The Idomoid languages of the Benue and Cross River valleys

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Il est apparu évident qu'un certain nombre de langues de la région, telles que l'igede, sont apparentées à l'ensemble idoma. Dans cet article, ces langues sont rassemblées avec l'idoma sous le nom d'"idomoïde". La langue eloyi a été ajoutée à ce groupe sur une base lexicale, malgré un système de classification nominale et d'accord très élaboré. Le reste des langues idomoïdes n'ont que peu ou pas de mécanisme d'accord et la majorité d'entre elles ont supprimé la distinction singulier-pluriel pour l'ensemble ou la quasi-totalité des noms. Sur le plan typologique, leurs structures correspondent assez bien à celles du kwa oriental très répandu, et représenteraient le prolongement oriental extrême du groupe kwa. Des travaux lexico-statistiques avaient, jusqu'à maintenant, suggéré avec force une telle conclusion. Le problème a été de s'assurer de la présence d'une distinction claire entre le groupe idomoïde et des groupes apparentés tels que l'edoïde, le Niger-Kadouna, le Bas-Niger, et le jukunoïde. D'autre part, un autre problème, d'ordre général, se pose, c'est celui de savoir si la distinction entre langues kwa et langues Bénoué-Congo est correcte.

Cet article tente d'aller au-delà de la lexico-statistique et de présenter une série de correspondances phoniques entre les cinq langues idomoïdes. Les reconstructions du proto-idomoïde sont comparées au proto-négritique occidental, au proto-Bénoué-Congo et au proto-bantou. Les sept parlers idoma présentés ainsi que l'eloyi, l'igede, l'akweya et l'etulo sont l'objet d'analyses phonologiques distinctes. Le système vocalique de l'igede comportant dix voyelles avec un processus d'harmonie vocalique a été testé instrumentalement et les résultats acoustiques et phonétiques sont présentés dans un tableau. Cet article se termine par un tableau qui résume les correspondances phoniques entre les langues idomoïdes et les dialectes idoma.

0. INTRODUCTION

In two previous papers (Armstrong 1981a and 1981b) I attempted to use lexicostatistical methods to establish the existence of a genetically unified Idomoid group of Kwa languages along the eastern border of the Kwa family. Together with Professor Jungraithmayr, I am also engaged in a further study comparing the Idomoid languages with other Kwa languages to the west, using the Swadesh 100-word list. Having satisfied myself that an autonomous Idomoid group does exist, forming the easternmost interface between the Kwa and the Benue-Congo languages, I attempt in this article to establish a set of sound correspondences between all or some of these languages, hoping to begin a more strictly linguistic comparison between them. In addition to some attention to structural similarities and differences, the main body of the article is concerned with lexicon and comparative phonology.

At this stage, the attempt to reconstruct a proto-language or proto-phonology is necessarily somewhat conjectural, beginning with the problem of where to centre it. The stems presented in this article were chosen for reasons internal to the Idomoid group. Being marginal to both the Kwa and the Benue-Congo languages, the Idomoid languages share features with both groups. Idoma itself, a cluster of ten dialects strung out from Lafia to Obubra and Ikom, on the Cross River, has Swadesh cognate percentages in excess of 87 percent between its members. These cognations are very obvious; and tonally the cognate forms are at least 98 percent identical in their citation forms, even between the Yala dialects and Otukpó, despite the great elaboration of the Yala (Ogoja) consonant system and the phonologically and grammatically unique features of Yala (Ikom).

In this article I have not attempted a separate table of sound correspondences for the Idoma dialects as such. For the most part I have let either Central Idoma (Otukpó), Southern Idoma (Igwumale-Aglla) or Yala (Ikoro) stand for the whole cluster, although the forms for the other dialects are listed too, where I have them. I have not listed the Western dialects, partly because my material is still thin there and partly because in the basic vocabulary they offer little that does not occur in either Otukpó or Aglla.

In other words, the Idoma Dialect Cluster is here treated as the Idoma Language for comparison with the Igede language, the Akweya-Yatye language, the Eloyi language and the Etulo language. (For Yatye, see Armstrong 1979). Taken together these five languages make up the Idomoid languages, and sound correspondences between any two of them are taken here as relevant to establishing their unity in the linguistic-genetic sense and also in Wittgenstein's philosophical-semantic sense.

When, as in the present case, we are attempting the classification of a great series of languages along a border, such as the Kwa-Benue-Congo border, that may or may not exist (see appendix) it is well to remind ourselves what it is we are looking for. I quote from Bloomfield (1933, p. 298): "When we say ... that a resemblance between two languages is due to a relationship, we mean that these languages are later forms of a single earlier language." "The comparative method tells us, in principle, nothing about the acoustic shape of reconstructed forms; it identifies the phonemes in reconstructed forms merely as recurrent units." (p.309) "The comparative method assumes that each branch or language bears independent witness to the forms of the parent language, and that identities or correspondences among the related languages reveal features of the parent speech. This is the same thing as assuming, firstly, that the parent community was completely uniform as to language, and, secondly, that this parent language split suddenly and sharply into two or more daughter communities, which lost all contact with each other." (p.310) "The earlier students of Indo-European did not realize that the family-tree diagram was merely

a statement of their method;..." (p.311) "Since the comparative method does not allow for varieties within the parent language, it will only carry us a certain distance. Suppose, for instance, that within the parent language there was some dialectal difference: this dialectal difference will be reflected as an irreconcilable difference in the related languages... Yet these cases are very many." (pp.314,315)

Bloomfield then goes on to discuss Johannes Schmidt's "wave-hypothesis" (1872), which offers a qualification of the family-tree model. He also raises the problem of ancient loan words. English "hemp" and Middle Dutch "'hannep" correspond regularly to Greek "'kannabis". We are saved from adding the item to the lexicon of Primitive Indo-European by Herodotus' remark that hemp was known to the Greeks only as a foreign plant, in Thrace and Scythia. The word is very likely of Finno-Ugric origin. (pp.318-19) As the late Prof. Harry Hoijer put it in a lecture (I quote from memory), "The formulae of the comparativists are a kind of algebra that expresses in a systematic way what is known about the similarities between the members of a set of related languages." (See also Hockett (1970) for a detailed discussion of this matter.)

When Wittgenstein speaks of "family resemblances", he is trying to explicate the notion of concept; but perhaps he would not exclude the concept of a set of genetically related languages. He says (1953: paragraph 66-7), "We see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail". Speaking of number, he says, "And we extend our concept of number as in spinning a thread we twist fibre on fibre. And the strength of the thread does not reside in the fact that some one fibre runs through its whole length, but in the overlapping of many fibres." Of course, in lexical comparisons we are very glad to find a fibre that runs through the whole length of the thread. The point is that the members of a natural family resemble each other more than they resemble the members of other sets. The problem is easier when there are wide perceptual spaces between the sets. When it comes to the subdivisions of the language families of Africa, however, we face many subtle problems.

Etulo, Igede, Akweya and Idoma (north of Ogoja) all have the common Eastern Kwa trait that all the verbs begin with a consonant and all the nouns begin with a vowel (or with a nasal syllabic in the cases of Etulo and Igbo). (Note that Niger-Kaduna, i.e. Nupe and Co., forms an exception to this pattern.) Except for Igede they share the further trait that very few nouns have a separate plural form. Except for Eloyi, but *including* the Yala dialects and the Yatye language of Ogoja they are also typically Eastern Kwa in having no concord systems. A study of Igede and of the Yala (Ikom) dialect of Idoma quickly shows that the initial vowels of the nouns are mostly old prefixes, etymologically speaking. Today they are felt as inseparable parts of the words. Eloyi, in

the north, and Yatye and the Yala dialects in the south have kept consonant-initial prefixes; but it is interesting that the elaborate singular-plural noun prefix system of Igede consists entirely of vowels.

Greenberg's remarks in his Foreword to Crabb (1965) are quite apposite here: "...most Niger-Congo affixes have two variants, with and without initial consonant. Thus both a and ba occur in various languages as affixes corresponding to Bantu class 2, the plural of the personal class. Sometimes both forms occur in different dialects of the same language (e.g. Afusare, a Plateau language in Nigeria); or where both prefixes and suffixes are used both variants may occur in the same word, e.g. Kebu, a Togo language, which has such forms as e-ɬe-bą 'mothers', from a-ɬe-ba..." (Crabb 1965, ix). See also the Kagoro forms in the discussion to No. 91 below.

Eloyi, spoken in Nasarawa, has a basic vocabulary that is 50 percent cognate with Idoma, but it preserves an elaborate system of fourteen noun classes, each with twelve concord points. Igede preserves the ancient Kwa ten-vowel system with five expanded (tongue-root advanced) and five unexpanded (tongue-root retracted) vowels with a rigid cross-height vowel harmony system. The five unexpanded vowels clearly make up the unmarked set, since they are 86 percent of the vowels occurring in text. (I have gone through Bergman's work closely and am in full agreement with his analysis.)

The other Idomoid languages, except Kyana, all have a seven-vowel system some with, some without cross-height harmony. (e - o, ɛ - ɔ - a). It is a fair assumption that Proto-Idomoid had a ten-vowel system, but apart from the possibility that original expanded "A" produced /o/ in modern Eloyi, it will take a lot more study to demonstrate the effects that the reduction to seven-vowel systems have had on the modern languages. (See the discussion of Igede in Section 3 below.)

In selecting or reconstructing Proto-Idomoid stems, I have often favoured the Igede cognate reflexes where there is no obvious reason to do otherwise. In addition, Igede has a four-level, register tone system that seems ancient, since there are no contextual, lexical or grammatical constraints on the occurrence of any of the tones. It would be hard to specify which is the "fourth" tone. All the other Idomoid languages have three-register systems. Except for the very special case of Yala (Ikom), downdrift is rare and downstep non-existent.

All the Idomoid languages make extensive use of preconsonantal, usually homorganic nasal syllabics. In Akweya there are many postconsonantal homorganic nasal syllabics as well as some syllabics that are not homorganic. Word-final nasal syllabics also occur in most of the Idomoid languages, usually as separate morphemes. Yala (Ogoja) has many consonant complexes that involve

non-syllabic, non-homorganic nasal, lateral, or "r" elements. Most of these seem to have resulted from relatively recent contractions. One example will do for many: Otukpó ɔ̀nyī|ɔ̀/à- 'male', Agɪla ɔ̀nyīrɔ̀/à- 'male', Yala (Ogoja) ɔ̀ŋrɔ̄ɔ̀/à- 'male', Yala (Ikom) ɔ̀ŋr̄rɔ̀/à- 'male' (with a non-syllabic, non-homorganic nasal consonant). Eloyi has eight voiced, prenasalized consonants, but in most of these the nasal element may become syllabic even in particular allomorphs of the same morpheme. E.g., the different concord elements of the personal plural noun class: m̄bà 'their'; ḿbà 'of', genitival marker).

We may conclude these typological observations by saying that no Idomoid language, except Etulo, uses nasal or nasalized vowel phonemes, none uses geminated consonants or fortis-lenis contrasts, and none uses an aspirated-nonaspirated consonant contrast. With very rare exceptions, all syllables are open. Where noun plurals are distinguished, they always have the same tones as the singular except in Eloyi. There the ì-/ī- animal class makes a systematic tonal difference in the plural in the Southern or Eloyi Ḿbéjí dialect. In the Northern or Eloyi Ḿbékyī dialect, singular-plural tone differences occur in several other classes as well. This feature, of course, looks in the Benue-Congo direction. The Idomoid number systems generally are vigesimal, with no use of subtractives. Idoma Nokwu, in Lafia LGA, has a decimal system, like Gwari, many Plateau languages and Bantu. Eloyi has a duodecimal system which looks borrowed, probably from some Plateau source, since it sits like a hat on top of a decimal system. The word for 'ten' is cognate with 'ten' in the other Idomoid languages (see No. 25 below). Counting goes "5 + 1", "5 + 2", "5 + 3", "5 + 4", "ten", "10 + 1", "twelve" and then by sets of twelve. The *entire* Eloyi number system is concordial, and the number names belong to the kwo- (singular) class.

There are many interesting grammatical comparisons to be made, but these must await another occasion. Similarly there is a great deal more to be done in the analysis of sound correspondences. The study of Igede, Akweya and Eloyi is far from complete. The materials on Idoma Nokwu and Etulo were collected in two or three hours in 1951 and 1952 respectively. Bunkowske's PhD thesis on Yala (Ogoja) requires something like the framework developed in this article for its proper interpretation. This article should be regarded as a beginning that opens up many questions.

1. IDOMOID VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

In the list of Proto-Idomoid roots, both the vowels and consonants of the roots are taken into account. The consonants are sufficently shown on the main list, but it seems well to demonstrate the consistency of vowel correspondences separately. In writing Íg̣ēḍē, four of the unexpanded vowels are dotted: i̩, e̩, o̩, u̩; unexpanded /a/ is unmarked. The expanded vowels are unmarked except the expanded, shwa-like sound that corresponds to /a/, which is written with a cedilla, thus: ạ. The macron marks the high-mid tone, and the low-mid tone is left unmarked, following Bergman's practice. With one or two exceptions, the words are grouped according to the final vowel.

- A -

Gloss	Ẹ̀lóyì	Ígēdē	Ètùlō	Akweya	Ìdɔ̄mà (Òtùkpó, Ágílà, Yàlàog, Yala Ikom)
father	ádá/m̀b-	adām̄		ādā	ádā (all dialects)
see	má				má (all dialects)
moon	óvyá/é-	ɔ̄ya		òkwyā	ɔ̀yā, ɔ̀yā, ɔ̀wyā, òwīyā
head-pad	kwóká/á-	ẹ̀kị̀là/ē-			èkā, èkā
bridge		àkwà		àkpà	àkpà àkwà, àkwà, àkwà/è-
three	-lá	ɪ̀ta	ètā	èètá	ètá (all dialects)
bear, beget	m̄bà	ma		mà	mà (all dialects)
monkey	èkō				èkā, èkā, yèkā, yàkā/è-
bathe	wómò	àwā "swimming"			gwā (all dialects)
hide, skin	kwókpō/é-	ūgbā̧	òkpāà		ɔ̀kpá, ɔ̀kpá, wɔ̀kpá/à-
mould	m̄bō	me			mà (all dialects)
shoot, throw	tó	dā			tá (all dialects)
swim	tó	dà		tà	tá, tá, tá, tá
come	bó	wàrị̀=wẹ̀	bā kwā!	bí	wāà, wāà, wāà, wā
bow	kwótó/é-	ūdā̧/ē-		ìmòtā	ɔ̀tā, ɔ̀tā, wɔ̀tā, wɔ̀tā/à-
drink	wó	ŋwá	ghwá		gwá (all dialects)
hospitality		ụ̀gà		ìgbògà "guest"	ɔ̀gà, ɔ̀gà, ɔ̄cɔ̀gà, wɔ̀gà "guest"
two	-pō		èfà	èèpà	èpà(all dialects)
cow	èn̄dō/ā-	ẹ̀nà	ǹdà		ènà, ènà

E ~ Ẹ

water	ēm̄bī	ēnyī	ènì	ìmànyì = ìmɛ̀nỳ	èŋ̀ɲ̀kpɔ̄, ènyì, yènyì,yènyì ~ènyì
beans	kwòn̄zè/è-	àcị̀		èjè	èjè, èzè, èjè, /èjè
leopard	ìkyē/ī-	ìjwò/-	m̀gbè		èjè, èjè, yèjè/à-
one		ọ́hẹ̀			éè, éhè, óhè, ósè
breast	kwɔ́mè/á-	ɛ̄mɛ/ā-	àbɛ̄ɛ	ím̀bé	àmɛ̄, àmɛ̄, àmɛ̄, lèmɛ̄/à-
mother	én̄é/m̀bén̄é	ịn̄ī̧nā	ēnɛ̄	ēnē	éné (all dialects)
sand	ɔ̀gyè			òóòyè	ɔ̀jè, wɔ̀jè, wɔ̀jè
meat, animal	kúvyé/í- (piece of)	īvō	m̀bwé		èbé (all dialects)
cut	zé	cị̀			hé, sé, hé, sé
name	ényí/-	ẹ̄nyī̧/-		ìyī	ìyē, ìyē, lìyī/à-
finish		mị̀			mè, mè, mè
shine(sun)		cī̧			cɛ̄, tsɛ̄, sɛ̄
person			ŋ̀gyīsè	ìnyèǹjyè	ɔ̄cè/ā-, ɔ̄tsè/ā-, ɔ̄cɛ̄ècè/ā-, ɔ̄sè/ā-

(In six instances /ị̀/ of Igede = /ɛ/. There are counter examples, however.)

