

THE LOWER CROSS LANGUAGES: A PROLEGOMENA TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE CROSS RIVER LANGUAGES

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Much of the classification and subgrouping of languages in Benue-Congo is based on very little published evidence; for the most part the available evidence comes from lexicostatistics, rather than more traditional and reliable sources, such as sound correspondences. This is of particular concern for Benue-Congo, given the revisions this group has undergone since Greenberg (1963). One of the pivotal groups within Benue-Congo, because of its proximity to Bantu, is Cross River. The aim of this paper is to lay the foundation for the systematic assessment of the relationships among the Cross River languages by presenting and examining data from one subgroup within Cross River, the Lower Cross languages. A sketch of the group's important linguistic characteristics are presented, the integrity of the group is discussed and confirmed, and questions for further research outlined.

La plupart de la classification des langues Bénoue-Congo est basée sur très peu de preuves, et en générale les preuves disponibles viennent des sources comme la lexicostatistique et des innovations lexicales, et non pas les sources traditionnelle comme les correspondances phonologique. Un des groupes du Bénoue-Congo importante est Cross River, à cause de sa proximité de Bantoue. Le but de cette communication est de faire un pas vers l'établissement systématique des rapports entre les langues Cross River, par présenter et examiner des données d'une de ses sous-groupes, les langues Lower Cross. Une esquisse des caractéristiques plus importantes du groupe est présenté, l'unité du groupe est discuté et confirmé, et des directions pour la recherche sont esquissés.

0. INTRODUCTION

The Cross River branch of Benue-Congo has been accepted as a linguistic grouping since Greenberg (1963). Despite this, however, relatively little evidence has been presented either to justify either the grouping itself, or the postulated relationships among the various languages assumed to constitute the Cross River branch. Since Greenberg's proposals, both the external and the internal relationships of the branch have been reconsidered. While externally, the status of Cross River within Benue-Congo has been little affected by Williamson's (1989) overall reassessment of Benue-Congo, recent work by Blench (e.g., Blench 1993a,b), hints at the possibility of a Bantoid-Cross node within Benue-Congo. The internal alignment of the Cross River languages has been revised, such that current thinking suggests a bifurcation, with Delta Cross and Bendi being the two branches (Williamson 1971, Faraclas 1989). Delta Cross is said to have four subgroups: Central Delta, Ogoni (also called Kegboid; Ikoro 1989), Upper Cross, and Lower Cross. More work has been done on the Delta Cross languages than those of the Bendi branch, but even so no solid evidence has been published to confirm that these subgroups, in fact, do form units in themselves, and if so, what the relationships among them might be. The general aim of this paper is to take a step towards reaching an understanding of the Cross River branch of Benue-Congo through presenting a survey of, and data on, the Lower Cross languages. It is hoped that the material presented here should then prove useful as a basis for comparison in finally establishing the coherence of Cross River. Introductory remarks concerning the Lower Cross languages are presented in §§1 and 2, a sketch of their main phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics in §§3-5, and wordlists and a partial lexical reconstruction of proto-Lower Cross in Appendix A. Discussion of the linguistic affiliation of the Lower Cross languages within Cross River is found in §6, while a listing of the major linguistic works on the various languages of the group are found in the reference section.

1. LOWER CROSS

The Lower Cross language group takes its name from its geographical location, being situated in the lower part of the Cross River basin of southeastern Nigeria.¹ The group spans three Nigerian states in this coastal region—Rivers, Akwa Ibom, and Cross River—as well as the international frontier to the Isangele subdivision of southwestern Cameroon.

Efik is the best known language of the group, the Efik people having been the first among the Lower Cross with whom the European missionaries developed strong contacts. As a result, Efik was given an orthography in the middle years of the 19th century, and subsequently has been the dominant language of the region, having been used for trade, missionary, and educational purposes well outside the Efik speaking area itself, and indeed outside the Lower Cross region. Its status as a lingua franca in the area has, to a large extent, been supplanted in recent years, due to a number of factors. Prime among these has been the rapid spread of Nigerian Pidgin, but also of considerable importance within the region is the growing pride of other groups in their own languages. Variation within the Efik-speaking area suggests at least two dialects, those of Calabar and the Enyong (Northern) region (Cook 1985). It is also probable that a third can be added to these, that spoken in the Akpabuyo region to the east of Calabar, although research has yet to be undertaken to ascertain the extent of dialect difference among the three. Despite its prestige, Efik is by no means the largest of the group, being spoken by approximately 400,000 people as a first language.²

Ibibio is unquestionably the largest language of the group; with perhaps as many as two million speakers, it ranks as one of the largest of Nigeria's more than 400 languages (Crozier and Blench 1992), behind Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo, and similar in size to languages such as Tiv and Kanuri. The Ibibio language is currently undergoing a renaissance, having recently gained its own orthography (Essien 1984a,b), and with steps being taken to improve and increase its use in education. Within Ibibio there is dialect variation, with dialects correlating approximately to clan groupings.

The Anaang constitute the next largest group, having perhaps one million speakers. There appear to be three main dialects, often referred to by their geographical locations—Ikot Ekpene, Abak, and Ukanafun—but like Ibibio it may be more appropriate to consider dialect variation in terms of clan groupings.

After Anaang, the number of speakers for the various languages decreases significantly. Oro has approximately 400,000 speakers (and some dialect variation), Ekit 200,000 (and two dialects), Obolo 100,000 (and three dialects, Faraclas 1984a; U. Aaron, personal communication, has suggested as many as six Obolo dialects may be defined), Okobo 50,000 speakers (two dialects), Ebughu 15,000, Enwang 15,000, Etebi 15,000, Ilue 10,000, and Usaghade approximately 5,000 speakers. Population estimates are not available for Ibuoro, Ito, Itu Mbon Uso, Nkari, Ukwa, Ibino, Iko, Efai, and Uda. However in no case is it likely that any of these have more than 10,000 speakers.

2. LANGUAGE AND DIALECT AMONG THE LOWER CROSS LANGUAGES

The previous section mentions several of the Lower Cross languages as having dialectal variation. The question of distinguishing language from dialect is a difficult one at the best of times, and the Lower Cross group is no exception. However, since this question is not the focus of the present paper, a brief outline only of the Lower Cross situation is offered.

¹ The term 'Lower Cross', as a name for the group, appears to have been coined by Thomas Cook, and first used in the Benue-Congo Newsletter 6, December 1969.

² All population figures given are to be considered estimates. While based on official statistics, it may be noted that past censuses in Nigeria have generally been deemed unreliable.

The existence of dialects as indicated above is based primarily on phonological and lexical variation within what, for social/political reasons, is otherwise seen as one language. On the other hand, invoking linguistic criteria such as these could equally prompt a grouping together of several of the languages mentioned. *Itu Mbon Uso*, *Ibuoro*, *Nkari*, and possibly *Ito*, for example, could possibly be grouped together as a dialect cluster, as has been suggested in the past for *Anaang*, *Efik*, and *Ibibio*. Such an analysis would allow us to distinguish a number of dialect clusters within the group, and to lump these together into perhaps three or four language clusters. Equally important to this debate (indeed perhaps more so), however, are social, cultural, and political considerations. In many instances, the actual deciding factor as to whether certain languages should be classified as 'dialects' or 'languages' depends on political boundaries or the cultural identities of the groups involved. With regard to Lower Cross, by taking these considerations into account, the twenty-one speech varieties referred to in this paper are treated as languages rather than dialects, regardless of degree of mutual intelligibility, cognacy rates, or other quasi-linguistic criteria that may be invoked to distinguish language from dialect.

3. PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The discussion here is not meant to be an indepth treatment of Lower Cross phonology; rather the intention is to bring to the fore those features which characterize the Lower Cross languages as a group; as such, the main focus in this section is on their phonological similarities; divergences are discussed to a limited extent in passing. Further details on particular languages within the group, where available, may be found in the references listed at the end of this paper.

Many of the important characteristics of the segmental phonology of the Lower Cross languages provide evidence for higher level phonological structures, an analysis which was at least implicit even in Ward's (1933) early work on *Efik*, and is discussed in some depth in Cook (1985) for the same language. In particular, the distribution and realization of consonants appears related to what may be referred to as a 'foot'. In the following sections, an examination of the consonant and vowel systems is presented, followed by mention of the tonal systems, and finally a brief sketch of syllable and foot structures in Lower Cross.

3.1 CONSONANTAL PHONOLOGY

3.1.1 Consonant inventories

The most notable similarities among the languages of the group have to do with the size and distribution of the consonant inventories.³ Typically, Lower Cross languages have small consonant inventories, mostly in the range of 13–15 phonemes, and a rather asymmetrical distribution of consonants. This distribution may be summarized as follows: any existing consonant phoneme in a given language may occur in what may be referred to as initial (or foot-initial) position. Elsewhere, those that may occur are restricted to six: /b, d, k, m, n, ŋ/, though with differing phonetic realizations depending on whether they occur finally (i.e., precede a pause) or are ambisyllabic (foot-medial). The table in (1) presents the consonant inventories of the different Lower Cross languages.⁴

³ The discussion here is from a classical phonemic standpoint; it should be clear that, given the skewed distribution of consonants, a polysystemic analysis would equally provide interesting insights.

⁴ Symbols used here and throughout this paper conform to current (1989) IPA conventions unless otherwise noted.

(1) Consonant inventories of Lower Cross languages (parentheses indicate uncertain status)

Anaang (Abak)	m n ɲ ŋ b d r d ^w g ^w t tʃ k kp f s w
Ebughu	m n ɲ ŋ b d j gb g ^w p t k f s j w
Efai	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s l j w
Efik (Calabar)	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s j w
Ekit (urban)	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s j w ?
Enwang	m n ɲ ŋ b d p t k f s v l j w
Etebi	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s j w ?
Ibibio	m n ɲ ŋ (p) b d t k kp f s j w
Ibino	m n ɲ ŋ b d p t tʃ k kp k ^w f s l j w
Ibuoro	m n ɲ ŋ b d (g ^w) t k kp f s j w
Iko	m n ɲ ŋ b d g gb g ^w t k kp tʃ f s z l j w
Ilue	m n ɲ ŋ b d g ^w t k kp f s l j w
Ito	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s j w ?
Itu Mbon Uso	m n ɲ ŋ b d t (p) k kp f s tʃ j w
Nkari	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k p f s j w
Obolo	m n ɲ ŋ b d g gb g ^w t k kp k ^w f s tʃ dʒ r l j w
Okobo	m n ɲ ŋ b d p t k f s tʃ l j w
Oro	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s l j w
Uda	m n ɲ ŋ b d p t k (kp) f s v (r) l j w ?
Ukwa	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s j w
Usaghade	m n ɲ ŋ b d t k kp f s tʃ β j w

Exceptions to this generalized statement of consonant distribution are few. First, in a small number of languages, consonant phonemes exist which are never found in initial position. These are /ʔ/, which occurs medially and finally in Ekit, Etebi, Ito, and Uda, and /p/, which occurs medially in some Ibibio dialects in contrast with /kp/ and /b/. This may also be true of other languages (e.g., Anaang, Etebi). /j/ occurs post-vocally (and in Ekit and Uda, /w/), frequently realized as [i u], though these may perhaps best be seen as part of the vowel nucleus, either as diphthongs or part of a vowel cluster.

A reconstruction of consonants occurring in initial position has been done by Connell (in press a); the proto-Lower Cross consonant system together with its reflexes are presented in appendix B.

3.1.2 Consonant clusters

Throughout the group, the approximants /j w/ may occur following C₁ (for Obolo, Faraclas (1984a) analyzes /w/ in this position as labialization, at least with respect to /k/). These are typically treated as underlying consonants (e.g., Cook (1969, 1985) for Efik, Kuperus (1978) for Oro), although they frequently surface as [i u]. This analysis is here provisionally assumed to hold for the rest of the group, though commentators on Ibibio (Kaufman 1968, Essien 1990, Urua 1990) have typically analyzed these sequences of vowels or as diphthongs. These, then, constitute the only instances of consonant clusters in Lower Cross. Apart from these, there is a tendency towards surface clusters with [r]; i.e., through syncopation of V₁, underlying /C₁V₁dV₂/ sequences surface as [C₁V₁rV₂] ~ [C₁rV₂], e.g., Ibibio /fidé/ → [frě] 'forget'. While throughout the group this is best viewed as a surface phenomenon, it is more widespread in some languages than others; Anaang, Ukwa, and Usaghade are perhaps more conservative in this regard.

3.1.3 Phonetic realization of consonants

Consonants occurring in initial position are normally strongly articulated. Stops involve complete closure, voiced consonants are fully voiced, while voiceless ones are

unaspirated. In those languages where /w/ occurs initially (in the absence of /g^w/), a very brief velar closure may on occasion be heard as onset to /w/. Similarly, throughout the group there is variation in the realization of what has been phonemized in most languages as /j/, with a range of articulations from the approximant to an affricate or stop. In many languages of the group (most noticeably in Ebughu, Enwang, Ibino, Ibuoro, Iko, Okobo, and Uda), however, there is tendency for initial consonants to weaken. This is particularly true of /d/, being realized as [r] (especially, for example, in Ibino, Ibuoro, Uda, and Usaghade), and /p/ and /ŋ/ which are perhaps most often realized as nasalized approximants (throughout the group, /ŋ/ is always labialized, i.e., [ŋ^w] or [w̃]). This weakening tendency is less apparent for /m/, /n/, and /b/, though the latter is on occasion realized as [β]. There appears to be no weakening of initial /k/, though /kp/ has undergone change to /p/ in several languages of the group. These various tendencies are explored from a diachronic perspective in Connell (in press a).

In final (i.e., pre-pausal) position, oral consonants are normally unreleased voiceless stops, i.e., /b d k/ are realized as [p̚ t̚ k̚], though the first two of these may occur in free variation with [b d], respectively. It is possible this reflects an earlier voicing distinction in final position, though no phonemic contrast involving voicing has been reported synchronically for any Lower Cross language. /k/ in final position, and especially following /ɔ/, is frequently realized as [q̚]. The nasals are realized as [m̚ n̚ ŋ̚], though parallel to /k/, /ŋ/ is frequently realized as a retracted velar or uvular, [N].

