

EKOID: BANTOID LANGUAGES OF THE NIGERIA-CAMEROUN BORDERLAND



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DRAFT ONLY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. The Ekoid-Mbe languages: Overview	1
2. Classification.....	3
2.1 External.....	3
2.2 Internal.....	3
3. Phonology.....	5
4. Morphology.....	6
5. Conclusions	7
References	7
Appendix I. Comparative Mbe-Ekoid wordlist.....	9

TABLES

Table 1. Innovative roots in Ekoid-Mbe	3
Table 2: Lexical similarity within Ekoid including words with regular sound changes	4
Table 3. Proto-Ekoid consonant phonemes.....	5
Table 4. Ekoid correspondences for alveolars and velars	5
Table 5. Mbe consonants.....	5
Table 6. Ejagham noun classes	6

FIGURES

Figure 1. Genetic classification of Ekoid-Mbe languages	4
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MAPS

Map 1. The Ekoid languages.....	2
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1. The Ekoid-Mbe languages: Overview

The Ekoid-Mbe languages are spoken principally in SE Nigeria and in adjacent regions of Cameroun. Mbe [Mbè] is a single language spoken in seven villages in Ogoja LGA, Cross River State, Nigeria. The Ekoid languages consist of around closely-related 19 lects, the majority of which are spoken in Nigeria (Crabb 1969). Ekoid speakers have been known by a number of terms in the literature (including 'Keaka' and Ekoi, which covers a variety of languages in this region, some of quite different affiliation). Ekoid languages in Cameroun are known as 'Ejagham', which is a cover term for a variety of lects which vary from village to village. Ethnologue (2009) says;

Western Ejagham includes Bendeghe Etung (Bindege, Dindiga, Mbuma), Northern Etung, Southern Etung, Ekwe, Akamkpa-Ejagham.

Eastern Ejagham includes Keaka (Keaqa, Kejaka, Edjagam), Obang (Eeafeng).

These are surveyed in Edmondson & Edmondson (1971) but no complete wordlists have been published and this material is clearly in a highly preliminary transcription. Yoder et al. (2009) have recently surveyed the 'Bakor' languages in Nigeria and have provided wordlists of previously unknown lects/

Map 1 shows the situation of the main Ekoid languages in Nigeria, with indications of the location of Mbe and Ejagham, partly in Cameroun. Historically speaking, Ekoid looks like a recent westward expansion into the territory of the Upper Cross languages, hence the presence of isolated languages such as Ikom within Ekoid territory. East of Ekoid are the Bendi languages, also forming a closely-related set of lects; linguistic geography suggests that they were originally bordering on the Upper Cross languages and the expansion of Ekoid forced the two groups apart.

The first publication of Ekoid material is in Clarke (1848) where five 'dialects' are listed and a short wordlist of each is given. Other significant early publications are Koelle (1854), Goldie (1862), Mansfeld (1908), Thomas (1914, 1927), Johnston (1919-1922), Jeffreys (1950) and Byström (1954). Crabb (1969) remains the major monograph on these languages, although regrettably, Part II, which was to contain grammatical analyses, was never published. The monograph also reviews the literature on Ekoid up to the date of publication. Crabb (1969) lists fourteen lects and Watters (1978a) refers to some 4-5 'dialects' of Ejagham across the border in Cameroun. Nonetheless, some of these are very close to one another and the most recent Ethnologue (2009) boils them down to some eight 'languages'.

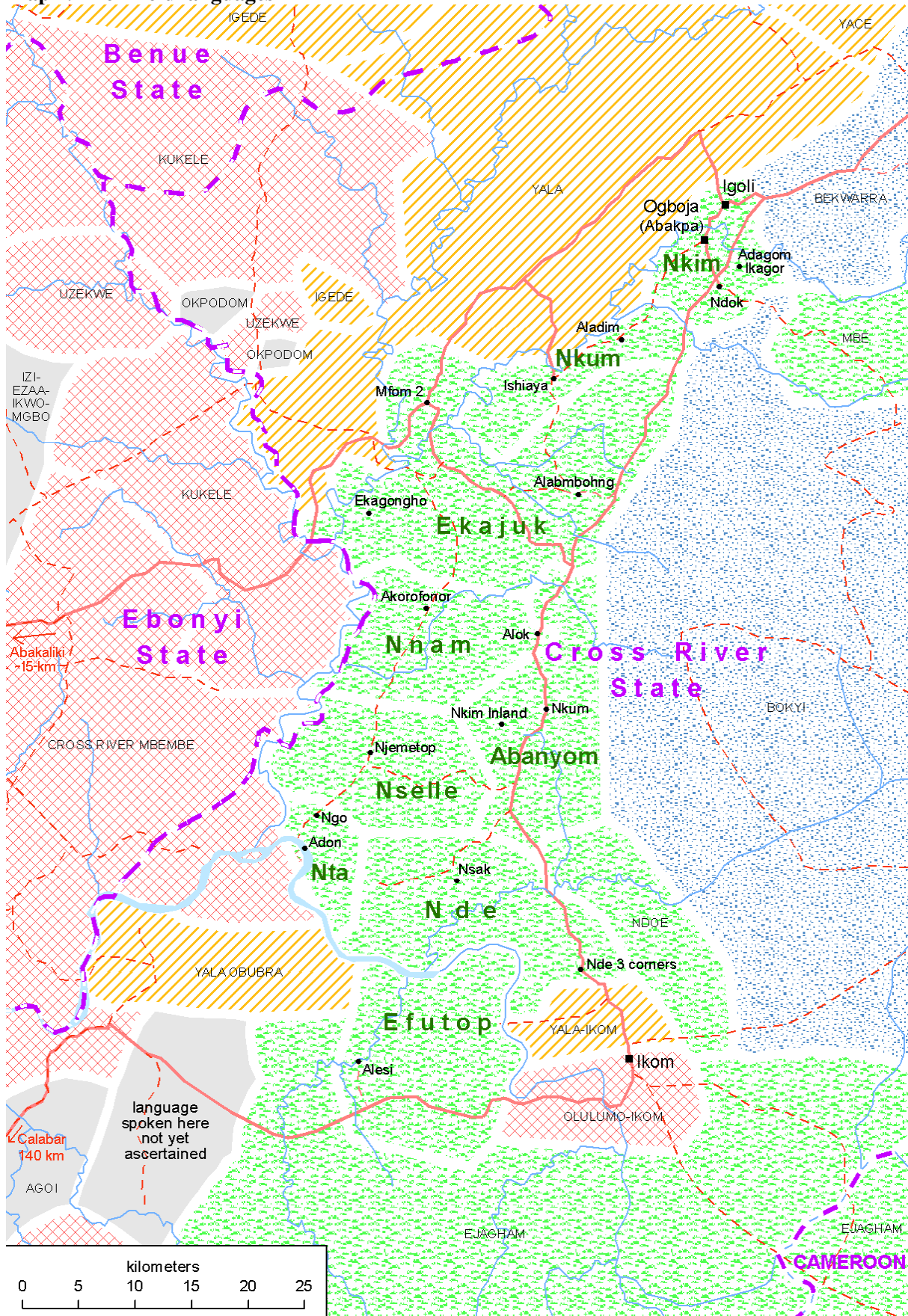
In recent years, some speakers of nine Ekoid lects have resolved to unite under the umbrella term Bakor. The Bakor people speak Nkim, Nkum, Ekajuk, Nnam, Abanyom, Nde, Nta, Nselle1 and Efutop. The term 'Bakor' [bakɔ] is derived from the two words, *ba* 'come' and *kɔ* 'take'. It was chosen because the expression *ba kɔ* is the same in all nine lects. All the Bakor peoples are within Ikom and Ogoja Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Cross River State, Nigeria. The Bakor languages have been surveyed in greater detail by Yoder et al. (2009)².

Orthography development in Ekoid consists of Ekajuk, where a New Testament was published in 1971 and other orthography materials exist and Ejagham in Cameroun where there has been a New Testament since 1997. There are also radio and television broadcasts in Ejagham. Mbe [=Mbube] has been developed by the Roman Catholic church and there is a catechism dating from 1962. Work by Lutheran Bible translators produced an initial orthography (1983) and a revised version (Pohlig 2006). St. John's Gospel appeared in 2001 and a liturgy in 2007.

¹ This follows the common practice of writing their name with two 'l's (e.g. on village signs). The 15th edition of the Ethnologue uses only one 'l' (Nsele) because it is not a long consonant ([ńsəlè] not [ńsəl:l:è]).

² Thanks to Mike Rueck and Zachariah Yoder for making their unpublished material available.

Map 1. The Ekoid languages



Source: Yoder et al. (2009)

The Mbe area and the people are known to the administration as Mbube, a designation which includes the Mbe and the Upper Mbe, who speak a different language. There may be as many as 20-30,000 speakers although no recent census data are available. There said to be three dialects, Idum, Ikumtale and Odaje, but no evidence for this has been published. An Mbe list appears in Koelle (1854) and is analysed in Ankermann (1927). Mbe has been described by Bamgboṣe (1965, 1966, 1967) and more recently an unpublished phonology and orthography statement (Pohlig 2006) and a dictionary (Pohlig n.d.) have been circulated³.

2. Classification

2.1 External

The Ekoid languages have long been associated with Bantu, without their status being precisely defined. Although Koelle (1854) grouped his languages in the same area, Cust (1883) linked them together and place them in a group co-ordinate with Bantu but not within it. Thomas (1927) correctly pointed to the Bantu status of Ekoid, but the much later Westermann & Bryan (1952) repeat an older, less accurate classification, grouping the Nyang languages with Ekoid. Guthrie (1967-1971) had difficulties with the notion that Ekoid formed part of Bantu. His first improbable explanation was that its ‘Bantuisms’ resulted from speakers of a Bantu language being ‘absorbed’ by those who spoke a ‘Western Sudanic’ language, in other words, the apparent parallels, were simply a massive corpus of loanwords. This was later modified into ‘Ekoid languages may to some extent share an origin with some of the A zone languages, but they seem to have undergone considerable perturbations’ (Guthrie 1971, II:15). Williamson (1971), in an influential classification of Benue-Congo, assigned Ekoid to ‘Wide Bantu’ i.e. Bantoid. Williamson (1971) still lists Mbe as a branch of Bantu distinct from Ekoid but all subsequent classifications have put these languages together.

All modern classifications of Ekoid are based on the data from Crabb (1969) and when Watters (1978a,b) came to explore the proto-phonology of Ekoid, he used this source, rather than his own field material from the Ejagham dialects in Cameroun. Crabb fails to distinguish clearly phonetic from phonemic transcriptions thus multiplying vowels and diacritics unnecessarily. Fresh work on Ejagham in both Nigeria and Cameroun has extended our knowledge of individual dialects of Ekoid (Edmondson, E. (1966), Edmondson, T. (1966), Edmondson & Bendor-Samuel (1966), Edmondson & Edmondson (1971, 1977), Kleiner & Kleiner (1976), Watters (1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1990, 2000, 2001), Asinya (1987) and Sibomana (1986, 1988, 1989). In 2009, a new survey of part of Ekoid in Nigeria that presently has adopted the name ‘Bakor’ for the cluster has made possible a re-assessment of the status of some of the languages.

A perhaps more pertinent question is whether Ekoid has any clear innovations that would distinguish it from A Group Bantu. Table 1 shows some suggested Ekoid innovations or retentions not attested elsewhere inside Bantu;

Table 1. Innovative roots in Ekoid-Mbe

Gloss	Efutop		Mbe	PB
	sg.	pl.		
eye	èmár	àmár	lí	yícò
head	èsí	àsí	bùcí	túè
hair	è-muǒr	à-muǒr	mmué	còkí
tooth	è-món	à-món	lè-kò	yínò
tongue	élíbà	álíbà	le-lém	dímì
water	à-láb		bèlèb	

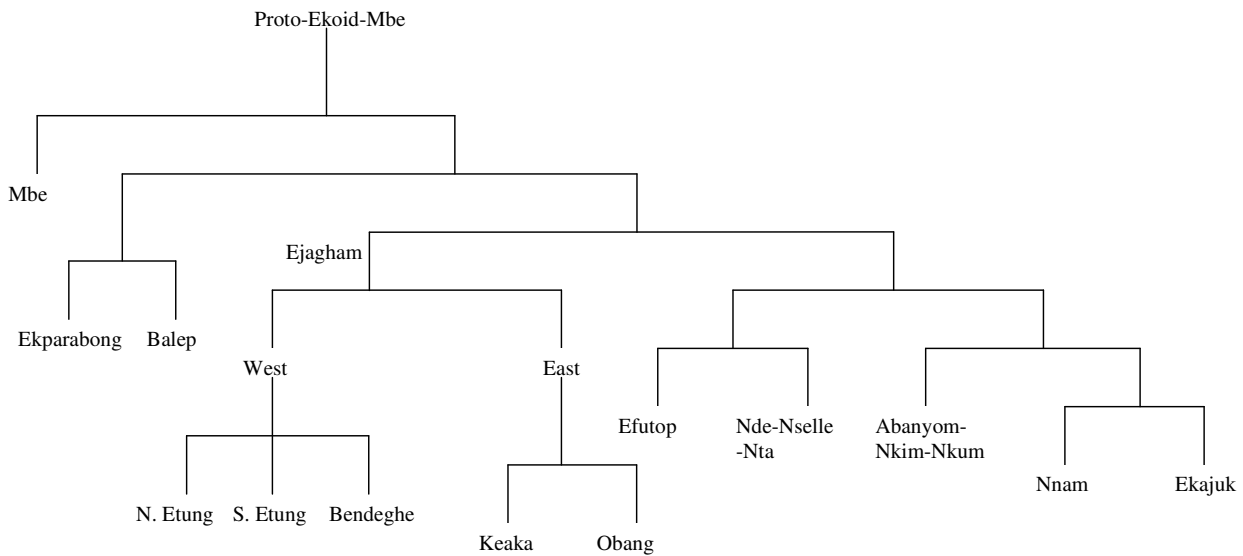
2.2 Internal

Watters (1978a) is a comparative phonology and classification of Ekoid which presents the internal classification is shown in Figure 1. The Mbe and Ejagham languages have been added and

³ Thanks to John Watters for the file of Crabb’s lexical material, to Paul Schroeder and Jim Pohlig for recent unpublished material on Mbe and Pascal Piron for typing up and making accessible the work of Bamgboṣe.

some lower level subgroups have been collapsed. Nonetheless, since material is now available for a more comprehensive classification, it could be usefully undertaken.

Figure 1. Genetic classification of Ekoid-Mbe languages



Voorhoeve (1980) also takes the view that Nyang shows some similarities to Ekoid-Mbe in terms of the concords for Class 6, *ma/*ga. But this is to ignore the numerous other differences of phonology and morphology. Nyang languages have their own quite distinct characteristics and are probably more remote from Bantu than Ekoid. Gerhardt (1980) has presented tables showing regular correspondences between some Mbe lexemes and proto-Bantu.

There is no overall analysis of internal diversity in the Ekoid languages, but Table 2 shows a table of lexical similarity for the lects surveyed in Yoder et al. (2009). Ekoid languages are quite diverse, with lexicostatistical counts going down to ca. 50%. Were Mbe to be included, this would probably drop to below 40%.

Table 2: Lexical similarity within Ekoid including words with regular sound changes

Efutop																			
66%	Nselle																		
68%	92%	Nde																	
66%	88%	91%	Nta																
56%	67%	67%	65%	Abanyom															
51%	53%	57%	54%	71%	Nkim														
52%	57%	58%	58%	71%	89%	Nkum													
53%	61%	60%	58%	72%	65%	67%	Nnam												
52%	59%	59%	58%	68%	64%	67%	90%	Ekajuk – Ekagongho											
52%	57%	57%	57%	67%	63%	67%	89%	97%	Ekajuk – Esham										
53%	59%	58%	58%	66%	63%	67%	87%	93%	93%	Ekajuk – Mfom									

Source: Yoder et al. (2009)

3. Phonology

The most comprehensive attempt to explore the comparative phonology and classification of Ekoid is Watters (1978a). This provides an analysis of sound-shifts between the lects recorded in Crabb (1969), but regrettably omits the Ejagham material from Watters' own fieldwork.

The likely consonant phonemes of proto-Ekoid are shown in Table 3;

Table 3. Proto-Ekoid consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar
Plosive	p b		t d		tʃ dʒ	k g	kp gb
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Trill			r				
Fricative		β f v	s z	ʃ		ɣ	ɲm
Approximant					y		w
Lateral Approximant			l				

/ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are in complementary distribution; /ɲ/ is always in C₁ position and /ŋ/ in C₂ position. Watters (1978a:36) notes irregular correspondences with /b/, /t/ and /g/ that suggest proto-Ekoid had some sort of contrast at this level which he notates b₁/b₂, t₁/t₂ and g₁/g₂. This is suggested by the correspondences shown in Table 4;

Table 4. Ekoid correspondences for alveolars and velars

Language	to find	to think	tree	work	snail	wife	plantain	mountain
A	té	těd	èré	èró	ɲkó	mɲkái	ékòmí	bèkòkói
G	tí	těd	éti	ètúm	ɲkó	ɲkáe	эгòmé	эгúí
N	teè	tèr	ète	nètòm	ɲkó	ɲkaa	эгòmо	эгõn
Mbe	kpé	búob	bè-cí	butwój	ndwé	myél	èkùɲkwàm	bùkwèl

Source: extracted from Watters (1978a:16)

Mbe forms are included for reference though they are not always cognate. On comparative grounds it is relatively easy to establish the nature of the proto-Ekoid consonants. For example, for 'tree' and 'work' /t/ must be reconstructed as this word always has /t/ in external cognates (see Mbe and the entries in BCCW for this word). The question then becomes 'under what circumstances does t→r in some Ekoid lects?'. Similarly, the evidence for 'plantain' and 'mountain' points to /k/ as the proto-phoneme, thereby eliminating Watters' g₂.

Mbe phonology is strikingly more elaborate than Ekoid. Pohlig (2006) gives the following consonants (Table 5);

Table 5. Mbe consonants

	Bilabial			Alveolar		Alveopalatal		Velar		Labio-Velar	
Vcl. stops	p	p ^w	p ^y	t	t ^w			k	k ^w	k ^y	kp
Lenis									k ^w		
Vdc. stops	b	b ^w	b ^y	d	d ^w			g	g ^w	g ^y	gb
Fricatives	f	f ^w		s	s ^w	ʃ	ʃ ^w				
Vcl. affricates				ts	ts ^w	tʃ	tʃ ^w				
Vdc. affricates				dz	dz ^w	dʒ	dʒ ^w				
Nasals	m	m ^w	m ^y	n		ɲ	ɲ ^w	ŋ	ŋ ^w		
Taps				r	r ^w	r ^y					
Laterals				l	l ^w	l ^y					
Approximants						y	y ^w			w	

The most striking feature of this is the contrast postulated by Pohlig between fortis and lenis /k^w/. He gives as an example the following pairs:

/k ^w ě/	cut down!	/k ^w ǰ/	fall down!
/kǰk ^w ěl/	bush fowl sp.	/kǰk ^w ǰl/	pimple

With [k^wě], the vowel [e] is half-rounded from the fortis labialisation, while the vowel [e] in [k^wǰ] is without rounding. Pohlig notes that the younger generation may be losing this distinction. Such a contrast is clearly not widespread in Ekoid-Mbe and may be a result of contact with the neighbouring Upper Cross languages, where such long/short or fortis/lenis contrasts are pervasive (e.g. Sterk 19xx). The two alveopalatal nasal consonants /ɲ/ and /ɲ^w/ correspond to the other alveopalatal consonants, e.g., /dʒ/ and /dʒ^w/. Some consonants only occur in ideophones, e.g., /fʏ/ (as in [fʏèpʷ] ‘sound of spitting’) and /hʏ/ (as in [hʏáũɲ:] ‘meow’).

Ekoid lacks the systematic prosodic contrasts of Mbe, labialisation and palatalisation. It is easily shown on historical grounds that it is Mbe that must have developed these contrasts, as external cognates with Ekoid almost always have plain consonants.

Both Ekoid and Mbe are reconstructed with seven vowels (Watters 1978a; Pohlig 2006);

i	u
e	o
ɛ	ɔ
a	

Crabb (1969) transcribed vowels phonetically using numerous symbols and diacritics thereby adding confusion to what is essentially a rather simple, Bantu-like vowel system. The dissertation by Asinya (1987) based on fieldwork in Nigeria made an important claim, namely that most Ekoid languages have long/short distinctions in the vowels but this has not been echoed by other fieldworkers.

Both Mbe and Ekoid have High, Low, Rising, Falling and Downstep tones and these correspond fairly directly to the tones posited for proto-Bantu. Edmondson & Bendor-Samuel (1966) argue that by positing word-level tone, it is possible to account for the rising and falling tones, leaving only a three-way contrast. As so often, this is largely a matter of diachronic versus synchronic accounts; the five-way contrast exists on the surface synchronically but can be shown to derive from VV sequences that evolve through segment deletion.

4. Morphology

The Ekoid noun-class system resembles Bantu and yet the two do not correspond exactly (Watters 1980). Table 6 shows the noun-classes of Ejagham, following Bantu numbering. with the prefix of the singular and the concord consonant.

Table 6. Ejagham noun classes

Class	Prefix	Concord
1	N-	w, ɲ
2	a-	b
3	N-	m
5	ɛ-	y
6	a-	m
8	bi-	b
9	N-	y, ɲ
14	ɔ-	b
19	i-	f

Source: Watters (1981)

The reason for the absence of various Bantu classes is that these are said to have ‘merged’, for example 3/4 and 6/7. However, this would only be true if Ekoid were Bantu, whereas from a Bantoid perspective, these classes are simply absent.

