

[Text version of database, created 10/09/2016].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Heiban group (Kordofanian family).

Languages included: Koalib, Rere [hei-rer]; Ebang [hei-eba]; Abul [hei-abu]; Laru [hei-lar]; Utoro [hei-uto]; Shirumba [hei-shi]; Tiro [hei-tir]; Moro [hei-mor]; Ko [hei-koo]; Warnang [hei-war]; Logol [hei-log].

DATA SOURCES

I. General

Schadeberg 1981 = Schadeberg, Thilo. A Survey of Kordofanian. Volume One: The Heiban Group. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. // *A brief survey of the Heiban languages of Kordofan, based on the author's own fieldwork. Includes brief descriptions of the phonetic inventories and nominal grammar (noun class systems, pronouns, etc.) of ten different languages, as well as 200-item wordlists, a lexicostatistical classification, and a first attempt at the lexical reconstruction of Proto-Heiban.*

II. Koalib, Rere

Quint 2006 = Quint, Nicolas. Phonologie de la langue koalibe. Dialecte réré (Soudan). Paris: L'Harmattan. // *Detailed description of all the aspects of the phonology and phonetics of the Rere dialect of Heiban, illustrated by numerous examples.*

III. Ebang

Meinhof 1944 = Meinhof, Carl. Das Heiban in Kordofan. In: Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, 34, pp. 94-130. // *A sketch of Heiban (Ebang) phonology and grammar. Well illustrated with lexical material, but no separate texts or vocabularies included.*

IV. Laru

Kuku 2012 = Kuku, Nabil Abdalla. Laru Vowel Harmony. In: Occasional Papers in the

Study of Sudanese Languages, 10, pp. 17-34. // *A paper on certain aspects of Laru phonology, well illustrated by multiple sets of accurately transcribed lexical examples.*

Kuku 2015 = Kuku, Nabil Abdalla. Laru Locatives. In: Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages, 11, pp. 1-16. // *A paper on Laru grammar, illustrated by multiple lexical examples.*

V. Utoro; Tiro

Stevenson 2009 = Stevenson, Roland C. Tira and Otoro: Two Kordofanian Grammars. Ed. by Thilo C. Schadeberg. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. // *Grammars of two Heiban languages, compiled by R. C. Stevenson based on his own fieldwork in the Nuba Mountains, in 1942 and 1943 respectively. Both grammars include extensive illustrative material, examples of texts, and short glossaries with paradigmatic information on lexemes.*

VI. Shirumba

Guest et al. 1998 = Guest, Elizabeth (ed.; w. Mukhtar Wakil Ali, Ahmed Abbas Natilly et al.). Cwaya Phonology. Ms., rev. 28/3/98. // *A brief sketch of the phonetics of Shirumba (Cwaya, Shwai), with numerous illustrating lexical examples.*

VII. Moro

Black 1971 = Black, Keith; Black, Elizabeth. The Moro Language: Grammar and Dictionary. Khartoum: Sudan Research Unit, University of Khartoum. // *Large grammar of the Moro language with an extensive accompanying vocabulary.*

NOTES

1. *General.*

I. Koalib, Rere

As in the case of almost all Kordofanian languages, [Schadeberg 1981] is used as the

main source. Comparison with [Quint 2006], a monograph that deals specifically with this variety of Heiban Kordofanian, shows that Schadeberg's semantic glossing is mostly accurate (apart from just a few potential mistakes, e. g. the glossing of 'river' as 'sand'), but the phonetic transcriptions of the two authors vary quite significantly, mostly in regard to vocalism and tonal notation.

Since Quint's study on the whole is (by definition) more thorough than Schadeberg's, more trust should probably be put into Quint's transcription; however, we still choose [Schadeberg 1981] as our primary source, both for the sake of consistency with the following Kordofanian languages and also because [Quint 2006] does not include any wordlists, and its data are insufficient to adequately complete the Swadesh 100-item list.

Items in the primary slot are carried over directly from Schadeberg's records, meaning that nouns are usually given in the singular number (the plural, usually displaying a different class prefix, is adduced in the notes where available), and verbs tend to be given in the imperative form, which often comes close to showing the "pure" stem (but not always). Adjectives are given as stems; prefixes with which they may be joined are indicated in the notes section.

II. Ebang; Abul

Ebang (= Heiban) and Abul are two close varieties of the same language, spoken around the town of Heiban and the adjacent village of Abul. The main source of data for Ebang is [Schadeberg 1981], but where possible, the data have been cross-checked against C. Meinhof's earlier description in [Meinhof 1944]; aside from a few minor phonetic discrepancies, equivalents for most Swadesh meanings are the same between the two sources.

For the Abul variety, Schadeberg's fieldnotes remain the only source of knowledge. They were collected from two 18-year old informants, of which Mr. Ashaya seems to have been the most reliable one and Mr. Fadlalla Usmaan Kunda the less reliable one ("...found it difficult to provide me with the Abul equivalents of the Arabic words I was giving him, he often hesitated or said he could not remember"). Because of this, and also because Ashaya's data are far more complete, we list Ashaya's equivalents in the

primary slot and Fadlalla's data in the notes section (referred to as "Fadlalla's idiolect"). Most of the time, Fadlalla's data differs from Ashaya's only in terms of morphology (e.g., different noun classes); occasional lexical discrepancies may be due to errors committed by the informant and should not be trusted.

III. Laru

Schadeberg's data on Laru is limited to the 100-item wordlist, collected at Heiban from a 17-year old native speaker coming from a village in the Laro Hills. No earlier sources on the language are available; as for later publications, the only known author is Nabil Abdalla Kuku, whose two papers on aspects of Laru phonology and grammar [Kuku 2012, 2015] were consulted as control sources, and, in a few cases (i. e. a few items among the 10 additional words), as our primary data source.

IV. Utoro (Otoro)

For this language, Schadeberg relied on two informants from Kacama as well as one informant from Kerindi; data from the latter were found less reliable and were not used as the basis for the grammatical description or the wordlists. All cases where Kerindi data differs from Kacama data have been noted by Schadeberg, and Kerindi variants are included in the comments section.

As a control source, [Stevenson 2009] was used - Schadeberg's edit of a grammar originally compiled in 1943. Stevenson distinguishes between three main dialectal groups of Otoro: Kwara, Kwijur, and Orombe. Apparently, Schadeberg's "Kacama" is closest to Stevenson's "Kwijur", and Schadeberg's "Kerindi" is closest to Stevenson's "Orombe". However, Stevenson himself relies mainly on data from Kwara, so the base forms of Stevenson and Schadeberg often turn out to be significantly different in terms of phonetics or morphological framing (although lexical differences are seemingly minimal in the core basic lexicon at least). On the other hand, in Stevenson's glossary for Otoro, he usually lists variants from all three dialects, and we adduce all of them in the comments.

V. Shirumba

Most of the data on this language still come from [Schadeberg 1981]. Shirumba (Churumba) is the name of the village and the dialectal variety spoken in it; an alternate name is Shwai, or Cwaya, after the local Jebel Shwai ("19 kilometers approximately west of Heiban", acc. to Schadeberg).

Some newer data on Shirumba (Cwaya) is also available in the form of manuscripts on various phonetic and grammatical topics, most of them seemingly prepared by Elizabeth Guest based on her own work with informants. [Guest 1998], in particular, is an overview of the phonetics of that language; we have listed data from that source in the comments section.

VI. Tiro

Spoken in close proximity to the region of the Utoro, but apparently not its closest relative. In [Schadeberg 1981], there is only a 100-item wordlist, collected from a 16-year old informant born in Dengir. The obvious control source is [Stevenson 2009], Schadeberg's edit of a grammar originally compiled in 1942. Unlike Otoro, Tiro has not been described as a dialectally diverse language, although there are enough phonetic differences between Schadeberg's and Stevenson's records to suggest that at least some subdialectal variety does exist.

VII. Moro

The Moro wordlist in [Schadeberg 1981] was recorded from a 29-year old informant living in the small town of Um Dorein, to the west of the Utoro-Tira region. The same source also includes some data from the earlier grammatical and lexical description in [Black 1971], a detailed grammar of the Moro language. Since the dialect of Schadeberg's informant and the dialect described in the Blacks' monograph may be somewhat different, we mark those entries where Schadeberg does not have his own data and relies only on the Blacks as "dubious". Elsewhere, we simply include data from [Black 1971] into the comments section.

VIII. Ko; Warnang

These two idioms are quite distinct from each other, but both are spoken at the extreme south-east corner of the Heiban-speaking region and seem to form a separate subbranch of the group. The only existing records for both languages are the grammatical and lexical data in [Schadeberg 1981], elicited by the author from young informants.

IX. Logol

Spoken in Dugili, at the foot of Jebel Lukha, approximately midway between the Tiro-speaking and the Ko/Warnang-speaking regions. No data on this language are available except for the wordlists and brief grammatical information published in [Schadeberg 1981].

2. Transliteration.

I. General

The principal source for all Heiban data in the lists is [Schadeberg 1981]. Since his transcription is largely based on the IPA, we have preserved it almost intact, with cosmetic differences concerning IPA > UTS transliteration (*f* > *š*, *c* > *č*, etc.). Doubled vowels in Schadeberg's transcription, marking length, have been converted to single vowels plus the length sign (*aa* > *a:*, etc.). Tonal systems in the languages usually involve two registers, and the low register in Schadeberg's transcriptions usually remains unmarked; we consistently mark it with the low tone diacritic (*ጀ*).

II. Koalib, Rere

For [Quint 2006], the following should be noted:

1. In his work, Quint uses both an orthographic (phonological) representation (in bold letters) and a more detailed phonetic transcription (in square brackets) where necessary. In those cases where the two differ, we reproduce Quint's phonetic transcription in cursive and his phonological (orthographic) transcription in curly brackets. E. g., our

t=ínyén {tínyén} 'dog' is Quint's **tínyén** [tínyén] in the original.

2. Long vowels are transcribed as double *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, etc. both by Schadeberg and Quint and are retranscribed as *a:*, *e:*, *i:*, etc. in the database.
3. Schadeberg's *ŋ* (the symbol is apparently used as the traditional +ATR correlate to *a*, employed in Africanistics) more or less consistently corresponds to Quint's mid-central *e*. Out of caution, we leave both ways of transcription as they are, particularly because there may have been subtle idiolectal differences between informants.

III. Utoro; Tiro

The transcriptional conventions in [Stevenson 2009] are treated as follows:

1. The centralized rounded vowel marked as *ö* is converted to UTS *ø*.
2. In his phonetic description, Stevenson mentions several +/-ATR and other allophones for both Tiro and Utoro vowels (e. g. *i* / *ɪ* in Utoro, *e* / *ɛ* in Tiro etc.). However, he does not distinguish between them in his regular transcriptions, and we do not believe it necessary to try and mark the phonetics as accurately as possible based on his rules of allophonic distribution.
3. Dental plosives *th*, *dh* are converted to UTS *t*, *d*. Stevenson's description of the retroflex articulation in Tiro and Utoro is not very clear: in addition to alveolar plosives *t*, *d*, for Tiro he also sets up two retroflex fricatives that he marks as *s* and *t̪* respectively and defines them as allophones (*s* word-initially, *t̪* in word-medial position). It remains unclear if *t̪* (retroflex *fricative*, acc. to Stevenson!) is phonologically distinct from *t* or not; in basic lexicon, it is very rare anyway, encountered only twice for the entire Swadesh wordlist. For the sake of accuracy, we leave it unchanged.
4. "Retroflex affricates" that Stevenson marks as *tr*, *dr* are encountered very rarely in both Tiro and Utoro and most likely represent positional variants of simple alveolar plosives. In those few cases where they are encountered in the basic lexicon, we leave this transcription unchanged.

5. Palatal consonants *c*, *j*, *ny* are converted to UTS *č*, *ž*, *ɲ* respectively.

IV. Moro

Moro lexicon as transcribed in [Black 1971], subject to basic typewriter limitations, has some idiosyncratic peculiarities, reflected thus in our transcription:

1. Dental plosives *t*, *d* are converted to UTS *č*, *ž*.
2. Interdental voiced fricative *-d-* ("strikethrough *d*" in the original edition) is rendered as UTS *ð*.
3. Palatal consonants *c*, *j*, *ñ* are rendered as UTS *č*, *ž*, *ɲ* respectively.

The source contains a very valuable and highly detailed description of the system of Moro allophones (pp. 1-15); however, we do not reflect this in the wordlist, restricting ourselves to simply reflect the base system of phonological oppositions.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (latest update: September 2016).

1. ALL

Rere Koalib *ńdēt* (1), Ebang *pēt* (2), Abul *pēt* (2), Laru *pér* (2), Utoro *kúréñ* (3), Shirumba *kàrùbèlāñ* (3), Tiro *tárrà* (4), Moro *prēt* (2), Ko =*qáp* (5), Warnang =*ídđám* (6), Logol =*êr* (7).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Quoted as *pet* in [Meinhof 1944: 105].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Three additional forms are listed as synonyms: *kúrbál*, *kú*, *dár*. Semantic difference between them remains unclear.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Quoted as *qut* 'all' in [Stevenson 2009: 313] (same word with palatalisation?). Cf. also *wei* 'all' (Kwijur *wejn*) [ibid.]; difference unclear.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Differently in [Guest et al. 1998: 2]: *sé* 'all'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Quoted as *preð* in [Black 1971: 117]. The same source also mentions the reduplicated stem *təm-a-təm* in the meaning 'all', with no stated semantic difference.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Used with the prefix *l=*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Used with the prefix *z=*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Used with the prefix *z=*.

2. ASHES

Rere Koalib *y=à:ri* (1), Ebang *à:rò* (1), Abul *à:yò* (1), Laru *ŋw=àrú* (1), Utoro *z=à:rù* (1), Shirumba *à:rò* (1), Tiro *ìṛìðà* (2), Moro *vβú:ná* (3), Ko *èwún* (3), Warnang *kú:gà* (4), Logol *z=à:rú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Also *z=à:rò* id.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Quoted as *z=aro* (Kwijur *z=aro*) in [Stevenson 2009: 314].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Quoted as *ipidi* in [Stevenson 2009: 108].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 22. Quoted as *ubwana* in [Black 1971: 119].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 22.

3. BARK

Rere Koalib *k=íàw* (1), Ebang *g=iñ* (1), Abul *g=íyù* (1), Laru *t=íyú* (1), Utoro *g=ìyà* (1), Shirumba *ábúgúr* (2), Tiro *ð=íyyù* (1), Moro *ð=ìsià* (2), Ko *k=ìyè* (1), Warnang *k=íyà* (1),

Logol *g=iyiyú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *y=iaw*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *z-it̪*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *iyv̄*. Phonetically/morphologically different in Fadlalla's idiolect: sg. *l=i*; pl. *ηw-i*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ηw=iyú*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *z=iyà*. Quoted as sg. *g=io*, pl. *z=io* in [Stevenson 2009: 152].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n=abúgúr*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *iyyù*.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *isià*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *φ=iyè*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 23.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 23.

4. BELLY

Rere Koalib *k=à:rì* (1), Ebang *k=á:rè* (1), Abul *g=à:rè* (1), Laru *l=à:rì* (1), Utoro *g=à:rè* (1), Shirumba *i=rìŋ* (1), Tiro *árî* (1), Moro *árá* (1), Ko *è=wíŋ* (2), Warnang *à:rìŋ* (1), Logol *g=à:rì* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *y=à:rì*. Quoted as *k=áré* in [Quint 2006: 9].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n=á:rè*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n=à:rè* (*ηw=à:rè* in Fadlalla's idiolect).

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ηw=à:rì*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *z=à:rè*. Kerindi variant: *k=áré*, pl. *n=áré*. Quoted as sg. *g=are*, pl. *n=are* in [Stevenson 2009: 156].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=rìŋ*. Cf. *x=xìŋ* 'stomach' in [Guest et al. 1998: 3].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n=á:rî*. Quoted as sg. *ari*, pl. *n=ari* in [Stevenson 2009: 22].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n=árá*. Quoted as *ara* 'abdomen' in [Black 1971: 116].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *φ=iyíŋ*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *φ=à:rìŋ*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *z=à:rì*.

5. BIG

Rere Koalib =*úppà* (1), Ebang =*íppâ* (1), Abul =*íppâ* (1), Laru =*ppá* (1), Utoro =*bó:ðɔ* (2), Shirumba =*bù:dž* (2), Tiro =*ṛà* (3), Moro =*v:ṛá* (3), Ko =*bât̪* (4), Warnang =*átt̪-àmmàŋ* (5), Logol =*áfá:ŋjá* (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with prefixes *k=*, *y=*, *t̪=*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: =*ipp-i*. The prefixal form *l=ippâ* is glossed as 'thick'. Quoted as =*ipa* in [Meinhof 1944: 104].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Also attested as *l=ippâ*, pl. =*βúppâ* and as *ŋú=ippâ*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with prefixes *kuú=*, *yí=*. Quoted as =*pá* in [Kuku 2015: 7].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with prefixes *gu=*, *yi=*. Quoted as *gu=boðɔ*, pl. *ŋ=iboðɔ* in [Stevenson 2009: 202].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with the zero prefix and with *nù=*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with prefixes *ðð=*, *ṛ=*. Quoted as =*ṛa* ~ =*iṛa* in [Stevenson 2009: 47].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with the prefix *l=*. Quoted as *ŋorre* (imperative?), *g=ŋrra* (present?) in [Black 1971: 120].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with the prefix *k=*. Also =*bát-ṛà* id. (same as 'many' q.v.).

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=ṛt-i* cf. *m̥māŋ*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Used with prefixes *g=*, *ʒ=*, *d=*. Polysemy: 'big / thick'.

6. BIRD

Rere Koalib *tð=ṛâw* (1), Ebang *ŋ=ṛṛâ* (1), Abul *ŋ=ṛṛâ* (1), Laru *k=ṛṛá* (1), Utoro *ŋ=ṛùwâ* (1), Shirumba *ŋ=ṛúvìà* (1), Tiro *u=ṛùvâ* (1), Moro *ú=ṛéfià* (1), Ko *ŋá=ṛúwê* (1), Warnang *ŋ=ṛṛwâ* (1), Logol *ŋ=ṛṛùwó* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n ḫṛâw*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=ṛṛâ*. Quoted as sg. *ŋ=ir̥i*, pl. *ŋ=ira* in [Meinhof 1944: 101].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=ṛṛâ*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *y=ṛṛá*. Quoted as *gø=r áin* [Kuku 2012: 28].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋi=ṛùwâ*. Quoted as sg. *ŋ=iṛuwo*, pl. *ŋ=iṛuwo* (Kwijur *ŋ=iṛuwa*, pl. *ŋ=iṛuwa*) in [Stevenson 2009: 314].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=ṛúv̥i*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *l=tùv* . Quoted as sg. *u=ṛive*, pl. *l=tive* in [Stevenson 2009: 19].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *n=d̥fià*. Quoted as sg. *u=ṛøfia*, pl. *n=døfia* in [Black 1971: 120].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ṛúwê*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=ṛṛwâ*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 23. Plural: *ŋ=ṛṛùwɔ*.