Given the skewed distribution of consonants between initial and final positions (pre- and post-vocally), it is also worth noting here the extent to which they occur across the group, as this is variable. Many of the languages of the group are in the process of losing final consonants, a not uncommon phenomenon among Niger-Congo languages generally. This process is most advanced in those languages occupying the southeastern area of the Lower Cross region. In languages such as Ebughu, Ekit, Enwang, Oro, Uda, and Usaghade, approximately 35–40% of words examined ended with consonants, whereas Anaang, Ibibio, and others which extend into the northern region, have about 60–65% of words being consonant-final. Among the languages that demonstrate this tendency to loss of final consonants, the pattern is for nasals to occur more frequently than orals, and among both nasals and orals for velars to be more common than labials and alveolars. (For further details see Connell (1991b) and Connell and Hajek (1991).)

In ambisyllabic, or foot-medial, position, the phonetic realizations are much weakened; these are essentially as in (2).⁵

- (2) /b/ → [b̥ b̥̃ β̥]
 /d/ → [d̥ r̥ ɹ̥]
 /k/ → [k̥ ɣ̥ ɰ̥ R̥]
 /m/ → [m̥ m̥̃]
 /n/ → [n̥ ñ̥]
 /ŋ/ → [ŋ̥ ŋ̥̃ ũ̥]

Not all of these variants occur with the same degree of frequency across LC languages; indeed some may be absent in a given language (i.e., for a given phoneme). For example, in Ibino, [ɹ̥] occurs more frequently as a realization of ambisyllabic /d/ than it does in Efik, where [r̥] is the more frequent realization. The basic statement holds, however, that in ambisyllabic position underlying stops are realized as taps, fricatives, or approximants, i.e., articulations are reduced with regard to both duration and degree of contact. The nasals, too, also appear to reduce, but to a lesser degree. It is worth noting that in connected speech, there again appears to be a hierarchy

⁵ The diacritic ‘̥’ is used to indicate short duration, or a tapped realization.

governing the weakening of consonants. This differs from what is found for pre-pausal realizations, in that the velars tend to weaken first and most—a zero realization is not uncommon in some languages (e.g., Ibibio)—and labials weakening least.

We see, then, that throughout the Lower Cross group, despite some variation in consonant inventories, the same or similar distributional and realizational constraints on consonants obtain in the various languages.

3.1.4 Voicing and the fortis-lenis opposition

In closing this brief discussion of Lower Cross consonant systems, two further aspects of interest may be noted. First, there is in many languages of the group apparently only a very small role for voicing; among the obstruents, a voicing contrast is generally found only between /t/ and /d/, though in a small number of languages we also find contrasts at the labial and velar places (see (1)). And even in those cases where the notation suggests a voicing contrast (e.g., /t/ versus /d/) it is by no means clear that voicing is indeed the primary phonetic basis of the opposition (see Connell 1991a).

Second, and of interest primarily from a diachronic perspective, there is no evidence among the Lower Cross languages for a fortis-lenis contrast, as has been proposed for languages in other branches of Delta Cross, and elsewhere in Benue-Congo. The implications of this are explored in depth elsewhere (Connell forthcoming).

3.2 VOWEL SYSTEMS

3.2.1 Vowel inventories

Generally speaking, Lower Cross languages have relatively small and symmetrical vowel inventories, though we find neither the classic five or seven vowel systems found in many other languages of the Niger-Congo phylum (e.g., the Bantu languages), nor the [ATR] harmony systems of the type found in other languages of the region, including the Central Delta branch of Delta Cross, and assumed for proto Benue Congo. Rather, we find vowel systems which possibly represent intermediate stages between these two types (assuming that the common Bantu type of system is a reflex of an earlier [ATR] system), and for this reason the vowel systems of the Lower Cross languages may prove to be of great interest from the point of view of sound change.

In all Lower Cross languages, vowels in closed syllables are shortened and centralized. This leads to complications in determining the phonemic status of vowels in some languages of the group, as it is not always readily apparent what contrasts exist in this environment. In Efik, vowels in closed syllables can fairly straightforwardly be assigned allophonic status, while the same is not true of Ibibio and many other languages in the group.

The six vowels of the Obolo system, /i e a ɔ o u/, are common to all Lower Cross languages, though many have slightly larger inventories. Efik is described as having a 7-vowel system, /i e ε a ɔ o u/ (Cook 1985), as is Oro (Kuperus 1978), though the functional load of the /e/ ~ /ε/ contrast is small; in most languages where this contrast exists, it is found only, or primarily, in grammatical morphemes (i.e., affixes). Instances of an /e/ ~ /ε/ contrast in stem vowels can almost always be attributed to secondary developments, such as the loss of final consonants. Most of the other languages found along the estuary of the Cross River, viz., Efai, Enwang, Ekit, Etebi, Ibino, Ilue, Okobo, and Uda, have similar systems. Usaghade, however, has a symmetrical seven vowel system, including /e/ and /ε/, in which there is less tendency for vowels to centralize in closed syllables.

Elsewhere, e.g., Ibibio, Anaang and other languages of the northern Lower Cross region, the /e/ ~ /ε/ opposition is non-existent, though both Ibibio and Anaang, despite the absence of this contrast, demonstrably have eight vowels. In the case of Ibibio, Essien (1984b, 1990) in fact argues for eight to ten vowels, depending on dialect,

though Urua (1990, personal communication) claims a seven vowel system for Ibibio. The proposed ten vowel system includes /i I e a ə ʌ ɔ o ʊ u/ (/ʊ/ being [-ATR]); Urua's system admits only /i e a ʌ ɔ o u/; it is not clear to what extent the disagreement is founded in dialectal variation; certainly /ʊ/ exists in some varieties of Ibibio, as does /I/, though it is equally clear that neither of these exist in all Ibibio dialects, and even in those where they are to be found their functional load is small, as is that of /ʌ/. More questionable is the status of /ə/; in no Ibibio dialect have I found satisfactory evidence that this vowel is distinctive in its own right.

To a certain extent, the problems in assessing the Ibibio vowel system hinge on understanding its diachronic evolution, as at least one of the problematic vowels, /ʊ/, is phonetically [-ATR], while /ʌ/ is variably realized as [ʌ] or [ɔ], and has conceivably evolved from earlier /ɔ/. Although these vowels do not appear to occasion [ATR] harmony systematically, they are perhaps remnants of an earlier [ATR] system. The greatest evidence for this earlier system (i.e., the greatest incidence of [-ATR] vowels) is in Itu Mbon Uso and Nkari, and while the available data does not allow for confident conclusions, it appears both of these languages may have /o ɔ/, /u ʊ/ contrasts.

Neighboring Ito appears to have a nine vowel system /i I e ε a ə ɔ o u/. Though the status of /ə/ is not entirely clear, it appears that the /i/ ~ /I/ contrast, restricted to closed syllables, is an innovation within Ito.

Variations in inventory aside, we also find differences in the phonemically contrastive use of length.⁶ Anaang, Ekit, Ibibio, Ibino, Ibuoro, Iko, Ito, Itu Mbon Uso, Nkari, and Obolo all have what may be analysed as contrastive vowel length. Faraclas (1984a) has analysed the Obolo system as having 12 vowels, six short and six long. An analysis seeing these as double vowels, or vowel clusters, is perhaps more appropriate throughout Lower Cross, though detailed discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of the present paper. In many of the other languages the possibility of vowel length has not been sufficiently investigated, though Efik, Okobo, Oro, and Usaghade clearly do not have a length distinction, and it is doubtful that there is one elsewhere.

3.2.2 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a feature of Lower Cross languages, but again there appears to be variability across the group as to the rules governing it. As mentioned earlier, it is not harmony of the [ATR] type found in many Niger-Congo languages (e.g., neighboring Igbo), but a system of partial harmony whereby the vowels of affixes harmonize with the vowel of the stem in terms of height and backness. Cook (1985, 1986) has analysed the system of Efik in detail, while Kuperus (1978) has sketched that of Oro, and Kaufman (1968), Boys (1979), and Essien (1990) that of Ibibio. Vowel harmony in Nkari and Itu Mbon Uso has not been examined in detail, and given the characteristics discussed above, it is presumably in these two where the greatest evidence for former [ATR] system will be found.

To conclude this brief sketch of Lower Cross vowel systems, it may be pointed out that in none of these languages do we find contrastive nasal vowels. Cook (1985) argues for marginal phoneme status for [ĩ ē ã], but although these may occur in certain words without a nasal consonant as a conditioning environment (e.g., Efik /ĩ/ 'yes'), I know of no cases where nasal vowels are actually in contrast with oral ones. It is interesting to note the absence of this contrast particularly in that, although vowels are generally nasalized in the environment of a nasal consonant, when this consonant disappears diachronically (Connell 1991b, Connell and Hajek 1991), the nasalization also disappears. That is, despite the existence of conditions often seen as giving rise to the development of an oral-nasal vowel contrast, such a contrast does not seem to be developing in Lower Cross.

⁶ The phonemic use of vowel length needs to be distinguished from a morphosyntactic use of length to signal plural actions—i.e., those designating repeated actions or actions of prolonged duration.

3.3 TONE SYSTEMS

From a lexical standpoint, the tone systems found in the Lower Cross languages are relatively straightforward: in all languages of the group, there are two tones, high (H) and low (L), and contrastive downstep (D) which operates on H tones. In many cases, comparative evidence shows downstep to be related to diachronic developments, and as such, at least in these cases, can be analysed as a floating L between two Hs. Combinations of two tones on one syllable may occur, to give HL—i.e., a falling tone—or LH, a rising tone. Falling tones are common in some languages of the group, viz., Anaang (dialectally), Ebughu, Ibibio (dialectally), Ito, Itu Mbon Uso, Nkari, and Usaghade, where they are a result of tone spreading (H L H HL). This process has affected the different languages of the group to varying degrees. In addition to those listed, Ibuoro, Ilue, and Okobo are affected to a lesser degree, while Efai, Efik, Ekit, as well as some Ibibio dialects retain the presumably older situation.

From a phrasal perspective, the Lower Cross languages are of the classic terracing type; i.e., each instance of D within a phrase lowers the ceiling on H tones within that phrase, with the ceiling being reset at the beginning of each subsequent phrase. The Lower Cross languages also exhibit automatic downstep, where L tones have the effect of lowering succeeding H tones, and downdrift, the phrase final lowering of L tones. The relative simplicity of Lower Cross tonal systems at the lexical level is matched by their complexity grammatically and pragmatically. Discussion of this is returned to below.

3.4. SYLLABLE AND HIGHER LEVEL PHONOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

3.4.1 Internal structure of LC syllables

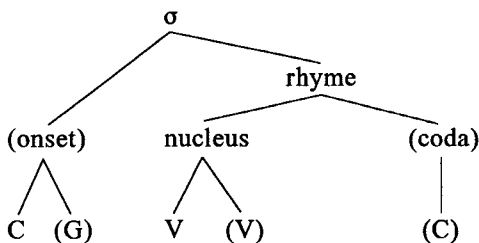
Possible syllable structures in Lower Cross languages include those in (3).

- (3) N-, V- syllabic nasal or vowel, occurring only as prefixes
 CV
 CVC
 C(G)V ('G' stands for glide)
 C(G)VC
 C(G)VVC

These may be summarized in terms of the structure given in (4). Long vowels, where they exist, indicate a branching nucleus; presumably the nucleus in all LC languages must be branching, in order to accommodate the diphthongs or clusters discussed above (diphthongs and long vowels never co-occur in the same syllable).

It is less clear whether the onset should be assumed to be branching, to accommodate (G). Following the analyses of Cook (1985) and Kuperus (1978) who, for Efik and Oro respectively, consider this element to be a consonant, it presumably would be part of the onset (neither Cook nor Kuperus explicitly work with a hierarchical model of the syllable). An alternative is to incorporate (G) into the nucleus, thereby requiring a nucleus with ternary branching in those languages exhibiting vowel length.

- (4) Lower Cross syllable structures template



3.4.2. Syllables and feet

The foregoing suggests Lower Cross syllables can be divided into two classes, light and heavy, with the former being CV and the latter those with a branching rhyme, i.e., containing either a long vowel or a consonant in the coda. The different types of heavy syllable can be seen as consisting of two moras, while light syllables have one mora. Syllables appear to be organized into larger units according to their moraic structure. Again, it is not possible to explore this issue in depth in the present paper, and although the question is by no means straightforward, this proposed unit seems to be bimoraic, and in most important respects to be equivalent to a metrical foot. Where two light syllables (being monomoraic) combine, the medial consonant becomes ambisyllabic. A more or less equivalent unit of structure has been posited for Efik and Oro, where the terms 'syllabeme' (Cook 1985) and 'syllable piece' (Kuperus 1978), respectively, have been used.

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 VERB PHRASE MORPHOLOGY

Grammatical categories such as person, tense, aspect, mood, negation, reflexivity, and reciprocity are indicated by means of affixation. This is done primarily through prefixation for tense, aspect, and mood, and through suffixation (or both) for negation, reciprocity, reflexivity and reversivity. The main deviations from this pattern are found in Usaghade, where suffixation plays a greater role in the TAM system (Connell, in press b).

Tone also plays a role in signalling a variety of grammatical functions, though this may not be consistent across the group; for example, throughout Lower Cross, past and present time may be distinguished tonally; on the other hand, Ibibio and Anaang, at least, distinguish proximate future from distant future, whereas Efik is known not to. 2s and 3s dependent pronouns (subject concord markers) are distinguished by tone throughout the group, as are associative (genitive) constructions.

4.2 NOUN CLASSIFICATION

All Lower Cross languages exhibit at least remnants of an earlier system of noun classification, a system of alternating prefixes to indicate singular and plural, that typified proto-Benue Congo. Details of the situation in Lower Cross have been presented in Connell (1987), and need only be summarized here. The system remains most intact in Usaghade, where it is fully functioning and utilizes alliterative concord. Elsewhere in the group, where singular/plural prefixes have been retained, the system typically, but not exclusively, operates on nouns which can be characterized as [+human]; remnants of the concord system, however, may surface on adjectives used with other than [+human] nouns. The system has degenerated most in Obolo, where many nouns are found without their historical prefix.