- I -

Gloss	Ẹ̀lẹ́yì	Ígēdē	Ètùlō	Akweya	Ìdɔ̄mà (Òtùkpó, Ágílà, YàlàOg, Yala Ikom)
market	rìshī/-	ihi			ōlìhī, (ójà), rìhī, ìsī
blood	ēnjì		èīì	ìmànjī	òyī, èyī, yèyī, yèyī
burn	yī "be hot"	rụ̀ "burn"		jí	yì, rì
squeeze	pírì	pḭ́		wyí	pí (all dialects)
extinguish	nyí				nyí, nyí
extinguish		mḭrḭ			mí
one	-nyí		ōnyíī	ìnyíìnyí	
six (5+1)	-rènyí	Ígbọ̀nyẹ̀	ègyī	èèrìnýy	èhīlī, èrīìyī, èrīìī, èrīwī
fear (n)	ìyī	ùhì			ùfì, ùfì, ùfì, wùsì
yam	lúsú/í-	īju		īchī	ìhī, ìsī, ìhī, /ìsī
back	ósú				ìgbīhì, ìgbīsì, ɔ̀kwīìhì, ìsì
hair (of head)	kúnyí/í-	īnyí		īyī	īnyīlɛ̄í, īnyīrɛ̄fú, ìnyrɛ̄hú, ìŋ̄rrɛ̄fú ("on head")
eye	kúyī/é-	ẹ̄hḭ́/ā-yɛ̄, "see"		ājyé (archaic)	èyī (all dialects)
egg	kwɔ̄shī/ā-	èjì	àkyì	āchè	àyì, àzì, lèjì/à-
land	éjí	eji	èsɛ̄	ɛ̄chè	àjè (all dialects)

O ~ Ọ

fan-palm	ódó/é-				ódó, ódó (also Igala)
five	-lɔ̀	Ígbụ̄	èdā	èèrɔ̄	èhɔ̄, èlɔ̄, èrwɔ̄, èrūɔ̄
stone		ẹjwọ/a-			ècɔ̄, ècɔ̄, lècɔ̄/à-, lècɔ̄/à-
breath	énýó	ẹ̄hụ̄			énýó, énýó
farm; message		ẹ̄rụ		ōrā	èhɔ̄, èlɔ̄
work		ụ́kụ́rwọ́		íkíró	úkílɔ́, úkúlɔ́, úkrɔ́
soup	ɔ̄sɔ̀/ɛ̄-	ɔ̀hɔ̀			ɔ̀hɔ̄, ɔ̀lɔ̄, ɔ̀rɔ̄,
taboo, sacred		ị̀gọ̀gọ̀			ìhɔ̀, ìhɔ̀, rìhɔ̀, lìhɔ̀ èlìhɔ̀ (Cf. Yor. èèwọ̀)
go	sò			(Yala Ik) sō (go to do something)	
hand, arm	kúwó/é-	ụ̀bwọ̄/à-	àbɔ̄ɔ	òwā	àbɔ̄, àbɔ̄, àbɔ̄, wɔ̀bɔ̄/à-
ten	-wó	īwō	ìghwō	èègwū	ìgwó (all dialects)
do, make	wó	họ̄		yɔ̄	yá (all dialects)

(Ẹl. /y/ occurs only before /i/; /w/ possible before /o/ or /a/. wó may be borrowed from Hausa wóó)

U ~ Ụ

Gloss	Èlóyí	Ígēdē	Ètùlō	Akweya	Ìdōmà (Òtùkpó, Ágílà, YàlàOg, Yala Ikom)
stab	gū	gwu			gwū, gwō tū, gwō tū, gō
dig	vú	wù			bù, vù, bù, bù
leaf	kúpú/é-	ụ̄pụ́/ā-		àfìlè	ēpū, ēpfū, īpū, ūpū/ī-
belly, stomach	ùbù/ì	ùbù/è-stomach			ùbù, ùvù, ùbù, ì- "guts, bladder"
red monkey	òbàgù/à-	ọ̀bàgù/ị̀-		òbàgwù	ɔ̀bàgwù, ɔ̀bàgwù, ɔ̀bàgwù, èbàgù
aardvark	ùgbùlèwù			ɔ̀gbɔ̀wù	ɔ̀gbɔ̀wù
goat	ēmú/é-	ẹ̄mụ/Ị̄-		ìmòbū	èwū, èwū, yèwū, yèwō/è-
night	útú/í-	ōdu		Ītfú	òtú (all dialects)
nose	réŋù/é-		ɛ̀bì	èŋgwū	èŋwū, èŋwū, lèŋū, lèŋwū/à-
fog	kūbú/é-			Ībō	ébú, évú, yébú, yébú/-
sun	ɔ̄nú	ẹ̄nụ̄			ènɔ̀, ɛ̀nɔ̀, yènɔ̀, yènɔ̀
yam	lúsú/í-	Ījū		Īchì	ìhī, ìsī, ìhī, /ìsī
tomorrow		íjújú			óócí, óńcí, ícící, ńcící
belly		ẹ̄pụ̄/ā-	ìfū		ìpú, ìpfú, rìpú, lìpú/à-
crocodile	íkù	ẹ̄cwụ́/-		íkpàbéǹỳ	íkwù, íkwù, íkù, = "leopard"
cold		ōhū		Īfù	òfū, òfū, òfū

2. PROTO-IDOMOID WORD STEMS

In every case the hypothetical proto-stem begins with the first consonant. Initial vowels are nearly all prefixes, except possibly in the case of ádă 'father', énɛ́ 'mother' and possibly item Nos.83 and 84. Sometimes the prefix of the proto-stem is replaced with a hyphen, but in general the prefixes are shown because in Akweya, Etulo and most of the Idoma dialects they are no longer felt as prefixes, but rather as part of the word - in every case a noun. There has been little attempt at reconstruction because at the present stage of these studies, it has seemed better to take a conservative form from one of the Idomoid languages as standing for the hypothetical proto-stem; and these should all be understood as being preceded by an asterisk: *.

The stems are listed in sets that are ordered alphabetically by the initial consonant. Within each set they are listed in the order of probable reliability of the proto-form. The mark ++ means that both the consonant and the stem-vowel (or final vowel) are attested in at least three languages. The mark + means that the consonant and vowel are attested in two languages, and an initial E means that the form occurs in Eloyi. In the numerical code, the numbers to the left of the + refer to the Eloyi, Igede, Akweya and Etulo languages. The numbers to the right of the + refer to the number of dialects of the Idoma language in which the form is attested. Thus the notation 3 + 4 means that the reflexes of the proto-stem are attested in three languages of the Eloyi-Igede-Etulo-Akweya set and in four dialects of Idoma. Tones are usually marked only if they are consistent throughout the Idomoid languages.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SOURCES FOR FOLLOWING DATA

NE1 Northern Eloyi, Ẹ̀lóyì Mbékyī, "Eloyi of the Rocks". RGA. Nasarawa LGA.

El Eloyi, Ẹ̀lóyì Mbéjí, "Eloyi of the Earth" (lowlands). H. Mackay, RGA. Nasarawa LGA, Plateau State.

Ig Ígēdē. Oju LGA, Benue State. R. Bergman, RGA, Ègrrì Òbaíkē, Ọ̀gbaji Ìdókō and others.

Ak Àkwéyà or Ākpā. Otukpó LGA, Benue State. RGA, Joseph Oblete, Henry Komalo.

Et Ètùlō. Katsina Ala LGA, Benue State. RGA, the son of the late Agyishi, the king.

Ky Kyánà or Keana. Lafia LGA, Benue State. David R. Longley, Inst. of Linguistics (letter), Judd.

IdN Ìdōmà Nōkwū, "Great Idoma". Lafia LGA, Benue State. With Kyana = Arago. RGA.

Ag Àgàtú. Apá LGA, Benue State. RGA and H. Mackay.

Ot Òtùkpó. Otukpó LGA, Benue State. R.C. Abraham, RGA, S. Amali and many others.

Agl Ágílà. Àdó LGA, Benue State. RGA and Patrick Únóōgwū.

YaOg Yàlà (Ogoja). Ogoja LGA, Cross River State. G. Bunkowske, RGA and Cletus Ọ̀nàá.

YaIk Yàlà (Ikom). Ikom LGA, Cross River State. RGA, Erim O. Erim.

PWS Proto-West Sudanic (Westermann)

PWN Proto-Western Nigritic (Mukarovsky)

BC Proto-Benue-Congo (Greenberg and others)

(W) Paul P. de Wolf (for BC)

(CWL) Comparative Wordlist (of BC, by Williamson and Shimizu)

PJ Proto-Jukunoid (PhD thesis by Shimizu)

PB Proto-Bantu (Meinhof and Bourquin)

CB Common Bantu (Guthrie)

1. E++ m̩bùlà 3+5 and; with (between nouns)

El m̩bùlà
Ig ba l-
Ak ōm̄būbā (between verbs)
Ot m̩là; bíìà 'with, along with'
Ag m̩là
YaOg bálà
YaIk bálà

Cf. Yoruba bá, "join person in the doing of an act"

2. E++ ɔ̀bàgwù 3+4 red monkey

El ɔ̀bàgù/ā-
Ig ɔ̀bàgwù
Ak ɔ̀bàgwù
Ot ɔ̀bàgwù
Ag ɔ̀bàgwù
YaOg ɔ̀bàgwù
YaIk ɛ̀bàgù

BC -bogu (W)
Tiv àbàgù/íbágū

3. E++ ba 3+0; + wa 1+5 come

NEl bó
El bó
Ig wàri = wẹ̀
Et bā; kwā!
Ak bí
Ky wa (Judd)
Ag wā
Ot wāà; gāà
Agl wāà
YaOg wāà
YaIk wā

PWS ba, bía
PJ ba
(Cf. Icen bwa, ~ bwọ)
(Cf. Yoruba and Igala wá and Yoruba bɔ̀).

4. E++ ùbù 2+2 stomach; belly

NEl ùbù/ì- "belly"
El ùbù/ì- "

4. cont.

Ig. ùbù/ì- "belly"
Ot ùbù The anatomical stomach (esp. of large animals)
Agl ùvù = ùbvù
YaIk ùbù guts, bladder; viscera

BC -bumu "belly" (W)
BC -bṵmbu (CWL)
CB -bṵ̀mò "abdomen"
(systematically different from ìpú)

5. E++ ébú 2+5 fog

NEl /ēbú (no singular)
El kūbú/ébú
Ak ībō
Ag ébú
Ot ébú
Agl évú
YaOg yébú
YaIk yébú/-

PWN -buda "raincloud"
BC -bude (W)
CB (Eastern) -dṵ̀mbí (with metathesis?)

6. E++ bu 2+5 dig

NEl vú
El vú
Ig wù
Ag bù
Ot bù
Agl vù
YaOg bù
YaIk bù

PWN phuk-
PB pṵka (Bourquin)
CB pṵk-

7. + ìmòbū ~ èwū 1+5 goat (see also No. 63 below)

NEl èmú/émú
El ɛ̄mú/é-
Ig ẹ̄mụ/ị̄-
Ak ìmòbū

7. cont.

Ag ìkpɔ̀ū
Ot èwū
Agl èwū
YaOg yèwū
YaIk yèwō/èwō

PWN -búdí
CB -búdị́

8. E+ -bú 1+2 pool

El kùbú/ébú
Ot úbú
Agl úvú

9. + bi 1+2 lose, get lost; drown

Ig bī
Ot bí
Agl bí

PWN búd- be lost, lacking
CB búd- get lost

10. E+ -bwɔ 4+6 arm, hand

NEl kúwó/é-
El kúwó/é-
Ig ụ̄bwɔ/ā-
Et àbɔ̄ɔ̀
Ak òwā
IdN àbɔ̄
Ag àbɔ̄
Ot àbɔ̄
Agl àbɔ̄
YaOg àbɔ̄; wɔ̀bɔ̄, upper arm
YaIk wɔ̀bɔ̄/àbɔ̄

PWN -buak-
PJ bu (ku/a-)
CB -bókò

11. E++ ɛbwɛ 2+7 meat; animal

NEl ī̀vyé/í̀vyé ("animal": ī̀dhɔ́ɔ̀fì/á-)
El kūvyé/ī̀vyé "a piece of meat" ("animal": ī̀zɔ́ɔ̀shì/í-)

11. cont.

Ig ī̀yō/- Cf. Igbira uye (Koelle)
Et m̀bwɛ́
IdN èbɛ́
Ag èbɛ́
Ot èbɛ́
Agl èbɛ́
YaOg èbɛ́
YaIk èbɛ́

PJ byi
Edo Benin àràv̄ɔ̀ɛ̀

12. ++ cɛ̄ 2+3 (sun) shone

Ig cị̄
Ak chɛ̄
Ot cɛ̄
Agl tsɛ̄
YaIk sɛ̄

PWN jel-
BC -yed- (CWL)
CB -yed-

13. E++ -cwɔ 2+2 wing (irregular)

El kúkówó/é-
Ig ụ̄cwọ/ā-
Ot àcá
YaIk wɔ̀cá/à-

Apparently an Idomoid root.

14. E++ ada 3+6 father

NEl ádá/ ádā (vocative)
El ádá/ḿbádá
Ig adām̄ "my father"; adī̤dā (vocative)
Ak ādā
Ky ada (Judd)
IdN ádā
Ag ádā
Ot ádā
Agl ádā
YaOg ádā
YaIk ádā/àwáádā (~àwādā) (archaic)

PWN -tá, -tata;
PCJ ta; CB -tàátá;
BC -tata (W)

The a- seems not to be a prefix. The voicing of the consonant is Idomoid.

15. E++ odu 3+6 night

NEl útú/itú
El útú/ɨ-
Ig ōdū/-
Ak ɪtfú
IdN òtú
Ot òtú
Agl òtú
YaOg òtú
YaIk òtú

PWN -do (dua)
BC -tuno (W)
PJ tuk
CB -dó

Cf. Yoruba òrū, Igla òdū

16. E++ òdù 2+3 iron-tipped digging-stick

NEl òdú/édú òdù, personal name
El òdù/à-
Ig odo/i-
Ot òdù

also (1) "wealth"; (2) title of the kings of Otukpó

Agl òdù
YaOg wòdù

PJ i-du "hoe"; CB-témà "hoe", -dim- "cultivate" (esp. with a hoe); Cf. Efik, Duka (Plateau Ia) -duk; Ekoid Bantu è-dû /à-, è-rô/bè-, ɛ̄-lū/ ɛ̄b-lū, etc.

Idoma è.nū "hoe"; Yoruba ró, "to hoe".

17. E+ ódó 1+2 fan palm

El ódó/é-
Ot ódó
Agl ódó

Cf. also Igala ódó

18. E+ èdúmà 2+0 work (n)

El èdúmà/- (ɛ́ wɔ́ èdúmà "he did work". wɔ́ "make, do")

Et ìdɔ̄ (Etulo -d- = Idomoid -r-. See Nos. 48 and 103)

PWN -túim-; BC -tomo/(ku-/i-) (W); CB -dìmò.
"Clearly a PNC root" (CWL, II, p.308)

19. E++ dú 2+2 send

El lɔ́
Ig dú "send on errand"

(Cf. No. 105 below: ẹrụ "message")

Ot tū "send on errand"
Agl tū "send on errand" (èlɔ̄, "message")

PrPlat twam (Ger.);
CB -túm-; "PNC" (CWL)

20. E+ fá 1+4 to roast

El fá
Ot pá
Agl pfá
YaOg pá
YaIk pá

PJ fwaP; BC -pap- (CWL)

21. E++ èfūrū 3+5 feather
(See No. 102: ụrụrụ ~ ùrū)

22. E++ ufi 2+6 fear(n)

El ìyɪ̄
Ig ùhì
Ky ɔ̀shì
Ag ùfì
Ot ùfì
Agl ùfì
YaOg ùfì = ùhì
YaIk wùsì

PWN bhug-; BC, Plat 1b and 2: i-wi, fiw, u-shi etc. (CWL)

23. E++ gɔ 2+4 sew

El gɔ̀
Ig gá
Ot gɔ́
Agl gɔ́
YaOg gɔ́
YaIk gɔ́

PJ koP-a

24. ++ ụ̀gà 2+4 hospitality

Ig ụ̀gà
Ak ìgbòɡà "guest"
Ot ɔ̀gà; ùgbɔ̀gà "guest"
Agl ɔ̀gà
YaOg ɔ̄cɔ̀gà "guest" (ɔ̄cɛ̀ "person")
YaIk wɔ̀gà

PWN -ghína; Nupe ė.ga; PJ kin; CB -gèni "stranger"

25. E++ ìgwó 4+6 ten

NEl -wó
El -wó
Ig ī̀wō
Et ìghwō
Ak èègwū
Ky igwo (Judd)
IdN ìgwó
Ag ìgwó
Ot ìgwó
Agl ìgwó
YaOg ìgwó
YaIk ìgwó

PWS (Westermann) -gua, -g^{y}ua

26. E++ gwá 3+6 drink (ŋwá?)

El wó (Cf. Ekoid Bantu (esp. Nnam and Ekajuk): wɔ́, Crabb 1965, p.64)
Ig ŋwà
Et ghwà

26. cont.

Ky gwa (Judd)
IdN gwá
Ag gwá
Ot gwá
Agl gwá
YaOg gwá
YaIk gwá

PCJ vwa; CB -ŋʊ́-
(Cf. Guthrie's B83 (Mfinu): -ŋwă.)

27. E++ gwā 2+5 bathe

NEl wómò

(Cf. Ekoid Bantu, Nnam woómò and Ekajuk wuúmù (Crabb 1965, p.54).)

