

# **A Summary of the Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bakor languages of Cross River State, Nigeria**

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24 September 2008

This is a summary of the full report, which is more than 50 pages long.

The full report is available upon request from the authors.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Goals and concepts

The goal of this sociolinguistic survey was to research the Bakor [bakɔ]<sup>1</sup> language cluster<sup>2</sup> of Cross River State, Nigeria, to give insights as they consider developing their own languages with the help other interested parties. The focus was to collect data to help them determine how many and which speech varieties spoken by the Bakor peoples need to be developed into a written form in order to ensure that they all have access to literature that they will understand well. Due to the existence of literature in Ekajuk, one of the Bakor speech varieties, another goal of the survey was to examine the possibility of literature extensibility. In other words, we wanted to verify whether the Ekajuk literature would be comprehensible and acceptable to speakers of other Bakor speech varieties.

The survey was conducted in two phases during the months of January and February, 2008.

Data was gathered concerning a large variety of concepts, namely the peoples' own sense of social and linguistic identity, intelligibility between these varieties, the bilingual ability of the people, the vitality of each Bakor speech variety, the acceptability of literature in each variety, and the level of literacy in the villages visited. Research questions were chosen to explore each concept. The research questions are individually introduced and answered in the main sections of the full report, these are excluded for brevity in this summary. The actual instruments and questions used in the field are different from the research questions; these are summarized in the methodology section, and expanded upon in the full report. The answers to the research questions are summarized in section 2.

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<sup>1</sup> The name Bakor is commonly written with an 'r' to indicate that the o sound is more open [ɔ] than a normal [o]. There should be no [r] or [ɹ] in the pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> The individual language varieties of the Bakor language cluster are introduced in section 1.3.

## 1.2. Acknowledgements

This survey would not have been possible without the support of many people throughout the land surveyed. We are grateful in particular for the support of Rev. Wilfred Ebo and family for their hospitality and help with the administration of our tests during the second phase of the survey.

We also appreciate the time and energy of those who volunteered to help us in eliciting the wordlists from the nine Bakor varieties, as well as all the families who hosted us. Our special thanks go to the family of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Rupprecht who generously opened their home and their hearts to us. We also appreciate the support of Hon. Friday and Emmanuel, councillors representing Nnam and Nta ward respectively in Ikom LGA.

Our thanks also go to the Principals/head-teachers and teachers of the various schools we visited who willingly volunteered as interpreters and allowed their students<sup>3</sup> to listen to the recorded stories in various Bakor dialects.

- Nkum Comprehensive Secondary School, Agbrumbede
- the primary school at Aladim
- Ndok Comprehensive Secondary School, Ndok
- St. Cornelius Secondary School, Alabmbohng
- Egere Egede Memorial College, Nkpakna
- Nnam Comprehensive Secondary School, Alok
- Nkim Comprehensive Secondary School, Nkim-Abanyom
- Presbyterian Primary School Nde Three Corners
- the secondary school in Nsak,
- Nselle Community Secondary School, Nselle;
- Nta Comprehensive Secondary School, Nta
- and the primary and secondary schools in Alesi

Most of our data was collected in the following villages. Without the support and patience of the leaders and people, especially village heads, chairmen, chiefs and

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<sup>3</sup> In Nigeria, primary school children are called pupils. However, for simplicity we will refer to both secondary and primary as students.

pastors of these villages, we would not have been able to complete the work. The villages we visited in various dialect areas are as follows: in the Nkim dialect, Adagom and Ndok villages; in the Nkum dialect, Aladim and Ishiaya villages; in the Ekajuk dialect, Alabmbohng, Mfom 2 and Ekagongho villages; in the Nnam dialect, Akorofonor and Alok villages; in the Abanyom dialect, Nkim Inland and Nkum villages; in the Nde dialect, Nde Three Corners and Nsak villages; in the Nselle dialect, village of Njemetop; in the Nta dialect, Ngo and Adon villages; in the Efutop dialect, village of Alesi.

(Map 1, showing these villages, is excluded for brevity, see Map 2)

Above all, we are grateful to God for His care, protection, guidance and grace during the course of this survey.

### **1.3. Previous research**

In 1956 Dr. David Crabb published the first in what was intended to be a series of research on the Ekoid Bantu languages, including the Bakor cluster.

Crabb's research was undertaken as part of the Field Fellowships of the West African Language Survey, followed by subsequent research on the Ogoja Project supported from other sources in the early 1960's. He grouped the Bakor languages into four sub-groups based on the vocabulary, morphology and reconstructed forms. He put

- Nkim and Nkum (ISO 639-3 identifier: [isi]);
- Ekajuk and Nnam ([eka] and [npb]);
- Abanyom [aba];
- Nde, Nta, Nselle, and Efutop ([nnd] and [ofu])

together as the most closely related to each other (Crabb, 1965:6).

Since Crabb, the only linguistic work done to our knowledge was a basic initial survey done by Russ Anderson. Anderson arrived in Nigeria to work among the Nkum and Nkim in 1977. After about a year and half he heard that “when the chiefs and elders of Bakor come together there is no interpretation needed.” The chiefs of the Bakor clans desired to have one writing system for all Bakor people. After comparing some wordlists (see appendix, section 5), it became clear that the lexical similarity was too low for all to use one writing system – only adjacent languages

had high enough similarity to be considered. “Therefore, after our initial survey we felt a more extensive survey needed to be done before more linguistic work was undertaken.” (Anderson, personal communication, 2008)

#### **1.4. Summary of methodology**

##### *1.4.1. Group Interviews*

In each village we visited, we asked the village chief if we could ask questions of a group of people of various ages and both sexes. The number of people assembled for the interview varied from one place to another. With people coming and going throughout the multi-hour conversation, the size of the group almost never remained the same from beginning to end of the interview.

##### *1.4.2. The Recorded Text Test*

We use the Recorded Text Test (RTT), based on a model developed in Mexico, as a tool for comparison studies of related speech varieties (Casad, 1974). In the RTT technique, a sample of speech in the form of a narrative text is recorded from one location and replayed at a second location where people speak a speech form related to that of the first location. Ten or so questions covering the content of the narrative are interspersed into the playback of the text in order to measure how well the subject is understanding the text. RTT scores are averaged for the ten or so participants for each location. For a thorough description of the slightly modified steps in the preparation and administration of the RTT, see the full report.

##### *1.4.3. Post-RTT Interview*

Immediately following the administration of each RTT a few questions were asked about the subject’s perception of the story. This is a simple interview technique designed to yield valuable information on perceived intelligibility and reflections on subjects’ attitudes toward tested speech varieties.

##### *1.4.4. Word Lists*

We used the word lists as instruments for comparison of a wide range of lexical items. We elicited a 355 item word list in each of the nine locations we visited during the first phase of our survey.

## **1.5. Social setting**

### *1.5.1. Geographical setting*

The Bakor are located in Ikom and Ogoja Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Cross River State, Nigeria. The areas they inhabit include Igoli, Abakpa, and the surrounding area down to Igoli. Most of their settlements are found on the main road and in the bush to the west, as far as the major river that runs from the north to the south into the Cross River.

### *1.5.1. Other languages in the area*

The Bakor languages are located among other Bantoid (Ejagham, Mbe, Ndoe cluster), Bendi (Bekwarra, Bokyi, Obe cluster), Idomoid (Yala), and the Upper Cross Central (Kukele, Olulumo, Mbembe) languages. (See Map 3)

### *1.5.1. Intermarriage*

It is not uncommon for the Bakor people to marry mostly among themselves or to intermarry with their neighbours. They report they would allow their sons and daughters to marry anyone, with the exception of Efutop who reported that they wouldn't want their children to marry Ugep people.

### *1.5.1. Agriculture and markets*

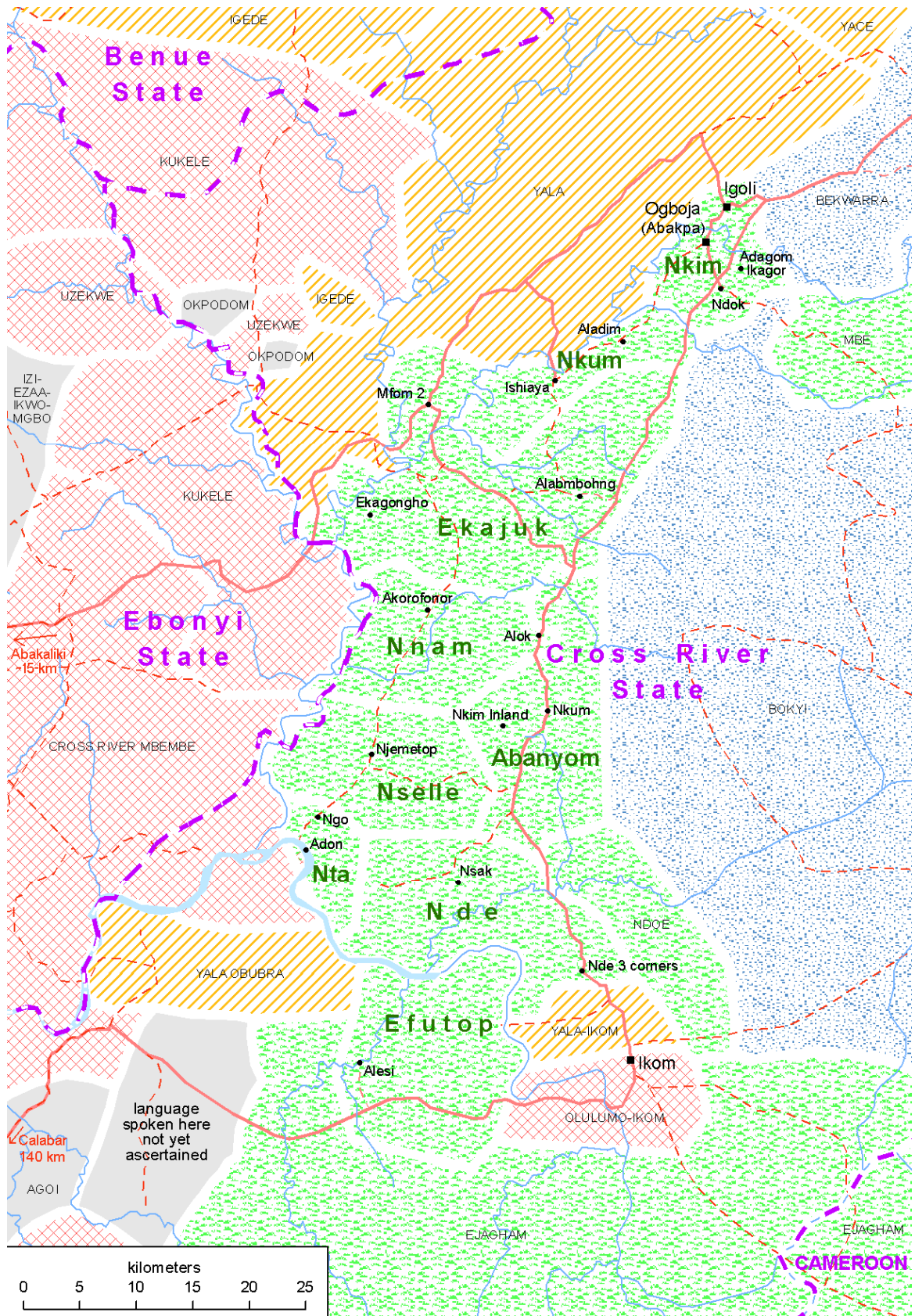
The three main crops of the Bakor peoples are yams, cassava and rice. Other frequently reported crops are cocoa-yams, plantains, bananas, maize, oranges, pepper, okra, melons, beans and cocoa.

Local markets are one of the major social and economic events among the Bakor people where these crops are bought and sold. The Bakor markets are on a five-day schedule.

Map 1: Bakor Villages



Map 3: Language surrounding the Bakor





## **2. Summary of research answers**

### **2.1. Language Identification**

*How do the speakers of the varieties identify with other varieties?*

All the Bakor recognize themselves as Bakor. At the same time they also recognize themselves as having different (though similar) cultures, speaking their different (though similar) languages.

*How similar are the varieties of language?*

The Bakor varieties share some vocabulary, but not enough to suppose they would all be one language.

### **2.2. Intelligibility**

*Which varieties do the people think they can understand?*

The people generally believe they can communicate with their immediate neighbours without needing to use English. Most likely some of this is due to the adults having learned to speak the neighbouring varieties of Bakor.