7. BITE

Rere Koalib *i:-ðù* (1), Ebang *itt-i* (1), Abul *itt-i* (1), Laru *itt-ú* *ŋwàdùnè* (1), Utoro =*èrùm* # (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Imperative form. Same word as 'eat' q.v.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Imperative form. Same word as 'eat' q.v.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Imperative form. Same word as 'eat' q.v.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Literally = 'to eat with teeth'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Schadeberg only lists an equivalent that is applicable to dogs: *ŋi:n* *ŋ ðm=èrùm* (the first word is 'dog' q.v.) However, cf. *ŋ=arim-uði* 'to bite, bite off' in [Stevenson 2009: 314], where no limitations are placed on the subject, so we tentatively include this word in the list.

Shirumba: Not properly attested. Schadeberg only lists an equivalent that is applicable to dogs: *ŋi:n* *ŋ=itt-iŋjà*, literally 'dog-eat'

[Schadeberg 1981: 24].

Tiro: Not properly attested. Schadeberg only lists an equivalent that is applicable to dogs: $\eta\acute{e}n \eta=\grave{a}rmb-\emptyset$ (the first word is 'dog' q.v.) [Schadeberg 1981: 24].

Moro: Not properly attested. Schadeberg only lists an equivalent that is applicable to dogs: $\eta\acute{e}n\acute{a} \eta=\grave{a}ss-\acute{a}$, literally 'dog-eat' [Schadeberg 1981: 24]. Differently in [Black 1971: 122]: imperative *endəðo*, present *gab=endəðo*.

Ko: Not properly attested. Schadeberg only lists an equivalent that is applicable to dogs: $\grave{u}=g\acute{a}t-\grave{a} \grave{t}\grave{a} \grave{s} \grave{a} \grave{t}$ (the last two words are 'dog teeth') [Schadeberg 1981: 24].

Warnang: Not properly attested. Schadeberg lists only a complex periphrastic equivalent: $\eta\grave{a}n \eta\grave{a}=gl\acute{e}d-\acute{a} k\acute{a}ryj\acute{a}\theta$ (the first word is 'dog' and the last one is 'teeth' [Schadeberg 1981: 24].

Logol: Not properly attested. Schadeberg only lists an equivalent that is applicable to dogs: $\eta\grave{a}n \eta\acute{u}=m=\grave{z}s\acute{u}m$ [Schadeberg 1981: 24].

8. BLACK

Rere Koalib =úηúñà (1), Ebang =úmnáŋ (1), Abul =ú:mónñŋ (1), Laru =úmnà (1), Utoro =úmónáŋ (1), Shirumba ú:mónñà (1), Tiro =ùmónñù (1), Moro =múnúá (1), Ko =vñvñntúñú (1), Warnang =ú:ηán (1), Logol =úηúñó (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefixes *k*=, *y*=.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *g*=.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *g*=. Listed as =úmnáŋ (with prefixes *g*=, *l*=) in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefixes *g*=, *y*=.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *gw*=. Polysemy: 'black / dirty'. Quoted as *umino* (Kwijur *uminaŋ*, Orombe *umina*) in [Stevenson 2009: 315].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 24.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *k*=. Quoted as =*umino* in [Stevenson 2009: 47].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *ka*=. Quoted as *ga=mənu* (adj.) in [Black 1971: 122].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 24.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *η*=.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Used with prefix *g*=.

9. BLOOD

Rere Koalib $\eta=\hat{\imath}n$ (1), Ebang $\eta=\hat{\imath}n$ (1), Abul $\eta=\grave{\imath}:n$ (1), Laru $y=\grave{\imath}:n$ (1), Utoro $\eta=\hat{\imath}n$ (1), Shirumba $\eta=\grave{\imath}v\grave{\imath}n \sim \eta=\grave{\imath}v\grave{\imath}v\grave{\imath}n$ (1), Tiro $\eta=\grave{\imath}v\grave{\imath}n$ (1), Moro $\eta=\grave{\imath}f\acute{a}n\acute{i}$ (1), Ko $\eta=\grave{\imath}n$ (1), Warnang $\varphi=\grave{\imath}:n\grave{\imath}n$ (1), Logol $\eta=\grave{\imath}v\grave{\imath}n$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Singulative form: *t=în*. Quoted as $\eta=\hat{\imath}n$ in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Quoted as $\eta=\hat{\imath}in$ in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Listed as $\eta=\hat{\imath}n$ in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 24.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. The Kerindi variant is listed as $\eta\acute{u}=van$. Quoted as $\eta=\grave{v}ən$ (Kwijur $\eta=\grave{v}ən$) in [Stevenson 2009: 314].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Quoted as $\eta=\grave{\imath}v\grave{\imath}n$ in [Guest et al. 1998: 4].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Quoted as $\eta=\sigma\text{vin}$ in [Stevenson 2009: 21]. Formally a plural form.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Quoted as $\eta=\sigma\text{foni}$ in [Black 1971: 122].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 24.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 24.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 24.

10. BONE

Rere Koalib $l=\dot{\imath}\text{y}\dot{\alpha}$ (1), Ebang $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ (1), Abul $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ (1), Laru $g=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$ (1), Utoro $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$ (1), Shirumba $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ (1), Tiro $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$ (1), Moro $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$ (1), Ko $k=w\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ (2), Warnang $k=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$ (2), Logol $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta w=\dot{\imath}\text{y}\dot{\alpha}$.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $y=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$. Quoted as sg. $l=uia$, pl. $\eta w=uia$ (Kwijur $l=\sigma ia$, pl. $\eta w=\sigma ia$) in [Stevenson 2009: 314].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta w=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$. Quoted as $l=\dot{\imath}\sim l=\dot{\imath}$ in [Guest et al. 1998: 2, 3].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$. Quoted as sg. $l=o\ddot{d}i$, pl. $\eta=o\ddot{d}i$ in [Stevenson 2009: 109].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta\dot{\imath}=o\ddot{d}i$. Quoted as sg. $l=o\ddot{d}ea$, pl. $\eta=o\ddot{d}ea$ in [Black 1971: 123].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\varphi=w\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $k\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ (suppletive?).

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 24. Plural: $\eta=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\alpha}$.

11. BREAST

Rere Koalib $kw=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ (1), Moro $l=urumia$ # (-1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Quint 2006: 14. Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ [Schadeberg 1981: 25], quoted as $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $k=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ [Schadeberg 1981: 25].

Abul: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $g=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ [Schadeberg 1981: 25].

Laru: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\eta w=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ [Schadeberg 1981: 25].

Utoro: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$. Cf. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ 'chest' (Kwijur $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$) in [Stevenson 2009: 315].

Shirumba: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $l=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$. Cf., however, $l=g\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ 'chest' in [Guest et al. 1998: 3].

Tiro: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\sim r=\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, pl. $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$.

Moro: Black 1971: 127. Plural: $\eta=urumia$. Meaning glossed as 'chest'. Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\sim \dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$, quoted as $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}$ in [Black 1971: 123].

Ko: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. *k=ú*, pl. *ɸ=ùú*.

Warnang: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. *abú*, pl. *ɸ=ùbú*.

Logol: Not attested in [Schadeberg 1981], where only the word for '(female) breast' is present: sg. *η=ɔ:yú*, pl. *ʒ=ɔ:yú*.

12. BURN TR.

Rere Koalib *w=údù-nnò* # (1), Ebang *i=dú-nnù* # (1), Abul *w=úd-i* # (1), Laru *ηú=m=ù:d-i* # (1), Utoro *yá=wùd-é* # (1), Shirumba *y=v:d-ɔ* # (1), Tiro *yá=úd-à* # (1), Moro *l=ɔ:d-â* # (1), Ko *t=ɔgɔnó:ṛàn* # (2), Warnang *gi=mà=y-àtáŋ* # (3), Logol *ηá=mā=y* (3).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Listed as *yànd=ùd-è* in Fadlalla's idiolect. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'house' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different. The Kerindi equivalent is slightly different: *yù=kvùd-ɔ*. Cf. also 1st stem *non-o*, 2nd stem *non-i* 'burn' (marked as transitive and intransitive) in [Stevenson 2009: 236].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different. Cf. imperative *wudi* 'to burn' in [Stevenson 2009: 109].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'stick' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different. Cf. imperative *uŋu* (trans.) ~ *oŋo* (intrans.) in [Black 1971: 124].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'stick' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different. The expression for 'fire burns' is different: *àyá (íyé) kɔn ḩvn* [ibid.].

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different. It is also the same word as 'eat' q.v.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 25. Intransitive verb (with 'fire' as subject); it is unclear if the transitive stem is lexically different. It is also the same word as 'eat' q.v. (the form is characterized as "past tense").

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Rere Koalib *k=ílì* (1), Ebang *k=á:mùn* (2), Abul *d=à:mùn* (2), Utoro *g=à:mùn* (2), Shirumba *úmàr* (3), Tiro *ið=àprà* (3), Moro *ið=àprá* (3), Ko *k=èmàn* (2), Warnang *ábínè* (4), Logol *g=àmùn* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 26, 40. Plural: *y=ílì*. Polysemy: 'claw / nail'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 31, 40. Plural: *η=á:mùn*. Means 'finger' with a different set of class prefixes: sg. *l=á:mùn*, pl. *η= :mùn*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *r=à:mùn*. Means 'finger' with a different set of class prefixes: sg. *l=à:mùn*, pl. *ηw=à:mùn* [Schadeberg 1981: 31].

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 26, 40. Plural: *ʒ=*. Polysemy: 'claw / nail'. The Kerindi equivalent is slightly different: sg. *k=ám ſ*, pl. *n=ám ſ*

[ibid.]. Means 'finger' with a different set of class prefixes: sg. *l=à:mùn*, pl. *ŋw=ò:mùn* [Schadeberg 1981: 31]. Quoted as sg. *g=amon*, pl. *ʒ=amon* 'fingernail' (Orombe sg. *g=amon*, pl. *ʒ=amon*) in [Stevenson 2009: 317], distinct from *g=ifile* 'claw' [Stevenson 2009: 152].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *n=*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *nd=apṛā*. Quoted as sg. *id=apiṇa*, pl. *nd=apiṇa* 'claw; fingernail' in [Stevenson 2009: 24].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *nd=abṛā*. Different from 'claw': sg. *l=vṛātā*, pl. *ŋ=vṛātā* id. Quoted as sg. *eð=apəṛa*, pl. *nd=apəṛa* in [Black 1971: 136].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 26, 40. Plural: *ɸ=èmàn*. Polysemy: 'claw / nail'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *ɸ=ābīṇè*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 26, 40. Plural: *ʒ=àmùn*. Polysemy: 'claw / nail'. Means 'finger' with a different set of class prefixes: sg. *l=àdmùn*, pl. *ŋ(w)=àdmùn ~ ŋ(w)=à:mún* [Schadeberg 1981: 31].

14. CLOUD

Rere Koalib *l=àblèt* (1), Ebang *g=ibá:rù* (2), Abul *ìβá:rù* (2), Laru *k=èrè* (3), Utoro *ábáṛú* (2), Shirumba *ŋ=írìŋ* (3), Tiro *ŋ=j:m̄ē* (4), Moro *ibʷɔṛúá* (2), Ko *kùlí:lí* (5), Logol *lè:rè* (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Plural: *ŋw=àblèt*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Plural: *ʒ=ibá:rù*. Quoted as sg. *g=iburu*, pl. *ʒ=iburu* in [Meinhof 1944: 98].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 26.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Plural: *y=èrè*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Specified as 'sg. of fog'. The Kerindi variant is given as *arbut*. Quoted as *ʒ=ebəṛu* (Orombe sg. *aberi*, pl. *ʒ=ebəṛi*) in [Stevenson 2009: 315].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Collective form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Plural form; the singular form *l=ʃm̄ē* is 'rain' q.v. Cf. also sg. *d=ibəṛi*, pl. *r=ibəṛi* 'rain-cloud' in [Stevenson 2009: 24]; possibly the same word, but with slightly different morphological characteristics, is recorded as sg. *d=ibəṛu*, pl. *ibəṛu* 'cloud' in [Stevenson 2009: 109].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog'. Quoted as *ibwoṛua* in [Black 1971: 127].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Polysemy: 'cloud / dust / fog'.

Warnang: Not attested. According to [Schadeberg 1981: 26], the equivalent is an Arabic borrowing.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 26. Polysemy: 'cloud / sky'.

15. COLD

Rere Koalib =*ði* (1), Ebang =*iʒí:lò* (2), Abul =*iʒí:lò* (2), Laru =*iʒí:lù* (2), Utoro =*ínidíŋ* (3), Shirumba =*iʒí:lò* (4), Tiro =*mòlò* (5), Moro =*mùlí* (5), Ko =*ðító* (6), Logol =*ámó:lú* (5).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with prefixes *kú=*, *ŋí=*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix *ŋ=*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix *ŋ=*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with prefixes *k=*, *y=*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix *ŋ=*. Cf. also =*imolɔ* 'cold' in [Stevenson 2009: 203].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix *ŋ=*. Quoted as *ʒilà* 'cold' in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix *ŋɔ=*. Quoted as =*imolo* in [Stevenson 2009: 47].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix ηa =. Quoted as *molo* (imperative?), *ga=mole* (present?) in [Black 1971: 127].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix η =. Polysemy: 'cold / wet'.

Warnang: Not attested. According to [Schadeberg 1981: 27], the equivalent is an Arabic borrowing.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Used with the prefix η =.

16. COME

Rere Koalib *íl-à* (1), Ebang *í:l-á* (1), Abul *íl-á* (1), Laru *ìl-à* (1), Utoro *íl-á* (1), Shirumba *è:l-à* (1), Tiro *ìl-â* (1) / *k=è:t-ò* (4), Moro *èl-âñ* (1) / *g=è:t-ú* (4), Ko *àrà* (2) / *ù=pínù* (5), Warnang *kóy* (3) / *η=ùrt-ò* (6), Logol *wè:l-á* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Cf. *il-a* 'to come', *el-al* 'come!' (imperative pl.) in [Meinhof 1944: 116].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Quoted as *il-a ~ vil-a* (imperative) in [Stevenson 2009: 316].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Quoted as *èl-à* in [Guest et al. 1998: 6].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *ila*, pl. *ila-r* in [Stevenson 2009: 62]. Schadeberg 1981: 27. Suppletive 3rd p. sg. form. Cf. 1st sg. indefinite form *y=è:t* [Stevenson 2009: 109].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Quoted as *el-añ* in [Black 1971: 127]. Schadeberg 1981: 27. Suppletive 3rd p. sg. form. Quoted as *g=et-o* in [Black 1971: 127].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Schadeberg 1981: 27. Suppletive 3rd p. sg. form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Schadeberg 1981: 27. Suppletive 3rd p. sg. form.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 27. Imperative form. Cf. also 3rd p. sg.: *m=è:l-á*.

17. DIE

Rere Koalib *kù=m=ày ~ kw=ày-ù* (1), Ebang *gw=ày* (1), Abul *gv=m=ày* (1), Laru *gwù=m=ày* (1), Utoro *m=ày* (1), Shirumba *m=ày-é* (1), Tiro *g=ày-ù* (1), Moro *g=à:y-ú* (1), Ko *w=àqç-ú* (1), Warnang *η=è:z-i* (1), Logol *m=ày-i* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 28. The root is quoted as *aé* in [Quint 2006: 49].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Quoted as *àyí* 'to die' in [Kuku 2012: 34].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Quoted as *ay-ɔ* (stem 1), *ai* (stem 2) in [Stevenson 2009: 316].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Quoted as imperative *ay-o* in [Stevenson 2009: 109].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. 3rd p. sg. Quoted as *g=aiy-o* in [Black 1971: 131].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

18. DOG

Rere Koalib *t=íŋɛn* (1), Ebang *ŋ=i:n* (1), Abul *ŋ=i:n* (1), Laru *kð=ŋɛn* (1), Utoro *ŋ=i:n* (1), Shirumba *ŋ=i:n* (1), Tiro *ŋ=é:n ~ ŋ=é:nè* (1), Moro *ŋ=i:nà* (1), Ko *t=ón* (1), Warnang *ŋ=án* (1), Logol *ŋ=ín* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=íŋɛn*. Quoted as *t=íŋɛn* {tíngré} in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=i:n*. Quoted as sg. *ŋ=in*, pl. *ŋ=in* in [Meinhof 1944: 101].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=i:n* (*ŋw=i:n* in Fadlalla's idiolect).

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *y=ŋɛn*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=i:n*. Quoted as sg. *ŋ=in*, pl. *ŋ=in* in [Stevenson 2009: 155].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=i:n*. Quoted as *ŋ=in*, pl. *ŋ=in* in [Guest et al. 1998: 2, 6].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=é:n ~ ŋ=é:nè*. Quoted as sg. *ŋ=en*, pl. *ŋ=en* in [Stevenson 2009: 25].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=i:nà*. Quoted as sg. *ŋ=ina*, pl. *ŋ=ina* in [Black 1971: 131].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=ín*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=án*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Plural: *ŋ=in*.

19. DRINK

Rere Koalib *i:-ðù* (1), Ebang *íyy-ð* (1), Abul *gw=íy-i* (1), Laru *íyy-ù* (1), Utoro *y-û* (1), Shirumba *íyy-ú* (1), Tiro *t-ñ* (2), Moro *t-û* (2), Ko *íy-ð* (1), Warnang *íðéžj* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form. Same word as 'eat' q.v.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Quoted as *=iye* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 28.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form. Quoted as 1st stem and 2nd stem *yu* in [Stevenson 2009: 236].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *to*, pl. *to-r* in [Stevenson 2009: 62].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form. Quoted as imperative *t-u*, pres. *gɔ=t-ia* in [Black 1971: 132].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 28. Imperative form. Cf. also past tense: *ŋ=éy*.

Logol: Not attested.

20. DRY

Rere Koalib *=ndù* (1), Ebang *=ñddð* (1), Abul *=úndð* (1), Laru *=úndù* (1), Utoro *=úndžñ* (1), Shirumba *=ùntð* (1), Tiro *=ùndðñtù* (1), Moro *=ðndðñttú* (1), Ko *=ðñ* (2), Warnang *=ùwíñ* (2), Logol *=údžñ* (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with prefixes *ku*=, *y*=. Quoted as *ò=nt-é* 'to be dry' in [Quint 2006: 38], as *=ò=nt-ò* id. in [Quint 2006: 9].
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *g*= in the meaning 'empty'.
- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Listed as *m=ündé* for Fadlalla's idiolect.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *k*=. Quoted in root form as *v̄dí* 'to dry' in [Kuku 2012: 30].
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *gw*=. The Kerindi variant is given as *=údd* : Cf. *oðo* (*Kwijur onðɔ*) 'dry' in [Stevenson 2009: 317].
- Shirumba:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the zero prefix. Polysemy: 'dry / empty'.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *ð*=. Quoted as *=ondoto* in [Stevenson 2009: 109].
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *k*=. Cf. the verb 'to dry' in [Black 1971: 132]: imperative *uð-u*, pres. *g=uð-a*.
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *k*=.
- Warnang:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *g*=.
- Logol:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Used with the prefix *g*=.