5. SYNTAX

The most frequently occurring word order is SVO. Within the noun phrase, modifiers (e.g., determiners, numerals, quantifiers) may follow the noun. There is flexibility in this, however, and perhaps more so in Obolo than elsewhere in the group. Faraclas (1984a) presents examples of these elements either preceding or following the noun in Obolo, though whether preceding or following, the ordering of the various elements appears rigid (i.e., throughout Lower Cross). Quantifiers such as 'many', 'few', and 'some' are more usually found preceding the noun. Compound nouns—at least associative constructions—normally take the form of modifier + noun. An interesting exception to this is found in Obolo, where compounds involving the word 'person' have the order noun + modifier: e.g., 'guest' in Obolo is 'person' + 'strange' *ùg^wú ítʃèn*, but Ibibio (and other LC) have 'strange' + 'person' *àsén áwò*.

Regarding adjectives and their ordering, it should first be mentioned that there are very few true adjectives in any Lower Cross language. Those few that do exist appear more likely to precede the noun they modify, with other adjectival elements (deverbal nouns or stative verbs) typically following. And these, in any case, are best analysed as not constituting part of the noun phrase.

Focus may be determined by word order, but it is likely that tone plays a greater role. At least for those languages of the group that have been examined from this perspective (Efik, Obolo, Oro) focus appears to be marked through varying tonal patterns on the verb stem, indicating pre- or post-verbal focus. Tonal systems in the group appear to be further complicated through interaction with phrasal stress, but except for Faraclas (1984b) for Obolo, no investigation in this area has been done. With respect to grammatical and pragmatic uses of tone, then, the languages of the group appear to be very complex, and are as yet little understood.

6. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS

6.1 THE INTEGRITY OF LOWER CROSS

We return now to the question of the linguistic affiliations. The preceding sketch reveals a considerable body of common characteristics among these languages, much of which may be a result of common parentage, though some may also be due to areal influences. More to the point in establishing their integrity as a group, and allowing for comparison to establish genetic relationships with other languages, are the wordlists presented in appendix A. Examination of these confirms that these languages do indeed constitute a valid grouping. On this evidence, as well as considerations presented above, Obolo appears to be the most divergent of the group, so much so that its inclusion has perhaps to be justified. Work presented in Connell (in press a) has approached this question from the perspective of sound correspondences, showing that Obolo shares correspondences with the rest of Lower Cross that it does not have with other neighboring languages, e.g., /f/ : /w/, and /b/ : /f/; see 'witch', 'house', 'jump', 'forget', 'roast', and 'blow', for the former, and 'bury' and 'black' for the latter, in appendix A. Obolo's inclusion is also warranted on the basis of a number of lexical innovations which appear to characterize Lower Cross in that they are not attested in any of the other proposed Delta Cross branches. Among these are the aforementioned 'witch' and 'house', but also 'head', 'heart', 'thigh', and 'thief', to mention a few.⁷ Of these, 'house' may be an old root, as a possible cognate exists in Mbum (Adamawa; see Hino 1978), while 'head' may in fact be cognate with Upper Cross forms for 'neck'.

6.2 SUBGROUPING WITHIN LOWER CROSS

Other than the obvious autonomy of Obolo, there is some evidence of developments within Lower Cross that suggest a further internal subgrouping. This comes primarily in the form of sound correspondences and phonological development. The most informative diagnostic in this regard is the correspondence // : /d/ : /n/. Reconstructing this correspondence set to PLC */// (Connell in press a) leads to positing the Central Lower Cross subgroup, consisting of Anaang, Efai, Efik, Ekit, Etebi, Ibibio, Ibuoro, Ito, Itu Mbon Uso, Nkari, and Ukwa, which have merged PLC *l and *d. As the sole representative of the n part of this equation, Usaghade constitutes a unit on its own. Of the others, it is possible that Enwang and Uda together should be seen as forming a unit, on the basis of a shared PLC *b > v development. There is apparently no consistent correspondence set among the remaining languages of the group. These, although they do share a number of lexical similarities not found in the CLC group, are all seen as independent off shoots of the parent language.

⁷ The last of these is also of interest in that typically in the region, 'thief' is derived from the verb 'steal', whereas in Lower Cross it is derived from 'give'.

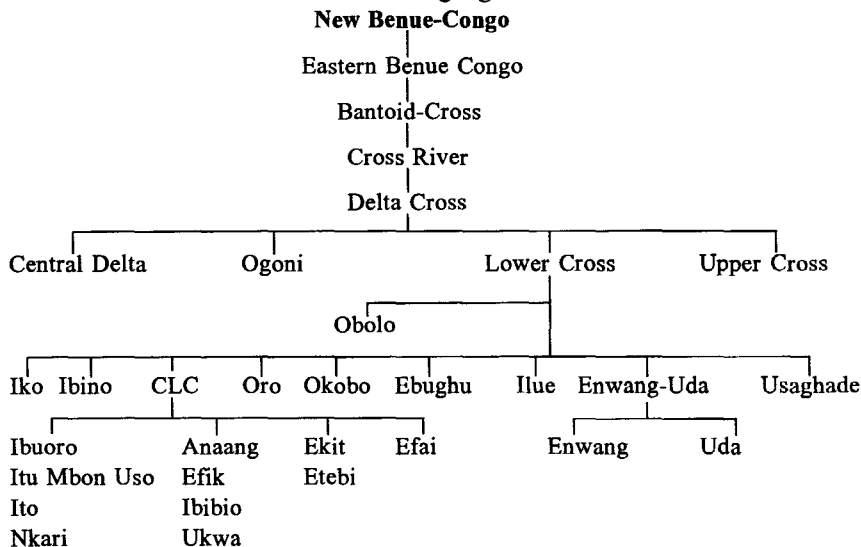
6.3 LOWER CROSS AND BEYOND

That the Lower Cross languages constitute a group, seems well supported. The tree in (5) summarizes the current thinking as to the classification of the Lower Cross languages, in terms of both its internal and external relationships. The nature of the relationship of the group to other languages outside Lower Cross, however, remains a matter for further research. Given our present state of knowledge, a number of questions remain to be resolved regarding the Delta Cross languages. The first of these is whether they do in fact constitute a valid subgrouping. Little evidence has actually been published to justify their being grouped together, however examination of wordlists from a wide range of languages in each of the four groupings (i.e., more material than that which has been available to other scholars addressing this question) does reveal a substantial degree of similarity, such that their inclusion together in a separate grouping (i.e., Delta Cross) does seem warranted.

A second question has to do with the integrity of each of the other branches, as has been addressed for Lower Cross in this paper. Both Central Delta and Ogoni (Kegboid) are sufficiently small and close knit that the evidence available for them appears satisfactory; in addition, two unpublished dissertations, Alex (1989) and Ikoro (1989), have presented phonological reconstructions that lend additional support to the establishment of these two groups. The situation for Upper Cross, however, is more complex. This group is larger and more diverse than any of the three other groups; there have been two reconstructions attempted, Dimmendaal (1978) and Sterk (n.d.), which have arrived at conflicting conclusions as to the internal grouping of Upper Cross. While it is possible that all of the languages currently classified as Upper Cross may in fact be closer to each other than to any other language, it seems further work must be done to confirm this, and firmly establish their subgroupings.

This consideration raises the next question, that of the relationships among the proposed four branches of Delta Cross. Thus far, work has not been undertaken to establish a hierarchy among the four. Initial impressions suggest that Lower Cross may be closer to Upper Cross; certainly LC appears to share a number lexical items and sound correspondences at least with some branches of UC that suggest this grouping. On the other hand, LC also may share a number lexical items and sound correspondences with Ogoni that suggest a different branching. Appropriate comparison among the four branches that would help to resolve this question has yet to be done.

(5) The classification of the Lower Cross languages



Yet a different order of question has to do with the relationships shared by Delta Cross as a group; first whether there are other languages which should be included. Our present state of knowledge suggests not; however the possibility cannot yet be ruled out. Related to this is the place of Delta Cross within Cross River, what relationship it shares with the Bendi branch (noting that all of the above questions need also be posed with respect to this branch), and whether there are any other languages or groups of languages that should in fact be considered part of Cross River. In this last regard, we note work by Ohiri-Aniche (forthcoming) which suggests that Ukaan, currently classified together with Akpes as a separate branch of Benue-Congo (Williamson 1989; Crozier and Blench 1992), may conceivably more appropriately belong with Cross River (though this is not clearly Ohiri-Aniche's conclusion).

Finally, in establishing the relationships of the Cross River languages, the question of their external affiliation needs to be considered. Several scholars (e.g., Greenberg 1963, Guthrie 1967, Winston 1971) have remarked on the close degree of similarity between Efik and Bantu, though only recently (Blench 1993a, b) has the possibility of a Bantoid–Cross node in the Benue-Congo hierarchy been mooted.

Investigating these questions is an endeavour well outside the scope of the present paper, however the present work hopes to have established a basis for the systematic comparison of purported Cross River languages that will eventually lead to their being answered.

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APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES ON THE WORDLISTS

1) Words in this list are extracted from a longer list of 565 words which has been collected for all languages represented here. For many of the languages a considerably larger body of data is available. To some extent, the words included may be considered core vocabulary (e.g., the inclusion of terms for body parts), though many cultural items useful for comparative work in the West African/ Benue-Congo context are also included.

2) The transcriptions given here conform to IPA conventions. N.B. /j/ represents a palatal approximant (/y/ is not used); /r/ is normally realized as [r], or [ɹ], and occasionally as [r̥]. The transcriptions are phonemic, although the following caution should be noted. For some languages the information available may have been insufficient to reveal all contrasts in the language, particularly among medial consonants (i.e., C₂), or possible remnants of an earlier [ATR] vowel contrast. None of the information available for any Lower Cross language gives any evidence of voicing contrast in word-final position (i.e., pre-pausally); for those languages where detailed analyses exist (see, e.g., Cook 1985 for Efik, Essien 1991 for Ibibio, Faraclas 1984a for Obolo, and Kuperus 1978 for Oro, as well as general discussion in Connell 1991a), the most plausible phonemic analysis is to associate final [p t k] with /b d k/, respectively. This analysis is here assumed for all languages of the group, and has been tentatively reconstructed for PLC (Connell 1991a).

As mentioned in §3.2, vowels tend to centralize and shorten in closed syllables, sometimes extremely so (i.e., to a brief schwa); in instances where this has made it difficult, given the data available, to determine the phonemic identity of the vowel, it has simply been left as /ə/.

3) Vestiges only remain of the Proto-Lower Cross noun classification system (Connell 1987). Where the system of alternating prefixes for singular and plural forms has been retained, these are included in the list in the usual manner: Usakade **ú-βô** / **m-** 'head', with the **m-** being the plural form (i.e., **mbô**, in this case). For some [+human] nouns, (e.g., for 'woman') the plural form is a suppletive, and these have, in some cases, been included, and are separated from the singular form with a '/'. Other instances of more than one form per gloss, separated with ';' indicate more than one word for that gloss; these may, at least for Anaang and Ibibio, be dialectal variations.

4) Verbs are given in their imperative form, which is the minimal (spoken) form of the verb.

5) Proto-Lower Cross reconstructed forms are given where these have been arrived at relatively straightforwardly. In reading these, it should be borne in mind that while the consonant system has been systematically reconstructed (Connell (in press a); see appendix B for a table giving reflexes of the PLC system of initial consonants), work on both the PLC vowel system and tonal system is ongoing; vowel symbols and tone marking used here are done so with a reasonable degree of confidence, based on results thus far, but are not the result of systematic reconstruction, and are subject to revision.

COMPARATIVE WORDLISTS

	head	hair	eye	nose
Anaang	iwòd	irèd	àpèn	iwúó
Ebughu	ú-búkò / m-	ídjè	àpè	ìbúkó
Efai	í-búkò / m-	ídjè	èpè	mbúkó
Efik	ìbwòd	idéd	èpìn	ìbwó
Ekit	ìbúkò	idèi	àpì	ìbúkó
Enwang	úbúkù	ídi	àpì	ìbúkú
Etebi	ìbókò	ídíd	àpì	ìbúkó
Ibibio	í-wúud / η-	idéd	àpìn	iwúó
Ibino	íwò	idéd	èpè	mbó
Ibuoro	ìbwòd	ntàṅ	èpìn	ìbwó
Iko	íwò	idéd	èpè	mbó
Iue	úbúkù	ídi	àpì	ìbúkú
Ito	ìbúd	idéd	àpìn	ìbú
ItuMbuso	ìbòd	idéd	èpìn	ìbwó
Nkari	ìbòd	idéd	àpìn	ìbwó
Obolo	ìbòd	ídʒéd ; idʒéré	étʃièṅ ; sèn	ṅʷóṅ
Okobo	úbúkù	idèi	àpì	ìbúkó
Oro	ú-búkò / m-	ídi	ṅkínṅì	ìbú
Uda	úbúkù	ídi	usib èpì	ìbúkú
Ukwa	ìbwòd	idéd	àpìn	ìbwó
Usakade	ú-βò / m-	í-dé	é-nèn / a-	í-βò
PLC	*ú-búkòd / m-	*í-déd	*é-nèn / a-	*í-búkó ; *ṅʷóṅ

	mouth	tooth	tongue	jaw
Anaang	inwà	érèd	édémè	m̀bàṅ
Ebughu	inwè	édi	élèi	m̀bàṅ
Efai	inwà	édjè	édòì	ùká
Efik	inwà	édèd	édémè	m̀bàṅ
Ekit	inwà	édei	édje	m̀bàṅ
Enwang	inwà	édi	é'délèi	m̀bàṅ
Etebi	inwà	édíd	édi	m̀bàṅ
Ibibio	inwà	édéd	édémè	m̀bàṅ
Ibino	inwà	édèd	élòm ; édómò	ùká
Ibuoro	inwà	édèd	édémè	m̀bàṅ
Iko	inwà	édéd	élòm	oga
Iue	inwè	édi	élài	m̀bàṅ
Ito	inwà	édòd	édémè	m̀bàṅ
ItuMbuso	inwà	édéd	édémè	ìbàṅ
Nkari	inwà	édéd	édéma	ìbàṅ
Obolo	otú	édʒéd ; édʒéré	alòm	ùgá
Okobo	inwè	éde	élài	m̀bàṅ
Oro	inwè	édi	élèi	m̀bàṅ
Uda	inwà	édi	élèi	m̀bàṅ
Ukwa	inwà	édéd	édém	m̀bàṅ
Usakade	ìṅwà	é-dé / a-	é-nèm / a-	m̀-̀bàṅ
PLC	*í-nuà	*é-dèd / a-	*é-lémè / a-	*m̀-̀bàṅ ; *ù-kà

