

## Reconstructing the Igbo Cluster

**Author:** Chinyere Ohiri - Aniche

(Retired Professor of Language Education, University of Lagos, Nigeria).

### **1.0 General Information on the family**

#### **1.1 Geography, Population, Neighbour**

The Igbo language is spoken homogenously in five south-eastern states of Nigeria, namely: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. Igbo speakers are also found in parts of Rivers and Delta States in the south-south zone of Nigeria. Neighbours of the Igbo include the Igala, Tiv and Idoma to the north; the Anaang, Ibibio, Efik, to the south-east; the Urhobo, Isoko, Edo to the south-west and the Ijaw and Ogoni to the south-south delta areas. Wikipedia (2012) gives 27 million as the number of Igbo speakers.

#### **1.2 (Pre) historic migrations and language contacts**

Many Igbos believe that they are of Hebrew origin, being one of the lost tribes of Israel. Afigbo (2000:12) however says that the Igbo are a negro people, originating in Africa, somewhere south of the latitude of Arselam and Khartoum. They later spread along the Niger-Benue confluence area with other groups.

#### **1.3 History of scholarship**

Following her discovery that speech varieties hitherto referred to as Igbo were more diverse than had formally been realized, Williamson (1973) embarked upon a first reconstruction of these speech varieties into what she termed Proto-Lower Niger. In 1984 Prof. Kay Williamson invited her Ph.D student, Chinyere Ohiri-Aniche to join in the reconstruction of what came to be known as **Comparative Igboid**. Unfortunately, the Comparative Igboid work could not quite be finished and published before the demise of Prof. Kay Williamson in 2005. One of the main reasons is the great diversity in the numerous speech varieties, whereby new data often necessitated a return to the drawing board.

#### **1.4 External classification**

Williamson (1989:261-2) classified Igboid (Lower Niger) as one of the coordinate branches of (New) Benue-Congo while Williamson and Blench (2000:31) classified Igboid under West Benue-Congo.

## 1.5 Internal classification, lexicostatistics and glottochronology

Williamson proposed the first internal classification of what she now termed ‘Lower-Niger’ languages based on lexicostatistics. The 1973 work saw a split of Igbo into the following languages. Èkpèyè, Ikwere, Ogbà, Igbo, Ùkwùàní, Ìkà and Izii. Lower-Niger was criticized by some scholars such as Onwuejeogwu (1977) as historically and phonologically superficial. Manfredi (1982:175-195) suggested the term ‘Igboid’ for ‘those speech forms proximate to an Igbo centre’. Manfredi (1989) used phonological innovations to arrive at sub-grouping of Igboid. The term ‘Igboid’, in turn, has been criticised in many quarters, such as Emenanjo (2001:37) who sees it as continued attempt to bulkanize the Igbo language. Egbokhare et al. (2000:40) described the Igbo speech forms as belonging to an Igbo cluster. Ohiri-Aniche (2011:439) used the modified Swadesh (1955) 100 word list to compare Onicha and Owere, two undisputedly Igbo dialects with Èkpèyè, Ikwere, Ùkwùàní and Izii, which are speech forms in controversy. Cognation scores recorded were Onicha/Èkpèyè 76.34 percent; Onicha/Ikwere 81.63 percent; Onicha/Owere 97 percent; Onicha/Izii 94 percent and Onicha/Ùkwùàní 91.91 percent. She then observed that these results were clearly within the 70% to 80% range of cognacy suggested both in Hansford et al. (1976:115-124) for recognition of language and dialect clusters respectively. This informed the title of this work as ‘Reconstructing the Igbo Cluster’

No internal glottochronology analysis has been carried out on the Igbo speech varieties. Armstrong (1967:12), however, used glottochronological findings to suggest that the Igbo language has separated from its sister languages such as Yoruba and Èdò for between 4000-6000 years.

## 2.0 Proto-language phonology reconstruction

Discussion of the phonology of the Igbo cluster will be based mainly on the following lects, each of which has distinct phonological properties: Èkpèyè, Ògbàkírì (Ìkwéré), Òwèrè, Onichà, Ùkwùàní, and Ìzhíí. Other lects will be brought into the discussion as necessary.