21. EAR

Rere Koalib *k=á:nì* (1), Ebang *k=é:nì* (1), Abul *g=é:nì* (1), Laru *l=é:ní* (1), Utoro *g=é:nì* (1), Shirumba *á:nì* (1), Tiro *áni-nò* (1), Moro *ániñà* (1), Ko *k=ðrì* (2), Warnang *w=ù:ni* (1), Logol *g=é:nì* (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *y=á:nì*. Quoted as *k=é:ni* in [Quint 2006: 9]. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *n=é:nì*. Quoted as sg. *g=uni* ~ *k=uni*, pl. *n=uni* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].
- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *n=é:nì*.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ŋw=é:ní*.
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ʒ=é:nì*. The Kerindi variant is given as *g=á:ni*, pl. *n=á:ni*. Quoted as sg. *g=əni*, pl. *n=əni* in [Stevenson 2009: 156].
- Shirumba:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *n=é:nì*.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *n=ániñò*. Quoted as sg. *əni*, pl. *n=əni* in [Stevenson 2009: 22]. Schadeberg's form seems to contain a suffixed accusative marker (cf. *əni-ŋo* 'ear acc.' in [Stevenson 2009: 28]).
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *n=ániñà*. Quoted as sg. *ənɔti* ~ *ənɔŋ*, pl. *n=ənɔpi* ~ *n=ənɔŋ* in [Black 1971: 133].
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ç=ðì*.
- Warnang:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ç=ù:ni*.
- Logol:** Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ʒ=é:nì*.

22. EARTH

Rere Koalib *wúrèy* (1), Ebang *gw=íyáŋ* (2), Abul *gw=íyáŋ* (2), Laru *t=íáŋ* (2), Utoro *gw=íyám* (2), Shirumba *ámúṛà #* (3), Tiro *ð=ù:ðò* (4), Moro *ð=ù:ðʷà* (4), Ko *k=ðbá* (5), Warnang *k=ùrú* (6), Logol *gw=íyáw* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 29.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 29.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Listed as *gú=yàŋ* for Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 29.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Quoted as *gw=iyom* in [Stevenson 2009: 317].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Meaning glossed as 'fine earth', distinct from *d̩à* 'less fine earth, dust'. Semantically unclear.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Quoted as *d̩=uda* in [Stevenson 2009: 20].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Quoted as *ð=uða* in [Black 1971: 133].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 29.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 29.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 29.

23. EAT

Rere Koalib *i:-ðì* (1), Ebang *i-ttì* (1), Abul *i-ttí* (1), Laru *i-ttí* (1), Utoro *i-ttì* (1), Shirumba *i-ttí* (1), Tiro *y-ð* (1), Moro *g=à:s-â* (2), Ko *é* (1), Warnang *yà:-d̩j* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Same word as 'drink', 'bite'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Same word as 'bite'. Quoted as *d=eŋ* (infinitive) in [Meinhof 1944: 115].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Same word as 'bite'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Same word as 'bite'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Quoted as 1st stem *i-ħi*, 2nd stem *ɛ?e* in [Stevenson 2009: 235].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Same word as 'bite'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *iyɔ*, pl. *iyɔ-r* 'to eat (intr.)' in [Stevenson 2009: 62]; cf. also sg. *yino*, pl. *yino-r* 'to eat something (tr.)' [ibid.]. Cf. *iy-ɔ* (definite stem), *iy-a* (indefinite stem) in [Stevenson 2009: 61].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. 3rd p. sg. Same word as 'bite' q.v. Quoted as imperative *so*, pres. *gð=sə* in [Black 1971: 133].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Imperative form. Same word as 'burn'.

Logol: Not attested.

24. EGG

Rere Koalib *l=ðŋ* (1), Ebang *l=ðŋ* (1), Abul *l=ðŋà* (1), Laru *k=ð:nð* (1), Utoro *l=ðŋ* (1), Shirumba *l=é:nðŋ* (1), Tiro *l=éŋñè* (1), Moro *l=éŋñá* (1), Ko *l=ðŋ* (1), Warnang *ð:né* (1), Logol *l=ðŋ* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ŋw=ðŋ*. Quoted as sg. *l=ðŋ*, pl. *ŋw=ðŋ* in [Quint 2006: 14, 62].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ŋw=ð*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ŋ=ðŋà*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *y=ð:nð*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ŋw=ð*. Quoted as sg. *l=ðŋ*, pl. *ŋw=ðŋ* in [Stevenson 2009: 150].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: *ŋ=é:nðŋ*. Quoted as *l=éŋñà* in [Guest et al. 1998: 9].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: $\eta=\acute{e}n\acute{e}$. Quoted as sg. $l=\acute{e}n\acute{e}$, pl. $\eta=\acute{e}n\acute{e}$ in [Stevenson 2009: 21].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: $\eta=\acute{e}n\acute{a}$. Quoted as sg. $l=e\acute{n}a$, pl. $\eta=e\acute{n}a$ in [Black 1971: 133].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: $\eta=\acute{n}i$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: $\varphi=\grave{e}\acute{n}\acute{e}$.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 29. Plural: $\eta w=\acute{n}i$.

25. EYE

Rere Koalib $l=\grave{e}y$ (1), Ebang $k=\acute{e}y$ (1), Abul $g=\acute{e}y$ (1), Laru $l=\hat{e}y$ (1), Utoro $g=\acute{e}y$ (1), Shirumba $l=\hat{e}y$ (1), Tiro $l=\acute{e}y$ (1), Moro $\grave{i}ss\grave{i}$ (2), Ko $k=\acute{i}$ (1), Warnang $k=\grave{i}$ (1), Logol $\eta=\acute{e}y$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\eta w=\grave{e}y$. Quoted as sg. $l=\grave{e}e$, pl. $\eta=\grave{e}e$ in [Quint 2006: 49].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\grave{z}=\acute{e}y$. Quoted as sg. $g=e \sim k=e$, pl. $\grave{z}=e$ in [Meinhof 1944: 98].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\acute{e}y$. Listed as sg. $g=\acute{a}y$, pl. $\eta w=\acute{y}$ in Fadlalla's dialect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\eta w=\hat{e}y$. Quoted as $l=\grave{e}y$ in [Kuku 2015: 3].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\grave{z}=\acute{e}y$. Quoted as sg. $g=ei$, pl. $\grave{z}=ei$ (Kwijur sg. $g=\acute{o}i$, pl. $\grave{z}=\acute{o}i$) in [Stevenson 2009: 317].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\eta=\hat{e}y$. Quoted as $l=\grave{e}$ in [Guest et al. 1998: 3].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\eta=\acute{e}y$. Quoted as sg. $l=ei$, pl. $\eta=ei$ in [Stevenson 2009: 21].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Singular and plural forms are the same. Quoted as isi in [Black 1971: 134].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\varphi=\acute{i}$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $k\grave{i}\acute{i}$ (suppletive?).

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Plural form: $\grave{z}=\acute{e}y$.

26. FAT N.

Rere Koalib $\eta=\grave{e}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Ebang $\eta=\acute{e}:l\acute{a}$ (1), Abul $\eta=\grave{e}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Laru $y=\acute{i}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Utoro $\eta=\acute{e}:l\acute{a}\eta$ (1), Shirumba $\eta=\grave{e}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Tiro $\eta=\grave{e}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Moro $\eta=\grave{e}:l\acute{a}$ (1), Ko $\eta=\grave{e}:r\acute{a}$ (1), Warnang $\varphi=\grave{e}:r\acute{a}$ (1), Logol $\eta=\grave{e}:l\acute{a}$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Singulative: $\underline{l}=\grave{e}:l\grave{a}$.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Quoted as $\eta=ela$ 'oil' in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 30.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'. Another recorded form is $y=\grave{a}:l\acute{u}$.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Quoted as $\eta=ila$ (Kwijur $\eta=el\acute{a}\eta$) 'fat, oil' in [Stevenson 2009: 317].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 30.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Quoted as $\eta=ela$ 'oil' in [Stevenson 2009: 21]. Formally a plural form.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Differently in [Black 1971: 135]: $ba\acute{t}ia$ 'fat (n.)'.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 30.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 30.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 30.

27. FEATHER

Rere Koalib *k=ì:rà* (1), Ebang *g=írwàl* (2), Abul *g=ìuwál* (2), Laru *tí=ìwá* (2), Utoro *g=àlàn* ~ *d=àlàn* (3), Shirumba *írwìl* (2), Tiro *ìmbìà* (4), Moro *àbrá* (4), Ko *t=ùléñá* (3), Warnang *k=úbòñ* (5), Logol *g=ùffú* (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *y=ì:rà*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *z=írwàl*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *i=ìuwál*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *ηú=ìwá*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *z=àlàn*. The Kerindi variant is listed as *k=ìuwéł*, pl. *z=ìuwéł*.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *n=írwìl*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *n=àmbìà*.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *n=àbrá*. Quoted as sg. *abøra*, pl. *n=abøra* in [Black 1971: 135].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *d=ùléñá*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *kúrb ñ* (sic!).

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *z=ùffú*. Cf. *d=ùffú* 'wing' with a different class prefix [Schadeberg 1981: 54].

28. FIRE

Rere Koalib *y=í:gà* (1), Ebang *i:gà* (1), Abul *i:gà* (1), Laru *l=ì:gá* (1), Utoro *ígá* ~ *í:gá* (1), Shirumba *í:gà* (1), Tiro *ìyyá* (1), Moro *íyyv* (1), Ko *ísíá* (1), Warnang *ìgè* (1), Logol *k=ì:gà* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Quoted as *ì:gé* {íiké} in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Quoted as *iga* in [Meinhof 1944: 101].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 31.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 31.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Quoted as *igo* ~ *iʒo* (Kwijur *iga*) in [Stevenson 2009: 317].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *z=í:gà*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Quoted as *iyo* in [Stevenson 2009: 110].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Differently in [Black 1971: 136]: *isia* 'fire'.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 31.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 31.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 31. Plural: *kr=ì:gà*.

29. FISH

Rere Koalib *k=ûm* (1), Ebang *k=ûm* (1), Abul *g=ûm* ~ *gw=ûm* (1), Laru *t=úm* (1), Utoro *l=ì:m* (1), Shirumba *l=ûm* (1), Tiro *ú:mi* (1), Moro *ì:mi* (1), Ko *wìm* (1), Warnang *η=ìm* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *l=ûm*. Quoted as *kw=ôm* in [Quint 2006: 62].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *l=ûm*. Also sg. *l=ûm*, pl. *ŋ=ûm* id. Quoted as sg. *l=um*, pl. *ŋw=um* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *l=ûm*. Listed as sg. *l=ûm*, pl. *ŋ=ûm* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *ŋ=úm*. Quoted as *d=úm* in [Kuku 2012: 29].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *ŋ=v:m*. Quoted as sg. *l=omi*, pl. *ŋw=omi* (Orombe sg. *l=om*, pl. *l=omi*, although the editor suspects that the plural form may have been a typo) in [Stevenson 2009: 317].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *ŋ=ûm*. Quoted as *l=óm* in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *l=v:m*. Quoted as sg. *omi*, pl. *n=omi* in [Stevenson 2009: 23].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *l=àmm̩i*. Quoted as sg. *ome*, pl. *l=omm̩e* in [Black 1971: 136].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *l=àm*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Plural: *n=v:m*.

Logol: Not attested. It is indicated in [Schadeberg 1981: 32] that the word is borrowed from Arabic.

30. FLY V.

Rere Koalib *tí=dí:l-ù* (1), Ebang *ŋjí=dí:l-ò* (1), Abul *ŋð=dí:l-ò* (1), Laru *k=índ-í kë:ràlà* (2), Utoro *ŋ=á=dír-ì kènèn* (1), Shirumba *mí:rò-gáwílò* (3), Tiro *gábrì* # (4), Moro *gà=bòr-ú* (4), Ko *m=brl-ú* (5), Warnang *ŋà=blé:rí* (5), Logol *ŋé=dí:l-ú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 32.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 32.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 32.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Idiomatic expression; literally = 'to go up'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Idiomatic expression; the main verb is the same as in Koalib, etc., but the adverbial modifier *kènèn* means 'above'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 32.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Idiomatic expression; literally = 'to stay above'.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Literally just 'above'; the accompanying verb is not listed. Quoted as imperative *a=boro*, pres. *ga=bòrw-a* in [Black 1971: 136].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 32. Literally 'to go up'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 32.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 32.

31. FOOT

Rere Koalib *k=á:gà* (1), Ebang *g=ímàdé* (2), Abul *l=ò:là* (3), Laru *k=ò:rá* (3), Utoro *l=à:rà* (3), Shirumba *d=áménì* (4), Tiro *ð=ámání-ŋà* (4), Moro *ð=ímáníŋà* (4), Ko *t=ámárlí* (4), Warnang *á=mà:nì* (4), Logol *l=à:rá* (3).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Plural: *y=á:gà*. Quoted as *k=á:gà* {kákà} in [Quint 2006: 9]. Distinct from *l=á:rà* 'leg' [Schadeberg 1981: 38].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Plural: *ʒ=ímàdé*. Distinct from *l=á:lù* 'leg' [Schadeberg 1981: 38]. However, this latter word is listed as sg. *l=ora*, pl. *ŋw=ora* 'foot' in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $\eta=\dot{o}r\dot{a}$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: $y=\dot{x}r\dot{a}$. Meaning glossed as 'leg', but no separate word for 'foot' is available in Schadeberg's wordlists. Also quoted as $g=\dot{d}r\dot{a}$ 'foot' in [Kuku 2012: 32].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $\eta w=\dot{a}:r\dot{a}$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Quoted as sg. $l=ara$, pl. $\eta w=ara$ in [Stevenson 2009: 150].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $r=méni$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / claw'. Quoted as $\ddot{\partial}=máni$ 'leg' in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Meaning glossed as 'leg'; the meaning 'foot' is glossed separately as $\ddot{\partial} \dot{m}áni\dot{n}\dot{a} \ddot{\partial} \dot{s}l\dot{a}:l\dot{u}$, literally "leg below" [Schadeberg 1981: 33], but this seems to be an almost artificially "specialized" distinction. Quoted as sg. $\dot{d}=imani$, pl. $r=imani$ 'leg' in [Stevenson 2009: 24]. The form in Schadeberg's notes seems to have been recorded together with the accusative marker -na (cf. $\dot{d}=amani-na$ 'leg acc.' in [Stevenson 2009: 28]).

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $r=\dot{m}áni\dot{n}\dot{a}$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Quoted as sg. $\ddot{\partial}=\dot{m}anija$, pl. $r=\dot{m}anajia$ in [Black 1971: 137]. Cf. also $l=\dot{q}ia$, pl. $ji=\dot{q}ia$ "lower leg" [Schadeberg 1981: 38].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $d=mári$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $qi=má:nì$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 33, 38. Plural: $\eta w=\dot{a}:r\dot{a}$. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

32. FULL

Rere Koalib =ú:rànnà (1), Ebang $gw=\dot{\partial}nád-\dot{a}:l\dot{a}n\dot{y}$ (2), Abul $gí=\dot{n}\dot{a}d\dot{u}$ (2), Laru $k=\dot{\partial}n\dot{z}\dot{a}d\dot{u}$ (2), Utoro $gw=\dot{\partial}n\dot{e}\dot{\partial}\dot{\partial}$ (2), Shirumba $r\dot{u}\dot{d}\dot{\partial}$ (3), Tiro $k=\dot{u}n\dot{v}\dot{n}\dot{v}\dot{n}\dot{u}$ (4), Moro $k=\dot{v}nd\dot{e}y-n\dot{u}$ (5), Ko = $\dot{\partial}ttáb$ (6), Warnang $b\dot{i}y\dot{a}r\dot{\partial}\dot{u}$ (3), Logol = $\dot{\partial}n\dot{z}\dot{d}\dot{u}$ (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Used with prefixes $k=$, $y=$. Same root as in 'many' q.v.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Same root as in 'many' q.v.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Same root as in 'many' q.v.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Same root as in 'many' q.v.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Quoted as $e\dot{n}a\dot{\partial}$ in [Stevenson 2009: 318].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 33.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 33. In [Stevenson 2009: 111], it is indicated that 'full' in Tiro is the same word as 'many' q.v.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Cf. the verb 'to fill' in [Black 1971: 135]: imperative $undai-\varphi o$, pres. $gw=undai-\varphi a$.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Used with the zero prefix.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 33.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Used with the prefix $g=$.

33. GIVE

Rere Koalib $nd-\dot{a}$ (1), Ebang $d\dot{e}-\dot{d}\dot{i}$ (1), Abul $d\dot{e}:\dot{d}\dot{i}$ (1), Laru $d\dot{e}-\dot{d}\dot{i}$ (1), Utoro $d\dot{e}-\dot{d}\dot{i}$ (1), Shirumba $d\dot{e}-\dot{d}\dot{i} \sim nd\dot{e}-\dot{d}\dot{i}$ (1), Tiro $\eta\acute{a}\dot{c}\dot{\acute{a}} \sim \eta\acute{a}\dot{c}\dot{\acute{a}}$ (2), Moro $ná-\dot{q}\acute{i}-\dot{n}\dot{u} \sim ná-\dot{q}\acute{c}\dot{i}-\dot{n}\dot{u}$ (2), Ko $nd-\dot{i}$ (1), Warnang $d\dot{e}-\dot{d}\dot{g}\dot{\circ}\dot{\eta}$ (1), Logol $itt\dot{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Quoted as $di=\dot{d}e\dot{d}-a$ (infinitive) in [Meinhof 1944: 115].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Differently in Fadlalla's idiolect: $g\dot{e}t\dot{a}$ 'give!' (also imperative).

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Another attested form is *gw=í:d-á*. Quoted in root form as *ðɔ'*'to give' in [Kuku 2012: 31].
Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Quoted as 1st stem *ðeð-i*, 2nd stem *ðeð-a* (Kwijur *ðeð-i* / *ðeð-a*) in [Stevenson 2009: 318].
Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as *ŋaiči* in [Stevenson 2009: 110].
Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Imperative form with 1st p. object: 'give me!' Cf. in [Black 1971: 138]: 'to give (trans.)' = imperative *nai-øo*, pres. *ga=nai-ø-a*; 'to give (intrans.)' = imperative *nai-ðo*, pres. *ga=nai-ði-a*.
Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Imperative form with 1st p. object: 'give me!'
Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form. Imperative form with 3rd p. object: 'give him!' Cf. *ánínìŋ* 'give me!' [ibid.].
Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 33. Imperative form with 3rd p. object: 'give him!' Cf. *ádiŋi* 'give me!' [ibid.].