*Which varieties can people score > 75% (RTT) on?*

Within the following groups all the languages can understand the others, scoring >75: Nkim/Nkum, Ekajuk/Nnam, Abanyom, Nde/Nta/Nselle, and Efutop. These groups match those described by Crabb, with the exception that Efutop is not grouped with Nde/Nta/Nselle.

*Is there one variety all groups score > 75% on?*

No. Based on a 75% comprehension cut-off, there will need to be five varieties developed.

### **2.3. Bilingualism**

*What other languages are spoken by these peoples?*

English and Pidgin English are the languages of wider communication (LWC) in the area.

*What is the perceived proficiency of each social segment?*

*Which segments of society use which language?*

The oldest and youngest are weak in the LWCs, but almost everyone else reported to be able to speak some kind of English. The youth speak the best English, but even they report using their own Bakor varieties the most.

*How/where do people learn these languages?*

English is learned in school. Pidgin English is learned outside of the community.

### **2.4. Language Vitality**

*Do the children speak a Bakor variety fluently?*

Yes, the children are still learning to speak their languages, in all the villages we visited.

*In what domains is a Bakor variety the primary language?*

In the home domain, and in many other village domains, Bakor varieties remain the dominant language. In the church some form of English is used for the sermon and for some youth programs, but it is often translated into the local language. The local language is commonly used alongside English for prayers and songs.

*Will the language be spoken in the future?*

We can't speak for the distant future, but it seems likely for the next decade at least the languages will continue to be spoken.

### **2.5. Acceptability**

*How do they feel about related languages?*

Generally, the Bakor people seem to have a positive attitude towards the other Bakor languages, while still seeing them as different languages. Some of the more

populated or economically central dialects (such as Nkim, Ekajuk, and Nde) consider the dialects within the groups we have described as the same as their own language.

*Which varieties are people willing to read/write?*

Most of the people interviewed were happy to use a Bakor variety in the same group as theirs, though Nnam resisted the idea of using any other, because they value their own culture.

*Is there existing literature?*

Ekajuk has a New Testament. No other dialects have significant literature that should affect which dialect will be developed.

## **2.6. Literacy**

*How many people have access to education? To what level?*

There are many primary schools and even secondary schools among the Bakor people.

*How many people can read and write? In which languages? How well?*

In most of the villages the majority were reported to be able to read and write to some extent.

## **3. Conclusions and recommendations**

The nine Bakor language varieties are closely related, but each has its own identity. Many understand their immediate neighbours and are willing to work together with and use development in them. We suggest that the groupings set forward by Crabb be followed with the exception that Efutop will need to be separate from the rest. Thus we have the groups Nkim/Nkum, Ekajuk/Nnam, Abanyom, Nde/Nta/Nselle, and Efutop. Within these groups we suggest that anyone beginning work discuss with key leaders which variety should be developed. Even with Ekajuk and Nnam, the leaders need to discuss how they will work together; although Ekajuk clearly should continue to be developed, efforts may need to be made to help Nnam to accept Ekajuk language development as viable without displacing their own culture.

#### **4. Bibliography**

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#### **5. Appendix 2 – Wordlists**

The full wordlist appendix is 30 pages long including 361 words in eleven varieties of Bakor (the nine mentioned plus two variations of Ekajuk). What follows is a sample of the wordlists. The full wordlists are available upon request.

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	order	<b>M-Efutop</b>	<b>N - Nde</b>	<b>O - Nselle</b>	<b>P - Nta</b>	<b>Q-Abanyom</b>				
Village		Alesi	Nde three corners, Nsak	Njemetop	Ngo	Abonima - Nkim				
Primary Informants		Lawrence Okam (M40), Agbo Eyam (M27); Michael Nkwam (M50)	Basseyy Ayip (M~40), Ntol Re Atamabey	Polinius Egba Ayambe (M55), Kenneth Ayambe	Ndowo Enagu (M45)	Justin Ebaye (M34), Ajeh J. (M60)				
Date		2008-01-15	2008-01-15	2008-01-22	2008-01-21	2008-01-18				
Village (checking)		Alesi	Nsak	<i>Not checked</i>	Adon	Nkum Amba on road				
Primary (checking)		Mary, chief's wife and other women; Adol Ekok (M32), Chief Christopher (M40); Okam Okam Okpa (M27)	Ngon Agbo Akong, Ekpa Agbo, Emelda Ajing, Araga Enyang; Ebutu (M60), Ebaji (M25)		Nton Ekon, Nsing Ngembe, Chief Asagha Basseng, many others	Neji Nkum (M70), Festus Akong (M28), Joseph Negi (M40), Akimbo Neji (M32); Nkum Atalik				
Date (checking)		2008-02-17	2008-02-18		2008-02-19	2008-01-15				
Number of words		345	342	335	349	338				
		singular plural	singular plural	singular plural	singular plural	singular plural				
afternoon	203	èfín	èfēn	ēfín	ē:fín	èfèntè				
all	264	fiefie	kpákpá	kpakpa	kpákpá:	kpákpá				
and	57	me:	kà	ka	na:	nà:				
animal	116	ɲám	ɲam	ɲa	ɛ:ɲa	ɲa:	oɲa:	ɲàm	ɲàm	
arm	29	òbó	àbó	èbō	àbó:	ēbó:	ewəgalap	òbò	àbò	
arrow	210	as spear	as spear	ləkoŋ		nkposoyoolik	akposoyoolik	ləkòŋ		
ash	171	ntoŋ	ntòŋ	ntoŋ		ntoŋ		atoŋ		
ask	283	bap' / ..baba	mbòmò	ləbómó		bómmō		báp		
at	162		ká					ná:		
axe	54	èfwók	àfwók	nèfōk	ɲfók	lēfók	nfok	nòfók	nfúk	lùfúk

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>		<b>S - Nkum</b>		<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
Village	Adagom		Alladim		Akorofonor		Morah		Mfom 2		Alabmbohng	
Primary Informants	John Alada, Peter Ugbor; Oga Mathias (M20), Edward Ikuga (M25); Susan Ntol (F18)		Eric Murshor (M35), Busman Moshor (M24), Ayim Dennis M23		A. Awam, A. Eki, S. Nkom		Emmanuel Etu (M30); Michael Mopta Mosheb (M60), Mokin Joseph Aleii (M59)		Linus E. Mordi; Gabriel Ajah (M21); Montul Ejong (M50)		Anthony Ayim Ela (M56); Michael Ayim	
Date	2008-01-25		2008-01-24		2008-01-19		2008-01-29		2008-01-30		2008-01-28	
Village (checking)	Adagom		Alladim		Akorofonor		<i>Not checked</i>		<i>Not checked</i>		Alabmbohng	
Primary (checking)	Solomon Mankong (M50), Godwin Ade (M55); Lucy Iyaji (F20), Mary Ikla (F19), Mercy Ikla (F18); Chief Thomas Ekuga (M70) and others		Not Eric, many others		Emelda Calvin (F22), Margaret Awam, Tina Nkom; Alice Unuah (F~30), Patricia Asuk (F~35); Neji Ekoma (M29); Julius Ayip and others		<i>but compared with Esham during elicitation</i>		<i>but compared with Esham and Ekagongo during elicitation</i>		Rev. Wilfred Ebor	
Date (checking)	2008-02-13		2008-02-12		2008-02-14						2008-02-13	
Number of words	343		342		334		338		336		341	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
afternoon	ndʒol		ndʒùl		ndʒòli		ɛfin		ndʒul		ɛfin	
all	wá:		wa		kpákpè		kpəkə / kpeəkpe		kpe: / kpekpe		kpe: / kpékpē	
and	ábɔ̀nè		nè		nà:		ɑ: / kpélē		ābóla		ɑ: / abola	
animal	ɲàm	ɲam	ɲàm		ɲàm	ɛ̀ɲàm	ɲam	ɛɲam	ɲam	ɛɲam	ɲam	ɛɲam
arm	ùbɔ́		ubɔ		èbɔ́	ábɔ́	ébo	ábó	ébo	ábó	ébo	ábó
arrow	iban						élòk		ékò		ēlbân	
ash	àtɔ́ŋ		àtɔ́ŋ		átɔ́ŋ		ātɔ́ŋ		ātón		āteŋn	
ask	bəp		bəp		báp		bap		bóp		bap	
at	ńgɔ́:		ńgɔ́:		lí							
axe	èfúk		ìfók		èfòk	ñfók	ɛfyk	ɲfuk	ɛfyk	ɲfuk	ɛfyk	ɲfuk

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop		N - Nde		O - Nselle		P - Nta		Q-Abanyom	
baboon	152					nkíābāṭōl		ēbágū	ābágū	ēbàgū	ābàgū
back	23	ñzám	òzám	ñdzám		ñdzam		ñjam	ā:jam	ñdzám	adzám
bambura nut	60										
bark	44	egbaba / ..gbagba		gbòp		lāgbóbó		bɔp / bop		gbobe / bobé	
bark	287	egbaba / ..gbagba		gbòp		lāgbóbó		bɔp / bop		gbobe / bobé	
bark-dry bark	45	ejumjum	ekpogeti			ē:γpágétē:		ē:kpóγé:tì	ā:kpóγántì		
basket	51	ètábà	àtábà	ètà:	bètà:	ε:ta	β:ta	ε:tá	būtá:	nkpari	ɔkpari
bat (bush)	e					ε:sɪŋi:	α:sɪŋi:	ēkpó:sīn	ākpó:sīn		
bat (fruit)	120			ε:sɪŋe	asɪŋe					ɛʃɪya	afɪya
bat (house)	120	ε:figa		bèfðk	ñfók	bəfok	mfok	bofok		bùfùgà	mfùgà
bat (vampire)	f					ñkɾɛ:nɔm	α:kɾɛ:nɔm	nkɾo:nɔm	akɾo:nɔm		
bathe	314	ajú:mà / ..jùmálàp		jòmō		ju:mα:lɔp		jumu		jómá	
bean	78	adubu		nèrùbū	àrùbū	ledziri		nìdzígí	à:dzígí	àrùbé:	
beard	11	àmòràŋŋò		amòrandzek		āmōr édzēk		āmār édzè		àwóráŋɔ / ajer	
beg	284	ljam / ..ljama		mbibò / jejabo		lbo: / mbo:		mbó:		gòré	
beg	285	ljam / ..ljama		mbibò / jejabo		lbo: / mbo:		mbó:		gòré	
belly	19	òlá	álā	ìná	ànà	ɲa		n:a	ana	àlá:	
bird	139	esúsok	àsúsòk	bèsòk	nsisòk	bəsók	nsəsok	bāsúk	ōsúsúk	ɲámfð	
bite	303	ègáŋà / ..gáŋà		gaŋ		α:megan		gaŋ		lòm	
black	230	ɛɲaγaɲok' / ɛɲaγek		ɲáyā		ɲáyá:		nāɲāyá		ɲànyā:	
blacksmith	109	ñtēnútēn	antenauten / antenaboten	ntenetan	betenetan	ntele:tal		ntánò:tān	ā:tánà:tān	ntulotul	
blood	35	àlónŋ		ànónŋ		ā:nónŋ		ā:nónŋ		àlōŋ	
blow	274	fana / fɪna		fɪne / fəle		lejo:ro		fónè		fùlì	
bone	34	èkáp	àkáp	èkáp	àkáp	ē:káp		ē:kákáp	ā:kákáp	èkùp	àkùp
bow	209	òlík	álík	ènék	ànék	ε:lik		o:lik	α:lik	ðlàk	
branch	47	ñzògètí	ànzògántì	ñdzá-ete	adzà-nte	ndzàēté:	ādzāántē:	ndzē:té	ā:dzántì	mbote	abwante
break	340	bán		bínè		bele		bene		bòn	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
baboon	h̄ɔ̄m	ùbàgù	ṁtāmínók	ataminok	nkí / n̄ɔ̄m		ntāmnók		ēɣúmēɾā̄m	
back	h̄ɔ̄zām	h̄ɔ̄zām	h̄ɔ̄zām		ndzām		ndzām		ndzām	
bambura nut	kaba-ɣikpa	aɣekpa	ṁɔ:atεge	àtēgè						
bark	àkpóp	igbubu / bubu?	gbòbò		búbú		búbú		búbú	
bark	àkpóp	igbubu / bubu?	gbòbò		búbú		búbú		búbú	
bark-dry bark			èkpágéntì	àkpágéntì	ākṙāɣāl̄tí		ekpaɣati		ekpaɣekun	
basket	ìtítéré	ítéré	nkàmbón	akambon	edze:re	adze:re	edze:re / epta:be		edze:re	adze:re
bat (bush)										
bat (fruit)	ìrémrém	ìbòmkòk̄	èɣàhḗ	àɣàhḗ	eɣahe	aɣahe	ēlímíím	ālímíím	eɣahe	aɣahe
bat (house)	ìfòk	efogɔ	efɔ:k	nfɔ:k	efok	mfok	efok	mfok	efok	mfok
bat (vampire)										
bathe	(n)jom..	jòmó	wú:mù		wú:mù a:lɔp		wu:mu a:lɔp		wu:mu a:lɔp	
bean	ikaba-arobe	àròbó	adzeri		alaɣalahe		alaɣalahe / ālúbú		alaɣalahe	
beard	àh̄wò:rí	ámòrìd̄zék	èh̄àr(ì)	àh̄àrì / eɫaɣ	eɫaɣ		āh̄ár		eɫaɣ	
beg	gor / lem	gɔɔ	gbojòh̄ò / lem̄e		ǵbejòh̄ò		égbìó:h̄ò		(g)bó:jòh̄ò	
beg	gor / lem	gɔɔ	gbojòh̄ò / lem̄e		ǵbejòh̄ò		égbìó:h̄ò		(g)bó:jòh̄ò	
belly	ala	ala	nlà:	àlà:	álā		álā		álā	
bird	mɔnɔɣam	èrók	èrók	h̄dók	eɣruk	nruk	eɣruk	nruk	ebr̄'uk	nrúk
bite	àlúm	lum	tógó:		tókó		tákē		tókó	
black	h̄jāh̄jāgī	h̄jìè jāgà	h̄nāɣē		éɾnjáke		h̄jɔɣeɾnjɔɣe		h̄jɔɣéɾnjāɣē	
blacksmith	h̄fɔ̄gètél	h̄tólòt̄5 / nfɔ̄gɔt̄ul	ne:tal	anabətal	e:tal / ntalətal		émōrēgbí		ne:tal / nfɔ̄katəl	
blood	àlón̄	àlón̄	àlón̄		áljú		ālún̄		áljú	
blow	ififil / áfil	filo	fálé		fálé		efálé		fálé	
bone	èkóp	èkúp	èkáp	àkáp	e:kap		e:kap		e:kap	
bow	olek	èbán	èbàn	àbàn	élòk		èlík		ēlbàn	
branch	mbo-ite	abo-ite	àbòb̄s-ìt̄é		bó:t̄i	ābó:t̄i	bóh̄òt̄i	ābóh̄òt̄i	mbəbo(eti)	abəbo
break	bìn	bón	báné		bóné		bəne / wa		bɔne	



Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde		O - Nselle		P - Nta		Q-Abanyom	
breast	18	əbjén	ábjén	nè:bèn	àbèn	lĕbén	nĕbén	ābén	lɔbɛl	abɛl
bridge	194	osiŋa	àsɪŋà	àkpà		ē:títí	ɑ:kpa		ðrɑ:	
broom	166	òsísɪŋ:à	asisɪŋ:a	esɪsɪŋe		ĕ:sísɪŋɛ	isísɪŋí	āsísɪŋí	èrágà	araga
brother	107	maŋjen		ekunu		muáré:	moāné	ābwáŋé	maŋen	
buffalo	150	ɪmfún	òfún	mfɔŋ	ɛfɔŋ	mfɔŋ	nfɔŋ	o:fɔŋ	ɪmfɔŋ	ofɔŋ
burn	349	fɪ		fɪ		[lɔ]fɪ[gi]	fɪ		fɪ:	
bush	42	ekun-egbe	akun-agbe	èkúnúgbè	àkúnágbè	ĕ:kúlúgbĕ	ēmōnégbè	āmōnángbè	èkúlígbè	akulagbe
buy	321	gú		gó:		[lɔ]gú:	gu		góná	
canoe	193	ògbà	àgbà	ègbá:	àgbá:	ĕ:gbá	ō:gbá:	ā:gbá:	ègbá:	
cave	174	ètábà		ènóŋ	bènóŋ	nfóyálātán	ō:nóŋ	ā:nóŋ	akpogatal	
chair/stool	164	ekwaba		ete:		ēténdzɪ	eteŋgi		ete	
chicken	137	maŋkwəkʻ	abinokwək	moʌnkɔk		muʌnkɔk	muánkōk	ābwánkōk	mɔnákɔk	abɔnɔkɔk
chief	111	ɪtán	àtán	ɪtón	àtòn	ntun	ntun	ɑ:tun	ntɔl	atɔl
child	106	mwon	abwon	ɲɔ:	àbɔ	mo abo	mó:	ā:bó:	mɔn	àbɔn
chin	10	ɪzák	òzók	ɪdzék	àdzék	ĕdzék	ā:dzék		lejar	
claw	140	ɲkɔmara	a-	màyā	àmàyā	āmāyābásōk	maɣa	amaɣa	àkpáfɔ:	
clay	178	òlé	òlé	nto:n		nsísíálātō	ntun		ɲtúnádé	
clothing	52	ɲbɔma		ɪnbɔ	àbɔ	ābó:	m bó:	ā:bó:	ɪnbɔmā	àbɔmā
cloud	186	n/a		n/a		agurangu	n/a		n/a	
cold	227	ɲlɔk		anɔk		ɑ:lɔk	alɔk		àlùk	
come	333	ba		bá		ba	ba		bá	
cook	343	lam		nàm		[la]la:	na:		lám	
cool/cold	226	ena		nara:		lala:ra	nānā:rá		enarinar	
corpse	183	ɲkɔyɔŋje	akɔyɔŋje	nkwa:ne	akwa:ne	nkwuanne	nkwáne	ākwánĕ	ukwan-ane	
cough	81	èkwórà	àkwórà	èkórò	àkórò	ĕ:kórō	ĕ:kórò	bōkórò	èkórè	
count	293	ɪmfán / ..fanamfan		fan		ɲfan	nfan		fāl	
cow	133	mfɔŋ		ɪmfɔŋ	ĕfɔŋ		mfɔŋ		ɪmfɔŋ	òfɔŋ

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
breast	ibél	ibel	ebel	abel	eb:el		eb:el		eb:el	
bridge	igbagate	ìtíté	ètíté		ètítí		ētītí		ētītí	
broom	ijɔl	ijɔl	ejiʃaŋe		ēpʃáŋē		ēmɔ́ól		ēbɔ́ól	
brother	ngbani	ngbani	mənən		ēkúnū		monaɔnən		monaɔnən	
buffalo	ṁfónɔ	ṁfónɔ	ṁfòm	èfòm	nfuɔ		nfúɔ		nfɔuɔ	
burn	lul	té:p	fí		fi		dɔam / fi		fi	
bush	ṁgél(i)	ìfú:	èkúlúgbè	akulungbe	ekuləgbe		ēkánē		ekuləgbe	
buy	gùní	gùnó	gúnù:		gúnù		gúnù		gúnū	
canoe	úgbáɔ	ugbaɔ	égbáɔ	ágbáɔ	égbáɔ	agbáɔ	ēgbáɔ		egbaɔ	
cave	ṁfók	àfó:k-utal	mfuk	afuk	ébìɔ	abìɔ	ebìɔ	ṁbíɔ	ēbínēkpártāl	
chair/stool	ìté	ite	eti		eti		eti		eti	
chicken	monankoge	mənkək	ɲkək		mōnkók		nkok?		monko'ok	
chief	ntol	ntol	ṁtól	àtó:	ntul		ntul		ntul	
child	mɔní	abɔni	mɔ:n	ábɔn	mon	abon	mon	abon	mon	abon
chin	ìdɔéyé	ídɔèk	èjàr	jàri	ebdɔak	ndɔak	ebdɔak	ndɔak	ebdɔak	ndɔak
claw	awunwar	iməma:ra	aɔaŋe		āɲjējájāŋē		ējɲāɻŋē		ējɲéɻŋē	
clay	ṁtòrò	nturo	ṁbílándè		éfém		àdóp / efem		èdóp	
clothing	éwùrē	áwɔrò	ṁbómó	àbómó	mbomo	ābómó	mbomo	ābómó	mbomo	ābómó
cloud	èbòrímbótà:/mbùribúntà	ìbúmbúntà			ákpáré ʃ'émʃ'èm				ēkpáré ʃémʃēm	
cold	alak <sup>7</sup>	alok	èkɔgò		álòk		àlák		alok <sup>7</sup>	
come	(m)bà:	bà:	bá:		bá		bá		bá	
cook	lám	lám	lám		lá:m		(ép)lá:m		lá:m	
cool/cold	(í)nàrí	ananar	anajaŋe		emneaŋe		ēmɲá:ŋè		āné:j'āŋē	
corpse	ṁkənè	ṁkənè	ṁkùnē	àkùnē	ṁkúnè		ṁk'ýnè		nkwəne	
cough	ikɔr	ikɔ:rɔ	èkóró		ēkóró	ākóró	ēkóró	ākóró	ēkóró	ākóró
count	nfal / àfál	fal	ɲfáli		faéŋè / fálè		fáŋè		fé:ŋē	
cow	mfoŋ	nfɔŋ	mfoŋ		nkalanfəŋ		nkálēdámágbōdē		mfəŋ	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>order</b>	<b>M-Efutop</b>		<b>N - Nde</b>		<b>O - Nselle</b>		<b>P - Nta</b>		<b>Q-Abanyom</b>		
crocodile	135	ɲjip		ŋgbjà:nāp		egbjamap		mbea:lɔp		ɲap		ngbe aləp
crooked	241	edoga		ngede		ngēdé		ngēdé		ngùdì		
cry	289	òdín / ..birodin		bére		e:lal		nan		rír / òrè		
cut (food with a kn	339	kaba		kébè		kabe		kebe		kìm		
cutlass	55	ɪtómà	òtómà	ɸ̀tímè	àtímè	ɲtəme:	ā:tómē:	ɲtémé	ā:témé	ntùmà	òtùmà	
dance	277	èbánbān / ..bána èjím		bán		[lɛ]bəle:(se)		ban		bán		
dark	231	nziŋa		edziŋe		elokun		edziŋi		edzeŋi		
dew	190	ekwək		ebu		ebukok		ē:bú		èbú		
die	324	èkú / ..kpô-eku		kpɔ		lòkú		kpɔ		kpɔ		kpɔ
dig	358	sam		sám		[lɛ]səme:		sam		ràmm		
dirty	263	èláj / elanjlan		ebambaya / nepi		lóbómú		ɲá:		èkpànjéré		
dog	155	ɲwə		m̀wɔ́	ewɔ:	mwuo		nwo	owo	ngó:	àgó	
door	163	ɪ̀b̀b̀:	óbù	m̀b̀b̀:dz̀	àb̀b̀:dz̀	mbúndzù		mbundzu	ā:búndzū	m̀b̀b̀:	àb̀b̀	
down	260	ósíē		esere		kesere		nésérē		ndí		
drink	297	wúð		wó		[lə]wóyó		wo		wó:		
drop	326	gbɔgo				[lā]gbógó		gbo		gbò:		
dry	262	ejumjum / jumjum		iɲo / emijum		ēmíjū:		ɲjó:		èkpájómā		
dry season	189	olim		ènùm		e:nəm		ono:		òlóm		
dull	234	etana / etinetina..		ngbùnū		lók̀b̀d̀l̀ú:		nākpárú		nkut / kuda		
dust	180	èwúwú		èbúbú	àbúbú	ēbúbú		ēbúbú		èbúbú		
ear	4	òtón	àtón	ètón	àtón	ētón	ātón	o:tón	ɑ:tón	oton		
earth	176	atutuwo		nse	nsise	nsɪ		nsísí		ndé:		
eat	299	èjígà / ..je		né		lèlégé		ne		lí:		
egg	77	èzí	àzí	èdzì	àdzì	ēdzí		i:dzí	à:dzí	èdzí	àdzí	
eight	91	enigini		enegane		ā:légālē:		enayani		ènēgīnī		
elephant	151	nzok		ndzok		ndzok	e:dzok	ndzok	o:dzok	ndzok		
enter	334	lam		ná:m		nenəme / nam		nam		jèl		