El wómò
Ig àwā "swimming"
Ag gwā; táŋ́gwā "swim" (tá)
Ot gwā; àgwā "swimming"
Agl gwā
YaOg gwā
YaIk gwā

PWS g^{y}ua; PCJ vwog; Kutep ǯ$^{vgh^{y}}$è; Igala gwà; Yoruba wè.

(For the Kutep form, see Ladefoged 1964, p.32. The laminagram shows the -gh- component as strongly palatalized, hence [ǯ$^{vgh^{y}}$è] [ǯ] tongue-tip against lower teeth.)
N.B.: Tiv úwé "swimming"

28. E+ ɔgwu 1+4 path

El ɔ̄gūzɛ̄/ɛ̄- "path for walking"
Cf. zɛ̄mà "walk", lū-zɛ̄ "journey". See No. 128 below.
Ot ɔ̀gwù "trace" (knocked down through high grass to mark boundary of a farm)
Agl ɔ̀gwù "path; way"
YaOg ɔ̀gù-ɔ̄pɔ̄pū
YaIk ɔ̀gwù/è-

Perhaps an Idomoid root.

29. ++ èɡwā 1+5 snake

Ak òɡwà
Ag èɡwā
Ot èɡwā
Agl èɡwā
YaOg yèɡwā
YaIk yàɡwā/èɡwā

PWN -ghwákà-; BC -ɡwak, -ɡwa, etc.; CB -jóká

30. E++ ɡwū 2+5 stab

El ɡū
Ig ɡwū
Ag ɡwɔ̄
Ot ɡwū
Agl ɡwō tū
YaOg ɡwō tū
YaIk ɡɔ̄
An Idomoid root?

31. E++ ùgbùlèwù 2+1 aardvark, ant-bear

El ùgbùlèwù/-
Ak ɔ̀gbɔ̀wù
Ot ɔ̀gbɔ̀wù

32. + gbàlà 1+4 resemble; imitate

Ak gbìlànàŋ
Ot gbìlà
Agl gbìlà
YaOg gbrà = gblà
YaIk gbàlà = gbìlà

33. + gbō 1+3 watch for

Ig gbè
Ot gbō
Agl gbō
YaIk gbō

34. E++ ihi 2+5 market

El rịshī/- (the rī, ĩŋgyī class)
Ig ihi
IdN ịshī
Ag ịpíhī (ịpú-,"belly", "inside")
Ot ōlihī (Cf. Eloyi rị-shī)
YaOg rịhī
YaIk lịsī/àsī (plural rare)

PWS -kị (Westermann); Cf. Fon àxí, Edo Benin èkí, Ogoni (Gokana ki (Brosnahan))

35. + ọ́hẹ̀ 1+6 one (irregular consonants)

Ig óhè
Ky oye (Judd)
IdN óyè
Ag óyè
Ot éè = éì (éyì?)
Agl éhè
YaOg óhè
YaIk ósè

(The form óyè occurs only in the northern Idoma dialects and is unlikely to be related to -nyí)

36. ìhɔ̀ 1+6 taboo, sacred

Ig ị̀gọ̀gọ̀
Ot ìhɔ̀, èlìhɔ̀ (Cf. Yoruba èèwọ̀)
Agl ìhɔ̀
YaOg rìhɔ̀
YaIk lìhɔ̀

37. E+ ajɛ 4+7 earth, land

NEl éjí/-
El éjí/-
Ig eji
Et èsɛ̄
Ak ɛ̄chè

37. cont.

Ky àgyɛ̀
IdN àgyɛ̀
Ag àjɛ̀
Ot àjɛ̀
Agl àjɛ̀
YaOg àjɛ̀
YaIk àjɛ̀

BC -tie (W); PJ ten;
CB -ci (~ -ce).
The voicing of the consonant is unique to Idomoid.

38. E+ èjì 3+5 egg

El kwɔ̄shī/ā-
Ig èjì (Òjù Dialect) = èrì (Ìtóō Dialect)
Et àkyì
Ak āchɛ̀
Ky ayi (Judd)
Ag àì
Ot àyì
Agl àzì
YaOg àjì
YaIk lèjì/àjì

(PNC) PWN -gílà-
BC gine (CWL)
CB -gé, -gIdí, etc.
Ekoid Bantu èjì/à- etc.

39. E+ eje 3+5 beans

NEl kwòn̲dhè/èn̲dhè (-dh- voiced interdental fricative= z in Southern Eloyi)
El kwòn̲zè/èn̲zè (the ku- element has been reinterpreted as the ku- class prefix kwo- or kwɔ-)
Ig àcị̀/-
Ak èjè
Ky ìzɛ̀
Ot èjè
Agl èzè
YaOg èjè
YaIk àyé·jè/èjè

PWN -kun-; PJ tiK (+un RGA)
BC (evidence for Gerhardt's *diwak is not obvious. Kwan djek or Rukuba i-shen would be a better starting point. RGA); CB -kúndè

40. E++ ìmàǹjī 3+5 blood

NEl ɛ̄n̲jì [/j/ ~ /y/]
El ēn̄jì
Et èīì
Ak ìmàǹjī
Ag òī
Ot òyī
Agl èyī
YaOg yèyī
YaIk yèyī

PWN -ghìá (often with ma or m affix)
BC -zi (ma- class); CB -gị̀dá (usually cl 6, ma-): PJ yiŋ (ma-)

41. E ègyè 3+5 leopard

NEl ìkyē/íkyē
El ìkyē/íkyé
Ig ìjwò
Et m̀gbɛ̀
Ky èg̲yɛ̀
IdN èg̲yè
Ot èjɛ̀
Agl èjɛ̀
YaOg (íkù = "crocodile")
YaIk yèjɛ̀/àjɛ̀ (plural archaic)

PWN -gwì-; BC -gwi (CWL); PJ -kyì; CB -gùè

42. E+ jé 2+5 know

NEl yíìtù
El yí, yíìtù
Ig jɛ́ (Òjù) = rɛ́ (Ìtóō)
Ag jé

42. cont.

Ot jé
Agl jé
YaOg jé
YaIk jé

PCJ yi; CB -jííb-, -yíjì-;
Cf. Yoruba yé "be intelligible to"

43. E+ ɔ̀jɛ̀ 2+4 sand

NEl ɔ̀gyɛ̀
El ɔ̀gyɛ̀
Ak ɔ̀ɔ́ɔ̀yɛ̀
Ag ɔ̀jɛ̀
Ot ɔ̀jɛ̀
YaOg wɔ̀jɛ̀
YaIk wɔ̀jɛ̀

PWN -khan- (-khyan-)
PrYkubenKutep sa
CB -cènga

44. E+ kɔ̄ 2+4 divide

El kà
Ig gà
Ot kɔ̄
Agl kɔ̄
YaOg kɔ̄
YaIk kɔ̄

PWN gwàb-
PrPlat (Gerhardt) kap
CB -gab-

45. E++ íkínábɔ̄ 2+3 tortoise

NEl kúkúnábɔ̄/é-
Ig ọ̄kɨ́nábọ̄/ɨ́
Ot íkínábɔ̄
Agl íkínábɔ̄
YaIk ńkńnábɔ̄/-

(The trickster in folktales, possibly a culture word)

46. E++ èkā 2+2 headpad

El kwókā́/á-
Ig ẹ̄kl̀là/ē-
Ot èkā
Agl èkā
CB -kátà

47. E+ èkā 1+5 monkey

El èkō/ékó
Ag èkā
Ot èkā
Agl èkā
YaOg yèkā
YaIk yàkā/èkā

(In Ẹdo and Niger-Kaduna groups (Koelle)); BC -kama (W);
PrCentJuk kaN (kā etc.)

48. ++ ụ́kụ́rwọ́ 2+4 work

Ig ụ́kụ́rwọ́/-
Et ɨdɔ̄
Ak íkŕrɔ́
Ky oko (probably ɔkɔ. Judd)
IdN ókúlɔ́
Ot úkílɔ́
Ag úkúlɔ́
YaOg úkɾɔ́
YaIk wɔ́kɔ́/á-

(Derivable from wɔ́kɔ́ + ɨdɔ̄?)
(Cf. 18 above)
CB -kod- "work" (vb) (N.E.Bantu)

49. E++ íkwù 3+4 crocodile

NEl ĩ̄kwù/í-
Ig ẹ̄cwṵ́/
Ak íkpàbényì
IdN íkwù
Ot íkwù
Ag íkwù
YaOg íkù (also "leopard")

49. cont.

YaIk (yɛ̀jĪ̄ēnyì, "leopard of water")

PWN -khúin-; BC -kute (CWL); CB -gùena (cf. gue "leopard")

(Cognate with Yoruba ɛ̄kǔ, "leopard"?)

Cf. Ufia (Cross R. 2) kí-kwù/bú-kwù, "crocodile"

50. + àkwà 2+4 bridge

Ig àkwà
Ak àkpà
Ot àkpà
Agl àkwà
YaOg àkwà
YaIk àkwà/ɛ̀-

51. + kwụ 1+4 defecate

Ig kwụ
Ot kwū
Agl kwū
YaOg kwū
YaIk kū

52. E++ ɔ̀kpá 3+4 skin, hide

El kwókpō/é-
Ig ūgbạ̄
Et ɔ̀kpāà
Ot ɔ̀kpá
Agl ɔ̀kpá
YaOg wɔ̀kpá
YaIk wɔ̀kpá/à-

PWN -kwuba; CB -kóbà
(Idomoid -kp- by contraction and loss of V_1 or perhaps by metathesis of c_1 and V_1)

53. E++ ɔ̀kwĪyā 3+6 moon

NEl ɔ̄vyā/ɛ̀vyá
El ɔ́vyá/évyá
Ig ɔ̄ya
Ak ɔ̀kwyā

53. cont.

IdN ɔ̀yā
Ag ɔ̀yā
Ot ɔ̀yā
Agl ɔ̀yā
YaOg ɔ̀wyā
YaIk ɔ̀wĪyā

PWN -kiul-; PWS -ki, -kiu; PJ -kwa; CB -kúedị

54. E++ àkpàtì, ɛ̀kpà 3+3 box; bag

El kwɔ̀kpàtì/à- "box"
Ig àkpà/ɛ̀-
Ak ìkpàtì
Ot ìkpàtì "box"; ɛ̀kpà"bag"
Agl ìkpàtì
YaOg yàkpà ("box")
YaIk (ǹkpùkpù); (ɔ̀mù "bag")
ɛ̃kpà in neighbouring langs. (Culture word?)

55. E+ kpɛ́ɛ́kpɛ̄- 1+2 all

El kpɛ́ɛ́kpɛ̄yí/kpɛ́ɛ́kpɛ̄mbá
Ot kpɛ́m̀ḿ
Agl kpɛ́ŋ́ŋ́ = kpɛ̋ɛ̋ɛ̋
(An Idomoid root)

56. E+ ìlɔ̄ ~ álá 4+4 sheep

El ìlɔ̄/Ī-
Ig ọ̀kpį́lọ̀/ị̀-
Et m̀màlāà
Ak ìkpɔ̀mɔŋmōrā
Ot álá
Agl álá
YaOg ɔ̀nyɛ̄ɛ̀rɔ̄ "ewe" (ɔ̀nyā "female")
YaIk ònyíɛ̄rɔ́/è- (ewe)

(Root widely distributed in West Africa)

57. ++ Ɪlą̄ 3+5 fire

Ig	Ɪlą̄
Et	ò lā
Ak	è lā
Ag	ò la
Ot	ò lá
Agl	ò lá
YaOg	ò lá
YaIk	ò lá/è-

PWN -dɪ̀ná; BC -lílo (W); CB -dɪ́dò

58. ++ èlą́ 2+5 lice

Ig	èlą́
Ak	è lā
Ag	è lá
Ot	è lá
Agl	è lá
YaOg	è lá
YaIk	è lá
CB	-dá

59. + lɛ̀ 2+2 own, have

Ig	lā
Ak	nànàŋ
Ot	lɛ̀
Agl	lɛ̀

Cf. Yoruba ní ~ l-

60. + ɛla 1+4 matter; case; word

Ig	ɛ̄la
Ot	è lā
Agl	è lā
YaOg	lɛ̀ lā
YaIk	lɛ̀ lā/à-

Cf. Igala ò là;
Yoruba ò rò ~ ò ròn.

61. E++ amɛ 4+5 breast (female); milk

El	kwɔ́mɛ̀/á-
Ig	ɛ̄mɛ/ā-
Et	àbɛ̄ɛ̀
Ak	ɪ́m̀bɛ́
IdN	àmɛ̄
Ot	àmɛ̄
Agl	àmɛ̄
YaOg	àmɛ̄
YaIk	lɛ̀mɛ̄/à-

PWN -bil-; BC -béédè;
PJ byan (cf. Kpan a-mɛ etc.)

62. E+ má 1+6 see

NEl	má
El	má
IdN	má
Ag	má
Ot	má
Agl	má
YaOg	má
YaIk	má

PWN món-; CB -bón-, -món-
(Only Idomoid has má)

63. E++ ɪ̀mòbū 3+5 goat (See also No.7 above)

NEl	è mú/é mú
El	ɛ̄mú/é
Ig	ɛ̄mụ/Ɪ̄-
Ak	ɪ̀mòbū
Ag	ùkpɔ̀ū
Ot	è wū
Agl	è wū
YaOg	yè wū
YaIk	yè wō/è-

PWN -búdi (-buadi); BC -bwoni(W);
CB -búdɪ̀ (Nearly all classes 9/10; Guthrie cites 29 languages with forms like "m-búdɪ̀.)

64. + mile 1+5 swallow

Ig mile
Ag mùlɛ̀
Ot mlɛ̀
Agl mìlɛ̀
YaOg mrɛ̀
YaIk mìlɛ̀

PWN mìl-; CB -mịd-, -mịn-

(A very close match to Mukarovsky's PWN reconstruction)

65. + mì 1+3 finish

Ig mí
Ot mɛ̀
Agl mɛ̀
YaIk mɛ̀

PWN mal-; CB -màd-, -màn-

66. + mịrị 1+1 be extinguished

Ig mịrị
Ot mí

(Ekoid Bantu límí with metathesis)

67. E++ mbà 3+5 bear, beget

NEl m̲bà
Ig ma
Ak mà

Idoma, all dialects mà

PWN bad-; PJ mbat- Tiv màr

(Cf. Yor. ọ̄mọ̄ "child", Igbo ụmụ "children")

68. E++ mbà 2+4 mould (pot)

El m̲bō
Ig me

Idoma, all dialects mà

PJ bya; Cf. Yor. mọ̄, Fulfulde mah-; Tiv màà

69. E++ ịnĪnā 4+7 mother

NEl ɛ́nɛ̄ (voc.), ɛ́nɛ́/ḿbɛ́nɛ́
El ɛ́nɛ́/ḿbɛ́nɛ́
Ig ịnĪnā (someone else's mother)
ịnāā̄, "my mother"
Et ɛ̄nɛ̄
Ak ēnē
Ky ɛ́nɛ̄
IdN ɛ́nɛ́
Ag ɛ́nɛ́
Ot ɛ́nɛ́; ɛ́nɛ́m̀, "my mother"
Agl ɛ́nɛ́
YaOg ɛ́nɛ́
YaIk ɛ́nɛ́/àwɛ́nɛ́ (plural archaic)

PWN -nina; BC -nina; CB nịnà; PJ na, ya

(Igede preserves the PWN stem intact in a specialized usage; otherwise it matches the general Idomoid form. The plural forms of Eloyi and Yala (Ikom) show that the ɛ́- is not a prefix.)

70. E++ Īne, ènè 4+6 four

NEl -n̲dō
El -n̲dō
Ig Īne
Et ènè
Ak èènyì
Ky ene (probably [ɛnɛ], Judd)
IdN èǹnè
Ag ènè
Ot ènè
Agl ènè
YaOg ènè
YaIk ènè

PWN -nán-; BC-nin, -ni; CB -nè, -nè

71. E++ -nu, -nụ 3+4 bird

El ènū/ɛ̄nū "fowl, chicken"
Ig ọ̄cínụ̄/ī- ụ̄nụ/ānụ "fowl, chicken"
Ak íwyárú
Ag ígbáànɔ̀
Ot ígbáànɔ̀, ànɔ̀ (proverbial)
Agl ágbáànɔ̀
YaOg ágbáànà
YaIk wóŋ́gbá!nàŋ/á-
PWN -nun-; BC -nono;
CB -nònɨ́

72. E++ ɛna 3+4 cow

El ènd̄ō/ē-
Ig ɛ̄na/-
Et ǹdà
Ky ena (Judd)
Ot ènà
Agl ènà
YaOg yènà
YaIk yànà/ènà
PWS -na, -nak
BC -nak (W); PJ ndaK

73. E++ ẹnụ 2+5 sun

NEl ɔ̄nū/ɛ̄nū
El ɔ̄nū/-
Ig ẹ̄nụ̄-
Ag ènɔ̀
Ot ènɔ̀
Agl ènɔ̀
YaOg yènɔ̀
YaIk yènɔ̀

(The -nu ~ nɔ and the word-shape VCV are clearly Idomoid. On the evidence of NEl, the ɛ- is an old plural prefix. The more distant relationships are complex, but note Igala ólù, Yoruba oòrùn, Itshekiri and Yagba orunu (Koelle).)

