** *líi*

tíliŋ dirt-2* > **Guro BN *tlí*, **GR** *t̄L̄i n dirt; adj dirty*, **Yaure HP** *tírí adj dirty*, **Mwan** # *tríŋ*, **Wan** # *tríŋ*, **AT** *tríŋ n dirt; traditional medicament*.

3.3.13. The Proto-SM **s-* has not undergone any change in the modern languages.

Series 19

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>

sí(-lá) arrive-1* > **Guro BN *sí vi come from, leave*, **Yaure HB** *sí-ǎ vi come*, **Wan** # *sí, sī vi approach (sth., smb. – dîŋ); vt approach (to – dîŋ) (cf. ‘take-2’)*

sùéŋ beautiful* > **Dan (bl) *sêê-bô*, **Dan (gw)** # *sêŋ-gbô*, **Tura** # *sê adj good; beautiful*, **Guro GR** *sèi, s̄wèi adj beautiful*, **Yaure HP** *suéi*

sâê bow (weapon)-2* > **Dan (bl) *séé n bow, arrow*, **Dan (gw)** *sàà n bow, sàà-gā n arrow*, **Dan (kl)** *súá n bow*, **Tura** # *sáá n bow, sáá-wéé n arrow*, **Mano VV** *sáá n arrow*, **Guro BN** *sāā n bow, sāā-wólé n arrow*, **Yaure HO** *sá, sé n arrow*, **Mwan** # *sá-bê n arrow*

síi call-2* > **Mwan # *síi*, **Beng** # *sí*

sésé-né cat-3* > **Guro BN *sééné*, **Mwan** # *sééné*, {*sròónè ?*} **Wan** # *séséni*

sūgū chew-2* > **Guro # *sūvū*, **Wan** # *sūgū*, **Beng** # *sō, só*

sō cloth* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl) *sō n cloth; skirt; clothers; (bl) shell membrane of an egg*, **Mano NE, ZE** *sō*, **Guro BN, GR** *sō n cloth; skirt; clothes*, **Yaure HP, HO** *sò n cloth, skirt*, **Gban ST** *sù n shirt*, **Mwan** # *sō n loincloth; cloth*, **Wan** # *sō n skirt*

sààkàà comb-2* > **Guro # *sākā*, **Mwan CF** *sààkàà*

sūŋ corner (external)* > **Guro BN *sū n board, edge; corner*, **Wan** # *sōŋ n corner*

sólú-yààkà eight* > **Dan (gw) *sâà-gā*, **Dan (kl)** *súáà*, **Dan (bl)** *sléé-gā*, **Tura** # *sâà-ká*, **Mano NE** *sálààkà*, **Guro GR** *sòlàá*, **Mwan** # *srwáà*, **Wan** # *séé-yā*, **Beng** # *só-wà*

súŋ fast* (< Manding *sú* < Arab. *ṣawm*) > **Tura *súŋ*, **Mwan** # *súŋ*, **Beng** # *súŋ* (*independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable*)

síé fire-3* > **Dan (bl) *síy*, **Dan (gw)** *síy*, **Dan (gb)** *šīš*, **Dan (kl)** *sé*, **Gban ST** *sé*, **Beng GL** *sīé*, **PA, GR** *síé*

sós-dú five* > **Dan (bl) *sóódú*, **Dan (gw)** *sóódú*, **Dan (kl)** *sóólú*, **Tura** # *sólú, sóólú, sólú*, **Mano NE, VV, ZE** *sóólí*, **Guro** *sólū*, **Gban ST** *súú*, **Mwan** # *sóó*, **Wan** *sòólú*, **Beng GR** *sóŋ*

sé force-2* > **Tura # *sé*, **Beng** # *sé n force, power*

sògō horse-1* > **Dan (bl, gw) *sòò n horse; (bl) donkey*, **Tura** # *sùvù*, **Mano ZE** *sòò*, **Guro GR** *sōō n bicycle*, **Gban ST** *sò n horse, donkey*, **Mwan PM** *sòò n horse; bicycle*, **Wan** # *sógò n horse; bicycle*

sōnó insult-2* > **Guro BN *sōnó vt insult; n insult*, **Yaure HP** *sóLó*, **Wan** # *sró, sōró*

sēné knife-5* > **Guro BN, GR # *sēNé*, **Wan** # *séŋgè ?*

sīi life (timespan)-1* > **Tura # *síi n life*, **Wan** # *sī rn life, age*

sāé mat-2* > **Dan (bl) *sēē, sēē*, **Dan (gw)** *sēē*, **Dan (kl)** *sēē*, **Tura** # *sùà*, **Mano ZE** *sàà*, **Guro** # *sàá*, **Yaure HO** *sáá*, **Mwan** # *sàà*

sōné nail* > **Dan (gw) *sūÁ*, **Dan (kl)** *súy*, **Dan (bl)** *sòò rn nail, claw*, **Guro** # *sōnē rn nail, claw; hoof*, **Wan** # *sróŋ rn nail, claw*

sō-nó near* > **Dan (bl) *sós*, **Dan (gw)** *sóó pp near, nearby; around; (bl) adj close*, **Guro BN** *sōnó pp near, beside*

*sólú-yìsiyē *nine* > **Dan (bl)** séísīl̄, **Dan (gw)** séísīl̄, **Dan (kl)** sùésyè, **Tura #** sòísé, sòyísé, **Mano NE** sélèisē, **Guro GR** sōlà-zīē, **Yaure HB** sórásìē, **Mwan #** srwáyizie, **Wan #** sōlá-siyá

*sī *oilpalm grain-2* > **Dan (bl)** s̄ n *oil palm*, **Tura #** sé n *oilpalm nut*, **Guro #** sī, **Yaure #** sī, **Gban ST** sú-wí, sú-ì, **Mwan #** sē, **Wan #** sí

*sàlà *pay (to)* (< **Manding** sàrá ?) > **Dan (bl)** sàā, sàā, **Dan (gw)** sàà n *salary; gift*, **Tura #** sàà n *salary*, **Gban ST** slá (*independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable*)

*súlè *pepper-1* > **Dan (gw)** sl̄l̄, **Tura #** sùé, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** súò n *hot pepper*, **Wan #** srē n *kind of pepper*

*súē *pig-4* > **Guro BN** syūē, syūē n *red river hog (Potamochoerus porcus)*, **Gban ST** sùé, **Mwan #** súa, **Wan #** sōā, sùá

*só *please (to)* > **Guro BN** só, *perf. só, impf. sōā vi please (smb. – lē)*; *suffice, be sufficient (for – mā)*; *can, be able (to – inf. or mā)*, **Yaure HP** só, **Mwan #** só *vi please (smb. – nī)*, **Wan #** sō, sō vi *please (smb. – lē)*

*séli *pray (to)* (< **Maninka** sáli, **Baman** séli < **Arab.** šalla) > **Dan (bl)** sál̄, **Dan (gw)** sál̄, **Dan (kl)** sèè n *Muslim prayer*, **Tura #** sée n *Muslim prayer*, **Mano ZE** sáli n *Muslim prayer*, **Wan #** seli n, v (*independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable*)

*sīē *rib* > **Dan (kl)** sé-gā, **Dan (bl)** sé, **Tura #** sīē-wēē, **Guro GR** sēē, **Wan #** sīēŋ, sīē

*sáká *rice-3* > **Guro #** sáá, **Yaure HP** sáá, **Gban ST** sáká, sáá

*sē-ní *root-1* > **Tura #** sū, **Guro BN** sūnī, **Yaure HO** sēī, **Mwan #** sélé, **Wan #** sēnīŋ

*sálákà *sacrifice, alm* (< **Manding** sáráká < **Arab.** šadaqa) > **Dan (bl)** slā, **Dan (gw)** sâa n *sacrifice for ancestors*, **Tura #** sâa n *sacrifice*, **Mano ZE** sálā, **Guro BN** slākā, **GR** sáráká, **Wan #** srāgā, **Beng GL** srākā, **PA** slâ n *sacrifice (not for Earth spirits)* (*independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable*)

*sólú-piilēŋ *seven* > **Dan (bl)** sláplè, **Dan (gw)** sū̀-plè, **Dan (kl)** súa-plê, **Tura #** sâa-piilé, **Mano NE** sálá-pèèlè, **Guro #** sòlà-fíé, **Yaure HP** sórà-flí, **Mwan #** srwá-plē, **Wan #** séā-á, **Beng** só-plā

*sólú-dū *six* > **Dan (bl)** slá-dō, **Dan (gw)** sū̀-đō, **Dan (kl)** súa-dò, **Tura #** sâa-dó *num six*, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** sáláádō *num six*, **Guro GR** své-dō, **Yaure HP** své-dù, **Mwan #** srwá-dō, **Beng #** só-dō

*sèè *small-4* > **Dan (bl)** séé, séē, *pl. séésé nū, séé nū*, **Dan (gw)** sé-ná, **Gban ST** sèē *adv little, few*

*sàbālā *shoe* (< **Manding** sàbára, sànbára < **Ar.** sabbaat. or **Portugese** sapata) > **Dan (bl)** sàkpà, **Dan (kl)** sàmā, **Dan (gw)** sàbá (?), **Tura #** sàbá, sàkpá, **Guro BN** sàwòlā, **GR** sàólá, **Wan #** sàblā, sáblā

*sìlé *spoil* > **Dan (bl)** s̄, **Dan (gw)** sēè, sl̄l̄, **Dan (kl)** kpé-sēi *vi spoil; adj (gw) spoilt, rotten*, **Tura #** siè *vi, vt*, **Mano VV** siyé, **Guro #** sèLè *vi, vt*, **Yaure HB** sèLè, **Gban ST** siè *vi be spoiled*, **Mwan #** síè, **Wan #** sē *vi, vt*

*sí(-lá) *take-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** sū́, **Dan (kl)** sū́, **Tura #** sí, **Mano NE** sí *vt take; carry, transport; sharpen (edge)*, **Guro** sí, **Yaure** sí, síá, **Mwan #** sí *vi fly; vt take; carry*, **Beng** srá (*cf. 'arrive-1'*)

*sū̀-*lá* *tear off* > **Guro #** sū̀lá *vi fall apart; vt tear off*, **Gban ST** slū́

*sèè *tiredness-2* > **Dan (bl)** sl̄l̄, **Dan (kl)** sèè, **Yaure HP** sè n *suffering*

*sòé *tooth-2* > **Dan (bl)** s̄, **Dan (gw)** s̄, **Dan (kl)** s̄ *rn tooth; tusk (of elephant)*, **Tura #** s̄, **Mano ZE** s̄, **Guro #** siè, sùè, **Yaure** své, **Gban ST** sé *rn tooth; tusk (of elephant)*, **Mwan #** s̄, **Wan #** s̄, **Beng GL** s̄, **PA** s̄

*sō-ná *torch-2* > **Dan (gw)** s̄, **Dan (kl)** s̄, **Tura #** séí, **Guro GR** sō-ná, **Guro BN** sō-ná, **Gban #** s̄

*sǝ́-ně́ *totem-2* > **Guro BN** sǝ́ně́ *n totem, taboo*, **Yaure HB** sǝ́ně́ *n totem, taboo*, **Mwan #** sǝ́ǝ́, **Beng #** sǝ́ *v prohibit*

*súó *village-1* > **Gban ST** sǝ́ *n compound*, **Beng GL** sūō, # súó *n house; room*

*sébé *write* (< **Manding** sébe < **Arab.** safha) > **Dan (kl)** séè (?) *n mark, sign*, **Guro BN** sébé *n book, paper, letter*, **Mwan #** séwé, **Wan #** séwé *n book; reading, writings*, **Beng #** séwéè *n paper (independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable)*.

In the set ‘four-2’, the initial *s- of the second component changed to z- in Guro, Gban and Mwan as a result of the fusion with the initial component *yǝ́- (which was subsequently elided in Guro and Gban):

*yǝ́-sǝ́yǝ́ *four-2* > **Dan (bl)** yǝ́sǝ́, **Dan (gw)** yǝ́sǝ́, **Dan (kl)** yǝ́sǝ́, **Tura #** yǝ́sǝ́, **Mano NE** yǝ́sǝ́, **Guro ST** zǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́, **Mwan #** yǝ́sǝ́, **Wan #** sǝ́yǝ́, **Beng #** síéj, **GR** síé.

Guro, Mwan and Wan forms in the set ‘gold’ may be borrowed from the neighbouring Manding variants, cf. Koyaga *syǝ́n* (Creissels 1988):

*sǝ́j *gold* > **Dan (gw)** sǝ́j, **Dan (kl)** sǝ́j, **Dan (bl)** sǝ́j, **Guro** cǝ́, **Mwan #** cǝ́, **Wan #** cǝ́

3.3.14. In the most common case, the Proto-SM *z- > z- in all modern languages, except for Yaure, where it underwent devoicing, according to the general rule: *z- > s-.