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
crocodile	ɲap	ɲap	ɲap		ɲap		ɲap		ɲap	
crooked	kòkòt / gogòt	igogodo	ngó:dò		èpgálè		(η)gólégólè		ngalɛ	
cry	àrír	rir	èlèη		líη		líη		(ɛ)ljiη	
cut (food with a knife)	kem~kem	kém	kim		kím		kim		kim	
cutlass	ntam(u)	ntàmò	ntàmè	etame	ntame	ébtāmē	ntame	ébtāmē	ntame	ébtāmē
dance	abán	bən	bán		bən		bón		ben	
dark	ídʒòηì	idʒaηe	èdʒájé		ēdʒájē		èdʒájè		ēdʒájē	
dew	ibr̩	ibr̩	èbòη		ēbóη		ébōη		ēbóη	
die	àkpó	kpò:	àkpó		kpó		ekpoyo		kpó	
dig	kpá:	kpá:	rám		kpá		kpá		kpá	
dirty	eɲeɲer	eɲiɲak	ébamè		eɲʃap / ebəm:ɛ		m̀bámè		ēɲʃáp	
dog	ngó:	mbò:	ɲbùwà	èbùwà	mbva		mby		mby	
door	m̀bò:	m̀bò:	mbòták	abotak	mbòták		mbùták		mbùták	
down	ndìgí	ndìgí	èrédé / gondi		ndi		ndi / erete		ndi	
drink	wɔ	wó	wó		wɔ		wɔ		wo	
drop	gbɔ	gbɔ	ágbò		(ɛ)gbo		gbɔ		gbɔ	
dry	júmjúm	jum	èwúm		ebwumu		wum		elwum	
dry season	ùlòm	òlòm	èlúm		ēlúm		èlúm		ēlúm	
dull	kəkət̩	ikəkòt	èkót		èpkítè		ekítkit		èkót̩kòt	
dust	ibùbù	ibùbù	ètòγ̀:		éptòkò / èbòηàmby		èlbápè		éptòkò	
ear	ùtónη	ùtónη	ətónη	àtònη	eʃun	aʃun	etun	atun	eʃun	aʃun
earth	ndèγ̀í	ndige	ɲdè		ndi		ɲdí		ndi	
eat	li	li	lí:		lí		li		li	
egg	idʒin-ikoge	ídʒì	èdʒè	àdʒè	edʒe		ēdʒé nkók		edʒe	
eight	inaɲini	inaɲani	nàkèní		(em)nako(m)ni		nōɲōní		nəkəni	
elephant	ndʒòk	ndʒòk	ɲdʒòk	edʒòk	ndʒok		ndʒok		ndʒeɔk	
enter	jel	jel(i)	jéli		jél		jel		jel	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom
evening	205	ègó	nègò	logo	nogo:	lògólògò
evil	235	èbíbí	èbíbí	ēbíbí	ībíbí	èbé
exit	335	du	rù	[lə]ru	ru	dʒok
eye	13	èmár      àmár	nemár	lāmár	nàmár      à:már	lamar
face	14	èsíàmàr      àsíàmàr	èsínèbrī      asijabri	ēsílōbrī	nìbrī      mbri	lèbrī      ṁbri
fall	327	(same as drop)	gbò	èmágbò	gbo	
farm	161	egbe      ágbè	ègbè      bègbè	ε:gbε	ε:gbε      begbε	ègbè      bègbè
farm (v)	a	bom	bòm	ləbomo	bom	ágbàmbàm
fat/grease	76	α:fòm	àfòm	āfó	afo:	afòm
father	103	àsǰē      ásǰē	nse      bǎnsé	nse:	nse      banse	ndene      bandene
fear (v)	290	injira / akpenjira	èkúp / èkúbùm̀fùm̀	ē:kúbúm̀fū	ō:bón	bé: / labe
feather	142	eḿr      àḿr	nefur	leḿr	nūfúr      āfúr	ləfur
fence	158	èbám	ègá:      bègá	ēgá	ē:gá      bāgá	ègá:
few	258	mésì:	tènim / ntítɔŋ	α:tətɔŋ	n/a	ʃe:ti
fifteen	94	mèkú				
fight	307	nuək	nɔɣɔk / lək	abi:	lok	nək
fill	354	kak / suna	sónò	[lə]so:lə	nəsɔ:nɔ	rò:rè / ruri
finger	31	ènjábò      ànjábò	ɲìgíbò      àɲìgábo	ɲīgí:bō	ɲègí:bò      āɲīgábò	ɲegɔbo      aɲagabo
finger nail	32	ìŋkpámàrà      àkp̄..	(mkpi)ṁà:γà      àmá:γà	ŋkpám̄:γā	ṁàγà      ā:màγà	ɛɲwara      aɲwara
fire	169	ìŋgún	ŋgòn      àgòn	ngun	ngun      α:gun	ngon
firewood	41	èkún      ìŋkún	èkón      ìkón	ē:kún      nkun	ē:kun      nkún	èkún      ùkún
fish	147	ɲjamalep <sup>7</sup>	ɲamanap / ɲα:lɔp	ɲā:ālɔp	ɲα:alɔp      o:ɲα:lɔp	nkó:bè      akó:be
five	88	édòn	ndon	ndon	ndon	èrɔŋ
flower	73	èfǰám      àfǰám	èfem      afem	ēfētī:	ēfé      āfé	efem      afem
fly	122	fu:bu	fúbū	ndzɪdzɪŋ      α:dzɪdzɪŋ	fu:bu	lofubi
follow	337	túoŋà	tòŋō	lətóŋò	toŋo	tóná
foofoo	79	òdálŋ      àdálŋ	érāŋ      áráŋ	ε:raŋ	oróŋ      aráŋ	oraŋ

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>		
evening	ìgòl	ígūr	ègórη		elgúəη	èbgú	èpgúη		elguəη		
evil	ibí:bì	aʃaʃap / ʃeʃap	abibi		ébi		ebine / ηnəm		ēbíbī		
exit	dʒok	dʒòk	lòη		lónη		lónη		lónη		
eye	èmór	imar	emmar	a:mar	emmar		emmar	ammar	ebmer		
face	uʃe mər	uʃamar	e:ʃimar	aʃimar	eʃemar		ēʃámár		eʃamer		
fall	imumu	gbɔ:			(eg)bo		gbɔ gbítù		(eg)bo		
farm	egbe	egbe	ègbè	égbē	égbē		égbē		égbē		
farm (v)	ntag(i)	same as plant								bám	
fat/grease	àfɔm	àfɔ:m	àfɔ:m		afom		afom		afom		
father	nde	ndé	ndé	bande	nde		nde / ηʃɔ́ó		nde		
fear (v)	ùból / mbe / abeubol	ùból	falifali		(ɛl)fāl(ɛ)		fál		(ɛl)fāl(ɛ)		
feather	ifu:ri	ifur	efor		efur		efur		efur		
fence	ígá	mbob	ègá	àgá	éggá		éggá		éggá		
few	tékè / akəkən ane	idɪdɔk	nta:ηa / ntiləm		ntíɛl		ntí:ól		ntí:ól		
fifteen	ìkúr	ikur									
fight	ànók	nɔk	nɔk		nekabəη		abɪη / nɔk		neɔk		
fill	ru:	ror(i)	rúrú		èbrúr(u)		rúr, rúrú		rúr		
finger	apagubɔ	ɪpogobo	ɲègèbɔ	apagabɔ	ɲjágábó		ēmjóγōbō		ēmjóγōbō		
ingernail	aηwar	ìmàmàrà	éna:ηe	aηa:ηe	éɲjájāηē		ēɲá:γē		éɲjájāηē		
fire	ngɔn	ngon	ngun		ágún		ágún		ágún		
firewood	̀̀kón	̀̀kón	̀̀kón	̀̀kún	̀̀kún	ekun	nkun	ekun	nkun	ekun	nkun
fish	̀̀kóbí	̀̀kóbɔ	ɲàmàláp		eɲàmàláp		ɲama:lɔp / ηʃɬɛ		ēʃáɾē		ηʃɬɛ
five	éɾɔ́	írɔ́	lón		lon		lon		lon		
flower	afem	àfemè	àfem		atətulu		āfēmēntí		etətul		
fly	ndʒendʒen	ndʒaηdʒaηe			ndʒédʒāηē	ádʒédʒāηē	èfɪ̀hè		ndʒédʒāηē	ádʒédʒāηē	
follow	tʃn(mɛ)	tònó	tónəm		tó:nō		tó:nō		tó:nō		
foofoo	ùráη	ùráη	èlànη		elɛɬη		élāη		elɛɬη		

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde		O - Nselle		P - Nta		Q-Abanyom		
foot	26	òlèsàn	àlāsàn	nèdžā:	àdžā:	lēdžā:	nàjā:	àjā:	èrábídžā:	arabadža	
forehead	3	ndún	òdún	ndon	àdòn	ndun	ndun		mbok	ambok	
forest	43	ákpúntù		èkúnúgbè		ṛāyékūlūgbē	ēmōnégbè	āmōnángbè	èfù:	bùfù:	
four	87	ɛɲje		ɲé:		ɲe:	ɲe		èni		
friend	112	n̄mìsìk	àtìmìsìk	ntem	àtèm	n̄te	n̄te:	ɑ:te:	ntem / mbé	atem	
fruit	74	nsúmèti	àsúmànti	nkap	àkàp	nkābēté:	nkap	ɑ:kap	nkàp	àkàp	
fur	117								luɲwɔɔ	ɑɲwɔɔ	
give	316	ka / ..ka:		ké:		[lɔ]ke:	ke		kàré		
give birth (v 3fs)	322	èjén / ..jena		wen		āmówèn	ōwén		gbel		
go	336	siɲ		sɔɲ		so (je ja:mu - he went)	sɔɲ	mɔmɔ (I went)	ʃɔn		
goat	131	m̄būn	òbún	m̄bòn	ɛbon	mbul	mbun	o:bun	mbul		
God	114	òsówò		èjówò		ɛisowo	ō:sówō		ɔʃɔwɔ		
good	236	ètíɲà		etiɲi / nòbó		ṛóbó	nò:bó		eteɲ / nóbā		
grandfather	104	n̄sjénsjē	asiasje	nsense	bansense	nsense	nsénsé		detsódžámà		
grass	70	èjén	àjén	nèwēn	àwēn	lōwén	nèwén	àwén	agbele		
grass (dry)	i	ekpoafje	akpoafje			ākpākuá <sup>n</sup> wen					
grave	83	ólām	alam	ènàm	ànàm	ɛ:nam	bənam	o:nam	ɑ:nam	ðlām	
ground nut	59	moganfira	infírà			mōgāmfrí	mfrí	nīfrí	mfri		
guinea corn	61										
guinea fowl	138	èjɲ	àjɲ	ègāɲ	àgāɲ	ɛ:gaɲ	ɑ:gaɲ	ē:gáɲ	baɲaɲ	ègáɲ	agaɲ
hair	1	èlú	nlu	neɲu:	ɲu:	lulu	nu	nu		ɲù:	
hard	256	etənetəɲə		nékúrù		emòku:ru				nkure	
harvest	b										
he	267	je		jè		je	je		wé		
head	2	èsí	àsí	èsí	àrímási	ēsí	bisi	isí	bisí	èʃi	bìʃi
hear	286	júðk / ..juoga		jɔk		lājóyó		juk		jòk	
heart-emotions	37	same as 'heart'						same as 'heart'			