	face	ear	chin	neck
Anaang	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Ebughu	əpè	útóŋ	ébèk	útóŋ
Efai	əpè	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Efik	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Ekit	ísí	útóŋ	ébàk	ìtóŋ
Enwang	əpì	útóŋ	ébèk	útóŋ
Etebi	ísjó	útóŋ	ébàk	ìtóŋ
Ibibio	ísó ; ísí	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Ibino	əpè ; ísó	útóŋ	épèk	ìtóŋ
Ibuoro	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Iko	ísó əpè	útóŋ	ébébèk	ìtóŋ
Ilue	əpì	útóŋ	əbjèk	útóŋ
Ito	ísí	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
ItuMbuso	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Nkari	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Obolo	ísí	útóŋ	mferè	ébèk
Okobo	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Oro	əpì	ú-tóŋ / ə-	ébèk	útóŋ
Uda	əpì	útóŋ	ébèk	útóŋ
Ukwa	ísó	útóŋ	ébèk	ìtóŋ
Usakade	í-só / n-	ú-tóŋ / a-	é-dékpèk / a-	ù-tóŋ / n-
PLC	*í-síó (~ əpèn)	*ú-tóŋ / a-	*é-bèk / a-	*ù-tóŋ

	arm	elbow	body	breast
Anaang	óbók	ítód ókwàŋá	ídém	éba
Ebughu	úbók	ékùŋ úbók	ìlé	ébé
Efai	úbók	ékùŋ úbók	ídé	ébé
Efik	úbók	ékùŋ úbók	ídém	éba
Ekit	úbá?	ékóm úbá?	ídi	ébé
Enwang	úbók	ékwoŋ úbók	ìlé	ébé
Etebi	úbá?	ékwoŋ úbá?	ídi	ébé
Ibibio	úbók	ékùŋ úbók	ídém	éba
Ibino	úpók		ídé	épa
Ibuoro	úbók	èkwòŋi	ídém	éba
Iko	óbók	ékwoŋ óbók	ídé	éba
Ilue	úbók	ékùŋ úbók	ìni ówòm	əbjé
Ito	úbók	ékùŋ úbók	ídém	éba
ItuMbuso	úbók	èkwòŋi	ídém	éba
Nkari	úbók	é!kwòŋi	ídém	éba
Obolo	úbók	ákpád úbók	ákpá lék	ébé
Okobo	úbók	áták ákwòŋ	ìlé	éba
Oro	ú-bók / ə-		ìlé	ébé
Uda	úbó?	ékùŋ úbó?	épód ìlé	ébé
Ukwa	úbók	èkwòŋi	ídém	éba
Usakade	ú-βók / a-		ú-ném / n-	é-βá / a-
PLC	*ú-bók / a-	*é-kùòŋ ~	*í-lém	*é-bá / a-

	vagina	leg	thigh	knee
Anaang	ítúd	úkód	ìfókó	édón
Ebughu	áták	úkwó	ùdìb úkwò	élon
Efai	ata	úkwó	ìfúk ìkpè	édón
Efik	ítíd / édák	úkód	ìfókí	édón
Ekit	ítíd	úkó ^u	ìfó ^l 'kó?	édón
Enwang	áták	úkú	ìfúk úkú	élon
Etebi	ítíd	úkó?	ìfá ^l 'kó	édón
Ibibio	ítíd	úkód	ìfákò	édón
Ibino	éták	úkód	ìfák úkòd	éljón
Ibuoro	ítúd	úkód	ìfódé	édón
Iko	útíd	úkód	ìfó úkòd	ékwòñ úkòd
Ilue	éfád	úkú	ìfák úkú	élon
Ito	ítíd	úkód	ìfùí	
ItuMbuso	ítúd	úkód	éfúk údók	édón
Nkari	ítíd	úkód	ìfók udúk	édón
Obolo	édím	úkód	ówód úkód	ák ^w ád úkód
Okobo	útíd	úkú	mífúká úkú	élon
Oro	áták	ú-kú / o-	ùdìb úkú	élon
Uda	áták	úkú	mfúk úkú	élon
Ukwa	ítíd	úkód	ìfókí	édón
Usakade	ú-tê / n-	ú-kó / a-	ù-fó àkò / m-	é-nún / n-
PLC		*ú-kód / a-		*é-lón / n-

	foot	skin	bone	nail
Anaang	ìkpàd / ñm	ìkpá idèm	ákpó	mbara
Ebughu	ùpè	ìpá ilè	ópó	m̄bá
Efai	ìkpè	ìkpók idè	ókpó	m̄badá
Efik	ìkpàd	ìkpá idèm	ókpó	m̄badá
Ekit	ìkpè	ìkpé idì	ákpó	m̄badá
Enwang	ùpè	ìpé	ópó	m̄bá
Etebi	úkó?	ìkpi idì	ákpó	m̄badá
Ibibio	ìkpàd / ñm	ìkpá	ákpó	m̄badá
Ibino	úkód	ìkpá idè	ókpó	m̄badá
Ibuoro	ìkpàd	ìkpá idèm	ókpó	m̄badá
Iko	ìkpàd	ìkpád idè	úkúb	m̄badá
Ilue	ókpè	ñm̄kpók ìní	ókpó	m̄bá
Ito	ìkpàd	ìkpá	ókpó	m̄badá
ItuMbuso	ìkpàd	ìkpá idèm	ókpó	m̄badá
Nkari	ìpád	ìpá idèm ; ìfòòd	ópó	m̄badá
Obolo	ákádʒòd úkód	ákpá	úk ^w úúk ; úkúp	ábòm
Okobo	ùpá	ìpá ilè	ópó	m̄bá
Oro	ókùkpè	ìkpi ilè	ó-kpó / i-	ù-bá / m-
Uda	òkpè	ìkpi ilè	ópó	m̄bá
Ukwa	ìkpàd	ìkpá idèm	ókpó	m̄badá
Usakade	ù-bákò / m-	ì-bá únèm	ú-sib / n-	ù-βaná / m-
PLC	*ì-kpàd / ñm-	*ì-kpá ; ì-kpók	*ó-kpó	*ù-balá / m-

	blood	saliva	urine	faeces
Anaang	íjùùb ; óbàrà	étáb	ḡkùm	áfíd
Ebughu	úbàdà	íté	ḡkòm	ínjónḡ
Efai	ákpòdà	nté	ḡkòm	ínjónḡ
Efik	íjìb	étáb	íkìm	ífwò
Ekit	umjéné	nté	íkìm	ètèdè
Enwang	àpòdà	été	ḡkòm	ínjónḡ
Etebi	íjìb	nté	íkòm	ètàdè
Ibibio	íjùùb ; umjána	étáb	íkìm	údwarḡ ; ífwò
Ibino	ítjùp	útáp	ḡkòm	mímjónḡ
Ibuoro	ejìb	étád	íkòm	ífwò
Iko	izùùb	útáb	ḡkìm	mímjónḡ
Iue	íjì	étjé	ḡkòm	ínjónḡ
Ito	íjùùb	étáb	íkùm	ífwò
ItuMbuso	ejùùb	étáb	íkùm	úfúd ; èdèm ókò
Nkari	íjùùb	étáb	íkùm	úfíd ; mpé
Obolo	edzè	ḡ'kòó ; átádá	anaañḡ	íñḡ
Okobo	úbòdà	íté	úkòm	údwarḡ
Oro	úbàdà	íté	ḡkòm	ídjónḡ
Uda	àpòdà	íté	ḡkòm	ínjónḡ
Ukwa	ejìb	étáb	íkòm	ífwò
Usakade	u-jì	á-dó	ú-kùm	ù-tù
PLC	* -jùùb		*ú-kùm	

	person	man	woman	child
Anaang	áḡwó	áḡwódeèn	áḡwónḡwàn	ájén
Ebughu	añwí	añwèni	añwà	újètò
Efai	añwé	umi añwè	ḡḡwà añwè	ájùtò
Efik	ówó	èdén òwò	ḡwàn	éjén
Ekit	añwé	ánìni èḡwè	añwé ḡwà	ájù
Enwang	añwú	añwú	ḡḡwà !añwù	éjò
Etebi	añwé	ìni añwè	añwañwà	ájó
Ibibio	áwó	áwódeèn	añwàn / íbààn	ájìn / ñdítò
Ibino	èḡwé	èni èḡwè	añwañwà	òtjjó / ñdítò
Ibuoro	ówó	dèèn	ḡwàn	éjén
Iko	èḡwé	ìni èḡwè	èḡwéwà	éjò
Iue	ónwú	umi èwùm	ḡwà	ónjò
Ito	ówú	dén ówù	wàn	éjén
ItuMbuso	ówóm	édén ówòm	ḡwàn / íbààni	éjén / ñtítòḡjò
Nkari	ówóm	ídíèni	íbààni	ónjén / ñtítòḡjò
Obolo	èné ; úḡwú	énérjèḡ	íbààn / èbí	ḡwúḡ / ñsàbón
Okobo	añwé	añwé èni	ájò ḡwà	ájò / ñdítùd ìjò
Oro	ónwí / e-	ónḡwí èni	èḡwà / m̀m̀àni	ónjò
Uda	ónwú	ìni óḡwù	úḡwà óḡwù	ónjò
Ukwa	ówó	édén òwò	ḡwàn	éjén
Usakade	ónwóm / e-	ò-ìni / e-	òḡwàn / èḡàni	ò-jén / e-
PLC	*ó-ḡwóm / e-	*ó-dèèn óḡwòm	*-ḡwàn / *íbààn	*ón-jén / e-

	husband	wife	father	mother
Anaang	èbé ; ádóm	ḡḡwán	èté ; èté	èkà
Ebughu	ìbjé	ḡḡwá	èñé	èkjè
Efai	èbjé	ḡḡwán	ètjé	ètjé
Efik	èbé	ḡwán	èté	èkà
Ekit	èbèí	ánḡwá	ètí	èkè
Enwang	èví	ḡḡwá níló	ètí	èkjè
Etebi	èbód	ḡwá	ètí	èkè
Ibibio	èbé	ánḡwán / íbaán	èté	èkà
Ibino	èpé	ḡwá	èsó	èkà
Ibuoro	èbé	ḡwán	èté	èkà
Iko	èbé	ánḡwá	èsó	èkà
Ilue	èbí	ḡwá níló	ètí	èkà
Ito	èbé	wán	èté	èkà
ItuMbuso	èbé	ḡwán / íbaáni	èté	èkà
Nkari	èbé	áwán	nítaá ; èté	nne ; èkà
Obolo	ólóm	ḡwá	úté	úgà
Okobo	èbé	ḡwá	èté	èkè
Oro	èbí	ḡwá	ètí	èkè
Uda	èví	ḡwá	ètí	èkè
Ukwa	èbé	ḡwán	èté	èkà
Usakade	è-βé / a-	è-ḡwán	è-té / a-	è-kà / a-
PLC	*ò-lóm ; *è-béd	*ḡwán	*è-té / a-	*è-kà / a-

	in-law	guest/stranger	chief	doctor
Anaang	úkòd	ètjén ágwò	á!bòḡ	ábjà íbòk
Ebughu	úkwo	ásí èḡwí	á-!bún údòḡ / i-	ébàk íbò?
Efai	úkwu	àsé èḡwè	á!bwóḡ	àbùk íbòk
Efik	úkòd	èsjén ówò	ó!bóḡ	ábjà íbòk
Ekit	úkò ^u	ásí èḡwè	á!bòḡ	àbí íbòk
Enwang	úkù	àsé óḡwù	ó-!vóḡ / mi-	àbùk íbòk
Etebi	úkòd	ásí èḡwè	á!bwóḡ	ábjà íbò?
Ibibio	úkòd	àsén ówò	á-!bóóḡ / m- / i-	ábjà íbòk
Ibino	úkòd	ìtjén é!ḡwé	ó!bóḡ	ábjà ípòk
Ibuoro	úkòd	èsén	á!bóóḡ	ábjà íbòk
Iko	úkòd	ìtjén èḡwè	ó!béóḡ	ábjà èḡwè
Ilue	úkù	òkjé óḡwù	ó!bwóḡ	ábjà íbòk
Ito	úkí	èsjén ówù	ó!bóḡ	òkò? ú!dóḡó
ItuMbuso	úkòd	è-kjén ówòm / i-	ó-!bóóḡ / m-	ábjà íbòk
Nkari	úkòd	èsén ówòm	ó-!bóóḡ / m-	ábjà íbòk
Obolo	úgòd	ùḡwù ìtjén	úbóóḡ	ùḡwóḡfjà
Okobo	úkò	á!f èḡwè	á!bwóḡ	àbù íbòk
Oro	úkò	òkí èḡwí	ó!fóḡ	íbòk
Uda	úkù	àsé óḡwù	ó!vó	àbù íbòk
Ukwa	úkòd	usén ówò	ó!bóḡ	ábjà íbòk
Usakade	ú-kòd / n-	ò-tjén / i-	ù-múó / a-	ò-kók íbòk / e-
PLC	*ú-kòd	*ò-kjén ~ / e-	*ó-!bóóḡ / i-	*á-bià -

	witch	thief	corpse	name
Anaang	ifód	inó	ókpo ág'wò	árin
Ebughu	ifó	inó	épuŋ'wí	érin
Efai	ifúó	inó	ókpo aŋ'wè	éjin
Efik	ifód	inó	ókpo	éneŋ
Ekit	ifu	inó	ákpou	árin
Enwang	ifu	inó	ápu	érin
Etebi	ifu	inó	ákpó aŋ'wè	árin
Ibibio	ifód	inó	ákpó	árin
Ibino	ifód	inó	ókpo	éŋŋ
Ibuoro	ifód	inó	ókpo	éŋjén
Iko	ifód	inó	ákpó éŋ'wè	ézen
Ilue	ifó	inó	ókpu	éŋŋ
Ito	ifód	inó	ókpu ówú	érin
ItuMbuso	ifód	inó	ókpo ówóm	érin
Nkari	ifód	inó	épo ówóm	éjin
Obolo	iwód	inó	ŋŋ'wúk'w'urŋ	éŋjén
Okobo	ifó?	inó	ópu	éŋjén
Oro	ifó	inó	ékpú	éneŋ
Uda	ifu	inó	ókpu óŋ'wú	érin
Ukwa	ifód	inó	ókpo	érin
Usakade	i-fó / m-	á-jib	ó-bó / e-	é-jin / a-
PLC	*i-fód	*i-nó	*ó-kpo óg'wóm	*é-jén