Series 20

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*z	z	z	z	z	s	z	z	z	z

*zǝ́ *affair, matter-3* > **Dan (bl, gw)** zǝ́ *n trial, judgement; reason; accusation*, **Tura #** zǝ́ *n quarrel, conflict*, **Guro BN** zǝ́ *n discussion; competition, contest*, **Yaure HO** sǝ́, **Mwan #** zǝ́ *n affair, matter*, **Wan #** zǝ́ *n matter; action*, **Beng #** zǝ́ *n problem, difficulty; dispute, matter; history, story*

*zǝ́ *again* > **Dan (bl, gw)** zǝ́, **Tura #** zǝ́, **Mano ZE** zǝ́ *adv again; also*, **Mwan #** é-zǝ́ *again*

*zǝ́ *agama lizard* > **Dan (bl, gw)** zǝ́, **Tura #** zǝ́, **Guro VV** zǝ́, **Yaure HP** sǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́, **Mwan PM** zǝ́, **Wan #** zǝ́

*-zǝ́ *agent suffix* > **Guro #** -zǝ́, **Mwan PM** zǝ́ *n proprietor*

*zǝ́ *antelope bushbock* > **Dan (bl)** zǝ́, **Dan (gw)** zǝ́, zǝ́, **Tura #** zǝ́, **Mano ZE** zǝ́ *n "red deer"*, **Guro BN** zǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́ *n antelope (sp.)*, **Mwan #** zǝ́ *medium size antelope*, **Wan #** zǝ́

*zǝ́ *bee-1* > **Dan (bl)** zǝ́ *n bee; gad, prick*, **Dan (gw, kl)** zǝ́(-gǝ́), **Tura #** zǝ́, **Mano VV** zǝ́, **Guro #** zǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́, **Mwan PM** zǝ́, **Wan #** zǝ́ (cf. *tip)

*zǝ́ *borassus palm* > **Guro BN** zǝ́, **Yaure HO** sǝ́, **Mwan PM** zǝ́, **Wan #** zǝ́

*zǝ́ *caterpillar* > **Tura #** zǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́

*zǝ́-lǝ́ *descend-1* > **Tura #** zǝ́-nǝ́ *vi descend; fall (of rain)*, **Guro BN** zǝ́, *hab.* -wǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́, **Mwan #** zǝ́-nǝ́, **Wan #** zǝ́-ǝ́ *vi descend; stay (of visitor; with -plǝ́); vt put*

*zǝ́ *grandfather* > **Dan (bl)** zǝ́, **Dan (gw)** zǝ́, zǝ́, **Dan (kl)** zǝ́ *rn grandfather, grand-grandfather, etc.; step-father; elder step-brother*, **Dan (kl)** zǝ́ *rn grandfather*, **Beng GL, PA** zǝ́ *n grandfather; grandparent's brother; grandparent's sister's husband; great uncle*

*zǝ́ *hatred* > **Guro BN** zǝ́ *n hatred, recentment*, **Gban ST** zǝ́ *n recentment*

*zǝ́ *heart* > **Dan (bl)** zǝ́, **Dan (kl, gw)** zǝ́ *rn heart (organ)*, **Dan (gw)** zǝ́ *rn heart (location of emotions)*, **Tura #** zǝ́ *rn heart; soul; mentality; thought*, **Mano NE** zǝ́, **Mano ZE** zǝ́, **Guro BN, GR** zǝ́, **Gban ST** zǝ́ *n soul*, **Mwan #** zǝ́ (?), **Wan #** zǝ́

*zõná husband > **Guro BN** zlá, **GR** zãná husband; son of husband's sister; father's sister's husband, **Yaure HP** sárã, **Wan** # zrõ, **Beng** # zjá

*zùú magician-2 > **Dan (kl)** d̄l-zúú *rn operator of circumcision (unmarried)*, zóómí, *pl. zóóóõnù n healer*, **Dan (bl)** zóó *n perceptive; specialist*, **Tura** # zùù- *n possessor of a mystic knowledge*, **Mano ZE** zóó *n wise man*, **Guro BN** zòõ *n sorcery (black magic)*

*zõ pound-2 (to) > **Dan (bl, gw)** zõ *vt pound; beat*, **Tura** # zõ, **Mano ZE, VV** zõ, **Guro BN** zõ, *perf. zõ, hab. zõ*, **Yaure HB** sõ *vt pound, beat*, **Gban ST** zõ, **Mwan** # zõ *vt pound; beat, strike*

*zilán⁸ road-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** zĩã, **Dan (kl)** žíáj-gá (žìàŋ-gà?), **Dan (yi)** zãã, **Dan (bh)** zẽŋ, **Tura** # zãà *n road; way*, **Mano NE, ZE** zĩ, **Mano VV** zilēē *n road, path*, **Guro BN, ST** zĩ, **Yaure HO** sĩ, **Mwan** # zĩ, **Wan** zĩ, **Beng** # zrēé

*zĩã sauce-3 > **Tura** # zẽĩ, **Guro ST** zĩã, **Yaure HP:93** sĩ ~ sĩ, **Mwan** # zĩẽ

*zēŋ- scorpion-3 (black, *Pandinus gambiensis*) > **Tura** # zèŋwèfè, **Mano VV** zéŋgbé-kàà, **Guro BN** zēnēà, **(s)** zēnēgà

*zõ tip > **Dan (bl)** zó, **Dan (gw)** zó *n tip; sting; edge, border*, **Tura** # zóó, **Guro** # zõ *n extremity, tip*, **Mwan** # zõ *n mattock* (cf. *bee)

*zúlú wash-2 > **Dan (bl)** zlú, **Dan (gw)** zú, **Dan (kl)** zúú *vr wash oneself; vt wash*, **Tura** # zúlú *vi, vr wash oneself; vt wash*, **Mano ZE, VV** zúlú *vt wash (body)*, **Guro ST, BN** zūLū, *hab. -wō*, **Guro VV** zūLū, **Yaure HP** srū, **Gban ST** zó, **Beng** # zrō

3.3.15. There are two sets where z- and y- appear. In the first case, ‘pierce-4’, the Beng form (if it belongs to the same root) may be result of change *z- > y- before -u.

Series 21

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*z	z	z	z	z	s	z	z	z	y

*zūã pierce-4 > **Dan (gw)** zūã *vi leak, have a hole*, **Tura** # zùà *vt pierce*, **Mwan CF** zõ (?), **Beng** # yù.

In the other case, the heterogeneity of reflexes may be explained by the grammatical character of the lexeme:

*zēē here-2 > **Dan (bl)** zē, **Dan (gw)** yē, **Dan (kl)** yē, **Mano NE, VV, ZE** zèē, **Gban ST** yē, yè, **Mwan CF** yē *there*, **Wan** # yã *here; thus*

3.3.16. In several sets, Gban, Wan and Beng languages have initial s- corresponding to z- in other SM languages. This correspondence is not very regular. It may be phonetically conditioned: in all these cases, s- is followed by -ɔ (oral or nasal). Another explanation could be a presence of the archaic noun class prefix *N̄- (this could be valid for the first three sets):

Series 22

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*z	z	z	z	z	?	s	z	z, s	s

*zūlūŋ (?*N̄-sūlūŋ) ant-2 > **Dan (bl)** zlū, **Dan (lo, ku)** zlù *n driver ant*, **Tura** # zúlú *n driver ant*, **Mano ZE** zūlū *n driver ants*, **Wan** # srõŋ, srõŋ (?) *n small ant; insect*

*zõlè (?*N̄-sõlè) bean > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** zē, **Tura** # zù, **Mano ZE** zē, **Guro** # zòlé, **BN** zõlē, **Mwan PM** zõlõ, **Wan** # zrõŋ, **Beng GR** sõ (?)

⁸ Word for ‘road’ in Gban, *dĩ*, is phonetically close to the words of this set. However, there are no other correspondence sets where *d-* in Gban would correspond to *z-* in other SM languages, therefore this form should be considered as non-cognate.

*z̄s̄é (?*Ñ-s̄s̄é) *mosquito-1* > **Dan (bl)** z̄ē-p̄l̄, **Dan (gw)** z̄éí̄, **Dan (kl)** z̄éí̄, **Tura** # z̄í̄, **Mano VV** z̄éé-z̄àà (?), **Mwan** # zw̄è, **Wan** # s̄s̄í̄

*z̄ō *today-2* > **Gban ST** s̄s̄, **Mwan** # z̄ō, z̄ō, z̄ō, **Wan** # z̄ō

On the other hand, a unique Wan form with prenasalization was collected by myself, which can be also explained as a trace of the archaic nasal prefix:

*Ñ-z̄ō *pangolin-2* > **Dan (bl)** z̄ō *n giant pangolin (Smutsia gigantea); ground pangolin (Smutsia temminckii)*, **Tura** # z̄ō *n giant pangolin*, **Guro** # z̄è *n giant pangolin*, **Mwan PM** z̄ō *n giant pangolin (Smutsia gigantea)*, **Wan** # z̄ò, ηz̄ò, z̄ō *n giant pangolin*.

Presence of the same archaic prefix can most probably explain irregular reflexes in the set ‘copper’ (which is confirmed by the reflexes of that root in Manding languages: **Proto-Manding** *Ñ-s̄l̄rá > **Kagoro** ñs̄itá, s̄itá, s̄ulá, **Maninka** s̄ulá, **Maninka (Manding)** ñs̄urá *n copper, brass*, **Bamana** ñs̄irá).

*Ñ-s̄l̄n̄ā *copper* > **Dan (bl)** z̄l̄, **Dan (kl)** s̄l̄ā, **Guro BN** z̄ēné.

There is one set where this phonetical condition is missing, but in this case the irregular forms may be borrowed into SM languages from Manding:

?*z̄ālā *tobacco-1* > **Dan (bl)** z̄áj (?), **Guro BN** z̄lā, **Yaure HO** z̄àlà, **Gban** # sl̄à, **Beng** # sr̄àà (cf. **Bamana** s̄íra, **Maninka** s̄ára, **Odienne Jula** s̄àra)

Very unusual is the Yaure form (one would expect *s̄àlà as a regular reflex of the protoform), which may also result from borrowing languages (from Guro?).

It is more difficult to suggest an explanation to the initial *s-* in Guro in the following set (unless it is a fossilized trace of the consonant alternation of adjectives, described by Le Saout (1971) for the southern dialects of Guro and not attested in the Zuénoula dialect):

*z̄ón̄ō *red-3* > **Dan (bl)** z̄â-d̄x̄, **Dan (gw)** z̄â-d̄ē, **Tura** # z̄óló *adj hot*, **Mano NE** z̄óló, **Guro BN, GR** s̄ōō *n, adj bright red*

3.3.17. *z > j in Guro before vowel combinations -*UO*, -*UE* («upper back vowel + middle vowel», the characteristics of ATR being irrelevant):

Series 23

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*z	z	z	?	j	?	z	?	?	z

*z̄ūō *bottom-1* > **Dan (gw)** z̄ū *rn bottom*, **Dan (kl)** z̄x̄-gb̄ō, **Dan (bl)** z̄ū *rn behind*, **Dan (kl)** z̄x̄ *rn hip; pp (in some verbal constructions)*, **Guro ST** j̄ūō, **BN, GR** z̄ūō *pp behind; after*, **Gban ST** z̄ī *rn lower par of buttocks*

*z̄ūl̄èì *monitor lizard* > **Dan (bl)** z̄l̄ūēî, z̄l̄w̄ēî, **Dan (gw)** z̄ūèè, **Dan (kl)** z̄ūw̄è, **Dan (bn)** z̄l̄ūèè, **Tura** # z̄úè, z̄úè, **Guro GR** j̄v̄ēî *n long-snout crocodile*, **Beng** # z̄r̄è̄

A similar change occurred in Wan in the position before -*e* or -*ie*; unfortunately, I have only one example:

*z̄ī *old-3* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** z̄ī, **Tura** # z̄ī, **Mano ZE, VV** z̄ī, **Wan** # j̄éī.

3.3.18. Correspondence sets of the Series 24 are perplexing. The heterogeneity of the reflexes is rather unusual for the SM languages, but the similar models of evolution of the polysemy and existence of reflexes of the same root outside the SM group (cf. **Boko** dé ‘to kill’) convinces in reliability of at least the set ‘kill-2’ (the other set looks rather spurious). For a while, I shall reconstruct for this correspondence phoneme *c-.

Series XV

*c̄ē *kill-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** z̄l̄, **Dan (kl)** z̄è *vt kill; strike, beat; play (drum); throw; pronounce (speech)*, **Tura** # z̄é *vt kill; treat (wound); effectuate (sleep; speech); pawn; hunt (animals)*,

insects), **Mano NE** zē, **Guro** # jē *vt kill; cut, reap, mow*, **Yaure HP** tē *vt kill; perform*, **Gban ST** zè, **Mwan** # dē, **Wan** # té, tē *vt kill; beat, strike; play (musical instrument); perform*, **Beng GL** dē, **PA** dē

*cīnā *middle-2* > **Dan (bl)** zīl̄, **Dan (gw)** zīṅ-gú, **Dan (kl)** zēṅ, zīṅ-n̄, **Tura** # zù-lé, zù-é *rn middle; adv in the middle; pp in the middle of*, **Mano ZE** zōé, **Gban ST** zà, **Mwan** # drē, **Wan** # trágā, trágá

3.3.19. There remain some sets which display unusual correspondences of initial consonants. For a while, it is difficult to conclude whether forms in these sets are cognate or not. I will just give them without interpretation:

throw-2 (to) > **Dan (gw)** # zùṅ, zùṅ, **Dan (kl)** zṅ, **Dan (bl)** # zòṅ *vt throw; n spear*, **Mano VV** dyùò, **Mano ZE** dūò, **Guro BN** dùṅ *vt strike, beat; shoot (gun); put (curse; on – lē)*, **Yaure HP** tùú, **Beng GL, PA** zū *vi balance; vt throw*

pass-2 > **Dan (bl, gw)** zīṅ *vi pass, pass by; pass; flow (of water); surpass, excel (by – tā); be too great, too much (for – tā); go away; follow; vt pass, make pass; carry by*, **Tura** # giè *vi pass, pass by; flow (of water); surpass, excel (by – tà); predominate, be abundant (in – gṅ); vt pass, make pass; show (to – nē)*, **Mano ZE** diè, **Guro BN** jè, *perf. jà*, **ST** jíé *vi pass; supass (smb. – tā)*, **Yaure HB** cii, *impf. cì-á*, **Gban HW** giè *vi become*, **Beng GL** jē *vi pass by; stir; blow (of wind); go fast, speed*

show > **Dan (bl)** zṅ *vt show sth. (to – d̄l̄); teach (smb – d̄l̄); compare (with – ká)*, **Dan (gw)** zṅ *vt show; teach*, **Mano NE, ZE** zṅṅ *vt teach; show sth. (to – lèē); point with (to – mḍ)*, **Guro ST** gṅṅ, **BN** gṅ *vt show sth. (to – lē)*, **Yaure HP** kṅṅ *vt show sth. (to – lē)*, **Mwan** # zrṅṅ

3.4. Velars

3.4.1. In the general case, Proto-SM *k- does not change in modern languages.

Series 25

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k

*kōlī *back-4* > **Guro** # kōlī, **Yaure HO** kò-dà (?), **Gban ST** kwí (?), *n central part of back*, **Wan** # kōlī, kōlí, **Beng GL, PA** kō (?)

*kōlē *bark (of tree)-2* > **Dan (gw)** kǎé, **Dan (kl)** k̄, **Dan (bl)** kiā *rn bark of tree, scale of fish, shell of turtle; (gw) yellow fever*, **Mano ZE** kēlē *n bark (of tree); unmilled seed*, **Guro BN** kōlē *n bark (of tree); envelope; scale of fish*, **Wan** # klón (?)