74. ++ -ŋmgbɛ́ 2+4 kola (more strictly: /g͡bɛ́/)

Ig ɛ́ŋmɛ́/-
Ak ɛ́ŋmɛ́
Ot ɛ́ŋmɛ́
Agl ɛ́ŋmɛ́
YaOg lɛ́ŋmɛ́
YaIk lɛ́ŋmgbɛ́/áŋmgbɛ́ /lɛ́g͡bɛ́/

(The prenasalized "gb" (or/g͡b/) shows the origin of the /ŋm/ phoneme in other languages.)

75. E++ ŋmgbó 3+5 kill

NEl ŋmgbɛ́
El ŋmgbɛ́
Ig ŋwù
Ak gwù
(NB Idoma kwú, "die")
Ag ŋmó
Ot ŋmó
Agl ŋmó
YaOg ŋmó
YaIk ŋmgbó

Proto-Niger-Congo. The nasal and prenasalized labio-velars are Idomoid. PWN ku-; CB kʊ́- "die"

76. + ŋ́mgbá! 1+3 Hail! Thanks! Sorry!

Et ŋ̄mgbā
IdN ŋ́mgbá
Ot ŋ́mŋmá
Agl ŋ́mŋmá
Agatu ágbá

Cf. Igala áwá!

77. E+ ŋ́mgbō! 1+2 Good-bye!

NEl ŋ́mgbō!
Ot ŋ́mŋmóōō!
Agl ŋ́mŋmóōō!

(A strictly Idomoid form)

78. E++ eŋgwu 2+5 nose

NEl rɛ́wù/áwù

El rɛ́ŋù/ɛ́-

Ig ọ̄kwɨnyi/ɪ̄

Et ɛ̃bɨ̀

Ak èŋ̀gwū

Ag èŋwū

Ot èŋwū

Agl èŋwū

YaOg lèŋū

YaIk lèŋwū/à-

PWN -ŋwúná; PB -ghulu (Bourquin); PJ wín (ri-/a-)

79. + iŋwą 1+4 bee

Ig ɪ̄ŋwą̄

Ot èŋwú

Agl èŋwú

YaOg èŋwú

YaIk ɪ̄kpɪ̄ŋwú/ìŋwú [ūkpō, "seed, unit"]

PWN -ŋwo-; BC -gwodi (W); PJ ŋgyuT

80. ++ òŋgyā/è- 2+5 woman, female [òŋ-gyā]

Ig ọnyaŋ/a- [-ŋ reflex of CB -dɨ, -nɨ and PWN -l-]

Et òŋgyā/è- [òŋ- "person"/ gyā "female"] See No. 91

Ky onya [probably [ɔnya], (Judd)]

Ot ɔ̀nyā/à-

Agl ɔ̀nyā/à-

YaOg ɔ̀nyā/à-

YaIk ɔ̀nyā/à-

CB -kádɨ "woman", giving -ganɨ in Yambasa (Cameroun); CWL pp 160, 408; Bulu -gál ~ jál; PWN -khál-; note Idomoid voicing of PNC stops: e.g., bù, dū, ádā, àjè. For òŋ- see No 91.

81. + òŋgyùlɔ̄ 1+5 man, male

El ɔ̄nz̲ɔ́nú/ā- (ɔ́nz̲ù person/ɔ́nú "husband")

Ig ɔ̄lɛ́ŋ̀/ā-

Et òŋgyùlɔ̄ɔ̀/è- (Cf. PJ ŋgit "person")

Ky ongo (probably[ɔŋgɔ], Judd)

Ag ɔ̄cɛ̀nyɪ̄lɔ̀/ā- (ɔ̄cɛ̀ "person")

Ot ɔ̀nyɪ̄lɔ̀/ā-

Agl ɔ̀nyɪ̄rɔ̀/ā-

YaOg ɔ̀ŋrɔ̄ɔ̀/ā-

YaIk ɔ̀ŋ̄rɔ̀/ā-

(The combination of various elements seems uniquely Idomoid, but note Igbira ɔnɔlu (Koelle), ọ̀nọ̀rú (Ladefoged, Okene).) All forms are compounded of two or even three roots: -nyi, -ŋgi, ɔŋ-, -l- "person" (See No. 91) plus -lɔ ~ rɔ"male" (See No. 129 and CWL 236- 237A.) Ig ɔ̄lɛ́ŋ̀ may be contracted from ɔl-/rɔ́ (tone?) /-ŋɔ. Ky ɔŋgɔ may be contracted from something like the Proto-Idomoid form.

82. E++ iŋgyi 2+4 elephant

NEl ìŋgyɪ̄/ɪ̄-

El ìŋgyɪ̄/ɪ̄-

Ig ɪ̄nyí

Ot ìnyì (archaic)

Agl ìnyì (archaic)

YaOg ìnyì

YaIk ìnyì

PWN -ní-, -niang-; BC -ni-, -nyi-; CB -niangá "tusk"

83. E++ ìmànyì 4+7 water or *ma-yeni ?

(Cf. PJ *mbyed.)

NEl ɛ̄mbɪ̄

El ɛ̄m̲bɪ̄

Ig ɛ̄nyɪ̄ (ɛ̄nyɪ̄ ọ̀kpụ̀nyɨ̀ɨ̀, "plain, cold water"; cf. -ŋ̀kpɔ̄ element of Agatu and Otukpo forms)

Et ènì

Ak ìmɛ̀ǹy = ìmànyì (archaic); cf. Yátyɛ̀ mànyì. Yátyɛ̀ has consonant-initial prefixes; Àkwéyà does not.

83. cont.

Ky èǹñɔ̀wɔ́

(form collected by RGA at Idōma Nōkwū, 1951)

IdN ìnɔ̀wɔ́

(Cf. ìnì, "beer")

Ag ìnyɔ́ŋ̀kpɔ̄

Ot èŋ́ŋ̀kpɔ̄
(phonetically [èŋ́mŋ̀mkpɔ̄])

ènyì (1) gruel;
(2) water (in compounds, e.g. èbéènyì, "fish", "water-animal")

Agl ènyì

YaOg yènyì

YaIk yènyì

PWS -lingi (+ ma)
BC -ni (+ ma) (W)
CB -yi̱ma

Eloyi ēmbī seemingly contracted from *imanyi, if "m" was fortis. Cf. Yoruba ōmī and Igala ómī. Level tones, nasalized consonant and the e-, -i vowels resemble Igede ēnyī. The e- is probably not a prefix.

84. E++ inyi 3+5 hair (of head)

NEl ínyí/-

El kúnyí/ínyí

Ig īnyí/-

Ak ǐyǐ "hair of head"

Ag ǐnyēí (èí, "head")

Ot ǐnyǐlēí

Agl ǐnyǐrēfú (èfú "head")

YaOg ìnyrēhú "hair of head"

YaIk ìŋ̄rrēfú

PWN ghwílí (-ghwyílí)

CB -gú̱ídí; PJ -dzin

Nupe ènyì (Mukarovsky),
Itsako enyi (Koelle)

84. cont.

(If the Eloyi kú- is an analogic change, then the form inyi seems uniquely Idomoid, and the i- is not a prefix.)

85. E++ e̱nyi̱ 3+4 name

El ényí/-

Ig ē̱nyí̱/-

Ak ìyǐ

Ky íyɛ̄

Ag ìyē

Ot ìyē

Agl ìyē

YaOg rìǐǐ

YaIk lìyǐ/à-

PWN -ghíná; BC -zina(W);
CB -gí̱nà; PJ gyin

86. E++ -nyí 3+Ø one [Cf. No. 35: o̱hè̱]

NEl -nyí ~ -ndhé

El -nyí ~ -nzé

Et ōnyíǐ

Ak ìnyíìnyí

Cf. Yoruba ēní, Igala ínyé,
Nupe ēní, Igbira o̱nī̱
PJ yiŋ; Proto-Plateau niuŋ (Gerhardt) ~ diŋ (See No.100)

87. E++ -rènyí 4+6 six ["5 + 1"]

NEl -rènyí

El -rènyí

Ig ī̱rò̱nyè̱

Et ègyī [èdā, "five" + ōnyíǐ]

Ak èèrìn'y

IdN èhíírī

Ag èhǐlǐ

Ot èhǐlǐ

Agl èrǐìyǐ

YaOg èrǐìǐ

YaIk èrǐwǐ

87. cont.

The -nyí root for "one" does not otherwise occur in any Idoma dialect. Several Jukunoid languages use the older root -diŋ in the 5 + 1 compounds instead of ndo, the modern word for "one". (CWL)

88. E++ ènyà 2+4 running

NEl ènyà
(à réènyà "he ran"; cf. Yoruba iré "running")
Ig ụ̄nyẹ
(ɔ̄ rụ̄nyẹ "he ran" (rụ))
Ot ìnyà (ó kwìnyà)
Agl ènyà
YaOg ènyà
YaIk ènyà
(ɔ́ kwènyà (kwù))
PJ ŋa (u-/i-), Yukuben -nya, Kutep -nyaŋ.

89. E++ nyɛ 3+4 lick

El lɛ́
Ig pllẹ nẹ
Ak nyí
Ot pl̀là nyɛ̄
Agl pl̀là nyɛ̄
YaOg nyɛ̄
YaIk nyɛ̄
PrCentJuk diN; PWN lam-, liam-; CB damb-; Cf. Yoruba and Igbo lá. PNC, but a puzzling set nonetheless. Does Eloyi lɛ́ go with Igede pllẹ or with nẹ? For the p- see BC (Fon, Foto, Bafu, Baf, Wimb: e.g., pą́ŋá etc.) (CWL, p. 230.) The ny- seems Idomoid.

90. E+ nyí 1+2 be extinguished (of fire)

El nyí
Ot nyí
Agl nyí
PWN dim-, (dium); BC dį́m-, lim-, etc. (CWL); CB dį́m-.
PNC (CWL, p. 140). "nyí" seems Idomoid.

91. ọŋį́nyį́ person; man

(Analysis presents many puzzles. See discussion)

NEl ɔ̀ńdhù/è-
El ónzù/è-
Ig ọŋį́nyį́/a-
ọ̄ŋọ/ā-
(person who does something, agent directly preceding verb. E.g., ọ̄ŋọ jōjā "story-teller")
ọ̄ŋọ̄lẹ/āŋẹ̄lẹ "this person/ these persons"
ọ̄l-/ā- (person of some place. [harmonic]) (See CWL 237A No. 10.)
Et ɔ̀gyīsè (the -nyi root + -sɛ; see ɔ̄sè (see No. lll); cf. PJ ŋgiT "person")
Ak ìnyèǹjyè/īmālā (singular has the same two roots as in Etulo; suppletive plural has the -l- root)
Ky ino- (agent (Judd))
IdN ásè (see ɔ̄sè below, No. lll)
Ot ɔ̄cè/ā-; ɔ̀nyɔ̀ɔ̀nyè /everybody"; ɔ̄nyè/ā- "who?"; ò-/à- "person of..."

PWN -nintu, (-nitu); BC -neto; CB -ntù. Cf. Wolof nit, Fulfulde ned'ɗo, Kagoro à-tyŏk-ù/ á-nyát-bá; Yoruba ẽnĩ ~ ẽl-, as ẽlòmírɔ̃ "another person". The Eloyi forms are close to the -ntù root of CB,

91. cont.
although startlingly different from each other. Idoma ásɛ̀, etc. is No. 7 or 11 of CWL p. 237A. See No. 111 below. If -ni, -nyi, -l-, -ŋ-, ŋ̀gyĪ-, etc., are regarded as cognate, still they appear in a great variety of forms. Note also the isolated Akweya word ēlòŋ́-kpē = òŋ́-kpē "hunter". ("to hunt" is chɛ́hyè.) Cf. also -ùŋ- in Etulo ŋ̀gyĪsùŋ-tsɛ̄ "hunter" (tsɛ́ "to hunt"). The Kagoro form has the ɔ̄sè root in the singular and a suppletive -nyat- root in the plural. See Greenberg's remarks on p. 4 above and in Crabb (1965, ix) for the á-, -bá affixes. See also PJ ŋgit, "person".

92. E++ èpà 3+6 two

NEl	-pò ~ -pó (concordial)
El	-pō̄ ~ -pò (concordial); ēpò (adj.) (the very common í, ĪnyĪ class)
Et	èfà
Ak	èèpà
IdN	èpà
Ag	èpà
Ot	èpà
Agl	èpà

92. cont
YaOg èpà
YaIk èpà
PWN -bàlì; PrPlateau fa (Gerhardt); PJ paŋ̀; CB -bàdí; Ekoid Bantu bal. èpà ~ èpà is Idomoid.

93. E++ ụpụ 2+5 leaf

NEl	kúpú/é-
El	kúpú/é-
Ig	ụ̄pụ́/ā-
Ak	àfìlè (?)
Ag	Īcēpū
Ot	ēpū (Cf. ūpū "forest")
Agl	ēpfū
YaOg	Īpū
YaIk	ūpū/Ī-

Largely Idomoid; but note Ọlọma ghɔ́-bì/é-bì; Ẹdo-Benin èbé; Yoruba ewé; Igbo akwụkwọ.

94. ++ ìpú 2+6 belly

Ig	ẹ̄pū̄/ā-
Et	ìfū
IdN	ìpú
Ag	ìpú
Ot	ìpú
Agl	ìpfú
YaOg	rìpú
YaIk	lìpú/à-

PWN -pút-; PNC -puru but note also Plat Ib Janji, Ribina and Buji -puru (CWL); PCentJuk pu; CB -pụ̀ "stomach, pit of stomach" (CL 5/6). Systematically different from ùbù (No 4 above), to which it may be related on an older level.

95. E++ piri 2+5 squeeze

NEl pírì
El pírì
Ig pí
Ak wyí
Ag pí
Ot pí
Agl pí
YaOg pí
YaIk pí
PWN pìn-; BC -piri etc. "PNC" (CWL); CB pìn-, pìnì. Cf. Yoruba fún, "squeeze".

96. E++ pwa 2+5 hear

NEl pwà
El pwà
Ig wō
Ag pó
Ot pó
Agl pfó
Ky pwo (Judd) (pwɔ?)
YaOg pó
YaIk pó
PJ pwog; CB -púd-. Cf. Igbira(Panda) wo (Koelle), Yoruba, Igala gbó. Pó and pwà seem Idomoid.

97. E++ ụrụ/a- 4+6 ear

El kwólù/á-
Ig ụ̄rụ/ā-
Et àdɔ̄ɔ̀
Ak àrɔ̄
IdN àkpóhɔ̄ (ākpá "cover")

Ag àhɔ̄
Ot àhɔ̄

97. cont.

Agl àlɔ̄
YaOg àrɔ̄
YaIk wɔ̀rɔ̄/à-
PWN -thúi-, -thú; BC -tuŋi (W); CB tú, túé, túḭ. "PNC" (CWL). The distinctive Idomoid set connects through the BC 4th or ku/a gender (W) and the numerous Bantu reflexes in the classes 15 and 6, reflected in the Eloyi, Igede and Yala (Ikom) forms. /d/ of Etulo corresponds to /r/ of Idomoid generally and to -t- of PNC and CB here and in the word for "five".

98. E++ ọrị 3+4 oil palm

NEL ērì/érì
El ērì/é-
Ig ọ̄rḭ́/Ị̄-
Et àdēè
Ot àlī
Agl àrī
YaOg àrī = lɛ̀rī
YaIk lèrī/à-
BC -leg (CWL); Ịjọ lụgṵ́, Dẹgẹma è-dḭ́, Proto-Potou ádé (Stewart) (cited in CWL)

99. E++ èrūɔ̄ 4+6 five

NEl -lɔ̀
El -lɔ̀
Ig Ị̄rụ̄
Et èdā
Ak èèrɔ̄
IdN èhɔ̄
Ag èhɔ̄
Ot èhɔ̄

99. cont.

Agl èlɔ̄
YaOg èrwɔ̄
YaIk èrūɔ̄
PWN -tsánú? (-tánú);
BC-ton, i-tuŋ, etc.
"PNC" (CWL); PJ ton;
CB -táánɔ̀. The "l" of
Eloyi and Aglla becomes
"r" in the word for"six".

100. E++ èrĪìnyĪ 4+6 six
("five + one")

NEl -rènyí
El -rènyí
Ig Ịrọ̀nyẹ̀
Et ègyĪ̄
(èdā + palatalization +contraction of -nyí to ì)
Ak èèrinýy
IdN èhíírī
Ag èhīlī
Ot èhīlī
Agl èrĪìyĪ
YaOg èrĪìĪ
YaIk èrĪwĪ

See No. 86 above for the -nyi or "one" root. Note that in Eloyi and Aglla the -l- of "5" becomes -r- in "6". (CWL) comments (p. 432), "A number of languages have rather obvious compounds of the type 3+3 or 5+1... In some cases the components do not resemble the present-day forms for the separate numerals... This is par-

100. cont. ticularly so in Jukunoid languages, where there appear to be 5+1 compounds in which the second element is not the modern root ndo but the older root -diŋ." Similarly the -nyi root occurs nowhere else in the Idoma dialects, and the C_2 appears as -r-, -l-, -y-, Ø, and -w-, but never -ny-!