### 2.1 Phonetic inventory

Synchronically, up to seventy-five consonants and twenty-four vowels are heard across the Igbo cluster lects. The consonants include plosives, implosives, affricates, fricatives, nasals, laterals and approximants. In some lects such as Owere and Onuhnu, some of the consonants occur aspirated or breathy-voiced having developed from nasal syllables. A strong influence on Igbo consonants is double vowels; the environment – IV often results in palatalization and spirantisation, while – UV results in labialisation. The distinction between lenis and non-lenis consonants reported in Elugbe (1989) for some Edoid languages is not attested in any lect of the Igbo cluster. After careful comparisons of reflexes of the array of sounds across Igbo cluster lects, twenty-two proto consonant phonemes and ten vowel phonemes are reconstructed for the cluster.

#### 2.1.1 Proto consonants of the Igbo cluster

## Table 1

Six classes of consonants at five places of articulation have been reconstructed. The consonants and their reflexes are discussed below (correspondence sets (CS) 1-22); the lexical items exemplifying the reconstructions are indicated in parenthesis and fully laid out in the Appendix.

### 2.1.1.1 Plosives \*p \*b \*t \*d \*c \*q \*k \*g \*kp \*gb

CS 1 \*p > p, f (horn)

CS 2 \*b > b, v, ɸ̃ (two, blood)

CS 3 \*t > tʃ, ts, tf, s, (head, five)

CS 4 \*d > d, dz, dʒ, z, dv, v (tail, tooth, steal)

CS 5 \*c > c, t<sup>y</sup>, t<sup>y</sup>, tʃ, s (white, look for/desire)

CS 6 \*q > q, qy, dq, z, y (walk/go, sand, full)

CS 7 \*k > k, tʃ, k<sup>w</sup>, h<sup>w</sup>, kf, pf, (gather, hand, leg)

CS 8 \*g > g, dʒ, g<sup>w</sup> > gv, bv, v, y (housefly, tall, thorn)

CS 9 \*kp > kp, p<, k<sup>wh</sup>, p<sup>h</sup>, K<sup>B</sup>, kf, p (bone, close/cover, seed)

CS 10 \*gb > gb, ɸ̃, g<sup>wh</sup>, b<sup>h</sup>, G<sup>B</sup>, gv (jaw, kill)

### 2.1.1.2 Implosives \*ɸ̃, \*t< \*d

CS 11 \*ɸ̃ > ɸ̃, b, v, w, ɲ̃ (lay egg, be angry, they)

CS 12 \*t< > t<, t, tʃ, ts, t<sup>h</sup> (three, ear, ashes)

CS 13 \*d > d, r, l, n (eat, tongue, bite)

### 2.1.1.3 Sonorants: \*m, \*ɲm, \*n, \*l̃

CS 14 \*m > m (I/me, water)

CS 15 \*ɲm > ɲm > m (know, give birth)

CS 16 \*n > n > ɲ y > l (give, four, bird)

CS 17 \*l̃ > l > n > ɲ, y, (bury, ground/earth)

#### 2.1.1.4 Fricatives: \*f, \*s, \*x

CS 18 \* f > f, φ, β, v, h, hy, hw, y, w, kw (twist, fly, belly)

CS 19 \* s > s, rh, r, l, f, ʒ, z, φ, h<sup>w</sup>, h, k<sup>w</sup> (theft, face, year, roast)

CS 20 \* x > g, X, w, y, η, η, w (yawn, grey hair, goat, drink, bathe, sun)

#### 2.1.1.5 Approximant \*y, \*w

CS 21 \* y > y > j (cold, he/she, we/us)

CS 22 \* w > w > ŋ<sup>w</sup> (break/split, jump)

### 2.1.2 Proto vowels of the Igbo cluster

#### Table 2

All lects of the Igbo cluster have the following eight vowel phonemes /i, i□□, e, a, o, □, □, u/ which fall into two harmony sets of the type +□ ATR. Each of these vowels can appear both in prefix position and in noun and verb roots i.e. V-, and -CV. Some lects such as Izii, Èkpèyè, Nenwe and Qhaqzara have a ninth vowel /□/, which is used mainly in prefix position, corresponding to /a/ in other lects. However, in a few lects, /□/ also brings about distinction in roots. Examples in Qhaqzara are yé ‘fry’ and yé ‘he/she’, mée□ ‘blood’, méé ‘wine and máá ‘spirit’. In some northern lects such as Nsuka and Udi, some unrounded central vowels [ ] and [ ] as well as a sound similar to the central vowel or schwa [ ə ] in English are also heard. This schwa sound, a tenth vowel, is accepted as a phoneme in Udi and Nsuka since it distinguishes minimal pairs. Examples in Nsuka are nǎ ‘give’ and n□ ‘hear! Nasality, which is a feature of the syllable is also distinctive in some Igbo lects. In such lects, nasality usually spreads from the vowel to the consonant of the syllable. Examples in Owerre are s□ ‘pound’ and s□ ‘clear bush!