5. Conclusions

The present document represents an initial survey of the literature on Ekoid and Mbe and a comparative wordlist as a tool for seeking sound correspondences and noun-class morphology as well as external cognates. The primary tasks ahead are to complete the survey of Ekoid lects, especially in Cameroun, and to characterise their phonology more completely. In particular, the phonology of Mbe argues that the sound systems of Ekoid may have been under-analysed.

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Appendix I. Comparative Mbe-Ekoid wordlist

This wordlist has been compiled from a number of sources, most importantly the comparative wordlist in Crabb (1969) which was typed up for John Watters in old SIL format and converted by me to Unicode. The Mbe comes from the unpublished Mbe dictionary of Pohlíg and the publications of Bamgboṣe, typed up by Pascale Piron. The Ejagham comes from the unpublished dictionary of Ejagham by Jonh Watters. My thanks to all who supplied me with original data.

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
accident ⁴	n	ò-fèn /è		è-fèn/bè-	è-fèn/bè-	è-fìn/bi-	è-fìn/bi-	è-fìn/nj- ~bè-	è-fìn	è-fèn/bè-	è-fèn/bè-	è-fèn/bè-	è-fèn/bi-	ù-fèn/à-	ù-fèn/à-	è-fèn/à-	è-fìn/à-
add to	v	báró		bódí	bódé	kpèê	kpè~kpèê	kpèê	kpiénà	kpènê	kpènè	kpènè	kpèlê	bód	bódò	kpélê	kpélê
alligator	n			jà-nùŋ/bò-	jà-nùŋ/bò-	jà-nìb/bò-[y]	jà-yìb/ò-	í-kwá jì- nìb/jì-.jì	jà-yìb/ò-	jà-yìb/è-, (è- bág/à-)	jà-yàb/è-	jà-yàb/ò-	jà-nìb/ò-	jà-nìb/à-	jà-nàb/à-	jà-nàb/è-	jà-nàb/è-
animal ⁵	n	bè-nàm /bù-	ŋnam	jà-nàm/bò-	jà-nàm/bò-	jà-nàm/ò-	jà-nàm/ò-	jà-nàm/ò-	jà-nàm/ò-	jà-nàm/è-	jà-nà/è-	jà-nà/ò-	jà-nàm/ò-	jà-nàm/ù-	jà-nàm/ù-	jà-nàm/è-	jà-nàm/è-
ant, house	n	kempab	mfap	jí- nàmí/nàmí/bá- nàmí	jí- nàmánámá/g/bá- nàmí	è-fáb	ŋ-fáb/è- fáb	ŋ-fáb/è- fáb~bè-	ŋ-fifáβá/à-	ŋ-fifáβá/à-	ŋ-fàfábá/à-	ŋ-fàfáβá/à-	ŋ-fáb/à-	ŋ-fáb/à-	ŋ-fáb/à-	ŋ-fáb/à-	ŋ-fáb/à-
ant, tailor	n		ńki	(ò-fèrì/bà-)	ŋ-fàfàb/bà-fàb	(ŋ-kʰi/ò-)	(áŋ-ki/ò-)	(áŋ-kʰi/ò-)	(ŋm-kpìb/à-)	ŋ-fùb/à-	ŋ-fòb/à-	ŋ-fòb/à-	ŋ-fòb/à-	ŋ-fòb/à-	ì-kòb á-fà/à-	ŋ-fòb/à-	ŋ-fùb/à-
antelope	n	nkáb		ń-kòb/bò	ń-kòb/bò	ń-gùŋgù/ò-	ń- gùŋgù/ò- gùúgù	ń-gù/ò-	ń-gùrègbè/à- gùáŋmgbè	ń-gù/à- gùáŋmgbè	ń-gù/à- gùáŋmgbè	ń-gù/à- gùáŋmgbè	ń-gù/à- gùáŋmgbè	ń-gù/à-	ń-gù/ò-	ń-gù/è-	ń-gù/è-
ant-hill	n		etan	(è-sómí/bè-)	(è-rómóŋ/bè, è- gbá/bè-)	è-tán/bi-	è-tán/n-	è-tán/n-	è-tán/à-	è-tán/à~bè-	è-tán/bi-	è-tán/bò-	è-tán/à-	ì-tán/à-	ì-tán/à-	è-tán/à-	è-tán/à-
arch ⁶	v	sébo	séré, goóŋ (bent over)	gúŋí	gúŋí	gúŋè~góŋè	gúŋì	gòŋè	gòŋò	gòŋò	gòŋò	gòŋò	gòŋè	kùŋí	kòŋò	gólò	gílò
arm, hand	n	obé	obhò	ò-bó/bà-	ò-bó/bà-	ò-βó/à-	ò-βó/à-	ò-βó/à-	ò-buó/à-	è-bó/à-	è-bó/à-	ò-bó/à-	ò-bó/à-	ù-bó/à-	ù-bó/à-	è-bó/à-	è-bó/à-
armpit	n		ogbáp	ò-wáb/bà-	ò-wáb/bà-	ò-gbáb/à-	ò-gbáb/à-	ò-gbáb/à-	ò-lògbáb/à- lăgbáb	è-gbáb/à~bè-	è-gbáb/bò~à-	ò-gbáb/à-	ò-gbáb/à-	ù-gbáb/à-	ù-gbáb/à-	è-gbáb/à-	è-gbáb/à-
arrive	v	shéró, tué	sé	sí	rí	sí	sí	sí	(lírà)	sì	sí	sì	rír, (lómê)	(lóm)	(lómò)	róŋ~ráŋ	róŋ
arrow	n	lè-bán /bè-	oyege	(é-dòb/bé-)	lè-bán/m-	m-bòm/à-[β]	m-bòm/à- [β]	m-bòm/à- [β]	è-bán/à-	nè-bán/m-	nè-bán~bá/m-	nè-bán/m-	lì-bán/m-	í-bán/m-	í-bán/m-	èb-bán/m-	èl-bén/m-
ashes	n	bètwé	atòŋ	ń-dóí	ń-dón~bà-[r]	à-tòŋ	à-tòŋ	à-tòŋ	ń-túŋ	ń-tòŋ	ń-tòŋ	ń-tòŋ	à-tòŋ	à-tòŋ	à-tòŋ	á-tò'òŋ	á-te'òŋ
ask ⁷	v	bób	βóp	béb	béb	βíb	βíb	βíb	bób	bómò	bómmò	bómmò	bíb	bíb	báb	báb	báb~bóm mé
axe	n	kè-tém /kè	èfúk	(bè-tém/mìn-)	(bè-tém/n-)	è-fúg/ŋ	è-fúg/ŋ	è-fúg/ŋ- ~bè-	è-fuóg/à-	nè-fòg/ŋ	nè-fòg/ŋ	nò-fòg/ŋ	lì-fòg/ŋ	ì-fòg/à	ì-fòg/à-	è- fà'og/ŋ	fi'ug/ŋ
back	n	bè-tsèm/ bù-	ndzəm	jà-sìm/bò-	ń-dàm/bà-[r]	jà-jìm	jà-jìm/ò-	jà-dzìm/ò-	jà-zòm/ò-	jà-jám/à-	jà-jòm/à-	jà-jám/à-	jà-jìm/à-	jà-nìm/à-	jà-jìm/à-	jà-jám/à-	jà-jòm/à-
bag ⁸	n	èbàm, /bè okpəɛ	ebham, nták	è-bàm/bè	è-bàm/bè-	è-βàm/m-[b],à-	è-βàm/m- [b]	è-βàm/bè- m, (ń- tâg/ò-)	(ò-dlɔg/à-)	è-bàm/bè-	è-bà/bè-	è-bà/bl-	è-bàm/bi-	ì-bàm/à-	ì-bàm/à-	è-bàm/à-	è-bàm/à-
bark ⁹	n	ékpékpá	ngu	è-kpáyá/bè-	è-kpáyá/bè-	è-kpáyé/à-	è-kpáyé/à-	è-kpáyá/à-	è-kpóyá/à-	è-kpáyá/à-	è-kpáyá/à-	è-kpáyá/à-	è-kpáyá/à-	ì-kpáyá/à-	ì-kpáyá/à-	è- kpe'ayé/à-	è- kpe'yé/à-
barren woman	n	wukuəm- mmiél		mìŋ-gòm/bà-	ŋ-gòm/bà-	ŋ-gùm/bà-	ŋ-gùm/bà-	ŋ-gùm/à-	ŋ-gùm/à-	ŋ-gòm/à-	ŋ-gòm/à-	ŋ-gò/à-	ŋ-gòm/à-	ŋ-gòm/à-	ŋ-gòm/à-	ŋ-gòm/à-	ŋ-gùm/à-
bat (house)	n	è-lém /bè-	ifághé	è-fufúg/bè-	bè-fùg/ŋ	bì-fiyé/ŋ	ì-fiyé/ŋ	ì-fiyá/ŋ	é-fígò/á-	bè-fòg/ŋ	bò-fòg/ŋ	bó-fòg/ŋ	bì-fùgà/ŋ	ì-fíg/à-	ì-fògò/à-	è-fòg/ŋ	èb-fòg/ŋ
bat (fruit)	n																
bathe	v	yuáb	yumé	wòbí	wòbóg	yùmé	yùmí	yùmá	yuúmà	yòmò	yòmò	yòmò	yòmá	yòmí	yòmò	wo'omò	wu'umù
bear	a	byél		guéí	guél	yǔ	yǔ	ǔ	yién	wén	wén	wén	gbél	gél	bél	jél	jél
child																	
bear ¹⁰	v		kap	(wóm)	(wóm)	káb	káb	káb	(nóm)	kàb	kàb	kàb	kàb	(túg)	(tòŋò)	káb	káb

⁴ The form in Nde was glossed 'trouble'.

⁵ The singular of these forms also means 'meat'.

⁶ 1. These forms are used in the sense of 'arch one's back', 2. #these forms are to be compared with 'squat', with 'bow' (v.) and with 'duck' #(v.)

⁷ The forms listed in Nnam and Ekajuk specifically mean 'to ask the price of something'.

⁸ The first form in S Etung is 'archaic'.

⁹ These forms refer not only to 'bark' but also to any 'empty thing, covering, shell'.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk	
beard	n	èrì	iwe	ḡ-sě	è-yě/bè-	bì-yě/ḡ-	ì-wě/ḡḡ-	è-wě/à-	è-zì/à-	èjě/bè-	è-jě/bì-	è-jě/bè-	è-yě/r/à-	ì-rě/r/à-	ì-rě/r/à-	è-làḡ/à-	è-làḡ/à-	
beat	a	v	kuób	bhem, təm	kób	(sóm, rád)	(súm, kíđ)	(súm, kíđ)	kúb	kúb	kób	kób	kób	kób	kób	kób	kúb	
drum																		
bed ¹¹	n	ebéde	enuḡ	ḡ-nǎḡ/bò-[l]	ḡ-nũḡ/bà-	è-nũḡ/bì-	è-nũḡ/bì-	è-nòḡ/à- ~bè-	è-nòḡ/à-	è-simi/bè-	è-simi/bò-	ḡ-tèfìyè/à-	li-nòḡ/ḡ-, gbéḡ/à- ḡ-kòḡ/ò-	é- í-gbèḡ/á	í-gbèḡ/á-	é-gòdò/á-	èl-ne`oḡ/ḡ-	
bee	n	ò-kwòn /è-, ò- kwàn /è-	nkon	ò-gǒi/bà-	m-bòbóe/m-bòe	ḡ-kòḡ/ò-	ḡ-kòḡ/ò-	ḡ-kòḡ/ò- kòḡ	ḡ-kuòḡ/ò-	ḡ-kòḡ/à-	ḡ-kòḡ/à-	ḡ-kòḡ/à-	ḡ-kòḡ/ò-	ḡ-kòḡ/à-~ù-	ḡ-kòḡ/è-	ḡ-kòḡ/è-	ḡ-kòḡ/è-	
beg	v	lóní	yéḡé	léní	léḡén, gòré	yéḡé	yéḡé	yéḡé	liém	bòḡ	bò	bòḡ	lém	lém	lém	lém	lém	
money																		
beg	v	tuóm	goré	lédí	gòré	gòré	gòré	gòré	liérò	gòrò	gòrò	gòrò	gòré	gòrí	gòrò	gbə`oḡò	gbə`oḡò	
pardon																		
belch ¹²	n		bhe	è-bèi/bè-	è-bè/bè-	è-βè	è-βè	è-bè/à-	è-bè/à-	è-bè/m/bè-	è-bè/bò-	è-bè/bè-	è-bè/à-	ì-bè/à-	ì-bè/à-	è-bè/à-	èl-bè/m-	
bell	n	égbáḡ	ebhuk	é-gbáḡ/bé-	é-gbáḡ/bé-	é-gbáḡ/bí-	é-gbáḡ/bí-	é-gbáḡ/á-	ḡm-gbòḡ/á-	é-gbáḡ/á	égbáḡ/á-	---	é-gbáḡ/á-	í-gbáḡ/á-	í-gbáḡ/á-	é- gbə`aḡ/á-	é- gbə`aḡ/á-	
belly ¹³	n	bèle	oya	bò-là/bà-	bà-là/ḡ-[l]	ò-yà/à-	ò-yà/à-	ò-yà/à-	ò-là/à-	ḡ-nà/à-	ḡ-nà/à-[l]	ḡ-nà/à-	ò-là-bì/à-	à-là	à-là	ḡ-n-là/à-	ḡ-n-là/à-	
bird ¹⁴	n	kénén /kè-	inón	ḡ-nòḡ/òḡ/bò-	bè-nòḡ/òḡ/ḡ-	bì-nòḡ/ḡ-	ì-nòḡ/ḡ-	ì-nòḡ/ḡ-	è-súsuòḡ/à-	bè-sòḡ/ḡ-slsòḡ	bò-sòḡ/ḡ- sòsòḡ	bò-sòḡ/ò- sòsòḡ	ḡ-ḡámfòr/á-	m-mòḡ á- ḡám/à-[b]	ì-ròḡ/à-	ì-ròḡ/à-	ér- rə`og/n- [d]	èb-là/à- èb-rì`ug/n- [r]
bite	v	lwóm	yúm	lóm	lóm	yúm	yúm	yúm	gòḡ	ḡḡḡ	ḡḡḡ	ḡḡḡ	lóm	lóm	lóm	tóḡó	tóḡó	
black	n	-shén (a.), fén (v.)	kpòḡ (v.), ényaghé (n.)	é-jírá/bé-	é-jírá/bé-	é-ḡàḡḡ/á-	é-ḡàḡḡ/á-	é-ḡàḡḡ/á-	é-ḡòḡḡ/á-	ḡ-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ḡ-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ḡ-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ḡ-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ì-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ì-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ḡ-ḡàḡḡ/á-	ḡ-ḡàḡḡ/á-	
blacksmith	n	otuél	otúi	(ò-làm)	(ò-làm)	ò-túi	ò-túi	ò-ḡúi	ò-tàn	è-tàn	è-tàn	ò-tàn	ò-túl	ù-túl	ù-tól	é-tál	é-tál	
ing																		
blood	n	bèlwòḡ	agyúḡ	ḡ-núḡ	ḡ-núḡ	à-yúḡ	à-yúḡ~ yúḡ	à-yúḡ	à-lóḡ	à-nóḡ	à-nóḡ	à-nóḡ	à-lóḡ	à-lóḡ	à-lóḡ	á- lə`oḡ~lu` uḡ	á-li`uḡ	
blow	v	fwél	fé	fí	fílí	fúi	fúi~fí	fí	fínò	finè	fə̀nè	fènè	fúfí	fil	filó	fólé	fólé	
(mouth)																		
blow	v	fwò																
(wind)																		
bone	n	èḡḡḡ/à-	ékáp	è-kíkí/bè-	è-kób/bè-	é-kíb/á-	é-kíb/á-	é-kíb/á-	è-káb/à-	è-káb/à-	è-káb/à-	è-káb/à-	è-kúb/à-	ì-kíb/à-	ì-kób/à-	é-káb/à-	é-káb/à-	
bottle	n	ókpómá	ékpémé	é-kpímá/bé-	é-kpímáḡ/bé-	é-kpímé/ḡm-	é- kpímé/ḡm	é- kpámá/ḡm-	é-kpúómá/á-	é-kpúómá/á-	é-kpómá/á-	é-kpómá/á-	é-kpómá/á-	ú-tòtò/á-	í-kpém/á-	é- kpómá/á-	é- kpúómá/á-	
bottom ¹⁵	n		ndóp	è-nùd/bè-	è-nùd/bè-	ḡ-díb/ò-[r]	ḡ-díb/ò-[r]	ḡ-díb/ò-[r]	ḡ-láb/ò-	ḡ-náb/à-bà ḡ- nab	ḡ-náb/à-bə̀ḡ	ḡ-náb/à-bḡḡ	ḡ-núb/à-[l]	ì-tùl/à-	ì-tòlò/à-	ḡ-náb/à-	ḡ-náb/à-	
bow	n	ólòḡ	eyek	bò-lèḡ/bá- těb	bò-lèḡ/ḡ- kúbdúm	ò-yìḡ/à- kíbè	ò-yìḡ/à- kíbì	ò-yìḡ/à- kíβà	ó-lìḡ/á- kómò	é-nìḡ/á- kimè	é-nìḡ/á- <--->	ó-nèḡ/á- kémè	ó-lìḡ/á- gòḡḡ	ú-lèḡ/á- kám	ú-lèḡ/á- kómò	é-lòḡ/á- gò`oḡò	é-lòḡ/á- gèòḡ	
bow ¹⁶	v																	
brains	n	bèfúòró	aron	(bà-fíáḡ)	(bà-pál)	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-duǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-rǎḡ	à-lòḡ	à-lòḡ	
break (1)	v.i.	sé	wa <i>break open, shatter</i>	ḡḡḡ	ḡḡḡ	wá	wá	úá	wà	wà	wà~wàḡ	wàḡ	wà	wàá	wàá	wá	wá	
			<i>break into pieces; shatter</i>															
break, snap (2)	v.t.	bwén <i>break a long</i>	féḡ	(guég)	bón	βín	βín	bín	bón	binè	bə̀nè	bénè	bún	bín	bón	báné	bóné	

¹⁰ The forms are used with the meaning of a 'tree bearing fruit'.¹¹ another form in Efutop is é-búbúnà/á-.¹² The forms in languages Bendeghe and N Etung have no singular/plural alternation.¹³ The forms in minor sub-group r-s have no singular/plural alternation.¹⁴ The compound in Ebanyom is derived from 'animal-feathered'. 2. The construction in Nkim means 'junior animal'.¹⁵ 1. This gloss refers to the part of the body. 2. another form given for Nkim was ḡ-kùtù/à-.¹⁶ 1. The cognate form in Nselle mean 'kneel'. 2. These forms are to be compared with 'arch', with 'squat', and with 'duck'(v.).