101. E++ ri 4+5 eat

NEl rí
El rí
Ig rì
Et gyè
Ak jí
Ky re (Judd)
Ag lé
Ot lé
Agl ré
YaOg ré
YaIk ré
PWN di-; BC di, ri, li (CWL);
PJ dyi; CB dí- (Proto Niger-Congo)

102. E++ ụrụrụ ~ ùrū 3+5
feather (Perhaps èfūrū would be a better reconstruction.)

El kūkyɛ̄rɛ̄/Ī- (?)
Ig ụ̀rụ̀rụ̀/à-
Ak ówù
Ag èfū
Ot èfū
Agl èrū
YaOg ùrū
YaIk ùrū/ì-
Ekoid Bantu è-fŭd/à-, è-fụ̆r/à-, etc.;

103. E++ úkụ́rwọ́ 4+5 work
(See èdúmà, No. 18, and No. 48)
El èdúmà/-
Ig úkụ́rwọ́/-
Et ìdɔ̄ (Etulo -d- = Idomoid -r-.);
N.B.: òkwɔ̀, "farm"
Ak íkɾ́rɔ́
Ky oko (Judd)
(probably ɔkɔ)
IdN ókúlɔ́
Ot úkĺlɔ́
Agl úkúlɔ́
(Igala úkɔ́lɔ́)
YaOg úkɾ̲ɔ́
YaIk wɔ́kɔ́/á-
CB -kɔ́d- "work" (vb), whose exponents in particular languages are -kol- and -kor-. Guthrie says, "This very localized C.S. is presumably due to a source-item that emerged in the north-east in the Bantu period." Perhaps the C.S. is not as localized as he thought. All it needs is a prefix and a final vowel to fit into the Idomoid set as a noun. See also the forms cited in the commentaries to Nos. 18 and 48. The Igala form seems borrowed. The etymological Igala word is úcɛ́ (1) "farm-work", (2) "message"; Yoruba iṣɛ́ simply means "work" or "effort" but also "message, errand". CB -cad- "work".

104. E++ ẹrụ 3+4 farm
NEl útú/í-
El ūtū/ī-
Ak ōrā
Ig ẹ̄rụ̄/-
Agl èlɔ̄
Ot èhɔ̄
YaOg yèrɔ̄
YaIk yèrɔ̄/à-
As the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist shows (pp. 308-9), there are many languages in which the words for "work", "farm", "message, errand", and "send" are either homophones or very similar in form. A relationship between "work" and "farm" seems likely. The resemblance between "farm" and "message" is more likely due to an ancient chance resemblance. (CWL) notes that PJ reconstructs tom for both, but that the reflexes in several languages differ. Similarly in Idomoid.

105. E+ ẹrụ 2+4 message, errand
El lɔ́ "send"
Ig ẹ̄rụ/-
Ot èhɔ̄
Agl èlɔ̄
YaOg èrɔ̄
YaIk èrɔ̄/à-
The verb "to send" is dú in Igede and tū in the Idoma dialects. (CWL) calls this a PNC root, and Eloyi lɔ́ seems a possible cognate, especially since it matches Aglla èlɔ̄.

106. E++ ori 3+4 rope

El òrìmókyī/è-
Ig ōrī/ī-
Ak ónyì (hangman's rope)
Ot òlī (umbilical cord, hangman's rope)
Agl òrī
YaOg òrī
YaIk òrī/ì-
Proto-Niger-Kordofanian (Greenberg); BC -duŋu, -digi (W); PJ diT, diK; Ekoid Bantu -dígí, -lígí, etc.; CB -dí, -díg̀ì, -gòdí. Cf. also Ẹdo (Benin) ìrí (Melzian), Ọlọma gu-rigi (Koelle), Igbo élílí (Williamson), and many more in Koelle. The o-prefix is distinctive for Idomoid except for Igbira, which has -u- instead of -i: orugba (Koelle)

107. ++ ra 2+3 buy

Ig rà
Ak rí
Ot lá
Agl rá
YaOg rá
PWN dàl-; CB -dànd-. Cf. Yoruba rà.

108. E++ isu 3+7 yam

NEl lúthú/íthú
El lúsú/ísú
Ig Ījū/-
Ak Īchì
Ky ìshī

108. cont.

IdN ìshī
Ag ìhī
Ot ìhī
Agl ìsī
YaOg ìhī = ìshī
YaIk m̀bònà/ìsī (Cf. Ot. ònú, "pounded yam")
PWS (Westermann) -ki, -ku; PrMande (Westermann) ku; BC -kod (ì-/í-) (W); PJ kíT, Jukun su-i; CB -kùá

109. E+ sɛ́, cị 2+5 cut

(Consonants irregular)

NEl dhɛ́
El zɛ́
Ig cị (Oju dial.); sị (Ito dial.)
Ag hyɛ́
Ot hɛ́
Agl sɛ́
YaOg hɛ́
YaIk sɛ́
PWN cet-, kél-; CB -céc-, -kèd- (a complex and large series of similar and synonymous or nearly synonymous forms often with specialized meanings like "slice", "peel", "chop". etc.)

110. E+ ɔsɔ 2+3 soup, stew

(consonants irregular)

NEl ɔ̄thɔ̀/ɛ̄-
El ɔ̄sɔ̀/ɛ̄-
Ig ọ̀họ̀/ị̀- (plural abusive)
Ot ɔ̀hɔ̄
Agl ɔ̀lɔ̄
YaOg ɔ̀rɔ̄

110. CB -tò "gravy" (N.B.: Venda mu-ro, Sotho lẹ-rɔ, Chopi iñ-ro); Koelle cites five Cameroun languages with ntǫ; Cf. also Igala ɔ̀rɔ̀ (T. Miachi), "stringy soup" and (Ẹdoid) Qlǫma ɔsɔ (Koelle); Ekoid Bantu bɛ̀-rɔ̌, bɛ̀-sɔ̌, etc.; (Jukunoid) Kutep utɔŋ (Koelle). Apart from Qlǫma and Igala, which latter may be borrowed, the ɔ- prefix seems unique to Idomoid.

111. + ɔ̄sɛ̀ 2+7 person
(See discussion in No. 91.)

Et ŋ̀gyī́sɛ̀
Ak ì́nyɛ̀ǹjyɛ̀/ī́mālā
Ky ásɛ̀
IdN ásɛ̀
Ag ɔ̄cɛ̀
Ot ɔ̄cɛ̀/ā-
Agl ɔ̄tsɛ̀/ā-
YaOg ɔ̄cɛ̄ɛ̀cɛ̀/ā- "person of the world" (ɛ̀cɛ̀)
YaIk ɔ̄sɛ̀/ā-
CB -cɨ́ "inhabitant, person of"; (CWL) No 7 or 11, "man", "male", husband". N.B.: Idoma "man, male" is ɔ̀nyī́lɔ̀ (No 81 above) and "husband" is ɔ̀bá; (Ẹdoid) Qlǫma ashi.

112. E+ isi 1+5 back

El ósú
Ag ì́gbī́sì́
Ot ì́gbī́hì́

112. cont.

Agl ì́sì́ = ì́gbī́sì́
YaOg ɔ̀kwī́ì́hì́
YaIk ì́sì́ = ì́gbī́sì́ (obsolete)
BC -sene (W); PrYukuben-Kutep (Jukunoid) sím̀.

113. E+ so 1+1 go

NEl thɔ̀
El sɔ̀
Agl ñtsō (ó ñtsō "he went"; ñtsō! "Go!")
YaIk sō "go in order to do something"

Note Yoruba ǹṣó = nì ṣó "go ahead", "precede (me)". The initial nasal syllabic of the Aglla form is very rare in Idoma.

114. E++ ɛ̀tā 4+6 three

NEl -lá
El -lá
Ig ị́tā
Et ɛ̀tā
Ak ɛ̀ɛ̀tá
IdN ɛ̀tá
Ag ɛ̀tá
Ot ɛ̀tá
Agl ɛ̀tá
YaOg ɛ̀tá
YaIk ɛ̀tá

Proto-Niger-Congo. PWS (Westermann) tat-; PWN -thathú; CB -tátù; PJ tat. Like most of the languages west of them as far as the Mande group, the Idomoid languages have lost C_2 of the root.

115. ++ átákwū 3+5 thigh

Ig úgbétā/é-
(N.B.: ú- and é- are expanded vowels.)
Et ì́tāà
Ak ɛ̀tā

115. cont.

IdN átákwū
Ot átákwū
Agl átákwū
YaOg útáākwū
YaIk wótákwū/á-
PWN -gwùl- "shin, lower leg"; BC PP tak "foot, leg", "Widespread throughout BC, but probably originally meant "thigh" rather than "leg"." (CWL), p. 220, 4. Ekoid B ò-tâ/à- etc. "thigh" CB (eastern) -càkù "calf of leg". Cf. Yoruba ītɔ̄, "thigh", Igala útā.

116. E+ ẹ̄ta 2+Ø leg, foot

El kwótá/á- "foot" ("leg" is kwólé/á-)
Ig ẹ̄ta/ā- "leg"; ẹ̄pétẹ̄/āpátẹ "foot"
Ak (ōpù) (Cf. Ig. "foot")
(See discussion under 115. above)

117. E++ tá 3+5 swim

NEl tó (é témbī "he swam", ēmbī "water")
El tó (témbī)
Ig dà (m̀ dàwa "I swam"; àwā, "swimming")
Ak tà
Ag tá
Ot tá (ó tágwā, "he swam";

117. cont.

àgwā "swimming";
gwā "bathe", No. 27)
Agl tá
YaOg tá
YaIk tá
No evidence for *tá outside Idomoid, where it is, however, well attested.

118. E++ ɔ̀tā, ūdạ 3+4 bow

El kwótó/é-
Ig ūdạ/ē-
Ak ìmɔ̀tā
Ot ɔ̀tā
Agl ɔ̀tā
YaOg wɔ̀tā
YaIk wɔ̀tā/à-
PNC. PWN -tá-; BC -tas (W); PJ ta (ku-/a-); CB -tá

119. E++ tá, dā 2+5 shoot; throw

NEl tà "throw"
El tó "shoot", "throw"
Ig dā
Ag tá
Ot tá
Agl tá
YaOg tá
YaIk tá
PNC; PWS -tá- (Westermann); Cf. Yor., Igala tā); BC (Tiv) tá, Kambari tàwâ; PJ tat; CB dác- "shoot at", "throw", -t- "throw". Etymologically there may be two different morphemes for "shoot" and for "throw". Cf. NEl and El.

120. E++ wĪ, yi 3+5 steal (irregular)

El wèlɔ̀
Ig yi; ōyí "theft", yōí "steal"
Ak yí
Ag wĪ
Ot wĪ; ùwĪ "theft", wūwĪ "steal"
Agl yĪ; ùyĪ "theft"
YaOg wūwyĪ "steal"
YaIk yĪ; wùyĪ/- "theft"
PNC. PWS $g^{y}i$, $g^{i}ia$, $g^{y}iu$ (Westermann); PWN ghiu-; BC -zibudi (W) "thief"; Ekoid Bantu yú, wú, etc.; PJ gyiP; CB -yìb-, yɨb-, -yʉb-

121. E++ wú 2+2 boil

El gú
Ig wʉ́
Ot wú
Agl wú
PWN phul-; Yoruba hó (intr.); Igbo í-ghū; BC Tiv púùr.

122. E+ ɔwa 1+4 width, wide

El wówà
Ag lòwá
Ot ɔ̀wá "width"
Agl lɔ̀wá "wide"
YaOg lùáá
YaIk wílà-wílà (=wúlà-wúlà, obsolete)

123. + wa 1+4 flay, skin(vb)

Ig wǭ
Ot wá
Agl wá

123. cont.

YaOg wá
YaIk wá
PJ fwaŋ; Yoruba bó; Igbo ɨ́-gbā; BC Tiv wùà.

124. E+ àwì 1+3 an antelope (Maxwell's duiker)

NEl ɔ̀vì/ávì Maxwell's duiker
Ot àwì Maxwell's duiker
Agl àyì " "
YaIk yàwì/àwì Maxwell's duiker

125. E+ yá 3+5 do, make, effect (Irregular)

El wó (o from a; y seldom occurs except before i, with three known exceptions. Perhaps borrowed from Hausa wóó.)
Ig hǭ
Ak yɔ̄
Ag yá
Ot yá
Agl yá
YaOg yá
YaIk yá
Ekoid Bantu yĭm (three cases). No convincing comparative items available.

126. E++ eyi 3+7 eye

NEl kúyĪ/éyĪ
El kúyĪ/éyĪ
Ig ẹ̄hɨ́/ā- (Cf. yẹ̄, "see")
(Ig and Ak seem to have the a- prefix of the old BC class 6, plural.
Eloyi has no analogue of 6 and uses the common e-, í,

126. ĪnyĪ plural class.)
cont. Ak ājyé (archaic)
Ky ìyĪ
IdN ìyĪ
Ag èyĪ
Ot èyĪ = ĪkpēĪ
Agl èyĪ
YaOg ĪkprĪ; èyĪ "face"
YaIk èyĪ = ūkpĪrĪ/Ī-
PWN -yíc-; BC -lito (W); Proto-Plateau gis (Ger); PJ giP; Ekoid Bantu è-yíd/à-míd, etc.; CB -yíćò

127. E++ -yi, yi 3+3 fire; burn
NEl ɔ̄yĪ/ɛ̄yĪ = èyĪ
El ɔ̄yĪ/ɛ̄-; yĪ "be hot"
Ig rụ̀, rūĪlą̄ (Īlą̄ "fire")
Ak jí "burn"
Ag yì "burn"
Ot yì "burn"
Agl rì "
(Cf. Ig rụ̀)(Cf. Igbo í-rē)
CB -yía "fire"(?) (the reflexes cited are not very convincing). YĪ, -yĪ may be an Idomoid root.

128. E+ yè 1+3 go; walk; travel
NEl dhɛ̄; lūdhɛ̄ "walking"
El zɛ̄mà "walk"; lū-zɛ̄ "journey"
Ak yà "walk; go about"
Ot yè; èyè "journey"
Agl yè; èyè "
YaOg yè; èyè "

128. PWN gwìa "go"; BC
cont. -gènd- (CWL); PJ yāg̀; CB -gend- "go, walk, travel". Cf. Fula yah- ~ yehi. PNC

129. E++ -rɔ 3+6 male (human)
(See 81 above)
El ɔ́nṵ́/á- husband
Ig *-rɔ (see 81)
Et -lɔ̄ɔ̀ (irreg.)
Ky -o (in ongo (Judd))
Ag -lɔ̀
Ot -lɔ
Agl -rɔ̀
YaOg ɔ̀ŋrɔ̄ɔ̀
YaIk -rɔ̀
CB -dúmè; PJ dúm̀, Kutep -rom, Jukun -nu; Cf. CWL pp. 236, 237A paragraphs 1, 10.

3. THE PHONOLOGY OF THE IDOMOID LANGUAGES

A Synoptic View

This section is a statement of what is known about the phonologies of seven dialects of Idoma and the four languages that together with Idoma constitute the Idomoid group. It is hoped that in due course the sound correspondences between these languages and dialects can be related in a systematic way to their various phonologies. This can only be done if we have some notion of what the phonologies are. The problem is somewhat like that of the arithmetics possible on clocks with different faces. If we compare a 12-hour clock with a 24-hour clock, then (beginning at 12) 3 x 3 = 9 on both clocks. But whereas 5 x 4 = 20 on the 24-hour clock, 5 x 4 = 8 on the 12-hour clock. The number 5 cannot have the same meaning on both clocks. Similarly the sound 'ɛ̲' cannot have the same systemic rôle in the Kyana dialect of Idoma, with only five vowels, that it does in its neighbour, Idōma Nōkwū, which has seven, or in Ígēdē, with ten vowels all organized into a strict harmonic system.

Most of these languages have seven vowels, but Ígēdē has ten, and Kyana has evolved into a five-vowel system which seems a relatively late development.

The reliability of these phonologies is obviously variable. Some were collected in three hours, others over more than thirty years. They have all been collected by persons with linguistic training, including a command of the tone systems of these languages. The higher level of precision that this procedure makes possible has the additional advantage that it makes older, prelinguistic sources, like Koelle and Judd, more valuable.

The section closes with a tabular statement of all the sound correspondences that have been found in this study.

3.1 PHONOLOGIES OF THE DIALECTS OF IDOMA AND OF THE IDOMOID LANGUAGES

3.1.1 *Kyana or Eastern Alago. (Agwatashi? Assaiko? Awe? Obi? Keana? East of Lafia Town, Lafia LGA, Plateau State.)*

The lexical material is quoted from Mr. Longley's letter, which is given here in full, since material from this area is very scanty and since only a few of the words which he gives are exponents of the items compared in this study as a whole. Mr. Longley, a member of the Institute of Linguistics, was good enough to send me this letter in 1970 as given below. There is also the old article by Judd, which is prelinguistic but which helps to fill out the phonology a bit. I refer to this dialect as Kyana (or Keana) since this is the name of the best known town of the area and since, according to Longley, this is where Judd worked. Mr. Longley collected the material which follows at Obi.