The existence of contrasting oral and nasalised roots with the nasality located on the vowel in some lects leads to the postulation that the proto-language had oral and nasalised vowels. Altogether, therefore, ten oral and ten nasalised vowels have been reconstructed for the Igbo cluster.

### References

Afigbo, A.E. 2000. *Igbo genesis*. Uturu, Nigeria. Abia State University Press. (pp. 12-15).

Armstrong, R.G. 1967. *The study of West African languages*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press (p. 12).

Egbokhare, F. et al. 2001. *Language clusters of Nigeria*. Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS).

Elugbe, B.O. 1989. *Comparative Edoid: phonology and lexicon*. Delta Services, 6. Port Harcourt. University of Port Harcourt Press.

Emenanjo, E.N. 2001. Igbo or Igboid: *Asusu N'Agburu Ndi Igbo. Language in Igbo civilization*. Owerri: Ahiajoku Lecture p. 37.

Hansford, K., Bendor-Samuel J. And Standford, R. 1976. A provisional language map of Nigeria Savanna 5, no. 2 pp. 115-124.

Manfredi, V. 1982. Centre and periphery in Ika Literacy. *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria*, Volume 1. pp. 175-195.

Manfredi, V. 1989. Igboid in Bendor-Samuel, J. (ed.). *The Niger-Congo languages*. Lanham, Md: The University Press of America.

Ohiri-Aniche, C. 2011. A lexicostatistical study of Igbo. In: Nwauwa, A. and Korieh, C. (eds.). *Against all odds: The Igbo experience in postcolonial Nigeria*. New Jersey: Goldline and Jacobs Publishing. pp. 435-448.

Onwuejeogwu, M.A. 1977. Some fundamental problems in the application of lexicostatistics in the study of African languages. *Oduma* 3, no. 2. pp. 29-36.

Swadesh, M. 1955. Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatistics dating. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 21. pp. 121-137.

Wikipedia, 2012. Igbo people: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igbo\\_people#Demographics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igbo_people#Demographics).

Williamson, K. 1973. The Lower Niger languages. *Ọduma* 1, no. 1.

Williamson, K. 1989. Niger-Congo overview. In Bendor-Samuel, J. (ed.). *The Niger-Congo languages*. p. 18.

Williamson, K. And Blench, R. 2000. Niger-Congo. In Heine, B. And Nurse, D. (eds.). *African languages: an introduction*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 11-42.

**Table 1:**

**Phonemic Consonant Chart of the Igbo Cluster**

**Bilabial Alveolar Palatal Velar Labial-Velar**

**STOP**

PLOSIVE p b t d c □ k g kp gb

IMPLOSIVE □ ṭ ḍ

NASAL m n ŋm

FRICATIVE f s X

LATERAL ɲ

APPROXIMANT y w

Table 2:

Phonemic Vowel Chart of the Igbo Cluster

Front Back

Expanded

High i ī ī̄ ī̄̄ ī̄̄̄ ɨ u ũ

Mid e ē ẽ ẽ̄ ẽ̄̄ ɛ̄ ɔ̄ ō

Low a ǎ

APPENDIX

	Horn	Two	Blood	Head
Proto Igbo	*ɹp̄	*īīīīīb̄á	*b̄ãã	*íí
Èkpeye	ùpè	īīb̄	b̄bàlà/(étéké)	íī
Ọgbakiri	m̄fù	èb̄	b̄bãã	risī
Owere	m̄pi	àb̄!í	b̄ <sup>h</sup> arã	íí
Ọnicha	m̄pi	Īb̄á	(m̄meē)/b̄bàlà	ísí
Ụkwuani	m̄pi	èb̄	(édékéè)	íí