*kón *boat-3* > **Dan (kl)** k̄, **Mwan** # kón *n dugout canoe*, **Wan** # kōṅ, kón

*kūgū *breast-4* > **Dan (gw)** kū, **Yaure HO** kùgù

*kōè *calabash-3* > **Dan (bl)** kôè, **Dan (gw)** kḍḍ *n calabash (generic)*, **Dan (kl)** kḍḍ *n calabash made of a half of gourd*, **Tura** # kwèè, **Mano NE, VV** kōè *n bowl (made of gourd)*, **Guro** # kúò *n calabash made of entire gourd*

*kú *catch-3* > **Dan (bl, kl)** k̄, **Dan (gw)** k̄ *vt catch, get hold of; bite, sting; vt burn (of fire)*, **Tura** # k̄ *vt catch, get hold of; mount (a mountain)*, **Guro GR** k̄, **Yaure HB** k̄, **Gban** # k̄, **Mwan** # k̄, **Wan** # k̄ṅ, **Beng GL, PA** k̄ *vt catch; hold; infect; photograph; treat well*

*kōnē *chameleon* > **Guro GR** k̄nā, **Yaure HO** k̄nṅ, **Mwan** # kwlē, **Wan** # klá-yùgù-kpēlē

*kōnṅ *cotton* (< Manding kótóndí < Arab. qūṭn-un) > **Guro BN** kúnúnú, **GR** k̄nūnū, **Mwan** # kwlē, **Wan** # klṅ, klṅṅ (*independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable*)

*kālòŋ *crab* > **Dan (bl)** kââ, **Dan (gw)** kâ, **Dan (kl)** kâŋ-kyâ (?), **Mano NE, ZE** kââ, **Gban ST** klá, **Wan** # kâlòŋ

*kūlī *dig-3* > **Guro BN, GR** kūlī, **Mwan** # kwléē, **Beng** # klū

*kēlē *do-1* > **Dan (bl, gw)** k̄ vt *do; chase away; hunt (in bush); pred. past mark*, **Dan (kl)** k̄ vt *do*, **Tura** # kēē vt *do, accomplish; work on; chase away*, **Mano NE, ZE** kē vt *do; affect (smb. – of feeling, state); make; pred. past mark*, **Guro ST, GR** kēlē, **Gban** # kē vi *happen, occur*, **Mwan** # klē vi *become; vt do, make*, **Wan** # klé vt *chase*

*kēñē *healthy-1* > **Tura** # kēñē-kēñē-nē n *health*, **Beng** # kéné-lé n *health*

*kōkō *hammer-2* > **Guro ST** kōkō, **BN** kōō, **Yaure HO** kògò, **Wan** # kōkō

*káké *hoe-2* > **Dan (bl)** káká, **Dan (gw)** kʻʻ, **Dan (kl)** kà, **Gban ST** kē

*kóá *house-1* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** kó, **Tura** # kwíi (?), **Mano NE** ká, **Guro** kó, > -kó (in some compound words), **Yaure HP** kó, **Wan** kú

*kōñō *hump-3* > **Dan (bl)** klōō, **Guro BN** kónó, **Gban ST** kò

*kēmē *hundred* (< Manding kēmé) > **Dan (bl)** k̄ŋ, k̄ŋ, **Dan (gw)** k̄ŋ, **Dan (kl)** k̄ŋ, k̄ŋ, **Dan (yi)** k̄ŋ, **Tura** # k̄ŋ, **Mwan** # kēmē, **Wan** kēmē (independent borrowing from Manding to the modern languages is also probable)

*kōñé *load-2* > **Dan (kl)** kwēē, **Guro** # kōné

*káléŋ *mat-3* > **Gban ST** klá, **Wan** # kléŋ

*kēñē *mosquito-2* > **Guro BN** knēñē, **GR** kēñēñē, **Gban ST** klē

*ká *negative copula-4* > **Dan (bl)** ká, **Guro** ká, **Yaure HP** ká

*kūlà *neck* > **Mwan** # kūlà, **Beng** # klùà

*kūlī *penis-2* > **Dan (bl)** kùŋ, **Guro ST** kūlī, **BN** kōlē, **GR** kōlé {**Wan** # sōlī (?)} (probably a loan from Manding, cf. Mandinka sòli)

*kúlú *piece-2* > **Dan (bl)** klú, **Guro** # kúlú

*ká *sate* > **Dan (bl)** k̄, **Dan (gw)** k̄ vi *sate oneself; vt sate*, **Tura** # ká, **Guro BN** k̄ vt *sate*, **GR** k̄ adj *satiated*, **Gban ST** k̄ vi *sate oneself*, **Beng PA** k̄ vi *be sate*

*kūgá *scratch* > **Dan (bl)** kàâ, kàâ, **Dan (gw, gb, gp)** kàà, **Dan (kl)** káâ, **Dan (bh)** kwāá, **Mano VV** kànà vt *scratch (soil)*, **Guro GR** káá, **BN** kō, **ST** kōō vt *scratch; hoe*, **Gban ST** kúá vt *scratch; remove by scratching*, **Wan** # kágā

*kōlē *shell (of snail)* > **Dan (bl)** klâ n *shell (of snail; of egg)*, **Mano ZE** kēlē n *shell; scale; bark*, **Guro GR** kōlē n *shell; scale*, **Gban ST** klō

*kúlú *spoon-2* > **Dan (bl)** klūū, **Dan (gw)** klūū n *ladle*, **Guro** # kùLú n *ladle*, **Gban ST** klū, **Beng** # kàló

*ké *that (conjunctive)-1* > **Dan (bl)** k̄, **Tura** ké, **Mwan CF** ké *conj and; if, when*

*kūlū *tie-1* > **Dan (bl)** klū vt *tie; sharpen; vi coagulate*, **Tura** kùlú vt *tie with (sth. – fà)*, **Wan** # klú-dī

*kōlō *useless-2* > **Gban ST** kló adj *broken, in bad state*, **Mwan AY** klōō adj *stupid*

*kòlòŋ *well (water hole)* > **Dan (gw)** klòŋ, **Dan (kl)** klòŋ, **Dan (bl)** klòŋ, **Tura** # kòlòŋ, **Mwan PM** klòŋ, **Wan** # klóŋ.

3.4.2. In Guro, Mwan, Beng *k- > c- in the feet of the types CV and CVV if followed by a front vowel. In Yaure, *k- > c- optionally before front vowel in any type of foot.

Series 26

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*k	k	k	k	c	c	k	c	k	c

*kēé *certain* > **Tura** # ké *pron. certain; some, a little*, **Guro BN** cē *pron. some, certain*, **Mwan** # kē *pron. other*, **Wan GR** kēé *pron. this*

*kēó *cut-1 (to)* > **Dan (bl)** ká, **Dan (gw)** k̄ vt *cut (grass, lianes, wood); cross (river); tie (skirt); stop doing*, **Tura** # k̄ vi *tear; separate; vt cut; stop, finish; spend (time); tell*

(*proverb*); *stop doing*, **Mano NE** kǎ, **Yaure HB** cě *vt cut; dig*, **Mwan PM** kǎ *vi pass; vt cross (river)*, **Wan** # kó *vt cut, slice; cross, go through; perform*, **Beng PA** có (< *céó ?)

*kǐní *cut-3* > **Guro BN** kní, **GR** kǐní *vt cut; separate; change*, **Gban ST** kí *vt cut; cut up*, **Beng** # cí *vt cut; cross, go across*

*kùèñ *hair-2* > **Dan (bl)** kǎà, **Dan (gw)** kǎà, **Dan (kl)** kǎà *rn hair (other than that of head; of animals); feather, piquant*, **Tura** # kùà *rn hair (other than that of head; of animals)*, **Guro GR, BN** cēē *rn hair (other than that of head; of animals); feather*, **Yaure HP:75** jě, **Yaure HO** cě *rn hair (of head, of body), feathers*, **Mwan** # cíē *n hair (of body), fur*, **Wan VV** kǎñ *rn hair (other than that of head; of animals); feather*, **Beng** # céñ *n hair; fur; feathers*

*kèlí *pepper-2* > **Guro BN** klē, **GR** kēlè, **Yaure HO** kèlì, cèlí, **Gban ST** kǐǎ (?), **Wan** # klé-gē, klè-gē

*kíðñ *reciprocal pronoun-2* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** kó, **Tura** # ké *each other; together*, **Guro BN** cē, **Guro (nya) VV** kī, **Yaure HP** cǐ, kǐ, **Gban ST** kè, **Mwan** # kē, **Beng GL** cēñ, **Beng** # cēñ

*kǒlé *skin* > **Dan (bl, gw)** kwī, **Dan (kl)** kpí *n hide, leather; rn (kl) body*, **Tura** # kwî *n hide, leather*, **Mano NE, ZE** kīī *rn skin; fn book; grade, year (in school)*, **Guro ST** kòlé, **BN** kólé, **Guro GR** kwéLé *n body; skin, leather; shoe*, **Wan** klēé, klé *rn skin; leather*, **Beng GL** cǐ, **PA** cī *n hide, skin (of animal); paper, book*

*kūñǎ *theft* > **Dan (gw, kl)** kwǎǎ, **Dan (bl)** kwǎǎ *vt steal, n theft*, **Tura** # kũǎ *vt steal, n theft*, **Mano ZE** kǎǎ *n stealing*, **Guro** # cēē *n theft*, **Yaure HO** kǎǎ ? *n laziness*, **Gban ST** kũǎ, **Beng** # klúǎ-lí *n thief*

In the set ‘skin’, the Kla-Dan form *kpí* < **kwí*. *j-* in the Yaure form *jě* ‘hair’ is probably an erroneous transcription in (E. Hopkins 1987), in her husband’s publication the same word is given with the voiceless consonant.

3.4.3. The Series 27 is represented by one single correspondence set. **k-* > *w-* in Beng before -*ɔ* is supposedly a part of the same process as **b-* > *v-* and **d-* > *z-*. In Wan, **k-* > *w-* > *ø-*, like in the Series 46 (cf. 3.5.8.). It is yet to be explained why this change did not occur in this language in the word *kɔ* ‘cut, slice; cross, go through; perform’ (series ‘cut-3’).

Series 27

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>w</i>

kō* *hand, arm-3* > **Dan (bl) kô, **Dan (gw)** kò *rn hand (up to the elbow); front leg; branch*, **Tura** # kòò *rn hand, arm; property; way (of doing); ten (in compound numbers)*, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** kò *rn hand, arm*, **Gban ST** kwà *n arm; branch*, kó *rn hand*, **Mwan** # kóó *n hand*, **Wan** # ɔ *n hand, arm; sleeve*, **Beng GL, PA** wō *n hand, arm*

3.4.4. Both cases of *g-* in Gban corresponding to *k-* in all other languages of the group can be easily explained by the presence of the noun class prefix **Ñ-*. At least for the second set, this reconstruction is confirmed by the external evidence (Bamana *nkàrangá* ‘body louse’).

Series 28

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>Ñ-k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>

Ñ-kàlàn-gbá* *louse-4* > **Dan (kl) kààngbā *n body louse*, **Tura** # kǎǎbá, **Gban ST** glǎgbá, glǎǎ, gbǎ *n louse; bug; flea*, **Mwan** # klǎfā *n body louse*

Ñ-kúlè* *turtle-1* > **Mano ZE, VV kúò, **Guro BN** kúli, **Yaure HO** kúlú, **Gban ST** glà, **Mwan** # kúlè *n terrestrial turtle*, **Wan AT** kòtà, **Beng GL** kǒ, **PA** kòú *n turtle Eretmochelys imbicata; Kinixys beliana*

3.4.5. *k- > g-, ø- in one single correspondence set in Tura can be explained by the grammatical function of the word (a postposition).

*ká with > **Dan** # ká pp with; by, **Tura** # gá (after V-monosyllables), á (everywhere else) pp with (means or instrument); of (material); during, for; in the quality of (equivalence, identity meaning), **Mano NE** ká pp with; by; as; for.

3.4.6. In the general case, *g- > k- in Yaure, > g- in all other languages:

Series 29

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*g	g	g	g	g	k	g	g	g	g

*gùṅ beard-3 > **Guro BN** gũ, **Wan** # gùṅ-gāṅ, gũ-āṅ

*gāṅṅ-gāṅṅ bell-2 > **Dan (bl)** gṅṅgṅṅ, **Dan (gw)** gāṅṅgāṅṅ n gong (long piece of iron that one strikes with a stick), **Tura** # gāṅṅgāṅṅ, gāṅṅgāṅṅ, **Guro ST** gāṅṅgāṅṅ, **Wan** # gāṅṅgāṅṅ n gong (long piece of iron that one strikes with a stick)

*gīnī bord > **Dan (gw)** gĩṅ, **Guro BN** gnī, **GR** gīnī n bord; fold; wrinkle, **Gban ST** gē

*gṅṅṅ chest-3 > **Dan (bl)** gōṅ, **Guro BN, GR** gṅṅṅ n chest, torso, **Wan** # gṅṅ

*gōlò cockroach-2 > **Dan (gw)** gōṅ, **Dan (gw)** gōṅ, gōṅ, **Tura** # gólò, **Mwan** # glòṅ-ló

*gùlè crocodile-4 > **Mwan** # gwłè, **Wan** # gùlè

*gùlūṅ deep-2 > **Dan (bl)** glūṅzā, **Guro** # gūLū-á, **GR** gūLū-bàá, **Mwan** # glūṅ-glūṅ adj very deep, **Wan** # glūú, glù, **Beng** # glōṅ

*gṅṅ do-4 > **Dan (gw)** gṅṅ vt make (war), **Tura** # gṅṅ vi go on (of war, etc.); vt conduct (war, fight); put into action (forces, means), **Gban ST** gṅṅ v try, **Wan** # gṅṅ vt be engaged in (war, fight)

*gṅṅṅ fence-2 > **Dan (bl)** glêṅ, **Guro BN** gṅṅṅ, **Gban ST** gṅṅ

*gú go away (to) > **Dan (bl, gw)** gó, **Dan (kl)** gō vi leave, go out; come from; vt sell, have on sale, **Tura** # gṅṅ vi leave, go away; flow (of water); make leave; take away, extract; separate; give, produce; prepare, cook, **Mano NE** gó vi come from, **Guro GR, ST** gú vi go; evade, flee, **Yaure HB** kú vi go, **Mwan PM** gō, **Wan** # gò vi leave; get up; vt take off; move

*gāmā grasshopper > **Guro** # gāā, **BN** gāā, gāmā, **Wan** # gāmā

*gúnī hearth > **Guro** # gúnī, **BN** gùnī, **GR** gwīnī, **Gban ST** gwłè

*gṅṅ hill-2 > **Dan (bl)** gōṅ, **Guro BN, GR, VV** gṅṅ, **Mwan** # gṅṅ n mountain, **Wan AT** gṅṅ