34. GOOD

Rere Koalib =íqqaàw (1), Ebang =íŋŋèr (2), Abul =íŋŋèr (2), Laru =zâw (1), Utoro =ŋír ~ =ŋŋír (2), Shirumba φé:lò (3), Tiro =íqqaìlò (1), Moro =ŋðrá (2), Ko =úmtì (4), Warnang =wà:rlá (5), Logol =àdil:lú (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *kw=*.
Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *d=*, *z=*, *g=*. Polysemy: 'good / clean'. Quoted as *=iŋjir* in [Meinhof 1944: 104].
Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *g=*. Differently in Fadlalla's idiolect: *=βè:lò* (used with the prefix *gi=*).
Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *ki=*, *ŋù=*, *yí=*.
Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *di=*, *gwì=*. Quoted as *gw=iŋjir* in [Stevenson 2009: 202]. There is also a separate adjectival stem: *idels* 'good' [Stevenson 2009: 318].
Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Polysemy: 'good / clean / right'.
Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Quoted as *=içelo* in [Stevenson 2009: 19]; as *=içilo* ~ *=aiçilo* in [Stevenson 2009: 47].
Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *θà=*. Cf. the verb 'to be good' in [Black 1971: 138]: pres. *ga=ŋør-a*.
Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *t=*. Polysemy: 'good / right'.
Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *g=*, *r=*.
Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *ŋ=*, *z=*.

35. GREEN

Rere Koalib =í:gállà (1), Ebang =ígáláŋ (1), Abul =í:gðlànŋ (1), Laru =íyíñà (2), Utoro =ígðlòŋ (1), Shirumba í:gðlà (1), Moro =ɛ:ðí (3), Ko ɬøqí?it (4), Warnang =íyyá (2), Logol =urkɔŋkɔŋ (5).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *k=*, *y=*. Polysemy: 'green / blue'.
Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *g=*. Polysemy: 'green / wet'.
Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *g=*, *l=*.
Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with prefixes *k=*, *y=*.
Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *gw=*. Polysemy: 'green / wet'.
Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Polysemy: 'green / wet'.
Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf., however, *=idi* 'green' in [Stevenson 2009: 110].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *k*=. Quoted as *g=eðe* 'to be green (adj.)' in [Black 1971: 139].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 34.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the zero prefix and with *η*=.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Used with the prefix *g*=.

36. HAIR

Rere Koalib *á:ṛù* (1), Ebang *g=á:ṛú* (1), Abul *áṛú* (1), Laru *l=áṛù* (1), Utoro *áṛù* (1), Shirumba *ð=á:ṛù* (1), Tiro *d=áṛú* (1), Moro *θ=íṛíá* (1), Ko *tð=ṛú* (1), Warnang *k=ú* (1), Logol *η=á:ṛú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Quoted as *èuṛù* in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *ʒ=á:ṛú*. Quoted as *uru* (no class prefixes) in [Meinhof 1944: 101].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 34.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *ŋw=áṛù*. Quoted as *l=ṛú* in [Kuku 2012: 32].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Quoted as *əṛu* in [Stevenson 2009: 160]. Distinct from sg. *ð=ṛla*, pl. *ʒ=ṛla* 'body hair' in [Stevenson 2009: 153].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *ñṛù*. Quoted as pl. *yáṛù* 'hairs' in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *íṛú*. Quoted as sg. *d=iro*, pl. *iro* in [Stevenson 2009: 27].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *íṛíá*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *ṛú*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Plural: *k=úṛú*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Collective form (no singulative attested).

37. HAND

Rere Koalib *k=éṛígè* (1), Ebang *d=ṛy* (2), Abul *d=i* (2), Laru *g=vì* (2), Utoro *g=íṛgè* (1), Shirumba *ð=è* (2), Tiro *i=rèð* (1), Moro *ð=áŋ* (3), Ko *t=ví* (2), Warnang *á=wí* (2), Logol *d=i* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *y=éṛígè*. Quoted as *kérgè* {kérkè} in [Quint 2006: 34]. Distinct from *t=i* 'arm' [Schadeberg 1981: 22].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 22, 35. Plural: *d=ṛy*. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. Quoted as sg. *d=oi*, pl. *d=oi* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 22, 35. Plural: *r=i* (*ŋù=i* in Fadlalla's idiolect). Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 22, 35. Plural: *ŋw=vì*. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ʒ=íṛgè*. Cf. *kà=ṛgà* 'palm' in the Kerindi variant. Distinct from *d=éy* 'arm' [Schadeberg 1981: 22]. The latter word is listed as sg. *ð=e*, pl. *d=e* 'arm, hand' (Kwijur sg. *ð=ei*, pl. *d=ei*) in [Stevenson 2009: 313].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 22, 35. Plural: *r=è*. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. Quoted as pl. *r=ɛ* 'hands' in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ñdrèð*. Distinct from *d=i* 'arm' [Schadeberg 1981: 22]. Cf., however, sg. *d=e*, pl. *r=e* 'arm, hand' in [Stevenson 2009: 24].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 22, 35. Plural: *r=áŋ*. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. Quoted as sg. *ð=aŋ*, pl. *r=aŋ* in [Black 1971: 140].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *d=ví*. Distinct from *k=dà* 'arm' [Schadeberg 1981: 22].

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋú=wí*. Distinct from *kŋà* 'arm' [Schadeberg 1981: 22].

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 22, 35. Plural: *d=í*. Polysemy: 'arm / hand'.

38. HEAD

Rere Koalib *n=dà* (1), Ebang *lí=ŋá* (1), Abul *í=ŋá* (1), Laru *ká=ŋà* (1), Utoro *ŋá* (1), Shirumba *dâ* (1), Tiro *ŋtá* (1), Moro *ndá* (1), Ko *ù=ŋé* (1), Warnang *túli* (2), Logol *l=ŋá* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋú-ŋà*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋú=ŋá* ~ *ŋwí=ŋá*. Quoted as sg. *li=ra*, pl. *ŋwu=ra* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋú=ŋá*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *yí=ŋà*. Quoted as *gə=ŋà* in [Kuku 2012: 28].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋú=ŋá*. Quoted as sg. *l=ŋa*, pl. *ŋw=ŋa* in [Stevenson 2009: 150].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋ=ŋâ*. Quoted as *l=í* ~ *l=à* in [Guest et al. 1998: 2, 6].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋtâ*. Quoted as sg. *lta*, pl. *ŋ-ŋta* in [Stevenson 2009: 110].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋv=ŋá*. Quoted as sg. *nda*, pl. *ŋə=ŋwa* in [Black 1971: 140].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *l=ŋé*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Marked as a questionable form. No plural.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *ŋù=ŋá*.

39. HEAR

Rere Koalib *níŋ-énà* (1), Ebang *díŋ-ínò* (1), Abul *díŋ-ánú* (1), Laru *díŋ-ínú* (1), Utoro *dáŋ-ónù* (1), Shirumba *líŋ-ðná* (1), Tiro *n-â* (2), Moro *gâ=nn-â* (2), Ko *né* (2), Warnang *nâ:-ðò* (2), Logol *léŋ-énú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form. Quoted as *=dijini* in [Meinhof 1944: 100]; cf. imperative pl. *dijin-ul* in [Meinhof 1944: 116].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form. The Kerindi variant is listed as *gwò=léŋ-énùŋ*. Quoted as 1st stem *dij-inu*, 2nd stem *dij-ini* (Kwijur *døŋ-inu* / *døŋ-ini*; Orombe *leŋ-inu* / *liŋ-ini*) in [Stevenson 2009: 318].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *nɔ*, pl. *nɔ-r* in [Stevenson 2009: 62]. Cf. *n-ɔ* (definite stem), *n-a* (indefinite stem) in [Stevenson 2009: 61].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. 3rd p. sg. Quoted as imperative *no*, pres. *gə=n-a* in [Black 1971: 140].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Imperative form.

40. HEART

Rere Koalib *t=úgòr* (1), Ebang *d=ígór* (1), Abul *d=iúgór* (1), Laru *l=úgòr* (1), Utoro *d=ùgòré* (1), Shirumba *d=ùwàr* (1), Tiro *ð=ù* (2), Moro *úfúðà* (3), Ko *t=ògár* (1), Logol *d=àgùré* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *r=úgòr*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *d=íg r*. Quoted as sg. *d=u gor*, pl. *d=u gor* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *r=úg r*. Listed as sg. *d=úg r*, pl. *η=úg r* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *η=úgòr ~ y=úgòr*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *d=ùgòré*. Quoted as sg. *ð=u gwɔr*, pl. *d=u gwɔr* in [Stevenson 2009: 154].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *d=ùwàr*. Quoted as *ð=òwàr* in [Guest et al. 1998: 8].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *r=ù*. Quoted as sg. *d=u*, pl. *r=u* in [Stevenson 2009: 110].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *n=úfúðá*. Polysemy: 'heart / breath'. Differently in [Black 1971: 140]: *ðu ðəməwij* 'heart'.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *d=gár*.

Warnang: Not attested. Schadeberg states that the equivalent is borrowed from Arabic.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Plural: *d=àgùré*.

41. HORN

Ebang *d=ìl* (1), Abul *d=ìl* (1), Laru *g=ìl* (1), Utoro *l=ò:bà* (2), Shirumba *l=ú:βà* (2), Tiro *l=ò:bà* (2), Moro *θál* (3), Warnang *i:lé* (1), Logol *d=íl* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Not attested.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *d=ìl*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *r=ìl*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *ηw=ìl*. Quoted as *g=ìl ~ d=ìl* in [Kuku 2012: 28, 29].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *η=ò:bà*. Quoted as sg. *l=oba*, pl. *ηw=oba* in [Stevenson 2009: 319].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *η=ú:βà*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *η=ò:βà*. Quoted as sg. *l=uba*, pl. *η=uba* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *árlí*. In [Black 1971: 141], only a special term with the meaning 'long horn' is attested: sg. *l=əməgəŋ*, pl. *n=əməgəŋ*.

Ko: Not attested.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *ø=ì:lé*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Plural: *d=ìl*.

42. I

Rere Koalib *ji* (1), Ebang *ji* (1), Abul *ji* (1), Laru *èji* (1), Utoro *ji* (1), Shirumba *nì* (1), Tiro *iñi* (1), Moro *íñi ~ iñi* (1), Ko *iñi* (1), Warnang *jíñi* (1), Logol *gw=é:nì* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 62.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 67. Quoted as *ji* in [Meinhof 1944: 107].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 71.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 74.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 78. Quoted as *ŋi ~ ji ~ i* in [Stevenson 2009: 178].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 82.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 87. Quoted as *iŋi ~ iŋi* (subject form), *an=iŋi* (isolated emphatic form) in [Stevenson 2009: 32-33].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 92. In [Black 1971: 4, 7], the emphatic free subject pronoun is listed as *i-genə-ŋi* 'I'; the bound subject prefix is listed as *i-*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 98.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 103.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 106.

43. KILL

Rere Koalib *iŋiŋ-iðù* (1), Ebang *gwí=mà=ríŋ-à* (1), Abul *gì=mà=ríŋ-ì* (1), Laru *gù=mà=líŋ-é* (1), Utoro *gw=á=ríŋ-è* (1), Shirumba *mà:=líŋ-è* (1), Tiro *líŋ-â* (1), Moro *ríŋ-ù* (1), Ko *žà* (2), Warnang *rì:-ðò* (1), Logol *ríŋ-éðí* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Quoted as *di=ríŋ-a* (infinitive) in [Meinhof 1944: 115].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 36. 3rd p. form. The Kerindi variant is *mà=líŋ-è*. Quoted as 1st stem *ríŋ-iði*, 2nd stem *ríŋ-è* in [Stevenson 2009: 235].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 36. 3rd p. form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form. Quoted as *líŋ-o* (imperative), *ga=líŋ-a* (1 sg. indefinite) in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form. Quoted as imperative *ríŋ-o*, pres. *ga=ríŋ-a* (also "intransitive imperative" *ríŋ-əðo*) in [Black 1971: 144].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 36. Imperative form.

44. KNEE

Rere Koalib *ŋwù=rgwù* (1), Ebang *lì=rkó* (1), Abul *l=rkó* (1), Laru *ká=rkó* (1), Utoro *rkó* (1), Shirumba *l=rúwà* (1), Tiro *i=ríyò* (1), Moro *kò=ríá* (1), Ko *k=rge* (1), Warnang *kò=rgá* (1), Logol *l=ùrgú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 37. NT.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *ŋù=rkɔ*. Quoted as sg. *l=rkɔ*, pl. *ŋwu=rko* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *ŋù=rkɔ*. Listed as sg. *l=úrkɔ*, pl. *ŋ=úrkɔ* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *yí=rkɔ*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *ŋú=rkɔ*. The Kerindi variant is *rkɔ*, pl. *ŋù=rkɔ*. Quoted as sg. *l=rkɔ*, pl. *ŋw=urkɔ* (Orombe sg. *l=rkwo*,

pl. *ŋw=urkwɔ*) in [Stevenson 2009: 319].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *r̥iñwà*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *nd=ríyɔ*. Quoted as sg. *i=rio*, pl. *nd=rio* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *nd=ríá*. Quoted as sg. *k=oria*, pl. *nd=ria* in [Black 1971: 144].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *φ=qɛ*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *k̥r̥gá*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Plural: *ŋ=ùrgú*.

45. KNOW

Rere Koalib *kú=líŋ-iðù* (1), Ebang *gwì=líŋ-í:dì* (1), Abul *gú=líŋ-èðì* (1), Laru *gwú=líŋ-í:dì* (1), Utoro *gwù=líŋ-í:ðì* (1), Shirumba *ŋà:=líŋ-aðíŋì* (1), Tiro *gà=líŋ-è:t-ɔ* (1), Moro *kà=líŋ-è:tɔ* (1), Ko *w=áŋál-é* (2), Warnang *ŋ=èrŋ-à* (1), Logol *gù=líŋ-é:dì* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Quoted as 1st stem *liŋ-iði*, 2nd stem *liŋ-ε* in [Stevenson 2009: 235].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Quoted as *liŋ-è:tɔ* (imperative), *ga=liŋet-a* (1 sg. indefinite) in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 37. Quoted as imperative *løŋ-e:tɔ*, pres. *ga=liŋ-e:tɔ*, etc. in [Black 1971: 144].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 37.

46. LEAF

Rere Koalib *k=á:nì* (1), Ebang *k=é:nì* (1), Abul *g=é:nì* (1), Laru *t=ú:lípn* (2), Utoro *g=é:nì* (1), Shirumba *n=é:nì* (1), Tiro *áníŋìɔ* (1), Moro *ð=á:táy* (3), Ko *k=ðṛì* (2), Warnang *w=ù:nì* (1), Logol *g=é:nì* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *y=á:nì*. Quoted as *k=é:nì* in [Quint 2006: 98]. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *n=é:nì*. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *n=é:nì*. Listed as sg. *á:ní*, pl. *ŋ=ó:ní* in Fadlalla's idiolect. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *ŋ=ú:lípn*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *ʒ=é:nì*. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'. The Kerindi variant is listed as *g=á:nì*.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf' (the precise equivalent for leaf may be *n=é:nì n-à wà:yè* 'ear-of-tree').

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf' (the precise equivalent for leaf may be *áníŋìɔ k=í ðú:yì* 'ear-of-tree').

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *r=á:táy*. Quoted as sg. *ð=a:tai*, pl. *r=a:tai* in [Black 1971: 146].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *φ=qì*. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: *φ=ù:nì*. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Plural: $\mathfrak{z}=\acute{\epsilon}:ni$. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'.

47. LIE

Rere Koalib $kú=nd\grave{a}r-\grave{a}lù$ (1), Ebang $gù=dr-\acute{o}$ (1), Abul $nd\grave{r}-\acute{o}$ (1), Laru $\grave{n}dr-\acute{u}$ (1), Utoro $\grave{n}dr-\grave{o}$ (1), Shirumba $\grave{n}dr-\acute{o}$ (1), Tiro $\grave{n}dr-\hat{u}$ (1), Moro $\grave{n}dr-\hat{v}$ (1), Ko $\acute{n}dr-\acute{w}$ (1), Warnang $\grave{a}ss-\acute{o}$ (2), Logol $\grave{i}dd\grave{a}r-gó$ # (3).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Possibly $gù=d\grave{l}-$ (the author expresses uncertainty).

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form. The Kerindi variant is listed as $d\grave{x}-\grave{o}$. For Stevenson's forms, see under 'sleep'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Imperative form. Cf. also 3rd p. sg.: $\mathfrak{N}g\grave{d}\grave{l}-\acute{a}$ [ibid.] (a suppletive stem?).

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 38. Polysemy: 'lie / sleep'. Imperative form. Marked as dubious.

48. LIVER

Ebang $\grave{a}w\grave{e}$ (1), Abul $\grave{a}w\grave{e}$ (1), Laru $l=\acute{a}y$ (1), Utoro $\acute{a}w\grave{e}$ (1), Shirumba $\grave{a}m\grave{a}r$ (2), Tiro $\grave{a}vv\grave{e}$ (1), Moro $\mathfrak{c}=\acute{a}:\beta\grave{e}\grave{a}$ (1), Ko $\underline{t}=\grave{u}\acute{y}\mathfrak{y}$ (3), Logol $\eta=\acute{a}:wí$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Not attested.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 39.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Listed as sg. $l=\grave{a}w\grave{e}$, pl. $\grave{a}w\grave{e}$ in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Quoted as $l=\acute{a}y$ in [Kuku 2015: 3].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: $\mathfrak{z}=\acute{a}w\grave{e}$. The Kerindi variant is listed as $\acute{a}v\grave{e}$, pl. $\mathfrak{z}=\acute{a}v\grave{e}$.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: $n=\grave{m}ar$.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: $n=\grave{a}vv\grave{e}$.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Quoted as $\mathfrak{c}abia \sim \mathfrak{c}abe$ in [Black 1971: 146].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: $d=\grave{u}\acute{y}\mathfrak{y}$.

Warnang: Not attested. Marked as an Arabic borrowing by Schadeberg.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: $\mathfrak{z}=\acute{a}wí$.

49. LONG

Rere Koalib $=\grave{v}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Ebang $=\grave{ò}:l\grave{a}\mathfrak{y}$ (1), Abul $=\grave{o}:l\grave{a}\mathfrak{y}$ (1), Laru $=\acute{o}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Utoro $=\acute{o}:l\grave{a}\mathfrak{y}$ (1), Shirumba $=\grave{u}w\grave{a}l\grave{a}$ (1), Tiro $=\grave{ò}l\grave{a}$ (1), Moro $=\grave{u}\grave{a}:l\grave{a}$ (1), Ko $=\acute{o}rá-tò\mathfrak{f}$ (1), Warnang $=\grave{ò}ll\grave{a}$ (1),

Logol =*jlj-gj* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *k*=.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *d*=, *l*=, *ŋ*=. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *d*=, *r*=.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *k*=, *y*=.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefixes *gw*=, *d*=. Polysemy: 'long / far'. The Kerindi variant is =*llá* (with prefixes *t*=, *φ*=). Quoted as *ola* in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *d*=. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *ð*=. Quoted as =*la* 'long, tall' in [Stevenson 2009: 20, 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *θ*=. Quoted as pres. *g-wal-a*, imper. *ol-u* 'to be long' in [Black 1971: 146].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *t*=, *d*=. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *g*=, *r*=.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *ŋ*=, *ʒ*=.