Izhii	m̀p̀ù	èb̀́	(m̀éé)	íí
Other Igbo Lects	Ndele m̀f̀ù/m̀f̀ũ Ogba mp̀è/m̀f̀è	Ndele èv̀́	Ndele íf̀àrà Ọhafia m̀gbé!í	Ogidi itsi Ọba íí/ísí
Outside Cognates	B – pémbé B – poka	PLC * íbà PE * i-və PB bàdi PWS –gì, - bà	Urh. ɔ -bala Egene a-bírá Ife Togo àm-bara Anaang ííìb/òbàrà	B* - t̀úì ‘head’ PE -* U-chiàmhi, A- P.Ij. t̀íííííííí PWS – g̀ì-, - g̀ui- -li-, lu, - tí Ikakumo ìt̀íí

	Five	Tail	Tooth	Steal
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ííííí	*ídí	*ídúé	*dũí
Èkpèyè	íísé\íise	(èwòlò\ìwùlù)	í!zé	zú
Ọgbakiri	isẽ	ídí	i!zé	vũ
Owere	isẽ	íd <sup>h</sup> í(d <sup>h</sup> í)	é!zé	zũ
Ọnicha	ísé	ídí	é!zé	zú
Ụkwuani	ísé	ídídí/índídí	ézèè	zú
Izhii	ísé	ídí	ézé	ziííí
Other Igbo Lects	Ogidi ìtsé Okwele ìt̀é	Ọhaọzara ídí/ídí Akụ ídví	Ogidi é!dzé Obolo Afo ízé	Ogidi – dzú (+ órhí) Ndele – sũ (+ v̀sũ)



Outside Cognates	PE * ii- 'chiNənhi  PLC * ìtíòñ  PP twon  PJ ton (i-)  PB – táánò,- táánù  - cááño,-cáánu  Akunnu i□oũ  P.Ij. s□η□rĩ	PE * U-thiəmhi, A-  Ayere un – du  PP dum  Plj. ò-tùma  Ikakumo òrùm/ì-	PLC * é-d□t/a-  Efai □djè  Obolo (LC) éd□éd	PYIG * jí  PE * do  Arigidi – de  Epie – dō  PWS – g□I,gia,g□iu 'stetlen'  PLC * □ìp  B * - jíb – 'steal'
------------------	--	--	--	---

	White	Look for/Desire	Walk/Go	Sand
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*□i□□cã	*c□	*□ě	*□i□□□ã
Èkpeye	□sa□	(wuddigá)	zé ízè	□!zá
Ọgbakiri	ri□□t□ã	t□□	zě	ri□□!zá
Owere	□t□ã	t□□	d□ě	á!d□ã
Ọnicha	□t□á	t□□	d□é	á!d□á
Ụkwuani	□t□á	t□□	d□é	éd□áà
Nenwe	□cá/□t <sup>sy</sup> á	c□/t <sup>sy</sup> □	□é	é□á
Izhii	□t□á/□t <sup>y</sup> á	t <sup>y</sup> □	d□é	éd□á
Other Igbo Lects	Ọhaọzara - □cá Isnu - □□á Ndele – r□sã□	Obolo t□ó	Agbanị - □é Èbirība – gě Igbo Etiti – vě	Ọhaọzara - é□á Ndele – r□sã□ Isnu – á!□á
Outside Cognates		B * - cāk- 'desire, search for'	PE – khi□□Na Arigidi – dʒ □ PWS – kia	B * - càngà Emh (NWE) Ɛ - □□à□□anì

			PS – gĩaṣ B * gènd-, jend PLC - saṣa	Arigidi ǀèǀè/ítǀa Ikakumo - ǀtǀǀǀ Obolo (LC) átǀjǀṣ/ntítaak
--	--	--	--	---

	Full	Gather, Carry in hand	Hand	Leg
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ǀũ	*kiǀǀ	*éká	*ǀkǀǀǀ
Èkpeye	yúlú	(mǀdǀí)	éká	(úkó)
Ọgbakiri	dǀǀ	tǀǀǀ	áka	ǀtǀǀǀ
Owere	dǀú	tǀǀǀ	áká	ǀk <sup>w</sup> ǀ
Ọnicha	dǀú	tǀǀǀ	áká	ǀk <sup>w</sup> ǀ
Ịka	dǀú	tǀǀǀ/kiǀǀ	éká	ǀk <sup>w</sup> ǀ
Nenwe	ǀú	tǀǀǀ	éká	(ǀkpà)
Izhii	dǀí	tǀǀǀtá	éká	ǀpfǀ
Other Igbo Lects	Ọhaọzara – ǀú Igbo Etiti – dzu			Ọkọcha mǀpfǀtǀ/ǀkpà
Outside Cognates	PLC * ǀǀk Ahan – à-ṣkǀ Ayere – ṣṣ CB – yúj- = become full	B * -kí- Gather (fruit)	Ehuṣun a-ka – arm P.Ijoid *káa Syb ì-ka = Finger B * - kàcà ‘hand’ Ahan ñgùká	PYIG * -kũ ‘knee’ Ehuṣun uǀ-koǀ Ikakumo úkǀi/à- Bamoun kút PLC * ú-kód/a-