*gúáṅ hoe-3 (mattock) > **Dan (gw)** gáṅ, **Tura** # gáṅ, gáṅlāā, **Guro BN** gwā-né, **GR** gwā-nē, **Mwan** # gwè-nè n small hoe

*gāló hyena-5 > **Guro BN, GR** gLāú, **Mwan** # glāṅ

*gālā indigo > **Mano ZE** gālā-yí-zē adj blue, **Guro BN** glā, **GR** gālā, **Gban ST** glā n indigo (plant and paint), **Mwan AY** glā n dye

*gòṅ maize, corn-3 > **Guro BN** gò, **GR** gòṅ, **Mwan** # gòṅ

*gṅṅṅ measure (to) > **Dan (bl)** gṅṅ vt estimate, **Dan (gw)** gṅṅṅ vt faire (la lutte), **Tura** # gṅṅṅ vt measure; slander, **Gban ST** gṅṅ v try; exercise, **Beng** # gṅṅ

*gṅṅṅ play-2 > **Guro** # gwèè (?) n game (kind of), **Gban ST** gṅṅ n play; amusement

*gānā pull (to)-2 > **Dan (gw, kl)** gā, **Dan (bl)** gā vt pull, draw; attract (to – pié), **Mano VV** gāā, **Guro BN, ST** gānā, **GR** gānāā, **Gban ST** gēā (?), **Beng** # glā-lá

*gṅṅṅ quarter (of a village) > **Dan (bl)** gūú, gú, gūū, gū n quarter (of a village); family, **Guro BN** gṅṅṅ n quarter (of a village); family; group; time

*gòlō rest > **Dan (bl)** glòṅ n rest; vi rest, **Tura** # gòlō vi rest; stay, remain; continue, **Gban ST** gwłè

*gīnī search-3 > **Guro BN** gnī, **GR** gīnī vt look for; look; make love (with a woman), **Mwan** # glī vt look for; look

*g⁵ sell-2 > **Dan (gw)** gó (?), **Mwan #** g⁵, **Wan #** g⁵ vt sell (to – ɔŋlé)

*g⁰ stomach, belly-1 > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** gú, **Gban ST** g⁰ n stomach, g⁰ n belly, rumen, g⁰ pp in, **Wan** gó, g⁰ rn inner part; pp inside, in; on; among

*g¹n¹ thorn-2 > **Dan (bl)** g¹é, **Dan (gw)** gl¹, **Dan (kl)** gy¹, **Dan (wa)** gl¹é, **Tura #** g¹à, **Guro GR** gw¹ó (?) n thorn (sp.)

3.4.7. In the feet of the types CVV and CV, before front vowels, *g- > j- in Guro (optionally) and in Beng. There is only one set for this phonetic context. Unfortunately, the Yaure form misses in my data; in this language one would expect c-.

Series 30

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*g	g	g	?	g ~ j	(c ?)	g	g	g	j

*g² Guinea fowl (*Numida mileagris*) > **Dan (bl)** g²â, **Dan (gw)** g²â, **Tura #** g²â, **Guro BN** g²é, **VV** g²é, j²é, **Gban ST** g² n wild Guinea fowl, **Mwan CF:61** g²â-gr², **Wan #** g²â-ge n perdrinx, **Beng GL** j², **Beng PA** j²

Other examples of palatalisation of velars before front vowels appear in the subsequent series.

3.4.8. In Dan-Gweetaa and Beng, *g- is reflected as gb-, and in Gban, sometimes in Mwan and Tura, as gw- in one particular context: the first vowel of a proto-stem of the types *gUIV, *gUV (where -U- stands for a rounded vowel) is reduced to an approximant -w-: *gUIV > gwIV, *gUV > gwV, which brings us to the Gban form. In Dan-Gweetaa and Beng this phonetic complex undergoes further change: *gwIV > gblV. In some words in Gban -l- is subsequently elided: *gwIV > gwV.

Series 31

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*g	g, gw, gb	g, gw	g, gw	g, gw	k, kw	gw	gw	g	gb

*g³l³ hole > **Dan (gw)** gbl³-g³, **Dan (bl)** gl³, **Dan (bh)** gw³-g³, **Dan (kl)** gl³ n pit, cavity, **Tura #** g³l³ n hole, cavity; rn (smb.'s) place, **Mano ZE, VV** g³l³, **Guro BN, ST, GR** g³l³ n hole, cavity, **Yaure HP** kl³, **Gban ST** gw³ (?), **Mwan #** gl³, **Wan #** gl³, gl³ n hole; bed (of river); mine; adj deep

*g³l³ divide > **Dan (bl)** gl³ vt divide, distribute, **Guro GR** g³l³ vt divide, distribute (among – m³), **Gban ST** gw³ vt divide, distribute, **Wan #** gl³ n piece, **Beng #** gbl³ vt divide, distribute

*g³l³ leopard > **Dan (gw)** gw³, **Dan (kl)** g³, **Dan (bl)** g³, **Mano NE, VV** g³, **Mano NE, ZE** g³, **Guro BN** g³, **Gban ST** gw³

*g³l³ peanut-2 (*Arachis hypogaea*) > **Dan (bl)** k³é (?), **Dan (gw)** gw³é, **Dan (kl)** gw³é, **Tura #** gw³é, **Mano ZE** g³ó, **Guro #** b³é (?)

*g³l³ sweep-3 > **Dan (bl)** g³, **Dan (gw)** gbl³, **Mano ZE** g³, **Guro BN** gl³ vt clean; rub, g³ gl³ vt sweep, **Mwan #** t³-g³ vt sweep, **Wan #** m³-g³, w³-g³ vt sweep.

*g³l³ wall-2 > **Guro BN** g³l³, **Gban ST** gw³, **Mwan #** gw³

*g³l³ war > **Dan (gw)** gbl³, **Dan (bh, yi)** gw³, **Dan (gp, kl)** gl³, **Dan (bl)** gl³, **Tura #** gw³ n war; {k³é n trouble (< *Jula k³é*)} **Mano VV** g³l³, **Guro BN, ST, GR** g³l³ n war, **BN** g³l³ n quarrel, **Gban ST** gw³, **Mwan PM** gw³, **Wan AT** gl³, **Beng #** g³l³ n quarrel (further examples see in the series 29: ‘crocodile-4’, ‘hearth’, ‘rest’, ‘hoe-3’).

There are some other sets where Gban or Beng gb- presumably corresponds to g- of other languages in feet of the type CV. It is difficult to say whether we should postulate here a

diachronic process similar to the above-mentioned, or should we consider these forms as non-cognate:

*g⁵ɲ *boat-5* > **Dan (gw)** g⁵ *n dugout canoe; car*, **Tura #** g⁵ɔ̄ *n vehicle (boat, car, plane)*, **Mano ZE** g⁵ɔ̄, {**Gban ST** gb⁵ ?} **Mwan AY** g⁵ɔ̄ *n car*, **Wan AT** g⁵ɔ̄ *n vehicle*
 *gāɲ *bone-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** gā, **Dan (kl)** gā *rn bone; seed, grain; piece (of sth. hard); unit (counting word in compound numbers)*, **Guro #** g⁵, {**Gban ST** gb⁵ ?}
 *g⁵è *jackal* > **Tura #** gwè, **Guro #** gw⁵í, **BN** gwè *n civet* {**Gban ST** gbèà}
 *giè *rub (to)* > **Dan (gw)** giè *vi rub oneself (against – b⁵à); vr rub oneself (with – ká)*, **Guro GR** jiè-á-mà (?) *v rub; massage, rub down*, {**Beng GL** gb⁵gb⁵í, gb⁵lāgb⁵lā, **PA** gb⁵ ?}.

3.4.9. Irregular reflexes in the following set can be easily explained through the grammatical character of this word:

*g⁵í *postposition in-3* > **Tura #** g⁵í *rn inner part; pp in, inside; for; because of*, **Mano NE, ZE** yí *pp in, inside*, **Guro BN** g⁵í, **Guro GR** j⁵í *rn interior; thought; pp in, inside*, **Yaure HO, HP** k⁵í, j⁵í, yí *pp in, to*, **Mwan GR** yí *pp in, inside*.

3.4.10. There is a dozen of correlative sets where *k-* (or *c-* before front vowels) appears in Gban, Wan and Beng, in correspondence to *g-* (*j-*) of Dan, Tura, Mano, Guro and Mwan (Yaure data is irrelevant here, because this language has *k-* in any case). Sporadically, *k-* appear also in Dan dialects, Mano and Guro. Analysis of the sets provides no clues to establish any phonological conditioning which would explain the difference of these series from the Series 29 and 30, and, on the other hand, from the Series 25-28. Therefore, I have to postulate a velar proto-phoneme different from **k-* and **g-*. According to the logics of the system, it may be an implosive phoneme **k̄-*.

Even in Gban, Wan and Beng, reflexes of **k̄-* follow rather irregular patterns, they seem to be conditioned differently in each of these languages.

Series 32

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>k̄</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>k, g</i>

*k⁵l⁵ *banana-3* > **Dan (bl, kl)** gl⁵ɔ̄, **Dan (gw)** gl⁵ɔ̄, kl⁵ɔ̄, **Gban ST** kl⁵kl⁵í, kl⁵í-í, kwl⁵kl⁵í, kwl⁵í-í

*k⁵l⁵ *boat-1* **Tura #** g⁵l⁵ (?), **Guro BN, GR** g⁵l⁵ *n arch. boat; shuttle; car*, **Gban ST** kl⁵ *n transport, vehicle*, **Beng GL, PA** gl⁵

*k⁵l⁵ *burn-3* > **Dan (bl)** gu⁵í, **Dan (bh, bn, gw, yi)** g⁵í, **Dan (gb)** g⁵í, **Dan (kl)** g⁵í *vi, vt burn*, **Mano NE, VV** g⁵l⁵, **ZE** g⁵l⁵, **Gban ST** k⁵

*k⁵l⁵ *cola nut* > **Dan (gw)** g⁵, **Dan (kl)** g⁵, **Dan (bl)** g⁵, **Tura #** g⁵l⁵, **Mano ZE** g⁵ g⁵, **Guro BN, ST, GR** g⁵l⁵, **Gban ST** gw⁵, **Mwan #** g⁵l⁵, **Wan VV** k⁵l⁵

*k⁵ *die-1* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** g⁵ *vi die; n death; end (of month, etc.)*, **Tura #** g⁵ *vi die; disappear, heal (of wound); vt kill*, **Mano ZE** g⁵ *vi die; get ripe*, **Guro BN, GR** g⁵, **hab. g⁵ā** *vi die; dry up; ripen; n death*, **BN** j⁵ *n illness; burial*, **Yaure HP** k⁵ *adj dry*, **Gban #** g⁵ *vi die; n supernatural force; disease, mutilation*, **Mwan #** g⁵ *vi die; dry; adj dead; n sickness*, **Wan #** k⁵ *vi dry up*, **Beng GL** g⁵, **PA** g⁵, g⁵ *n death; adj dead; vi die*

*k⁵ *foot, leg* > **Dan (bl)** g⁵, **Dan (gw)** g⁵, **Dan (kl)** j⁵ *rn foot, leg; handle (of recipient)*, **Tura #** g⁵ *rn foot, leg*, g⁵-y⁵ *n time (when counting)*, **Mano NE, ZE** g⁵ *rn foot, leg*, **Guro BN** g⁵, **GR** g⁵ *rn leg*, **Yaure HO** c⁵, k⁵, **Gban ST** g⁵, **Mwan #** g⁵, **Wan #** c⁵, k⁵ *rn*, **Beng GL, PA** g⁵ *n leg and foot; wheel*

*k⁵ *male, man-1* > **Dan (bl)** g⁵, **Dan (gw)** g⁵ *n man, (bl) husband*, **Dan (kl)** g⁵ *n husband*, **Dan (bl)** g⁵, **Dan (kl)** g⁵ *rn husband*, **Tura #** g⁵ *n husband*, g⁵ *n male; man*, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** g⁵, *pl. g⁵ā*, **Guro BN** g⁵-n⁵, **GR** gw⁵-n⁵, **Yaure HP** kwl⁵-m⁵ *n man*,

Gban ST kò *n male*, **Mwan** # gōnā, gōnā *n man, male*, **Wan** kō-lé *n man, male*, **Beng GL** gō, **PA** gōŋ

*kē *pumpkin* > **Dan (gw)** gā̄ *n pumpkin (sp.)*, **Mano ZE** gē, **Guro** # gē, **BN** jē, **Gban** # gī *n pumpkin; water-melon*, **Mwan** # gē *n melon*, **Wan** # cīŋ, cī

*kūā *river-2* > **Dan (gw)** gwā̄ *n big river*, **Dan (bh)** gwā̄ *n sea*, **Dan (bl)** gwā̄-gā, **Dan (gb, gp)** gwā̄ *n Sassandra river*, **Dan (kl)** gwā̄ *n river*, **Tura** # gūā̄ *n big river*, **Wan** # kāā

?*kōnēŋ *proverb-2* > **Dan (gw)** gwā̄ŋ, **Guro GR** gwēnē, **Mwan** # gōō, **Wan** # glōŋ (?), **Beng** # kàŋ (?)

?*kēā *look-2 (to)* > **Dan (bl)** gā, **Dan (gw)** gā *vt look at*, **Tura** # gāà *vt look at*, **Wan** # lé-gē (?) *vt look at*, **Beng GL** cā, **Beng PA** cá

?*kūlí *round-2* **Dan (bn)** glúú, **Dan (bl)** klóókló, **Dan (kl)** glǎǎglǎ, **Mano VV** kélékèlè, **Guro BN** kélēē, **GR** kilii *adj*, **Gban** # güü, gbüü, **Wan** # glúú *n round; adj round; adv in round*, **Beng** # klili

In fact, *k- may be also reconstructed for some sets included into the series 29-31 where Gban, Wan and Beng forms are missing.

3.4.11. *kp- is reflected as p- in Guro and Yaure, and as kp- elsewhere:

Series 33

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*kp	kp	kp	kp	p	p	kp	kp	kp	kp

*kpīnī *bend-1* > **Tura** # kpū *vi bend oneself backwards; vt bend backwards*, **Guro ST** pīnī *vt*

*kpé *all-3* > **Dan (bl)** kpé-kpê, **Yaure HP** pè-ró ?, **Mwan** # kpé, **Beng** # kpà (?)