"SOME PRELIMINARY COMPARATIVE NOTES ON THE PHONOLOGY OF CENTRAL IDOMA AND ALAGO (Eastern)

"Data on Central Idoma extracted from *'The Idoma Language'* (R.C. Abraham).

Data on Alago (Eastern Dialect) gathered by D.R. Longley (Institute of Linguistics, Zaria).

a) TONE

Alago nouns cannot begin with a mid-tone (though verbs may). In general, an initial mid-tone on an Idoma noun becomes high-tone in Alago. (Mid-tone unmarked).

IDOMA	ALAGO	
iñi	íñi	'dirt'
epu	épu	'leaf'
aga	ága	'axe'
ɔnà	ánà	'dream'
ɔcɛ̀	ásɛ̀	'person'

In two exceptions to the generalization, the initial tone becomes low.

ɔka	ɔ̀ka	'conversation'
owe	ɔ̀wɛ	'trouble'

Various other tone changes have been noted, for which no rules have yet been postulated. Here are some examples:

ìye	íyɛ	'name'
énén	énɛ	'mother'
énɛ	énɛ̀	'yesterday'
ɔ̀kùtɛ̀	ɔ́kùtɛ̀	'stick/stave'
ɔ́fú	ɔ̀šu	'fever'
ìjé	ìzɛ	'guinea-fowl'

b) SEGMENTALS

Idoma does not have š and z (and in the data s only occurs once).

Alago does not have c

In Alago, the voiced and voiceless bilabial and velar plosives occur both with palatalization and without.

As a generalization, it may be said that certain segments in Idoma morphemes tend to become palatalized in Alago. No satisfactory rules governing the occurrence of this feature have been formulated yet, as each attempt has led to so many exceptions as to make the rule valueless. Therefore here the basic data only is presented. Nouns only are considered at this point.

CHANGE	IDOMA	ALAGO	
h to š	ìhi	ìsi	'yam'
	ìháyí	ìšáyí	'year'
	ɔ̀hì	ɔ̀šì	'good'
	ɛ̀hì	ɛ̀šì	'present, gift'
h to y	ɛhi	éyi	'pot'
	àgbáhá	àgbáyá	'coco-yam'
f to š	àbàfú	àbàšú	'melon seeds'
	ɔ̀fú	ɔ̀šú	'strength'
	ùfì	ɔ̀šì	'fear'
f to y	ìfú	ìyú	'rat'
s to š	ísù	íšù	'river'
d to j	ɔ̀dí	ɔ̀jí	'what?'
d to z	ɔ̀da	ɔ̀za	'thing'
e to i	èwo	ìwo	'dog'
	èye	ìyɛ	'millet'
	èyi	ìyi	'eye'
	èñi	ìñì	'water'
j to z	èjè	ìzɛ̀	'beans'
	ìjé	ìzɛ	'guinea-fowl'
j to y	ìjù	ìyù	'fly'
j to gy	ɛ̀jɛ̀	ɛ̀gyɛ̀	'leopard'
	àji	àgyi	'horn'
	àjɛ̀	àgyɛ̀	'earth'

	ɔjá	ɔgyá	'gourd-bottle'
	ɔjè	ɔgyɛ̀	'metal'
	ùje	ìgyɛ	'thorn'
c to s	ɛ̀cɛ	ɛ̀sɛ̀	'outside'
	ɔcɛ̀	ásɛ̀	'person'
	ɔ̀cɛ́	ɔ̀sɛ́	'chief'
	ɔ́ca	ɔ́sa	'beniseed'
	oce	ɔ́sɛ	'illness'
	ùce	ɔ́sɛ	'language'
c to š	ɛ̀cí	ɛ̀ší	'medicine'
	ìpácí	ìpáší	'the bush'
c to ky	ícɛ̀	íkyɛ̀	'today'
	àcá	àkyá	'wing'

"It is difficult to trace any development from the above data. If Idoma is assumed to be closer to the original form, it has not proved possible to formulate rules as to what j and c become in Alago in the above data. (The above data only lists changes - apart from c, the Idoma forms remain unchanged in some morphemes.) If Alago is assumed to be the more primary form, then š in Alago becomes c, h, s or f in Idoma, while y becomes h, f or j.

If there are in fact any predictable rules, they must include tone factors, as is shown by the two Idoma words ɛ̀cɛ̀ 'outside' and ɛ́cɛ̀ , 'woman's beads' which become in Alago ɛ̀sɛ̀ and ɛ́kyɛ̀ respectively.

The forms for 'beans', 'beer', 'guinea-fowl' and 'fat, grease' are all distinct in Idoma, but because of the changes required by Alago, ambiguity arises:

IDOMA	ALAGO	
èjè	ìzɛ̀	'beans' (also 'tears' in Alago)[In Idoma 'tears' are ìjè. RGA]
èjé	ìzɛ́	'beer'
ìje	ìzɛ	'fat, grease'
ìjé	ìzɛ	'guinea-fowl'

(If the unexpected tone change on guinea-fowl was to distinguish the Alago word from that for 'beer', it only succeeded in making it the same as 'fat'!)

In contrast to the ɛ̀cɛ̀/ɛ́cɛ̀ pair in Idoma having different segmentals in Alago, a second pair show the reverse feature: the Idoma words ì jù 'fly' and ì fú 'rat' become in Alago ì yù and ì yú respectively.

c) MISCELLANEOUS

1. Alago does not have any nouns starting with u. Most Idoma nouns beginning with u have an initial ɔ in Alago, e.g. ùfì (Idoma) ɔ̀šì (Alago) 'fear'. At least one, however, takes an initial a (ùkàtà becomes àkàtà 'straw hat'), and one takes an initial i (ùje becomes ìgyɛ 'thorn'.)

2. Alago seems to be in a state of change in the pronunciation of p . In some words, it is clearly a plosive, but in others very many people are now using a fricative.

3. While there is a close similarity between the phonology of the two languages, there appears to be a somewhat greater difference in "particles", "function words" and certain areas of grammar.

David R. Longley. October, 1970."

Eastern Alago, or Kyana, differs sharply from Western Alago, or Ìdōmà Nōkwū. Diagnostic is the genitival link, 'k-' (according to Judd), which matches the 'ḱ-' of Central and Southern Idoma and contrasts with the 'ǵ-' of its neighbours, Ìdōmà Nōkwū (Western Alago) and Agatu. There is no o in Mr. Longley's material, and e seems to be an allophone of /ɛ/, with which it is is complementary distribution. e occurs only before /i/ and /u/, and /ɛ/ is never found in this position. In contrast with Ìdōmà Nōkwū, but like the other Idoma dialects, the number system is vigesimal. The word for 'twenty' is ikpiase , according to Judd. This is a transparent compound of ikpiye , 'the body', and ase , 'a person'. Judd says that counting is done on the fingers of both hands as far as nineteen, "... but to show twenty, the hands are made to rest on the feet." This is the only place in the whole Idomoid group where the finger-and-toe basis of vigesimal counting is made explicit lexically and by gesture - including the abstract concept 'whole person', in the form 'person's body'. Nor does this surely very ancient expression find any parallel in Williamson and Shimizu, II, pp. 454-457. It may, however, be a translation borrowing from Jukun. (See Shimizu 1980b p. 139.) It remains to be said that when the alekwū ancestral masks of Otukpó (Central Idoma) chant the traditional history, they always mention "Okwutaci" as one of the places of residence of the Otukpó people. This is surely the "Agwatashi" of Eastern Alago country.

Kyana Phonology

Longley			Judd adds	Longley	
p	t	k	kp	i	u
b		g gb	d ŋg	(e)	
		ky	h	ɛ	ɔ
	dy	gy	[/dy/ ='j']	a	
	sy		[/sy/ ='š']	e is an allophone of /ɛ/.	
	s			No noun begins with a	
	z	l	r	mid-tone.	
m	n	ny		No noun begins with /u/.	
	y	w		[So also Judd]	

3.1.2 *Ìdōmà Nōkwū or Western Alago*

"Great Idoma" (referred to as "Doma" in the literature and on maps.) The elders of Otukpó also refer to it as Ìdɔ̄mà Nɔ̄kwū. It is the only place that actually calls itself "Idoma". The material is from a list of 86 words that I collected in late 1951, after I had been almost a year in Idoma Division studying the dialects of Otukpó and Ágíla. Ìdōmà Nōkwū counts as Western Alago, but comparison of it with the Kyana dialect makes it hard to see how "Alago" holds together as a linguistic grouping distinct from the other Idoma dialects. (Cf. Hansford, Bendor-Samuel and Stanford, p. 39.)

Ìdōmà Nōkwū Phonology

p	t	k	kp	kw
b	d	g	gb	gw
	č	ky		
	j	gy		
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋmgb
	s	š	h	
	l	r		
	y		w	

[26 consonants]

i		u
	e o	
	ɛ ɔ	
	a	

No apparent vowel harmony
No noun begins on a mid tone
No noun begins with /u/.

Ìdōmà Nōkwū and Kyana share a rule against starting a noun with a mid tone and a rule against starting a noun with /u/. Apart from this, there are important differences between them. The one has a decimal number system, the other a particularly conservative vigesimal system. Kyana is alone in the whole Idomoid group in having

a five-vowel system, with no o, and e reduced to the status of an allophone of /ɛ/. Ìdōmà Nōkwū has two /o/'s in the name of the language itself. It is also remarkable that Kyana and Yala (Ikom), the northernmost and southernmost members of the Idomoid system should be the only speech communities to preserve the ɔkɔ ~ wɔ́kɔ́ root for 'work'. It would seem hard to make a case for regarding "Alago" as a linguistic category, although it is well established in the history and geography of the area.

3.1.3 *ÀGÀTÚ*

The northernmost dialect in old Idoma Division. It borders the south bank of the Benue River and has some communities north of the Benue in Nasarawa. Agatu District and Ọchekwu district, speaking a similar dialect, together form the Àpá L.G.A. of Benue State. The words cited are from a list that I elicited from the Chief of Bagaji in 1951, after I had been three months in Idoma, and also from the 200-word first Swadesh list supplied by the Rev. Hugh Mackay in the format of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, in 1963. Wherever we have both collected the same word, we are in full agreement.

Àgàtú Phonology

[25 consonants]

p	t	k	kp	kw	i		u
b	d	g	gb	gw	e		o
f~hy	s	h			ɛ	ɔ	
	ts~č				a		
	dz	j					
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	ŋw	e - o	
	l					ɛ - ɔ - a	vowel harmony
	y		w				

3.1.4 *Òtùkpó or Central Dialect*

It is spoken in the present Otukpó L.G.A., which includes the districts of Otukpó, Ọgǀǀèwù, Ọnyāgédé, Ùgbóòjù and Ādɔ́ká. It is "central" only in the geographical sense. This is the dialect of Abraham's *The Idoma Language* and is also the dialect in which I have done most of my own work, including a large, 2-way dictionary that is still on card files and that is backed up by hundreds of pages of texts written by Mr. Isaac Ochinyabo, Mr. (now Dr.) Samson Ọ. Ọ. Amali and many others. Much of this text material is transcribed from tape-recorded chants, songs, stories and interviews. Otukpó Town was the headquarters of old Idoma Division, and it remains the most important centre of commerce and communication in Idoma country.

Òtùkpó Phonology

[27 consonants]

p	t	k	kp	kw	i	u
b	d	g	gb	gw	e	o
f		h			ɛ	ɔ
	c	č			a	
		j				
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	ŋw	
m̲l̲	f̲l̲	l̲	ŋ̲l̲		k̲wl̲	
		l̩l̩				
	y		w			

e - o; ɛ - ɔ - a vowel harmony

(All nasals except ŋw may be syllabic.)

(ŋ̲l̲ and k̲wl̲ mostly in ideophones)

(l̩l̩ (syllabic) only following a consonant)

3.1.5 *Ágílà or the Southern Dialect*

It is spoken in the Ìgwùmálē, Ìjùgbàm̀ and Ágílà districts of the Àdó L.G.A. This is rather well-studied, and I have a card file of words that differ from Otukpó as well as about 100 pages of text written by Mr. Patrick Únóógwū, now the State Librarian of Benue State, or transcribed by him and translated with his help from tape recordings.

Ágílà Phonology

[31 consonants]

p	t	k	kp	kw	i	u
b	d	g	gb	gw	e	o
f	s	h			ɛ	ɔ
v	z					
pf	ts	č			a	
bv	dz	j	z			
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	ŋw	
ml	l	l̩l̩				
	r	r̩r				
	y		w			

e - o; ɛ - ɔ - a vowel harmony with some irregularities.

(All nasals except ŋw may be syllabic. The vowel before a nasal syllabic may be nasalized, and its double replaces the syllabic. Thus ɔ̄tsè ḿ pfɔ́ɔ̄ŋ̀ becomes ɔ̄tsɛ̀ɛ́ pfɔ́ɔ̄ɔ́ 'the person did not hear it.')

(l̩l and r̩r (syllabic) only following a consonant. The second member of the pair is a consonant that begins the next syllable. So also throughout Idomoid.)

It would appear that in l̩l and r̩r the -l and -r are reflexes of the original C_2 of the root, and the l̩ and r̩ are assimilations of the original V_1.

3.1.6 *Yàlà (Ogoja)*

First reported in Koelle (1854), language XII, D.1. I took a short wordlist in 1951 and 1000 words plus some grammatical material in 1962 from Mr. Cletus Ọ̀nàá, who was then a student at the University of Ibadan. This dialect has been deeply studied by Dr. Gene Bunkowske, who wrote a PhD thesis on it in 1976. For consistency's sake, I have used my own materials where possible, piecing them out occasionally with forms from Bunkowske. Where we have differing forms for the same word, I have given both (e.g., No. 29: gbrà = gblà, 'resemble'.) This dialect is spoken in the area encompassing Ọ̀kpɔ́mā ('Salt-Stream') and Okúku, near Ogoja Town.

Yàlà (Ogoja) Phonology [After Bunkowske. 61 consonants]

Simple					Labialized				Palatalized				
p	t	č	k	kp	(pw)		čw	kw	py	ty	čy		
b	d	j	g	gb	bw	(dw)		gw	(gbw)	by	dy	jy	
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	mw			ŋw		my		y	
f	r	y	h	w				hw		fy	ry	yy	hy	wy
	l				(lw)						ly		

Lateralized					(alternatively) Rhoized					
pl	tl	čl	kl	kpl	pr	tr	čr	kr	kpr	kwr
bl	dl	jl	gl	gbl	br	dr		gr	gbr	
ml			ŋl	ŋml	mr			ŋr		
fl			hl		fr			hr		

[in the speech of Mr. Cletus Ọ̀nàá of Ọ̀kpɔ́mā. RGA]

[The labialized consonants in brackets occur only at morpheme boundaries in contracted forms.]

i		u
	e	o
	ɛ	ɔ
	a	

e - o; ɛ - ɔ - a vowel harmony is rigidly observed. Cf. ɔ̀hɔ́ɔ̄hɛ́ 'cutting' vs Ágílà ɔ̀sɔ̄sɛ́. /u/ becomes ụ before ɛ - ɔ - a.

3.1.7 *Yàlà (Ikom)*

Spoken on the Cross River, about six miles downstream from Ikom. I have collected about 1200 words, some grammatical materials and about a dozen pages of text (Armstrong, 1968), and have published an article on the remarkable 3-level terraced-level tone system of this language. It is unique among the Idoma dialects in retaining singular-plural prefixes throughout the noun system. Many of these prefixes are consonant-initial, a feature which it shares with Yâlà (Ogoja), which, however, has lost most of its separate plural forms.

Yàlà (Ikom) Phonology

[28 consonants]

p	t	k	kp	kw		i		u
b	d	g	gb	gw		e		o
f	s	h				ɛ	ɔ	
	č						a	
	j				e - o ɛ - ɔ - a vowel harmony,			
	nd		ŋmgb	ŋw	with irregularities			
m	n	ɲ	ŋ		(may be syllabic)			
	l	ḷ						
	r	ṛ						
	y		w					

This concludes the Idoma dialects. Yàlà (Obubra) and the western Idoma dialects are not presented here because work in them is not yet sufficiently advanced. What follows are the phonologies of Eloyi, Igede, Etulo and Akweya, which with Yatyɛ are the other known languages of the Idomoid group.

3.1.8 *Ẹ̀lɔ́yì*

Spoken in eastern Nasarawa L.G.A, Plateau State, from the Benue River north into hill country. The southern dialect, Ẹ̀lɔ́yì Mbéjí ('E. of the land', i.e., the lowlands) is represented by an extensive wordlist which began by rechecking Mr. Mackay's (1964) Swadesh list of 200 words. The informant was Mr. Yàhàyá Ọ̀gɔ́lá Òwúnú, BSc. (Engineering)(A.B.U.). The study began with a shorter elicited wordlist from the northern dialect, Ẹ̀lɔ́yì MbékyT ('E. of the rocks'). The language helper was Mr.O.E.Kana, then of the Plateau State Ministry of Education. He is also a graduate of A.B.U. Ẹ̀lɔ́yì is a very complex noun-class language. I have found fourteen classes, each with twelve concord points. Williamson and Shimizu classify it as Plateau 2. Hoffmann (1976) follows Shimizu (1974) in putting it in the latter's "Benue" group. If this were accepted, we would have to put the whole Idomoid group in "Benue". It will require a lot more evidence than we have seen yet to make such a classification plausible.