50. LOUSE

Rere Koalib *k=ù:gì* (1), Abul *gð=ndégl* (2), Laru *tð=ndégl* (2), Utoro *g=ámìl* (-1), Shirumba *d=índìl* (2), Tiro *i=rlâ* (3), Ko *tð=gìŋ* (4), Warnang *átláŋjáŋ* (5), Logol *g=isígíl* (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *y=ù:gì*.

Ebang: Not attested.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *i=ndégl*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *y=ndégl* *l* ~ *ŋwú=ndégl* *l*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *ʒ=ámìl*. Borrowed from Arabic. The Kerindi variant seems to be inherited: sg. *k=ðé:gìlè*, pl. *ʒ=ðé:gìlè*.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *índìl*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *i=drlâ*.

Moro: Not attested in either Schadeberg's or Black's materials. Schadeberg indicates that the word is an Arabic borrowing.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *ni=gìŋ*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *φ=átláŋjáŋ*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *ʒ=isígíl*.

51. MAN

Rere Koalib *k=ûr* (1), Ebang *kw=ðmmâ* (2), Abul *gú=mmà* (2), Laru *t=ùr* (1), Utoro *gw=úmmèà* (2), Shirumba *vrá* (1), Tiro *gár=ðñòr* (3), Moro *ùrrá* (1), Ko *k=ádágíŋá* (4), Warnang *g=ðñòr* (3), Logol *gw=ðmmé* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *l=ûr*. Singular form quoted as *kw=ó�* in [Quint 2006: 43]; plural form quoted as *l=ó�* in

[Quint 2006: 33].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *l=ɔmmâ*. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Quoted as sg. *gw=oma* ~ *kw=oma*, pl. *l=oma* in [Meinhof 1944: 97].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *lé=mma*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *ŋ=ùr*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *l=úmmèà*. Quoted as sg. *gw=omio*, pl. *l=emio* (Kwijur sg. *gw=omia*, pl. *l=omia*; Orombe sg. *gw=omia*, pl. *l=emia*) 'man, male' in [Stevenson 2009: 320]. Cf. also sg. *yo ~ iyo*, pl. *niyo ~ niyo* 'man, male' [ibid.] (is this the word 'male' rather than 'man'?).

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *l=vrá*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *ltí=l=áŋjɔr*. Usually in conjunction with *ù:=ʒí* 'person' q.v. (so the proper meaning of the word is probably male'). Quoted as sg. *ŋjɔr*, pl. *l=ŋjɔr* 'male' in [Stevenson 2009: 19]; the meaning 'man' is expressed by the compound form *wuži kir ŋjɔr*, literally 'person-male' [Stevenson 2009: 27].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *dírá*. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Differently in [Black 1971: 148]: sg. *ma=ʒi*, pl. *li=ʒi* 'man'. Cf., however, *ga=torra* 'male (adj.)' [ibid.].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *l=ádágíŋjá*. Usually in conjunction with *kíó* 'person' q.v. (so the proper meaning of the word is probably male').

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *φ=áŋjɔr*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Plural: *l=émmé*.

52. MANY

Rere Koalib =ú:rú (1), Ebang =ɔnádɔ (2), Abul =ínaðò (2), Laru =óñzáðù (2), Utoro =úttùŋ (3), Shirumba =àŋèdɔ # (2), Tiro =ɔŋà (4), Moro *gw=aipa* # (4), Ko *ŋ=pøl* ~ *lé=ppøl* (5), Warnang =úttù:mì (3), Logol =ú:sún (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *l=*, *y=*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *l=*. Quoted as *=oijnado* in [Meinhof 1944: 104].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with prefixes *l=*, *ŋw=*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *ŋw=*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *l=*. Quoted as *utu* in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Additionally, the forms *à:lù* (prefixes *y=*, *l=*) and *=ürò:dɔ* may be used in the same meaning.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *l=*. Quoted as *=ijia* in [Stevenson 2009: 46].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 39; Black 1971: 148. Schadeberg does not list any forms from his own informants and quotes the equivalent from Black's material instead.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 39. The forms *ŋu=bèdɔ*, *l=bèdɔ* may also be used in the meaning 'many' (they contain the same root as 'big' q.v.).

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *φ=*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 39. Used with the prefix *ʒ=*.

53. MEAT

Rere Koalib *y=i:ði* (1), Ebang *ʒ=ì* (1), Abul *i:ðì* (1), Laru *ŋúðí* (1), Utoro *ʒ=iðì* (1), Shirumba *ðír=ðìà* (1), Tiro *ṛ=ðè* (1), Moro *ṛ=ðà* (1), Ko *φ=vγè* (2), Warnang *kír=ðè* (1), Logol *ʒ=i:* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Singulative: *t=í:ðì*. Quoted as *y=í:ðì* {yíiti} in [Quint 2006: 60].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Listed as *iðì* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural form. Quoted as *z=iðì* in [Stevenson 2009: 152].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *i:ðìà*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *i:ðì*. Quoted as *e=dë* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *ë:ðà*. Quoted as sg. *ər=ða*, pl. *e=ðe* in [Black 1971: 148].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

54. MOON

Rere Koalib *àwwàñ* (1), Ebang *g=ùwâ* (1), Abul *g=ùwà* (1), Laru *t=úwá* (1), Utoro *ùwà* (1), Shirumba *áwwà* (1), Tiro *ù:wà* (1), Moro *ùβʷà* (1), Ko *ùì* (1), Warnang *áwì* (1), Logol *ùwɔ* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *y=ww* . Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Quoted as *éwwè* 'moon' in [Quint 2006: 70].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *l=ùwâ*. Quoted as sg. *kw=uwa*, pl. *l=uweo* in [Meinhof 1944: 97].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *ŋ=úwá*. Quoted as *d=úw* in [Kuku 2012: 28].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *l=ùwà*. Quoted as sg. *uwo*, pl. *l=uwo* (Kwijur sg. *uwa*, pl. *l=uwa*) 'moon, month' in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Quoted as sg. *uwo*, pl. *n=uwo* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *n=ùβʷà*. Quoted as sg. *ubwa*, pl. *n=ubwa* in [Black 1971: 150].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *l=ùì*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *l=ùw : ~ l=ùw z:yú*.

55. MOUNTAIN

Rere Koalib *àyyìn* (1), Ebang *l=èn* (1), Abul *l=èn* (1), Laru *k=è:nù* (1), Utoro *l=rògòm* (2), Shirumba *l=údmùr* (3), Tiro *çitç* (4), Moro *à:yéñ* (1), Ko *k=ðdā* (5), Warnang *k=ð:rù* (6), Logol *l=àfjyèñ* (7).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *y=àyyìn*. Quoted as *àèn* in [Quint 2006: 209].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *ŋw=èn*. Quoted as sg. *l=en*, pl. *ŋw=en* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *ŋw=èn*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *y=è:nù*. Singular form quoted as *g=èn* in [Kuku 2015: 5]; Plural form quoted as *y=èn* in [Kuku 2012:

28].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\eta\bar{u}=rg\bar{o}m$. Cf. sg. $l=dori$, pl. $\eta w=udori$ 'hill' in [Stevenson 2009: 150]; however, the Kwijur form is listed as sg. $l=r\bar{g}\bar{o}m$, pl. $\eta w=urg\bar{o}m$ (cf. also Orombe sg. $l=r\bar{g}w\bar{o}m$, pl. $\eta w=rgw\bar{o}m$), corresponding to Schadeberg's data.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\eta=\bar{u}dm\bar{u}r$.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Cf. sg. $l=dori$, pl. $\eta=\bar{o}dori$ 'hill' in [Stevenson 2009: 21].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Quoted as *aiyən* in [Black 1971: 149].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\varphi=\bar{a}t\bar{a}$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $k\bar{o}r\bar{\chi}\bar{u}$.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\eta w=\bar{d}f\bar{i}y\bar{e}\eta$.

56. MOUTH

Rere Koalib $r=\bar{u}:j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Ebang $\eta w=\bar{i}:j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Abul $\eta\bar{u}=j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Laru $\eta w=\bar{i}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Utoro $l=\bar{u}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Shirumba $\bar{i}:j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Tiro $l=\bar{j}:n\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Moro $\bar{a}j\bar{o}\bar{a}$ (1), Ko $t=\bar{d}m\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Warnang $\bar{j}:n\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Logol $d=\bar{u}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Formally a plural form; the singulative $t=\bar{u}:j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ is glossed as 'lip'. Cf. also the adverbial expression *kw̄ ́rānā* 'in the mouth' [ibid.]. In [Quint 2006: 32], the equivalent for 'mouth' is *kw̄ ́r̄*; but cf. also $t=\bar{u}:j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'mouth' in [Quint 2006: 68].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Formally a plural form; the singulative $l=\bar{i}:j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ is glossed as 'lip'.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Formally a plural form; the singulative $l\bar{i}=j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ is glossed as 'lip'. Cf. also the adverbial expression *gw̄r̄ōm* 'in the mouth' [ibid.]. Listed as pl. $\eta=\bar{u}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'mouth', sg. $l=\bar{u}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'lip' in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Formally a plural form; the singulative $l=\bar{i}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$ is glossed as 'lip'. Cf. also the adverbial expression *ηúlém* 'in the mouth' [ibid.].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\eta=\bar{u}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$. Quoted as sg. $l=j\bar{u}u$, pl. $\eta w=u\bar{u}u$ (Kwijur sg. $l=u\bar{u}u$, pl. $\eta w=u\bar{u}u$) 'lip (upper)', 'mouth' in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Formally a plural form; the singular form $l=\bar{i}n\bar{\chi}\bar{u}\bar{s}$ is glossed as 'lip'. Quoted as *j̄a* 'mouth' in [Guest et al. 1998: 3].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\eta=\bar{j}:n\bar{u}\bar{u}$. Quoted in the plural form as $\eta=j\bar{j}\bar{u}\bar{s}$ 'mouth (lit. lips)' in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Quoted as *eijnua* in [Black 1971: 149].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $d=\bar{a}n\bar{u}\bar{u}$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $\varphi=\bar{j}:n\bar{u}\bar{u}$.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: $d=\bar{u}j\bar{u}\bar{u}$.

57. NAME

Rere Koalib $y=\bar{i}:r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Ebang $\bar{z}=\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Abul $\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Laru $\eta\bar{u}=r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Utoro $\bar{z}=\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Shirumba $\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Tiro $\bar{i}=\bar{r}\bar{i}$ (1), Moro $i\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{u}\#$ (1), Ko $\varphi=\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Warnang $k=\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1), Logol $\bar{z}=\bar{i}r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Quoted as *y=\bar{i}:r\bar{i}\bar{u}\bar{u}* in [Quint 2006: 86].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Quoted as *z=irij* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Quoted as *ʒ=iri* (Kwijur *ʒ=irip*) in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 40. Plural: *n=dri*. Quoted as sg. *i=ri*, pl. *nd=ri* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 40; Black 1971: 151. Plural: *ndrɔj*. Schadeberg does not list any forms from his own informants and quotes the equivalent from Black's material instead.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 40.

58. NECK

Rere Koalib *kù=ròm* (1), Ebang *kú=dóm* ~ *kwí=dóm* (1), Abul *gú=rróm* (1), Laru *l=úgró* (2), Utoro *gú=róm* (1), Shirumba *vàdàm* (1), Tiro *ittàm* (1), Moro *è=tám* (1), Ko *v=dúm* ~ *wv=dúm* (1), Warnang *à=tám* (1), Logol *g=ùθóm* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *l=ròm*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *li=d m*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *l=r m*. Differently in Fadlalla's idiolect: sg. *g=úll* ; pl. *ŋ=úll* ; 'neck'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *ŋ=úgr ñ~y=úgr ñ* According to Schadeberg, distinct from *t=ùllù* 'front of neck'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *r=r m*. The Kerindi variant is listed as sg. *k=úr m*, pl. *l=úr m*. Differently in [Stevenson 2009: 320]: sg. *ð=idi*, pl. *d=idi* (Orombe sg. *ð=idip*, pl. *d=idip*).

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *n=vàdàm*. Meaning listed as 'front of neck', so the word is formally opposed to *irdìŋ* ~ *rdìŋ* 'neck', but it is unclear just how accurate the semantic glossing is in this case. Cf. *x=òtám* 'neck' in [Guest et al. 1998: 9].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *n=ittàm*. Quoted as *itam* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *è=tám*. Quoted as sg. *e=tam*, pl. *n=tam* in [Black 1971: 151].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *l=dám*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *g=ùtám*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: *l=ùθ m*.

59. NEW

Rere Koalib =*i:yàŋ* (1), Ebang =*íyàŋ* (1), Abul =*íyàŋ* (1), Laru =*yáŋ* (1), Utoro =*íyâŋ* (1), Shirumba *pùgédàñ* (2), Tiro =*àmbìŋ* (3), Moro =*màzéñ* (4), Ko =*iŋà* (1), Warnang =*éyyà* (1), Logol =*iyáŋ* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with prefixes *k=*, *y=*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix *g=*. Quoted as *inŋay* in [Meinhof 1944: 104].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix *g=*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with prefixes *ki=*, *ŋv=*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix *gw=*. Quoted as *iyu* (Kwijur *iyuŋ*, Orombe *iyuŋ*) in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix $\ddot{\sigma}$ =. Differently in [Stevenson 2009: 111]: =imilo 'new'.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix ka =. Quoted as mai $\ddot{z}\sigma\eta$ in [Black 1971: 151].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix k =.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with prefixes g =, r =.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Used with the prefix g =.

60. NIGHT

Rere Koalib $k=ilké:lù$ (1), Ebang $g=ílèy$ (1), Abul $g=\dot{a}l\acute{e}y$ (1), Laru $\underline{t}=úlùn\eta$ (1), Utoro $g=\acute{í}l\acute{y}\dot{\jmath}\eta$ (1), Shirumba $\grave{a}lí:líà$ (2), Tiro $\grave{u}l\acute{í}\eta g\acute{e}$ (1), Moro $\grave{v}l\grave{v}ngí$ (1), Ko $g=\grave{v}l\grave{b}:gí$ (1), Warnang $\acute{a}:l\acute{í}\eta\grave{u}$ (1), Logol $g=\grave{v}l\grave{b}:gí$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Quoted as *kilkélù* in [Quint 2006: 139].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Quoted as sg. $g=ili$, pl. $\mathfrak{z}=ili$ 'night' (cf. also $g=ili-o$ 'at night' = Kwijur $g=ili-a\eta$ id.) in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Schadeberg tentatively identifies the word as a borrowing from Arabic, but this is not certain.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Quoted as *ulijge* in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Cf. *uləŋgələŋ* 'night all' (sic!) in [Black 1971: 151].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

61. NOSE

Rere Koalib $l=\grave{a}\grave{\delta}úlù$ (1), Ebang $l=\grave{a}:dùn$ (1), Abul $l=\grave{a}:dùn$ (1), Laru $k=\grave{a}:d\acute{l}$ (1), Utoro $g=\grave{a}:d\acute{a}lú$ (1), Shirumba $\grave{a}:d\grave{a}l\grave{b}$ (1), Moro $\acute{a}\grave{\delta}\acute{a}l\acute{a}$ (1), Ko $k=\acute{e}y\grave{v}n$ (1), Warnang $\grave{a}\grave{l}\grave{u}\grave{\delta}\grave{b}$ (2), Logol $l=\grave{u}y\grave{u}l$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\eta w=\grave{a}\grave{\delta}úlù$. Quoted as $\eta w=\grave{a}\grave{\delta}ló$ {ηwàtló} in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\eta w=\grave{a}:dùn$.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\eta w=\grave{a}:dùn$.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $y=\grave{a}:d\acute{l}$.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\mathfrak{z}=\grave{a}:d\acute{a}lú$. Quoted as sg. $g=a\grave{\delta}il\mathfrak{z}$, pl. $\mathfrak{z}=a\grave{\delta}il\mathfrak{z}$ in [Stevenson 2009: 320].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $n=\grave{a}:d\grave{a}l\grave{b}$. Quoted as $x=\grave{d}\grave{a}l\grave{a} \sim x=\grave{a}\grave{d}\grave{a}l\grave{a}$ in [Guest et al. 1998: 2, 3].

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. *ađilɔ* 'nose' in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $n=\acute{a}\grave{\delta}\grave{b}\acute{a}$. Quoted as sg. *ađəlwā*, pl. $n=a\grave{\delta}əlwā$ in [Black 1971: 151].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\varphi=\acute{e}y\grave{v}n$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\varphi=\grave{a}\grave{l}\grave{u}\grave{\delta}\grave{b}$.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Plural: $\eta=\grave{u}y\grave{u}l$.

62. NOT

Ebang =*ati* # (1), Tiro *de* # (1), Moro *ger-* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Not attested.

Ebang: Meinhof 1944: 113. Not attested in Schadeberg's sources. Meinhof defines this negative morpheme as an auxiliary verb, combining with concordial prefixes (e. g. class 1 *gw=ati*, class 2 *l=ati*, etc.).

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Not attested.

Shirumba: Not attested.

Tiro: Stevenson 2009: 79. Basic postpositional particle of negation. Not attested in Schadeberg's data.

Moro: Black 1971: 69. Negative auxiliary verb ('not to be'). The attested forms are *ger-o* (mainly past tense), *ger-te* (imperative and future), and *gaber* (present or future). Not attested in Schadeberg's materials.

Ko: Not attested.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Not attested.

63. ONE

Rere Koalib *kw=átté* (1), Ebang *gw=étipj* (1), Abul *gw=ɔdippj* (1), Laru *gw=étté* (1), Utoro *gw=è.dɔŋ* (1), Shirumba *i_ttíβj* (1), Tiro *k=ènné* (2), Moro *k=vntì* (2), Ko *t=ákkàn* (3), Warnang *η=u_ttj* (1), Logol *gw=átté* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as =éffé in [Quint 2006: 8].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as =etipo in [Meinhof 1944: 105].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *g=éfè-pú* in [Kuku 2015: 7].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *gw=ete* ~ *gw=eti-dɔ* in [Stevenson 2009: 204].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as =ene in [Stevenson 2009: 48].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *g=unto* in [Black 1971: 152].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

64. PERSON

Rere Koalib *kw=iʒi* (1), Ebang *gw=iʒi* (1), Abul *gw=iʒi* (1), Laru *t=iʒi* (1), Utoro *gw=iʒi* (1), Shirumba *i:ʒi* (1), Tiro *u:ʒi* (1), Moro *ɛ=ðá* (2), Ko *k=ió* (3), Warnang *ηéŋ* (4), Logol *η=ð:nj* (5).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=ìʒi*.
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=iʒi*. Quoted as sg. *kw=iʒi*, pl. *l=iʒi* in [Meinhof 1944: 97].
- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=iʒi*.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *ŋw=iʒi*. Quoted as sg. *d=iʒi*, pl. *ŋw=ùʒi* in [Kuku 2015: 4].
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=iʒi*. Quoted as sg. *gw=iʒi*, pl. *l=iʒi* (Kwijur sg. *w=iʒi*, pl. *l=iʒi*; Orombe sg. *gw=uʒi*, pl. *l=iʒi*) in [Stevenson 2009: 321].
- Shirumba:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=iʒi*.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=iʒi*. Quoted as sg. *w=uʒi*, pl. *l=iʒi* in [Stevenson 2009: 19].
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *l=ðá*. Quoted as sg. *e=ða*, pl. *le=ða* in [Black 1971: 154].
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Suppletive plural: *l=mí*.
- Warnang:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Suppletive plural: *çìrìŋ*.
- Logol:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Plural: *ʒ=ɔ:n*.