*kpā *centipede* > **Dan (bl)** kpā-klū, **Tura** # kpā-ì *n centipede; scolopendrid*, **Gban ST** kpā *n centipede (sp.)*

*kpé *chair* > **Mwan** # kpē, **Wan** # kpé *n chair, stool*

*kpōnō *cowrie-2* > **Dan (bl)** kplōō, **Tura** # kpēēē (< *kpōō-wēē), **Mwan** kpōō

*kpálá *dry-2* > **Dan (bl)** kpáé, **Dan (bn)** kpéé, **Dan (gp)** kpíá, **Dan (gw)** kpéé, **Dan (kl)** kpáá, **Dan (gw, yi)** kpáé, *adj dry; thin (human)*, **Tura** # kpéé *adj*, **Mano VV** kpálá-kwā *adj dry, dead (tree, etc.)*, **Mwan PM** kpáá *adj dry*, **Wan (k) VV** kpálā *vt make dry; roast; vi heat oneself*

*kpō *fish (water dweller)-2* > **Dan (kl)** kpō-ná, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** kpáá, **Guro BN, GR** pō, **Yaure HB** pō, **Wan** # kpó

*kpíōŋ *knee-2* > **Dan (bl)** kpōgō, **Dan (gw)** kpīōŋgō, **Dan (kl)** kpīōŋgō, **Dan (bh)** kplóó, **Tura** # kpóŋ *rn*, **Mano ZE, VV** kpūō, **Guro BN, GR** pó, **Yaure HO** pó, **Gban ST** kpó, **Mwan PM** kpó, **Wan** # kpóŋ-gbōlí, **Beng GL, PA** kpó

*kpá *put-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** kpā *vi lean (on – bā); vt cover with (sth. – tà)*, **Tura** # kpáá *vi lie down; vt put; make lie down; bend*, **Guro** # pá *vt put; bury; follow (smb. – zūō); vi help (smb. – tā, vā)*, **Yaure HP** pá *vi help (smb. – vā); vt do*, **Yaure HB** pá-lá *vt put over*, **Mwan** # kpá

*kpālēŋ *shin* > **Dan (gw)** kplàà-gā (?), **Wan** # kplēŋ, kplēŋ

*kpētē-kpē *short-2* > **Mwan** # kpētēkpē, **Wan** kpētēkpē, kpété-kpé

*kpōtī *stone-2* > **Mwan** # kpōtī, **Wan** kpótī

*kpōlēŋ *unripe* > **Dan (kl)** kpō, **Tura** # kpōlō, **Mano ZE** kpōlō, **Guro BN** péé-nē, **GR** pēé-nē (?) *n young man; youth*, **Wan** # kpónūŋ

3.4.12. There are several irregular sets with predominant kp-. Some of them can be explained through borrowing from other languages:

'coco nut' > **Tura** # kpákù, **Guro GR** kpāò, **Mwan** # kpákō, **Wan** # kpákò (a wandering word in Côte d'Ivoire, cf. **Baule** kpákō, kpákō)

'kitchen' > **Mano NE** kpàà *n kitchen hut; rice storage hut (and the surrounding area)*, **Guro BN** gbābū (< *Jula gbà-bugu*), **Wan #** gbàà *n extended family (including collaterals)* (< *Jula gbà* ?)

We have some other sporadic irregularities, and it is difficult to judge so far whether they reflect some phonological or morphophonological features of the proto-language (such as archaic class prefix *N-), or the irregular forms just do not belong to the comparative sets:

?*N-kpīnī *cheek-1* > **Dan (bl)** kpéj, **Dan (gw)** kpííj, **Dan (kl)** kpéj, **Tura #** kpíí, **Guro ST, GR, BN** bīnī (*a voiced initial consonant in Guro, one would expect *p-*)

?*N-kpōlū *hump-2* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** kpū *fn bump (on body); hump; callus*, **Tura #** kpú *rn hump; bump*, **Mano ZE** gbú (?) *n bump (on the skin)*, **Guro BN, GR** pólú *n BN knot, GR bump, GR* pōlū *n knot, or GR* pō *n fist*, **Yaure HO** póú ? *n hump, bump*, **Gban ST** kpū *n hump; fist*, **Wan #** kpō, kpōō, **Beng GL** pūj, **Beng PA** pūj (?) *n hump PA; knot (in wood) GL (a voiced initial consonant in Mano; p- instead of kp- in Beng)*

?*kpōīj *road-2* > **Dan (bl)** kpēj, **Dan (gw)** kpīj, **Tura #** gbéj-lè, **Guro (nya) VV** gbēī, **BN** gbōī, **Yaure** kpō, **Wan #** kpō (*one would expect kp- in Tura, p- in Guro*)

3.4.13. In the general case, Proto-SM *gb- > b- in Guro, > p- in Yaure, in the other languages it remained unchanged:

Series 34

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*gb	gb	gb	gb	b	p	gb	gb	gb	gb

*gbēj *arm* > **Dan (gw)** gbēj, **Dan (bh, yi)** gbè, **Dan (bl)** gbîx, **Dan (dh)** gbîx, **Dan (kl)** gbî *rn arm*, {*cf. Dan (gw) # gbēj n branch (of river), brook,*} **Tura #** gbá *rn*, **Guro BN, GR, VV** bē *rn arm*, {*cf. bē n branch*}, **Yaure HP:73,75,77** pé ~ pè *rn arm*, **Mwan #** gbē *rn arm; foreleg; side*

*gbōj *baboon (Papio cynocephalus)* > **Dan (bl)** gbōj, gbōj, **Guro #** bāā, **Beng GL** gbōj *n chimpanzee*

*gbīā *bachelor* > **Dan (gw) #** gbīā, {**Dan (kl)** cè-gbā (< *Jula*)} **Guro BN** biā {**Beng GL** cē-gbānā *n bachelor; spinster* (< *Jula*)}

*gbāō *bamboo-2* > **Dan (bl)** gbōjgbó *n bamboo*, **Dan (gw)** gbāā, **Dan (kl)** gbāj *n bamboo Bambusa vulgaris*, gbōj *n West African bamboo Oxytenanthera abyssnica*, **Guro #** bād, **GR** bād, **Wan #** gbō-pō (?)

*gbāā *bat-4* > **Guro BN** bā *n flying fox*, **Mwan #** gbā-nē, **Wan #** gbāā

*gbēj *branch-2* > **Dan (gw)** gbēj *n branch (except that of a palm)*, **Tura #** gbāā *n branch (except that of a palm)*, **Mano ZE** gbāā, **Guro BN, GR, VV** bē *rn*, **Mwan #** gbē, **Wan #** gbē

*gbōjgbōj *bucket* > **Dan (bl)** gbōjgbó, gbōjgbó, **Dan (gw)** gbōjgbú, **Tura #** gbūgbūj, **Wan VV** gbōjgbō (?) *n big basket to store rice*

*gbālī *bug-2* > **Dan (bl)** gbālū, **Guro GR** bālī, **Gban ST** gbā (?) *n bedbug, flea, louse*, **Mwan #** gbē

*gbī *chase (to)* > **Guro #** bī, **BN** bī, bīē *vt chase away*, **Yaure HB** pī, **Mwan #** gbī

*gbāj *cry-2* > **Dan (gw)** gbāj *n noise (of a croud)*, **Tura #** gbāā *n noise*, **Guro #** bāā *vi shout*, (**si**) **BN** bā *vi cry (of animal)*, **Mwan #** gbē, **Wan #** gbē-kó *vi cry (of animal)*; *call*, **Beng GL** gbā, **PA** gbā *vi shout; cry out, scream*

*gbā *drive in* > **Dan (bl)** gbā *vt drive in, fix; organize; vi strike (sbm. – bā)*, **Tura #** gbāā *vt drive in, fix; lay foundation of (house); vi start (+ ger.)*, **Mwan #** gbāā *vt set (trap)*, **Wan #** gbā (?) *vt sting; pierce*

*gbā *give (to)-2* > **Dan (gw)** gbā, **Dan (bl)** gbāā, **Dan (kl)** gbā *vt give smb. (sth. – ká)*, **Tura #** gbā *vt give smb. (sth. – gā)*; *n gift*, **Mano ZE** gbā *vt give smb. (sth. – ká)*, **Guro VV** bāā,

BN *bā* vt sacrifice (sth. -- *yā*) to; honour smb., give a honourable gift, **Yaure HO** *pā* vt offer sacrifice to, consult (fetish), **Gban ST** *gbā* n gift; dowry (paid by bridegroom), **Mwan** # *gbā* vt worship (fetish), **Beng GL, PA** *gbā* vt give; sacrifice

gbá granary-4* > **Dan (gw) *gbā* n granary in the house, **Gban ST** *gbǎ*

gbíni heavy-2* > **Dan (bl) *gbíñ, gbíñ, gbíi, gbígbí, Dan (gw)* *gbíi, gbũ, Dan (kl)* *gbíñ* adj hard, difficult; thick (cloth); vigorous, **Mano ZE** *gbíni, gbíi, Guro BN* *bèè, Wan* # *gbèñ, Beng GL* *gbíi* adj heavy; wighty

gbónò intestine-2* > **Dan (bl) *gbḗñ, gbḗñ, gbḗñ, Dan (kl)* *gblú (?)*, **Tura** # *gbónó, Guro GR* *bwā, Gban* # *gbù, Wan* # *gbòñ*

gbēlē long-2* > **Dan (bl) *gbèè, gbèèñ, gbèi, gbèiñ, Dan (gw)* *gblèè* adj long, high, profound; remote; adv far away, **Mano ZE, VV** *gbēi* adv far away, **Yaure HO** *pōlū ?* adj long, **Beng GL** *gblíñ-gblíñ, PA* *gblēñ*

gbēli night-2* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl) *gbēñ, Tura* # *gbèi, Guro ST* *bēli, Guro (yasua)* *bēyi*

gbō pot-2* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl) *gbō, Tura* # *gbó* n pot; hive, **Mano NE, ZE** *gbōō, Guro BN, VV* *bō, Yaure HP, HO* *pò, Mwan* # *gbō, Wan* *gbō, Beng GR* *gbó* n bowl

gbà roof-2* > **Dan (bl) *gbà, gbā, gbā, Dan (gw)* *gbà, Mano ZE* *gbǎǎ (?)* n roof; ceiling; kitchen, **Wan** # *gbà* vt roof

gbī son* > **Dan (bl, gw) *gbī* rn son; brother's son (for a man); elder sister's son (for a woman), **Dan (kl)** *gbī* rn son; brother's or sister's son (for both man and woman), **Tura** # *gbé* rn son, **Mano ZE** *gbē* rn, **Guro ST** *bī, Yaure HP* *pí* rn son, **Mwan PM** *gbē, Wan* # *gbè* rn son; elder brother's son

gbānā thigh* > **Dan (gw) *gbá-ḡlǎ, Dan (bl, kl)* *gbá, Tura* # *gbǎǎ, gbǎ, Guro* # *bòLò (?)*, **Gban ST** *gbó, Wan* # *gbàlà, gblà, blāā (?)*, **Beng GL** *gbá*

gbàlàñ thunder (to)* > **Dan (kl) *gblá* vi, **Tura** # *gbàlá* vi, **Mano ZE** *gbàná* n thunder, lightning, **Wan** # *gblàñ*

gbélé tick* > **Dan (gw) *gbḗḗ* n tick of dog, **Tura** # *gbéè, Mano ZE* *gbōè, Guro GR* *béLéè-né*

gbòsró tobacco-1* > **Mwan # *gbòsró, Wan* # *gbòsrò* (cf. *Odiene Jula gbòsrò, Baule gbòsrò, gbòsró*)

gbē wait-2* > **Guro ST, BN, VV *bě, Wan* # *gbē*

In the following set, *b-* in Guro may be an erroneous transcription (it was already mentioned that in H.-Cl. Grégoire's data *b* and *b* are not very well distinguished):

kāñè-gbō calf (anat.)* > **Dan (gw) *gè-gbō, Guro GR* *gāñè-bō (= gāñè-bō ?)*

Most probably, the element *gbō* in Dan, *bō* in Guro is the the same as in the lexeme 'pot'.

3.4.14. In yet another correspondence, Guro and (presumably) Yaure have *gb-*, exactly as the rest of the languages of the SM group. There seems to be no reason however to reconstruct a special proto-phoneme: in all probability, these sets are spurious, they result from independent recent borrowing from Manding or Baule.

Series 35

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
* <i>gb</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gb</i>	?	<i>gb</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gb</i>	?

albino-2 – **Dan (gw)** *gbàñbē, gbàñ* n light-skinned albino, **Dan (kl)** *kpàflèè* n albino, **Tura** # *gbàñ, Guro BN* *gbāblē, Mwan* *gbàblē, Wan* # *gbààblèè* n redhead, red-skinned albino (cf. *Odiene Jula gbónbèrè, gbónbèlè* 'light-skinned albino')

box – **Guro BN** *gbò* n box, case; suitcase; coffin, **Yaure HO** *gbògbò* (cf. *Jula gbóngó, Baule gbōgbō, gbògbò* 'basket')

cannon – **Guro GR** *gbélé* n bomb, **Gban ST** *gblē* n bomb; burst (< *Jula gbèlé*)

hyena-4 – **Yaure** # gbógbóló, **Wan** # gbógóló (cf. Baule gbówló)

padlock – **Tura** # gbùlù, **Guro BN** gbókló (cf. Maninka gbóoro, Bamana gógoro, Baule gbòkló, gbókló)

3.4.15. Before upper vowels, *gb- > b- in Wan:

Series 36

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*gb	gb	gb	gb	b	p	gb	gb	b	gb

*gbū excrement-1 > **Dan (bl, gw)** gbō, **Dan (kl)** gbò *rn excrement*, gbōō *vr defecate*, **Tura** # gbó, **Mano NE, ZE** gbō, **Guro ST** bú, **Yaure HB** pù, **Mwan** # gbō *n excrement; waste*, **Wan AT** bù, **Beng GL, PA** gbō

*gbilā pull (to)-3 > **Dan (gw, gp)** gbìṣṣ, **Dan (bh, bn)** gblūú, **Dan (bl)** gblāā, **Dan (kl)** gbíêê, **Tura** # gbíè *vt fix; drag*, gbíè-lá *vt carry away*, **Gban ST** gbíé *vt drag; sing in chorus*, **Wan** # bilā *vt pull; draw*

*gbílóŋ trace-2 > **Dan (bl)** gbló, **(gw)** gblíŋŋ *rn trace*, **Tura** # gbóló, **Wan** bliŋ

3.4.16. It seems that in Beng *gb- > b- before -ε.

Series 37

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*gb	gb	gb	?	b	?	?	gb	gb	b

*gbē-tè big-3 > **Dan (gw)** # gbé *adv? many, much; several*, **Tura** # gbéé *adj large, wide*, **Mwan** # gbēnè, gbētè, **Wan** # gbētè (?), **Beng GL** bēē, **PA** béē