	water	wine	food	soup
Anaang	mímúóŋ	úkòd	nmidja	áféré
Ebughu	mímóŋ	ními	úljá	éfédé
Efai	mímóŋ	ními	údja	éfédé
Efik	mímóŋ	nímín	údja	éfédé
Ekit	mímóŋ	úkò	ndidja	áfédé
Enwang	mímóŋ	ními	m'pi lja	éfédé
Etebi	mímwóŋ	úkò	ndidja	áfédé
Ibibio	mímóŋ	úkòd	ndidja	áfédé
Ibino	mímúŋ	mímún	ŋm'kpó lja	éfédé
Ibuoro	mímúŋ	úkòd	ndja	éfédé
Iko	mímóŋ	újé nímín	ndilja	usum ; áfédé
Ilue	mímóŋ	ními	úljé	ófédé
Ito	mímóŋ	mímín	údja	éfédé
ItuMbuso	mímúŋ	úkòd	ndja	éfédé
Nkari	mímúŋ	úkòd	ndja	éfédé
Obolo	mímúŋ	mímín	inó rje / úrje	usun
Okobo	mímúóŋ	ními	élie	áfédé
Oro	mímóŋ	ními	ŋk'lie / úljé	éfédé
Uda	mímóŋ	ními	m'plíá	éfédé
Ukwa	mímóŋ	mímín	údja	áfédé
Usakade	é-móŋ	é-mín / a-	m-bó	ó-fédé
PLC	*i-móŋ	*m-mín	*ù-líá	*é-fédé

	meat	fish	fat (n.)	oil
Anaang	únàm / ékú	íják	ókpón	áràn
Ebughu	únà	éják	ísèk	ádà
Efai	únà	éják		ádà
Efik	únàm	íják	ísèk / íkpón	ádàn
Ekit	únà	íjá?	ákpón	ádè
Enwang	únà	íják	ísèk	ára
Etebi	únà	íjá	ókpón	ádè?
Ibibio	únàm / ékú	íják	ákpón	ádàn
Ibino	únàm	átfák	íkún	édàn
Ibuoro	únàm	íják	úbòm	ádàn
Iko	únàm	ézák	ákpón	édàn
Ilue	únà	éják	ókpón / ébù	ádà
Ito	únàm	íják	íkón	ádàn
ItuMbuso	únàm	íják	èbèké / ífièk	ádàn
Nkari	únàm	íják	ópón	ádàn
Obolo	ánàm	írí	úfúk	árá
Okobo	únà	íják	ísèk / ípón	ádà
Oro	únà	áják	ísìk	ádà
Uda	únà	íjá?	ísèk	ádà
Ukwa	únàm	íják	ókpón	ádàn
Usakade	ú-βúk / m-	ò-déné émò / i-	ú-sák	ó-dàn / i-
PLC	*ú-nàm	*é-ják / i-		*á-dàn
	salt	yam	cocoyam	okra
Anaang	ínò	édjá	íkpon	átíkè
Ebughu	únur	èbedè	ipón	étíkétíkè
Efai	ínur	àbidè	nmkpón	ítíkí
Efik	ínur	bjà	íkpon	étígí
Ekit	ínò	udjá	íkpon	átíkè
Enwang	únò	èbedè	ipón	átíkí
Etebi	ínò	udjá	íkpon	átíkà
Ibibio	ínur	udjá	íkpon	átíkè
Ibino	únur	àbjàn	íkpon	étíkè
Ibuoro	ínur	bjà	nmkpón	étíkí
Iko	únur	àbjàn	íkpon	átíkè
Ilue	únur	òbidè	íkpon	étíkétíkí
Ito	ínò	bjà	nmkpón	étíkí
ItuMbuso	ínur	bjà	nmkpón	étíkí
Nkari	ínò	àbjà	mpon	ítíkí
Obolo	útí	úk wá	íkpon / gbán	édékè
Okobo	ínur	àbedè	ipón	átíkè
Oro	únò	èbedè	íkpon	étíkétíkè
Uda	únò	èbedè	ipón	étíkétíkí
Ukwa	ínur	àbjà	nmkpón	étíkí
Usakade	ú-nur	ò-βèdè / i-	à-sónó / e-	ú-tíkí / a-
PLC	*ú-nò	*-bèdè ; *à-biàn		*é-tíkè / a-

	farm	grass	fire	firewood
Anaang	ɲwán	m̀bjéd / ɲkùp	íkán	ífjá
Ebughu	úkó	ìbjé	úkán	ífjá
Efai	ɲwán	m̀bjé	íkán	
Efik	ɲwán	m̀bjéd	íkán	ífjá
Ekit	ɲwán	m̀bjé?	íkán	ífjá
Enwang	úkó	ìbì	úkán	ífjá
Etebi	ɲwán	m̀bìs?	íkán	ífjá
Ibibio	ɲwán	m̀bìséd	íkán	ífjá
Ibino	ɲwán	m̀bìíd	íkán	ífjá
Ibuoro	ɲwán	m̀bjód	íkán	ífjá
Iko	ɲwán	m̀mjéd	íkán	ífjá
Ilue	úkó	ìbì	úkán	ífjé
Ito	ɲwón		íkán	ífjá
ItuMbuso	ɲwán	m̀bìíd	íkán	ífjá
Nkari	ɲwán	m̀bìíd	íkán	ífjá
Obolo	úkó	m̀bùbíd	úkán	ìjé
Okobo	ɲwán	ìbì	íkán	ífjá ikán
Oro	úkó	ìbì	ékán	ífjé ékán
Uda	úkó	ìbì	úkán	ífjá
Ukwa	ɲwán	m̀bìíd	íkán	ífjá
Usakade	á-tjá	m̀bìdífid	ú-kán	ú-fjá
PLC	*ú-kód ; *i-ɲwán	*-bìíd	*-kán	*i-ífiá

	charcoal	ashes	cooking pot	waterpot
Anaang	ɲkán	ntón	òkò ; ësjo	ábán
Ebughu	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì	ábán m̀m̀wón
Efai	ɲkán	ntón	ísìù	ábán m̀m̀wón
Efik	ɲkán	ntón	èsò ; ësjo	ábán
Ekit	úkán	ntón	àkò ; àkúkwa	ábán
Enwang	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì	ábán
Etebi	ɲkán	ntón	ìsjo	ábán
Ibibio	ɲkán / úkán	ntón	àkò ; ësjo	ábán
Ibino	m̀bìdè ákán	ntón	átɲ	ápán m̀m̀wón
Ibuoro	ɲkán	ntón	èsò	í'djòk
Iko	m̀bìd íkán	ntón	átɲ áfèdè	ábán ídím
Ilue	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì	ábán m̀m̀wón
Ito	ɲkán	ntón	èsì	ábán
ItuMbuso	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì ; èsò	ábán ; ídìòk
Nkari	ɲkán	ntón	èsò	ábán m̀m̀wón ; ídìòk
Obolo	m̀fífíd úkán	ntón	òtɲ	ògón
Okobo	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì	ábán
Oro	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì	ába
Uda	ɲkán	ntón	ùsì	ùsì
Ukwa	ɲkán	ntón	èsò	ábán
Usakade	ɲ-kán	n-tón	ú-sè / n-	ò-kò / i-
PLC	*m̀bìd '-kán	*n-tón	*ò-kò ; *ú-sè ; *è-sìò	*á-bán

	mortar	metal / iron	hoe (n.)	axe
Anaang	óròṅ	úkwàk	óròk	èkùd
Ebughu	údòṅ	úkwàk	ùkùdé	ìkìd
Efai	údùṅ	úkwàk	údòk	ìkìd
Efik	údùṅ	úkwàk	údòk	èkùdì
Ekit	údòṅ	úkwà?	údò?	ìkìd
Enwang	údòṅ	úkwàk	ódòk	ìkìd
Etebi	údòṅ	úkwà?	úda ànò	ìkìd
Ibibio	údòṅ	úkwàk	údòk	èkùd
Ibino	úuṅ	úkwàk	údòk	èkùd
Ibuoro	údùṅ	úkwàk	údòk	èkùdì
Iko	údòṅ	úkwàk	údòk	abùbù
Ilue	údùṅ	úkwàk	ùkùdé	ìkìd
Ito		úkwà?	údò?	èkùdì
ItuMbuso	ódùṅ	úkwàk	údòk	èkùdì
Nkari	ódòṅ	úkwàk	ódòk	èkùdì
Obolo	òtìk	òbúk *òd/ íg'wè	óròk ; àsàk	ótùbàn
Okobo	údòṅ	úkwàk	ékòno	ìkìd
Oro	údùṅ	úkwàk	údò ìkùdè	ìkìd
Uda	údòṅ	úkwàk	ódòk	ìkìd
Ukwa	údùṅ	úkwàk	údòk	èkùdì
Usakade	ú-dùṅ / n-	ú-kwàk / ṅ-	é-kòdì / a-	ú-βóàtì / m-
PLC	*ú-dòṅ	*ú-kuàk	*ó-dòk	*`-kùd

	bow	arrow	rope	bag
Anaang	ùtjà	ìràṅ	ódòk	èkpad
Ebughu	ùtìkè	ìdòṅ	òbjò	èpè
Efai	ùtìkà	ìdàṅ	òbjò	èkpè
Efik	ùtìkà	ìdàṅ	údúk	èkpad
Ekit	ùtìkà	ìdàṅ	údòk	èkpad
Enwang	ùtìkè	ìdàṅ	údòk	èpè
Etebi	ùtìkà	ìdàṅ	údòk	èkpad
Ibibio	ùtìkà	ìdàṅ	údàk ; ìkpò	èkpad
Ibino	ùtigà	ṅkúkìm ùtìkà	ùlók	èkpa
Ibuoro	nté	ìdàṅ	ódòk	èkpad
Iko		ìdàṅ	áfìk	èkpa
Ilue	ùtài	ìdàṅ	òbjò	èkpè
Ito	ùtìkà	ìdàṅ	údàk	èkpad
ItuMbuso	ntài	ìdàṅ	údúk	èkpad
Nkari	ntài	ìdàṅ	údòk	èpad
Obolo	ògbàṅ	òràṅ	ófìk	àkpa
Okobo		édwè	ódúk	èpa
Oro	ùtìkè	ìdàṅ	òbjò	èkpè
Uda	ùtìkè	ìdàṅ	òbjò	èkpè
Ukwa	ní	ìdàṅ	údúk	èkpad
Usakade	ù-tìkà / n-	ì-dàṅ	ó-núk / i-	è-bà / a-
PLC	*ù-tìkà	*ì-dàṅ	*ó-lók	*è-kpad / a-

	mat (sleeping)	house	village	market
Anaang	ájà	úfòk	íròṅ	òr̀wà
Ebughu	m̀bíd	úfòk	údòṅ	úd̀wè
Efai	m̀bíd	úfòk	ídòṅ	úd̀wà
Efik	m̀bídí	úfòk	òbjò	úd̀wà
Ekit	m̀bíd	úfà	ídòṅ	úd̀wà
Enwang	m̀bíd	úfòk	údòṅ	úd̀wà
Etebi	m̀bíd	úfà?	ídòṅ	úd̀wà
Ibibio	m̀bíd / ájâ	úfòk	ídòṅ	úd̀wà
Ibino	m̀bíd	úfòk	ídúṅ	úd̀wà
Ibuoro	m̀bédí	úfòk	òbjò	úd̀wà
Iko	ṅ̀m̀kpòtò	úfòk	ídòṅ	úd̀wà
Iue	édésá	úfòk	údúṅ	úd̀wè
Ito	m̀bédí	úfò?	ébi	úd̀wà
ItuMbuso	m̀bídí	úfòk	òbíò	òd̀wà
Nkari	m̀bídí	úfòk	òbíò	úd̀wà
Obolo	úte	úwù	àmà	éwé
Okobo	m̀búd / á'ké	úfòk	údúṅ	úd̀wè
Oro	m̀bíd	úfòk	údòṅ	úd̀wè
Uda	m̀bíd	úfòk	údòṅ	úd̀wà
Ukwa	m̀bédí	úfòk	òbjò	úd̀wà
Usakade	è-jàsà / a-	ú-fòk / a-	ó-βit / i-	ù-d̀wà / a-
PLC	*m̀- bíd / *è-jàsá	*ú-fòk / a-	*-dòṅ	*ù-d̀wà

	river	canoe	stone	ground
Anaang	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ ; ítjòṅ
Ebughu	ápá	ùbwó	útíké	ísòṅ
Efai	ókpa	ùbó	ítákí	ísòṅ
Efik	ákpa	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ
Ekit	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbú	ítjéd	ísòṅ
Enwang	ápá	ùbó	útíké	ísòṅ
Etebi	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbú	ítjád	ísòṅ
Ibibio	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ
Ibino	ákpa	ùmúm	ítjá	ísòṅ
Ibuoro	ínjàn	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ
Iko	ákpa	ùbóm	ítjá	ísòṅ
Iue	ákpa	ùbó	útái	ísòṅ
Ito	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbim	ítjád	ísòṅ
ItuMbuso	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ
Nkari	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ
Obolo	ókpa	úḍḍí	éwúú	ìḍzòṅ
Okobo	àdèk	ùbó	ítíké	ísòṅ
Oro	ákpa	ùbó	ú-tíké / n-	ísòṅ
Uda	ápá	ùbó	útíké	ísòṅ
Ukwa	ṅ̀nàṅ	ùbóm	ítjád	ísòṅ
Usakade	ò-dik	ù-βóm / a-	ú-tjá	ì-sòṅ
PLC	*ó-kpá / i-ṅ̀nàṅ	*ù-bóm	*ù-tíkád	*ì-sòṅ