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>		<b>S - Nkum</b>		<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
foot	írákpa(da)		ndamakpada		dàpkràdē arapkrade		ākprádē		ēkrádē		ndyárpādē	
forehead	m̀b̀òk		m̀b̀òk abok		m̀b̀òk àb̀òk		mbək mbək		mbuk abuk		mb'ək ab'ək	
forest	ìkol		ìkúl		èkúlúgbè akulungbe		é:máŋ		ēkúl		é:máŋ	
four	ìni		ìni		ní		ní		ní		ní	
friend	h̀t̀em		h̀t̀em		ntem àt̀em		ntem		ntem		ntem	
fruit	m̀əg-ite		m̀əg-ite		ŋkap àkàp		nkabəti		nkə:p		nkə:p	
fur	aŋwəri-ŋam		aməri ɲam		àŋr̀ari-ŋam							
give	(n)kare		ka:		ká:		kae		ka / kae		ka	
give birth (v 3fs)	gel		bél		ádʒèl		jɛpdʒɛl		(ɛb)dʒɛl		(ɛ)dʒɛl	
go	ʃ̀d̄ŋ / tim		ʃ̀d̄n / abutum		ʃ̀d̄ŋ / àfi (he went)		ʃ̀j̄ŋ		ʃ̀ŋ		tʃ̀j̄ŋ	
goat	mbul		mbol		mbol		mbul		mbul		mbul	
God	ìʃ̀:		ìʃ̀:		ɛʃ̀wɔ		ēʃ̀wó		ēʃ̀wó		ēʃ̀wó	
good	ínənp		ininp		ènób		épnóbò		nó:pò		nó:pò	
grandfather	ndénkòkò		ndénkòkò		ŋʃ̀nɔ-ŋkù: banʃ̀nɔ-nku		ndēnónkūl		ndɛkulkul / nʃ̀ookulkul		ndɛlande	
grass	ŋgel		m̀b̀élé		èdʒèlé adʒele		adʒele		ɛbdʒɛɛ adʒɛɛ		ɛbdʒɛɛ adʒɛɛ	
grass (dry)												
grave	úlám aləm		úlòm		èlà̀m		ɛlam alám		ɛlam alám		ɛlam alám	
ground nut	kaba-ʃ̀ikpa				àtʃ̀ikrà atʃ̀akpa		āʃ̀ākprá		āʃ̀ɛkrá		mokoʃ̀akpa aʃ̀akpa	
guinea corn			h̀ʃ̀ám									
guinea fowl	ègáŋ		egaŋ		égáŋ ágáŋ		ɛgæ:n agæ:n		ēgáŋ ágāŋ		ɛgɛ:n agɛ:n	
hair	ìŋ̀d̄ʃ̀ɛ anoʃ̀e		unluʃ̀i		èlú: àlū:		ɛblu alu		ɛblu alu		ɛbluʃ̀i aluʃ̀i	
hard	etitin / dʒek		itino / ndʒege		ŋkúŋù		èptánè		ntənɛtəne		ēbtánē	
harvest									èkráɣè		bám	
he	we		we		jé		jé		jé		jé	
head	ìʃ̀é aʃ̀i		ìʃ̀í aʃ̀i		èʃ̀í aʃ̀i		ɛʃ̀i aʃ̀i		ɛʃ̀i aʃ̀i		ɛʃ̀i aʃ̀i	
hear	juk		juk		wok		wuk		wuk		w'ók	
heart-emotions												



Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom
heart-pumps blood	36	ètím àtím	nètém	lēté:	nēté: nté:	nètēm
heavy	248	èlùblúb	inubu	eməɫəp	nóbó	nobà:
here	219	mfā àdífā	mfa	fa:	fa	fā:
hide	317	bar / egbara / ..bara..	bar / bibi	[ɬ]bre:	bar / bibi	bɾ / bɔ
hit	345	sum	kàrì	ləmobo	kar	ròm
hoe	56	èdú àdú	èrò bèrò	ɛ:ru bəru:	ē:ró boru	eru:bòrò
hold	319	fi	finé:	file	fi	filé
hold	k fi		finé:	file	fi	filé
honey	130	okwɔn	ékònd	ā:kú:ékōlō	ó:kònó	àkú ókón
honeybee	129	ɲkwɔn	ńkònd àkònd	nkolo	nko:no ako:no	ńkònd akònd
horn	132	ntəŋa / mik	ntəŋa	ntáŋá	nta"ga a:ta"ga	ntāŋ àtāŋ
hot	225	ifúp / ..efup	nèfip	ləfip	nefip	m̄fubā
house/hut	156	nzu òzú	ndzō bedzo	ndzo	ndzu budzu	èték bèték
how	220	èdí:sèn / adisen	érénāŋ	náng(jò:)	naŋ	nàn
hundred	96	atenadon	atan-arō	ā:tólā:rōn	atana:ron	àtálárōŋ
hungry	224	ńzán	ndzán	ndzan	ndzan	ndzál
hunt	344	ɔgba:zi	ègbádzí	è:gbádzí	gbadzi / némmé:	òbim
hunter	110	ɲgba:zi	mgbadzi	ɱbadzi	ŋba:dzi āgbádzí	mbimoben bàlímóbim
husband	99	ńlúm àlúm	nɔm abanum	nu ālú	ɲu a:nu	num alum
hyena	154	èzúwò àzúwò	edzó àdzó	edzo	ēdzó bōdzó	èdzó:
I	265	me	mè	me	me	mè
intestines	22	ɲgrala àgralà	ngrà:nà agrà:nà	āgrálā	ngránà āgránà	àgúdálà:
iron	182	ókwoŋà ákwóŋà	ékùŋà akɔŋa	ēbíl	ókóŋà ákóŋà	èkùŋà àkùŋà
jump (v)	331	..jebe báŋà	fep	ləfɛ:be	fɛ:p	fep
kill	325	ájín / ..júnà	jòn	ləjo:lo	jun	jòl
knee	24	èdóŋ àdóŋ	erōŋ berōŋ	ērōŋ	īsíérōŋ āsíárōŋ	èrúŋ
knife	208	ńtámà òtámā	èbámà àbámà	ēbámā	èbámà abamba	ebamba abamba

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
heart-pumps blood	ètém	ìtém	ètém		ēptím		ēptím		éltím	
heavy	lùlúp <sup>7</sup>	lup <sup>h</sup>	nlóbū		eblup		èblúpú		nlú:púlū:pū	
here	ɲa / ariɲa	ɲá	á:		á		ɲà		a	
hide	tóre	ʃele	bɾ / beri		bɾ		bɾ		bɾ	
hit	rum	rúm	róm		rúm		rum		rúm	
hoe	ìró	ìró:	èló:	̀nló:	elu	eblu	élu	eblú	elu	eblu
hold	fèlí	fèlé	fìlí		dʒəpe / fili		dʒəpe / fìlí		dʒápɛ / fili	
hold	fèlí	fèlé	fìlí		dʒəpe / fili		dʒəpe / fìlí		dʒápɛ / fili	
honey	íjám	àláp-úkòn	akɔŋ-nkɔn		ēkón		akənekon		akənekon	
honeybee	̀nkòn	ukon	̀nkòn	̀èkòn	nkon		nkon		nkon	
horn	ńtáj	atan	̀ntáj	ńtá:yé	ataye	nɛɔŋ	ntá:ɲ		nɛɔŋ	
hot	(e)fùfúp	fup	̀èfùbu		̀èpfúp / epfupfup		fup		élfùbū	
house/hut	ìtáp	ìtá:bà	èták	eptak	ēták		éták		eʔak	
how	irinan / arinan	nánò	lèrèdʒén		lirenán / lirédsèn		ànánwò / lirenán		lí:rénān	
hundred	àti-áron	atararɔn	àtálá:lón		ātēlālón		átēlālón		átēlālón	
hungry	ndʒali	ndʒa:l	ndʒál		ndʒal		ndʒál		ndʒal	
hunt	bem	bém	bém		(ē)bím		(ē)bím		(ē)bím	
hunter	mbemobem	mbemobem	mbimibim	babimibim	mbimibim		égbādzībím		mbimibim	
husband	nóm	àlóm	nóm		nlum	alum	nlúm	álúm	num	alum
hyena	amikpame		̀èdʒò	adʒo	édʒō		édʒō		édʒō	
I	me	me	mè		me		me		me	
intestines	àlíɲàlà	àlāɲàlà	ngadla:		akpitla		akpitla		akpitla	
iron	ikòn	ikuɲu	̀èkòɲu	̀àkòɲu	̀èkújúɲù	akújúɲù	̀èkū:ɲ		̀èkójúɲù:	
jump (v)	(m)fep	fèb	jèp		jip		ɲhɾpè / jip		jip	
kill	jul	jol(i)	áwùl		wúl		wúl		wúl	
knee	̀èrɔŋ	̀èrɔŋ	̀èláj	̀àláj	elaj		elaj		elaj	
knife	montem	mon-ńtímò	̀èkééré	̀àkééré/ntəmə	ntámē	eptame	mòntámè / mòkééré		ntámē	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde		O - Nselle		P - Nta		Q-Abanyom	
know	294	njǐjǐ / ..jǐjǐ	gbere		lɔgbere		gbé:rē		ɲɪɲi / ngbakunu	
lake	196	ntʷəp atʷəp	ètó:	bètó:	ē:tó		etɔ		etɔ-alap	
laugh	281	ɪnswon / juonansuon	ajon asɔn		āsón		āsón		ajɔl (ǎʃɔl)	
leaf	58	ɛɲʰana	nèɲān	ɲān	lējá:ɲ	ɲan	nàɲá:n	ɲa:n	leɲan	ɲàn
left	252	òbùokán	abɔka		bĩnká:		bāká:		bàkál	
leg	25	ésān ásàn	ètā	àtā	ētá:		o:ta	a:ta	òtá:	àtá:
leopard	153	ekpriɲbe akpriɲbe	ɲgbè	ègbè	e:kpərangbe		ēkpərángbē	ākpərángbē	òdùgbè	
lie ['lie down']	308	nōnoɣa / nuoɲ / ..noɲonoɲ	noɲɔ		nōnōɣó / noɣonoɣo		nóɲō		noɲa	
light	249	jagejaga	ɲjàyá		lējá:yá		jā:yá		ɲa:re	
listen	285	laga-atoɲ / ..lagatoɲ	ɲogo		ju:ɲaton		ná:tòɲ		jòk	
liver	38	emjer amjer	ègbé:r		āgbér		ō:gbér	ā:gbír	ègbèt-agbet	
locust bean tree	62									
long	243	édábándà	ɲdábà		ɲda:ba		ndā:bá		ɲdábà	
make	348	nɪm	nèm / jejarani		[lɛ]li		ne:		lèm	
man	98	ɲjènɪúm àbàlúm	mànúm	abanum	manu:	a:balu:	mōnó:	ā:būnú	nenom	abalom
many	237	ákɲàɲà	ebembem / atutu		ā:bímbím		è:bé: / etutu		ègbēmegbem / egbem	
market	184	àʃē	àsé		a:se		āsé		àrè:	
							nābún			
							me jin bane (1fem)			
marry	323	èbán / ..banaeban	nekɔɣɔ		lakɔɣa:		me jin kwe n (1masc)		labal	
meat	75	ɲâm	ɲam		ɲa		ɲa:	óɲà:	ɲàm	ɔɲám
medicine	48	ètíkɲú ñtíkɲà	èkām	ɲkām	e:kam	ɲkam	ē:kám	nkam	ètē:	
millet	63									
mohogany	69								ntol-ote	
money	181	òkpúwà àkpúwà	èkpògà	àkpògà	ākpógà		ā:kpógā		èkpùgà	àkpùgà
moon	198	ɲjè	ɲé:		me:		me:	āmé:	ɲwé:	
morning	202	ofurafu / mkparufu	èfúrúsū		ēfūrúsú		ēfrútú		òfránfò	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>	<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>		
know	ɲɪɲɪ / ija	ɲi	ágbèrè	gberɛ		èpkónè		épkanē		
lake	idəde	edide		étò	atò	èkrátè		ēdídē/eto		
laugh	ajol / àfoí / ajolafoi	jol	wol (àfòl)	foi / wol		wol / wolafoi		afol		
leaf	ɪɲan	ɪɲána	èɲáné	ɲɲane	ēɲɲá:né	āɲá:né	ēɲɲá:né	āɲá:né	ēɲɲá:né	
left	bókàl	ubopkal	èbókà:	èbópkaì		ēbópkaì		ēbópkaì		
leg	èkpá(dà)	íkpadà	ètà:	àtà:	ēkpádē	ēkpádē		ēkpádē		
leopard	ekperangbe	èkperìngbè	ègábé	agábé	ēgábé	ēgá:pé		ekperangbe		
lie ['lie down']	nɔɲe	nɔɲɔ	nɔ́jɔ́ / nɔ́jɔ́ɲa (IMP)	neɪjɔɲo ndi		nó:ɲò		neɪjɔɲo		
light	jajar	ejara	já:rè	(eb)járè		já:rè		njá:rē		
listen	raɲatuɲ	raɲatuɲ	wòk	wujuɲ atjuɲ		wùɲ átùɲ		wī:júɲú atjuɲ		
liver	úgèt	àbét	èdzét	àdzét	adzit	ēbdzít		adzit		
locust bean tree		ìjégé	èɲàngé	ɲange						
long	erap / goɲ	rap / goɲ	lábè	eblap		lábélábè		nlá:bélā:bē		
make	lim	lém	lèm	lím		(ɛp)lím(i)		lím		
man	nenɔm abalom	nenɔm	lèlóm	abilom	nəlum abəlum	nélúm	ánáplúm	nenum	anapəlum	
many	èúrú / wardul / dol	fep / ndoro	gbàlé-gbàlé / nrur	gbàlé / tv / nrur		gbàlé / ane / tɻ / nrur		gbālè: / egom		
market	àré:	àré	áré	áré		ndək		áré		
marry	(i)bál	koɲka:	èbár	èbál		èb:ál		elbal		
meat	ɲam	ɲam	ɲàm	èɲàm	ɲam	ɲam		ɲam		
medicine	élanɲ	íkó:m	èkàm	ekam		ákām̄ntí	ekam	akam	ekam	
millet		ñkòlǎ́sáp	ñ́sám							
mohogany		ìtànàkà	ètàn-nkál	àtàn-nkál						
money	àɲèrí = àkóbò	àkúbù	èkpògò	àkpògò	ákpòkò	àkpókè / àpé:nè		ákpòkò		
moon	ɲwèrí	ùmér	èbàriká:	èbàréká		èbàrká		èbàrká		
morning	nfofo	ufumfu	fúm-fù:	ēfúɲfū		ēfúɲfū		ēfúɲfū		