*gbèlāŋ shoulder-2 > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** gbā *rn shoulder, wing*, **Tura** # gbá, **Guro BN** bēā-pá, **Wan** # gblèŋ *rn wing; shoulder*, **Beng** # bàŋ-céŋ (< gbèàŋ-céŋ ?) *n wing («shoulder-feathers»?)*

3.4.17. As usual, there are leftover sets where some languages display irregular forms difficult to interpret because of their isolated character. They may witness for some morphophonological or phonological features of the proto-language or be just non-cognate:

*gbālè difficult > **Dan (bl)** gbéê, **Dan (gw)** # gbāà (?), **Dan (kl)** gbuúù (gbúúú?) *adj difficult; (bl) hard, solid; strong; (bl) vt compel*, {**Wan** # kpálé, kpálè *adj difficult; hard, solid; effective; brave*,} {**Beng GL** gōlī *adj difficult*}

*gbáŋ shed-2 > **Dan (gw)** gbá *n shelter*, **Dan (gw)** gbáŋ *n drier (for coffee, cacao)*, **Tura** # gbáá *n scaffolding (to chase birds); drier*, gbáŋ *n drier for coffee, vessels; pallet (poor bed)*, **Guro BN** bā, **GR** bā *n shed (for cooking, for rest); enclosure; palaver house* {**Mwan** # kpáá}

*gbèlén squirrel-3 > **Dan (bl)** gbêŋ, **Dan (dh, ka)** gbêî, **Dan (gw)** gbłłŋ, **Tura** # gbìŋ, **Guro GR, BN** bōò (?), **Yaure HO** pōá, {**Gban ST** kpò *n squirrel (sp.)*} **Mwan PM** gbè, **Wan** # gbè *n western palm squirrel*, **Beng** # gblèé

*? parrot > **Tura** # gbààgbàà, **Mwan** # gāàgāā

*gbānī smoke-2 > **Dan (kl)** sé-gbè, **Tura** # gbèé, **Mano ZE** gbèī, {**Guro BN** gōī, # góí *n smoke; smell (unpleasant)*, **GR** cé-gwēí *smoke*} {**Gban ST** gímí} **Wan** # gbānī, té-gbānī, **Beng** # gbí

*gbēnà dog-2 > **Dan (bl)** gbē, **Dan (gw)** gbê, **Tura** # gbéé, **Mano NE, ZE** gbá, **Guro ST** bēnā, **Yaure HP** plè, **Mwan** # gbāà, **Mwan PM** gbāā, **Wan AT** gbāā-nè, {**Beng GL** jēŋ,

Beng PA jēŋ *n dog; tetanus-like disease believed to result from beating a dog to death or seeng a dead dog*

3.4.18. Reconstruction of **kw-* in Proto-SM is problematic. As we can see from the sets given in the divisions 3.4.1.–3.4.3., *kw-* often emerges in Tura, Mwan, Gban, and sometimes in other languages too, from combinations of the types **kUIE*, **kUIA*, **kUE*, **kUA* through reduction of the first vowel. There are several sets where *kw-* is present in (nearly) all the languages of the group, but it is still not quite clear,

– whether it has monophonemic status in all the modern languages;

– whether it was **kw-* or **kU-* in the proto-language. If it was **kw-*, was it one phoneme or a biphonemic complex.

Let us consider these sets one by one. the set ‘white man’ can hardly be traced back to the Proto-SM, taking into account its semantics:

white man – **Dan (bl, gw)** kwí *n European, white man; city dweller, europeanized man*, **Tura** # kwí *n European, white man; colonizer*, **Mano NE** kúí, **Gban ST** gbì (?) *n foreigners*.

This root is also represented in South-West Mande, but it is most probably a migrant word.

For two other sets, a biphonemic cluster can be reconstructed (according to the above mentioned model of the vowel reduction):

*kōlē *nest-3* > **Tura** # kwéè, **Gban ST** kwlé

*kūè *year-2* > **Dan (gw)** kwè, **Dan (kl)** kwē, **Dan (kl, bl)** kwê, **Tura** # kwéé *n year; day*, **Mano ZE** kēè, **Gban ST** kwé, **Beng GL** kwé, **Beng PA** kùé.

As for the last set, ‘door’, the Tura and Mwan forms testify for the reconstruction of **k-* rather than **kw-*. *kp-* in Mano and Beng is yet to be explained, as well as the “sonant + vowel” clusters in Dan dialects:

*kōŋ *door* > **Dan (bn, gw, kl)** kwéé, **Dan (bh, yi)** kwéé, **Dan (bl)** kwéí, **Tura** # kóŋ, **Mano VV** kpóŋ, **Mwan PM** kóŋ, **Beng** # kpíŋ (?)

So far, these sets can be interpreted more or less satisfactorily without postulation of **kw-* in the Proto-SM.

3.4.19. Reconstruction of **gw-* encounters problems similar to that of **kw-*. In the section 3.4.8. (Series 31) the process of emergence of *gw-* in some modern languages through reduction of a labial vowel after **g-* was considered. There is still another series (although of a weak output) that probably reflects **gw-*. Its main features are *v-* in Mwan and *g-* (instead of *gb-*) in Beng:

Series 38

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
?*gw	g	g, gw	g	g	k, c	?	v	gw	g

*gwēēlè *iroko tree* > **Dan (bl)** gʸʸ, **Dan (gw)** gʸʸ, **Tura** # géli, **Guro BN** gōōlé, **Mwan** # vè-yri, **Wan** # gwè, gwē, **Beng** # gùèè

*gwí *stomach, belly-4* > **Dan (gw)** gwí, gwú, gú *rn stomach; inner side*, **Dan (bl)** gú, **Dan (gw)** gú, gù *pp in, inside; n (bl) inner side*, **Tura** # gwí *rn stomach, gí rn inner side; character; moment; pp in, inside; for*, **Mano ZE** gí *rn outside of belly*, **Yaure HP** cì, cì *rn inside; stomach*, **Mwan** # vī.

3.4.20. The principal distinction of next series from the preceding one is in the Wan reflex: *kw-* or *k-*, instead of *gw-*. By analogy with the reflexes of **k* (cf. 3.4.10.), I reconstruct an implosive labialized velar consonant, **kʷ-*:

Series 39

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng

?*kw g, gw gw g g, gw k gw v k, kw g

?*kwēē *ceiba tree (Ceiba pentandra)-2* > **Dan (bl)** gwēê-lû, **Dan (gw, kl)** gwē, **Tura #** gwêê, **Guro ST** gwēē, **GR** gwēē, **Gban ST** gwè, **Mwan #** gwà *or* vè, **Wan #** kwēē
 ?*kwēlē *stone-1* > **Dan (gw)** gwḷ, gùḷ, **Dan (kl)** gùḷ, **Dan (bl)** gùḷ, **Tura #** gwèè *n stone; rock*, **Mano ZE, VV** gèlè, **Guro BN** gōlē, **GR** gwēlē, **Guro (Yasua) VV** gùLè, **Yaure HO** kòlè, **Gban ST** gwà *n stone; rock*, **Mwan #** vlé *n stone; rock*, **Wan #** klé, kléé, klē, **Beng #** glē

3.5. Sonants

3.5.1. In the most common case, *y- > y- in all modern languages. Two main allophones of this phoneme can be reconstructed, [y] in the oral context and [ÿ] before a nasal vowel.

Series 40

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y

*yāā *bear, give birth-3* > **Guro BN** yāā *vt*, **Yaure HP** ya, **Mwan AY** yā, **Beng #** yī

*yōnā *bitter-2* > **Mano ZE** yōs (?), **Guro BN** yānānē

*yōj *breast-3* > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** yōj *rn*, **Tura #** yōj *rn*, **Mano ZE** yō, **Guro BN** yōj *rn breast; nipple*, **Yaure HO** yō, **Gban ST** yī, **Mwan #** yò, **Wan AT** yōj, **Beng GL** yō, **Beng PA** yō

*yōgōmé *came* (< Manding ñògōmé) > **Tura #** yōōmiá, **Wan #** yōgōmé

*yānā *cane rat* > **Tura #** yānā, **Guro BN** yā, **Wan #** yòlè (?)

*yānā *carve (to)* > **Dan (bl, gw)** yā, **Tura #** yā, **Mano ZE** yā, **Guro BN** yā, **Gban ST** ylá, **Mwan #** yāá

*yī *day-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** yī, **Tura #** yì *n day (in some names of holidays)*, **Guro ST, BN** yī, **Yaure HP** yì, **Gban ST** yì, **Mwan #** yī

*yōd *descend-2* > **Dan (bl)** yōd *vi descend; vt swallow*, **Tura #** yòd

*yī-è *dream-2* (*sleep + ?) > **Dan (bl)** yīl, **Guro BN** yē, **ST** yēē, **Gban ST** yà

*yāō *evil* > **Dan (bl)** yā, yāā, **Dan (gw)** yāā *adj bad; ugly; evil; unpalatable*, **Tura #** yóó *adj bad*, **Mano ZE, VV** yóō *adj bad; ugly*, **Guro BN** yāā *vi be bad*, yānē *adj bad, evil*, **Gban ST** yá *n evilness; egotism*, **Mwan #** yóō *adj bad*

*yóló *flow (to)* > **Guro BN** yóló, -ā, **Gban GR** yo

*yīē *good-3* > **Mano ZE** yīē *adj good*, **Yaure HO** yī *adj good; n goodness*

*yāē *grass-3* > **Dan (bl)** yāā, **Gban ST** yē, **Wan #** yēé *n grass; savannah*

*yū *fetish, idol* > **Tura #** yó, **Guro VV** yū, (**BN** jò *n mask of fabric* (< *Jula*)), **Yaure HB** yù, **Mwan PM** yō, **Wan #** yò *n fetish; mask*

*yī-nā *lie down-2* (*sleep + ?) > **Guro BN** yīā, **ST** yìā *vi go to bed*, **Yaure** yìrā, **Mwan #** yīlā

*yūē *nose* > **Dan (bl, gw)** yū *rn nose*, **Dan (kl)** yū (?) *rn snot, nasal mucus*, **Tura #** yūú, **Mano ZE** yū, **Guro #** yē, **Gban ST** yī, **Mwan #** yī, **Wan #** yēē, **Beng #** yīē

*yèlē *pit-2* > **Dan (gw)** yè-gā, **Dan (kl)** yè, **Tura #** yèè, **Guro BN, GR** yēlē *n hole (of animal), burrow*, **Beng #** yrē

*yā *postposition with-2* > **Guro** yā, **Gban ST** yē *pp with; by*, **Wan** yā

*yōnū *push* > **Dan (gw)** yōō *vi push (sth. – bā)*; *vt gather (together – kwāḷ)*, **Tura #** yō *vi push (sth. – tà)*; *vt pile*, **Guro BN, GR** yūnū *vt push; press*

*yà(-na) *sit (to)-2* > **Dan (bl)** yā, **Dan (gw)** yā, *vi sit down; live; seize; begin (do smth – bā) vt make sit down; put, install; wear (hat); cultivate; write*, **Dan (bl)** yānū, yānū, **Dan (kl)** yá-ânū *vi sit down*, **Tura #** yàā *vi sit down; live; marry (of woman; with – gō)*; *be vigilant (against – gē)*; *vt make sit down; put, locate; install; give for marriage*, **Mano NE, ZE** yà *vi*

sit down, vt set, **Guro ST** yǎná, **Yaure HB** yǎ-nǎ vi sit down, **Gban ST** yè vi sit down; vt seat down; install, put, yà vt put, install, **Mwan AY** yāā, **Wan** yā, **Beng GL** ya

*yī sleep > **Dan (gw, bl)** yī, **Dan (kl)** yī n sleep, **Tura #** yí n sleep, **Mano NE, ZE** yī, yí n sleep, **Guro BN** yī n sleep, **Yaure HO** yì n sleep, **Gban ST** yì n sleep, **Mwan #** yī-dε vi sleep, **Wan #** yī vi sleep; pass a night; stay, leave; n dream; sleeping, **Beng GL** yī vi sleep; vt sleep with, have sex with; n sleeping

*yǎnē sufferance-1 > **Guro BN** yǎnē, **Wan #** yrā, yrē

*yénē sun-2 > **Dan (bn)** yāā, **Dan (gw)** yǎñ, **Dan (kl)** yēē, **Tura #** yǎā, **Mano ZE, VV** yénē, ɲlé n sun; day, **Guro BN, GR** yīlí, **Yaure HO** yì-dé, **Gban ST** yè-vè, yè-è, **Mwan #** yērē-té, **Wan #** yē-té n sun; hour, or éli n day, **Beng GL** yī-gbyē

*yāō trade > **Guro BN** yāā, **GR** yāā, **Wan #** yāō

*yí water > **Dan (bl)** yí, **Dan (gw)** yí, **Tura #** yí, **Mano NE, ZE** yíi n water; river, lake, pond, **Guro ST** yí, **Yaure HO** yí, **Gban ST** yí, **Mwan #** yì, **Wan #** yí, **Beng GL, PA** yí

*yénē work > **Dan (bl)** yūx̄, **Dan (gw)** yā, **Dan (kl)** yè (yè?) n work; (bl) vi work, vt make; fix, mend, **Mano NE** yénē n farm; agriculture work, or, **Mano ZE** yá-bó, yé-bó n work, **Guro ST** yǎná, **Yaure HP** yná-mà, **Mwan PM** yē, **Wan #, VV** yērē n agriculture work; work

*yǎō yam (*Dioscorea gen.*)-3 > **Dan (gw)** yǎ n yam, **Dan (kl)** yǎ n staple food, **Tura #** yǎā, **Guro BN** yá, **Yaure HP, HO** yáá, **Gban ST** yò n soft yam, **Mwan #** yǎā, **Beng GR** yō

3.5.2. There is a limited number of sets where *w-* in Gban, sometimes in Wan or Beng corresponds to *y-* in other languages. *w-* can be interpreted as a result of a contextually conditioned change from **y-*, the conditions being different in each of the languages.

In Gban, the change **y-* > *w-* took place in dissyllabic words where the consonant had preceded a labial nasal vowel ('oil palm' being the only exception of this rule; the Gban form *wò* 'big oil palm' can be, in fact, non-cognate to the other forms in this set). In Beng ('yesterday-1', 'laugh (to)') the change occurred in dissyllabic feet before front vowels (cf., however, 'three-2' in 3.5.3., where *ɲ-* < **w-* before a nasal vowel, **w-* < **y-* before -a). As for Wan, there is only one example available ('sand'), which is insufficient to establish any rule.