I have some grammatical material, including the concords, especially from the southern dialect. Text is limited to a few proverbs and illustrative sentences. The deep study of this key language is urgent.

Ẹ̀lóyì Phonology

[37 consonants]

p	t			k	ky	pw	kw	kp
b	d		jg	g	gy	bw	gw	gb
mb	nd	nz	nj	ŋg	ŋgy	mbw		ŋmgb
f	s				fy	sy		
v	z				vy			
m	n		ɲ	ŋ				
	l							
	r							
	y						w	

i				u	
	e			o	
		ɛ		ɔ	
			a		

Ẹ̀lóyì Mbékyī

(sound shifts)

s becomes th [θ]

z " dh [ɗ]

nz " ndh

[Interdental fricatives with tongue-tip extruded about 1 cm.]

e - o and ɛ - ɔ vowel harmony.

In Ẹ. Mbékyī, a goes with ɛ - ɔ

In Ẹ. Mbéjí, a is neutral in V_2 position and rare as V_1

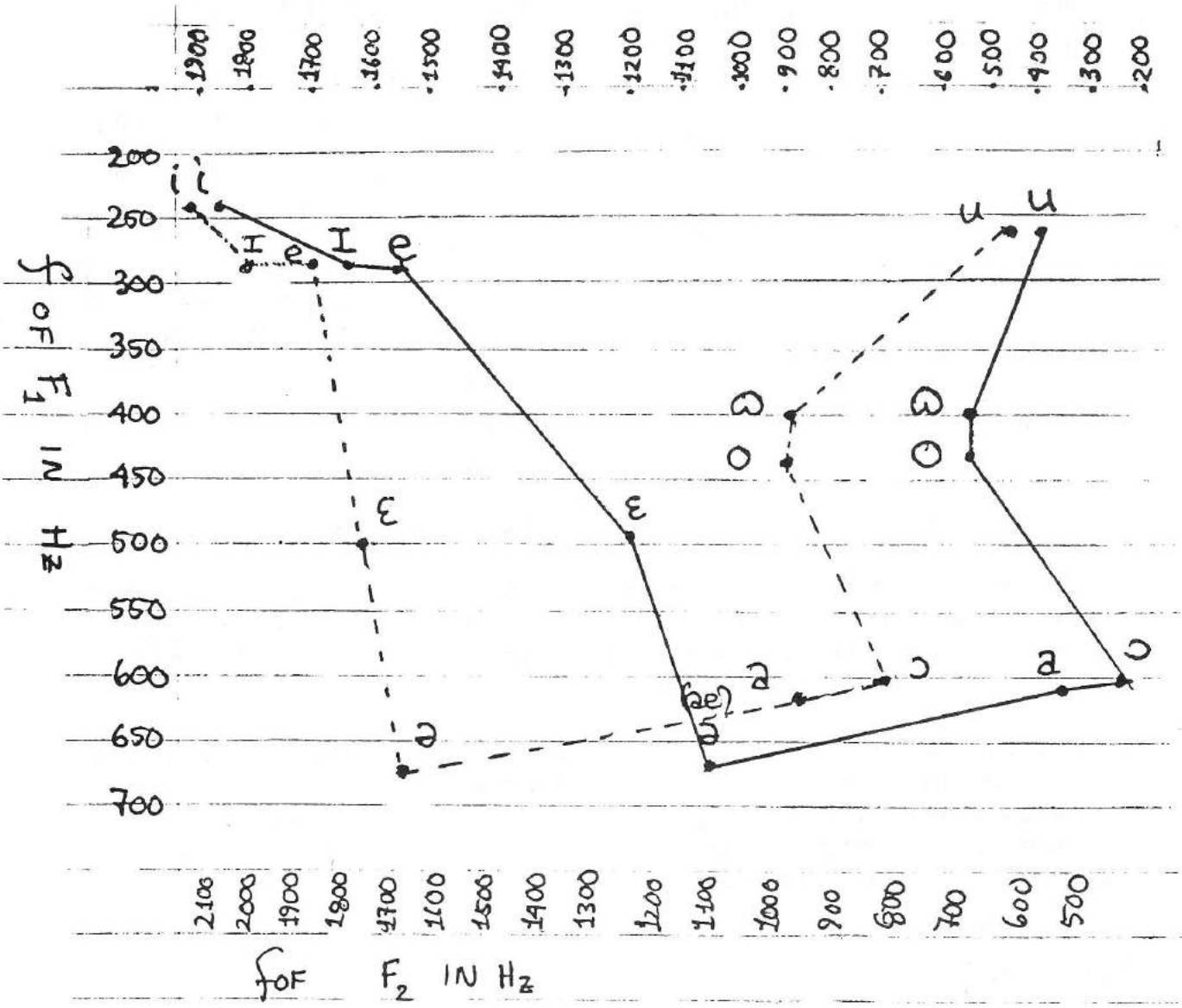
[/y/ occurs only before /i/ except in kīyā 'thing' and yò 'ask'. N.B.: BC ku-, a-kiaŋ 'thing(s)', PJ i-, a-kiŋa. Ẹ kīyā/ānàŋgà (suppletive) may be borrowed, with reinterpretation of the kī- syllable as a prefix (ki- class).]

[N.B.: the battery of eight prenasalized consonants of which only traces remain in the other Idomoid languages. The nasal elements can also nearly all occur as syllabics either in allomorphs in particular constructions or else as dialect variants or simply in some words, but not in others.]

3.1.9 *Ígēdē*

It is spoken in the Ìtóō, Òjù and Ụ̀wọ̀ọ̀kwụ̀ districts of old Idoma Division. Together these three districts now form the Òjù L.G.A. of Benue State. It is also spoken in the adjacent Gabu area of Ogoja, Cross River State, and at Yahe on the Abakaliki-Ogoja road. The three districts correspond to what may be called "low-profile" dialect differences. I have collected lexical material from the Ìtóō District from 1951 to the present as occasion offered. The principal language helpers have been Mr. Òbāíkē Òdè, Mr. Ọ̀gbaji Ìdókò and Mr. Ègìrì Òbāíkē. Mr. Richard Bergman has studied this language for several years at Òjù. His 1971 article in JWAL summarizes his M.A. thesis, both of which I have checked over very carefully with Mr. Ìdókò. Our conclusions match very well despite the slight dialect difference. The ten-vowel system has been studied instrumen-

DIFFERENCE IN f OF F_2 AND F_1 IN Hz



• I BLACK INK $F_1 \times F_2$ - - - -

• I BLUE INK $F_1 \times (F_2 - F_1)$ ——

( ) – NO CLEAR FREQUENCY APPEARS

1 – 3 FORMANTS APPEAR TWO OF THEM TYPICAL OF ONE FORM OF 3/3 AND THE OTHER TYPICAL OF THE OTHER FORM OF 2/3

2 – [ɯ] REALIZED HERE

SPECTRO-GRAM	TOKENS	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ə	a	o	ɔ	u	ɯ
A.	ɔ̀kɪ̄lɛ̀ tɯ̄ – o kulekū	240	270 1740	290 (1900)	500 1690		650	430 1140	615 825	710 740 320 890	390 1060
B.	ɔhā̄rɯ̄ – úkpìlékù	260 1960		280 1730			930		605 865	280 600 310 710	500 1090
C.	ɯ̀gà – íqù	( )					675 1010			310 730	390 990
D.	ɔ̄l ɯ̀gà – ōl íqù	260 1965					630 970	480 1115	620 860	325 600	370 970
E.	ɔ̄ŋɪrɪ – onirì	250 2000 250 2015	270 1680 290 1870					400 1030	615 830		
F.	ɔ̀kpɪ̄là – ōkpilə̄	270 2250	290 1760			590 1600	640 975	490 990	610 810		
G.	ma – wu						585 940			270 605	
H.	ɔ̄ ma hɪ – ō wuhí	240 2350	280 2170				615 930	460 1020	615 815	240 595	
I.	ɔmama – owuwu						650 965 690 965	400 970	590 810	280 500 280 500	
J.	ǹja – ǹjə					590 1580	610 1020				
K.	ə̀ja – ə̀jə̀ (PREP. HARM HERE)					590 630 1450	(850) 1030 640 920				
L.	ə̀ja – ə̀jə̀ (NO HARM. HERE)					660 1680	850 740 1 890 965 550 2 830				
M.	ɔ̄jə̀ – ōjə̀					650 1690	620 970	250 530	570 805		
N.	ə̀hɪ̄jə – ə̀hìjə̄					750 1200 890 1690	1000 1 1590 855 2 1610				2 350 1
O.	ə̀nɯ̀jə – ə̀nùjə̀					740 1630	1000 1 1400 920 910			230 500	730
P.	ə̀nɯ̀jə – ənujə̀					710 1730 740 1726	610 890 620 910			290 570	400 920
Q.	ɪjə – ijə̀	220 3200	290 2430			750 1710	1000 1 1710				
AVERAGE F_1 VALUE (EXCLUDING CIRCLED CASES)		248	277	285	500	674	620	440	609	263	400
AVERAGE F_2 VALUE (EXCLUDING CIRCLED CASES)		2090	1884	1805	1690	1670	957	1040	830	625	1006
$F_2 - F_1$ VALUE (EXCLUDING CIRCLED CASES)		1842	1607	1520	1190	996	337	600	221	362	606

j = IPA [j]

tally with auditory-acoustic analyses by Dr. Mona Lindau, with Mr. Ìdókò, and by Mr. Nicolas Faraclas, with Mr. Òbā́kē. They both found the same ten vowels in the Ìtóō Dialect that Mr. Bergman has reported from Òjù. With his permission, I am reproducing Mr. Faraclas's chart of vowels plotted against formant 1 and formant 2-1 frequencies. This said, it is obvious from these studies and from Lindau (1975) that the matter of vowel harmony is a complex phenomenon that merits a great deal of further study. Stewart's concept of "cross-height vowel harmony" has been a very useful first approximation, based on articulatory phonetics. The instrumental analysis of the acoustics of these systems has raised a lot of questions that seem important for the reconstruction of proto-systems from what one hears in many languages today. In particular, operative ten-vowel harmonic systems are an "endangered species", and their detailed study is a matter of urgency.

Despite the excellence of Bergman's work, in this article I have cited only forms from my own materials for consistency's sake. Both Bergman and I have considerable lexical material, and he has collected some texts. I write the five expanded (with tongue-root advanced) vowels unmarked, except for expanded ą, which I write with a cedilla because it is infrequent. The five unexpanded vowels (with retracted tongue-root) I write with dots, except for a̲, which is very frequent.

ÍGĒDĒ PHONOLOGY

[35 consonants]

p	t	č	k	kp	pw	čw	kw	py		
b	d	j	g	gb	bw		gw	by	gy	
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	mw		ŋw	my		
	l	ḷ								
	r	ṛ				rw	hw	ry	hy	
	y		w	h						

i					u	or alternatively:			expanded:	
	į				ų				i e ą o u	
		e		o					unexpanded:	
			ẹ	ọ					į ẹ a ọ ų	
				ą a						

N.B. The asymmetry of the vowel system. The dotted vowels of equivalent height harmonize and likewise the undotted ones; but ą and a̲ do not harmonize with each other.

Rigid cross-height vowel harmony. Apparent exceptions are due to old compoundings. The elaborate system of singular-plural noun-prefixes and verb subject and object pronouns is fully governed by the harmonic rules.

3.1.10 *Ètùlō*

This language is spoken at Katsina Ala and in other parts of the Katsina Ala River valley. It is entirely surrounded by Tiv speakers and was a part of the old Tiv Division. It is now in the Katsina Ala L.G.A. of Benue State. I visited Katsina Ala for one day in 1952 and collected about 120 words and morphemes from the king's son. These are published in Armstrong (1964). Etulo is the easternmost outlier of the Idomoid group and therefore of the Kwa languages as a whole. The classical typological criteria for eastern "Kwa" languages fit Etulo perfectly. Lexically it seems quite conservative and often preserves Proto-Bantu or Proto-Western Nigritic consonants that have shifted considerably in the other Idomoid languages. I find that 58.6 percent of the words that I have collected have obvious cognates in Central Idoma (Otukpó).

Ètùlō Phonology

[27 consonants]

	t	k	ky	kw	kp
b	d	g	gy	gw	gb
f	s		sy	ghw	
	z				
	ts				
	dz				
	nd		ŋgy	ŋgw	ŋmgb
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋw	
				w	

i			u	ĩ
	e	o		
	ɛ	ɔ		ɛ̃
	a			ɔ̃

The Etulo nasal vowels mostly result from contraction with a following nasal or nasal syllabic.

3.1.11 *Àkwéyà or Ākpā*

This language is spoken in the Ākpā District of the Otukpó L.G.A., Benue State. Yátyè (or Ẹ̀kpárī), a closely related language, is spoken in Northern Ogoja, at Alifokpa, of the Cross River State. It is reported further in Armstrong (1981). It is only referred to occasionally in this study. I have worked on Àkwéyà as occasion offered since 1952, especially with Mr. Joseph O. Oblete and, more recently, with Mr. Henry Kamalo. I have about 1200 words of lexicon, some grammatical material and perhaps twenty pages of text, some of it transcribed by Mr. Kamalo from a tape-recorded interview with the King of Ākpā. Lexically speaking, it differs considerably from the rest of the Idomoid languages and seems actually closer to Igbira than to Eloyi, for example.

AKWEYA (ĀKPĀ) PHONOLOGY

[38 consonants]

p			t̲		c	k	kp	kw	kwy	Stops
b			d̲		ɟ	g	gb	gw	gwy	
		t̲ç	t̲f							Affricates
		d̲ʒ	d̲v							
f		s							fy	Fricatives
m	m̥	n̲	n̥n̲			ŋ	ŋm	ŋw		Nasals
		l	l̥l							Laterals
		r	r̥r							Trills
		y				h	w	hy	wy	Approximants

/c/ and /ɟ/ are full palatal, 'cerebral' stops with slightly affricated offglides, without which they would be clicks. They correspond to /ty/ and /dy/ in Yátyɛ̀. Spelled cy and jy orthographically.

/t̲/, /d̲/, /t̲f/ and /d̲v/, /n̲/, /n̥/, and /n̥n̲/ all have dental articulation

/t̲ç/ and /d̲ʒ/ are articulated with the tongue-tip against the lower teeth. I spell them ch and j orthographically.

/m̥/ are /n̥/ are voiceless or "murmured" nasals, spelled hm and hn.

i u

e o

ɛ ɔ

a

No vowel harmony.

Although this display is not exhaustive, it will be seen that the phonologies of the various Idomoid languages and dialects differ quite a lot from each other. If we regard the Kyana and Idoma Nokwu materials as possibly incomplete, still we must say that the extreme range of divergence lies within the Idoma dialect cluster: the Agatu Dialect has twenty-five consonants, and the Yala (Ogoja) dialect has sixty-one consonants.

3.2 ABSTRACT OF VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES IN THE IDOMOID LANGUAGES

The consonants given in this table are from the Proto-Idomoid word Stems given above and are nearly all syllable-initial. Taken with the following vowel, they mostly represent verb or noun roots. In the great majority of cases the second syllable, including C_2-,

of original Niger-Congo has been lost in the Idomoid languages. This is so generally true that even where longer words actually occur one must bear in mind the possibility of ancient compoundings or ancient borrowings. If reflexes of the C_2- also occur in other branches of Niger-Congo, then the case for the Idomoid form being original is of course strengthened. In presenting this table, I have so far as possible followed the format of Shimizu (1971), pp. 84-89. The consonants are presented in an order suggested by articulatory phonetics, beginning with voiceless bilabial stops and moving towards the velar consonants. Prenasalized stops or NC clusters follow the related stops. The order is governed by the forms of Proto-Idomoid.

The stems of Proto-Idomoid may be regarded as pseudo-reconstructions. For the most part I have simply used a conservative form selected from one of the languages, with an eye on the more far-flung reconstructions of Greenberg, Mukarowsky, Guthrie and de Wolf as well as the discussions of Williamson and Shimizu. This is a pioneer work and is not intended to be a definitive study of the sound correspondences of the Idomoid languages. I shall be satisfied if I have successfully demonstrated the existence of a coherent Idomoid group of languages and have provided a useful framework for further work. I present 77 correspondences and a corpus of 127 lexical items. This gives an average of 1.64 items per correspondence. If we group similar consonants regardless of the vowels that follow them and, for example, regard ba, bi and bu as all representing "b", then we have 30 consonants and an average of 4.33 comparisons per consonant. In this situation, I can only echo Shimizu's words and say that,"...none of the (77) correspondences can justly be called a "regular" sound correspondence. However when they are taken as a set, it will be observed that many of these sound correspondences are related to each other and that as a whole they will constitute fairly convincing evidence of the regularity of sound correspondences in (Idomoid)". (p. 84).