	sand	mountain / hill	wind (n.)	rain (n.)
Anaang	ntán	ábód	áfúm	ìrim ; érim
Ebughu	ndíté	óbód	áfóm	édím
Efai	nté	óbód	áfóm	édím
Efik	ntán	óbód	ófúm	édím
Ekit	ndíté?	ábód	áfóm	édím
Enwang	ndíté	óbód	áfóm	édím
Etebi	ndíté	ábód	áfóm	édím
Ibibio	ntán	ábód ; akùkù	áfúm	édím
Ibino	ndítaná	òkùkù	ófóm	édím
Ibuoro	ntán	óbód	áfóm	édím
Iko	ntán	akùkù	áfóm	édím
Ilué	ndíté	óbód	ófúm	édím
Ito	ntán	ébid	áfóm	édím
ItuMbuso	ntán	òkpùkpò	ófúm	édím
Nkari	ntán	óbúd ; ópúpú	ófúm	édím
Obolo	átjǎŋ ; ntítaák	ógóŋ	éféð	ìbòð
Okobo	ndíté	óbód	áfóm	édó
Oro	ndíté ; njǎŋ	óbód	ófóm	édím
Uda	ndíté	óbód	ófúm	édím
Ukwa	ntán	óbód	ófóm	édím
Usakade	ú-sán	ó-búd / i-	ó-fúm / i-	é-dím
PLC	*n-tán	*ó-bód / i-	*ó-fúm	*é-dím

	sun	moon	day	night
Anaang	útún ; útín	áfǎŋ	úsèn	àkón ójò
Ebughu	útún	ófǎŋ	usò	òkó èjè
Efai	útún	áfǎŋ	usì	ítíd èjè
Efik	útún	ófǎŋ	úsèn	òkón èjò
Ekit	útún	áfǎŋ	usù	àkón
Enwang	útún	ófǎŋ	usè	élé íjì
Etebi	útún	áfǎŋ	usjò	ítíd íjè
Ibibio	útún	áfǎŋ	usèn	àkón èjò
Ibino	útún	ófǎŋ	úsèn	ítúd ótjǎŋ
Ibuoro	útún	áfǎŋ	úsèn	ítúd èjò
Iko	útún	áfǎŋ	usèn	ítúd èzjò
Ilué	útún	áfǎŋ	usì	útíd èjì
Ito	útún	ófǎŋ	usèn	èkín èjì
ItuMbuso	útún	ófǎŋ	usèn	ítúd ójò
Nkari	útún	ófǎŋ	usèn	úbid ójò
Obolo	urá	óŋǎŋ	usèn	ènjèŋ
Okobo	ítén	áfǎŋ	usè	mpá usùŋ
Oro	útún	áfǎŋ	usè	òkó èsì
Uda	útún	ófǎŋ	usè	élé èdʒì
Ukwa	útún	ófǎŋ	usèn	ítíd èjò
Usakade	ú-tún	ó-fǎŋ / i-	ó-kú / i-	ú-béd èjè / m-
PLC	*ú-tún	*ó-fǎŋ	*ú-sèn	

	war	hunger	illness	song / music
Anaang	ékóŋ	óbjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Ebughu	ékóŋ	m̀bjóŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwa
Efai	ékóŋ	m̀bjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwa
Efik	ékóŋ	bjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Ekit	ékóŋ	akáŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Enwang	ékóŋ	óbjóŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Etebi	ékóŋ	akáŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Ibibio	ékóŋ	abjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Ibino	ékúŋ	akáŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Ibuoro	ékóŋ	bjóŋ	ùdóŋ	m̀bidé
Iko	ékóŋ	abíóŋ útà	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Ilue	ékúŋ	m̀bjáŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Ito	ékóŋ	bjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
ItuMbuso	ékóŋ	bjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Nkari	ékóŋ	óbjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Obolo	akóŋ	úra afíóŋ	órùkãŋ	ók'wà
Okobo	ékúŋ	bjóŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Oro	ékúŋ ; ífúó	m̀bjóŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Uda	ékóŋ	óbjóŋ	ùlóŋ	íkwo
Ukwa	ékóŋ	abjóŋ	ùdóŋ	íkwo
Usakade	é-kóŋ / a-	è-bjóŋ	ù-βàŋ / a-	í-kjó
PLC	*é-kóŋ / a-	*ó-bíóŋ	*ù-lóŋ	*í-kuó

	word	language	animal	dog
Anaang	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	éwá
Ebughu	̀nsiŋé	ùsèm	únà	éba
Efai	íkwa	usè	únà	ébwá
Efik	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	ébwá
Ekit	íkwo		únà	éwá
Enwang	íkwo	ùsèm	únà	éwá
Etebi	íkwo	ùsèm	únà	éwá
Ibibio	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	éwá
Ibino	íkó		únàm	éwá
Ibuoro	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	ébwá
Iko	íkó	ùsèm	únàm íkòd	éwá
Ilue	íkwo	usèi	únà	ábwá
Ito	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	ébwá
ItuMbuso	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	ébwá
Nkari	íkó	ùsèm	únàm	ébwá
Obolo	í'kó	ùsèm	ánàm	ibó
Okobo	íkwo ; ñtìmá		únà	éwá
Oro	̀nsiŋi		ù-nà / n-	ábá
Uda	íkwo	ùsèm	únà	áva
Ukwa	íkó	̀nsèm	únàm	ébwá
Usakade	ù-sèm / n-	ù-sèm	ó-déné úkò / i-	ó-wá / i-
PLC	*í-kuó	*ù-sèm	*ù-nàm	*é-buá / i-

	goat	sheep	cow	leopard
Anaang	ébót	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Ebughu	égbó	édòŋ	énàŋ	épiè
Efai	ébwó	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpì
Efik	ébód	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Ekit	ébú	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpèi
Enwang	évú	édòŋ	énàŋ	épe
Etebi	ébwó	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpì
Ibibio	ébód	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Ibino	épód	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Ibuoro	ébéđ	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Iko	ébód	ádòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Ilue	ébú	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpì
Ito	ébid	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
ItuMbuso	ébéđ	édòŋ	énàŋ	é?pè / ékpè
Nkari	ébéđ	édòŋ	énàŋ	épe
Obolo	ébód	ádòŋ	érièŋ bwó	égbè
Okobo	ébú	édòŋ	énàŋ	épi
Oro	ófú	óđòŋ	ánàŋ	ókpi
Uda	óvú	óđòŋ	ánàŋ	ápi
Ukwa	ébid	édòŋ	énàŋ	ékpè
Usakade	ó-βó / i-	ó-đòŋ / i-	ó-nàŋ / i-	ó-bè / i-
PLC	*é-bód / i-	*é-đòŋ / i-	*é-nàŋ / i-	*é-kpè / i-

	elephant	monkey	tortoise	crocodile
Anaang	énùŋ	ébòk	íkúđ	áfjòm
Ebughu	éni	ébòk	úkíđ	áfàŋi
Efai	énèn	ébòk	íkíđ	áfàŋi
Efik	énèn / énin	ébòk	íkúđ	òfjòm
Ekit	éni	ébò?	íkíđ	áfjòm
Enwang	éni	ébòk	úkíđ	áfàŋi
Etebi	éni	ébwá?	íkíđ	áfjòm
Ibibio	énùŋ	ébòk	íkíđ	áfjòm
Ibino	énùŋ	épòk	íkúđ	òfjòm
Ibuoro	énùŋ	ébòk	íkúđ	áfjòm
Iko	énùŋ	ébòk	íkíđ	áfjòm
Ilue	éni	ébòk	úkíđ	òfjù
Ito	énin	ébò?	íkóđ	áfùŋ
ItuMbuso	énùŋ	ébòk	íkúđ	òfjòm
Nkari	énùŋ	ébòk	íkúđ	òfjòm
Obolo	énùŋ	ébòk	ík'wúđ	àsàk'wún
Okobo	éni	ébòk	úkúđ	áfjòm
Oro	óni	óbòk	úkíđ	òfjù
Uda	áni	óbòk	úkíđ	áfàŋi
Ukwa	énin	ébòk	íkúđ	éfjòm
Usakade	ó-nin / i-	ó-βòk / i-	ú-kú / ŋ-	è-fjèm / a-
PLC	*é-nùŋ / i-	*é-bòk / i-	ú-kúđ / ŋ-	*ò-fjèm / a-

	lizard (gen.)	toad	louse	housefly
Anaang	àkpók	ìkwòd	ńńán	úńp / ńsòŋ
Ebughu	òtòkwóŋ	ùkùkòd	ílán	ńsùŋ ídòŋ
Efai	ìkpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsòŋ
Efik	ékpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsùŋ
Ekit	àkpó?	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsòŋ
Enwang	èpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsùŋ ídòŋ
Etebi	àkpá?	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsòŋ
Ibibio	àkpók	ìkwòd	ídán ; ńdán	ńsùŋ
Ibino	òkpók	ìkwòd	íjáj	ńsùŋ
Ibuoro	ékpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsùŋ
Iko	àkpók		ílán	ńsòŋ
Iue	òkwóŋ	ìkwòd	ínán	ńsùŋ
Ito	ékpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsòŋ
ItuMbuso	ékpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsùŋ
Nkari	èpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsòŋ
Obolo	òkpók	àkwád	ídùk	àńánídzìŋ
Okobo	ùpók èlèlè	èkwòd	útjìnè	ńsùŋ úfòk
Oro	òtùkwóŋ	ùkùkòd	ílán	ńsùŋ ídòŋ
Uda	òpók	ìkwòd	ílán	ńsùŋ ídòŋ
Ukwa	ékpók	ìkwòd	ídán	ńsùŋ
Usakade	ó-kúdèdè / i-	ù-kùdàβóβó	ó-nán / i-	ú-sùŋ / n-
PLC	*`-kpók	*ì-kùòd	*ó-lán / i-	*ú-sòŋ / n-

	bee	fowl	bird	feather
Anaang	àkwók	únèn	ínwèn	ńtán
Ebughu	òkwók	únjè	únúŋò	ńdítíán
Efai	òkwók	únjè	í'núńú	ńbà
Efik	òkwók	únèn	í'ńwèn	ńtán
Ekit	àkwó?	ùnì	í'núgò ; ínògò	ńwà
Enwang	òkwók	ùnì	únúŋù	ńtán
Etebi	òkwó?	ùnì	ínúŋó	ńbàwà
Ibibio	àkwók	únèn	ínwèn ; í'ńwèn	ńtán
Ibino	òkwók	únòŋ	í'núún	ńbà únòŋ
Ibuoro	òkwók	únèn	ínwèn	ńtán
Iko	àkwók	únòŋ	í'ńwèn	òbú únòŋ
Iue	òkwók	ùnì	únúŋù	ńbà / ńdítíán
Ito	òkwók	únèn	í'ńwèn	ńtán únèn
ItuMbuso	òkwók	únìŋ	ínwèn	ńtán
Nkari	òkwók	únèn	í'ńwèn	ńtán
Obolo	àkwók	únòŋ	òfút	àkùkò
Okobo	kwók	únè	ínúŋù	ńtán
Oro	òkwók	ùnì	ú-núŋù ; n-	átán / n
Uda	òkwók	ùnì	únúŋù	ńtán
Ukwa	òkwók	únèn	ínwèn	ńtán
Usakade	ó-kwók	ú-nòŋ / i-	éi-nòŋ / ni-	í-βà / m-
PLC	*ó-kúók	*ú-nòŋ / i-	*í-núŋén	*ń-tán / *i-bà / m-

	egg	tail	black	white
Anaang	ɲkwà	èsim	əŋw ^w èŋw ^w èn	afjá
Ebughu	èmè	ùsim	àbìdìbìdè	afja
Efai	èmè	àsàm	úbíd	afjá
Efik	ńsèn	ìsim	òbúbíd	afjá
Ekit	ɲkwà únĩ	ìsim	ábúbídè	afjá
Enwang	èmè	ùsim	úbídè	afja
Etebi	ùkò ńĩ	ìsim	ábúbíd	afjá
Ibibio	ɲkwà	ìsim	ábúbíd	afjá
Ibino	ɲkwò únòñ	àsìim	úbíd	afjá
Ibuoro	ńsèn	ìsim	àbìbíd	afjá
Iko	ɲkwà	àsàm	úbíd	ufjá
Ihue	ńmè únĩ	ùsim	òbìdìbìdè	afje
Ito	ńsèn únèn	ìsim	òbúbíd	afjá
ItuMbuso	ɲkièn	ìsim	èbìdètik	afjá
Nkari	ńsèn	ìsim	èbùkètik ; òbúbíd	afjá
Obolo	ɲkwà únòñ	ìbòd ódìim	ófífíd	òkúkèd
Okobo	ńmè	ùsim	ábúbíd	afje
Oro	è-mè / i-	ù-sim / n-	èbìdìbìdè	efje
Uda	èmè	ùsim	úbídè	afjá
Ukwa	ńsèn	ìsim	aubíd	afja
Usakade	ú-tfén / n-	ù-sùm / n-	mèbìfìdè	òina
PLC	*ɲ-kièn / *ɲ-kwà	*ù-sim / n-	*-bíd	*afjá

	red	big	small	good
Anaang	àdàádàd	ɲm̀kpón	ètòkètòk	èti ; àfón
Ebughu	àdàdà	òbinú	újò	èti
Efai	ndèndè	òkpínó	ìjòutò	òfuò
Efik	ndánàdà ; idwòd	àkám̀bá / ákwà	èkpìdì	èti ; ó'fón
Ekit	ndìdjè	àkpúwò	ètòk ètòk	á'fwò
Enwang	adàdà	apínú	újújò	èti
Etebi	ídúidúkò	àkpókò	ètòètòk	èti
Ibibio	ndánàdà	ákwà / àkpón	ètòk ; à-kpàdà / ɲɲ-	èti
Ibino	nlánl̀ad	àkwáká	èkemé	èti
Ibuoro	ndánàdà	ákwà	àkpàdà	ɲje
Iko	izib	àkwáák̀wáká	ètò ètò	á'fón
Ihue	ídíkù	òkpínó	újèti	èti
Ito	ndánàdà	àkám̀bá	àkpòdì	èti
ItuMbuso	éjèj̀ibé	ákwà	òsìsìj̀on	ó'fón
Nkari	ndáná ; ndánàdà	ákwà	àpàdà	ó'fón
Obolo	arar̀ar̀	ìkpìlè	tòntúkúik	atá ; idzáná
Okobo	adàdà	apínú	újò upòk	èti
Oro	adàdà	òkpínó	ntiti ; újò	éjèi
Uda	ídíkídíkù	òpínú	újújò	èti
Ukwa	í-dwòd	òkpìn / àkám̀bá	èkpìdì	ó'fón
Usakade	ú-bà	m̀bìbòn	m̀bùném̀bùn	kàkà