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom					
mortar	167	èfún	àfún	èfón	bèfòm	ē:fún	bōfún	èfóm	bòfòm		
mosquito	124	ìkpjékpjè	àkpjékpjè	mbū:àbú:		mbu:	mbu	ɑ:bu	mbū	àbū	
mother	105	ɲjen		ɲe:baɲe:		ɲe	ɲe	baɲe	nánà	bànanà	
mountain	175	ègún	àgún	ègón	bègón	ē:gún		nkúnkún	èwɔɲ	bùwɔɲ	
mouth	5	ìɲjò	óɲwò	ɲɔ		ɲɔ	ɑɲɔ	ɲo	ɑɲo	ìɲð:	àɲð
mud	177	èbjérà	àbjérà	ebèrè	ābèrè	á:bērē		ábèrē		àtótóbā	
name	115	mbìɲ/àbíɲ		mbiɲ		mbiɲ		mbiɲ	ɑ:biɲ	mbíɲ	
narrow	239	ekuɲekuɲamba / ekuɲa		nfibi		mfí:bi		mfí:bí		nsusuya / ɲjeba	
navel	20	ìɲkəmà etoɲ	akəmà atoɲ	nètóɲ	ntoɲ	lētóɲ		nōtóɲ		lətuɲ	ntuɲ
neck	16			èmèn	mèmèn	ēmén		ē:mén		emel	
new	251	éfiè		jèmfé		mfénfè		nmfénfè		nfe	
night	204	ntaɲatu		ènókón		ēlókún		ēnókōn		álātū	
nine	92	símà		esimawobo		ā:símāwōbō		āsíbà wōbō		àrámúbà	
no	255	ĩí		èʔé / mʔm		na:san		èé		ĩí	
nose	12	ɲmun	ùmún	ɲin	aɲin	mɪn		mɪn		ɲwúl	àwúl
old	250	ekukuna		èkpákúnù		emokun / ɛ:kukulu		ēkókónú		nkpakula	
one	84	zizí		ídzí:		ndzi		ndzi:		dʒraɲ	
palm	30	olaobo	àlábò	nètébó	ntijabɔ	lētí:bō		anabɔ		èrábóbò	àrábóbò
person	100	ɲjè	ánjè	nè:	ànè	ɲe	ɑ:ɲe	ɲe	ɑ:ne	nè	ànè
pestle	168	nsjòk	àsɲòk	nsòk	asòk	nsok		nsòk	ɑ:sòk	ɲʃòk	àʃòk
pig	118	àkók		àkùk	àkùk	ɑ:kuk		ɑ:kuk		àkók	
pit	160	òbí:	àbí	nèbé:	àbé:	ləbí:		nēbí:	ābí:	lèbé	àbá
plant	359	kun		bòm		ləbomo		kak		bàm	
plant	g	kun		bòm		ləbomo		kak		bàm	
play	278	ásjè / ..saɲas(j)e		asaɲase		ɑ:se		sāyá / ase		àʃi / aʃagaʃi	
pour (on ground)	352	àwú / .. wú		wuru		ləwuru		wuru		wùrí	
pour (water into cu	351	jaɲa		ijaɲa		lakəɲa		jaɲa		tò:	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
mortar	ifóm	ifóm	éfúm	afúm	ēfúm		éfúm		éfúm	
mosquito	ìmbó	ìmbó:	ṁbù:	abù:	mbu		mbu		mbu	
mother	ɲen	ɲjen	ɲən	bɔɲən	ne / ɲənnɛ		ne: / ɲən		ɲən	
mountain	igolatal	ìgól	èwóɲ	awóɲ	éwéɔɲ		ewəɲ	awəɲ	éwéɔɲ	
mouth	ɲð:	ɲð: aɲɔ:	ɲɔ:	aɲɔ:	ɲo	aɲo	ɲo	aɲo	ɲo	aɲo
mud	ntitɔp	ntutobo	èdðp		ádðp		ádðp		ēdób	
name	mbɲ	ímbéɲ	ṁbɲ		mbɲ		mbɲ		mbɲ	
narrow	fófɔt / fé:	fəfəðə / fəfə / nfede	ɲfí:dí		ɛfidí		fítífítí / ɛfidʒi		mfi:tífi:tí	
navel	ngbðtɔɲ	agbɔtɔɲ	ìtɔɲ	ètáy	ɲtày	ebtaɲ	ebtaɲ		ebtaɲ	
neck	imel	imel	ɛ:mel	a:mel	emel		emel		emel	
new	mfemfe	mfemfe	nfɛnfɛn		ɲfɛɲfɛ		nfɛnfé		nfɛnfē	
night	àtú:	àtú	àtù:		átɥ		átəv		atəv	
nine	erumigo:	ìrómóɣð	ʃim <sup>1</sup> -wùbó		ɛpʃunwɔbu		ʃünwóbú		(ɛ)ʃunwɔbu	
no	ɲjá	èjá	ɲtén		èʔé		èʔé		ēé:	
nose	ɲwól	múl	nwul	awul	nwul		nwul		nwul	
old	ikukul	ikukul	ɲkpòkùlù		ɛpkul		kul		ēkúlkūl	
one	índʒráy	índʒráy	ɲdʒaɲ		ndʒaɲ		ndʒaɲ		ndʒaɲ	
palm	írábð	ndabɔ	ɲdábð	àrábð	nrábó		ndábó		nrábō	
person	nè	ànè	nè	ɲè:	ne	ane	ne	ane	ne	ane
pestle	ɲʃók	ɲʃok	ʃok	aʃok	ɲʃók		ɲʃók		ɲʃɛɔk	
pig	úkógbó	úkògbɔ	èkùk	àkúk	ēkúk	ākúk	ēkúk	ākúk	eku'uk	akujuk
pit	ibubɪr	eber	ɛbɲ		ɛbm		ɛbm		ɛlbɲ	
plant	kón	tá:	bàm		ló		bóm / lɔ		bám	
plant	kón	tá:	bàm		ló		bóm / lɔ		bám	
play	àʃí / àʃágàʃí	ʃagaʃi	ṁbé:né		mbé:né		mbene		mbé:né	
pour (on ground)	jàɲà		meɲe		ʃálē		ʃálè		ʃálē	
pour (water into cu ján)		jàɲà:	jaɲe		ʒé áɲè		jà:ɲè		ʒé:jàɲé	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde		O - Nselle		P - Nta		Q-Abanyom	
press (squeeze)	357	ɲáyà	ɲéɣē				ɲege		ɲèdé	
pull	356	luora / tu	ɖzere / tû:		n/a		tɥ		tur / juɸ	
push	355	tjam	teme				ɖza:ra		tèmi	
quiver	211				mbáyánkõn		ekposo akposogoolik			
rain	187	same as water	anap-araganaga		a:lɔp		a:lɔpanɔbu:		àláp	
rainy season	188	ɲánà	nana		ɲānā		na:na		nálè	
rat (house)	145	mbjè òbíè	mbè	èbè	ɲā:tú		mbe	obe	ɲámátù	ɲàmátú
red	232	èbínèbínà / ebina	mbini		mbíní		m̄bíní		mbila	
rest	310	osira-ijwɔ	si-àjɔ:		sia:jo		ājó:		eʃɛlájó	
right	253	òbùolám	benum		bīnnú		bōnú:		bòlòm	
ripe	222	émébìnà / ebina	mbini		eməkun		nbíní		mbèlà	
river	192	ájà	àjà:		ájà		a:ja		àjà	
road	159	ɲbá àbá	ɲbá:	àbé	mba:		mbá:	ābá:	ɲbá:	àbá
room	157	òmónà àmónà	èkpɔ	bèkpɔ	ekpoændzo		nkébé	ākébé	èkpɔ:	bèkpɔ:
root	46	ndogeti adoganti	ɲdók-ete	àrúwátè	ndúgú:tē:	ārūgántē:	ndógè:tē	aruwantɪ	ìɖzògòtè	arugante
rope	50	ɲlígà àlígà	ɲigi	àñgī	ɲígí		nígí	ā:nígí	negi	alegi
rotten	223	ebonebona	èbìbòn		ebobon		ēbōbón		ekpabɔli	
round	242	ékárènkā / firafira	nkere		ɲkē:ré		nkēré		nkèdè	
run	329	ébàn / ..lebeban	bé		e:ban		e:ban		ebal	
saliva	8	átien	átén		āten		à:tén		àtél	
salt	165	àkáj	àkáj		a:kɔɲ		a:kúɲ		àkáj	
sand	179	ésísìè	nse nise		ekpase:		ēsésē		èràgàndè	
sauce	80	ékíkijè ákíkijé	bèsò:	ɲsó:	bəso:		āsó:		burur	
say	282	edak <sup>7</sup> / ndaya / jedayə(si)	rak / áráyà		lɔɣa:		rak		àgbábòn	
scorpion	146	eniɲintja àníɲintjà	nàntá:	ananta:	ɲaɲ		e:naɲ	banɔɲ	nàntá:	ànántá:
scratch	342	wójà	wójɔ		lɔwɔɲo		wójɔ		wɔɲa:	
see	280	ɲjaɲ	ijè		leje:		je:		jèn	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	R - Nkim	S - Nkum	T - Nnam	Uk-Ekagongo	Um - Mfom	Us - Esham
press (squeeze)	ɲèdí	ɲèdē	ɲéndè	ɲjédè	ɲjé:tē	ɲjé:tē
pull	nògí / tərí	wam / tɔɔ	etɔɔ	tɔɔ	tɪɔ	tɔɔ
push	ʃám	ʃám	gbúlí / təm	təm	tám	təm
quiver		ikpogoro				
rain	mbonta	éláp	éláp	éləp	ēláp	ēláp
rainy season	ɲal	ɲnala	ná:lé	na:le	ná:lè	na:le
rat (house)	ɲbè	ɲbè	ɲàmátúták    aɲàmátúták	ɲāmātɔ	ɲāmātɔ	ɲāmātótéták
red	mbébil	mbɪbili	nbílí	mbílíbilí	mbílíbilí	mbílíbilí
rest	aʃeɲjɔ	aʃe	èrágákù	(ɛ)re:kəky	reʔeky	(ɛ)re:kəky
right	bó(p)lùm	uboplum	èbɔlɔm	ēbóblūm	ēbóblūm	ēbóblūm
ripe	imbil / w/reduplication	ibil	bílí	èbil	èbil	mbílíbilí
river	aja	ìfábà	àjà	ájā	ájà	ájā
road	mbar	mbar	ɲbāɲ    abaɲ	mbeɔɲ	mba:ɲ	mbeɔɲ
room	ɲwɔlitap	nkpa-ita:ba	èkpɔ    àkpɔ	ɲkímí	ēkpókɔpá / ɲkímí	ēkpókɔpá
root	nrogete	ndək-ite	nɔɔyote	lokəti    ālōkɔntí	lōgɔtí    álōgāntí	nloketi    aloknti
rope	nək	nage	nlaye    alaye	loke    aloke	láyé    áláyé	nlake    alake
rotten	ímbólí / iboboli	ibɔl	èból(i)	èból	èból	ébɔlból
round	kilelele	kilelelele	ɲké:dē	edzɔnka / egare / gbaɲegt	eʃɔɲe	edzɪnka / epkon eʃɔɲe
run	(ɲ)tóp	tòbó	bé:	bé	àból / bé	bé
saliva	atɛl	àtél	atɛl	atɛl	atɛl	atɛl
salt	àkájɲ	àkájɲ	àkájɲ	ākéʎn	āká:n	akáʎɲ
sand	mbubu	ibùbú	èrìgìndé	èrikì	erikìndi	erikɪ
sauce	ùrèn	ùrènè	àbènè	ābónē	ābónē	ābónē
say	buɲ	mbuɲ	bòɲ	bjúɲ	búɲ	bjúɲ
scorpion	naɲ	naɲ	nàɲ    ànàɲ	ɲeʎn	na:n	ɲeʎn
scratch	(m)woɲ	wóɲɔ	wó:ɲɔ	wójóɲó	wójóɲó	wójóɲó
see	jet <sup>h</sup>	njen	ɲén	emjine	ɲjən	emɲene / me:ɲen



Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom					
seed	53	mək	ḿ̀ðk	amək	mōgētē:	ā:mōgántē:	mok	á:mok	muk		
sell	320	gúrà / ..gùrà	gòró	ləgʊ:ru		guru		gòré			
send	338	tum	tòm	(lə)tu(ε)		to:		tòmè			
seven	90	ízà	esima	ā:símmā:		simmə		àrámā			
sew	347	kán	dʒàm / jejadʒime	ledʒəme		dʒam		dʒùm			
sharp	233	ekuwo / ekuwokuwo	̀̀kó:	lōkó:		nōkó:		nkòrà			
she	268	je	jè	je		je		wé			
shea butter tree	68										
sheep	134	̀̀zúò	òzúò	ndʒo:	ndʒo	ndʒo	odʒo	̀̀dʒòrà	òdʒòrà		
shield	c										
shoes	27	inʒpogokur	akpgokur	èkpágátà	àkpágátà	ākpavátā	akpavata	̀̀kpàgàtā	akpagata		
short	244	èkíkə̀m	̀̀gbègbènè	ngbegbele:		̀̀béné		èkpedè			
shoulder	17	èfóhóbwo	à- ̀̀	èkpárafàn	àkpárafàn	ēpárlfān	ē:fáŋ	ā:fáŋ	ekpá:kpá	akpá:kpá	
shout	288	álàn / ..lana-alan	béŋè	(lə)/(a:)bŋɪ		béŋè		èkò̀n			
show (v)	296	tuŋa	təŋə	lòtòŋó		tòŋò		típ			
sick	82	òjámà	àjámà	èjám	àjám	ē:já	ājá	ò:já:	à:já:	̀̀jám	
sing	276	ekwən / ..kwəna ejim	-jīm / jiese	ajji:(se)		-jí:		tòm / tum			
sister	108	manjen / manjenjenkan	ekunudʒika:	akunujaka:	muáré:jònkā:	muājé:jòkū:	ābwāné:bāká:	məŋem-jəkal			
sit	305	̀̀zí / ..zinzi / ..zonanzi	̀̀dʒí	ndʒí		dʒo:		dʒò			
six	89	esigisa	èsàgàsā	asʌgasa:		esávà:sá		bèrágá-bèrā			
skin	33	ŋgugu	ágùgù	nkpángu		̀̀gú	àgū	ŋgwabedʒi			
sky	197	èbú	nèbó	ləbó:		nōbó:		lòbó = libonta			
sleep	311	lan elə	nan / aminan	(a:mə)lan		nan		ləl / ilo			
smell	279	nlu / ..joga nluzumuje	júnù / ejujuju	ləju:nu		nāsá:n / nejuju		ɲuna / èlù / egbaju			
smoke	170	étitigā	atitiga	étítík	átítík	ā:títík		átúík			
smooth	228	iljeiljela	nsəbə	émbōyō		nōsó:bó		mgbògé			
snake	143	ŋŋjúò	onjúò	ɲo		ɲo:	ε:ɲo:	ɲo	oɲo	ɲò:	oɲo:

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>	<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>	<b>Um - Mfom</b>	<b>Us - Esham</b>
seed	moyete	mɔɔɔ	m̩̀ðk      ám̩̀ðk	mok      amok	móγ̃ɔ̃      āmóγ̃ɔ̃	mokoti      amokonti
sell	gòrí	gòró	gó:ɲò	gúɲù	gúɲù	gɔ̀júɲù
send	tóm	ítóm	ʃɔ̃n / àfí (he sent)	túmé / tum	túm	túmé
seven	erimini	írímínì	ʃímá	ʃǝmá	ʃǝmá	ʃǝmá
sew	kur	dʒóm	dʒám	dʒam	ɛdʒame	dʒam
sharp	ikɔ̃r	ikɔ̃kɔ̃r	èkóɲɔ	ɛpkɔ̃jɔɲɔ	èpkóɲó	èkájóɲkòjòɲ
she	same as he	same as he	jé	jé	jé	jé
shea butter tree						
sheep	ndʒɔ̃r	ndʒɔ̃rɔ̃	ɲkɔ̃m	ndʒóró	ndʒóró	ndʒóró
shield						
shoes	ɲgòjám	ibudakpada abuda akpad	ɛkraɲa-ata      akraɲa-ata	ākɔ̃pāyātá	ākɔ̃pāyātá	ākɔ̃pāyātá
short	ekɪp / w/reduplication	kpet <sup>h</sup> / ekpedekpet	nkɔ̃pɪ:kabe	èpkáp	kápíkápè	nkápákápè
shoulder	ikpukɔ̃yɛbɛk	èkpúkúpárá íbèk	ɛkpákɔ̃pák      àkpákɔ̃pák	ɛkraɲabak	ɛkraɲabak	ɛkraɲabak
shout	àrán	ran	bijéɲé	bijijɪ	bijijɪ	rá:pé
show (v)	teɸ / toɲ	típ	tíbí	(akɔ̃pəm)tip(i) / tip	(akɔ̃pəm)tip(i)	(akɔ̃pəm)tip(i)
sick	ùjám      ajam	ùjám	èjám	ɛja:m      aja:m	ɛja:m      aja:m	ɛja:m      aja:m
sing	kɔ̃n	tum	jém	jɪm	jɪm	(ɛb)jím(í)
sister	ngbanekal(i)	(same)	menija-bankal	èkúnūn nōnkál	monaɲnonkal	monaɲnonkal
sit	bim	bómè	dʒíjía	dʒí	dʒí	dʒi
six	írará	írārā	ràkàrág	rjáγárá	rjáγárā	r'ákórā
skin	ekpak-angubedzi	uɲɔ	kpàngù:	ngubdzin	ngūbdzín	ngóbdzín
sky	ntolibunta	ìbór = mborombóntà	èpboɲ	èlbíuɲ / ebuɲ	ébùɲ	èbɪuɲ
sleep	àlál	lal	lál	lál	lál	(ɛb)la:l(ɛ)
smell	ilú / àjúgílú	ilú / ajugilu	awu ɛjɪɸ	èʃùʃv	ɛʃuʃu / evyge	ɛʃɪʃv
smoke	àtíták	àtítók	àtítók	ātātók	ātātók	ātātók
smooth	íkpe / w/reduplication	kpelekpele/kpəkele	èrójóɲò	èpfélè	èpfélé	(èl)kpé:lé
snake	ɲɔ	ɲó	ɛlaga-ɛlage      alaga-ɛlage	ɲo      ɛɲo	ɲó      éɲó	ɲó      éɲó

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom
sneeze	302	èsírà / .. eireesira	nesini	e:ɪsini	ĩsínõ	àríná
soft	257	edjayadjaya	̀ndeyɛ / ndɛ	e:ɪmɔrɛ / ndě	ndé: / erere	̀ndera
spear	212	ekuɲ	nekɔŋ	ēráŋákõn	nōkóŋ nkoŋ	̀nkòn
spider	123	èsámánsà asamansa	̀èsáyánsà asayansa	ēsāyánsā:	elayásà:bā ālāyásà:bā	érágàndà araganda
spit	301	àtíen / ..soyatien	só	a:ten	su	sú:
split (wood with ar	341	jâ	jâ:	leja:	ja:	dʒà:
stand	306	jímà	nèjím	lè:jímí	jímí	jèmè
star	199	èdùrándù ádurándù	̀èdùrándù ádurándù	ēduándū	ēdwándū adwándū	ndarando ararando
steal	315	àzú / ..jùjázù	̀èdʒū	ēdʒú	dʒu	̀èdʒú
stick	172	ètí ñtí	bètē àbwántè	muabəte:	ē:té nte	bètē
stomach	21	ékpà-ola ákpā-ola	̀èkpánà èkpá:mà	ēkpánā	n:a ana	lùbru mburu
stone	173	ètán	netan àtán	lētán	nātán ā:tán	lətal
straight	240	ójémá / ójíémá	ntini	ntinni	nōtínní	̀ntòrà / ntini
stranger	113	̀nèzènanìè àzénánìe	̀ndʒénánè àdʒànanè	ndʒelan <sup>n</sup> e	ndʒēnà:nè ādʒēnà:nē	̀ndʒènanè àdʒénánè
stream	191	̀dùwò àtúwò	mbɔ abɔ	mfúbá	ē:fáp bā:fáp	mbɔ-alap abwa-alap
suck	298	ejaba / ..jaba	jap	lèjá:bá	nébè	jáp
sun	200	í(d)zùn	̀ndʒòn	ndzul	ndʒun	̀ndʒól
sweat	9	éjúbá	nèjóbò	lèjóbò	nòjóbò	lèjóbē
sweep	304	ejuna / ..juenamfim	fɛŋɛ	lɔfɛ:ŋɛ	fé:ŋē	fɛŋè
swell	353	ètú / ..tu	̀ntó	[lɔ]tu:	nōtɔ:	[lɛ]tɔr
swim	332	ujuok	jɔk	lɔjɔɔ	jok	̀aɔkɔkɔk
tail	119	̀n̄sín òsín	nèsìn ñsì	lēsín nsim	nīsín nsɪ:n	ləkɛl nkel
take	318	kwo	kó:	lètòló	ko	kó
tall	245	same as long	ndaba	̀ndá:ba	ndā:bá	̀ndàbà:
teach	295	ekpinekpina / ..kpina	kpénè	lèkpólé	kpénè	kpèlè
tear drop	15	emiba àmfà	̀àmfbì	ámfibi	āmí:bí	̀àfbì
ten	93	wuba	wobo	wo:bo	wo:bo	wùbà

## Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>	
sneeze	ififine / ifufine	ríni	réní		ēríní		(ε)ríni		ēríní	
soft	idòdòk / idòk	ididòk / degedege	ηkpò:dò		èkpò:dò		ηkpòtò		(ε)ηkpò:dò	
spear	ìkòjè	íkòj	èkòj	ηkòj	éìkò'òj		èìkòj		èìkèòj	
spider	iranada	irayanda	eraganda		ērāγándā		monda		monda	
spit	aʃo / àʃòtèl	ʃo	ʃó:		ʃú (atèl)		ʃo atèl		ʃo atèl	
split (wood with ar dza		jar	jáhé		jahe		jáhè		jáhé	
stand	jim	jemi	jé:mi		jí:mí		jí:mí		jí:mí	
star	ndòrójndò	ndùgá:ndò	èlò:lò	alò:lò	ēlónlō	alónlō	ēlónlō	alónlō	ēlónlō	
steal	ju /aju	jú:	èdʒū		edʒy		γédʒy		edʒov / y	
stick	etite	ètíté	étí	ηté:	ébtí		étí		ébtí	
stomach	àlà	àtìjálà	àtáj-àlà		akpitla		álā		álā	
stone	ùtá:l	utal	etal		ebta:l		ebta:l		ebta:l	
straight	etòtor / dede	dididi / ntoro	ètānē / etoro		eptor		(ε)tortor		(ε)tortor	
stranger	ndʒénè	ndʒénè	ndʒenne		ndʒenne		ndʒenne		ndʒenne	
stream	ìfáp	ìʃfábà	égbá:		éìgbá		èpbá	mgba / mónl	èpbá	
suck	jap	jap	jáp		jáp		jáp		(ēb)jáp:(ē)	
sun	ndʒòl	ndʒəl	ndʒol		ndʒul		ndʒúl		ndʒul	
sweat	èdʒídʒó:	ijó:bò	ηbwóró		ηwu:ru		ηwu:ru		ηwu:ru	
sweep	ful	ful	fé:ηé		fe:(ə)ηe		fé:(ə)ηē		fe:(ə)ηe	
swell	tur	tòr	ètúj		ep'túj		èptúj		èptjúj	
swim	(n)njók / (à)njók	ɲók	ɲók		ɲjók		wók		ɲjók	
tail	nkel	ekel	ejil	afil	epʃil	ɲʃil	epʃil	ɲʃil	epʃil	ɲʃil
take	ko	kó:	kó:		ko / rət <sup>h</sup>		ko / rət		ko	
tall	àgá / w/reduplication	ga / igiga	lábē		eblabe		lábélábè		nlá:bélá:bē	
teach	àkpíl	kpílì	kpílé		(ep)tip(i) / tip		tip		(ep)tip(i)	
tear drop	itón abibi	ábibì	abòjò		abòjò		ābòjē		abòjò	
ten	igul	igul	éwóbò		ewubu		ewubu		ewubu	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom					
termite	125	ɲkpáfi:bà	àkpáfi:bà	ɲkèkò	akikò	mbibi	abibi	atan			
termite (2nd kind)	126		etan					ɲkèkè	àkèkè		
termite (3rd kind)	127							ntúlétan	atuletan		
termite hill	128	ètán	àtán	etan	etan	nkoko	a:koko	numetan			
they	272	owo	ábò:		ábò	mbó					
they (fem)	273										
thick	246	èmúɲ	nenubu	eməɬəp		nóbó		ɛʃetset			
thigh	28	òtá	àtā	ènèmē	bènèmē	ēnēmé	bēnēmé	ènēmā			
thin	247	n/a	n/a	lànúrí		nkōkómū / edzɔ		esepesep			
think	292	imfara / .. fārā	kérè		leke:re	nká:nā		ɲkéré			
thorn	49	(i)nsaɲ	àsáɲ	èdzéɲó	adzɔɲɔ	é:dzòɲó:	á:dzòɲó:	ē:dzódzòɲɔ	ā:dzódzòɲɔ	edzɔɲa	
three	86	ɛ:sa	ɲsá:		nsa:	nsa:		érā			
throw	350	lò	túp / jejatubu	lətobo		tɔp		ró:			
tie [verb]	346	bwap	bɔ:b	[lɛ]kəɛ		bop		ɲgbádē			
toad	148	èljéljè	àljéljè	èdzínàkàn	adzínàkàn	ɛ:dzɪnankal	ē:dzérē	bēdzérē	èkpàdzólà	akpadzola	
tomorrow	207	ówì	éwànā		éwánnā(dzī)	ēwánàdzī		égó:			
tongue	7	élíbà	álíbà	nenibi	ìníbí	lēlībí	nībí	nɪnɪ:bí	-	rìrèbè	àrèbè
tooth	6	èmón	àmón	nēmān	amen	lēmín	amin	nàmán	à:mán	èmān	àmān
tortoise	144	akpa ankan		ekpankan		ɛ:kpankal		ēkpāyánkān / ekpaɲkan		nkul	
tree	40	ètí	ɲtí	ètē	ɲtē	ēté:	ē:té	ɲté	òté	ɲté	
twelve	94	wameban		wobo-kabiba:		wō:bōkābābā:		wōbō ná:bá:		wuba-nababali	
twenty	95	metan		nètán		lɛ:tɔl		nàtán		lətəl	
two	85	ɛ:βan		ɲbā:		mba		mba:		bəbal	
up	259	ùsúsò		bèsó		bəso		bósó		lèbó	
urine	39	àfúbà		àfú:gu		ā:fúgū		ā:fúgù		àfùgī	
vomit	300	ɲkù / ..kanɲku		kú		(ə)/(ú)nkú		nku		ɲkùli	
walk	328	ezen		dzen		ledzen		nēdzén		adzendzen	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>		<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>		<b>Um - Mfom</b>		<b>Us - Esham</b>		
termite	akɔŋ	ntán	ètán	atan	ntan		ntan		ntan		
termite (2nd kind)	atani	árɔd(í)			FláyéFláyétüntūn		nkòkó		Fləkətjuŋutjuŋu		
termite (3rd kind)		akɔŋ									
termite hill	itani	itan	etan		eta:m		eta:m		eta:m		
they	ábò	ŋgɔ / mbo	ó:		bò		bó		bo		
they (fem)											
thick		lup <sup>h</sup> / elilup <sup>ʔ</sup>	nkuŋu		eblup				nlú:púlū:pū		
thigh	útà:	ùtá:	énàmè	ánàmè	éjò		éjò		éjò		
thin	kɛŋkɔŋ		ɱŋjɔŋgɔ		èbʃíékè / epʃe				fílfil / njá:rē		
think	ntóp / àtóp	tóbò	ntèrè / ekəkere		kɛ:re		kéré		kɛ:re		
thorn	ìdzójídzón	idzɔŋo	èdzójjò	adzɔjɔŋo	èdzójòŋò	ādzójòŋò	èdzóóŋò	ādzóóŋò	èdzéjòŋò	ādzéjòŋò	
three	írá:	írá:	nra		nra		nra		nra		
throw	rɔ / amurɔ	ró:	ró		rɔ		ro		ro		
tie [verb]	gba	gbà:	gba		kpá		gba		gḅá		
toad	ikpadzole	íkpádzòlò	èkpédzámē	àkpédzámē	èkpódzāmē		èkpódzāmē		èkpádzāmē		
tomorrow	úgɔ	ùbónà	bènà:		bínà		bónā		bónā		
tongue	ìrɛbí	ílèbé	a-	èlégé	lègé	ēblígí	lígí	ēblíkí	líkí	eblɪyɪ	liyɪ
tooth	ìlól	ilul	alul	èmàn	àmàn	emman	aman	emman	amman	ebmen	amen
tortoise	nkəl	nkol		ekpaŋkəl		eʃankal		ētánkāl		nkol	
tree	ìté	àté	ìté	èté	nté:	eti	nti	eti	nti	eti	nti
twelve	igo:neba	igo:neba		èwúbúbā:		ēwúbāl		wúbōbál		ēwúbúēbál	
twenty	itəl	ital		ètál		ēptél		ēptál		ēltál	
two	ìbál	íbà:l		mbal		mbal		mbal		mbal	
up	ìbúr	ìbúr		èrɔ		érō		èró		érō	
urine	afɔ:	àfúrò		àfó:ŋò		āfóŋò		āfóŋē		āfóŋò	
vomit	ákū	ku		èkàlè		kállē		kállē		kállē	
walk	(n)dʒɛn	dʒɛn		édʒɛn		èbdʒén		ebdʒɛn		dʒɛn	

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	order	M-Efutop	N - Nde	O - Nselle	P - Nta	Q-Abanyom
want	291	insjábà /	̀nsébè	lesɛ:bɛ	nəsɛ:bɛ	ɲfɛp
war	213	ètá n-	bètá: ñtá:	błtá:	błtá ntá	bètá: ñtá:
wash	312	su / ..sùgánjım	sò	[lɔ]so[ɣo]	su	rò
wash clothes	313	same		lɔsoɣo	súmbò:	
water	195	alɫp	ànáp	a:lɫp	ā:lɫp	àláp
we (exc)	270					wò-kpákpá / wùn
we (inc)	269	war	wàr	war	war	wùr
wedding	102	ébán àbán	nè:bán ñbán	lɫbán	nābán mbán	lɔbal
weed	72		ajo-awen			àgbélé
wet	261	élúóbá élúóbélúóbà	nàrá	(emə)la:ra	nòɲò:gó / ɲoɣo	ifɔ:ge
what	216	dʒ(j)en / edizɛn / dʒɛnzínà	dʒédʒi	dʒɛ:dʒi	dʒɛ:dʒi	bèdʒóm
when?	217	bɣántínà	bàɣádèn	baɣangara	brángà:rā / baɲgara	bàɲgàrà
where?	218	káfān / jejeme	kafaj / efaj / jɛma	faj	fajjo:	ɲgan
whistle	275	efifi / ..fɔnà efifi	éfifè	efifi	bɛfɛr	ɲtáj
white	229	ebarabara	mbara	mbara	nbá:rá	mbara
who	214	duo	jónè	jenne:	jí:nè	bàné
whose	215	duoakpwi	jenakpwi	dʒi:jenne:	jénnā:kpé	dʒibàné
why?	221	kazen / adusen	érínàɲ	kadʒɛ:	érú:nāɲ	erina / bedʒóndʒi
wide	238	èkpàɲá	nkpaɲa	mpāɲá:	nkpāɲá	nkpaɲa
wife	101	nkán ákán	ɲka: àká:nùm	nka:	nká: a:ká:	ɲkal abəkal
wind [noun]	185	ɲfɛp	ɲfɛp	ɲfɛp	nsémé	ɲfɛp
wing	141	ekpoɲ ákpòɲ	èkpòɲkpòɲ àkpòɲkpòɲ	ɛkponkpon	ɛ:kponpoɲ a:kponpoɲ	àkpòɲkpòɲ
woman	97	ɲjɛnkán àbàkán	mànkà: aba:ka:	młnká: ā:bāká:	mānká: ābāká:	nenkal abakal
yawn	309	éjábà / ..ja:ba	èjábà	(l)èjábà	ja:ba	èjábé
year	201	ɲlɫ àlɫ	ɲjá: aɲa:	ɲǎ:	ɲa aɲa	lèjá: ɲa
yes	254	ɲ / ɲ̂	í:	nājò:	e:	í:
yesterday	206	éɲà	ɛɲajidʒi	éɲādʒi	éɲā:dʒi	éɲáné

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

gloss	R - Nkim	S - Nkum	T - Nnam	Uk-Ekagongo	Um - Mfom	Us - Esham					
want	nkiʃep	ʃep / ʃebe	gbèʃèbé	èpʃèpè	ʃep	(èl)ʃépé					
war	ítá:	ità	étā:	éptà	èptá	ēltá					
wash	àrú	rú:	rú	rú	ru	ru					
wash clothes	(same)			rú	ru	ru					
water	àlāp	àlāp	álāp	álop	á:lāp	a:lāp					
we (exc)											
we (inc)	wir	wur	wàrí	war	wár	war					
wedding	ukonebal	ukonibal	èbál	ēbál	élbál ākónó	epbal					
weed	(same as 'weed')			adzele awobo	ādzeélé	ebdzele awo  adzele awobo					
wet	ikpokpot	kpoɔ	éʃùgù	ēpʃúkū	ēpʃúkū	ēpʃúkū					
what	badzom / nan	báiidzùm / nan	dzédzì / dzen / dzendzi	dzéndzi / dzumadzì	dzen / edzum	dzen					
when?	bájkàt	báigàrà	ngàràjí	ɲgàrà jí	ntén(wo) / ɲgarɲji	ntén / ɲgarɲi					
where?	ngàní / àrègán	ɲgánò	gànìwò	gán / alɲan	ɲgán	jɛ:nónā / ɲganwò					
whistle	iful / afuliful	ifilɛ	éfùl	èpfúlò	èfúlū	ēlfúlū					
white	babar	bɪbara	ɱbá:rē	èbárè / mbare	mbá:rébàrè	mbar:ɫba:rɛ					
who	ɲínò:	ɲónò	báibògò	ɲènèwò	ɲíníwò	ɲīné / ɲínéwò	na:wo / ɲéné				
whose	(same)		ɲènèwòkpé	ɲɲɲwòkpi	nàkpi	ndzɲɲnē					
why?	badom / naɲ / ílímnanò	nán	dzòmàdzì / arenan	lírenàn	àbàdzén / dzen	dzùmàdzì / néná:n					
wide	akpaɲkpaɲe / éɲàɲàɲé	kpaɲ(a) / kpaɲaɲa bar	àkbàɲ	elkpaɲ	àkpaɲ	nkpáɲékpaɲē					
wife	ɲkál	akal	ɲkál	nkal	akal	nəkal	abəkal	nkal	akal	nkal	akal
wind [noun]	ifife	èfùfè	ɲhéfèp	élfèp	élfèp	élfèp					
wing	èkpòɲkpòɲ	àkpòkpòk	akpònkpon	ēkpúnpūn	ēkpúnpūn	ēkpónpón					
woman	nenkal	abakal	nenkal	nəkal	abəkal	ne:kal	anɫpkal	nenkal	anɫpkal		
yawn	àjáp	ijaba	já:bé	(ɛ)ja:pe	já:pé	(ɛ)ja:pe					
year	ìrá:	ìrá	èjá:	ébjá	éljà	éljā					
yes	e:	ej	ê	e:	e:	e:					
yesterday	ɲnàni	ɲnàná	ɲà:nè	ɲá:nè	ɲá:nē	ɲá:nē					



Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	order	<b>M-Efutop</b>	<b>N - Nde</b>	<b>O - Nselle</b>	<b>P - Nta</b>	<b>Q-Abanyom</b>
you (ms)	266	wo	ẁ̀	ūwó	wo	ẁ̀
you (pl)	271	wan	wàr (kpákpá)	war	mbó	wun

Appendix 2 - Bakor Wordlists

<b>gloss</b>	<b>R - Nkim</b>	<b>S - Nkum</b>	<b>T - Nnam</b>	<b>Uk-Ekagongo</b>	<b>Um - Mfom</b>	<b>Us - Esham</b>
you (ms)	wɔ	wɔ	wɔ	wɔ	wɔ	wo
you (pl)	uwun	wɔr	wan	wán	wán	wan