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
		<i>object</i>															
breast	n	lebél	ebhê	è-bêi/bà-	lè-bêl/bà-	è-βê/à-	è-βê/à-	è-βê/à-	è-biên/à-	nè-bên/à-	mì-bên/à-	nè-bên/à-	lì-bêl/à-	ì-bêl/à-	ì-bêl/à-	èb-bêl/à-	èl-bêl/à-
breath	n	èlé	eyó	é-wémí/bá-	bá-wémân	è-yó	è-yó	è-yó	è-yuò/à-	nè-yòò/jì-	nò-yò/à-	nò-yòò/à-	lì-yò	ì-yò/à-	ì-yò/à-	è-wù~èv-	èl-wò/à-
breathe	v	èlé orú		wémí	wémân	---	---	yó	yuò~yúò	yóò	yò	yòò	yò	yòò	yòò	wù	àò
brush ¹⁷	v	f ^w él	bhúk	kpél	nùg, bóg	βùg	βùg	βùg	fón, núg	fèrè	fèrè	fèrè	fòl	fòl	fòl	fól	fúl
bubble	v.i.	t ^w ób	ʃòghé	fí	fál	fúi	fúi~fí	fí	fán	fán	fân	fán	fùl	fíl	fíl	fál	fól
buffalo ¹⁸	n	í-dwèl/ bé-		m-póŋ/bò-	m-póŋ/bò-	ŋ-fúŋ/ò-	ŋ-fúŋ/ò-	ŋ-fóŋ/ò-	ŋ-fóŋ/ò-	ŋ-fóŋ/è-	ŋ-fóŋ/è-	ŋ-fóŋ/ò-	ŋ-fóŋ/ò-	ŋ-fóŋ/ù-	ŋ-fóŋ/ù-	ŋ-	ŋ-fi'uy/è-
bundle	n		egane	è-kàn/bè-	ò-kàn/bà-	è-gàn/à-	è-gàn~ò- /ŋ-	è-gàn/à-	ŋ-gàn/à-	ŋ-gàn/à-	ŋ-gàn/à-	ŋ-gàn/à-	ŋ-gàn/à-	ù-gàn/à-	ù-gàn/ŋ--à-	ŋ-gàn/à-	ŋ-gàn/à-
burial	n	tèm (v.)		è-kó/bè-	lè-kú/ŋ-	è-kú/bì-	è-kú/bì- ~ŋ-	è-kú/à--bè-	è-kú/ŋ-	nè-kú/ŋ-	nò-kú/ŋ-	nù-kú/ŋ-	lì-kú/ŋ-	ì-kú/à-	ì-kú/ŋ-	èg-kú/ŋ-	èl-kó/ŋ-
burn	v t/i	ló	réghe	rõi	rõ	rígì~dígì	rígà	rígà	fí	fí	fí	fí	fí	fí	fí	fí	fí
butcher ¹⁹	v	yɔ	bha	fã	fã	βãê	βã	βã	bà	bà	bà	bà	bà	bàâ	bàâ	bã	bã
buy	v	k ^w òr	nam	nãm	kõ	nãm	nãm	nãm	gúù	gòò	gò	gò	gònã	gòní	gònò	gónò	gúnù
calabash ²⁰	n	ntuo, óbámú, kɛbòŋ, kèpòrò	itán, ékú	ò-tín/bà-	ò-tón/bà-	bì-tin/ñ-	ì-tín/ñ-	ì-tín/ñ-	è-bór/m--à-	è-bàr/m-	è-bàr/m-	è-bàr/m-	è-búr/m-, tòg/á-	ù- n-tòg/ù-	è-bàr/m-	è-bàr/m-	è-bàr/m-
camwood	n		ekúé	(è-bá)	(lè-bá/m-)	è-kúé/bì-	è-kúí	è-kúí/ŋ- ~bè-	è-kón/ŋ-	nè-kón/ŋ-	nò-kón/ŋ-	nò-kón	lì-kól/à-	à-kól	à-kol	à-kól	à-kúl
canoe	n	ó-gbâŋ /é-	okpi	ò-kpě/bà-	ò-kpě/bà-	ò-kpí/à-	ò-kpí/à-	ò-kpí/à-	ò-gbàà/à-	è-gbàà/à-	è-gbâ/à-	ò-gbâ/à-	è-gbâ/bì-	ú-gbâŋ/á-	ú-gbâŋ/á-	é- gbe'any/á-	é- gbe'any/á-
care for ²¹	v	f ^w ór	gye	lěi	lěi	yě	yě	yě	liè~fínà	finè	fònè~nè	finì	lè	lèê	lèê	é- kândèm/à-	é- kândèm/à-
cat	n	kɛnyamfé lonk ^w ɔ	anywã	ò-ŋã/bà-	è-kândèm/bè-	ò-ŋã/à-	ò-ŋã/à-	àŋuã	è-kândièm/à-	è-kândèm/à-	è-kândèm/à-	ò-kândèm/à-	ò-kândèn/à-	ì-pùj/à-	ù-kândèn/à-	è- kândèm/à-	è- kândèm/à-
catch hold	v	piel	gbáp	kpébi	kpébán	gbáb	gbáb	gbáb	yib	gbíβè	gbibè	gbibè	gbéba	gbéb	kpébé, bób	bób	bób
caterpillar	n		éʃághe	é-súsú/bé-	é-rürù/bé-	è-dù/à-	è-dù/à-	è-rù/à-	è-dùdù/à-	è-rürù/à-	è-dùdù/à-	è-dùdù/à-	è-rürù/à-	---	è-dùdù/à-	---	---
chameleon	n	kényángú ru	ókunã	ó-kòŋãnsè/bá-	ó-kòŋórè/bá-	ó-kunã/á-	ó-kunã/á-	ó-kunã/á-	ó-kónò/á-	é-kìŋò/á-	é-kòŋò/á-	ó-kòŋò/á-	ó-kòŋè/á-	ú-kòŋí/á-	ú-kòŋí/á-	é- kò'òŋká/á-	é- kè'òŋò/á-
cheek	n		okík	ò-kíg/bà-	ò-kág/bà-	ò-kíg/à-	ò-kíg/à-	ò-kág/à-	ò-dán/à-	è-kpìyò/à-	è-kpìyò/à-	è-kpìyò/à-	ò-kpògà/à-	ù-kèg/à-	ù-kèg/à-	è- kpè'oyò/à-	è- kpè'oyò/à-
chest	n	kè-kwò /kè-	ngan	(é-kpókpó/bé-)	(é-kpókpó/bé-)	ŋ-gǎŋ/ò-	ŋ-gǎŋ/ò-	ŋ-gǎŋ/ò-	ŋ-gǎŋ/ò-	ŋ-gáŋ	ŋ-gáŋ/à-	ŋ-gǎŋ/à-	ŋ-gǎŋ/à-	(ì- kürùŋkù/à-)	(ì- kürùŋkù/à-)	ŋ-gè'any/à-	ŋ-gè'any/à-
chew ²²	v.i.		nyéé, sáé	jãb	jãb	jãm	jãm	---	(saánò)	jàb	jàb	jàb	jàb	jàbí	jãáb	jãb	jãb
chief	n	bù-tùrò /bè-	ntúfãm	mì-nén/bà-[1]	ŋ-kôm m- pám/bà-	ñ-túfãm~ túfãm/à-túfãm	ñ-túfãm~ túfãm/à- túfãm	ñ-túfãm/à- túfãm	ñ-táòŋ/à-	ñ-tôn/à-	ñ-tôn/à-	ñ-tôn/à-	ñ-tól/à-	ñ-tól/à-	ñ-tól/à-	ñ-tól/à-	ñ-tól/à-
child	n	m-mwàn /bù-	mmon	m-mõn/m-bõn	m-mõn/m-bõn	m-mõn/à-βõn	m-mõn/à- βõn	m-mõn/à- buõn	m-muõn/à-	m-mõ/à-bõ	m-mõ/à-bõ	m-mòò/à-bòò	m-mõn/à-bõn	m-mõn/à- bõn	m-mõn/à- bõn	m-mõn/à- bõn	m-mõn/à- bõn
chop	v	téb	ʃé, gbe ²³	gběg	gběg	gběg	bgěg	gběg	gbòg	gbàg	gbàg	(kìβè)	gbèg	(gòmí, kêm)	(gòmí, kêm)	gbàg	gbòg
civet ²⁴	n		ejo	è-sòb/bè-	è-ròb/bè-	è-jò/bì-	è-jò/bì-	è-jò/à--bè-	è-zuò/à-	è-jò/à-	è-jò/bà-	è-jò/bò-	è-jò/à-	ì-jòò/à-	ì-jò/à-	è-jò/à-	è-jò/à-
clear bush ²⁵	v	bup ^w oŋ n.	esúm n.	(kòb)	(kòb)	súm	súm	súm	súm	sôm	sô	sô	rôm	(jà)	(jà)	róm	rúm
clitoris	n	kepampán g, ojuulu	etiŋi	è-ʃód/bè-	è-ʃód/bè-	è-tiŋi/à-	è-tiŋi/à-	è-tiŋà/ñ-	ŋ-sún/ò-	è-tiŋi/bè-	è-tiŋi/bì-	è-mi/bè-	è-sòd/bì-	ì-kéb/à-	ì-kéb/à-	è-kéb/à-	è-kìb/à-

¹⁷ These forms are to be compared with 'wipe' and with 'erase'.¹⁸ The animal referred to is *Syncerus nanus*, lydekk (cf. Talbot, In the shadow of the bush, p. 468).¹⁹ These forms are to be compared with 'self'.²⁰ The first form in Ebanyom refers to a calabash 'for tapping wine', and the second 'for storing wine'.²¹ These forms are used in the sense of 'bring up' or 'take care of' (a child).²² 1. The form in Bendeghe is 'rare'. 2. the form in N Etung means 'hard chewing'.²³ 'cut the body of someone e.g. with blade'²⁴ These forms refer to the African civet, *Civetta civetta*.²⁵ compare these forms with the same one for 'hit' in most of the languages.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
cloth ²⁶	n	ngbé, ì- gbé /bè-	éfô	é-fô/ń-	é-fô/bé-	é-fô/ń-	é-fô/ń-,é- bómé/m- [b]	é-fô/ń-,m- bómá/à-[β]	m-buómá/à-	m-bóó/à-	m-bó/à-	m-bóó/à-	m-bómá/à-	ńm-gbág/á-	m-bómó/á-	m- bómó/à-	m-bómó/á-
cocoyam	n	èkwór	mbət	è-ròṅkògí/ń- kògí	è-ròṅkò/ń-kò	è-βíd/ò--m-[b]	è-βíd/m- [b]	è-βíd/m-[b]	è-birá/m-	nè-biré/m-	nè-biré/m-	nè-biré/m-	è-bidí/m-	ì-bíd/m-	ì-bidé/m-	è-bàdè/m-	è-bàdè/m-
cold ²⁷	n	ywàrò, kúnò (become cold)	egyuk	è-lùg	ń-nùg	è-yùg	è-yùg	è-yùg	ń-luòg	à-nòg	à-nòg	à-nòg	à-lùg	à-lùg	à-lòg	(èk- kə`ɔgò)	à-lòg
come	v	ǰú	bhá	bá	bá	bág	βág	βág	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá
contamina- tion ²⁸	n			è-bũ~bè-	lè-bũ/m-	è-βũ	è-βũ	è-βũ	è-wá	nè-bũ/m-	nò-bũ/m-	nò-bò	lì-bũ/m-	---	---	è-òṅ/m-	è-bòṅ/m-
cook	v	lám, kyê	ǰughé, yám	(kágí)	(kágé)	yám	yám	yám	lám	nám	nâ	nâ	lâm	lâm	lâm	lám	lám
cotton	n	ówú		é-wú	lè-wú/ń-	é-wú	é-ú--wú	é-ú/á-	ó-wú	nè-wú/ńm-	nó-wú/ńm-	ó-wii	lí-wú/ńm-	ú-wú/á-	ú-wú/á-	é-vù/ńm- wú	á-ó
cough	v	ò-kwál /è- (n.)	okóe	kódí	kóróg	kòe	kòe	kòe	kuórà	kórò	kórò	kórò	kórê	kòr	kórò	kórò	kórò
count	v	pàl	fan	fäi	fäl	fän	fän	fän	fän	fän	fän	fän	fäl	fäli	fääl	fäl	fè`anjè
cover(1) ²⁹	v	sued, kuóbó	bhúi	föi	föl	βüê	βüi~βüi	βüi	búnà	bìnò	bìnò	bìnò	bòlè	bòli	bòlò	bólò	búfù
cover(2) ³⁰	v	mpel n.	bhúi	föi	föl	βüê	βüi~βüi	βüi	búnà	bìnò	bìnò, fù	bìnò, fù	fù	bòli	bòlò	fú	fó
cow	n	égurubíá	mfoṅ	m-pòṅ/bò-	m-pòṅ/bò-	ń-fòṅ/ò-	ń-fòṅ/ò-	ń-fòṅ/ò-	ń-fòṅ/ò-	ń-fòṅ/è-	ń-fòṅ/è-	ń-fòṅ/ò-	ń-fòṅ/ò-	ń-fòṅ/ù-	ń-fòṅ/ù-	ń- fò`ɔṅ/è-	ń-fèòṅ/è-
crab	n		ekáé	è-kái/bè-	è-kál/bè-	è-káe/à-	è-káe/bi- ~à-	è-káe/à- ~bè-	è-kán/à-	è-kán/à-	è-kán/bà-	è-kán/bà-	è-kál/bi-	í-ǰíkàl/á-	í-ǰíkàl/á-	è-kál/á	è-kál/á-
cut in two	v	ǰéb, kpét ~ kpér, ǰyé	se, kém	sób	ǰé	kím	kím	k ^h ím	káβà	kiβè	kábè	káβè	kêm	kêm	kêm	kém	kím
cutting grass ³¹	n	ebél	kobhéó	é-béb/bé-	è-béb/bè-	é-βíb/bí-	é-βíb/á-	kòbíb/à- kòbíb	è-bíb--bíb/à-	è-bib/à-	è-béb/à-	è-béb/à-	è-béb/à-	ì-béb/à-	ì-béb/à-	è-béb/à-	è-bib/à-
dance	v	bén	bhón	bín	bón	βín	βín	βín	bón	bân	bôn	bân	bín	bín	bín	bân	bón
day ³²	n	bù-fuor/ bè-, lèfuor	ofú	bò-rú/ń-[d]	bò-rú/ń-[d]	ò-fú/ń-fín	ò-fú/á- ~ń-fín	ò-fú/ń-fín	ò-fuú/á-	è-foá/à-	è-fó/à-	ò-foó/à-	ò-fó/à--ń-	ù-fòfò/à-	ù-fòmfo/à-	è-fə`oṅ/á-	è-fi`uṅ/á-
daylight ³³	n		efén	è-pén	è-pén/bè-	è-fín	è-fín	è-fín/bè-	è-fín/à-	è-fén~fèén/à-	è-fén	è-fén/bò-	è-fénté	---	ì-fén/ń-	è-fén	è-fin
defecate	v	ɲè	ɲe abhəṅ	ɲě	ɲí	ɲě	ɲě	ɲě	ɲì	ɲì	ɲì	ɲì	ɲì	ɲí	ɲí	ɲí	ɲí
descend	v		bhət	bí	rəb	βíd	βíd	βíd	sínò	sinè	sónè	sénè	bùdí	bídí~bùdí	bòdò	báddè	bódtè
dew	n	ebuór	abhú	bà-bú	bà-bú	à-βú	à-βú	à-βú	à-wú	è-bú	è-bú	è-bú	è-bù	ì-bírr	ì-bórr	è-bòṅ	è-bòṅ
die	v	wú	kpó	kuó	kuó	kpô	kpô	kpô	kpó	kpô	kpô	kpô	kpô	kpô	kpô	kpó	kpó
dip ³⁴	v.i.	duom (dive)	tet	lím	lémáṅ	téd	téd	téd	lóm	nâm	nêm	nâm	límá	nâm	nâm	lám	lóm
disappear, miss s.t.	v	lém	tán	lím	lóm	(tân)	(tân)	(tân)	lóm, (taárà)	nâm	nâm	nâm	lím	nâm, (tân)	nímè	lám	lóm
divide ³⁵	v	dé, gábò, bání	kiré	kéní	kénáṅ	kirí	kirí	kirí	baáṅà	bàṅà	bàṅà	bàṅà	bàg	bàgí	bàâg	bè`anjè	bè`anjè
divine	v		bhú	bó	bó	bú	βú~bú	βú	bù	bú	bú	bù	bô	bô	bô	bó	bú

²⁶ 1. These forms refer to 'cloth' as an article of clothing. 2. The second form in S Etung, however refers to *kkpe* cloth.

²⁷ These forms refer to 'cold' in the sense of 'cold water'.

²⁸ These forms refer to 'sexual contamination' i.e. 'sleeping with a woman so that the child she is still nursing becomes sick'.

²⁹ The root which is cognate throughout these forms is the same as that in 'roof' (q.v.).

³⁰ These forms are used in the sense 'cover something hollow'.

³¹ The West African cane rat, *Thryonomys swinderianus*.

³² see the section on english glosses, p.50.

³³ 1. The forms in sub-groups a-b and f-h were all glossed as 'daylight'. 2. within Nkum sub-group m-u, only the form in Nselle was glossed as 'daylight'. 3. the forms in languages Efutop and Ekajuk were explained to mean 'noon'. 4. the form in Nde means 'daytime or noon to evening'. 5. the forms in languages Nta, Nkum, and Nnam mean 'afternoon'. 6. the form in Abanyom means 'daytime'.

³⁴ 1. These forms are used in the sense of 'dive' or 'dip beneath the surface of the water' 2. They are to be compared with 'disappear' and with 'extinguish'.

³⁵ These forms are to be compared with those for 'share'.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
do	v	pyè	yim	lēm	lēm	yīm	yīm	yīm	nim	nèm	nè	nè	lèm	lēmī	lēm	lēm	līm
dog	n	m-pyé, i-pyé/ bɛ- ~ bɛ-	njô	ŋ-guó/bò-	ŋ-guó/bò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋŋ-wuó/ò-	ŋŋ-wó/è-	ŋŋ-wó/è-	ŋŋ-wó/ò-	ŋ-gó/ò-	ŋ-gó/ù-	m-bó/ù-	m-búá/è-	m-bó/è-
domestic pig ³⁶	n	bekuéló	akûk	à-kûg/bà-	à-kûg/bà-	à-kûg	à-kûg	à-kûg	à-kûg	à-kûg	à-kôg	à-kôg	à-kôg	(ú-kpògbó/á-)	(ù-kômbà/à-)	é-kòdòg/á-	é-kiùg/á-
door ³⁷	n	bufuóro	itâm	ò-kégéré/bà-	ŋ-fù/bà-	m-bù/à-[β]	m-bù/à-[β]	m-bù/ò-[β]	m-buù/ò-	m-bù/à-	m-bù/à-	m-bù/à-	m-bò/à-	m-bò/à-	m-bò/à-	m-bò/à-	m-bù/à-
dove ³⁸	n	m-bèl, kè-bèlòŋ	ibhúé	é-bí/bé-	bè-bàl/m-	bì-βúí n-dím/à-	ì-βúí/m-[b]	ì-βíá/m-[b]	é-bònâgòm/á-	bé-binâgòm/m-	bi-binâgù/m-	bi-binâgù/m-	é-bilágòm/m-	í-bíl/á-	í-bòl/m-	èb-bàl/m-	èb-bil/m-
dress ³⁹	v	fé	guŋé (male), sobhé (female)	láj	lèbé	gùŋé, sòβé	gùŋí, sòβé	gùŋí, sòβé	liíβλ	nèβé	nèβi	nèβè	lèbâ	kàgí	kàâg	li'ibì, kàâg	li'ibì, kèâg
drink	v	nywé	gwó	yó	jó	wô	wô	wô	wuó	wô	wô	wô	wô	wô	wô	wó	wó
drum	n	édúmù, édúmó	nkam	(è-tórí/bè-)	(è-kpèdè/bè-)	ŋ-kám/ò-	ŋ-kám/ò-	ò-kám/ŋ-	(m-bón/à-)	ŋ-kám/à-	ŋ-ká/à-	ŋ-ká/à-	ŋ-kám/à-	ŋ-kám/ú-	ŋ-kám/ú-	ŋ-kám/à-	ŋ-kám/à-
dry season	n	odzendzo ŋ, bè-sàr /bù-	oyum	ò-lòm	ò-lòm	ò-yùm	ò-yùm	ò-yùm	ò-lùm	è-nòm	è-nòm	ò-nò-	ó-lòm	ù-lòm	ù-lòm	é-lòm	é-lùm
dry, be	v.i.		kút, yúm	wóm	wóm	yúm	yúm	yúm	yúm	yôm	yô	yô-yòd	yôm	yôm	yôm	wóm	wúm
dry	v.t.	ywómú, yánú	bhán	bán	bán	βán	βán	βán	bán	bán	bán	bán	bán	bán	bán	bán	bán
duck ⁴⁰	v	ebúbú	gyúŋé	ŋúdí	kúdúm	sémè~sérè	sérè	sérà	---	gòŋò	gòŋò	gòŋò	gòŋé	rém	rém	rémè	rémé
dust	n	ebúbú	ebhóbbhé	bè-búbí	bè-búbú	è-βíβé	è-βíβí	è-βíβí	è-wúwuú	è-búbú	è-búbú	è-búbú	è-búbú	ì-bùbù	ì-bùbù	è-bòŋmbú	è-bòŋmbò
dusty, be	v.i.	bóm															
ear	n	otué	otûŋ	ò-rôí/bà-	ò-rôn/bà-	ò-tûŋ/à-	ò-tûŋ/à-	ò-tûŋ/à-	ò-táòŋ/à-	è-tòŋ/à-	è-tòŋ/à-	ò-tòŋ/à-	ò-tòŋ/à-	ù-tòŋ/à-	ù-tòŋ/à-	é-tu'òŋ/à-	é-tù'òŋ/à-
earth,	n	è-gbèrè,	otop	ŋ-sísí,	ŋ-tób~bà-	ŋ-sí/à-	ŋ-sí/à-	ŋ-sí/à-	à-tuó~-tútuó	ŋ-sèò~-sísé	ŋ-sí	ŋ-sísí	ŋ-dé	ŋ-dég	ŋ-dég	ŋ-dé	ŋ-dì
ground ⁴¹	n	bè-ji/ bù-		tòb~bà-													
eat	v	lyé	dé	lí	lí	dí	dí	yí	yíé	nê	nê	nê	lí	lí	lí	lí	lí
egg	n	lè-kì /bè-	eji	é-kě/bá-	é-kí/bé-	è-ji/à-	è-ji/à-	è-ji/à-	è-zí/à-	è-ji/à-	è-ji/à-	ì-ji/à-	é-ji/à-	í-ji/à-	í-ji/à-	é-jè/à-	é-jè/à-
elephant ⁴²	n	bè-tswò /bù-	ŋjok	ŋ-sòg/bò-	ŋ-dòg/bò-[r]	ŋ-jòg/ò-	ŋ-jòg/ò-	ŋ-jòg/ò-	ŋ-zùòg/ò-	ŋ-jòg/è-	ŋ-jòg/è-	ŋ-jòg/ò-	ŋ-jòg/ò-	ŋ-jòg/ù-	ŋ-jòg/ù-	ŋ-jò'òg/è-	ŋ-jè'òg/è-
erase ⁴³	v	kórí (wipe off)	ŋfóbbhé	sírí	tól	ŋfóβè	ŋfóβè	ŋfóβè	fón, nóg	sámà	sámà	sámà	rín, dùg	fól	fól	fól	fú'útó
European	n	òkárá	ébhàré-ŋm e	ò-kágára/bà-	ò-kágára/bà-	ò-káyára/à-	ò-káyára/à-	màkárá	ò-káyára/à-	è-kiyára/à-	à-káyára	à-káyára	è-kágírá/à-	ì-kágára/à-	ì-kágára/à-	é-kágírá/à-	é-ke'akírá/à-
excrement, shit, dung, manure, faeces	n	abí		m-bîŋ/bà-	m-bòŋ/bà-	à-βîŋ	à-βîŋ	à-βîŋ	à-bîŋ	à-bîŋ	à-bîŋ	à-bîŋ	à-bîŋ	à-bòŋ	à-bòŋ	à-bòŋ	à-bòŋ
extinguish ⁴⁴	v	lém	táné	límí	límí	tánè	tánè	tánè	lómò	nimè	nómè	némè	límí	nímè	nímè	lámé	lómé
eye ⁴⁵	n	lí /bémí	eyât amât	pl. è-líd/m-míd	lè-mòrr/m-	è-yíd/à-míd	è-yíd/à-míd	è-yéd/à-míd	è-mâr/à-	nè-mâr/à-	nò-mâr/à-	nà-mâr/à-	lì-mâr/à-	ì-mâr/à-	ì-mâr/à-	ém-mâr/à-	él-mòr/à-
fall ⁴⁶	v	ŋór, kwè	gbo	tún,ŋó	ŋó	gbó	gbó	gbó	gbuó~gbò	gbò	gbò	gbò	gbò	gbò	gbò	gbò	gbò

³⁶ The forms in the languages of sub-group f-h and minor sub-groups m-p and q participate in no singular/plural alternation.