Series 41

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*y	y	y	y	y	y	y, w	y	y, w	y, w

*yòmū blood-1 > **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** yòò, **Tura** yùè, **Guro BN, GR** yēē, **Yaure HP** yè, **Gban ST** wò, **Wan #** yémī, **Beng #** wàṅ

*yùǎ eye > **Dan (gw)** yǎ-gā, **Dan (bl, kl)** yǎ(-gā) rn eye; look, **Tura #** yǎ rn, **Mano ZE** yīé rn eye, yìé rn colour, **Guro ST** yùé, **Guro (nya) VV** yùé, **Yaure HO** yùé, **Gban ST** wǎ

*yūnó oil-2 > **Dan (bl)** yó, **Dan (gw)** # yò, **Dan (kl)** yó, **Tura #** yóó, **Mano NE, ZE** yónó, **Guro BN** yónó n oil; fat, **Gban ST** wú n oil, fat, **Mwan #** yrò, **Wan #** yèṅ n oil; fat, **Beng #** yró n oil; fat

*yō oil palm > **Dan (bl, gw)** yō n oil palm wine; alcoholic drink, **Tura #** yó n oil palm; plantation of oil palms; oil palm wine, **Mano ZE** yō n wine, **Guro BN** yō, **Gban ST** wò n big oil palm, **Mwan PM** yō, **Wan #** yō, yō

?*yónā yesterday-1 > **Dan (bl)** yīē, yǎē, yēē, **Dan (gw)** yāā, yīā, **Tura #** yǎā, **Mano NE, ZE** yālá, yōlá, **Guro BN** yēē, yēé, **Gban ST** wíè (?), **Mwan #** yáà

*yéí laugh (to) > **Dan (bh, gw, yi)** yíí, **Dan (bl)** yéí, **Dan (kl)** yíí, **Mano ZE, VV** yéí vi laugh (at - mò), **Guro BN, GR** yéí n laughter; smile, **Gban ST** yè, **Gban (bk) VV** yèrè n laugh, **Beng #** wlā

*yénè sand > **Dan (bl)** yǎ́ǎ́, yǎ́ǎ́, **Dan (gw, kl)** yěě, {**Tura #** kèè (< Manding? cf. Maninka kǐné, Mau cè)} **Mano VV** yěě-sélé, **Guro ST** yénè, **Gban ST** yè, **Mwan CF:56** yrè-tré, **Wan VV** wéǎǎ

3.5.3. The only special feature of the Series 42 is *y- > ø- in Wan. There seems to be no evident phonetic conditioning of this elision at the segmental level. As for the suprasegmental conditioning, the tonal system of Wan is still insufficiently transparent, tonal marks in Tatiana Nikitina's current version of the Wan Dictionary are preliminary and sometimes controversial. It is not even clear whether this language has a dynamic accent (in addition to tone) or not.

And still, we can notice that among the Wan forms in the Series 42, words with high and rising tones (if we take a foot as a single unity) predominate, middle tone is rare, and low tone of the entire foot is not attested, – which is in a striking contrast to the Wan forms of the Series 40 and 41. It seems appropriate to hypothesize that the elision of the initial y- in Wan is conditioned at the suprasegmental level. Verification of this hypothesis depends on the progress in the description of Wan and in reconstruction of the suprasegmental level of the Proto-SM.

Series 42

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	ø	y

*yúbí ashes-2 > **Dan (bl)** yóó, **Dan (gw)** yóó, **Dan (kl)** yóó, **Tura #** yúè, **Mano ZE** yúé, **Mano VV** yúbé, **Guro** yí, yí, **Wan #** úú, úú, **Beng #** yépe

*yéí break (to)-3 > **Dan (bl)** yé, **Dan (gw)** yé vi spoil, break; vt break; cut; ply, **Tura #** yéé, **Mano ZE** yé vt break; ply (clothes), **Guro ST** yéí, **Guro BN** yéí, hab. yéí, **Yaure HP** yee, **Gban ST** yé, **Wan #** àí, àí vt break; cut

*yǎnè egg-3 > **Dan (gw)** yǎǎ, **Dan (kl)** yǎ, **Dan (bl)** yǎ, yǎǎ, **Tura #** yǎǎ, **Mano ZE** yǎǎ, **Guro #** yénè, **Gban ST** yǎ, **Mwan #** yrè, **Wan** ǎǎ

*yǎé end-3 > **Dan (bl)** yǎǎ, **Dan (gw)** yǎ vi finish (sth. – bǎ), **Tura #** yé vi stop, cease, **Mano ZE** yé vi finish (sth. – mǎ), **Guro BN** yǎ vi end, vt finish, **Yaure HB** yǎ, **Gban ST** yé vt stop, cease, **Mwan #** yǎ, **Wan** ǎ, ǎ (?) vi finish (sth. – yǎ); vt finish, **Beng GL** yǎ, **Beng PA** yǎ vi be finished with; be healed; vt finish

*yǎí hide > **Guro BN** yǎí, **GR** yǎí, **ST** yǎí, **Yaure HP** yǎí vi hide oneself; vt hide, **Wan #** ǎí

*yǎá illness-2 > **Dan (gw)** yǎǎ, **Dan (bl)** yǎá (yǎá in composita), **Dan (kl)** yǎá, **Tura #** yǎǎ, **Mano ZE** yǎá, yǎá, **Mano VV** yǎá, **Wan #** á n illness, vi spoil (sth. – mǎ), ache

*yǎ see (to) > **Dan (bl, gw)** yǎ, **Dan (kl)** yé vt see; find, **Tura #** yé, **Guro ST** yǎ, Prf. yé, **Yaure HP** yǎ, **Gban ST** yé vt find; gain; vi exist; n riches, **Mwan #** yé, **Wan #** é, é vt see; find, **Beng GL, PA** yé, **PA** yé

*yǎlá shame-3 > **Dan (gw)** yǎǎ, yǎǎ, **Dan (kl)** yé, **Dan (bl)** lǎ, **Dan (bn)** lǎ, **Tura #** yéé, **Mano ZE, VV** yǎé, **Guro GR** yǎlá, **Mwan #** yrà-lǎ, **Wan #** éí, **Beng #** yé-yǎ

*yǎkǎ three-2 > **Dan (bl)** yǎǎ, **Dan (kl)** yǎǎ, **Dan (gw)** yǎǎ num three, **Tura #** yǎ-kǎ num three, **Mano NE, ZE** yǎkǎ, **Guro BN** yǎá, **GR** yǎá, **Yaure HP** yǎǎ, **Gban ST** yǎǎ, **Mwan #** yǎǎ, **Wan** á, **Beng #** yǎǎ

3.5.4. In the Series 43 we observe elision of the first vowel of a dissyllabic forms, *yEIV > IV, in Dan, while the final vowel becomes back unrounded (other example are in the set 'lion', see Series 44, and 'shame-3', see Series 42). This process is certainly recent, and its progress is unequal in different dialects (see in this relation: Bearth & Zemp 1967: 27-8). Kla-Dan seems to be among the least advanced, and Dan-Blo represents the other pole. Of special

interest is the form for ‘tree’ in Dan-Gweetaa and Dan-Kla, for which may be reconstructed a following process: *yílí > *yí > *lú > dú. I.e., unlike in other words of this series, and unlike in Dan-Blo, the resulting *l- was reinterpreted into a «true» initial consonant, which is *d*-.

Taking into account a weak output of this series, it is difficult to formulate its conditioning with certainty, but it is still possible to advance some hypotheses. The elimination of the first syllable beginning with *y- in Dan dialects occurs when the vowel of that syllable can be reconstructed as non-back and oral, and the vowel of the second syllable of the proto-form cannot be more closed than the first one, which is probably a condition for the stress on the second syllable, cf. the situation in the modern Guro (Vydrine 2003).

Series 43

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*y	ø	y	y	y	y	y	y	y, ø	y

*yìlí *tie-1, bind* > **Dan (bl)** lî, **Dan (gw, bn)** lî vt *truss*; (bl) *tie; catch; steal*, **Dan (kl)** yìlî vt *tie, fasten; truss*, **Tura #** yèlè, **Mano ZE, VV** yèlè, **Guro BN** yēLè, -ā, **Yaure HB** yìLí vt *tie; plait*, **Gban ST** yè vt *attach*, **Mwan #** yrè, **Beng #** yrè

*yílí *tree* > **Dan (gw, kl)** dú, **Dan (bl)** lú, **Tura #** yí, **Mano NE, ZE, VV** yí n *tree; stalk, stem, trunk; wood*, **Guro ST** yíLí, **Mwan #** yrì, **Wan #** yrē, **Beng PA** yí, **GL** yí n *tree; wood*

3.5.5. In the Series 44, we regularly find *j*- in Beng, Yaure and Guro (in the latter, in one case, we find *z*-). Wan, Mwan and Gban are less systematic, but a weak output of the series provides insufficient data to establish rules. The proto-phoneme that can be reconstructed for this series is **j*-.

Series 44

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*j	y	y	y	j, z	j	j, y	j, y	j, y	j

*jàùmā (or Ñ-jàùmā?) *cat-1* > **Dan (gw)** yūmā-n̄, **Dan (kl)** yààmò-n̄, **Dan (bl)** yà, **Guro BN** zàwò-n̄, **GR** zàò, **Gban ST** yā, **Beng GL** jāmā n *cat*, jākúmā (< *Jula?*) n *bushbaby, galago*

*jòró *chain* > **Dan (bl)** yò, **Tura #** yò-ò-ò-ò, **Mano ZE** yò n *chain; necklace*, **Mwan #** yrò, **Beng #** jrò

?*jásá *fence* (< *Jula jása?*) > **Dan (bl)** yásá n *fence; yard*, **Wan #** jósó

*jàlā *lion* > **Dan (gw)** là, **Dan (kl)** yìrā, **Dan (bl)** là, **Tura #** yà, **Guro BN** jèlā, **Yaure HO** jàLà, **Mwan #** jrā, jàrà, **Wan #** jrā, **Beng GL** jātá n *leopard* (< *Jula?*), jrā n *lion*

*jàbā *onion* > **Dan (kl)** yàbá, **Tura #** yàbā, **Mano ZE** yàbā, **Guro BN** jàbā, gābā, **GR** jàbá, **Yaure HO** jàbā, **Gban ST** jàbá, jàá, **Beng GL** jāflá, **PA** jàflá

*júfà *pocket* (< Manding júfá < Arab. jawf *cavity, hollow?*) **Dan (bl)** yú, **Dan (gw)** yā, **Dan (kl)** yē, **Mano ZE** yūfā, **Mano VV** yífā, **Beng GL** jùfā, **Beng PA** júfá (*independent borrowing into single languages is also probable*)

In the following sets, forms with *j*- may be borrowed from Manding, so that reconstruction of **j*- remains tentative:

*jēsé *thread-1* > **Dan (gw, gp)** yē, **Dan (bl)** yē, yē, yē, **Dan (kl)** yē n *cotton*, **Tura #** yē, **Mano VV** yē, **Beng GL** jēsý n *thread; cotton* (< Manding jèsé?)

*jòlō *net* > **Dan (kl)** yò n *fishing net; hammock*, **Mwan #** yōrō n *hammock*, {**Beng GL** jō, **PA** jō, jō n *hammock*, **GL** jō n *fishing net* (< *Jula jō*)}

3.5.7. In the common case, Proto-SM *w- > w- in all the daughter languages.

Series 45

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w

*wí *affair, matter-2* > **Dan (bl)** wú, **Dan (gw)** wó, **Dan (kl)** wò (wó?), **Tura** # wú, **Mano NE, VV** wó *n deed, matter*, **Guro** # wí, **Yaure HO, HP:85** wí, wí, **Wan** # wō *vi become; last long; vt perform, accomplish*, **Beng** # wō *vt do*

*wí *break (to)-2* > **Dan (bl)** wú, **Dan (kl)** wù, **Tura** # wí, **Mano ZE** wí *vt break, shatter*, **Guro BN** wí, -ē, **Gban ST** wí, **Mwan** # wí *vt break, destroy*, **Beng** # wí

*wūō *cry-1* > **Guro ST** wū, **Guro BN** wú *n cry*, **Yaure HB** wūò, *perf. wūò v cry*, **Gban ST** wò *v cry*, **Mwan AY** wī *n weeping*

*wōlā *enter-2* > **Guro BN** wōlā, **Mwan** # wlā *vi enter, vt let in*, **Wan** # wíá, wíá *vi enter; vt put on, wear*

*wēlē *face-2* > **Dan (bl)** wē, wē-*dē*, wē-*dē*, **Dan (kl)** wē-*lè*, **Tura** # wéè, **Mano NE** wèlè, **Mano ZE** wēlē, **Gban ST** wà *rn face; appearance; aspect*

*wálá *knife-6* > **Tura** # wálá, **Mwan PM** wlā

*wō *lie down-3* > **Dan (bl)** wō, **Dan (gw)** wò *vi lie down; spend a night; live; vt put (on – ká)*, **Mano ZE** wō, **Gban ST** wò *vt put*

*wī *meat, animal-2* > **Dan (bl, gw)** wū, **Dan (kl)** wù, **Tura** # wì, **Mano NE, ZE** wì, **Guro BN** wī, **Yaure HP** wì, **Gban ST** wè, **Mwan** # wī, **Wan** # wì, wī

*wènī *monkey-3* > **Dan (bl)** wòò, **Dan (ka)** wòù, **Tura** # wèi, **Mano NE** wēi, **Yaure HO** wènè, **Gban ST** wì (?) *n monkey (sp.)*, **Mwan** # wòò, **Wan VV** wèi *n monkey (any sp., except for chimpanzee)*

*wā *negative copula-5* > **Mano** wa, **Beng** # wā

*wōnē *oilpalm grain* > **Dan (bl, gw)** wē, **Dan (kl)** wè, **Tura** # wé, **Guro BN** wōnē *n kernel of oilpalm grain*

*wèṅ *pour-3 (to)* > **Dan (gw)** wèṅ, **Dan (kl)** wèṅ *vt pour away, throw away; sow (by throwing)*, **Tura** # wèṅ, **Guro** #, **BN** wēē *vt pour, spill*

*wèè *search-2* > **Guro BN** wēē, *hab. wēēā vt search, look for; have sex with (woman)*, **Yaure HB** wēē, **Mwan** # wèè *vt desire; make love with (of man)*

*wēnī *tail-1* > **Dan (bl)** wēē, **Dan (bl, gw, kl)** wēṅ, **Tura** # wí, **Mano VV** wōù, **Guro ST** wólí, **BN** wólí, **Gban ST** wí *rn tail; end; backside*, **Mwan** # wēē, **Wan VV** wèṅ

*wágá *thousand-2* > **Dan (kl)** wáá, **Tura** # wáá, **Mano VV** wáá, **Mwan** # wáá, **Wan** wágá

*wátí *time-3* (< Arab. waqt) > **Tura** # wáá, **Mwan CF:77** wátí, **Wan** # wátí (*independent borrowing into single languages is also probable*)

*wū *voice* > **Dan (bl)** wō, **Dan (gw)** wù, **Dan (kl)** wò *n voice; speech; language*, **Mano VV** wú, **Mwan** # wō *vi speak*.