	bad	old	new	hot
Anaang	ĩ̀òk	ákàn	ófá	újò ; ótjò
Ebughu	ùdjòk	ákàn	njáfá	òjúkó
Efai	ó'djòk	àdúkú	njáfá	úfjòb
Efik	ìdjòk	ákàni	òbúfá	úfjòb
Ekit	ìdió?	á'kàná	úfaká	úfjòb
Enwang	ó'djòk	ákàn	njáfá	òjúkó
Etebi	ìdjò?	úsón	njáfá	afjòb
Ibibio	ìdjòk ; i'djòk	àkàan	úfá	úfjòb ; újê
Ibino	ìdjòk	ákàan	úfá	úfjòp
Ibuoro	ìdjòk	ákàni	ófúfá	njèjèké
Iko	ìdjòk	á'tjón	áfá	ajiké
Ilue	ùdjòk	òbúpú	òbúfá	òjò
Ito	ìdjò?	úsón ; akàni	ábúfá	ufib
ItuMbuso	ìdjòk	àkàani	áfúfá	úfjòb
Nkari	ìdjòk	ákàani	áfúfá	ó!fjòb
Obolo	ìdjó	òkà	ájájá	úkàn ; újòk
Okobo	ùdjòk	ákàn	úfá	úfjòb
Oro	ásáká	òkíníkjón	njáfá	òjúkó
Uda	ùdjòk	úsón	njáfá	újòkò
Ukwa	ìdjòk	úsón	áfá	úfjòb
Usakade	ú'taká	ákàni	ófátám	mífé
PLC	* -diók	*ákàna	* -fa	* -fjòb ; * -jòk

	cold	wet	dry (a.)	eat
Anaang	átwéb / ñnèdèn	ñnèdèn	ñtjad	djá
Ebughu	ábid	ábidmbid	àkì ikóná	ljá
Efai		mbidmbid	ñtjad	djá
Efik	mbidmbid	mbidmbid	ñsád	djá
Ekit	mbidmbid	ndèdèn	ñsád	djá
Enwang	ábid	ábid	ákjána	ljá
Etebi	ndèdèn	ndèdèn	ñsád	djá
Ibibio	ndèdèn	ndèdèn	ñsáád	djá
Ibino	m̀bèb̀ik	ndèdèn	ñtjad	ljá
Ibuoro	ndèdèbé	ndèdèbé	ñsádádé	djá
Iko	áb̀ik	áb̀iké	ñtjad	ljá
Ilue	ùbidfibi	òbid	ákínakárj	ljé
Ito	mbidmbid ; twéb	mbidmbid	ñsásád	djá
ItuMbuso	ndèbndèbè	ndèbndèbè	ñkjádikjad	djá
Nkari	mbidmbid	èdèbòsòk	ñsaád	djá
Obolo	ítóó / òf̀ik	ñrèk	ñtjad	rjè
Okobo	ébid	mbòbid	ékíná	ljé
Oro	òbid	òbid	agána	ljé
Uda	ábid	ábid	ákáná	ljá
Ukwa	mbidmbid	mbidmbid	ñsad	djá
Usakade	m̀b̀if̀id̀i	m̀b̀if̀id̀i	ñkíkáná	njá
PLC			* -kiád	*líá

	drink (v.)	bite	chew (eat)	lick
Anaang	ŋwɔŋ	dóm	tá	dái
Ebughu	ŋwɔŋ	ló	tá	lái
Efai	ŋwɔŋ	dó	tá	dói
Efik	ŋwɔŋ	dóm	tá	déi
Ekit	ŋwɔŋ	dú		fjɔbó
Enwang	ŋwɔŋ	ló	tá	ljé
Etebi	ŋwɔŋ	dú	tá	fjáb
Ibibio	ŋwɔŋ	dóm ; díim	tá	dái
Ibino	ŋwɔŋ	lóm		lja
Ibuoro	ŋwɔŋ	dóm	tá	dái ; kóódó
Iko	ŋwɔŋ	lóm	tá	lén
Iue	ŋwɔŋ	ló	tá	lái
Ito	ŋwɔŋ	dím	tá	réi
ItuMbuso	ŋwɔŋ	dóm	tá	dái
Nkari	ŋwɔŋ	dóm	tá	dái
Obolo	ŋwɔŋ	lóm	tákà	lákà
Okobo	ŋwɔŋ	ló		lái
Oro	ŋwɔŋ	ló	tá	lái
Uda	ŋwɔŋ	ló	tá	lái
Ukwa	ŋwɔŋ	dóm	tá	déi
Usakade	ŋwɔŋ	nóm		kwɔŋ
PLC	*ŋwɔŋ	*lóm	*tá	*lái

	suck	swallow	spit	give birth
Anaang	gʷób ; gʷób	mèn	fjad	màn ájén
Ebughu	gbé	mjɛŋ	fí (-í'té)	mè
Efai	wé	mjɛŋ	fja	mè
Efik	wób ; fib	mèn	fjadé	màn
Ekit	wé? ; fib	mè	fja	mè
Enwang	gʷé	mjɛŋ	fja	mè
Etebi	wé	mí	kò?ó	mè
Ibibio	wób ; fib	mèn	fjad	màn
Ibino	kʷóp	mèn	fjad	màn ótjʷó
Ibuoro	wób	mèn	kòk	màn
Iko	ŋwɔŋ	mèn	kòk	màn
Iue	wé	mjɛŋ	fjé	mè
Ito	wób ; fib	mèn	kò? étáb	màn éjén
ItuMbuso	wób ; fib	mèn	fjad	màn éjén
Nkari	wáb ; fib	mèn	fjadi	màn ójén
Obolo	fíp ; ŋwɔŋ	mèn	sà	màn
Okobo	wé	mè	pók (-íté)	mè ájó
Oro	wé	mjɛŋ	-	mè ójó
Uda	fjéb	mjɛŋ	fíád lwòk	mè ójó
Ukwa	gʷób	mèn	fíadé	màn
Usakade	wáb	mèn	fíà	màn
PLC	*gʷób ; *fib	*mèn		*màn -

	die	lie down	sleep (v.)	stand (up)
Anaang	kpá	sjòk nǎ	dájá	nèkédá ; dàkádá
Ebughu	pé	nàná	lé	lákálá
Efai	kpá	nǎ	dé	dá
Efik	kpá	nàná	dé	dádá
Ekit	kpá	nǎ	déé	dá
Enwang	pá	dàŋ	léí	lákálá
Etebi	kpá	ná	déé	dàʔádá
Ibibio	kpá	naána	dájá	dádá
Ibino	kpá	sùk nǎ		lákálá
Ibuoro	kpá	náa	dáb	mééne
Iko	kpá	kwádáná	láná	lákálá
Iue	kpá	nàná	léí	láká
Ito	kpá	nàná	déídáb	dádá
ItuMbuso	kpá	nàná	dái	dádá
Nkari	pá	sòk nǎ	dái	dákádá
Obolo	kwù ; gwù	jíná / síkílá	láák	nǎ kéké
Okobo	pá	nàná	í	lákálá
Oro	kpá	ná	léí	lákálá
Uda	bá	dàŋ	léí	lákálá
Ukwa	kpá	naánaa	déí	
Usakade	bá	nonò	njé	náná
PLC	*kpá	*ná	*lááb	*láká

	talk	go	come	enter
Anaang	táŋ	káká / kàá	dí	dók
Ebughu	táŋ	kǎ	dí	lók
Efai	táŋ	ká	dí	dók
Efik	túŋ	kǎ	dí	dók
Ekit	tá	kǎ	dí	dó?
Enwang	táŋ	ká	dí	lók
Etebi	táŋ	kǎ	dí	dók
Ibibio	táŋ	káá	dí	dák ; dók
Ibino	táŋ	ká	dí	lók
Ibuoro	dók ikò	káá	dí	dók
Iko	táŋ	káká	dí	lók
Iue	túŋ	ká	dí	lók
Ito	túŋ ikò	káá	dí	dók
ItuMbuso	túŋ	kǎ	dí	dúk
Nkari	túŋ ikò	káá	dí	dók
Obolo	tùmù	dʒé	ná	núŋ
Okobo	tímá	ká	dí	lók
Oro	súwú	kǎ	dí	lók
Uda	táŋ	kǎ	dí	lók
Ukwa	túŋ	ká	dí	dók
Usakade	túŋ	kǎ	adí	núká
PLC	*táŋ	*káká	*dí	*lók

	climb	walk	run	jump
Anaang	róók	sàṅá	fíké	támá
Ebughu	njén	sàṅá	bjàk	ja
Efai	njón	sàṅá	tjéné	fòdó
Efik	dók	sàṅá	fèké	fòdó
Ekit	djón	sàṅá	fíké	támmá
Enwang	njén	sàṅá	bjàk ùtòk	fòdó
Etebi	djón	sàṅá	fíṅí	támmá
Ibibio	dóók ; djón ; faàb	sàṅá	fèké	támmá
Ibino	faab	sàṅá	tjéné	fòdó
Ibuoro	dóók	sàṅá	fàké	tòdòdó
Iko	ljén	sàṅá	fàdá	taámá
Ilue	nṅí	sàṅá	bjàk	fúnó
Ito	dóo?	sàṅá	fèʔi!tò?	fónofón
ItuMbuso	dók	sàṅá	fèké	tòdó
Nkari	dóók	sauṅá	fèké	tòdòdó
Obolo	nènè	dʒé	libi	wulú
Okobo	ljón	sàṅá	dú òtók	té ké éṅón
Oro	nṅí / njén	sàṅá	bjàk	ja
Uda	njén	sàṅá	bjàk	ja
Ukwa	dóók	sàṅá	fèké	fòdó
Usakade	néka	sàṅá	téné	fòdó
PLC	*dóók ; *líón	*sàṅá		*ja ; *fòló

	see	look at	touch	rub
Anaang	kúd	fé	tóók ; téók	fjónó
Ebughu	kíd	sé	tó	fjónó
Efai	kíd	sé	túk	fjónó
Efik	kúd	sé	tók	fjónó
Ekit	kíd	kí(ṅ)	tjók	fjónó
Enwang	kíd	sésé	tó	tók
Etebi	kíd	kjón	tjò	fjóná
Ibibio	kíd	sé	tuúk	fjónó
Ibino	kúd	fjé	tuúk	fjónó
Ibuoro	kúd	sé	tók	fjónó
Iko	fjé	fjé	tuúk	zjé
Ilue	kíd	sésé	tók	fjónó
Ito	kód	sjé	tó?	fjónó
ItuMbuso	kúd	kjé	tóók	fjónó
Nkari	kúd	sé	tóók	fjónó ; tók
Obolo	kpó	kpó	tjāk	sók
Okobo	kúd	kjé	tók	fjónó
Oro	kíd	sé	tú	fjónó
Uda	kíd	sésé	tó ^u	fjónó
Ukwa	kúd	sé	tók	fjónó
Usakade	kú	fé	ṅ ^w ái	fjónó
PLC	*kúd	*kíén	*tóók	*fjónó

	think	know	forget	remember
Anaang	kédé	rjòŋó	fidé	téjé
Ebughu	kédé	fjak	fidé	téi
Efai	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tóí
Efik	kédé	djòŋó ; fjòk	fidé	tí
Ekit	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tíjò
Enwang	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	téi
Etebi	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tíjò
Ibibio	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tíjò
Ibino	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	twón
Ibuoro	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tí
Iko	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tóón
Ilue	ké	fjak	fidé	táí
Ito	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tí
ItuMbuso	kédé	djòŋó	fudé	tí
Nkari	kédé	djòŋó ; fjòk	fidé	téi
Obolo	kéék	rjòŋ	wú ; wùnú	kéré
Okobo	kédé	dèŋé	fidé	tóí
Oro	kédé	fák	fidé	twé
Uda	kédé	diòŋó	fidé	téi
Ukwa	kédé	djòŋó	fidé	tí
Usakade	kédé	dèŋé	fèdé	kédé
PLC	*kédé	*diòŋó	*fèdé	

	laugh (v.)	dance (v.)	cry/weep	ask
Anaang	tjak	nek	twá	bib
Ebughu	miná	neŋ	báí	bid
Efai	sák imè	nek	twá ájé	bód
Efik	sák	nek	twá	búb
Ekit	sá?	nák	twá	bób
Enwang	sák	neŋ	veí	bid
Etebi	sák	nák	twá	bid
Ibibio	sák	nek	twá ájid	béb
Ibino	tjak	tjòp	twá	bóp
Ibuoro	sák	nek	twá	bib
Iko	tjak	zòb	twá	bób
Ilue	maná	nek	báí	bid
Ito	sá? imám	nek	twá	béb
ItuMbuso	mú	nek	twá ájid	bib
Nkari	múá	nek	twá	búb
Obolo	tjak	d3òb	tó	tumú
Okobo	miná	nek	wé	bód
Oro	maná	nek	féí	bid
Uda	sák	nek	veí	bid
Ukwa	sák	nek	twá	búb
Usakade	mó	dòk	twá	bib
PLC	*kiák	*jòb ; *nek		*bib