³⁷ 1. The form in N Etung is 'archaic'. 2. Bendeghe also has the form *ò-kíyíri/à-* with the same meaning.

³⁸ The form in Nde was described as a 'small wild bird in the pigeon family'.

³⁹ In Nkum sub-group f-h the first is used in reference to men and the second to women (i.e. men's apparel and women's apparel).

⁴⁰ These forms are to be compared with 'arch' with 'squat', and with 'bow' (v.)

⁴¹ 1. The variant forms in languages Balep and Nkum refer to 'heaps' of earth. 2. The plural forms in Nkum sub-group f-h refer to 'loose earth'.

⁴² The forms in languages N and S Etung are most usually expanded into the construction *ŋ-jòg ŋ-gùn/ò-jòg ŋ-gùn* ('... of the land') to mean 'elephant', where the first member of the construction means something like 'giant' or 'monster'.

⁴³ These forms are to be compared with 'wipe' and with 'brush' (v.)

⁴⁴ These forms are to be compared with 'disappear' and 'dip'.

⁴⁵ There is another singular form in Balep, namely *m-mòg ó-rín*.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
fan(1)	v	mpób ofuó	fək	fũg	fũg	fĩg	fĩg	fĩg	fièb	fēb	fēb	fēb	fēb	fũgĩ	fòog	fēb	fòg
fan(2) ⁴⁷	v			fũg	fũg	fĩg	fĩg	fĩg	fièb	---	---	---	fũg	fũgĩ	fóáog	fēb	fòg
fat	n	befwám	afôm	(bà-nòì)	(bà-lòl)	à-fôm	à-fôm	à-fôm	à-fuôm	à-fôm	à-fô	à-fô	à-fôm	à-fôm	à-fôm	à-fôm	à-fôm
father	n	fjé		jì-sĩ/bàp-	n-dĩ/bà-[r]	jì-sé/á-	jì-sé/á-	jì-sé/á-	jì-sié/á-	jì-sé/bàjì-	jì-sé/bàjì-	jì-sé/bàjì-	n-dé/á-[r]	n-dé/á-[r]	n-dé/á-[r]	n-dé/á-	n-dé/á-
of... ⁴⁸													[r]~bán-[d]				
father ⁴⁹	n	è-té	ńsé	jì-sĩ	n-dĩ	jì-sé	jì-sé	jì-sé	<2. >	jì-sô	jì-sô	jì-sô	jì-só	jì-jó	jì-jú	jì-só	jì-jó
feather	n	ì-pu /bè-	efut	(mín-dòbì/bà-[r])	(n-dòbòg/bá-[r])	è-fũd/à--n̄-	è-fũd/à--n̄-	è-fũd/n̄-~n̄-	è-fòr/à-	nè-fũr/à-	nò-fũr-nè-/à-	nò-fòd/à-	lí-fòr/á-	í-fòr/n̄-	í-fòr/n̄-	èb-fòr/à-	èl-fũr/à-
fifteen	nu m	òjì	ekú	è-kó	lè-kó	è-kú	è-kú	è-kú	mè-kúù	nèkòò	nò-kò	nò-kòò	lì-kò	í-kòr	í-kòr	ék-kò	él-kú
find ⁵⁰	v	bwón, kpé	té	té	té	tí	tí	tí	tí	tèè	tê	tèè	têr	têr,(jàn̄i)	têr,(jàân)	tí'ej	tí'ij
finish	v	mâl (v.i.), mání (v.t.)	man	mân	mân	mân	mân	mân	mân,maárò	(kân)	(kôn)	(kôn)	mâl	mâlí	màâl	mâl	mâl
fire ⁵¹	n	ò-mwén /è-	ngũn	m̄n̄-kòd/bà-	n̄-kòr/bà-	n̄-gũn/à-	n̄-gũn/à-	n̄-gũn/à-	n̄-gyn/à-	n̄-gôn/à-	n̄-gò~gôn/à-	n̄-gôn/à-	n̄-gôn/à-	n̄-gôn	n̄-gôn/à-	n̄-gón/à-	n̄-gùn/à-
firewood	n	ywèn /byèn	okún	jì-sĩ/bóì/n̄-	bò-kón/n̄-	ò-kún/n̄-	ò-kún/n̄-	ò-kún/n̄-	è-kyn/n̄-	è-kón/n̄-	è-kón/n̄-	èkón/n̄-	è-kón/n̄-	ì-kón/n̄-	ì-kón/n̄-	è-kón/n̄-	è-kùn/n̄-
fish ⁵²	n	kèfjú	nsé	jì-sĩ/bò-	n-dĩ/bò-[r]	jì-sĩ/ò-	jì-sĩ/ò-	jì-sĩ/ò-	<--->	<--->	<--->	<--->	ò-rí/à-	n̄-kòb/á-	n̄-kòbó/á-	jì-sàrè	jì-jàrè
fish	n		à-wâŋ	bà-wâŋ	bà-wâŋ	à-wâŋ	à-wâŋ	á-ìŋ	à-wâŋ	à-wâŋ	à-wâŋ	à-wâŋ	à-wâŋ	ì-wâŋ/à-	ì-wâŋ/à-	á-we'ej	á-we'ej
smell ⁵³																	
fish-hook	n	é-lòŋ	óyòp	bé-lób/mín-[l]	bé-ló/n̄~n̄	(è-báŋ ó-sí/à-)	ó-yòb/á-	ó-yòb/á-	é-luò~lò/á-	bé-nò/n̄-	bànó/n̄-	bò-n:ò/n̄-	bí-ló/n̄~n̄	(ú-kújá/á-)	ú-ló/á-	él-ló/n̄-	èb-ló/n̄-
fit ⁵⁴	v		<è-kónán>	kónán	kónán	βĩg	βĩg	βĩg	lóg	fũmú	fũmù	fòmò	fòmá	lâg	lâg	fo'omò	fu'umù
five	n	-fján	árôn, ndôn, éron	bé-rôn	bé-rôn	é-rôn~bí-	é-rôn	é-rôn	á-dôn	bé-rôn	bò-rôn	bò-rôn	bé-rôn	í-rôn	í-rôn	él-lón~é-	éb-lón
flog	v			kúd	dú	tĩm	tĩm	tĩm	kár	mòb	màb	mòb	dú	dú	dú	dú	dó
flow	v	yál, rwé	yut, sé	fáb	fáb	(sê)	(sê)	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb	fáb
fly	v	gàn, fwór (jump)	fəbhé	bú	bú	fībē	fībē~fībī	fībī	fuúbə	fübú~fübú	fübú	fübú	fübí	bíg~búg	bóg	fó'ŋŋò	fó'ŋŋò
forehead ⁵⁵	n		mbúk	m̄-bóg/bò-	m̄-bóg/bà-	m̄-búg/ò-[β]~à-[β]	m̄-búg/ò-[β]~à-[β]	m̄-búg/ò-[β]	(n-dún/ò-[d])	(n-dón/à-[r])	(n-dón)	(n-dón)	m̄-bòg/à-	m̄-bòg/à-	m̄-bòg/à-	m̄-bə'og/à-	m̄-bi'ug/à-
forest	n	ì-kēm /bè-	é-kúé /á-	è-kókói	è-kól/bè-	é-kúé/á-	é-kúí/á-	é-kúa/á-	è-kún	é-kin	ò-gbè/à-kón	ò-gbè/à-kón	é-mèn	é-kól	ì-kól	ì-kól/n̄-	è-kòl/ò-gbè/à-..ò-
forget	v	yóní	gyiné	yídí	jìráŋ	yíní	yíní	yíná	yínò	tántèr	yìní	yìní	yèná	yèdí	yènê	yènè	yíní
four	nu m	-nyí	ńní	bé-nê	bé-nê	é-ní	é-ní	é-ní	á-jíê	bé-nê	bò-nê	bé-nê	bí-ní	í-ní	í-ní	é-ní	éb-ní~ém-ní
fowl	n	bè-kwò	n-kòk	n̄-kòg/bò-	n̄-kòg/bò-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kuòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/è-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/ò-	n̄-kòg/ù-	n̄-kò'og/è-	n̄-ke'og/è-
friend	n	bù-fjì /bè-	n-tèm /à-	n-tèn/bàn-	n-tèn/bàn,(n̄-kèn/bà-)	n-tèm/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tièm/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tè/à-	n-tè/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tèm/à-	n-tèm/à-
frond ⁵⁶	n	òbò-mbór	è-kpàk/à-	é-bègè/bé-	é-bègèl/bé-	è-kpàg á-kpé/à-	è-kpàg/à-	è-kpàg/à	---	è-gbàgá/à-	è-gbàgá/à-	è-gbàgá/à-	é-gbàgá/á- ,n̄jì-	ì-kpàg ú-bír	ì-kpàg/à-	è-gbè'agè/à-	è-gbè'ayè/à-
fruit	n	è-rèn	n-kàp/à-	---	---	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-	(n̄-sùm/à-)	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-	(i-r[ym])	n̄-kàb/à-	n̄-kàb/à-
fry	v	yán	káné	kání	káné	kánè	kánè	kánè	kaánò	kánà	kánà	kánà	kánà	kánà	kánà	ká'anjé	keáné

⁴⁶ The forms in Ekparabong refers to a person and the second to a fruit on a tree.

⁴⁷ These forms have the specific meaning of 'fan vigorously'.

⁴⁸ These forms are used for teknonymy as well as for discussion of general kinship.

⁴⁹ 1. These forms are used in possessive constructions 'my father, your father, his father, etc.' 2. Efutop *tàtá* 'my father'

⁵⁰ 1. The form in Balep means 'find again' or 'retrieve'. 2. The second forms in languages Nkim and Nkum mean 'find something when it has been lost'.

⁵¹ These forms are identical with those for 'gun' (q.v.) except for the lack of singular-plural alternation in Nkim.

⁵² 1. minor sub-group m-p uses a construction with the meaning 'animal of the water' 2. The plural form in Ekajuk is 'rare'.

⁵³ In N Etung the initial consonant of the root was described as a 'light w' and appears to have a labio-dental articulation.

⁵⁴ 1. These forms are used in the sense of 'fit, suit, become'. 2. The form in Ekparabong is a nominalization because the 'imperative' could not be elicited.

⁵⁵ The forms in languages Nselle and Nta do not allow of any singular/plural alternation.

⁵⁶ These forms refer especially to the 'lower palm frond'.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
germinate	v.i.	fwám, mòr	fém	měi	mě	mě.é,(dú)	mě,(dú)	mě,(rú)	míé	mě.é	mě	mě.é	mèr	mèrí	mě.ér	m.áŋ	m.əŋ
go out ⁵⁷	v	yúbô		tīb	tǎb	dù.é,fám	fám	fáb	dúú	rùú	rù	rù	jòg	jòg	jòg	lòŋ	lòŋ
goat	n	m-púel	m-búi /ò-	m-bói/bò-	m-ból/bò-	m-bù.é/ò-[β]	m-búi/ò-[β]	m-búi/ò-[β]	m-bà.òn/ò-	m-bôn/è-	m-bôn/è-	m-bôn/ò-	m-ból/ò-	m-ból/ù-	m-ból/ù-	m-ból/è-	m-búl/è-
God ⁵⁸	n	òfjúwè	ò-βàsi	ò-sówò	ò-sówò	ò-sówò,ò-βàsi	ò-sówò,ò-βàsi	ò-sówò,ò-βàsi	ò-sòwuò	è-sówò	è-sówò	ò-sówò	ò-sówò/à-	ì-ǰǰ~ǰǰwò	í-ǰǰ	é-sówò	é-ǰǰwò
gourd	n	kébuó	è-kpúŋ	ò-kpèdà/bà-	ò-kpè/bà-	ò-kpèrè/à-	ò-kpèrè/à-	ò-kpèrè/à-	---	---	---	---	ŋŋ-kpèdè/ò-	ŋm-kpèd/ù-	ŋm-kpèdè/ù-	ŋm-kpèdè/è-	ŋm-kpèdè/èb-
grasp	v	pyèl	fí	dáb	dáb	fíí	fíí	fíí	fín.ə	fín.é	fíní	fíní	fèlè	fèlí	fèlè	é-lám/à-	é-lám/à-
grave	n	bù-lém	ò-yəm /à-	ò-yò/bà-	ò-lù/bà-	ò-yim/à-	ò-yim/à-	ò-yim/à-	ò-ləm/à-	è-nám/bè--à-	è-nám/bè--à-	ò-	ò-lim/à-	ù-lim/à-	ù-ləm/à-	è-lám/à-	è-ləm/à-
grey hair ⁵⁹	n	ìpí	m̄pí	---	m-bí/bí/bò-	---	---	---	è-yí/à-	nè-bii/à-	nè-bí/à-	nì-bi/à-	li-bi~bír/à-	ì-bí/à-	à-bí	é-b-bi/à-	é-l-bi/à-
grind	v	kwó	gók	kǒg	kǒg	gǒg	gǒg	gǒg	guǒg	gǒg	gǒg	gǒg	gǒg	gǒgí	gǒg	gǒg	gǒg
groundnut	n	ñjókóró	ifât	ñj-fírí	ñj-fírí	ñj-fírí	ì-fíd/ñj-	ì-fíd/ñj-	ñj-fír.ə	ñj-fírí~fírí	ñj-fírí~fírí	ñj-fírí	ñj-fírí	à-fík.á	à-fík.á	à-sík.á	à-fík.á
guest ⁶⁰	n	bù-kèn	ñ-jéné /à	m̄ñ-	ñ-jén/bà-	ñ-jéné/à-	ñ-jéné/à-	ñ-jéné/à-	ñ-zì.è.ná.ni.é/à-	ñ-jàn.nà/à-	ñ-jèn.nà.é/à-	ñ-jè.rán.é/à-	ñ-jèn.nà.é/à-	ñ-jèn.é	ñ-jèn.é	ñ-jèn.é	ñ-jèn.é
gun ⁶¹	n	ò-mwén	ngún	m̄ñ-kòd/bà-	ñ-kòr/bà-	ñ-gún.à-	ñ-gún/à-	ñ-gún/à-	ñ-gá.òn/ò--à-	ñ-gón/à-	ñ-gò--gón/à-	ñ-gón/à-	ñ-gón/à-	ñ-g'ón/à-	ñ-gón/à-	ñ-gón/à-	ñ-gún/à-
hair (head)	n	bù-ñùŋ	ñ-nyú	ñ-dí	ñ-tí/tí/ñ-tí	ñ-nú	ñ-nú	ñ-ñú	è-lú/ñ-[l]	nè-nú/ñ-	nò-nú/ñ-	nù-nú/ñ-	li-ñú/ñ-	ñ-ñù/ñ-	ñ-nù/ñ-	é-l-lú/ñ-[l]	é-l-lú/à-
hair (on body) ⁶²	n	ì-mwè	ì-ñòt	ñ-wǒd	ñ-ñu.ə.ñu.ə.ñu.ə/bà-	è-ñǒd/à-	ì-ñǒd/à-	ñ-ñǒd/à-	è-mu.ə.ñu.ə/à-	nè-mǒr/à-	nè-mǒr/à-	nà-mǒr/à-	li-ñu.ə.ñu.ə/à-	ì-ñu.ə.ñu.ə/à-	ì-mǒr/à-	è-ñ.ñà.r/à-	è-l-ñà.r/à-
hammer	v		kúm	kóm	kóm	kúm	kúm	kúm	kóm	kóm	kó	kó	kóm	kóm	kóm	kóm	kúm
harvest ⁶³	v		fǎ	fú	fú	fú	fú	fú	(sóm)	fú	fú	fú	fú	fú	---	fú	fá.ə
hatch ⁶⁴	v		βúk	bǒg	bǒg	βúg	βúg	βúg	la.á.y.ə	ná.gà~ná.yà	ná.yà	ná.yà	wà	wà.á	wà.á	la'adé	wà, la'adé
hate ⁶⁵	v		jǐŋ	jǒŋ	jǒŋ	jǐŋ	(yírí)	jǐŋ.(yírà)	zì.ŋ.(lírí)	jǐŋ	jǐŋ	jǐŋ	jǐŋ	<ú-jǐŋí>	<ú-jǐŋ>	jǐŋ	jǐŋ
head ⁶⁶	n	bù-cí /bè-	è-ǰí/bi-,à-	è-rí/bè-	è-rí/bè-	è-ǰí/bi-,à-	è-ǰí/bi-,à-	è-ǰí/à-	è-sí/à-	è-sí/bè-,à-	è-sí/bi-	ì-sí/bi-	è-sí/bi-,à-	ì-ǰí/à-	ì-ǰí/à-	è-sí/à-	è-ǰí/à--è-ǰí/à-
headpad	n	lliár	nkâ	ñ-ká/bò-	ñ-ká/bà-	ñ-ká/ò-	ñ-ká/ò-	ñ-ká/ò-	ñ-ká.à/à-	ñ-ká.à/à-	ñ-ká/à-	ñ-ká.à/à-	ñ-ká/ò-	ñ-kàr/à-	ñ-kàr.à/ù-	ñ-ká.ə.ñé/á-	ñ-ke'ə.ñé/á-
hear	v	ywó	yúk	wóg	wóg	yú.g~yú.g	yú.g~yú.g	yú.g	yu.óg	y.óg	y.óg	y.óg	y.óg	y.óg	y.óg	y.óg	y.óg
heart	n	bù-tém/bè-	m̄b.ə.ñé	ñ-tèd/bò-	ñ-dén.è.ŋ/bà-[r]	m-bí.ŋ.é/ó-[β]	m-bí.ŋ.é/ó-[β]	m-bí.ŋ.í/ó-[β]	è-tím/à-	nè-tém/ñ-	nè-té/ñ-	nè-te.é/ñ-	li-tém/ñ-	ì-tém/ñ-	ì-tém/n-	è-tém/ñ-	è-l-tím/ñ-
heat ⁶⁷	v.t.		yàt	sóŋí	róŋé	súb.é	súb.é~fúb.í	fúb.í	fúb.à	fí.β.í	fí.β.é	fá.β.è	fób.é	fób	fób.ò	fób.ó	fúb.ú
hide ⁶⁸	v.i.	bím	βéré	bǒ	bǒ	βím.é	βéré~βíd~βím.é	βéré	yí.β.ə	bí.β.í	bí.β.í	bí.β.í	bǒ	bǒb	bǒb.ò	bí'írí	bí'írí
hide s.t.	v.t.	ñi.é															
hit ⁶⁹	v	jú	súm	sóm	ǰóm	súm	súm	súm	súm	(kár)	(kár)	(kár)	róm	róm	róm	róm	rúm
hoe	n	è-rwé, kè-rwé	è-yòm /ñ-	è-lòm/bè-	è-lòm/bè-	è-yòm/ñ-	è-yòm/ñ-	è-yòm/ñ-	è-dú/à-	è-ró/bè-	è-ró/bi-	è-ró/bò-	è-ró/bi-	ì-ró/à-	ì-ró/à-	è-ló/èb-	è-lú/èb-
hoe ⁷⁰	v	káb		kuǎŋ	fǒm	kpǎŋ	kpǎŋ	kpǎŋ	kpən	---	---	---	kpáŋ.á	kpáŋ	kpáŋ.á	kpə'ə.ñé	kpə'ə.ñé
hoe ⁷¹	v.i.			(kuǎŋ)	fǒm	(kpǎŋ)	(kpǎŋ)	(kpǎŋ)	bəm	bòm	bòm	bòm	bim	(tá)	(tá)	bám	bəm
hole ⁷¹	n	ì-pwó /bè-, lè-pì	m̄fúk, otá.é, ébhéré	è-bé.é/bè-	è-bé.é/bè-	é-bí.rí/á-	é-βí.rí/á-	é-βí.rí/á-	ò-bí.í/à-	nè-be.é/à-	nè-bé/à-	nè-be.é/à-	li-bé/à-	ì-bér/m-	ì-bér/m-	é-b-bi'ə.ŋ/à-	é-l-bi'ə.ŋ/à--m-

⁵⁷ These forms are used in the sense 'leave the room'.

⁵⁸ S Etung also has the further form é-βír.ə.kp.á.β.í.

⁵⁹ The form in Nkum has no singular/plural alternation.

⁶⁰ a change of tone in the plurals of Nkum sub-group m-p will be discussed in the [never-appeared] next volume.

⁶¹ The roots in the above forms are identical with those for 'fire' (q.v.).

⁶² The form in Ekparabong has no singular.

⁶³ These forms are used specifically in the sense 'harvest yams', except in minor sub-groups r-s and t-u where they mean 'harvest groundnuts'.

⁶⁴ compare 'break' (v.tr.)

⁶⁵ 1. In languages Nkim and Nkum the 'imperative' could not be elicited and the forms given mean 'hatred'. 2. The first form in Efutop means 'abstain'.

⁶⁶ 1. of the two plural prefixes given for languages Bendeghe and N Etung the first is used to refer to 'leaders' and the second to 'skills'. 2. of the two plural prefixes for languages Nde and Abanyom the second is used to refer to 'animal' heads.

⁶⁷ These forms are used especially in the sense of 're-heat soup'.

⁶⁸ These forms are used in the sense of 'hide oneself'.

⁶⁹ The missing cognates in languages n-p can be found under the gloss 'clear bush'.