65. RAIN

Rere Koalib *k=âw* (1), Ebang *k=âw* (1), Abul *g=âw* (1), Laru *ká=ráŋ* (2), Utoro *g=âw* (1), Shirumba *áwwà* (1), Tiro *l=ɔ:mɛ* (3), Moro *rəmʷà* (4), Ko *k=iàw* (1), Warnang *âw* (1), Logol *k=áw* (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Same root as 'water' q.v. Quoted as *k=âo* in [Quint 2006: 8].
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.
- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Quoted as *g=au* in [Stevenson 2009: 151].
- Shirumba:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Same root as in 'cloud' q.v. ('cloud' is the plural form of 'rain'). Quoted as sg. *l=ɔ:me*, pl. *ŋw=ɔ:me* in [Stevenson 2009: 21].
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 42. Homonymous with 'snake' (?). Quoted as *rəmwa* in [Black 1971: 158].
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.
- Warnang:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.
- Logol:** Schadeberg 1981: 42.

66. RED

Rere Koalib =ú:rì (1), Ebang =v:rè (1), Abul =ù:rè (1), Laru =ú:rì (1), Utoro =ùrèŋ ~ =ùrrèŋ (1), Shirumba *wè:rè* (1), Tiro =v:rì (1), Moro =v:rí (1), Ko =ɔ:rí *pɸiàdàr* (1), Warnang =ù:rí (1), Logol =ù:rí (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with prefixes *k=*, *y=*. Quoted as =ò:rè 'to be red' in [Quint 2006: 9].
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *g=*.

- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with prefixes *g*=, *l*=.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with prefixes *k*=, *y*=.
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *gw*=. Quoted as *ore* in [Stevenson 2009: 321].
- Shirumba:** Schadeberg 1981: 43.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *k*=. Quoted as *uri* in [Stevenson 2009: 19]; as *ori* in [Stevenson 2009: 47].
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *k*=. Quoted as *g=ore* in [Black 1971: 158].
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *k*=. Complex form (second component is not quite clear).
- Warnang:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *ŋ*=.
- Logol:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Used with the prefix *g*=.

67. ROAD

Rere Koalib *t=ɛ* (1), Ebang *d=ày* (1), Abul *d=ày* (1), Laru *k=ày* (1), Utoro *d=áy* (1), Shirumba *ð=àd* (1), Tiro *ð=àð* (1), Moro *θ=à:θ* (1), Ko *t=v ~ t=vl* (2), Warnang *à=ðɔ:nj* (3), Logol *d=éy* (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=ɛ*. Quoted as *t=áe* in [Quint 2006: 48].
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=ày*. Quoted as sg. *d=ai*, pl. *d=ai* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].
- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=ày*.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *ŋw=ày*.
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=áy*. The Kerindi variant is listed as sg. *t=át*, pl. *d=áθ*. Quoted as sg. *t=að*, pl. *d=að* (Kwijur sg. *ð=að*, pl. *d=að*; Orombe sg. *t=at*, pl. *d=at*) in [Stevenson 2009: 322].
- Shirumba:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=àr*.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=àð*. Quoted as sg. *d=at*, pl. *r=at* in [Stevenson 2009: 24].
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=à:θ*. Quoted as *ð=að* 'path' in [Black 1971: 154].
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=v ~ d=vl*.
- Warnang:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *ɔð=ðɔ:nj*
- Logol:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=éy*.

68. ROOT

Rere Koalib *t=à:mù* (1), Ebang *d=ùâ* (2), Abul *d=vwà* (2), Laru *g=úwá* (2), Utoro *d=rò* (3), Tiro *ð=idv̥ri* (4), Moro *θ=vndàlìà* (5), Ko *t=áù* (2), Warnang *ú* (2), Logol *d=ùwà* (2).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=à:mù*. Quoted as *t=è:mú* in [Quint 2006: 55].
- Ebang:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=ùâ*. Quoted as pl. *d=uwa* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].
- Abul:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *r=ùwà*.
- Laru:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *ŋ=úwá*. Quoted as *g=ówá* in [Kuku 2012: 28].
- Utoro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=rò*. The Kerindi variant is listed as sg. *dá=rwà*, pl. *d=rwà*.
- Shirumba:** Not attested.
- Tiro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *idv̥ri*.
- Moro:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *vndàlì ~ n=vndàlì*. Quoted as sg. *ð=ɔrlidia ~ urldia*, pl. *urldia ~ n=urldia* in [Black 1971: 160].
- Ko:** Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=áù*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *ɸ=ú*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 43. Plural: *d=ùwà*.

69. ROUND

Ebang *lìwàdèŋ* (1), Abul =*rl=à:lù* (2), Utoro =*rldɔŋ* (2), Shirumba *ìrlɔ:yɔ* (2), Tiro =*vrdì* (2), Moro =*tìvr-á:nú* (3).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Not attested.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Used with prefixes *gu=*, *gi=*.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Used with the prefix *gwù=*.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Used with the prefix *k=*.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Used with the prefix *yà=*. Differently in [Black 1971: 160]: *ge=redeðo* 'to be round (adj.)'.

Ko: Not attested.

Warnang: Not attested. Schadeberg indicates that the word is borrowed from Arabic.

Logol: Not attested. Schadeberg indicates that the word is borrowed from Arabic.

70. SAND

Rere Koalib *η=á:jià* # (1), Ebang *àmûr* (2), Abul *ùmûr* (2), Laru *t=ízíqçír* (3), Utoro *ámùlù* (2), Shirumba *d=ízàw* (4), Tiro *ð=èvê* (5), Moro *è:bíá* (5), Ko *k=òyùm* (6).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Quint 2006: 68. In our main source, the meaning 'sand' is rendered as *kùbúrtà* [Schadeberg 1981: 44], which is very dubious, since it is really the same word as 'river' (in the same list), and such a polysemy is highly unlikely. For this reason, we prefer to trust [Quint 2006] over Schadeberg's entry.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Listed as *àmrâ* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Quoted as *amuṛ* (Kwijur *amuṛu*) in [Stevenson 2009: 322].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Quoted as *d=ive* in [Stevenson 2009: 112].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Quoted as *ebe* in [Black 1971: 162].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Warnang: Not attested. Schadeberg indicates that the word is borrowed from Arabic.

Logol: Not attested. Schadeberg indicates that the word is borrowed from Arabic.

71. SAY

Rere Koalib *à:r-ù* (1), Abul *à:r-ù* (1), Laru *à:r-ù* (1), Utoro *à:r-ù* (1), Shirumba *ùm-éđì* (2),

Tiro *lɔ:r-ɔ* (3), Moro *g=ɔ:ráttá* (1), Ko *bór-ó* (4), Warnang *àrà-ðá* (1), Logol *á:r-ú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Cf.: *nòŋw=à:r-é* 'and he says' in [Quint 2006: 172].

Ebang: Not attested.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Cf. a different root in [Kuku 2012: 30]: *qí* 'to say'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Quoted as 1st and 2nd stem *ar-nɔ* in [Stevenson 2009: 236].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Polysemy: 'to say / to speak'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Polysemy: 'to say / to speak'. Cf. *lɔr-ɔ* (definite stem), *lɔr-a* (indefinite stem) 'to say' in [Stevenson 2009: 61].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. 3rd p. sg. form. Differently in [Black 1971: 162]: imperative *aṭa*, pres. *ga=b=aṭa*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

72. SEE

Rere Koalib *í:ʒ-à* (1), Ebang *áŋ-èdì* (2), Abul *gw=àŋ-àðì* (2), Laru *àŋg-èdí* (2), Utoro *àŋ-édì* (2), Shirumba *àmáš-ɔ* (3), Tiro *nón-ɔ* (4), Moro *sé:y-dù* (5), Ko *íyú* (1), Warnang *mà-yû* (6), Logol *sé:-dì* (5).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Listed as *m=àŋ-á* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Another listed equivalent is *ʒmb-áʒú* 'see!', semantic difference unknown.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Also *ŋá:l-ù* id. (semantic difference unclear). Quoted as 1st stem *àŋ-øðì*, 2nd stem *àŋ-u* in [Stevenson 2009: 235].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *nɔnɔ*, pl. *nɔnɔ-r* in [Stevenson 2009: 62], but with the meaning 'to look at'. The verb 'to see' is glossed differently: *àŋ-o* (imperative), *g=àŋ-a* (1 sg. indefinite).

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form. Quoted as *sei-çu*, pres. *ga=sei-çia* in [Black 1971: 163]. Cf. also *nwanøð-o* 'to see (examine, test a place)' [ibid.].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Imperative form.

73. SEED

Ebang *ŋ=v:láŋ* (1), Abul *l=v:láŋ* (1), Laru *k=v:lá* (1), Utoro *ŋ=à:rì* (2), Shirumba *n=à:rè #* (2), Tiro *ŋ=ùlà* (1), Moro *l=ðɔbṛá* (3), Ko *l=v:rá* (1), Warnang *v:rá* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Not attested. Said to be borrowed from Arabic.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 45.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Plural: *ò:làŋ* (*η=ò:làŋ* in Fadlalla's idiolect).

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Plural: *y=ú:lá*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Plural: *ji=à:ṛi*. Polysemy: 'seed / fruit / child'. Seems to be the same root as 'tree' q.v.? The Kerindi variant is different: *k=é:jâw* 'seed'. Cf. also sg. *g=eṛɔ*, pl. *ʒ=eṛɔ* (Orombe sg. *g=eṛou*, pl. *ʒ=eṛou*) 'seed' in [Stevenson 2009: 322].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Polysemy: 'seed / fruit'. Seems to be the same root as 'tree' q.v.? Somewhat dubious, especially because the equivalent in [Guest et al. 1998: 2] is different and agrees better with external data: *η=ò:làŋ* 'seeds' (pl.).

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 45.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Plural: *η ḥəd ḫṛá*. Polysemy: 'seed / flower'.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Plural: *η=ò:já*. Polysemy: 'seed / fruit'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 45. Plural: *ɸ=ò:já*.

Logol: Not attested.

74. SIT

Rere Koalib *nánn=àlù* (1), Ebang *gwi=ʒ-á:lò* (2), Abul *ʒá:-lù* (2), Laru *iʒá:-lù* (2), Utoro *ʒá:-lù* (2), Shirumba *mìṛ-é:lò* (3), Tiro *dí-ò* (4), Moro *dáŋá:-lù* (5), Ko *ù:tárgà* (6), Warnang *dàgá* (4), Logol *ʒígó* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form. Polysemy: 'to sit / to live'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 46.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form. Quoted as 1st stem *ʒe ~ ʒi*, 2nd stem *ʒi* in [Stevenson 2009: 322].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form. Quoted as *di-a tə* (imperative), *i-di-ɔ aṭa* (1 sg indefinite) in [Stevenson 2009: 112].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form. Quoted as imperative *ɻaŋ-a*, pres. *ga=ɻaŋ-a* in [Black 1971: 164].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form. 3rd p. sg.: *w=òŋ* (suppletive form).

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form. 3rd p. sg.: *η=gà*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Imperative form.

75. SKIN

Rere Koalib *k=írnà* (1), Ebang *k=írnâ* (1), Abul *g=írnâ* (1), Laru *tá=rná* (1), Utoro *g=òrnà* (1), Shirumba *írnà* (1), Tiro *á:rû* (2), Moro *àrùwà* (2), Ko *li=qɔw* (3), Warnang *á=qù* (3), Logol *g=ùṛèy* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *y=írnà*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *ʒ=írnâ*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *írnâ*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *ŋú=rná*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *ʒ=rnà*. The Kerindi variant is listed as sg. *k=ŕná*, pl. *ʒ=ŕrná*, but only in the meaning 'skin of animals'; in the meaning 'skin of people', the Kerindi form listed is sg. *á:ŋénù*, pl. *ʒ=áŋénù*. Somewhat differently in [Stevenson 2009: 322]: sg. *g=oru*, pl. *n=oru* 'skin' (cf. also Orombe *g=amugur* id.).

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *n=írnà*. Cf. *yáru* 'skins' in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *n=írû*. Complex form listed in [Stevenson 2009: 112]: *olpuru* (first component unclear).

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *n=ùrùwà*. Differently in [Black 1971: 164]: *ɛpi* 'human skin' vs. sg. *ð=ɔrnà*, pl. *erna* 'skin' (gen.).

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *ŋ ðɛ w*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *qú=qù*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Plural: *ʒ=ùʃɛy*.

76. SLEEP

Rere Koalib *i=nd̥ər-ù* (1), Ebang *gù=dr-ó* (1), Abul *nd̥l-ó* (1), Laru *ńdr-ú* (1), Utoro *ńdr-ò* (1), Shirumba *ndr-ó* (1), Tiro *ndr-û* (1), Moro *ndr-ô* (1), Ko *wú=ndr-ú* (1), Warnang *ŋà=gízár* (2), Logol *gwú=dír-ú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Quoted as *{ē=n̥ter-e}* in [Quint 2006: 38].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Cf. also *ŋw=àr* 'sleep (noun)' [ibid.]. Quoted as *di=dir-e* (infinitive) in [Meinhof 1944: 115].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Imperative form. Listed as *i=nd̥l-ò* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Imperative form. The Kerindi variant is listed as *d r-ò*. Quoted as 1st stem *dir-o*, 2nd stem *dir-e* (Kwijur *ndir-o* / *ndir-e*) 'to lie down, sleep' in [Stevenson 2009: 319].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *ndro*, pl. *ndro-r* in [Stevenson 2009: 62]. Cf. *ndr-o* (definite stem), *ndr-a* (indefinite stem) in [Stevenson 2009: 61].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. Imperative form. Quoted as *ndr-o*, pres. *ga=ndr-a* in [Black 1971: 164].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. 3rd p. sg. form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 47. 3rd p. sg. form.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Same root as 'to lie' q.v. 3rd p. sg. form.

77. SMALL

Rere Koalib *=akkúrēŋ* (1), Ebang *=íttíŋ* (2), Abul *=ittí* (2), Laru *=ó:kò* (1), Utoro *=ttí* (2), Shirumba *=dánùñò* (3), Tiro *=dàn* (3), Moro *=ttá* (2), Ko *=éllíŋ* (4), Warnang *àjìálíŋ* (4), Logol *=óggýŋ* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with prefixes: *kw-*, *y-*. Quoted as *ʒkkwóʃŋ* in [Quint 2006: 183].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Polysemy: 'small / few'. Quoted as *itíŋ* in [Meinhof 1944: 104].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Cf. also *l=údúttí* (sg.), *=údúttí* (pl.) 'small' [ibid.]; unclear if this form contains the same root as simple *=ittí* with an additional prefixal or root component, or if this is a completely different etymon, and if yes, what is its semantic/syntactic

difference from =*ittí*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with prefixes: *k*=, *y*=.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with prefixes *gù*= and *z̄*=. Quoted as =*iti* in [Stevenson 2009: 202].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with prefixes *n*= and zero. Polysemy: 'small / few'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with the prefix *ð*̄. Quoted as =*idan* in [Stevenson 2009: 47], with a suppletive plural stem: =*lra* ~ =*ilra* ibid.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with the prefix *là*=. Polysemy: 'small / few'. Quoted as pres. *ga=ta* 'to be small' in [Black 1971: 164].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with the prefix *l*=. Suppletive plural form: =*k jà*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: =*ŋ̄ŋ̄n̄ŋ̄*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Used with prefixes: *g*=, *z̄*=.

78. SMOKE

Rere Koalib *k=ú:lù* (1), Ebang *gw=uluŋw* # (1), Abul *g=úlúŋ* (1), Laru *t=úlù* (1), Utoro *g=úlúm* (1), Shirumba *d=úlù* (1), Tiro *ð=úð* (2), Moro *θ=úbʷá* (2), Ko *k=ðlù* (1), Warnang *k=úlú* (1), Logol *g=ùlù* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 47.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 47. This form is not from Schadeberg's own field data, but from an anonymously quoted translation of the New Testament (marked as "NT"). However, it almost precisely coincides with Schadeberg's own *g=úlúŋ* 'dust' [Schadeberg 1981: 29].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 47.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *ŋ̄ŋ̄n̄ŋ̄*. Quoted as *də=lù* in [Kuku 2012: 28].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Quoted as *g=ulu* (Kwijur *g=uluŋ*) in [Stevenson 2009: 322].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 47.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Quoted as sg. *d=uwa*, pl. *r=uwa* in [Stevenson 2009: 24].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Quoted as *ð=ubwa* in [Black 1971: 165].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 47.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 47.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 47.

79. STAND

Rere Koalib *i=rl-ù* (1), Ebang *dún-éd̄î* (2), Abul *gú=d̄vn-èðèlñ̄* (2), Laru *dùn-àd̄í* (2), Utoro *túdún-ù* (2), Shirumba *ð=rl-éł̄* (1), Tiro *dúr-û* (3), Moro *ðár-ù* (3), Ko *kúzùrè* (4), Warnang *ŋ̄ð=gr-á táwnòŋ̄* (5), Logol *dútúŋ̄-gð* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Listed as *gwð=gù=d̄ðn-àðð* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form. Quoted as 1st stem *ðuðun-u*, 2nd stem *ðuðun-i* in [Stevenson 2009: 235], with polysemy:

'stand / wait / want'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form. Cf. *dur-u* (definite stem), *dur-u* (indefinite stem) in [Stevenson 2009: 61].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form. Quoted as imperative *ðɔr-u*, pres. *ga=ðɔr-a* in [Black 1971: 167].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 48. 3rd p. sg. Idiomatic expression with unclear structure.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 48. Imperative form.