	Housefly	Long/Tall	Thorn	Bone
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ógĩ	*ógó	*ógũũ	*ǎkpǎ
Èkpeye	ódǎí!dǎí	(ǎkaǎ)	ú!g <sup>w</sup> ú	ú!kpó
Ogbakiri	rǎ!vǎ	ógólógó	í!gũ	ǎkpǎkpǎ
Owere	iǎdǎí/íǎí	ógólógó/(ák <sup>h</sup> á)	ó!g <sup>wh</sup> ũ	ǎp <sup>&lt;</sup> ǎp <sup>&lt;</sup> ǎ
Onicha	ídǎí!dǎí	ógónógó	ó!gwú	ǎp <sup>&lt;</sup> ǎp <sup>&lt;</sup> ǎ
Ukwuanị	égiǎî	ógónógó	ógúù	ǎkpǎkpǎ
Izhii	ídǎí!dǎí	ógólógó	óbvú	ǎkpǎ
Other Igbo Lects	Ndele rǎ!zǎ	Nsuka ǎgǎí!dǎ	Agbanị ó!vú Ebiriba ó!gvũ	Ọhaozara ǎǎkpǎ
Outside Cognates	PE *A- khiǎǎNa, iǎǎ-  PLC * usòŋ/n-  PYIG * V-cĩcĩ  Arìgìdì itʃtʃ i  PP tiuŋ  PJ – kyin (ki-/i- )  PB – gì, gìŋgì	Urh o-grogro  Ondo go  Èdo ógòlógó  = a very tall man  Deg. Ogodò/  Ogodogodo  = tall, long	PLC úkúkúm/ŋ-  B * -gùŋgà	PE * Kua  PJ kup (ku-/a-)  PB – kúpà  PWS – kú, -kúp, -kúá  PLC * ǎ-kpǎ  Arigidi é!kpĩ

	Close/Cover	Seed	Jaw	Kill
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*kpũ	*ǎkpǎǎǎ	*àgbã	*gbú
Èkpeye	kpùté	ǎkpǎ!lǎ	àgbà	gbú
Ogbakiri	kpùsnĩǎ	mǎkpǎ!rǎ	àbã	gbú

Owere	p <sup>&lt;</sup> ùt□hĩ/k <sup>wh</sup> ũ□ĩ	m̀p <sup>&lt;</sup> □!r□	àb <sup>h</sup> ã/àg <sup>wh</sup> ã	□ú
Ọnicha	p <sup>&lt;</sup> ù	m̀kp□!l□	à□à	□ú
Ụkwụanị	kpùt□í	m̀kp□l□□̀	àgbà	gbú
Izhii	kpùt□í	ákp□!r□	àgbà	gbú
Other Igbo Lects	Ọkọcha pùt□í Èbịrịba kfùt□ĩ	Ọhaọzara m̀!K <sup>B</sup> □	Echie àg <sup>wh</sup> ã	Ọhaọzara – G <sup>B</sup> ú
Outside Cognates	B * -kúnik- 'cover'	Èdo ì-kp□ Ègēṅē □kp□r□□ Auchi ụkpa'mi B-pek-e	PYIG * à-gbã PE * A-gbhamhi□□ P.Ij. àgbã Ahan àmgbà PLC m̀-bánj B * -bánjá	PE * gbeGi PWS – gue 'to□ten' PS – kú 'sterben' PLC * gwòd B* - búd – 'kill'