⁷⁰ 1. another possible gloss for these forms is 'cultivate' (v.). 2. The form in Abanyom also means 'plant' (v.).

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
horn	n	í-táj /bé-	ítáj	ḡ-ḡuég/bò-	ḡ-taj/bà-	bì-βǎḡ/à-	ì-βǎḡ/à- ~m[b]	ń-táj/á-, ì- βǎḡ/m-[b]	ḡ-táj/à-	ḡ-tij/à-	ḡ-tǎḡ/à-	ḡ-tǎḡ/à-	ḡ-táj/à-	ḡ-táj/à-	ḡ-táj/ù-	ḡ-te' aḡ/á-	ḡ-te' aḡ/á-
hornbill	n			ḡ-gòḡ/bò-	ḡ-gòḡ/bò-	ḡ-gòḡ/ò-	ḡ-gòḡ/ò-	ḡ-gòḡ/ò-	ḡ-guòḡ/à-	ḡ-gòḡ/à-	ḡ-gòḡ/é-	ḡ-gòḡ/à-	ḡ-gòḡ/ò-	ḡ-gòḡ/à-	ḡ-gòḡ/à-	ḡ-gòḡ/é- ~à-	ḡ-gòḡ/à-
house ⁷²	n	ò-swè/é-	ḡ-jú/ò-	ḡ-jù/bò-	ḡ-jù/bò-	ḡ-jú/ò-	ḡ-jú/ò-	ḡ-dzú/ò-	ḡ-zú/ò-	ḡ-jò/bè-	ḡ-jò/bè-	ḡ-jú/bù-	ḡ-jò/bì-, étég/bì- -béḡ	ì-tàb/à	ì-tàbà/à-	ḡ-jò,é- tǎḡ/ḡ- -bìéḡ	ḡ-jú,é- tǎḡ/ḡ- -bìḡ
how many ⁷³	quant	-ní	-βék	-féḡ	-féḡ	-βíg	-βíg	-βíg	-bíg	-big	-béḡ	-béḡ	-béḡ	-béḡ	-béḡ	-béḡ	-bìḡ
hunt	n		etám-enór óm	ò-bém/bà	ò-bém/bà-	ò-βím/à-	ò-βím/à-	ò-βím/à-	ò-bím	ò-bém/à-	è-bé/à-	ò-bé/à-	ò-bém/à-	ù-bém/à-	ù-bém/à-	é-bém/á-	é-bim/á-
hunt	v	bû, wúo	βém	(yád)	bém	---	---	bím~βím	bím	bém	bê	bé	bém	bém	bém	bém	bím
husband	n	bù-lwóm /bè-	bù-lwóm	mì-núm/bà- lóm (é-sòb/bé-)	ḡ-nóm/bà-[l]	ḡ-dúm/à-[r]	ḡ-dúm/à- [r]	ḡ-núm/à-[r]	ḡ-lóm/à-	ḡ-nóm/à-	ḡ-nó/à-	ḡ-nó/à-	ḡ-nóm/à-[l]	ḡ-nóm/à- lóm (í-bó/á-)	ḡ-nóm/à- lóm (ì-bójág/à-)	ḡ-lóm/á-	ḡ-lóm-- núm/á-[l]
iguana (‘monitor lizard’)	n			(é-sòb/bé-)	(é-ròb/bé-)	è-βág/bì-	è-βág/bì-	è-βág/à- ~bè-	è-bóg/à-	è-bág/à-	è-bág/bì-	è-bág/bò-	è-bág/à-	(í-bó/á-)	(ì-bójág/à-)	é-je' ag/á-	é-je' ag/á-
iroko tree ⁷⁴	n		ḡ-sàn/à-	ò-sàn/bà-	ò-ràn/bà-	ḡ-sàn/à-	ḡ-sàn/à-	ḡ-sàn/à-	(m-biinó/à-)	(m-bén/à-)	(m-bén/à-)	(m-bén/à-)	ḡ-jàn/à-	(ù-lókò/à-)	(ù-lókò/à-)	ḡ-jàn/à- ,(m- bén/à-)	ḡ-jàn/à-
iron ⁷⁵	n	ò-kwòḡ		ò-kòḡ/à-	è-kòḡ/à/bè-	ò-kùḡ/à-	ò-kùḡ/à- ,è- βág/ḡ/m- [b]	ò-kùḡ/à- ,è- βág/ḡ/à-	ò-kuòḡ/à-	è-kùḡ/à-	è-kùḡ/à-	ò-kòḡ/à-	è-kòḡ/à-	ì-kòḡ/à-	ì-kòḡ/à-	è- kò' oḡ/à-	è- ki' uḡ/à-
itch ⁷⁶	n		è-wóḡé	ḡ-kókòḡ/bò-	ḡ-kókòḡ/à-	è-wóḡé	è-wóḡé	à-yóḡá	ḡm-kpáb/à-	ḡ-kikó/à-	ḡ-kókónò/à-	è-kókónò/à-	ḡ-kíkólá/à-	ḡ-kikól/à-	ḡ-kíkóló/à-	ḡ'm- kpákóló/à-	ḡ'm- kpákóló/à-
joint ⁷⁷	n	le-kwán	nkôn	è-mèḡ/bè-	lè-mèḡ/à- m-	è-mèḡ/à-	è-mèḡ/à-	è-mèḡ/à-	---	è-mìḡ/à-	è-mìḡ/à-	è-mèḡ/à-	è-mèḡ/à-	ì-mèḡ/à-	ì-mèḡ/à-	è-mḡḡ/à-	è-mòḡ/à-
journey ⁷⁸	n	lè-kèn	è-jèn	è-kèn	lè-kèn/ḡ-	è-jèn/bì-	è-jèn/bì-	è-jèn/bè-	è-zièn	è-jèn/ḡ-	è-jèn/ḡ-	è-jèn/ḡ-	è-jèn/ḡ-	ì-jèn/ḡ-	ì-jèn/ḡ-	è-jèn/ḡ-	è-l-jèn/ḡ-
jump	v	fwòr	fǎbé, nóp, jùt	(nìb),firí	(bú)	(nín)	fìβì,(nìb)	fìβì,(bág)	fìéb,(yòb)	fèb	fèb	fèb	fèb	fèb	fèb	fèb	fèb
kidney	n	m-pó/ bém-	m-fák	m-pópog	m-póg/bà-	ḡ-fìḡ	ḡ-fìḡ/á-	ḡ-fìḡ/á-	è-dùβó/à-	ḡ-fóḡ/á	ḡ-fóg/à-	ḡ-fóg/à-	ḡ-fìḡ/à-	ḡ-fìḡ-- fìḡ/à-	ḡ-fòḡ/á-	ḡ-fìḡ/á-	ḡ-fóḡ/á-
kill	v	ywél	ywé	wói	wól	yúe	yúi	yúi	yún	yòn	yón	yón	yól	yól	wól	wúl	wúl
knee	n	lè-lú/bè-	arúḡ, éráḡ	è-dúndún/bè-	è-rúndún/bè-	è-rúḡ/à-	è-rúḡ-- rúḡ/à-	è-rúḡ/à-	è-dáòḡ/à-	è-ròḡ/bè-	è-ròḡ/bì-	è-ròḡ/bè-	è-rúḡ/ḡ-[d]	ì-ráòḡ/à-	ì-ròḡ/à-	è-lḡ/à-	è-lḡ/à-
kneel	v			ḡ-dí	kúdúm	---	---	---	kómò	kimè	kimè	kómè	kùmá	kím	kómò-	j' mmè	j' mmè
knife ⁷⁹	n	kè-sùom/ kè-	bè-bàḡ/à- mì-	ḡ-tàm/à-	ḡ-tàm/à-	bì-timè/ḡ-	ì-timè/ḡ-	ì-timè/ḡ-	ḡ-tàm/à-	ḡ-timè/à-	ḡ-tèmè/à-	ḡ-tèmè/à-	ḡ-tùm/à-	ḡ-timè/à-	ḡ-tèmè/à-	ḡ-tàm/à-	ḡ-tàm/à-
knock, clap ⁸⁰	v	gwèl	gbák	gbág	gbág	gbâḡ	gbâḡ	gbâḡ	kpóg	gbâḡ	gbâḡ	gbâḡ	gbâḡ	---	---	gbé' ag	gbé' ag
knot	n		è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/bè-	è-kpò/bè-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò/à-	è-kpò-- kpòd/à-	ì-kpòd/à-	ì-kpòd/à-	è-kpòd/à-	è-kpòd/à-
knot	v			(síd)	(rǎd)	---	---	---	kàn	kàn	kàn	kàn	kùn	kòní	kòân	kàn	kàn
know ⁸¹	v	mál	mòḡé	mái	mǎé	mèḡé	mèḡé	mèḡé	gbiérò	mìḡí	mìḡí	mìḡí	mèḡé	ḡí	ḡí	máḡé	móḡé, mál
laugh	v	só, m- pám n.	yòé	wǎi	wǎi	yòé	yòé	yòé	yuòḡ	yòḡ	yòḡ	yòḡ	yól	yólí	yòól	wól	wól
leaf	n	yîân, biân	ḡ-jé/á-	è-guḡgué/bè-	lè-ḡuán/à-	ḡ-jé/á-	ḡ-jé/á-	ḡ-jé/á-	é-ḡánò/ḡ-	è-ḡân/ḡ-	è-ḡân/ḡ-	è-ḡân/ḡ-	lì-ḡân/ḡ-	ì-ḡân/ḡ-	ì-ḡánà/ḡ-	éḡ- ḡáné~é-	é-l-ḡáné/á-

⁷¹ These forms refer to a ‘hole into’ rather than a ‘hole through’.

⁷² 1. The first form in Nnam is dialectal. 2. The first form in Ekajuk is archaic and dialectal.

⁷³ no common independent nominalization of this stem was elicited.

⁷⁴ (*Milicia excelsa*)

⁷⁵ These refer to both the metal and to articles made from it, including the ‘iron for ironing (clothes)’.

⁷⁶ These forms also refer to scabies and crawl-crawl.

⁷⁷ These forms refer to ‘joint of the body – especially wrist and ankle’.

⁷⁸ These forms have identical roots with those in ‘walk’ (q.v.).

⁷⁹ These forms refer to the ‘big knife’ or ‘matchet’.

⁸⁰ The forms in languages Ekparabong, Balep and Efutop mean ‘clap’, and the others mean ‘knock with a stick’.

⁸¹ These forms are used in the sense ‘know how’ or ‘know a fact’ (for ‘know’ in the sense ‘know a person’, see ‘recognize’).

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
lean	v.i.			wémí	gégé	yéñè	yéñè	yéñà	yíéñò	yéñè	yéñè	yéñè	yéñà	yéḡ	yéñè	/j-	ye'ehé
lean	v.t.		yéyé	wéǵí	gégé	yéyè	yéyè	yéyè	yóyò	yíyà~yóyà	yóyà	yáyà	yéḡé	yéḡ	yéḡé	yáḡḡé	yóḡké
learn	v	yúen	kpé, téñé	kóí	kóǵáñ	kpí	kpí	kpí	kpínò	kpínè	kpínè	kpínì	kpéǵé	kpéǵ	kpéǵé	kpéǵé	kpíǵí
leg ⁸²	n	è-kpà/bè-	èkát/à-	ò-kò/bà-	ò-kò/bà-	è-kád/à-	è-kád/à-	è-kád/à-	è-sàn/à-	è-tá/à-	è-tá/à-	ò-tá/à-	ò-tá/-a	ì-kpàd/à-	ì-kpàdà/à-	è-tá/à-	è-kpàdè/à-
leopard	n	ñ-júkòṅ	m-gbè /ò-	ñ-kòì/bò-	ñ-kòn/bò-	ñm-gbè/ò-	ñm-gbè/ò-	ñm-gbè/ò-	ñm-gbè/ò-	ñm-gbè/è-	ñm-gbè/è-	ñm-gbè/ò-	ñm-gbè/ò-	ñm-gbè/à-	ñm-gbè/ù-	ñm-gbè/è-	ñm-gbè/è-
lie down	v	lál	nùñé	nímí	nùmúñ	nùñé	nùñí	nòñà	nuóñò	nòñò	nòñò	nòñò	nòñà	nòñí	nòñò	nà'òñò	ne'òñò
life	n	lè-yiel/bè-	è-kpín	è-kuèn	lè-kuèn	è-kpín	è-kpín	è-kpín	è-kpín	nè-kpèn	nè-kpèn	nè-kpèn	lì-kpèn/ñm-	ì-kpèn	ì-kpèn/ñm-	èkp-kpèn~è-	èl-kpín/ñm-
light s.t. ⁸³	v.t.	muóró	ñòé	ñuǵí	ñuòlé	ñòé	ñòé	ñòé	muóñò	mòñò	mòñò	mòñò	ñuòlé	ñuòlé	mòǵlò	ñá'alé	ñá'alé
limb (body) ⁸⁴	n		èyò/à-	è-yó/bè-	è-yóbè-	è-yó/à-	è-yó/à-	è-yó/à-	è-luò/à-	è-nò/à--bè-	è-nò/bi-	è-nò/à--bò-	è-rò/à-	ì-ró/à-	ì-ró/à-	---	---
liver ⁸⁵	n	lè-bàrò	àjñ	(bà-rém)	(bà-rém)	è-jìñ/à-	è-jìñ~jìñ/à-	è-jìñ/à-	è-miér/à-	è-gbêr/à-	è-gbêr/à-	ò-gbêr--gbêd/à-	è-ghèd/à-	ú-gèd/á-	ú-bèd/á-	è-jéd/á-	è-jid/á-
lizard (agama)	n	ì-néntór/be-also nóntór	é-káǵúyè/ñ-	é-pámpám/bé-	é-pámpám/bé-	é-káǵúyè/ñ-~bí-	é-káǵúyè/á-	é-káǵúyè/á-	é-buóyó/á-	é-bibòyó/á-	é-bibòyó/á-	ò-bóbòyó/á-	lì-sól/ñ-	ì-ǵòl/ñ-	ì-ǵòl/ñ-	és-sól/ñ-	èl-ǵòl/ñ-
look at	v	kél	kép, Bóré	mǵn	mǵn	bírì	bírì	bírì	yírò	bírì	bírì	bírì	kpòr	bír	kpòr,bírè	kpór	kpúr
louse	n	bù-buab	m̀bi/ò-	ñ-kòkòd/bò-kòd	ñ-kòkòr/bò-kòr	m̀bũ/ò-[b]	m̀bũ/ò-βũi	m̀bũ/ò-βĩ	m̀baánò/á-	m̀bàná/á-	m̀bàná/á-	m̀bàná/á-	m̀bòl/ò-	ñm-kpèr/á-	m̀bòl/á-	m̀bàl/è-	m̀bàl/è-
love ⁸⁶	v	lós	kòt	(<è-nún>)	(nún)	kǵd	kǵd	kǵd	kuòr	kòr	kòr	kòr	kòr,kòn, kìl	<ì-kǵr>	<ì-kǵr>	kòr	kòr
maize	n	bù-kwèl /bè-	ñkùì	(m̀búkpà/bò-)	(è-wákpà/ñ-)	ñ-kùì~ò-	ñ-kùì/ñ-kùì	ñ-kùì/ñ-kùì	(m̀màkpà/á-[β])	è-gù/á-	è-gù/á-	è-gù/á-	(è-gúbákpà/á-)	í-kùl/ñ-	í-kòl/ñ-	ñ-kìl/á-	èl-kòl/ñ-
make fire	v	dzwòm	kóré	fúǵí	kóré	kóré	kóré	kóré	kuóñò	kónò	kónò	kónò	kóré	kòr	kóró	kónó	kónó
mangrove (Rhizophora spp.)	n		ò-réñ/à-	ò-réñ/bà-	ò-réñ/bà--ñ-[d]	ò-réñ/à-	ò-réñ/à-	ò-réñ/à-	ò-sóñ/á-	ñ-sin/á-	ñ-sin/á-	ñ-sin/á-	ò-réñ/á-	í-réñéñ/á-	í-rèndéñé/á-	é-re'añé/á-	é-re'añé/á-
market ⁸⁷	n	kè-sé /kè-	ògòm /à-	è-fín/bè-	lè-fín/ñ-	ò-gim/à-	ò-gim/à-	ò-gim/à-	à-siè	à-sé	à-sé	à-sé	à-ré	à-ré	à-ré	à-ré	à-ré
mat ⁸⁸	n	bú-ké /bé-	è-kpà/ñm-	è-kpà/bè-	è-kpà/bè-	è-kpà/ñm-	è-kpà/ñm-	è-kpà/ñm-	è-kpà/á-	è-kpà/bè-	è-kpà/bò-	è-ròkpà/á-	è-kpà/bi-	ì-kpà/à-	ì-kpà/à-	è-kpà/èb-	è-kpà/èb
measure	v	kàn	gàè	kán	kán	gàè~gànè	gàè	gàè	gaárò	gàrâ	gàrà	gàrò	gàrà	gàní	gààn	gàré	gàré~ga'ar
medicine	n	bù-kàl /bè-	ñ-jân/à-	ñ-guèi/bà-	ñ-guán/bà-ñuán	ñ-jân/à-	ñ-jân/à-	ñ-jân/à-	è-tíkpà/ñ-	è-kám/ñ-	è-kòm/ñ-	è-kám/ñ-	é-té/à-	ì-lèñ/à-	ì-kòm/à-	è-kám/à-	è-kòm/à-
melt	v.t.	ñían	sáré	ñàní	ñànáñ	ñàné	ñàé	ñàé	ñàánò	ñàná	ñàná	ñàná	ñàné	ñàní	ñàná	ñánè	ñánè
money ⁸⁹	n	òbé	m̀bé, ñté	bà-kpògà	bè-kpògà	ñ-tí,à-kpùyà	ñ-tí,à-kpùyà	ì-tí/ñ-,ò-gbùyà	ò-kpùyò/à-	è-kpùyà/à-	à-kpùyà	à-kpùyà	à-kpùgà	à-ñèr	à-ñèr	è-kpòyò/à-	è-kpòyò/à-
mongoose ⁹⁰	n		è-βi/à-	ò-fifi/bà-	ò-fifi/bà-	è-βi/à-	è-βi/à-	è-βi/à-	è-yìyì/à-	è-bìbì/à-	è-bìbì/à-	ì-bìbì/à-	è-bìràm̀bì/à-	ì-bìrìmbì/à-	ì-bìrìmbì-à/	m̀bìr/è-	m̀bìr/è-
monkey	n	ò-bègù/è-	m̀bùk/ò-	m̀pòg/bò-	m̀pòg/bò-	m̀bũg/ò-[β]	m̀bũg/ò-[β]	m̀bũg/ò-[β]	m̀buǵg/ò-	m̀bòg/è-	m̀bòg/è-	m̀bòg/ò-	m̀bòg/ò-	m̀bòg/ù-	m̀bòg/ù-	m̀bòg/è-	m̀bì'ug/è-
moon ⁹¹	n	wùtùrò-àf àl, b̀nyén-m̀pám (archaic)		ò-fèñ/bà-	ò-fèñ/bà-	m̀mĩ/à-	m̀mĩ/à-	m̀mĩ/à-	m̀mĩé--mĩé/à-	m̀mĩé/à-	m̀mĩé/à-	m̀mĩé/à-	ñ'ñ-ññuè/à-	ù-ñuèr/à-	ù-mèr/à-	ñ-ñlñ/à-	ñ-ñèñ/à-

⁸² These forms refer to the 'lower leg (below the knee)'.

⁸³ These forms are used in the sense 'kindle a light'.

⁸⁴ These forms refer to 'limb of the body (arm or leg)'.

⁸⁵ The forms given in Nkum sub-group a-b are probably not immediately cognate with forms for 'heart' (q.v.) in the other languages.

⁸⁶ The forms in angle brackets (Ekparabong, Nkim and Nkum) are nominalizations of the verb since the 'imperative' could not be cited.

⁸⁷ The forms in sub-group m-u have no singular/plural alternation.

⁸⁸ These forms refer to floor mats (for sleeping) and not to roofing mats.

⁸⁹ The singular forms in minor sub-group t-u are used to mean 'sixpence'.