I have shown the vowel correspondences above (pp 97-100), but they can also be read from this table. I have discussed vowel harmony in various places in the study, and a great deal can be read from the tables of lexical items. The ten-vowel system of Igede is taken as representative of Proto-Idomoid, and indeed of great sections of Proto-Niger-Congo.

As Jakobson (1973, p. 61 put it, "...the inseparability of objective content and the observing subject ... are realized nowadays both by physicists and linguists. Nevertheless in linguistics all necessary inferences from this compelling premise have not yet been drawn; and, for instance, when mixing the speaker-hearer's standpoints, investigators get into difficulties." The speaker's main concern lies within the realm of articulatory phonetics. The hearer's standpoint is that of acoustic phonetics. The study of

sound correspondences in these complex systems must surely take account of the considerable difference between these processes as well as the differences between the phonologies of the languages and dialects from which the sounds have been abstracted for the sake of comparison. It might be better to consider these matters here, but it was a wise academician who said, "The better is the enemy of the good." These problems as well as a consideration of a possible fortis-lenis contrast in Proto-Idomoid - or in archaic Proto-Idomoid - will have to await another season.

CONVENTIONS USED IN THE ABSTRACT

The proto-form shows first the reconstructed consonant, followed by a slant-bar. Then a hyphen replaces the corresponding consonants in the natural languages. Finally there is a vowel, which may affect the form of the preceding consonant and which also facilitates comparison with the lexical items listed in the main part of the article.

In Eloyi and Igede, Northern Eloyi and Oju dialect forms respectively are occasionally shown after // .

The number of lexical items compared is listed in the column at the extreme right. A number such as "2" or "5" does not imply that so many roots are being compared from every language or dialect on the list. It does imply that every item compared occurs in at least one Idoma dialect and in at least one of the four other Idomoid languages.

ABSTRACT OF CORRESPONDENCES

No.	PrId	El.	Ig.	Et.	Ak.	Ky.	Id.	Ag.	Ot.	Agl.	YaOg	Yaĭk	It.
1	p/-a	p	---	f	p	---	p	p	p	p	p	p	1
2	p/-i	p	p	---	wy	---	---	p	p	p	p	p	1
3	p/-u	p	p	f	fll	---	---	p	p	pf	p	p	2
4	pw/-a	pw	wo	---	---	---	---	po	po	pfo	po	po	1
5	b/-a	b	w/b	b/kw	b	---	---	w	w/b	w/b	w/b	w/b	2
6	b/-i	---	b	---	---	---	---	---	b	b	---	---	1
7	b/-u	b/v	b	---	b	---	---	b	b	v/bv	b	b	5
8	bw/-e~ɛ	vy	y	bw	---	---	b	b	b	b	b	b	1
9	bw/-o~ɔ	w	bw	b	w	---	b	b	b	b	b	b	1
10	f/-a	f	---	---	---	---	---	---	p	pf	p	p	1
11	f/-i	y	h	---	---	sh	---	f	f	f	f=hi	s	1
12	f/-u	---	r	---	w	---	---	f	f	f	r	r	1
13	m/-a	m	---	---	---	---	m	m	m	m	m	m	1
14	m/-ɛ	m	m	b	m̀b		m	---	m	m	m	m	1
15	m/-ĭl-		mil-	---	---	---	---	mul-	ml-	mìl-	mr-	mìl-	1
16	m/-i̱	---	m	---	---	---	---	---	m	m	---	m	2

ABSTRACT OF CORRESPONDENCES (Continued)

No.	PrId	El.	Ig.	Et.	Ak.	Ky.	Id.	Ag.	Ot.	Agl.	YaOg	YaĪk	It.
17	m/-o	m	m	---	m	---	---	kp[?]---		---	---	---	L
18	mb/-a	m̲b	m	m̄b	m	---	m	m	m	m	m	m	2
19	mb/-ul-	m̲b	ba l-	---	m̄b	---	---	---	m̲l	m̲l	bal-	bal-	1
20	t/-a	la/to /ta	t/d	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	6
21	d/-a	d	d	---	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	1
22	d/-o	d	---	---	---	---	---	---	d	d	---	---	1
23	d/-u	t/l	d	---	tf	---	t	---	t	t	t	t	2
24	d/-u	d	d/rw	d	r		l	---	d/l	d/l	-r-	d	2
25	s/-ɛ	z//dh	c̣//ṣ	s	jyɛ	s	s	c/hy	h/c	s/ts	h/c	s	2
26	s/-i	s	---	---	---	---	---	s	h	s	h	s	1
27	s/-o~ɔ	s//th	h	---	---	---	---	---	h	l/n̄ts	r	s	2
28	s/-u	s//th	j	---	chi	shi	shi	h	h	s	h~sh	s	1
29	n/-a	n/nd	n	n/nd	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	2
30	n/-e~ɛ	nd	n	n	ny	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	1
31	n/-u̱	n	n	---	r	---	---	n	n	n	n	n	2
32	ny/-a	ny	ny	---	---	---	---	---	ny	ny	ny	ny	1
33	ny/-ɛ	l	n	---	nyi	---	---		ny	ny	ny	ny	1
34	ny/-i	ny/ ŋgy	ny	n	y/ -ny	ny/ r	n/r	ny/ l	ny/ l	ny/y l	ny/Ø	ny/w	6
35	ny/-i̱	ny/ nzu	ny	ŋ̀gyi	ny/ y	y	---	y	y/ ny	y	y	y	2
36	k/-a	k	kl̩l	---	---	---	---	k	k	k	k	k	2
37	k/-i	k	k	---	---	---	---	---	k	---	---	k	1
38	k/-ɔ	ka	ga	---	---	---	---	---	k	k	k	k	1
39	k/-u̱	---	k	---	k	k	k	---	k	k	k	k	1
40	kw/-a	---	kw	---	kp	---	---	---	kp	kw	kw	kw	1
41	kw/-ia	vya	ya	---	kwya	---	ya	ya	ya	ya	wya	wiya	1
42	kw/-u~u̱	kw	cw	---	kp	---	kw	---	kw	kw	k	k	2
43	kp/-a	kp	gb	kp	---	---	---	---	kp	kp	kp	kp	2
44	kp/-ɛ	kp	---	---	---	---	---	---	kp	kp	---	---	1
45	g/-a	---	g	---	g	---	---	---	g	g	g	g	1
46	g/-ɔ	g	ga	---	---	---	---	---	g	g	g	g	1
47	gb/-a	---	---	---	gb̀l̀l	---	---	---	gb̀l̀l	gb̀l̀l	g̲br̲à= g̲b̲l̲à	gbàlà	1
48	gb/-o	---	gb	---	---	---	---	---	gb	gb	---	gb	1
49	gb/-u	gb	---	---	---	---	---	---	gb	gb	---	---	1
50	gw/-a	w	ŋw/w	ghw	gw	gw	gw	g̱w/ ŋ̱gw	gw	gw	gw	gw	3
51	gw/-o	w	w	ghw	gw	gw	gw	gw	gw	gw	gw	gw	1

ABSTRACT OF CORRESPONDENCES (Continued)

No.	PrId	El.	Iq.	Et.	Ak.	Ky.	Id.	Ag.	Ot.	Agl.	YaOq	YaIk	It.
52	gw/-u	g	gw	---	---	---	---	gwɔ	gw	gw	g	gw/gɔ	2
53	ŋ/-i̱,ɔ	---	ŋi̱, ŋɔ	-ùŋ-	-ò́ŋ-	ni	---	---	---	---	ŋr/ ŋl	ŋ	1 [see lexical 91]
54	h/-ẹ	//ndhé	h	---	---	y	y	y	(y)	h	h	s	1
55	h/-i	sh	h	---	---	---	sh	h	h	---	h	s	1
56	h/-ɔ	---	g	---	---	---	---	---	h	h	h	h	1
57	j/-e~ɛ	ji/nze //ndhe/y	ji/ci̱/j //r	s	ch/ j/y	gy/ z	gy	j	j	j/z	j	j	4
58	j/-i	sh	j//r	ky	ch	y	---	ø	y	z	j	j	1
59	ŋ́mgb/-a	---	---	ŋ̄mgb	---	---	ŋ́mgb	gb	ŋ́mŋm	ŋ́mŋm	---	---	1
60	ŋmgb/-ɛ	---	ŋm	---	ŋm	---	---	---	ŋm	ŋm	ŋm	ŋmgb	1
61	ŋmgb/-o	ŋmgb	ŋm/ŋw		ŋm/ gw	---	---	---	ŋm	ŋm	ŋm	ŋmgb	3
62	ŋgw/-u	ŋ//w	kwi	ɛ̀bì 'nose'	ŋ̀gw	---	---	ŋw	ŋw	ŋw	ŋ	ŋw	1
63	ŋw/-ą	---	ŋwą	---	---	---	---	---	ŋwu	ŋwu	ŋwu	ŋwu	1
64	ŋgy/-a	---	ny	ŋgy	---	---	---	ny	ny	ny	ny	ny	1
65	ŋg/-i	ŋgy	hy	---	---	---	---	---	ny	ny	ny	ny	1
66	ŋgy/-u	n	l/ŋ	ŋgyu	---	ŋg	---	ny	ny	ny	ŋ	ŋ	1
67	l/-a~ą	lɔ	la/lọ/lą	la	la/ra	--	l	l	la	la	la/rɔ	la/rɔ	4
68	l/-ɛ	---	la	---	na-	---	---	---	l	l	---	---	1
69	r/-a	---	r	---	ri	---	---	---	l	r	r	r	1
70	r/-i~i̱	r	r	d/gy/ dee	j/ny/ r	r	---	---	l/h	r	r	r	4
71	r/-o~ɔ	d/nu	rwɔ/ŋɔ	d/lɔ̄ɔ̀	rɔ	o	l	l	llɔ/ l	l/r	krɔ/ ŋrɔ̄ɔ	rɔ-	2
72	r/-u~ụ	l/t	r	d	r	h	h	h	h	l	r/rw	r/ruɔ	5
73	w/-a	w	wɔ	---	---	---	---	w	w	w	ùá	w	2
74	w/-i	w/v	y	---	y	---	---	w	w	y	wyi	yi	2
75	w/-u	g	w	---	---	---	---	---	w	w	---	---	1
76	y/-a	wo	họ	---	yɔ	ya	---	y	y	y	y	y	1
77	y/-ɛ	z//dh	---	---	y	---	---	---	y	y	y	---	1
78	y/-i	y	hi̱/rụ	---	jy/j	y	y	y	y	y/r	y	y	2

SOME SOUND SHIFTS

Eloyi and Idoma /t/ = Igede /d/

tó	tá	dà	"swim"
tó	tá	dā	"throw, shoot"
kwótó/é-	ɔ̀tā	ūdą/ē-	"bow"
útú/í-	ɔ̀tú	ōdū/-	"night"

Eloyi /o/ = Proto-Idomoid /a/ or possibly /ə/

wɔ́	gwá	"drink"
wómɔ̀	gwā	"bathe"

SOME SOUND SHIFTS (CONTINUED)

Eloyi /o/ = Proto-Idomoid /a/ or possibly /ə/

èkō/ékó	èkā "monkey"					
kwókpó/é-	ɔ̀kpá "skin, hide"					
mbō	mà "mould"					
-pō	èpà "two"					
tó	tá "swim; shoot" (see No. 117)					
kwótó/á-	ɔ̀tā "bow"					
wó	yá "make, do"					

Eloyi su = Idoma si

ósú	òsì "back"					
lúsú/ísú	ìsī "yam"					
		Ak.	YaIk	Agl	Ot	
Etulo /d/ = Proto-Idomoid /r/			àrɔ̄	àlɔ̄	àhɔ̄	"ear"
àdɔ̄ɔ	wɔ̀rɔ̄/à- "ear"		yèrɔ̄	èlɔ̄	èhɔ̄	"farm"
àdēe	àrī "oil-palm"		èrɔ̄	èlɔ̄	èhɔ̄	"message"
èdā	èrūɔ̄ "five"	èèrɔ̄	èrūɔ̄	èlɔ̄	èhɔ̄	"five"
ìdɔ̄	ụ́kụ́rwọ́ "work"		ɔ̀rɔ̄ [Ya Og]	ɔ̀lɔ̄	ɔ̀hɔ̄	"soup"
dí	[Yor. rí, Igala lí "see"]		ìèrà	èìà	èhà	"termite"

Igede (tone) V̄CV̄̄ = Idoma V̀CV̄ (13 cases) [V̄̄ marking for low-mid tone, usually left blank]

Igede /ị/ = Idoma /e/ ~ /ɛ/

cị̄	cɛ̄ (sun)	"shone"
cị = sị (Ito)	sé	"cut"
ọŋ́nyḯ "person"	ɔ̀nyɔ̀ɔ̀nyè	"everyone"; ɔ̄nyè "who?"
ẹ̄nyḯ	ìyē	"name"
àcị̀	èjè	"beans"
mḯ	mè	"finish"

Igede /ụ/ = Idoma /ɔ/ ~ /o/

ẹ̄rụ	yèrɔ̄	"farm"
ị̄rū	èrūɔ̄, èlɔ̄	"five"
ẹ̄nū	ènɔ̀	"sun"
ū̱rụ/ā-	àrɔ̄	"ear"
ẹ̄hū	ényɔ́	"breath"
ŋwù	ŋmó	"kill"

Igede /h/ = Idomoid /y/

ẹ̄hḯ	èyī	"eye" (Idoma)
họ̄	yá	"make" (Idoma)
ùhì	ĩyī (n. Eloyi); yɔ̄ (vb. Akweya)	"fear"

APPENDIX ON THE STATUS OF KWA VS. BENUE-CONGO

Several generations of Africanist linguists have used particular versions of what T.S. Kuhn (1969) calls a research "paradigm" (or "disciplinary matrix") for the broad classification of the Guinea Coast languages and the languages lying to the east and southeast of them all the way across Africa. Greenberg's work in this paradigm is based on the family-tree model: the main group of Guinea Coast languages is called the "Kwa" family of the Niger-Congo stock; and the languages to the east of them are called the "Benue-Congo" family, which includes the Bantu languages as a demographically very large sub-group of the Bantoid sub-group. The older form of this paradigm regarded the Bantu languages as an independent set and called the languages lying between Bantu and Kwa "Semi-Bantu". Neither the newer nor the older form of this paradigm were ever very satisfactory, but then no scientific paradigm completely solves all its problems.

In recent decades a considerable crisis in classification and analysis has developed, and the category "Kwa" has become a very leaky boat. Similarly, Guthrie's comprehensive attempt to classify the Bantu languages has attracted a great deal of criticism. This paper can be read as a strong critique of both the "Kwa" and the "Bantu" categories. We should, however, not be too hasty about discarding Prof. Crabb's (1965) careful definition of Bantu in terms of common innovations, and few Africanist linguists wish to discard the family-tree model itself. It is rather a question of altering it as knowledge of African languages increases.

The most ambitious recent attempt at an overall classification of African languages is that of P.R. Bennett and J.P. Sterk (1977). It fails in persuasiveness because the authors do not cite most of their principal sources, they do not give us the actual forms that they fed into their computer, and they base their overall classification on a very few isoglosses. This kind of argument from a few isoglosses was rejected by the Benue-Kwa Working Group at the Fifteenth West African Languages Congress, at the University of Port Harcourt, 1982. The Group included Prof. Voorhoeve, of the University of Leiden, Prof. Armstrong, of the University of Ibadan, Dr. Gerhardt, of the University of Hamburg, and Dr. Ben Elugbe, of the University of Ibadan.

From the point of view of the Idomoid languages, the use that Bennett and Sterk make of the isoglosses for 'head' is particularly objectionable. On p.249 and on the map on p. 270 they make the contrast yu (Gur) ~ du (Adamawa-Eastern) versus to (Southern) the main criterion for the separation of North Central Niger-Congo (NCNC) from South Central Niger-Congo (SCNC). Unfortunately these isoglosses divide Idoma and Idomoid neatly in half. In Idoma, the northern dialects of Otukpó, Agatú and Idōma Nōkwū have è.yí

while the Eloyi language has ré-shí/é-shí, which are surely reflexes of the *yu root. One should also note Igbo í.sí. On the other hand, the *to root is reflected in Southern Idomoid in Akwéya ē.tfú, Yátyè ē.tyú, Igede -ējū, Aglla è.fú, Yala lè.fú, etc. It is precisely because of this divided etymology that I have not included 'head' in the comparative wordlists.

On p. 253 Bennett and Sterk speak of "a strong border between Western SCNC and Eastern SCNC." But on the evidence of their own statistics, Ewe is lexically closer to Idoma than it is to Asante. My own Swadesh count shows this even more strongly. (Armstrong 1981, p. 17 and work in progress.)

All of this need not disturb us too much. As Sir Francis Bacon said in the *Novum Organum* (II, para. 19), "Truth emerges more readily from error than from confusion." Pending the arrival of a fresh paradigm, I prefer to hold onto the old one: Kwa vs. Benue-Congo. It at least has the deictic virtue of giving us established lists of languages to talk about while we expand and re-arrange our comparisons.

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