	Lay Egg	Be Angry	They	Three
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*□í	*□é	*□ǎ	*□i□□í□□t <sup>&lt;</sup> i□□□
Èkpèyè	□í	□éni (+égbà)	□é!é	□i□□t□
Ọgbakiri	bí	wé+í!wé	bé	èt□
Owere	yí (+àk <sup>wh</sup> ã)	wé+íwé	ṅṅ <sup>w</sup> õ/(hã)	àt <sup>&lt;</sup> □
Ọnicha	yí	wé+íwé	(fá)	i□□t□
Ụkwụanị	yí	wé+íwé	wá/wé	èt□
Izhii		íwé = wickedness	(èpfhẹ) (é□é)	èt□
Other Igbo Lects			Èhugbo wo Ọhaọzara (hé)	Ọkwelle àtíó Obolo àtíó

Outside Cognates	Syb yé/yi Isoko yē Deg ɓie ‘give birth’ PB – bǐád- ‘give birth’		Deg áǎ Syb à – wǎ Iṣẹkiri à – ñǎ PB – bó PWS – ba-	PYIG * è-ta PJ tat (i-) Ikakumọ taarh PLC itá TIV tál PUC ttan PE * iǎǎǎǎǎ- chaGiǎǎ PB – tátù Plj – tá(á)rṬ
------------------	---	--	--	--

	Ear	Ashes	Eat	Tongue
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ɛ̃tiǎǎ	*ǎiǎǎt̃ <sup>ǎ</sup>	*ǎí	ǎíǎé
Ẹkpẹyẹ	éteǎ	(éwé/tǎiǎǎ)	ǎi (+ ǎídí)	íǎoǎ
Ọgbakiri	ńsiǎǎ	rétǎ	rí (+ wírí)	lúloǎ
Owere	ńt <sup>h</sup> iǎǎ	ńt <sup>h</sup> ǎ	rí (+ńrí)	íré
Ọnicha	ńtiǎǎ	ńtǎ	lí	ílé
Ụkwụanị	ńtiǎǎǎǎ	ńtǎ	lí	ílé
Izhii	ńtǎiǎǎ	ńtǎ	rí	íré
Other Igbo Lects	Achị ńtsiǎǎ Ndele ńǎiǎǎ	Isiala Mbanọ ńt <sup>h</sup> ǎ Agbanị - ńt̃ɛ̃ /n- t̃t̃/ñ ɛ̃ ɛ̃	Agbanị ghí/rí Igwuruta ńdí = food Ọsụmenyi ńdí = food	Ndele ríroǎ Ọbio ńrúró
Outside Cognates	PYIG * e-t̃ǎ Ahan endi PLC * u-	Ahan – endūdū Oyin - ǎn-dó PUC – tǎǎ (kò)	PLC * líá PE * ‘dhiǎǎ PYIG * Jε	PE. * U- dhamhiǎǎ, A- Akunnu indaǎ

	t <sup>h</sup> ŋ/a- PE * ghU- ch <sup>h</sup> Gi <sup>h</sup> , A- PBC – túŋi (ku-/a-)	PLC * ń-tŋ PJ – tón (u-li) PB – tó, túé B * -túé	Cama: lí/di/ PJ dyi i PB di Arìgidi dʒe	PJ dema (ri-/a-) PBC – lem (li- /a-) PB – dí-mè, - dí-mì PLC * é – lé-mè, a-
--	---	---	--	--

	Bite	I/Me	Water	Know
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*t <sup>h</sup> á+é <sup>h</sup>	*m <sup>h</sup>	*mí <sup>h</sup> í	*ŋm <sup>h</sup>
Èkpeye	ta <sup>h</sup> +én <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup> /m <sup>h</sup>	mí!ní	mád <sup>h</sup> i <sup>h</sup>
Ọgbakiri	ta <sup>h</sup> +rén <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup>	mí!ní	már <sup>h</sup>
Owere	t <sup>h</sup> à+ár <sup>h</sup>	mi <sup>h</sup> /m <sup>h</sup> /m <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup> mí!r <sup>h</sup>	má
Ọnicha	tá+ál <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup> mí!lí	má
Ụkwuani	tá+él <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup> /m <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup> míli	má
Izhii	tá+ér <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup>	mí!ní	má
Other Igbo Lects	Ndele tã <sup>h</sup> + rén <sup>h</sup>		Agbani - m <sup>h</sup> !r <sup>h</sup> /m <sup>h</sup> !Xli <sup>h</sup>	Amaigbo ŋmá
Outside Cognates	PLC * lóm B * - dúm- 'bite' Auchi – ta Syb – ta Isoko <sup>h</sup> Igala l <sup>h</sup> Arìgidi – r <sup>h</sup> /tá	PE * m <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> PYIG * ò-m <sup>h</sup> , i <sup>h</sup> Arigidi ame PLC * àmì PP mí PB mí PWS mì 'ich'	PE * A-mi <sup>h</sup> N, i <sup>h</sup> - PYIG * o-m <sup>h</sup> PJ – mbyed Plj. * <sup>h</sup> ēdī PLC * - m <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> Ahan – o-mi	PYIG * m <sup>h</sup> Ahan mà PB - màn- - mànì-