⁹⁰ see Talbot, in the shadow of the bush, p.466.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
mortar ⁹²	n	òkpàrò, òrwò	ófòn	è-kòkó/bè-	è-kòkó/bè-	é-βúyé/m-[b]	ó-fôn/á-	ó-tóm/á-	è-fáòñ/à-	è-fôn/bè-	è-fôn/bà-	è-fôn/bò-	è-fòm/bì-	ì-fòm/à-	ì-fòm/à-	é-fòm/á-	é-fùm/á-
mosquito	n	ómánenk	m-bóm/ó-	m- búmbúm/bà-	(jì-jàrànm/bò-)	m-bím/ó-[β]	m-bím/ó-	m-bím/á-	m-bú/á-	m-bú/à-	m-bú/à-	m-bú/à-	m-bó/à-	m-bó/à-	m-bó/à-	m-bó/à-	m-bú/á-
mother ⁹³	n	jiè	jì-jèn/à-	jì-jèn/bà-	jì-jèn/bà-	jì-jèn/à-	jì-jèn/à-	jì-jèn/à-	---	jì-jèè/bàp-	jì-jèè/bàp-	jì-jèè/bàp-	jì-jèn/bà-	jì-jìn/á-	jì-jèn	jì- jìn/bàp-	jì- jìn/bàp-jì- jìn
mould ⁹⁴	v	mwóŋ	móŋé	móŋ	mŋŋ	móŋè	móŋè,yém	móŋè,jém	mòŋ	mòŋ	mòŋ,tù	mòŋ,tù	mòŋ	mòŋí	mòŋ	máŋ	méŋ
mount	v	kwèn	gyút	(kóm)	(kóm)	yúđ	yúđ	yúđ	yár	yár	yár	yár	yúr	yúr	yúr	wár	wár
mountain	n	bù-kùel/ bè-	è-gwé/bì-	---	bè-kòkól/j-	è-gúé/bì--à-	è-gúí/à-	è-gúí/à-	è-gòñ/à-	è-gòñ/bè-	è-gòñ/bò-	è-gòñ/bò-	è-wóŋ/bì--à-	ì-gòl/à-	ì-gòl/à-	é- wə'ɔŋ/á-	é-wé'ɔŋ/á-
mushroom	n	ékpékpé, kéntáj	ò-βàp	ò-búb/bà-	è-bàbáb/m-báb	ò-βìb	ò-βìb	ò-βìb	è-wuò/à-	né-wò/á-	nó-wò/á-	nó-wò/á-	é-gò/á-	ì-gò/à-	ì-bò/à-	é-búà/á-	é-bàò/á-
nail (body) ⁹⁵	n	è-kikèl	è-ŋàrè/à-	è-ŋuàŋuàri/mi- ~bè-	è-ŋuàràŋ/bè-	è-ŋàrè/à-	è-ŋàrè/à-	è-ŋàrè/à-	ŋm- kpámaàrà/á-	m-maàŋà/á-	m-maàŋà/á-	é-maàŋà~m-/á-	è-ŋuàrà/à-	ì-ŋuàŋuàrà/à-	ì-màrà/à-	è- ŋe'anè/á-	è- ŋe'anè/á-
name	n	l(e)-lén/ á-	m-bìŋ/ò-	m-pí/bò-	n-náj/bà-[l]	m-bìŋ/ò-[β]	m-bìŋ/ò-	m-bìŋ/ò-[β]	m-bìŋ/à-	m-bìŋ/à-	m-bèŋ/à-	m-bèŋ~bìŋ/à-	m-bèŋ/à-	m-bèŋ/à-	m-bèŋ/à-	m- bi'en/á-	m-bì'ìŋ/á-
navel ⁹⁶	n	l(e)-lwób/ á-	ńtún/ó-	è-rún/bè-	lè-rún/ń-[d]	ń-tún/ó-	ń-gúŋ/ó-, é-tún/á-	ń-ŋún~é-/á-	ń-kòm	è- nè-tòŋ/ń-	nò-tòŋ/ń-	nò-tòŋ/ń-	lì-tún/ń-	ì-tàòŋ/à-	ì-tòŋ/à-	é-tàŋ~ét- /ń-	é-l-tòŋ-- tàŋ/ń-
near	adv	fáránj	kpét, kpérékpéré	kpédikpédi	kpédèkpédè	kpírìkpírì	kpírìkpírì	kpírìkpírì	bábà	kpérékpéré	kpérékpéré	kpérékpéré	kpékpédé	kpédìkpédì	kpédìkpédé	kpédèkpédé	kpédìkpédì
neck ⁹⁷	n	è-mèl	è-mè/à-	è-mèi/bè-	è-mèl/bè-	è-mè/à~bì-	è-mè/à-	è-mè/à~ bè-	è-mièn/à-	è-mèn/bè-	è-mèn-- mè/bò-	è-mèn/bè-	è-mèl/bì--à-	ì-mèl/à-	ì-mèl/à-	è-mèl/à-	è-mèl/à-
net	n	ńtúfú, òshèm		ò-sém/bà-	ò-rém/bà-	ò-sím/à-	ò-sím/à-	ò-sím/à-	ó-sím/á-	è-sím/à-	è-sím/à-	ò-sì/à-	ò-rím/à-	(ì-yèrì/á-)	(ì-yèrì/á-)	è-rém/à-	è-rím/à-
night	n	bù-cù	àtú	bò-rú	bò-rú	à-tú	à-tú	à-ŋú	è-táj à-tù	è-nókòn	è-nókòn	è-nókòn	à-làgítú	à-tú	à-tú	á-tú	á-tó
nose ⁹⁸	n	l(e)-lwél /á-	m-mí/ò-	ŋ-ŋuá/bò-	ŋ-ŋuá/bà-	m-mí/ò-	m-mí/ò-	jì-jí/ò-	m-máòñ/ò-	m-mín/à-	m-mín	m-mín/à-	ŋm-ŋmuól/à-	ŋ-ŋuól/à-	m-mól/à-	ŋm- wól/á-	ŋm-wól/á-
obtain	v	yélí		kún	kún	kín	fón	fón	bièn	bèn	bèn	kó	bèl	---	---	bèl	bèl
oil	n	mwòr	àkú	bà-kú	bà-kú	à-kú	à-kú	à-kú	à-kuú	à-kuú	à-kú	à-kuú	à-kú	à-kúr	à-kór	á-kòŋ	á-kiŋ
one ⁹⁹	nu	é-mê	yót, fát, bhát, mát, jót, jót, bhát, yót	yíd	jíd	jíd	dzíd	zízí	é-jiì	é-ji	jì-jiì	jì-ráj	jì-jì-ráj	jì-jò-ráj	á-jòŋ	á-jíŋ	
open ¹⁰⁰	v	fwé, kwóblí	ràbé	riβ~dìbì	ràbág	dìbβ~riβè	<fl.>	yìβì	ziβà	jìβì	jìbì	riβì	riβì	riβì	ràbè	lə'ŋŋè	lə'ŋŋè
order ¹⁰¹	v			bábì	bábáj	βáβè	βáβè	---	---	---	---	---	bábè	gbèè	bábà	bábé	bábé
owner	n	bù-jén	m-fóné/à-	mìŋ-fóní/bà-	ŋ-fóné/bà-	ŋ-fóné/à-	ŋ-fóné/à-	ŋ-fóné/à-	ŋ-fuóná/à-	ŋ-fónó/àbà-	ŋ-fónó/àbà-	ŋ-fónó/àbà-	ŋ-fóné/bà-	ŋ-fón-- fóní/àbà-	ŋ-fón/à-	ŋ-fón/à-	ŋ-fón/à-
paddle	n		n-sòm/à-	jì-sòm/bò-	jì-fòm/bà-	jì-sòm/à-	jì-sòm/à-	jì-sòm/à-	jì-suòm/à-	jì-sò/à-	jì-sò/à-	jì-sò/à-	jì-sò/à-	jì-fòm/à-	jì-fòm/à-	jì-sò/à-	jì-fòm/à-
paddle	v	fwó		fũg	fũŋ	βúyè	βúyì	βúyì	fí	fí	fí	fí	fí	fèŋí	fèŋ	fíèŋ	fíŋ
pain, sickness ¹⁰²	n	òyám		bò-sáj	---	ò-yám	è-yém/bì-	ò-yám-- yám	ò-yám/à-	è-yám/à-	è-yám/à-	ò-yám/à-	ò-yám/à-	ù-yám/à-	ù-yám/à-	é-yám/á-	é-yám/á-

⁹¹ 1. The form given in Nkum sub-group f-h is 'archaic'. 2. The compound construction currently used as the word for 'moon' in Nkum sub-group f-h below which means approximately 'animal of the heavens'.

jì-jàm ó-sò jì-jàm ó-sò jì-jàm ó-sò

⁹² N Etung also has the form é-βúyé~βúyé/m-[b].

⁹³ 1. In Efutop the word for 'mother' can only be used in possessive constructions and could not be cited in isolation. 2. There is another form in languages n-p which is only used in a construction with personal pronouns.

ń-ná/bán- ń-ná/bán- ń-ná/bán-

⁹⁴ These forms are used especially in the sense 'mould pots'.

⁹⁵ These forms refer to fingernails, toenails, or the claws or talons of animals and birds.

⁹⁶ The second form in N Etung means 'protruding navel'.

⁹⁷ of the two plural prefixes in Ebanyom, the first is appropriate for use with 'humans' and the second with 'animals'.

⁹⁸ There is no singular/plural alternation for this form in Nselle.

⁹⁹ As this word shows concord by changing its initial consonant, it is not very useful for comparative wordlists. See Ejagham for the full range of possible forms

¹⁰⁰ N Etung riβì~dìβì~dìβè~dìβè.

¹⁰¹ 'Order' here does not mean 'command', but rather 'place an order for something (most often palm wine) in advance'.

¹⁰² The forms in Ekparabong, Bendeghe, N Etung and Efutop mean 'pain' while the others (n-u) mean 'sickness'.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
palm bud	n			(ŋ-kóŋkóm/bò-)	(ŋ-ŋòŋ/bà-)	m-búm/à-[β]	ì-βúm,m-[b]/à-	ì-βúm,m-[b]/à-	m-bóm/à-	m-bóm/à-	m-bóm/à-	m-boóm/à-	m-bóm/à-	ì-bíbóm/m-	ì-bíbómó/m-	é-b-bóm-m- /à-	é-l-búm/à-
palm civet (<i>Nandinia binotata</i>)	n		m-pà/bò-	m-pà/bò-	m-bàε/ò-[β]	m-bàε/ò-[β]	m-bàε/ò-[β]	m-bàn/à-	m-bàn/à-	m-bàr/è-	m-bàn/à-	m-bàr/ò-	m-bàr/à-	m-bàrà/à-	m-bàr/è-	m-bàr/à-	
palm kernel ¹⁰³	n	màmà, màmàŋ	m-bàŋ	m-pǎŋ	m-pǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ--bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ--bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-bǎŋ	m-be' aŋ	m-be' aŋ
palm tree	n	ò-bór	ò-βí/à-	bò-bó/m-	bò-bó/m-	ò-βí/à-	ò-βí/à-	ò-βí/à-	ò-yí/à-, m- bónnó/à-	è-bii/à-	è-bí/à-	ò-bii/à-	ò-bí/m-	ù-bír/m-	ù-bír/m-	é-bóŋ/m-	é-bóŋ/m-
palm wine	n	mòm	àmàm	(bà-ròg/ŋ-[d])	(bà-ròg/ŋ-[d])	à-ím	à-mǐm-- ím	à-mǐm	ŋ-sí/ò-	à-mǎm	à-mǎm	à-mǎm	ám,à-mǐm-- mǔm	à-mímí	à-mǎm	à-mλm	à-mòm
pare, peel ¹⁰⁴	v	kpár	kpám	kói	kólóg	kpám	kpám	kpám	kuóná~kuónà	kónò	kónò	kónò	kólé	kól	kólò	kóló	kóló
parrot	n	bè-wè	è-gùt/à-	ŋ-kùràkàŋ/bò-	ŋ-kòròkàŋ/bà-	è-gùd/à-	è-gùd/à-	è-gùd/à-	ó-kpùkpuó/à-	é-girókòkò/à-	é- gbirókòkò/à-	é-gbàròkò/ó-	é-gòr-- gòrkòkò/à-	ì-dígor/à-	ì-gòr/à-	é-gòr/à-	é-gùr/à-
part ¹⁰⁵	n	èbó	ŋkírì	è-bǎd/bè-	è-bǎr/bè-	è-βǎd/à-	è-βǎd/à-	è-βǎd/à-	è-záà/à-	è-jáà/à-	è-jáà/à-	è-jáà/à-	è-jáà/à-	ì-jâr/à-	ì-jâr/à-	é-je' aŋ/à-	é-je' aŋ/à-
pass ¹⁰⁶	v	lwè	céŋ	kíŋ	kóŋ	ŋŋŋ	ŋŋŋ	ŋŋŋ	síŋ	síŋ	síŋ	síŋ	séŋ	ŋ-jêŋ	ŋ-jêŋ	sóŋ	ŋ-jóŋ
pay	v.i.	gál	góm	kái	kál	góm	góm	góm	gàn	gàn	gàn	gàn	gál	gálí	gàál	gál	gál
peer, stare ¹⁰⁷	v	kél	fè	(kédí)	fě	fèé,fěd	fě,fěd	fě,fěd	fíé~fíé	fěé	fè	fèé	fèr	fèrí	fèér	fλŋ	fòŋ
peg ¹⁰⁸	v		táp	tób	kóm,lób	kúm,tíb	kúm,tíb	kúm,tíb,jím	zóm mò	jèmé	jèmmè	jèmmè	jùmí	jímí,kóm	jòám,kóm	jλ' mmè	jò' mmè
penis ¹⁰⁹	n		ŋtóné	ŋ-séb/bò-	ŋ-děb/bò-[r]	ŋ-tiné/ò-	ŋ-tíní/ò-	ŋ-tíní/ò-	ò-si/à-	<1.>	<1.>	ò-si/à-	ò-ri/à-	ù-ri/à-	ù-ri/à-	è-ri/à-	è-ri/à-
person	n	mòm <i>pl.</i> bòm	ŋ-nè/à-	mì-nè/bà-	ŋ-nè/bà-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-niè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-	ŋ-nè/à-
pestle	n	èsè	ŋ-ŋòk/à-	mìŋ-jòg/bà-	ŋ-jòg/bà-	ŋ-ŋòg/à-	ŋ-ŋòg/à-	ŋ-ŋòg/à-	ŋ-suòg/à-	ŋ-sòg/à-	ŋ-sòg/à-	ŋ-sòg/à-	ŋ-sòg/à-	ŋ-ŋòg/à-	ŋ-ŋòg/à-	ŋ-sò' g/à-	ŋ-ŋè' g/à-
pick up ¹¹⁰	v	dzàŋ	jáp, βúp, yúŋ	kún	kún	kín,tám	kín,tám	kún	sóŋ,tùn	tòn	tòn	tòn	táb	têr	têr	táb	táb
pig(bush) ¹¹¹	n	bèkwèlò ¹¹²	ŋ-gùmé/ò-	ŋ-kòyòg/bò-	ŋ-kòlóg/bò-	ŋ-gùmé/ò-	ŋ-gùmé/ò-	ŋ-gùmì/ò-	ŋ-gùmó/ò-	ŋ-gòmó/é-	ŋ-gòmó/é-	ŋ-gòmó/ò-	ŋ-gòmó/ò-	ŋ-gòm/ù-	ŋ-gòmó/ù-	ŋ- go'omò/é-	ŋ- gu'umù/é-
place	n	è-jì/ bè-	è-jì <i>pl.</i> ŋgwém	ŋ-fóm/bò-, é- kpén/bè-	ŋ-fóm/bò-, é- kpén/bè-	è-ji/ŋ-gúm	è-ji/ŋ-gúm	è-hí/ŋ-gúm	ŋ-fùm/à-	ŋ-fòm/à-	ŋ-fò/à-	ŋ-fò/ò-	ŋ-fòm/à-	ì-dí/à-	ì-dí/à-	è- é-ji/à-	è- é-di/à-
plantain ¹¹³	n	kùŋkwàm /è-	è-gòmé/bi-	é-kómí/bé-	é-kómòŋ/bè-	è-gòmé/bi-	è- gòmé/bi-	è- gòmé/à-	é-guòmá/á-	é-gòmó/ŋ-	é-gòmó/ŋ-	é-gògòmó/ŋ-	é-jògá/ŋ-	í-jìjòg á- tàn/ŋ-	í-jìjòg/á-	é- gbíjòg/á-	é- gbájèg/á-
plate ¹¹⁴	n	kára	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/bà-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/bà-	è- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à- ~é-	è- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à- ~é-	è- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à- ~é-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à-	ŋm- gbàŋmgbàŋ/à- ~é-kpéŋ/á-	í-kpéŋ/á	í-kpéŋ/á-	ŋm- gbe' aŋmg be' aŋ/à-	ŋm- gbe' aŋmg be' aŋ/à-
play	v	dùm	ŋàyé	---	---	ghàyé	ŋàyé	ŋàyé	sòyò	siyá	sògà	sòyà	sàgà	ŋàgí	ŋàgà	---	ŋe' ayè
Pound (£) ¹¹⁵	n		pâŋ	pâŋ	pâŋ/à-	pâŋ/à-	pâŋ/à-	pòŋ~pâŋ	puòŋ~pâŋ~m- pâŋ	m-pâŋ	m-pλŋ	m-pλŋ~m-pòŋ	m-pòŋ/à--m- pâŋ/à-	í-pâŋ/m--í- pòŋ	í-pâŋ/m-	m-pòŋ/à-	m- pe' aŋ/à- ~m-pá-

¹⁰³ a mass noun with no singular/plural alternations.

¹⁰⁴ These forms are used especially to refer to the paring (or 'peeling') of yams.

¹⁰⁵ These forms refer to parts (e.g. parts of a yam) which result from cuts made lengthwise so that the 'parts' are long and 'flat' rather than cross-sections.

¹⁰⁶ These forms exhibit the same root as that of 'profit' (q.v.) and are almost identical with 'surpass' (q.v.).

¹⁰⁷ 1. The first form listed in the languages of Nkum sub-group f-h mean 'peer' and the second mean 'peer inside'. 2. The form given for Balep is 'rare'. 3. the form in Ekparabong may well be cognate with the forms in the other languages.

¹⁰⁸ These forms have the special meaning of 'fix sticks in the ground'.

¹⁰⁹ Nde and Nselle *è-si~mànsi/à-bìrànsi*.

¹¹⁰ The second form in Bendeghe and N Etung is used with 'big, heavy things'.

¹¹¹ Probably the Giant Forest hog

¹¹² Type of pig unknown

¹¹³ general name for both plantains and bananas.

¹¹⁴ 1. The first form in Ebanyom means 'pan'. 2. The form in Ekajuk means 'big basin'.

¹¹⁵ The inflected forms are rarely used, especially in counting

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
powder ¹¹⁶	n			m-pùg	m-pùg	ŋ-fìg	ŋ-fìg	ŋ-fìg	à-fifiè	à-fifòg	è-fifòg /à-	è-fòfòg /à-	li-fùg	ì-fùfùg /à-	ì-fòfòg /à-	à-fifòg	à-fifòg
print, spoor, track	n		è-jàré/à-	bà-sǎ	è-kpàdàg/bè-	è-jǎd/à-	è-jàré/à-	è-jàr]ám	é-zǎ/á-	nè-jǎ/à-	nè-jǎ/à-	nò-jǎ-nà-/à-	l'í-jǎ/à-	ì-jàri~jǎr/à-	ì-jǎr/à-	é-tá/á-	è-kpàdè/à-
profit ¹¹⁷	n	ntsónj	òrùré	jì-fìŋ	jì-sàŋ	jì-fìŋ	jì-fìŋ,(ò-rùrí)	jì-fìŋ,(ò-rùrí.ŋ-kùní)	jì-síŋ	jì-síŋ	jì-síŋ	jì-síŋ	jì-sèŋ	jì-fèlí~fèl	jì-fèlé	jì-sàŋ	jìfòŋ
pumpkin ¹¹⁸	n	m̀bwóní		é-kám̀bè/íj-	lé-kám̀bè/íj-	íj-kám̀bè	é-kám̀bè/á- ~íj-	íj-kám̀bè	<1.>	né-kám̀bè/íj-	nò-kám̀bè/íj-	nò-kám̀bè/íj-	lí-kám̀bè/íj-	íj-kám̀bè	íj-kám̀bè	íj-kím̀bè	íj-kám̀bè
purge ¹¹⁹	v	sám	sám	sám	rám	sám	---	sám	fó	wùrú	wùrú	wùrú	wùr,rám	tòb	tóbálà	wòŋ	wóŋ
put down ¹²⁰	v	swèd ¹²¹	súé	sìbí	rìbí	júí	júí~súí	súí	sónò	sinè	sónè	sénè	rúdí	rúd	róddò	ráddé	ródté
put up ¹²²	v		kùnè	ŋórí	rígí	kùnè	kùnè~kùn í	kùní	kónò	kinò	kònò	kònò	kònè	kòní	kònò	kónò	kùnù
put(in)	v	wómò, wómú	kák	(lán)	(lán)	kǎg	kǎg	kǎg	kòg	kàg	kàg	kàg	kàg	kàgí	kaàg	kòàg	kèàg
rain	v	né	nǎ	nǎ	nǎ	nǎ	nǎ	nǎ	nà	nà	nà	nà	nà	nàâ	nàâ	nâ	nâ
rainy season	n	èpòŋ	ènàè	ò-bákóí	ò-bákól	ènàè	ènàè	ènàè	n-nàná	n-nàná	n-nàná	n-nàná	n-nálè	n-nàl	n-nàlà	n-nálè	n-nálè
rat ¹²³	n	bèwór	m̀bè	m̀-`pèb/bò-	m̀-`pèb/bò-	---	m̀-`bè/ò- [β]	m̀-`bè/ò-[β]	m̀-`biè/ò-	m̀-`bè/è-	m̀-`bè/è-	m̀-`bè/ò-	m̀-`bè/ò-	m̀-`bè/ù-	m̀-`bè/ù-	---	m̀-`bè/è-
receive	v	ywór	tàβé	rèní	rámánj	tàβ	tàβé	tàβé	taáβò	tàβá	tàbà	tàβà	tàbè	tàbí	tàrà	ta'arè	ta'arè
recognize	v	tsóní	rìŋé	rèní	rèŋén	rìŋí	rìŋí	rìŋí	díŋŋà	rèŋé	rèŋè	rèŋè	rèŋé	rèŋí	rèŋé	le'eŋè	lí'ìŋí
redness ¹²⁴	n	èpèn, èpén [be red]	βé [be red]	é-béá/bé-	é-bélé/bé-	é-bíí/á	é-βí/à-	é-βíá/á-	é-biíá/á-	m̀-`blní/à-	m̀-`blní/á	m̀-`bini/à-	m̀-`bélá/á-	í-bébél/á-	ì-bébél/à-	m̀-`bélé/á-	m̀-`bíli/á-
reject	v	twén [refuse]	tén refuse, forbid	(kéb)	rén	tén	tén	tén	tién	tén	tén	tén	tén	tén	tén	tén	tén
remain	v	rwàb	ká, kǎt	ŋá	já	ŋá, kíđ	kíđ	kíđ	fién	sàà	sá	sàà	sá	já	jágà	sá	já
repeat	v		βàβé	lóní	tòróg	βàβé	βàβé	βàβé	baáβò	bàná	bànà	bànà	bàlé	jòrí	jòró	ba'alè	ba'alè
resemble	v	jíe, jǎró	fóŋé	bédí	guédánj	fóŋé	fóŋé	fóŋé	fuóŋò	fóŋò	bànà	bànà	bànà	fóŋá	fóŋò	fə'əŋò	fe'əŋò
return ¹²⁵	v.i.	jén	kúré	búg	búg	kúrí	kúrí	kúrí	kórá	kúrù	kórá	kórá	kúrí	kúr	kórò	kóré	kíŋé
rice	n	áráshì	érésì	é-rísi/bé-	é-rísi/bé-	é-rèsi	é-rèsi~é-	é-rèsi~á-	é-rísi	à-rási	à-rási	à-rási	á-rásí	á-ráŋí	á-ráŋí	á-rási	á-ráŋí
rinse	v	júní	jáyé	jàdí	jàgár	jáyé	jáyé	jáyé	faáyò	fáyà	fáyà	fáyà	fárè	fár	fàrà	fa'arè	fa'arè
river	n	ì-púòm/ bèi-, mpuóm (P)	à-yà	bà-yà	bà-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà	à-yà
roof ¹²⁶	n	àfàl [= 'sky']	è-βwì/à-	è-bújì-jù/bè-	lè-bòlè/m-	è-βùè/à--bì-	è-βùí/à-	è-βùí/à- ~bè-	è-bùn/à-	nè-bìnò/m-	nò-bìnò/m-	nò-bònò/m-	li-bòlè/m-	ì-bòl/á-	ì-bòlò/à-	èb- bòlò/m-	èl-bùlù/m-
root	n	è-li/ bè-	irùk	mìn-dǔg/bà-[r]	n-dǔg/bà-[r]	bì-yìŋì/à-	ì-yìŋì/à-	è-yìŋà/à-	n-duóŋ/à-	n-dóŋ/à-[r]	n-dǔg/à-[r]	n-dóŋ/à-[r]	n-dǔg/à-[r]	n-dǔg/à-[r]	n-dóŋ/à-[r]	n-lòg/à-	n-lòg/à-
rope	n	bù-lwò/ bè-	n-dék /à-	mìn-dígí/bà-[l]	n-nígí/bà-[l]	n-dígí/à-[r]	n-dígí-- dígí~dígí/ à-[r]	n-dígí/à-[r]	n-líyá/à-	n-nígí/à-	n-négé/à-	n-níyí/à-	n-nígí/à-[l]	n-nígí/à-[l]	n-nóŋé/à-[l]	n-lòŋé/à-	n-lòŋé/à-
rotten, be rub ¹²⁷	v	pwàl	éŋáe (n.)	fǎl	fǎl	βòé	βòé	βòé	buòn	bòn	bòn	bòn	bòlè,bòl	bòlí	bòól	ból	ból
	v	jǐ	jéghé, kók,	sámí	támánj-tábánj	jòmè	jòmè	jòmá,támá	taámà	támá	támá	támá	támé	támí	támá	ta'amè	ta'amè