In Kla-Dan, we have palatalization of the sonant before -i, *wi > yi:

*wí *speak-3* > **Dan (bl)** wé, **Dan (gw)** wí, **Dan (kl)** yí *vi*, **Tura** # wí *vi speak; cry (of birds); greet (smb. – bà); n talk, chat*, **Mano ZE, VV** wéé *n word, speech*, **Guro** wē (wī ?) *vi speak, produce a sound*, **Yaure HB** wí, *impf. wé vi speak*, **Yaure HP** wèi *n language*, **Mwan** wè *vi speak*, **Wan** # wè *n speech*, **Beng** # wēṅ *n voice; language*

3.5.8. In Wan *w- > ø- in the same suprasegmental context as the abovementioned (cf. 3.5.3.)

*y - > ø- (see also the sets ‘urine’ and ‘salt’ below). A side effect is the labialization of the remaining vowel (*wE > U):

Series 46

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
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*w w w w w w w w ø w

*wóně *bone-1* > **Tura** # wéé *n bone; nucleus; pit (of fruit); grain; essential part; thread; unit*, **Mano NE, ZE** wélé *n bone; nut, kernel; seed*, **Guro** #, **BN** wólé *n grain; bone*, **Yaure HO** wélé *n grain*, **Gban ST** wlí, wlí *n grain; seed; stone (of fruit)*, **Wan** # óŋ, **Beng** # wlé *n grain; bone*

*wé *desire* > **Guro BN** wē *n desire; love; need*, **Wan** # ò-lé *vi want*

*wóŋ *firewood-3* > **Dan (bl)** wó, **Dan (gw)** wó, **Tura** # wóó, **Wan** # óŋ

*wěńí *mortar-3* > **Dan (bl)** l'í, **Dan (gw)** wl'í, **Dan (kl)** llú-kú (?), **Tura** # wúú, **Mano ZE, VV** wěí, **Guro BN** wólí, **GR** wólí, **Yaure HO** wéí, **Wan** # ólí

*wěē *wine* > **Dan (gw)** wē *n alcoholic drink*, **Tura** # wî, **Guro** # wē, **Yaure HB** wē, **Gban ST** wí, **Mwan** # wēē *n drink*, **Wan** ú.

3.5.9. In Dan-Blo and, occasionally, in other dialects, *wVIV > IV, much in the same way as it happened with the elision of the initial syllable *yE- (cf. 3.5.4.). Until a reconstruction of the Proto-SM vocalism is done, it is difficult to formulate the conditions in which this change took place; let us just assume that the main factor was of prosodic character.

Series 47 (see also the set ‘mortar-3’ in the division 3.5.8.)

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*w	ø	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w

*wèli *louse-3* > **Dan (bl)** l'x'x', **Dan (bh)** wl'x', **Dan (gw, kl)** wèè, *n body louse*, **Mano VV** wèè *n headlouse*, **Guro LS** wólí, **BN** wólí, **Guro VV** wēi *n body louse*, **Wan** wèŋ

*wólō *pick up* > **Dan (bl)** lōō *vt pick up (leaves)*, **Dan (gw)** wl'x', **Tura** # wóó, **Gban ST** wl'ó *vt pick up one by one*, **Beng** # wē

*wèlé *rise (to)-2* > **Dan (bl)** lùū, **Dan (gw, kl)** wlūú, **Mano ZE, VV** wēlē, wélé *vi rise; get up (out of bed); fly*

*wùlè *under-2* > **Dan (bl)** l'x'x', **Dan (gw)** wl'x'x', glw'x'x' *pp under, below; toward*, **Tura** # wàlà (?) *pp under, below*, **Mano ZE** wii *n bottom, lower part; floor; pp under, below*, **Guro ST** wùò *pp under*

*wóně *worm-2* > **Dan (bl)** l'óó, **Dan (kl)** w'óó *n dew-worm*, **Tura** # w'óó-ńé *n dew-worm*, **Mano NE, ZE** wěńé, **Gban ST** wl'ó.

3.5.10. In Gban *w- > m- in nasal feet before a back rounded vowel; the only Beng form in this series, ‘urine’, has ηm-. The conditioning of this change is yet to be further elaborated in order to explain why in some cases the change does not take place (cf. ‘worm-2’ in 3.5.9.); for the time being, the sets representing this correspondence are not very numerous, and our understanding of the evolution of the SM feet structure is not yet advanced enough.

Series 48

SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
*w	w	w	w	w	w	m	w	w, ø	ηm

*wóná *gray hair* > **Dan (bl)** wláá, **Dan (gw, kl)** wlá *n gray hair; (bl) mane (of donkey, horse)*, **Tura** # wáá, **Guro BN** wóná, **Gban ST** múá

*wūńí *hair-3* > **Dan (bl, gw)** wū, **Tura** # wū-kwé, **Mano ZE** wíí, {wíí-}wú, **Guro ST** wū, **BN, GR** wí *n hair; pp on, on the top*, **Gban ST** ml'é, **Mwan** # wí, wí

*wūńŋ *urine* > **Dan (bl)** wēí, wēē, **Dan (gw)** # wēí, **Dan (kl)** wíí, **Tura** # w'í, **Mano ZE** wēí, wēí, **Mano VV** wē-yíí, **Guro VV** wū, **Guro BN** wō, **Gban ST** mū, **Wan GR** ó, ú, **Wan** # óŋ, **Beng GL** mwōŋ, **PA** ηmōŋ (?)

3.5.11. There is a half dozen sets where *g-* appears sporadically in Mwan, Wan, Guro, Beng and corresponds to *w-* of the other languages:

money > **Dan (bl)** wáú(-gā), **Dan (gw)** wáá, **Dan (kl)** wáá, **Tura** # wéí *n silver*, **Mano (Nzerekore) VV** wáyí, **Mano (Lola) VV** wálé, **Guro BN** gólí, gwéí, # gwéí *n silver? money?*, **Mwan** # gòlí, **Wan** # gòlí, **Beng** # wálí

thousand-1 > **Dan (gw)** # gblǻ (< *gúlú ?), **Guro** wūlū *BN two hundred (Zuénoula), two thousand (si)*, **Gban ST** wlú

salt > **Dan (gw)** wèè, **Dan (kl)** wēē, **Dan (bl)** kwēē (?), **Tura** # wì, **Mano ZE, VV** wēí *n solt; soap (potash?)*, **Guro BN** wē, **Gban ST** giè, **Mwan CF:56** wē, **Wan** # ́

fly, spring (to)-3 > **Dan (gw, kl)** wlǻ, **Dan (bl)** lǻ, **Wan** # glùŋ, glùŋ *vi fly; spring; evaporate*

pestle **Dan (bl)** wǻŋ, **Tura** # wèì, **Guro BN** wūnī, **Mwan** # vlǻ (< *gwǻ ?)

Reconstruction of the proto-forms represents a difficult task: on one hand, because of the irregular character of the correspondence; on the other, because some of these words ('money', 'thousand-1', 'salt') are most probably migrants, they are easily borrowed because of their great importance in the long-range commerce of West Africa. We find the same roots in West Mande languages, and even there, forms with initial *w-* and *g-* are mixed and represent a difficult task for the reconstruction:

money – **Jeri** wéri/ɔ, wári, wéri, **Mandinka** kódi *n silver; money*, **Jaxanka** kod-o, **Xasonka** gódi *n bracelet*, **Kagoro** wóri, **Maninka** wádi, wódi, wóri *n silver; money*, **Bamana** wári *n silver; money; price*, **Marka-Dafin VV** wari, **Kong Jula** wári, **Soninke** godo/e, *pl. -o n metal; monetary unit; five francs coin; gold decoration*

thousand – **Loko** wulu, **Soso** wúlù, **Mandinka** wúli, **Odiene Jula** wúlú, **Bozo-Tieyaxo** gulu

A special problem is represented by the set 'head-1'.

head-1 – **Dan (gw)** gǻ, **Dan (bl, kl)** gǻ *rn head; edge; handle (of instrument); theme*, **Tura** # wú *rn*, **Mano ZE** wú-kēlē, **Guro BN, ST** wūō, **Yaure HO** wùlò *rn*, **Mwan** # ǻgblò, ǻgblò, **Wan** # ́ó-ǻgblò, **Beng GL** ǻlū, **Beng PA** wlǻ

The set is very irregular, it suffices to say that it is the only word in Mwan with a prenasalized consonant.⁹ It looks as if some languages (Mwan, Wan, Beng; probably Dan) have conserved a trace of some unproductive prefix *ǻ-* that prevented the initial consonant of the stem from the weakening. Anyway, this problem needs further consideration.

One of the solution would be to consider the forms beginning with *g-* as non-cognate to the forms in the other languages. Another solution is to reconstruct a separate velar proto-phoneme, for example **x-*, which would be supported by the West Mande evidence (cf. Xasonka *xùŋ* 'head', *xòxo* 'salt').

4. The reconstructed proto-SM system of initial consonants is as follows:

* <i>p</i>	* <i>t</i>	* <i>t'</i>	* <i>k</i>		* <i>kp</i>
* <i>b</i>	* <i>d</i>	* <i>j</i>	* <i>g</i>	* <i>gw</i> ?	* <i>gb</i>
* <i>f</i>	* <i>s</i>		* <i>x</i> ?		
	* <i>z</i>				
* <i>β/m</i>	* <i>d/n</i>	* <i>y/n</i>	* <i>ǻ</i>	* <i>ǻw</i> ?	* <i>w/ǻ</i>

Abbreviations

adj – adjective

⁹ This fact has created a special problem for the practical orthography of Mwan.

adv – adverb
 AT – Halaoui et al. 1983
 bh – Bhlɛwo dialect (Dan)
 bl – Blo dialect (Dan)
 BN – Benoist 1977
 CF – Fleming 1995
 CL – Claire Grégoire 1988
 GL – Gottlieb & Murphy 1995
 GR – H.-C. Grégoire 1976; H.-C. Grégoire 1990
 dh – Dhoowo dialect (Dan)
 gb – Gbaaple dialect (Dan)
 gp – Gbapenwo dialect (Dan)
 gw – Gweetaa dialect (Dan)
 hab. – habitual form
 HB – B. Hopkins 1987
 HO – B. Hopkins 1982
 HP – E. Hopkins 1987
 ka – Ka dialect (Dan)
 kl – Kla dialect (Dan)
 MB – Prost 1953
 n – Nao dialect (Tura)
 NE – Neal et al. 1946
 PA – Paesler 1992
 RV – Ravenhill 1982
 perf. – perfect
 ptp – participle
 rn – relative noun
 SM – South Mande
 ST – Le Saout 1973; Le Saout 1979
 vi – intransitive verb
 vt – transitive verb
 VV – my unpublished data
 w – Waalu dialect (Tura)
 yi – Yiiwo dialect (Dan)
 ZE – deZeeuw & Kruah 1981

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Appendix: Correspondences of initial consonants of South Mande languages

Series	SMande	Dan	Tura	Mano	Guro	Yaure	Gban	Mwan	Wan	Beng
1	*p	p	p	p	f	f	f	p	p	p
2	*p	p	p	p	f	f	f	f~p	f~p	p
3	*N̄-p	p	p	p	f	?	β-	?	b	b, p
4	*f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
5	*f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	p
6	*b	b	b	b	v	f	β	b	b	b
7	*β	β	β	β	β	β	b	β	β	b
8	*/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	/β/, [m]	m
9	*b	b	b	v	v	f	β	b,v,m	b,m	v
10	*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
11	?*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	d
12	*t	t	t	t	c	t	t	t	t	t
13	*d	d	d	d	d	t	d	d	d	d
13a	*N̄-d	d	d	d	n	d	d	d	d	d
14	*d	d	d	d, z	d, z	t	d	d	z, d	z
15	?*d	d	d	d	d	t	d, t	d	t	d
16	*d'	d'	d'~l	l	d'~l	d'~l	l	d'~l	d'~l	l
17	*d̃[*n]	n /d'/	n /d'/	n /l/	n /d'/	n /l/	n /l/	n /d'/	n /d'/	n
18	*d'	d'	d'~l	l	d'~l	d'~l	l	d'~l	d'~l	y
19	*s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
20	*z	z	z	z	z	s	z	z	z	z
21	*z	z	z	z	z	s	z	z	z	y
22	*z	z	z	z	z	?	s	z	z, s	s
23	*z	z	z	?	j	?	z	?	?	z
24	*c	z	z	z	j	t	z	d	t	d
25	*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
26	*k	k	k	k	c	c	k	c	k	c
27	*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	∅	w
28	*N̄-k	k	k	k	k	k	g	k	k	k
29	*g	g	g	g	g	k	g	g	g	g
30	*g	g	g	?	g~j	(c?)	g	g	g	j
31	*g	g,gw,gb	g,gw	g, gw	g, gw	k, kw	gw	gw	g	gb
32	*k̄	g	g	g	g	k	k, g	g	k, g	g, k
33	*kp	kp	kp	kp	p	p	kp	kp	kp	kp
34	*gb	gb	gb	gb	b	p	gb	gb	gb	gb
35	*gb	gb	gb	?	gb	gb	gb	gb	gb	?
36	*gb	gb	gb	gb	b	p	gb	gb	b	gb
37	*gb	gb	gb	?	b	?	?	gb	gb	b
38	?*gw	g	gw, g	g	g	k, c	?	v	gw	g
39	?kw	g,gw	gw	g	g, gw	k	gw	v	k, kw	g
40	*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
41	*y	y	y	y	y	y	y, w	y	y, w	y, w
42	*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	∅	y
43	*y	∅	y	y	y	y	y	y	y, ∅	y
44	*j	y	y	y	j, z	j	j, y	j, y	j, y	j
45	*w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
46	*w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	∅	w

47	<i>*w</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>w</i>
48	<i>*w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w, ø</i>	<i>ym</i>