	<b>Give Birth</b>	<b>Give</b>	<b>Four</b>	<b>Bird</b>
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ηmã	*nĩã	*i□□i□□ĩ□	*énã
Èkpeye	m□ (□!ηw□)	ne□/□è	□i□□n□	□n□
Ọgbakiri	m□	□e□	èn□	□n□n□
Owere	m□	□é	àn□/nn□	ín□n□
Ọnicha	m□	□é	i□□n□	ín□n□
Ụkwuani	m□	yé	èn□	ín□n□
Nenwe	m□	□é	èl□	ín□n□
Izhii	η <sup>w</sup> □	yétá éká/(hé)	èn□	èn□
Other Igbo Lects	Ọkọcha – η <sup>w</sup> □ Amaigbo – ηm□	Ọgbah – ni□□□ Nsuka - nó	Egbema i□□l□	Egbema ín□n□  Ọhaọzara □n□n□
Outside Cognates	PLC * màn – Tiv – màl C. Kambari mà (tsã) = bear child, fruit PE * mɔ ‘bear fruit	PLC * n□/ □ì PE * na Èdo – ne Syb – nĩ Arìgìdì - gbà□□ Erusu - □ã PB – nínk-	PE * niə PYIG * ɛ- rĩ/ɛ’li□□/□ PJ ndin (i-,a-) Plj ì-nóhí PLC * ìniàṅ PB – ne,-mè Gt -nì Gt PWS – na,-nan- ni	PLC * i-nùṅén B * -n□ni□□ ‘bird’ Gt Uda (LC) únùṅù/n-

	<b>Bury</b>	<b>Ground/Earth</b>	<b>Twist</b>	<b>Fly</b>
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ĩi	*ɛli□□ã	*fi□□	*fé

Èkpeye	li	èlɛ	(pi má)	wé
Ọgbakiri	li	èli	hyi	hwé
Owere	li	àlà	hyi	fé
Onicha	nì	àni	fi	fé
Ukwuanj	i	àni	fi	fé
Nenwe	i	àli	vy	vé
Izhii	li	àli	swi	ié
Other Igbo Lects		Egbema – àli Nrobo – ài	Ọhaọzara yi	Ọka βé Agbani wé/é/fé
Outside Cognates	PLC * ù-li = grave  PYIG * d'ì = bury an object  Arigidi – lyu/lu  PJ – ndip  PS – ñli  Plj - ðiɓi	PYIG * V-lẽ  PWS – là  'erde, unten'  Ahan - alè	Èdo xĩ  Auchi 'ki  B pi at make rope by twisting	Ègeṅe - fi àni  PYIS * fò 'fly, jump'  PS pi 'fliegen'

	Belly	Theft	Face	Year
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*i f	*úsi	* ísui	*ásuã
Èkpeye	w	(gb)	(ùpi)	àlà
Ọgbakiri	r h <sup>w</sup>	ósi	rúh <sup>w</sup> /rúhú	áh <sup>w</sup> à
Owere	áf	ó!i/ó!hyi	ihwũ/ihũ	áfò



Onicha	áf/áv	ó!rí	írú	árò
Ukwuani	éf	óíí	ísú	ásà
Nenwe	év	ó!í	ihũ	áh
Izhii	é		íú	áà
Other Igbo Lects	Nsuka éh Okocha ék <sup>w</sup> Oká áβ	Ogidi ó!rhí Ndele vú!sũ	Okocha íkwú Ogidi írhú Nrobo ífú	Okocha àák <sup>w</sup> à
Outside Cognates	PE * dhi- phaNi, A-  PYIG * ì-fũ  Intestine, 'guts'  PCJ pu (ri-/a-)  *B – pũ 'stomach'  PS pu <sup>w</sup> 'Bauch'	B * -cŭmá = thief	PLC * í-só éŋ èm  B * -cìó  -cìú	