¹¹⁶ refers to the 'powder made by insects'.¹¹⁷ These forms exhibit the same root as that of 'pass' (q.v.).¹¹⁸ Efutop 'pumpkin fruit' è-dámámbiè, 'pumpkin leaf' è-ŋuómbiè/à-.¹¹⁹ 1. These forms are used in the sense 'discharge bowels'. 2. The second member of the construction in Nkum means 'intestines'.¹²⁰ These forms are used particularly in the sense 'put down from head'.¹²¹ 'put into'¹²² These forms are used in the sense of 'put on top of'.¹²³ The forms in N Etung and Abanyom are 'archaic'.¹²⁴ Nkim also has the variant ì-bébél/à-.¹²⁵ These forms are used in the sense 'come home'.¹²⁶ The form in Efutop is usually the first member of the construction è-bùn á ñ-zù/à-bùn ó ó-zù ('covering of the house') with the same meaning.

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
run	v	gbál	nyùk, β'ómè	gbidí	mùrí	táyè	táyè	β'énâ	bié	bê	bê	bê	bénâ	tòbí	tòbò	bé	bé
salt	n	kè-myáj /kè-	ákân	mìṅ-káj	ṅ-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj	à-káj
scorpion	n	kájká mó	ènyàṅkìṅ	ṅ-náj/bò-	ṅ-nântâ/bá-	---	---	ì-nâ/ṅ-	ṅ-nóṅ/à-	ṅ-nàṅtâ/á-	ṅ-nlṅ/à-	é-nlṅ/bò-	ṅ-nàṅtâ/á-	ṅ-nàṅ/ù-	ṅ-nàṅ/ù-	ṅ-ne' aṅ/é-	ṅ-ne' aṅ/á-
scrape	v	gbòr, fwór	fét, wúyè	(kóm, féð)	(kóm, f'ér)	kpâm	kpâm	kpâm	kpám	kpâm	kpâ	kpâ	kpâm	kpâm	kpâm	kpâm	kpâm
scratch	v	yyá	wóṅé	wón	wón	wóṅè	wóṅè	úóṅà, kpüd	wuóṅà	wóṅò	wóṅò	wóṅò	wóṅà	wóṅ	wóṅò	we' oṅó	we' oṅó
see	v	kél	yén	(rǒ)	(rǒ)	yén	yén	yén	ṅṅ	yéè	yé	yéè	yén	yéd	ṅṅ	ṅín-ṅén	ṅín
seed	n	ìpòm/ b'è-	m̀m̀àṅyè	m̀- m̀ùnì/ m̀- b̀ùnì	m̀- m̀ùṅ/ m̀- b̀ùṅ	m̀- m̀ìyè/ à-	m̀- m̀ìyè/ à-	m̀- m̀ìyà/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-	m̀- m̀- m̀- g/ à-
sell ¹²⁸	v	ḡe	gùré	ḡṳ	kòré	gùré	gùré~gùrí	gùrí	gùrò	gòrò	gòrò	gòrò	gòré	gòrí	gòrò	gò' oṅò	gì' uṅù
set fire to	v.t	dzwòm	féyè, réyè	---	jám	jím...	jím...	jím...	zòm~zóm m̀	jémè	jóm m̀	jóm m̀	jùm	jím...	jóm...	jám	jám
seven ¹²⁹	nu	-táne + - puál	ḡégisá	<--->	<--->	<--->	<--->	<--->	í-zá	à-sím m̀	à-sím m̀	à-sím m̀	à-rím m̀	à-rím íní	ì-rím íní	è-sím m̀	è-b' fím
sew ¹³⁰	v			jím	jám	jím	jím	dzím	zòm	jám	jám	jám	jùm	(kòr)	j'óám	jám	jém
shake ¹³¹	v.t.			ṅìṅí	ṅìṅín	ṅìṅí	ṅìṅí	ṅèṅé	ṅìṅṅ	ṅèṅé	ṅèṅé	ṅèṅé	ṅèṅé	ṅèṅí~ṅèṅí	ṅèṅé	ṅé' eṅé	ṅé' eṅé
shame	n			ṅ-són	ṅ-dón	ṅ-són	ṅ-són	ṅ-són	ṅ-suón	ṅ-són	ṅ-són	ṅ-són	ṅ-són	ṅ-dón	ṅ-dón	ṅ-dón/à- [r]	ṅ-dón
share ¹³²	v			kéní	kénáj	kírí	kírí	kírí	baájṅ	bàṅà	bàṅà	bàṅà	bàṅà	bàṅí	bàág	be' aṅé	be' aṅé
sharpen ¹³³	v			sáí, ḡóbí	rál	βájṅè	βájṅè	βájṅè	sán	biṅà	bòṅà	bòṅà	bájṅé	bájṅ	bájṅ	be' aṅé	be' aṅé
shine	v			bád	bár	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá	yá
shoulder	n			è-p'èp'ég/b'è- ṅṳ	è-p'èg/b'è- tám	è-fájṅ/à- ró m̀è~dó m̀è, ṅṳ	è-fájṅ/à- ró m̀è~dó m̀è, ṅṳ	è-fájṅ/à- ró m̀è, ṅṳ	è-fájṅ/à- tám	è-fájṅ/b'è- tém m̀è	è-fájṅ/b'è- tém m̀è	è-fájṅ/b'è- tém m̀è	è-b'èg/à- gból	ì-b'èg/à- ḡim	ì-b'èg/à- ḡám	è-b'èg/à- gból	è-b'èg/à- gból
shove	v.tr.																
show ¹³⁴	v			tóṅí	tóṅé	tóṅè	tóṅè	tóṅè	túṅṳ	tíṅṳ	tóṅṳ	tóṅṳ	tóṅé, téb	tóṅ, téb	téb	táóṅ, téb	téóṅ, tíb
shut ¹³⁵	v.tr.			bám	bám	βám	βám	βám	(gbáà)	bám, (gbájṅ)	bá	---	bám	bám	bám	bám	bám
side	n			ṅ-káj káj/b'ò-	ṅ-káj káj/bà-	è-gbájṅ/à-	è-gbájṅ/à-	è-gbájṅ/à-	ṅm-gbájṅ/à-	ṅm-gbájṅ/à-	ṅm-gbájṅ/à-	ṅm-gbájṅ/à-	ṅm-gbájṅ/à-	ì-gbájṅ~ṅm- /à-	ì-gbájṅ/ṅm- /à-	ṅm- gbe' aṅé/à-	ṅm- gbe' aṅé/à-
silk-cotton tree ¹³⁶	n	mbwóm, bú-bòm /b'è-	okám	bò-kím/bà-	bò-kám/ṅ-	ò-kím/à-	ò-kím/à-	ò-kím/à-	ò-kám/à-	è-kám/à-	è-kám/à-	ò-kám/à-	ò-kím/ṅ-	ù-kím/à-	ù-kóm/à-	è-kám/à-	è-kám/à-
<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>																	
sing	v			kón	kón	kón	kón	kón	kuón	(yím)	(yí)	(yì)	(tòm)	kón	(tòòm)	(yé m)	(yím)
sink	v.i.			téd	tér	téd	téd	téd	tiér	tér	tér	tér	tér	---	---	tér	tér
sit ¹³⁷	v			kímí	bínóṅ	kùmé	kùmé	kùmá, jòé	zuón	jón	jón	jò	jól	bím	bímé	jíá	jí
skin ¹³⁸	n			ṅ-kòb	ṅ-kòb	ṅ-gù/ò-	ṅ-gù/ò-	ṅ-gù/ò-	ṅ-gùgù/à-	ṅ-gù/à- kpájṅgù	ṅ-gù/à- kpájṅgù	ṅ-gù/à-	ṅ-gò/à-	ṅ-gòbji/à-	ṅ-gòbji/à-	ṅ-gò/à-	ṅ-gù/à-
slave	n			mìṅ-sòb/bà-	ṅ-dòb/bà-[r]	ṅ-súṅ/à-	ṅ-súṅ/à-	ṅ-súṅ/à-	ṅ-zú/ò-	ṅ-jò/à-	ṅ-jò/à-	ṅ-jú/à-	ṅ-jò/à-	ṅ-jò/à-	ṅ-jò/à-	ṅ-jò/à-	ṅ-jù/à-
sleep	v			lái	lál	yáe	yáe	yáe	lán	nán	nán	nán	lál	lál	lál	lál	lál
slip	v.i.			sòrí	ròlóg	sòβè	sòβè	sòβè, sìrí	suòβà	sòβò, sìrí	sòβò, sìrí	sòβò, sìrí	ròbè	ròb	ròbò	rò' oṅó	rò' oṅó
smallpox	n			à-kpájṅ	à-kírì	à-kpájṅ	à-kpájṅ	à-kpájṅ	ṅ-kír-ò--à-	à-kírì	à-kírì	à-kírì	à-kírì	à-kírì	à-kírè	à-kírè	à-kírè
smell	v.t.			wúní	wúnáj	yúni	yúni	yúnà	ṅiéndò	yúnù	yúnù	yúnù	ṅúnà	yúṅ	yóṅò	wínó	wíné

¹²⁷ The second form in S Etung is 'archaic'.¹²⁸ These forms are to be compared with 'buy'.¹²⁹ Sub-groups a-b and f-h have constructions involving 'four and three'.¹³⁰ 1. Nkim *jimí* means 'stab'. 2. this verb generally also has the meaning of 'pierce' or 'jab'.¹³¹ The form in Efutop means 'bend sideways'.¹³² These forms are to be compared with 'divide'.¹³³ The first form in Ekparabong means 'sharpen a blade or a knife' and the second means 'sharpen a point'.¹³⁴ The first forms in Nnam and Ekajuk mean 'tell'.¹³⁵ 1. The divergent forms in Efutop and Nde above are cognates of forms glossed as 'lock' (q.v.). 2. The first form in Nde is 'archaic'.¹³⁶ This is the 'cotton tree' (*Ceiba pentandra*) Efik *ukim, ukum*.¹³⁷ The form in Ebanyom also means 'be present, on the spot'.¹³⁸ These forms are more usually used in constructions in the following languages;

ṅ-kòb b'è-kè ṅ-kòb b'è-kì ṅ-gòb jìṅ/à-gòb jìṅ ṅ-gùb jìṅ/à-gùb jìṅ

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
smoke	n		è-lílfí	bà-jín	á-túg	á-úg	à-ŋúg	é-títig/á-	á-títig	é-títig/á-	á-títig/á-	á-títig/á-	à-túg	à-tútúg	à-tótóg	á-títóg	á-títóg
smooth ¹³⁹	v		sámí	kógór	kóg, ʃómè	kóg, góg, ʃómè	kóg, ʃómà	guóyò	gbóyò	gbóyò	gbóyò	gbóyò	gbógè	rób	róbò	gbá'ógó	gbe'oyó
snail	n		ŋ-kó/bò-	ŋ-kò/bò-	ŋ-kó/ò-	ŋ-kó/ò-	ŋ-kó/ò-	ŋ-kuó/ò-	ŋ-kó/è-	ŋ-kó/è-	ŋ-kó/ò-	ŋ-kó/ò-	ŋ-kó/ò-	ŋ-kó/ù-	ŋ-kó/ù-	ŋ-kó'oy/è-	ŋ-ke'oy/è-
snake	n		ŋ-jó/bò-	ŋ-jó/bò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-juó/ó-	ŋ-jó/è-	ŋ-jó/è-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ò-	ŋ-jó/ù-	ŋ-jó/ù-	ŋ-jó/è-	ŋ-jó/è-
soup	n		bè-sò/mìŋ-	bè-rò/n-[d]	ò-sěb/à-	ì-sú/ŋ-	ì-sú/ŋ-	é-kikiě/á-	be-sò/ŋ-	bì-sò/ŋ-	à-sò	à-sò	bì-ròr/n-[d]	ù-rèn/à-	ù-rèn/à-	á-bínè	á-bínè
speak	v		ʃód	ʃód	ʃód	ʃód	ʃód	dóg	rág	rág	rág	rág	bòŋ	bòŋ	bòŋ	bá'oy	bí'uy
spear	n		é-dób/bé-	é-dób/bé-	é-rób/bí-	é-rób/bí-	é-rób/á-	è-kòŋ/à-	nè-kòŋ/ŋ-	nò-kòŋ/ŋ-	nò-kòŋ/ŋ-	nò-kòŋ/ŋ-	lí-kòŋ/ŋ-	í-kòŋ/á-	í-kòŋ/ŋ-	èk-	èl-ke'oy/ŋ-
spine ¹⁴⁰	n		è-kòŋ/bè-	è-kòŋ/bè-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ á jì-zəm/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	è-kòŋ/à-	ì-kòŋ á jì-ŋìŋ/à-	í-kòŋó jì-jàm	è-ke'oy jì-jàm/à-	è-ke'oy jì-jàm/à-
spirit ¹⁴¹	n		mì-nám/bà-[l]	ñ-nám/bà-lám	ñ-dím/à-[r]	ñ-dím/à-[r]	ñ-dím/à-[r]	(ñ-zíé/à-)	bè-nám/ñ-	ñ-ním/à-	à-dindim	ñ-nám/à-[l]	ñ-nám/ù-[l]	ñ-nám/ù-[l]	ñ-lám/à-	ñ-ním/é-b-[l]	ñ-ním/é-b-[l]
spit, spray	v.i.		púm	póm	fím	fím	fím	fóm	fùm	fâòm	fôm	fôm	fím	fím	fím	fám	fôm
squat ¹⁴²	v		ɲúdu	kúdúm	kíbè	kíbè	kábà	kómò	kuù	kù	kuù	kuù	kúmà	kôm	kómò	kómé	kímé
squeeze ¹⁴³	v		kám, kǎb	kám, kǎb	kâm	kâm	kâm	kám	kámà	kámà	kámà	kámà	kâm	kâm	kámà	ka'amé	ka'amé
stand	v.i.		lámí	lámáŋ	yímì	yímì	yímá	yíimò	yimì	yémè	yimì	yémá	yém	yém	yémè	ye'emé	yí'imí
steal	v		jíb	jób	jũ	jũ	jũ	yú	yù	yù	yù	yù	yù	yù	yù	wú	ó
stir	v		bùdí	bùrúg, kpégéd	βíŋ, kpígí	βíŋ, sigí	βíŋ, sigí, ʃíβí	kpi'ygò	kpéyè, bùrù	kpéyè, bùrù	kpéyè, bùrù	kpéyè, bùrù	bùrí	búrí~b'rí	birò	bu'urù	birè~bó'ŋ
stop(1)	v		gǎ	gǎ	dèè	dèè	dèè	guó	gò	gò	gò	gò	dè, ló	kím	kómmó	ráyé	ráyé
stop(2) ¹⁴⁴	v		sóbí	róbé	kímì	kímì	kímì	yúrò	yòrò	yòrò, kǎbè	yòrò	yòrò	yòr, kémè	yòrí, kêm	kémè	kémé	kímí
suck	v		yáb	gáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb	yáb
surpass ¹⁴⁵	v		kíŋ	kóŋ	ʃíŋì	ʃíŋì	ʃíŋì	(gà)	(gà)	(gà)	(gà)	(gà)	sâŋ. (gà)	ʃèŋ	ʃèŋ	sóŋ	ʃóŋ
swallow	v		měi	mèlég	mě~mèè	mě	mě	miénl	mènè	mènè	mènè	mènè	mèlé	mèlí	mèlé	mélè	mélè
sway ¹⁴⁶	v.i.		fág	fág	fâg	fâg	fâg	fóyà	fágà	fèggà	fággà	fággà	fágà	fàgí	fàag	fe'agé	fe'aké
sweat	n		bè-sóŋsòŋ	lè-yóbè	ŋ-yúbé	ŋ-yúbí	ŋ-yúbí	è-yuúbá	nè-yóbò	nò-yóbò	nò-yóbò	nò-yóbò/ŋ-	lì-yóbé	ì-jíjól	ì-jíjóló	ŋ'ŋ-	ŋ-wu'urù
sweep	v		pág	pág	fâg	fâg	fâg	yuòn	fèŋè	fèŋè	fèŋè	fèŋè	fèŋè, wólè	fól	fól	fe'eyé	fe'eyé
swim	v		wóg	wóg	yóg	yóg	wóg	yuóg	yóg	yóg	yóg	yóg	ŋóg	ŋóg	ŋóg	ŋé'og	ŋé'og
tail	n		mìŋ-kí/bà-	ŋ-kél/bà-	bì-kí/à-	ì-kí/ŋ-	ì-kí/ŋ-	ŋ-sín/ò-	nè-sín~siin/ŋ-	nè-sín/ŋ-	nì-sín/ŋ-	nì-sín/ŋ-	lì-kél/ŋ-	ŋ-kél/à-	ì-kél/ŋ-	ès-sél/à	èl-ŋil/ŋ-
take	v		lób	lób	yígí	yígí	yígí	yíyà	yíyí	yíyí	yíyí	yíyí	yègè	yègí	yègè	yègè	yíyè
away ¹⁴⁷																	
take ¹⁴⁸	v		kó	kó	kó	kó	kó, kò	kuó	kó, kò	kó, kò	kó, kò	kó, kò	kó	kó, kò	kó, kò	kó	kó
tap wine	n		(fái)	(fál)	kěm	kěm~kiěm	kiěm	siem	sèm	sè	sè	sè	kèm	ʃèmí	ʃèem	sèm	ʃèm
tear up	v		jág	yáb	ʃáyè	ʃáyè	ʃáyè	sáyà	sáyà	sáyà	sáyà	sáyà	jág	jág	jág	je'agé	je'ag
tears	n		bà-bídàg	bà-míràŋ	ò-βíbβè	ò-βíβì	à-βíβì	é-miíβò/á-	á-miíβì	á-miíβì	mìβì	á-bìβì	á-bìβì	á-bìβì	á-bìβì	á-bò'ŋŋò	á-bò'ŋŋò
ten	n		ó-fó	jóbá	bó-fó	ó-fó	ó-fó	wúbá	wóbó	wóbó	wóbó	wóbó	wóbá	í-gól	í-gól	é-wóbò	éb-wúbù
termite	n		ŋ-kèkè/bò-	è-gbá/bè-	ŋ-kíé/ò-	ŋ-kíé/ò-	ŋ-kíé/ò-	ŋ-kùkuò/à-	ŋ-kìkò/à-	ŋ-kòkò/à-	ŋ-kòkò/à-	ŋ-kòkò/à-	ŋ-kèkè/à-	ŋ-kikè/à-	ŋ-kikè/à-	ŋ-kikò/à-	ŋ-kikò/à-
testicle ¹⁴⁹	n		b	o-pín	(ñ-dǎe/ò-[r])	(ñ-dǎe/ò-[r])	(ñ-dǎ/ò-[r])	ŋ-fǎn/à-	ŋ-gǎn/à-	ŋ-fǎn/à-	ŋ-fǎn/à-	ŋ-fǎn/à-	---	ŋ-fín/à-	ŋ-fǎn/à-	ŋ-fǎn/à-	èl-fǎn/ŋ-
thief ¹⁵⁰	n		è-jíb/bè-	è-jíb/bè-	è-jú/bì-	è-jú/bì-	è-jú	à-zú	è-jú/à-	è-jú/à-	è-jú/à-	è-jú/à-	è-jú/bì-	ù-jú/à-	ù-jú/à-	è-jú/à-	è-jó/à-
thigh ¹⁵¹	n		è-tátáb/bè-	è-	ò-tá/à-	ò-tá/à-	ò-tá/à-	ò-tá/à-	è-nèmè/bè-	è-nèmè/bò-	è-nèmè/bè-	è-nèmè/bè-	è-nímí/à-	ù-tá/à-	ù-tá/à-	è-nèmè/à-	è-yó/à-

¹³⁹ 1. These forms are used especially referring to smoothing plaster. 2. The form in Ekajuk means to 'whet a knife'.