80. STAR

Rere Koalib *t=v:r̄m* (1), Ebang *l=v̄d̄v̄m* (1), Abul *l=úr̄m* (1), Laru *k=úr̄m* (1), Utoro *l=úr̄m* (1), Shirumba *l=v̄d̄v̄m* (1), Tiro *ð=àβà* (2), Moro *θ=v̄pp̄à* (2), Ko *l=v̄t̄áŋ* (3), Warnang *ú:v̄d̄um* (1), Logol *l=v̄t̄áŋ* (3).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *r=v:r̄m*. Quoted as sg. *t=ò:r̄m*, pl. *r=ò:r̄m* in [Quint 2006: 56].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *v̄d̄v̄m*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *úr̄m*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *y=úr̄m*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *úr̄m*. Quoted as sg. *l=urum*, pl. *ηw=urum* (Kwijur sg. *l=utrum*, pl. *ηw=utrum*; Orombe sg. *l=ur̄m*, pl. *ηw=ur̄m*), with polysemy: 'star / hail' in [Stevenson 2009: 323]. Cf. also sg. *ð=aba*, pl. *ʒ=aba* 'star' (belonging to the "harmful things" class!) in [Stevenson 2009: 153]; semantic difference is unclear.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *v̄d̄v̄m*. Quoted as *l=òd̄v̄m* in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *y=àβà*. Quoted as sg. *d=aba*, pl. *y=aba* in [Stevenson 2009: 23].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *r=v̄pp̄à*. Quoted as sg. *ð=opa*, pl. *r=opa* in [Black 1971: 167].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *v̄t̄áŋ*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *v̄d̄um*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *v̄t̄áŋ*.

81. STONE

Rere Koalib *k=âl* (1), Ebang *k=âl* (1), Abul *gð=dâl* (2), Laru *k=jr* (3), Utoro *g=âdâl* (2), Shirumba *i=dâ* (4), Tiro *â:l* (1), Moro *l=jândrá* (5), Ko *l=v̄lí* (6), Warnang *âl* (1), Logol *g=v̄dâl* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 49; Quint 2006: 32. Plural: *y=âl*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *n=jl*. Quoted as sg. *kw=ol*, pl. *ji=ol* in [Meinhof 1944: 99].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *i=dâl*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *y=jr*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *âdâl*. The Kerindi variant is listed as sg. *k=âdâl*, pl. *ji=dâl*. Quoted as sg. *g=idâl*, pl. *n=idâl ~ n=jl* (Kwijur sg. *g=idâl*, pl. *ʒ=idâl*) in [Stevenson 2009: 323].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *n=dâ*. Quoted as *xâ=dâ ~ x=ðâ* in [Guest et al. 1998: 4, 5].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: *n=âl*. Quoted as sg. *al*, pl. *n=al* in [Stevenson 2009: 22].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: $\eta=\acute{a}ndr\acute{a}$. Quoted as sg. $l=wandra$, pl. $\eta=wandra$ in [Black 1971: 167].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: $\eta=\acute{u}\eta\acute{r}\acute{i}$.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: $\varrho=\hat{\alpha}l$.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Plural: $\mathfrak{z}=\grave{v}d\acute{a}l$.

82. SUN

Rere Koalib $\grave{a}:\eta\grave{u}n$ (1), Ebang $\acute{a}\eta\acute{u}n$ (1), Abul $\grave{a}\eta\acute{u}n$ (1), Laru $l=\acute{u}\eta\grave{e}n$ (1), Utoro $\acute{a}n\acute{e}n$ (1), Shirumba $\acute{a}\eta\acute{e}n$ (1), Tiro $\acute{e}\grave{d}=\acute{u}\eta\acute{e}n$ (1), Moro $\grave{a}\grave{d}=\acute{u}\eta\acute{u}n\acute{a}$ (1), Ko $\underline{t}=\acute{e}\eta\acute{u}n$ (1), Warnang $g=\acute{u}\eta\acute{u}n$ (1), Logol $\eta\grave{u}n\grave{a}y\acute{u}$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Quoted as $\grave{a}\eta\grave{w}\grave{o}n$ in [Quint 2006: 14].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Quoted as $ayin$ in [Meinhof 1944: 101].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 49.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 49.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Differently in [Stevenson 2009: 152]: $\mathfrak{z}=aga$ 'sun' (for all three dialects). The word $ajen$, pl. $\mathfrak{z}=ijen$ is listed in [Stevenson 2009: 159] with the meaning 'day'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 49.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Quoted as $ad=ijen$, with polysemy: 'sun / daytime' in [Stevenson 2009: 112].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 49. Quoted as $\acute{e}\grave{d}=\grave{e}\eta\acute{u}na$ in [Black 1971: 168].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 49.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 49.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 49.

83. SWIM

Rere Koalib $i=pp\grave{u}\grave{d}-\grave{u}$ $k=\grave{i}:r\acute{u}-\eta\grave{a}$ (1), Ebang $gw\grave{i}=p\acute{u}\grave{d}-\acute{i}$ $\eta\grave{a}w$ (1), Abul $\acute{a}\underline{t}\acute{t}\acute{a}\acute{q}\acute{e}$ $\eta\grave{a}w$ (2), Laru $\grave{a}p\grave{e}rk\acute{u}d\acute{u}$ (3), Utoro $l\grave{i}=p\acute{u}\acute{n}-\grave{u}$ (4), Shirumba $l\grave{i}=m\grave{i}:r-\grave{j}$ $\eta\grave{a}:r-\grave{a}\eta\grave{j}$ (5), Tiro $g=\grave{a}v\acute{a}rg-\acute{a}$ (3), Moro $g\grave{a}=l\grave{a}\grave{d}-\grave{a}$ $n\grave{i}-\eta\grave{a}w$ (6), Ko $\grave{u}=b\acute{a}ld\acute{a}n$ $\eta\grave{a}-y\acute{u}r\acute{i}$ (7), Warnang $\eta\grave{u}=m\grave{u}:\grave{d}\acute{u}$ $q\acute{u}:r\grave{u}$ (8), Logol $s\grave{i}s\grave{i}$ $u:m-\eta\grave{a}w$ (9).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Imperative form. Idiomatic expression; literally = 'beat-river'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Idiomatic expression; literally = 'beat-water'.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Idiomatic expression; second component is 'water', first component (obviously a verbal form) remains unexplained in the source.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Imperative form. Morphological segmentation unclear.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. The complete idiomatic expression is $l\grave{i}=p\acute{u}\acute{n}-\grave{u}$ $\eta\grave{a}w-l\grave{u}\eta$, where the second part is literally 'water-in'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. Idiomatic expression; literally = 'stay water-in'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. The complete idiomatic expression is $g=\grave{a}v\acute{a}rg-\acute{a}$ $\eta\grave{a}w-g\acute{a}:ri$, where the second part is literally 'water-in'.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. Idiomatic expression, where the second component is literally 'in-water'. Cf. $ga=pwa\ bamba$ 'to

swim' in [Black 1971: 168] (internal structure is unclear).

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. Idiomatic expression, where the second component is literally 'water-in'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. Idiomatic expression, where the second component is literally 'water-in'.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 50. 3rd p. sg. Idiomatic expression, where the second component is literally 'water'.

84. TAIL

Rere Koalib *t=íà* (1), Ebang *lì=bér* (2), Abul *lì=βér* (2), Laru *l=iyà* (1), Utoro *lè=pér* (2), Shirumba *lì=βér* (2), Tiro *lò=pér* (2), Moro *lò=pér* (2), Ko *t=íà* (1), Warnang *á=yáŋ* (3), Logol *t=é* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *r=íà*. Quoted as *t=éa* in [Quint 2006: 97].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋù=bér*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋù=βér*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋw=iyà*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋù=pér*. Quoted as sg. *li=per*, pl. *ŋw=uper* in [Stevenson 2009: 151].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋ ðβér*. Quoted as *l=βér*, pl. *ŋà=fér* in [Guest et al. 1998: 3, 5].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋ ðpér*. Quoted as sg. *li=per*, pl. *ŋi=per* in [Stevenson 2009: 112].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *ŋ ðpér*. Quoted as sg. *lɔ=per*, pl. *ŋɔ=per* in [Black 1971: 169].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *d=íà*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *á=yáŋ*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Plural: *d=é*.

85. THAT

Rere Koalib *=àlà* (1), Ebang *ib=C=è* (2), Abul *=àì ~ =è* (2), Laru *=óné* (3), Utoro *=ɔ ~ =ɔ-nɔ #* (3), Shirumba *=ày ~ =èy* (2), Tiro *=ɔn #* (3), Logol *=éy* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 63. Used with different class concords: cf. *kál ñg=àlà* 'that stone', *yìŋ ñà k àj=àlà* 'that house'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 68. The first morpheme *ib=* is a general deixis stem; *=C=* is the concord class morpheme (e. g. *k=dá ib=g=è* 'that knife', *d=àr ib=d=è* 'that rope').

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 71. The actual forms are generated, like in Ebang, with the aid of a general deixis stem and a concordial class morpheme. Cf.: *g=d l bú=g=àì ~ g=d l bú=g=è* 'that stone', *è=d l bí=y=è* 'those stones', *ŋ=òn mú=ŋ=àì* 'those houses'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 71. The actual forms are generated, like in Ebang, with the aid of a general deixis stem and a concordial class morpheme. Cf.: *k=r ñg=né* 'that stone', *t=à;ŋì kid=né* 'that tree', *ŋw=à;ŋ úŋw=né* 'those trees'.

Utoro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. We rely on the information from [Stevenson 2009: 198], where the morpheme *=ɔ(nɔ)* is specified as the principal equivalent for intermediate deixis and *=uwei* 'that yonder' for faraway deixis.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 84. The quoted example is *è:red (ð=y=ày ~ (ð=y=èy* "that piece of clothing", where *=y=* "probably is a concord".

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. We rely on the information from [Stevenson 2009: 40], where the morpheme *=ɔn* is specified as the principal equivalent for intermediate deixis and *=ai* 'that yonder' for faraway deixis.

Moro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. *gakəl* 'that', *gei ~ i=gei* 'that' in [Black 1971: 169].

Ko: Not attested.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 84. The quoted example is *g=àdɔl g=éy* "that stone", pl. *ʒ=idɔl g=éy-ʒɛy* "those stones".

86. THIS

Rere Koalib =ù (1), Ebang *ib=C=à* (2), Abul =à (2), Laru =é (2), Utoro =ε ~ =ε-nɔ # (2), Shirumba =ò (1), Tiro =ε # (2), Logol =é (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 63. Used with different class concords: cf. *kál ñg=ù* 'this stone', *yìŋ àà k y=ù* 'this house'.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 68. The first morpheme *ib*= is a general deixis stem; *=C*= is the concord class morpheme (e. g. *k=ddá ib=g=à* 'this knife', *d=àr ib=d=à* 'this rope').

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 71. The actual forms are generated, like in Ebang, with the aid of a general deixis stem and a concordial class morpheme. Cf.: *g=àd I bú=g=à* 'this stone', *è=d I bí=y=à* 'these stones', *ñ=òn mú=ñ=à* 'these houses'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 71. The actual forms are generated, like in Ebang, with the aid of a general deixis stem and a concordial class morpheme. Cf.: *k=r ñg=é* 'this stone', *t=àři kíđ=é* 'this tree', *ñw=àři úñw=é* 'these trees'.

Utoro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. We rely on the information from [Stevenson 2009: 198], where the morpheme =ε(nɔ) is specified as the principal equivalent for near deixis.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 84. The quoted example is *ɛ:réd (ò)=y=ò* "this piece of clothing", where =y= "probably is a concord".

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. We rely on the information from [Stevenson 2009: 40], where the morpheme =ε is specified as the principal equivalent for near deixis.

Moro: Not attested in Schadeberg's materials. Cf. *igi* 'this' in [Black 1971: 170].

Ko: Not attested.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 84. The quoted example is *g=àdɔl g=é* "this stone", pl. *ʒ=idɔl g=ì-ʒé* "these stones".

87. THOU

Rere Koalib *ñà* (1), Ebang *ñà* (1), Abul *ñà* (1), Laru *ñà* (1), Utoro *ñà* (1), Shirumba *ñà* (1), Tiro *ññà* (1), Moro *ññá* (1), Ko *ñwá* (1), Warnang *ùñá* (1), Logol *ñà* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 63.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 67. Quoted as *ña* in [Meinhof 1944: 107].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 71.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 74.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 78. Quoted as *ña ~ a* in [Stevenson 2009: 178].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 82.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 87. Quoted as *aŋ ~ ña* (subject form), *an=aŋa* (isolated emphatic form) in [Stevenson 2009: 32-33].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 92. In [Black 1971: 4, 7], the emphatic free subject pronoun is listed as *a-gana-ña* 'you (sg.)'; the bound subject prefix is listed as *a-*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 98.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 103.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 106.

88. TONGUE

Rere Koalib *t=ílínjà* (1), Ebang *d=ìηàlâ* (1), Abul *d=íηálá* (1), Laru *lí=ηélá* (1), Utoro *d=éηélá* (1), Shirumba *d=ìηèlâ* (1), Tiro *ð=íηgálâ* (1), Moro *θà=ηèlá* (1), Ko *t=àηàrlá* (1), Warnang *à=ηùlá* (1), Logol *d=àηàlá* (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *r=ílínjà*. Quoted as *t=éηlâ* in [Quint 2006: 9].
Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *d=ìη bâ*. Quoted as *d=ijila ~ t=ijila* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].
Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *r=íη bâ*.
Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ηú=ηélá*.
Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *d=éηélá*. Quoted as sg. *ð=ijila*, pl. *d=ijila* in [Stevenson 2009: 154].
Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *r=ìηèlâ*. Quoted as *ð=àη ðâ* in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].
Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *íηg lâ*. Quoted as sg. *t=ijgala*, pl. *ijgala* in [Stevenson 2009: 27].
Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *è=ηèlá*. Quoted as sg. *ða=ηøla*, pl. *ye=nøla* in [Black 1971: 171].
Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *d=àη ðâ*.
Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *çù=ηùlá*.
Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *d=àη bâ*.

89. TOOTH

Rere Koalib *l=ìηàt* (1), Ebang *g=íηáy* (1), Abul *g=àηát* (1), Laru *lí=ηàt* (1), Utoro *l=áηát* (1), Shirumba *l=áηàt* (1), Tiro *l=ìηàθ* (1), Moro *là=ηàð* (1), Ko *k=ðηáw* (1), Warnang *k=àηáθ* (1), Logol *η=ìηéy* (1).

References and notes:

- Rere Koalib:** Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *y=ìηàt*. Quoted as sg. *l=èηàt*, pl. *y=èηàt* in [Quint 2006: 70, 160].
Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ʒ=íηáy*.
Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *àηát*.
Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ηwát*.
Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ʒ=íηàt*. The Kerindi variant is listed as sg. *áηàt*, pl. *ʒ=áηàt*. Quoted as sg. *l=íηað*, pl. *ʒ=íηað* (Orombe sg. *aŋat*, pl. *ʒ=íŋat*) in [Stevenson 2009: 324].
Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *áηát*.
Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *i:ηàθ*. Quoted as sg. *l=íŋat*, pl. *íŋat* in [Stevenson 2009: 27].
Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *è=ηàð*. Quoted as sg. *lø=ηað*, pl. *e=ηað*.
Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ɸ=ðŋáw*.
Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *k=àrηáθ*.
Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ʒ=ìηéy*.

90. TREE

Rere Koalib *kw=à:lì* (1), Ebang *kw=á:lè* (1), Abul *gw=à:lè* (1), Laru *t=à:lì* (1), Utoro *gw=à:lè* (1), Shirumba *w=à:lè* (1), Tiro *ð=ú:lì* (2), Moro *v̄lì* (2), Ko *k=àtlí* (3), Warnang *áwnóŋ* (4),

Logol *gw=à:ṛì* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *y=à:ṛì*. Quoted as *kw=áṛé* in [Quint 2006: 98].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ʒ=áṛì*. Quoted as sg. *kw=ari*, pl. *ʒ=ari* ~ *ɸ=ari* in [Meinhof 1944: 98].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ɛ:ṛì*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ŋw=à:ṛì*. Quoted as *d=à:ṛì* in [Kuku 2012: 32]. Cf. also *gɔ=ré* 'tree' (with a different prefix) in [Kuku 2012: 28].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ʒ=à:ṛì*. Quoted as sg. *gw=aṛe*, pl. *ʒ=aṛe* in [Stevenson 2009: 148]. Distinct from sg. *l=uṛi*, pl. *ŋw=uṛi* 'wood' [Stevenson 2009: 151]; cf. the same root also in sg. *ð=uṛi*, pl. *d=uṛi* 'wood, firewood (long stick)' in [Stevenson 2009: 154].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *n=à:ṛì*.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *r=ú:ṛì*. Quoted as sg. *d=uṛi*, pl. *uṛi* in [Stevenson 2009: 20].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *n=v̥ṛì*. Quoted as sg. *uṛi-a*, pl. *n=uṛi*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ɸ=áṛì*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *ɸ=ávn ɟ̊*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 51. Plural: *l=à:ṛì*.

91. TWO

Rere Koalib *kú:ṛàn* (1), Ebang *rám* (2), Abul *rám* (2), Laru *róm* (2), Utoro *gùtìn* (3), Shirumba *ít̥tià* (4), Tiro *k̥j=çàn* (5), Moro *ndí=ççà:n* (5), Ko *áççérò* (6), Warnang *ŋír=çàççîn* (5), Logol *rá:b* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *ram* in [Meinhof 1944: 105].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *gwutən* ~ *gwutən* in [Stevenson 2009: 204].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *=iṛi=çan* in [Stevenson 2009: 48] (cf. *=iṛi=çin* 'three' ibid. for morphological segmentation).

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 56. Quoted as *ndí=çan* in [Black 1971: 173].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 56.

92. WALK (GO)

Rere Koalib *ṇd-ù* (1), Ebang *idd-ì* (1), Abul *ind-í* (1), Laru *ind-í* (1), Utoro *índ-ì* (1), Shirumba *ɛ:l-᷑* (2), Tiro *b-û* (3) / *k=à:ré* (5), Moro *mb-ú* (3) / *gà:=bál-â* (6), Ko *ńd-᷑* (1) / *w=úŋg-᷑* (7), Warnang *ṇd-᷑* (1) / *àdé* (5), Logol *wùdd-í* (4).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Cf. imperative pl. *id-ul* 'go!' in [Meinhof 1944: 116].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Cf. a different root in [Kuku 2012: 30]: *élé* 'to go'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Polysemy: 'go / walk'. Quoted as *(v)id-i* (Kwijur *(v)ind-i*) in [Stevenson 2009: 318] (only in the 1st stem; the 2nd stem is suppletive - *(v)el-e*).

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Polysemy: 'go / walk'. Quoted as *él-á* in [Guest et al. 1998: 7].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Imperative form quoted as sg. *bu*, pl. *bu-r* in [Stevenson 2009: 62]. Schadeberg 1981: 34. 3rd p. sg. form (suppletive stem). Cf. 1 sg indefinite *y=are* in [Stevenson 2009: 110].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Quoted as *mb-u* in [Black 1971: 139]. Schadeberg 1981: 34. 3rd p. sg. form (suppletive stem). Quoted as *ga-bal-a* in [Black 1971: 139].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Schadeberg 1981: 34. 3rd p. sg. form (suppletive stem).

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form. Schadeberg 1981: 34. 3rd p. sg. form (suppletive stem).

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 34. Imperative form.