	Roast	Yawn	Grey Hair	Goat
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*s	* Xé	* X	*éXó
Ekpeye	n/(i)	wa wa	!w	(ágèléi)
Ogbakiri	h <sup>w</sup> /(r)	Xa + X àrà	r <sup>w</sup>	ówu
Owere	h <sup>w</sup> /h	Xé/yé	áw	éwú/éXú
Onicha	r	X é úX élé	áw	éwú
Ukwuani	s <sup>w</sup> mé	X é úX élé	éw	éwú
Udi	h/	Xé	éw	éXú/éXó

Izhii	hǎbé	Ɔé	éwǎ	éƆú
Other Igbo Lects	Nsúka há Ogidi rhǎ Nrobo fǎyiǎǎ	Èhụgbo gé ùgéré Ọhaozara yé úyé!ré	Èhụgbo éǎǎ Ọgba éƆǎ	Èhụgbo éwú
Outside Cognates	PYIG * sǎ PJ tón-à ‘burn’ B * tumb-roast PWS tùà, (tọ) roǎsten	PYIG * ǎa/yǎ Èdo ɲaɲa Epie ye (bele) Ègèṅè wǎra (awo) Ibibio ɲwàṅáde PJ yam P.Ij. awũã	Bantu – búì = white hair P.Ij. iǎũlu	PE *E-bhǎiǎǎ, iǎǎ- PLC*é-bód/i- PYIG*e-‘bó ‘she goat’ PBC – bwon (i-/i- ) PB – búḍì Kana (Ogoni) péé P-Ij. óbóri

	Drink	Bathe	Sun	Cold
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*ǎǎ	* Ɔó	*áƆǎiǎǎ	*óyí
Èkpeye	ɲwǎ/ɲǎ	h <sup>w</sup> ǎyá	èlá!ɲwǎ	ǎka!yiǎǎ
Ọgbakiri	ɲwǎ	hyá	(èhǎ!m)	íyí
Owere	ɲǎ	(sǎ)/ǎǎ	á!ɲwǎ	ó!yí
Ọnicha	(lá)/ɲǎ/ɲwǎ	wǎ	áǎá!ɲwǎ	ó!yí
Ụkwuani	(lá)	wǎ	áɲwǎǎ/(áɲǎǎ)	óyî
Udi	ǎǎ	ǎǎ éhǎ	éyá!wǎ	ó!yí
Izhii	ɲǎ	wǎ	áɲwǎ	óyí
Other Igbo	Nsúka	Ebirība – hǎ/wǎ	Ọgba – á!ǎiǎǎ	

Lects	ηi□□/ηw□□tá	Èhugbo – w□	Agwa – á!η□	
Outside Cognates	PE * yɔNɔ PYIG * ηm□ Uro (Akokoid) ηgɔ PJ ηgwam PLC * ηw□η Ikakumo - w □	PE * khυε PYIG * gwè/g□è Syb – wè PB – kóo ‘wash’ PWS – gua, gual- ‘waschen’	PS – Xui ‘sonne’ Gestirn Ibilo - □□-ñ□ Akunnu – ε□wu□ Arigidi – u□h□	Iyede (Isoko) o-□e□e Urh – ò- □í□ìrò

	He/She	We/Us	Break/Split	Jump
<b>Proto Igbo</b>	*yé	*èyi□□	*wá	*w□
Èkpeye	yá/á	yéé	wáli□□	(má/pé)/w□
Ọgbakiri		àyi□□□	t□wá	(gb□) èhw□r□
Owere	yá	à□i□□	wá	w□/m□
Ọnicha	yá	à□i□□	wá	w□
Ụkwuani	éyá	à□i□□	wá	w□/ηw□□i□□/(kp□nt□)
Izhii	yá	à□i□□	wá	(pf□)
Other Igbo Lects	Ọhaọzara yé	Nrobo àá!ni□□		Ọgba – w□ Nsuka – w□li□□
Outside Cognates	Ibibio à□é Bantu * yé = he/him/she/her	Ibibio n□in PLC * à□it I□ekiri ã-nẽ /εlẽ Degema eni	Bantu –bàa - split	Igala – wì Ibilo – ‘bɔ Auchi – u-□□□ Aviele – ú-w□□ Obolo (LC) wùlu□

		Urh (a□)aņi		
--	--	-------------	--	--