¹⁴⁰ The second member of the constructions above is the form meaning 'back' (q.v.).

¹⁴¹ 1. These forms were elicited with the gloss 'fairy'. 2. There is no singular/plural alternation possible in the form given in Nta. 3. The form in Efutop is the same as the one given for the gloss 'witch~wizard' (q.v.).

¹⁴² These forms are to be compared with 'arch', with 'bow' (v.), and with 'duck' (v.).

¹⁴³ 1. The second form in Ekparabong means 'squeeze someone's hand'. 2. The first form in Balep refers to 'squeezing leaves', and the second to 'squeezing cloth'.

¹⁴⁴ These forms refer specifically to the rain.

¹⁴⁵ These forms exhibit almost identical roots with 'pass' (q.v.) and 'profit' (q.v.).

¹⁴⁶ These forms are used in the sense of 'turn, swing, shake from side to side' except the form in Ekparabong which means 'turn sideways'.

¹⁴⁷ These forms are used in the sense 'remove'.

¹⁴⁸ 1. In languages Nde, Nselle, Nta, Nkim, and Nkum the first form is a complete utterance meaning 'take it from me.' and the second form is another complete utterance meaning 'take it from over there.' 2. The second form in S Etung means 'get it'.

¹⁴⁹ There is only a descriptive compound in Ebanyom, the meaning of which is 'seed of the scrotum'.

¹⁵⁰ The forms in languages S Etung and Efutop have no singular/plural alternation.

¹⁵¹ These forms refer to the 'upper leg (above the knee)'.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
thing	n		ɲ-kúm/ɲ-góm	ɲ-jóm/ɲ-góm	è-júm/è-yím	è-júm/è-yím-ì- èjòhè/à-	ɲ-dzúm/m- bím	ɲ-zúm/à-ɲím	è-jòm/ɲ-són	è-jòm/ɲ-són	è-jòm/m-bè	è-jòm/ɲ-sól	ì-jòm/à-	ì-jòm/à-	è-jòm/ɲ-sól	è-jòm/ɲ-sól	è-júm/ɲ- fól
thorn	n		ɲ-sén/bà-	ɲ-dén/bà-[r]	èjòhè/à-	èjòhè/à-	èjòhè/à-	ɲ-són/à-	è-jòhò-- jijòhò/à-	è-jijòhò/à-jòhò	è-jòhò/à-	è-jòhà/à-	ì-jòhòjòhò/à-	ì-jòjò/à-	è-jòhò/à-	è-jòhò/à-	è-je`òhò/à-
three	n		bé-rá	bé-rá	é-sá	é-sá	é-sá	á-saá	bé-saá	bi-sá	bə-saá	bé-rá	í-rá	í-rá	é-r-rá-é-rá	é-b-rá	
three- leafed yam, <i>Dioscorea dumetoru</i> m	n		è-rím	è-rím/bè-	è-rím/bì-	è-rím/bì-	è-rím	è-dímá/à-	è-rímé/bè-	è-rímé/bə-	è-rímé/bè-	è-rímí/bì-	ì-rím/à-	ì-rám/à-	è-lámé/ń- [l]	è-lámé/èb-	
throat ¹⁵²	n		mìh-kúh/bà-	ɲ-kúh/bà-	ɲ-tòh/ò-	ɲ-tòh/ò-	ɲ-tòh/ò-	ɲ-káòh/ò-	ɲ-kòh/à-	ɲ-kòh/à-	ɲ-kòh/à-	ɲ-kúh/à-, ɲ-tòh/à-	ì-báñkòd/à-	ì-ráñkòd/à-	ɲ-káh/à-	ɲ-káh/à-	
thunder	n		ɲ-sân/bò-	ɲ-dân/bà-[r]	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-sân/à-	ɲ-dân/à-[r]	ɲ-dân/à-[r]	ɲ-dân/à-[r]	ɲ-dân/à- [r]	ɲ-dân/à-[r]
tie ¹⁵³	v		bóbí	bóbóg	βómè	βómè	βómà	kàn	bòò	bò	bòò	bómà	bòm	bómò	bóbó	bóbó	
toad	n		é- guéráñgué/bé-	é- guédáñgué/bé-	é-kpájírí/á-	é- kpájírí/á-	é-kpájírí/á-	é-liélié/á-	è-jinâñkàn/à-	è-jinâñkàn/à-	ó-nônò/á-	é-kpájólá/á-	í-kpájólí/á-	í-kpájóló/á-	é- kpájámé/á	é- kpájómé/á	
today ¹⁵⁴	n		é-léi	é-lél	é-yé	é-yé-é-yé	é-yé	é-lién	é-neé	é-neé,é-neé ji	é-neé,é-neé ji	é-lél	í-léla	í-léla	lél	lélá	
tomorrow	n		ɲ-kuǎ	ɲ-kuǎ	ó-jò-ó-jòfú	ó-jò-ó- jòfú	ó-jò	ó-wuò	é-wàhna	é-wàhna	é-wàhna	é-gò	ú-gó	ú-bóná	bíná	bíná	
tongue	n		è-lébi/bè-	lè-légèb/ń-[l]	è-ríβè/bì-	è-ríβè/bì	è-ríβi/à- ~bè-	é-liíβà/á-	nè-nìbì/ń-	nè-nìbì/ń-	ni-nìβi/ń-	lí-rèbè/ń-[d]	í-rèb-- rèbì/á-	í-lèbè/á-	é-lí-gí/ń- ~n~	é-b-líki/ń-	
tooth	n		è-líh/m-míh	lè-móh/m-	è-yíh/à-míh	è-yíh/à- míh	è-yíh/à-míh	è-mân/à-	nè-mân/à-	nè-mîn/à-	nà-mân/à-	lì-mîn-è-/à-	(ì-lól/à-)	(ì-lól/à-)	ém- mân/á-	é-l-mân/à-	
tortoise	n		ɲ-kuí/bò-	ɲ-kúl/bò-	ɲ-kúí/ò-	ɲ-kúí/ò-	ɲ-kúí/ò-	---	---	---	---	ɲ-kúí/ò-	ɲ-kúl/ù-	ɲ-kól/ù	---	ɲ-kól/é-	
tree	n		è-réré/mìn-[d]	bò-ré/ń-déré	é-tí/à-	é-tí/à-	é-tí/à-	è-tí/ń-	è-té/ń-	è-té/ń-	è-té/ń-	è-té/ń-	ì-té-ù-/à-	ì-té/à-	é-té/ń-	é-tí/ń-	
trunk(bod- y) ¹⁵⁵	n		è-kùkù/bè-	è-kùkù/bè-	è-kù/à-	è-kù/à-	é-kùkù/á-	è-kùkù/à-	è-kùkù/à-	è-kùkù/à-	è-kùkù/à-	è-kùkù/à-	í-kpò ɲ- gòbjì/á-	í-kpò ɲ- gòbjì/á-	è-kùkù/à-	è-kùkù/à-	
tuck ¹⁵⁶	v		sǒg	rǒg	sǒg	sǒg	sǒg	kàg	kàg	kàg	kàg	màdê	màní, <màdí>	màdâ	kpódè	kpátè	
turn over	v.t.		kpédí	kpégéd	kpígì	kpígì	kpígì	kpiíyò	kpègè	kpègè	kpègè	kpèyè	kpédè	kpédè	kpédè	kpé`edé	kpi`idí~kp i`ití
twenty ¹⁵⁷	n		è-rím/bè-~è-	è-rím	è-sám/ɲ- ɸǐb	è-sám/ɲ- ɸǐb	è-sám/ɲ- ɸǐb	mè-tân/à- baáyò	nè-tân/à- báyà	nè-tân/à- báyà	nè-tân/à- báyà	nè-tân/à- báyà	lì-tíl/à- bágè	í-tíl/à- jírí	í-tíl/à- jírè	ét-tíl/à- be`agé	é-l-tíl/à- be`ayé
twist	v		kǎb	kǎb	ɸǐb	ɸǐb	ɸǐb	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
two	nu		é-gòd/bé-	é-gòd/bé-	é-gòd/bí-	é-gòd/bí-	é-gòd/á-	é-guǒr	é-gòr	é-gòr	é-gòr	é-gòr	é-gòr/á-	---	---	---	---
hundred ¹⁵⁸	m																
two	n		bé-fál	bé-fál	é-βâe	é-βâe	é-βâe	á-βân	bi-bâ	bi-bâ	bə-bâ	bi-bâl	í-bâl	í-bâl	é-b-bâl	é-b-bâl	
understand ¹⁵⁹	n		mǎí	mǎé	---	---	---	gbíérò	gbèrè	gbèrè	gbèrè	gbèrâ	yóg	yóg	gbèrè	gbèrè	
undress	v		jóg,nód	lód	júg	júg	júg	zuóg	jóg	jóg	júg	yègè,kpòd	yègí	yìgè	yé-gè,kpòd	yí-gè,kpúd	
untie	v		wádí	gàrág	fíhè	fíhè	fíhè	kpórrò	fòhò	fòhò	fòhò	fùhí	fíhí	fòhò	fá`hè	fá`hè	
uproot ¹⁶⁰	v		jǐb	(mú)	yǎb	yǎb	yǐb	yàb,(mòrà)	yàb,(mènnè)	yàb,(mènnè)	yàb,(mènnè)	(mílí)	yibí	yòób	(mállè)	(mállè)	
urinate	v		pábí	fábág	fígè	fígè	fígì	fuúβò	fúyù	fúyù	fúyù	fúyù	fír	fírò	fó`hò	fó`hò	
urine	n		m-pábi/bà-	bà-fábàg-- fábàg	à-fígè	à-fígè	à-fíyì	à-fuúβò	à-fúyù	à-fúyù	à-fúyù	à-fúyù	à-fír	à-fírò	à-fó`hò	à-fó`hò	
vagina	n		(m-bòd/bò-)	(m-bòd/bò-)	ɲ-túd/ò-	ɲ-túd/ò-	ɲ-ɸúð/ò-	è-têm/à-	ɲ-tár/à-	ɲ-tár/à-	ɲ-tár/à-	(è-kòb/bì-)	(ì-kòb/à-)	(ì-kòb/à-)	ɲ-tár/é-	ɲ-tár/é- ~é-b-	

¹⁵² 1. The plural form in languages Nde and Nselle is usually à-tòhàñ-kòh. 2. another form with the same meaning in Nkim is ñm-kpàrikòd.

¹⁵³ 1. These forms are used in the sense of 'tie on a garment'. 2. compare 'cloth'.

¹⁵⁴ The second entries in languages Nselle and Nta are demonstrative constructions.

¹⁵⁵ 1. These forms refer to the part of the body exclusive of the limbs. 2. The second member of the construction in minor sub-group r-s means 'skin' or 'body'.

¹⁵⁶ The second form in Nkim means 'press in on one side'.

¹⁵⁷ 1. The plural forms are used for multiples of twenty. 2. Balep does not have any singular/plural alternation for such multiples.

¹⁵⁸ 1. where singular/plural alternations are given above, the plural forms are used for multiples of two hundred. 2. The forms in languages Bendeghe and N Etung are said to be 'archaic'.

¹⁵⁹ The form in Ekajuk is 'dialectal'.

¹⁶⁰ The first form in Nde, Nselle and Nta refers especially to uprooting 'small sticks' ('stalks').

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
vein	n			mìŋ-kìb/bà-	ŋ-kòb/bà-	bì-jòb/à-	ì-jòb/à- ~ŋ-	ì-jìb/à-~ŋ-	ŋ-zòb/à-	ŋ-jàb/à-	ŋ-jòb/à-	ŋ-jàb/à-	ŋ-jìb/à-	ŋ-jìb/à-	ŋ-jòb/à-	ŋ-jàb/à-	ŋ-jòb/à-
village god village(1)	n			ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	ŋ-fâm	---	ŋ-fâm	---	---	---
village(2) 161	n			m-pám/bò-	m-pám/bà-	è-te'ég/ñ-	è-tég/ñ- ~è-	è-tég/ñ-	è-lâ/à-	è-jìbè/bè,è- sisòg/à-	nì-sì/ŋ-	è-jèbè/bè,ni- sì/ŋ-	è-jìbá/bì-,é- kpágbè/à-	ŋ-fâm,ì-jí í- b'ùg	ì-b'ògò,ì-jí í- bògò	è-jàbè/èb- ,ŋ-fâm	è-jòbè/à- ,ŋ-fâm/à-
voice ¹⁶²	n			è-lém/bà-	lè-lém/bà-	è-yúm/bì-	è-yúm/ŋ-	è-yúm/ŋ-	è-lúm/à-	(ñ-tòŋ/à-)	(ñ-tòŋ/à-)	(ñ-tòŋ/à-)	lì-lòm/à-	ì-lòm/à-	ì-lòm/à-	(ñ- tò'oy/à-)	èb- lùm~èl-/à-
vomit	v			kɔ̃	kɔ̃	kũ	kũ	kũ	kónnà	kù	kù	kù	kùlì	kùù	kùù	kà'ílè~kál é	kə'ílè~kál é
vulture waist	n n			ò-tèrè/bà- (mìŋ-sín/bà-)	ò-tèrè/bà- (ñ-dón/bà-[r])	ò-tèrè/à- è-βún/bì-~m- [b]	ò-tèrè/à- è-βún/bì- ~m-[b]	ù-tèrè/à- è-βún/à- ~m[b]	ó-tirè/à- è-báwón/à-	è-tèrè~ù-/à- è-bôn/bè-	è-tèrè/à- è-bôn/bò-	ò-tèrè/à- è-bôn/bò-	ò-tèrè/à- è-bôn/bì-	ù-pù/à- ì-bôn/à-	ù-pù/à- ì-bôn/à-	èt-tèrè/ñ- è-bón/à-	è-tèrè/à- è-bún/à-
wake walk ¹⁶³ war	v.i. v n			ŋimí kɛ̃n bè-rá	gùmúŋ kɛ̃n bè-rá	ŋimê jɛ̃n bì-tá	ŋimê jɛ̃n ì-tá/ñ-, è- nòg	ŋimí jɛ̃n bì-tá, è-nòg	ŋímò~ŋímò zièn è-tá/ñ-	ŋimí jèn bè-tá/ñ-	ŋimì jèn bì-tá/ñ-	ŋimì jèn bò-tá/ñ-	ŋimí jèn bì-tá/ñ-	ŋimí jèní í-tá/ñ-	ŋòmê jèèn ì-tá/ñ-	ŋómè jèn èt-tá/ñ-	ŋómè jèn èb-tá/ñ-
water weed whistle whitewash wife wind wing	n v v n n n n			màmài~m-mài kòd férí (ñ-tò)	m-mài kòr fébáj (ñ-tò)	à-yíb kũd fíbì	à-yáb kũd fíbì	à-yíb kũd gìbì	à-láb (yòbβò)	à-náb kòr, (yàb)	à-láb kòr, (yàb)	à-náb kòrò, (yàb)	à-líb kòr	à-líb kòrí	à-láb kòòr	á-láb (wòb)	á-láb (wòb)
				mìŋ-kái/bà- m-péb è-pàbì/bè-	ŋ-kál/bà- m-péb è-	ŋ-káè/à- ŋ-fèb è-fàbè/à-	ŋ-káè/à- ŋ-fèb è-fàbè/à-	ŋ-káè/à- ŋ-fèb è-fàbè/à-	(ò-kpân/à-)	è-fém/bè- ŋ-kaá/~àbà-	è-fém/bè- ŋ-ká/à-	ò-fém/à- ŋ-kaá/à-	ò-fém/à- ŋ-kál/à-	ù-fém ŋ-kál/à- (ì-fífè)	ù-fém/à- ŋ-kál/à- (ì-fífè)	è-fém/à- ŋ-kál/à- ŋ-fèb	è-fém/à- ŋ-kál/à- ŋ-fèb
wipe ¹⁶⁴ witch~wiz ard witchcraft with woman	v n n pre p n			sèrí, bóɡ mìŋ-ŋé/bà-	nũɡ, bóɡ ŋ-jé/bà-	fôn ŋ-jé/à-	fôn ŋ-jé/à-	fôn ŋ-jé/à-	fón,nóɡ ŋ-zié/à-	sènê ŋ-jé/à-	sànnè ŋ-jé/à-	sènnè ŋ-jé/à-	fòl,rin,dùɡ ŋ-jé/à-	fòl ŋ-jé/à-	fòl ŋ-jé/à-	é-jé bònà~nà	é-jé bòlá~á
work ¹⁶⁵	n	butwój (hard work, overwork , léʃání /í- (work)	è-túm/ñ-	è-róm/bè-	lè-róm/ñ-[d]	è-túm/ñ-	è-túm/ñ-	è-túm/ñ-	è-túm/à-	nè-tòm/ñ-	nò-tò/ñ-	nò-tò/ñ-	lì-tòm/ñ-	(í-fáj/ŋ-)	(í-fáj/ŋ-)	ŋlì- kál/abi- èt-tòm/ñ-	nèŋ- kál/ánab- èl-tùm/ñ-
worm	n			ó-sónàg/bá-	ñ-dòŋdón/bá-[r]	ŋ-sòŋé/ó-	é-sòŋé/ŋ-	é-sòŋé/ŋ-	ŋ-suóŋ/à-	ŋ-sòŋ/à-	ŋ-sòŋ/à-	ŋ-sòŋ/à-	ñ-dòŋé/à-[r]	ñ-dòŋí/à-[r]	ñ- dòŋdòŋ/à- [r]	ñ- da'oyò/à- [r]	ñ- re'oyò/à-
worship write yam ¹⁶⁶ yawn	v.t. v n n			sòm séŋ è-lò/bè- è-wári	ròm réŋ è-lò/bè- è-gáram/bè-	jòm sèŋ è-yù/bì- è-yáβè	jòm sèŋ è-yù/bì- è-yáβè	jòm sèŋ è-yù/à- è-yáβè/à-	zuòm miémò è-lù/à- è-yaáβò/à-	jòm yénnè è-nò/bè- è-yáβà/à-	jò yénnè è-nò/bò- è-yábà/à-	jò yénnè è-nò/bò- è-yáβà/bò-	jòm yélé è-lò/bì- è-yáβè/à-	jòmí ŋón (ì-yél)	jòòm ŋón (ì-yél)	jòm yé'elé è-lò/èb- é- ya'abè/à-	jòm yé'elé,ŋón è-lù/èb- é- ya'abè/à-

¹⁶¹ in general, these forms mean 'community' or 'town' or 'settlement'. The form in Efutop is specifically restricted to 'farm plantation', that is, the living quarters in the fields rather than in the town, but the idea of 'community' is otherwise dominant even to the extent of the forms in Nkim and Nkum including not only the meaning of 'town' but also 'the whole world'.

¹⁶² 1. The forms Nta *nò-nò/à-* and Nnam *èl-lòm/à-* mean 'word'. 2. The form in Ekajuk means both 'voice' and 'word'.

¹⁶³ These forms are identical with the roots in 'journey' (q.v.)

¹⁶⁴ These forms are to be compared with 'brush' (v.) and with 'erase'.

¹⁶⁵ *ì-tòm/ñ-* in Nkim and Nkum means 'farm'(q.v.)

¹⁶⁶ The forms in minor sub-group r-s have no singular/plural alternation.

Roger Blench Ekoid overview Circulation Draft

Gloss	PoS	Mbe	Ejagham	Ekparabong	Balep	Bendeghe	N Etung	S Etung	Efutop	Nde	Nselle	Nta	Abanyom	Nkim	Nkum	Nnam	Ekajuk
yawn	v			wárí	gárám	yáβè	yáβè	yáβè	yaáβò	yáβà	yábà	yábà	yábê	yáb	yábà	ya'abé	ya'abé
year ¹⁶⁷	n			è-yá/jì-	jì-yá/bà-	è-yá/jì-	è-yá/jì-	è-yá/jì-	ñ-lá/à-	jì-jâ	jì-jâ/à-	jì-jâ/à-	lì-yâ/jì-jâ	ì-rá/ñ-dá	ì-rá/ñ-dá	éy-yá/jì-	éI-yá/jì-
yellow ¹⁶⁸	n			bò-kòg	bò-kòg	ò-gògògòg	ò-gògògòg	ò-gògògòg	ò-guòyógòg	né-gògnéggòg	nò-gògnògòg	nò-gògnògòg	lí-gòg/jì-	ù-gòñúgòg	ì-gòñígòg	ég-gòg'gòg'	éI-géò/ì-
yesterday	n			é-yòhòkòì	é-jòh	é-nàné	é-nàné	é-nàné	é-nă	é-nă	é-nă	é-nă	é-nâné	í-nàní~-năñ	í-nàná	na'anè	na'ehè

¹⁶⁷ The form in Nde has no singular/plural alternation.

¹⁶⁸ These forms refer to 'yellow pigment' or 'ochre' as well as to 'yellowness'.