93. WARM (HOT)

Rere Koalib =úβù:ðù (1), Ebang =ibúyò (1), Abul =ùβùdò (1), Laru =úβú:đù (1), Utoro =úbúðù (1), Shirumba =úwwá (1), Tiro =ùwù (1), Moro =ùwù (1), Ko =úççú (1), Warnang =ù:ʒú (1), Logol =úfù:yù (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with prefixes $\eta=$, $k=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'. Cf.: *kwó=vù:ðí* [kwé=pùutí] 'it will be hot' in [Quint 2006: 33].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with prefixes $k=$, $y=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'. Quoted as *ibuðu* (Kwijur *ibooð*) 'hot' in [Stevenson 2009: 319].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'. Cf. *x=vwà* 'hot' in [Guest et al. 1998: 5].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'. Quoted as *=uwa* 'hot' in [Stevenson 2009: 47].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'. Cf. *g=ubw-a* 'to be hot' in [Black 1971: 143].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $ʒ=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Used with the prefix $\eta=$. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

94. WATER

Rere Koalib $\eta=\hat{a}w$ (1), Ebang $\eta=\hat{a}w$ (1), Abul $\eta=\grave{a}w$ (1), Laru $y=\grave{a}w$ (1), Utoro $\eta=\hat{a}w$ (1), Shirumba $\eta=\grave{a}r$ (2), Tiro $\eta=\acute{a}:v\grave{e}$ (1), Moro $\eta=\acute{a}wá$ (1), Ko $\eta=a$ (1), Warnang $\varphi=\hat{o}$ (1), Logol $\eta=\acute{a}w$ (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Singulative: *t=âw*. Same root as 'rain' q.v. Quoted as *ŋ=âo* in [Quint 2006: 49].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Quoted as *ŋ=au* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 52.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Quoted as *ŋ=âw* in [Kuku 2015: 4].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Quoted as *ŋ=au* in [Stevenson 2009: 157].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 52.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Quoted as sg. *f=au* ('drop of water'), pl. *ŋ=au* in [Stevenson 2009: 21].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 52. Quoted as *ŋ=awa* in [Black 1971: 176].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 52.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 52.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 52.

95. WE₁

Rere Koalib *jí-ŋà* (1), Ebang *á:ná-ŋà* (2), Abul *àná-ŋà* (2), Laru *àlá-ŋà* (2), Utoro *nèrì* (1), Shirumba *á:lá-ŋà ~ á:ná-ŋà* (2), Tiro *íŋà ~ íŋà-lé* (1), Moro *lé:láŋ* (2), Ko *íná* (1), Warnang *íná* (1), Logol *ná:-nà* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 62. No difference between exclusive and inclusive forms.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 67. Exclusive form. Quoted as *ana ~ ana-ŋa* in [Meinhof 1944: 107].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 71. No difference between exclusive and inclusive forms.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 74. No difference between exclusive and inclusive forms.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 78. Exclusive form. Differently in [Stevenson 2009: 178]: *ananya* 'we (excl.)'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 82. The precise array of forms listed in the source is as follows: 1 pl. incl. fem. *á:lá-ŋà-r ~ á:lé-ŋà-r*, 1 pl. incl. masc. *á:ná-ŋà-r*, 1 pl. excl. fem. *á:lá-ŋà ~ á:lé-ŋà ~ á:lé-ŋá*, 1 pl. excl. masc. *á:ná-ŋà ~ á:nà-ŋà*. However, Schadeberg himself expresses doubts about the accuracy of this notation: "in particular, the masculine/feminine contrast does not recur elsewhere in the Heiban group, whereas dual and plural are commonly distinguished. On this point, I now suspect a misunderstanding between my informant (a lady with a little daughter) and myself" [ibid.].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 87. Dual exclusive form. The plural exclusive form is further extended: *íŋà-nî*. Quoted as *íŋi ~ íŋia ~ ñia* (subject form), *an=íŋia* (isolated emphatic form) in [Stevenson 2009: 32-33]; curiously, Stevenson mentions nothing at all about clusivity or the dual/plural opposition in Tiro.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 92. Dual inclusive form. Also employed with the prefix *f=*. In [Black 1971: 4, 7], the emphatic free subject pronoun is listed as *leləŋ* 'we (dual)'; the bound subject prefix is listed as *lə-*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 98. Exclusive form.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 103. The form is questionably marked as 1 dual exclusive, and is distinguished from 1 plural *ínàŋ* [ibid.].

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 106. No difference between exclusive and inclusive forms.

95. WE₂

Ebang *àlìŋà* (2), Utoro *nà:gè* (3), Tiro *íllì* (2), Moro *néndré* (4), Ko *írí* (2).

References and notes:

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 67. Inclusive form.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 78. Inclusive form. Differently in [Stevenson 2009: 178]: *liŋo* 'we (all of us)'.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 87. Dual inclusive form. Also *illi-lè* ~ *illi-tùm* id. The plural inclusive form is *illi-r* ~ *illi-r-lè*. These forms are not found anywhere in [Stevenson 2009].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 92. Plural inclusive form. Cf. also plural exclusive *nándá*. Both forms can also be used with the prefix *f-*. In [Black 1971: 4, 7], the emphatic free subject pronouns are listed as *nendr* ~ *lendr* 'we (incl.)', *ŋaga-nanda* ~ *nanda* 'we (excl.)'; the bound subject prefixes are listed as *na-* 'we (excl.)', *l-* 'we (incl.)'.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 98. Inclusive form.

96. WHAT

Rere Koalib *á:ðà* (1), Ebang *áŋjà* (2), Abul *àŋjá* (2), Laru *àŋjé* (2), Utoro *gùrj* # (3), Shirumba *àŋá* (2), Tiro *àŋâw* (4), Moro *lá-ndì* (5), Ko *áŋá* (2), Warnang *gwòy* (6), Logol *áŋ* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Quoted as *á:ðà* {áatà} in [Quint 2006: 199].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Quoted as *ŋa* in [Meinhof 1944: 112].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Listed as *á:ŋjà* in Fadlalla's idiolect.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. The Kerindi variant is listed as *áŋgúrò*. Cf. *anj* 'what?' in [Stevenson 2009: 190]. Schadeberg's entry is doubtful; it may actually be the second part of the expression *anj gwirò* 'what is it?' [Stevenson 2009: 190].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Somewhat differently in [Stevenson 2009: 41]: *anɔndri* 'what?', with the phonetic variant *anɔntri* "when the last syllable is stressed".

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Cf. *wande* 'what?' in [Black 1971: 72].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

97. WHITE

Rere Koalib =*iɓì:ðù* (1), Ebang =*ùppíðò* (1), Abul =*íppiðò* (1), Laru =*iɓí:ðù* (1), Utoro =*ùkré* (2), Shirumba *pè:ðò* (1), Tiro =*ùbívò* (3), Moro =*bùžó* (3), Ko =*ɛ:ra pɸò?ðk* (4), Warnang =*ɛ:yá* (4), Logol =*ípí:ðú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with prefixes *k-*, *y-*. Cf. the verbal stem *fe:ðé* {peeté} 'to be white' [Quint 2006: 162]; *kwò=vè:ðò* {kwè-pèetò} 'he is white' in [Quint 2006: 102].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix *g-*.

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with prefixes *g-*, *l-*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with prefixes *k-*, *y-*. Quoted as *bídú* in [Kuku 2015: 7].

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix *gw-*. Cf. *g-iŋe* 'white' in [Stevenson 2009: 203].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Quoted as *pèðà* in [Guest et al. 1998: 1].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix *k-*. Quoted as *=uboqo* in [Stevenson 2009: 47].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix *kà-*. Quoted as *ga=bazò* in [Black 1971: 177].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix *k-*. Second part of the idiomatic compound is unclear.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix η =.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Used with the prefix g =. Polysemy: 'white / clean'.

98. WHO

Rere Koalib *àyyà* (1), Ebang *éyì* (1), Abul *àdéró* (2), Laru *yé:rú* (2), Utoro *àdrígúrò* (2), Shirumba *èyìdá* (1), Tiro *àzò* (3), Moro *àsságì* (4), Ko *náká* (5), Warnang *ké:nì* (6), Logol *iyú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Plural: *yyà-ŋà*. Quoted as *éyyé* in [Quint 2006: 68].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Quoted as *ei* in [Meinhof 1944: 112].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Plural: *àdérò-ŋá*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Somewhat differently in [Stevenson 2009: 189]: *ōðio* 'who? (sg.)', *ōðio-ŋa* 'who? (pl.)'. Also sg. *ei*, pl. *ei-ŋa* id. Schadeberg's form probably = *ōðio gwirò* 'who is it?' in [Stevenson 2009: 189].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Quoted as *anʒo*, pl. *anʒo-ŋa* in [Stevenson 2009: 41]; the object forms of the same pronoun are quoted as *aʒo-ŋ*, pl. *aʒo-ŋere*.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 53. Quoted as *esegi* in [Black 1971: 72].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 53.

99. WOMAN

Rere Koalib *kw=àù* (1), Ebang *gw=á* (1), Abul *gw=áw* (1), Laru *t=âw* (1), Utoro *gw=á* (1), Shirumba *w=â* (1), Tiro *w=à* (1), Moro *ù=zí* (2), Ko *ù=ržá* (2), Warnang *ŋá=d=ézí* (2), Logol *gw=iží* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=àù*. Quoted as *kw=ào*, pl. *l=ào* in [Quint 2006: 112].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=á*. Quoted as sg. *kw=a*, pl. *l=a* in [Meinhof 1944: 97].

Abul: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=áw*.

Laru: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *ŋw=âw*.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=á*. Quoted as sg. *gw=a*, pl. *l=a* in [Stevenson 2009: 146].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=â*. Quoted as *w=à* 'wife' in [Guest et al. 1998: 2].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 54. The full form is *k=úr w=à* or *ù:ží k=úr w=à*; cf. the plural form *rltí l=à*. Quoted as sg. *w=a*, pl. *l=a* 'female' in [Stevenson 2009: 19]; the word 'woman' is glossed in the same source as sg. *imardén*, pl. *l=imardén*, but also as the complex expression *wuži k=irɔ wa*, literally 'person-female' [Stevenson 2009: 29].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *li=ží*. Quoted as sg. *wu=ži*, pl. *li=ži* in [Black 1971: 178].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=ržá*.

Warnang: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Also *ká=d=ézí* id. Plural: *ž=ézí ~ nɛ=ž=íží*.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Plural: *l=iží*.

100. YELLOW

Rere Koalib =*ībì:ðù* # (1), Tiro =*ðî* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Same word as 'white'; accuracy of semantic glossing is dubious.

Ebang: Not attested.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Not attested. Cf. *g=ilɔ* 'brown, yellow' in [Stevenson 2009: 203].

Shirumba: Not attested in our primary source. Cf., perhaps, *xwì* 'yellow' in [Guest et al. 1998: 5].

Tiro: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Used with the prefix *k=*. Cf. *kiridilɔ* 'yellow (a yellow thing)' in [Stevenson 2009: 113].

Moro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. the compound form *gabə ʒayəmo* 'yellow' in [Black 1971: 179] (unclear internal structure).

Ko: Not attested.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Not attested.

101. FAR

Rere Koalib *t̪v̪k* (1), Ebang =*ð:làŋ* (2), Utoro *gw=ð:làŋ gà:nù* (2), Shirumba *wà:là-ná* (2), Moro *n=ðldʷán* (2), Ko =*ðrátðq* (2), Logol =*ð:lɔ* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 30.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Same word as 'long' q.v.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. =*ðla-no* 'distant' in [Stevenson 2009: 47], clearly derived from =*ðla* 'long, tall' q.v.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Quoted as *lwaldaj* 'far (adv.)' in [Black 1971: 136].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Used with the prefix *k=*. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 30. Used with the prefix *g=*. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

102. HEAVY

Rere Koalib =*nì* (1), Ebang =*únáŋ* (2), Laru *ní* # (1), Utoro =*úníŋ* (2), Shirumba *rí:ŋà* (3), Moro =*ì:ŋá* (2), Ko =*ninníq* (1), Logol =*inní* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Used with prefixes *kuú=*, *yí=*.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Used with the prefix *g*=.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Kuku 2012: 30. Verbal root: 'to be heavy' (glossed as 'to heavy' in the source, which is ungrammatical). Not attested in Schadeberg's wordlists.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Used with the prefix *gw*=. Quoted as =*uni* in [Stevenson 2009: 202].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 35.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. =*ino* 'heavy' in [Stevenson 2009: 110].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Used with the prefix *l*=. Quoted as *g=ini* in [Black 1971: 141].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Used with prefixes *t*= and zero. Polysemy: 'heavy / thick'.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 35. Used with the prefix *η*=.

103. NEAR

Rere Koalib *káttj̊k* (1), Ebang *gít̊t̊j̊* (1), Utoro =*ɔbɔdáŋ gá:nù* (2), Shirumba *í:dùd̊j̊* (3), Moro *łván* (1), Ko =*ɔppàn* (4), Logol =*abl̊ɔ* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Quoted as *kéttj̊k* in [Quint 2006: 9].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 41.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Same idiomatic expression as 'short' q.v.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Differently in [Guest et al. 1998: 2, 4]: *xád̊à ~ xád̊à* 'near'.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. *ndore* 'near, beside' in [Stevenson 2009: 111].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Quoted as *twain* in [Black 1971: 151].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Polysemy: 'near / short'.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 41. Same word as 'short' q.v.

104. SALT

Rere Koalib *k=úmðà* (1), Ebang *mùdá* (1), Utoro *η=úqà* (2), Shirumba *lá:ŋà* (3), Moro *η=rá:ŋá* (3), Ko *lí=mút̊ɛ* (1), Logol *mú:dí* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Quoted as *kw=úmðè* {kwúmt̊è} in [Quint 2006: 79].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Plural form. Quoted as sg. *l=uqo*, pl. *ηw=uqo* in [Stevenson 2009: 150].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's materials. Cf. sg. *l=uqo*, pl. *ηw=uqo* in [Stevenson 2009: 21].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 44. Quoted as *ηɔ=rruŋa* in [Black 1971: 162].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 44.

105. SHORT

Rere Koalib =úblà (1), Ebang =ɔbillàŋ (1), Utoro =ɔbòdá gà:nù (1), Shirumba =àbòlà:-nó (1), Moro =ɔ:bòlá (1), Ko =ɔppàn (2), Logol =ábló-gó (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Used with prefixes *k*=, *t*=.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Used with prefixes *l*=, *ŋ*=.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Idiomatic expression, same as 'near' q.v.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Used with the prefix *d*=.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. =ɔbila 'short' in [Stevenson 2009: 112].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Used with the prefix *θ*=. Quoted as *g(w)=obøla* in [Black 1971: 164].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Used with the prefix *t*=.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 46. Used with the prefix *ŋ*=.

106. SNAKE

Rere Koalib *k=ímàw* (1), Ebang *d=ùmâ* (1), Laru *d=úŋá #* (2), Utoro *d=ùŋà* (2), Shirumba =íŋà (2), Moro *rð=mwà* (1), Ko *d=íŋè* (2), Logol *d=úŋú* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *y=ímàw*. Quoted as sg. *k=ímèu*, pl. *y=ímèu* in [Quint 2006: 48]. Cf. also *kérào* 'snake' in [Quint 2006: 42].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *ʒ=ùmâ*. Quoted as sg. *d=umeo*, pl. *ʒ=umeo* in [Meinhof 1944: 100].

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Kuku 2015: 3. Not attested in Schadeberg's wordlists.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *ʒ=úŋà*. Quoted as sg. *ð=uŋo*, pl. *ʒ=uŋo* in [Stevenson 2009: 153].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *r=íŋà*. Differently in [Guest et al. 1998: 4]: *òqà* 'snake' (possibly 'a k. of snake'?).

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. sg. *ø=ríŋo*, pl. *ríŋo* in [Stevenson 2009: 112].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *i=mwà*. Homonymous with 'rain' (accidentally). Quoted as sg. *ra=mwa*, pl. *i=mwa* in [Black 1971: 165].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *ɸ=íŋè*.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 47. Plural: *ʒ=úŋú*.

107. THIN

Rere Koalib =akkúrēn (1), Ebang =dràŋ (2), Utoro =dŕrá (2), Shirumba drà (2), Moro =ráŋ-

ánu (2), Ko *=úrré* (1), Logol *=ádrá* (2).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Same word as 'small' q.v.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Used with the prefix *gwv*=.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Used with the prefix *gwù*=.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Differently in [Guest et al. 1998: 5]: *xòzòðà* 'thin'.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. *=alrajanā* 'thin' in [Stevenson 2009: 113].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Used with the prefix *l*=. Differently in [Black 1971: 170]: *ga=rwat-o* 'thin'.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Used with prefixes *t*=, *n*=. Polysemy: 'thin / light'.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 50. Used with the prefix *d*=.

108. WIND

Rere Koalib *k=úrùn* (1), Ebang *ú:wà* (2), Utoro *d=árɔn* (1), Shirumba *ð=iβér* (3), Moro *ðð=βè:rà* (3), Ko *ùrù* (1), Logol *nd=ðrjón* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 54.

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 54.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Quoted as *ð=irɔn* in [Stevenson 2009: 154].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 54.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. *diberi* 'wind' in [Stevenson 2009: 113].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 54. Quoted as *ðð=bera* in [Black 1971: 176].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 54.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 54.

109. WORM

Rere Koalib *kw=ndðñ* (1), Ebang *k=dð* (1), Utoro *gw=ndðlð* (1), Shirumba *w=ndð* (1), Moro *ùðá* (2), Ko *t=* (3), Logol *gw=yy* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *l= ndðñ*. Quoted as *kw=nd* {kwn} in [Quint 2006: 60].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *l= dð*.

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *l=nd ñò*.

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *l=ándò*.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data.

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *l=ðwá ~ ñ=dwá*.

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *d=*.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *l=þy yþ*.

110. YEAR

Rere Koalib *k=iðilɛw* (1), Ebang *g=idilá* (1), Utoro *g=idilíaw* (1), Shirumba *iðilìw* (1), Moro *i=t̄ilíá* (1), Ko *kð=tàṛé* (2), Logol *g=idlēyú* (1).

References and notes:

Rere Koalib: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *y=iðilɛw*. Quoted as *k=iðlè {kitlè}* (direct case), *k=iðlēiù {kitlēiù}* (object form) in [Quint 2006: 125, 137].

Ebang: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *ʒ=idilá*. Quoted as sg. *g=idileo*, pl. *ʒ=idileo ~ ʒ=idila* in [Meinhof 1944: 98].

Abul: Not attested.

Laru: Not attested.

Utoro: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Quoted as sg. *g=iðilio*, pl. *ʒ=iðilio* in [Stevenson 2009: 152].

Shirumba: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *n=iðilìa*.

Tiro: Not attested in Schadeberg's data. Cf. sg. *iñilo*, pl. *n=it̄ilo* in [Stevenson 2009: 113].

Moro: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *ñ=t̄ilíá*. Quoted as sg. *i=t̄oli*, pl. *n=t̄oli* in [Black 1971: 179].

Ko: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *q=t̄àṛé*.

Warnang: Not attested.

Logol: Schadeberg 1981: 55. Plural: *ʒ=idlēyú*.