	reply	refuse	love, like	look for, want
Anaang	bòdó	sìn ; tʃín	má	jém
Ebughu	bòdó	sìn	mé	lúǵó
Efai	bòdó	sìn	mé	núnú ; njén
Efik	bòdó	sìn	má	jóm
Ekit	bòdó	jùn ; sìn	mé?	jùn
Enwang	vòdó	jùn	mé	lǵ
Etebi	bòdó	sìn	mé	jùn
Ibibio	bòdó	sìn	má	jém
Ibino	wónó	tʃín	má	féd
Ibuoro	bòdó	sìn	má	jém
Iko	bòdó	zèn		féd
Ilue	bòdó	kìn	mé	lúǵó
Ito	jímé	sìn	má	jém
ItuMbuso	bòdó	kìn	má	jém
Nkari	bòdó	sìn	má	jém
Obolo	bòk ótú	kǎjí ; tʃèn	má	wéék
Okobo	bòdó	tʃèn	mé	nwá
Oro	bòdó	kìn	mé	lúǵó
Uda	vòdó	sìn	mé	lǵ
Ukwa	bòdó	sìn	má	jóm
Usakade	bòdó	jùn	má	sà
PLC	*bòdó	*jèn	*má	*jém ; *féd

	give	buy	sell	steal
Anaang	nò	déb / déd	nám	jùb
Ebughu	nò	ljé	nè	jùb
Efai	nò	djé	nè	jùb
Efik	nò	déb	nám	jùb
Ekit	nò	déí	nè	jùb
Enwang	nò	lí	njè	jùb
Etebi	nò	díd	njè	jùb
Ibibio	nò	déb	nám	jùb
Ibino	nò	lép	nám	tʃíp
Ibuoro	nò	déb	nám	jùb
Iko	nò	léb	nám	zìb
Ilue	nò	lí	nè	jùb
Ito	nò	déb	nám	jùb
ItuMbuso	nò	déb	nám	jùb
Nkari	nò	déb	nám	jùb
Obolo	jù	léb	nám	tʃín
Okobo	nò	lé	nè	jùb
Oro	nò	lí	nè	jùb
Uda	nò	lí	nè	jùb
Ukwa	nò	déb	nám	jùb
Usakade	njà	néí	nám	jùb
PLC	*nò / *jù	*léb	*nám	*jùb

	carry	throw, shoot	squeeze	count
Anaang	bén	tób	ɲimé	bàd
Ebughu	bé	tjé	fidá	bàd
Efai	bé	tób	ɲimé	bàd
Efik	mén	tób	ɲimé	bàd
Ekit	dibé	tou	ɲimé	bàd
Enwang	bjò	ù	ɲimé	bàd
Etebi	bi	tóʔ	ɲimmi	bàd
Ibibio	bén	tób ; tib	ɲimmé	bàd
Ibino	pén	tóp	tʃim ; féd	pad
Ibuoro	mén	tób	ɲimi	bàd
Iko	bén	tób	zim	bàd
Ilue	mén	ù	ɲimé	bàd
Ito	mén	tib	ɲimi	bàd
ItuMbuso	bén	tób	ɲimi	bàd
Nkari	bén	tób	ɲimi	bàd
Obolo	bén	tób ; fiinj	tʃim ; ɲimi	fúk
Okobo	bé	ù	fábúkò ; ɲimé	bàd
Oro	bé / bjò	tú	fai	bàd
Uda	bé	ù	ɲimé	bàd
Ukwa	mén	tób	ɲimé	bàd
Usakade	bém	tjà	dúk	bà
PLC	*bén	*tób	*ɲimé	*bàd ; fúk

	begin	finish	catch, hold	beat someone
Anaang	tɔɔp	kwɛɛ	mòm	mjá ; jòpo
Ebughu	tɔɔp	kédé	mò	nwai
Efai	tɔɔp	kádé	mwò	mɔɔpi
Efik	tɔɔp	kudé	mùm	mjá
Ekit	tɔɔp	kédé	mòm	mjá
Enwang	tɔɔp	kédé	mò	mai
Etebi	tɔɔp	kédé	màm	mjá
Ibibio	twɔɔp ; tɔɔp	kwɛɛ	mlám ; mòm	mjá
Ibino	tɔɔp	kudé	mùm	mjá
Ibuoro	tɔɔp	kwédé	mlám	úm
Iko	tɔɔp	kudé	mlám	mjá
Ilue	tɔɔp	kidé	mò	mai
Ito	tɔɔp	kudá	màm	mjá
ItuMbuso	tɔɔp	kwédé	kpubi	jobi
Nkari	tɔɔp	kwédé	kámá ; mòm	jobi
Obolo	béné	sájá	téd	sulú
Okobo	tɔɔp	kádé	kú	mɛɛ
Oro	tɔɔp	kádé	mó	mai
Uda	tɔɔp	kádé	mòò	mai
Ukwa	tɔɔp	kudé	mlám	mjá
Usakade	tɔɔp	kédé	mòm	bòm
PLC	*tɔɔp		*mòm	*míjá

	pierce, stab	kill	cook	roast, burn
Anaang	kúm	gʷòd	tèm ; njòŋ	fób
Ebughu	kám	gbò	tè	fó
Efai	kám	wòd	tèm	fwó ; fód
Efik	kám	wòd	tèm ; njèŋ	fób
Ekit	kám	wò	ù	fóu
Enwang	kám	gʷù	tè	fó
Etebi	kám	wù	ù	fwó
Ibibio	kám	wòd	tèm	fób ; ŋʷàn
Ibino	kám	kʷòd	njòŋ	fóp
Ibuoro	kám	gʷòd	tèm	fób
Iko	kám	gʷòd	njòŋ	fób
Ilue	kám	wù	tè	ŋʷé
Ito	kúm	wid	tèm	wàn
ItuMbuso	kúm	wòd	tèèmì	fób ; wàn
Nkari	kúm	wòd	tèèmì	fób ; ŋʷàn
Obolo	tʃím	gbáj	tèm	wób
Okobo	kám	wù	njò	fó
Oro	kám	wù	tè	fó
Uda	kám	gʷù	tè	fó ; ŋʷé
Ukwa	kám	gʷòd	tèm	fób
Usakade	kám	wè	tèm	fóì
PLC	*kúm	*gʷòd	*tèm ; njòŋ	*fób

	pound	grind	extinguish	wash
Anaang	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Ebughu	úm	kók	nímé	jé
Efai	úm	kók	nímé	jé
Efik	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Ekit	úm	kó?	nímé	ji
Enwang	úm	kók	nímé	ji
Etebi	tám	kó?	nímí	ji
Ibibio	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Ibino	úm	kók	nímé	tʃéd
Ibuoro	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Iko	úm	kók	nímé	zéd
Ilue	úm	kók	nímé	ji
Ito	túm	kó?	nímé	jéd
ItuMbuso	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Nkari	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Obolo	túŋ	kók	níŋ	gʷók ; kéŋ
Okobo	tóm	kók	nímé	jé
Oro	úm	kók	nímé	sí
Uda	úm	kók	nímé	ji
Ukwa	úm	kók	nímé	jéd
Usakade	úm	kók	nímé	jé
PLC	*úm	*kók	*nímé	*jéd

	dig	hoe (v.)	bury	blow
Anaang	ròk	ròk ; nám bídé	wòòk ; wòòk	fùùd
Ebughu	tjé	tjé	lwók	fid
Efai	dòk	dòk	bùk	
Efik	dòk	dòk ; fúnj	bòk	fùd
Ekit	bòkó	dòò ; fúnj	bòk	fèd
Enwang	ú	tí ísòj	lwók	fid ; túnjú
Etebi	dò?	típí	bwòk	fèd
Ibibio	dòk	dòk	bùùk	fùùd
Ibino	dòk	dòk		fèd
Ibuoro	tíbí	dòk	bòk	fùùdì
Iko	dòk	dòk	bùùk	fid
Ilue	dòk		lwók	fid
Ito	dò?	dò? ; fúnj	bòò?	fùdì
ItuMbuso	tíbí	dòk ; wàk	bòòk	fùdì
Nkari	dòk ; tíbí	wàk	bòòk	fùdì
Obolo	ròkò	ròkò	fùúnj	wód
Okobo	tíb ísòj		lwók	
Oro	ú	dòk	jòk	bú
Uda	ú	í	lwók	fid
Ukwa	tíbí		bòk	fèdì
Usakade	dòk	fúnj	mòk	fùk
PLC	*dòk	*dòk	*bòòk	*fùùd

	build (house)	tie	mould (pot)	stop
Anaang	bób	tówó / tóbó	bód	tùdó
Ebughu	bó	twó	béd	tèdé
Efai	bwó	bwó	bód	tùdé
Efik	bób	bób	bód	tùdé
Ekit	bú	tíbó	bú?	tùdé
Enwang	vó	vó	vú	tùdé
Etebi	bwó	bwó	bú	tèdé
Ibibio	bób	bób	bód	tùdé
Ibino	póp	tóóbó	pód	tèdé
Ibuoro	bób	bób	bód	tèdé
Iko	bób	bób	bód	tùdé
Ilue	bwó	bwó	bú	tèdé
Ito	báb	báb	bíd	tùdé
ItuMbuso	bób	bób	bód	tèdé
Nkari	bób	bób	bód	tùdé
Obolo	nama	bób / tóbò	bód	kékèj
Okobo	bwó	bwó	bú	tèdé
Oro	fwó	fwó / tú	fú	tèdé
Uda	vóó	vóó	vú	
Ukwa	bód	bób		tèdé
Usakade	bóí	bóí	bód	tùdé
PLC	*bób	*bób	*bód	*tùdé

	one	two	three	four
Anaang	kəd	ibà	itá	inanj
Ebughu	siŋ	ibà	itē	injanj
Efai	siŋ	ibà	itē	injanj
Efik	kjəd / tjəd	ibà	itá	inanj
Ekit	kjaŋ	ibà	itē	injanj
Enwang	siŋ	ibà	itē	injanj
Etebi	kjaŋ	ibà	itē	injanj
Ibibio	keəd	ibà	itá	inaanj
Ibino	tʃi	ipà	itá	inaanj
Ibuoro	kjəd	ibà	itá	inaanj
Iko	kì	ibà	itá	inaanj
Ilue	kì	ibà	itē	injanj
Ito	kjəd	ibà	itá	inanj
ItuMbuso	kèn	ibà	itá	inaanj
Nkari	kèn	ibà	itá	inaanj
Obolo	gè	ibà	itá	mì
Okobo	kjɔŋ	ibà	itē	injanj
Oro	kì	ibà	itē	injanj
Uda	sìn	ibè	itē	injanj
Ukwa	kjəd	ibà	itá	inanj
Usakade	tʃèn	m̀bà	ntá	nnjɔŋ
PLC	*kièn	*ibà	*itá	*inianj

	five	six	seven	eight
Anaang	itjòn	itjoked	itiába	itjaitá
Ebughu	itŋ	itŋzɔŋ	itŋjábà	idɪŋ'áté
Efai	itŋ	itŋesɪŋ	itarjábà	itɔŋ itē
Efik	itjòn	itjokjəd	itjábà	itjaitá
Ekit	itŋ	itŋékjaŋ	itjábà	itjaitá
Enwang	itŋ	itŋesɪŋ	itarjábà	itarjate
Etebi	itiòn	itukjaŋ	itaába	itá i' té
Ibibio	itiòn / itùn	i-tjokèèd	itjábà	itjaitá
Ibino	itiòn	itotʃi	itáipa	itaitá
Ibuoro	itèn	itókjəd	itjaába	itja'itá
Iko	itiòn	itókì	itá èbà	itá itá
Ilue	itəŋ	itɔŋókì	itarjábà	itarjate
Ito	itŋ	itukjəd	itjaába	itjaitá
ItuMbuso	itiòn	itékèn	itjábà	itja'itá
Nkari	itiòn	itékèn	itjábà	itjaitá
Obolo	gò	gorég wəŋ	dʒaába	dʒeeta
Okobo	itŋ	itŋ é tʃɔŋ	itarjábà	itarj'áté
Oro	itŋ	itooŋi	itarjábà	itarj'áté
Uda	itŋ	itŋesin	itarjábà	itarj'áté
Ukwa	itùn	itiekjəd	itjábà	itja'itá
Usakade	ntʃòn	ntʃéekèn	ntjambà	ntʃán'tá
PLC	*itiòn			

	nine	ten	twelve	fifteen
Anaang	ùsókèd	dwòb	òróđ ìbà	èfúd
Ebughu	ìtánániàŋ	lùkò	lùkò ìbà	èfù
Efai	ùsúksĩŋ	dùkù	dùk ìbà	èfúd
Efik	ùsúkìèd	dwòb	dwòb ìbà	èfúd
Ekit	nánkiàŋ	dùkò	òdók ìbà	òdóífin
Enwang	ùsókĩŋ	lùkù	lùk ìbà	èfù
Etebi	ùsók kíàŋ	dùkù	dù ìbà	èfók
Ibibio	ùsók kèèd	dwòb	dwèbà	èfid
Ibino	énón ò tʃi	lwòp	lwòmipà	èfúd
Ibuoro	ùsók kíèd	dwòb	dwòb èbà	èfúúd
Iko	énànkì	lwòb	lwòbmià	
Ilue	ìtánániàŋ	lòkù	lòkùmèìbà	èfù
Ito	ùsókĩjèd	dùb	dùbèkjèd	èfəđ
ItuMbuso	ànán kèn	dwòb	dwòbèbà	èfúúd
Nkari	ànán kèn	dwòb	dwèbà	èfúúd
Obolo	ónángé	àkòb	àkómìbà	àkòmògò
Okobo	ùsúk kíòŋ	lùkù	lùkèbà	èfù
Oro	ìtán àniàŋ	lùwù	lùìbà	èvù
Uda	ùsúksĩŋ	lùkù	lùk ìbà	èfù
Ukwa	ùsók kíèt	dwòb	dwèbà	èfáđ
Usakade	ñtʃa' ñniàŋ	nwòb	nwàmbà	èfúd
PLC		*lùkòb	*lùkòb mèmè ìbà	*èfúd

	twenty	hundred	I	you (sg.)
Anaang	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
Ebughu	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfi
Efai	éđib	íkí	àmì	àfè
Efik	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
Ekit	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfè
Enwang	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfi
Etebi	éđib	íkí	àmì	àfè
Ibibio	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
Ibino	éđip		àmì	àfò
Ibuoro	éđib	íkíè	àmì	òfò
Iko	éđib	éđib ítíòŋ	àmì	àfò
Ilue	éđib	íkíè	èmù	òfò
Ito	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
ItuMbuso	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
Nkari	ídib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
Obolo	éđip	òbúb	èni	òwù
Okobo	éđòb	ítʃè	àmì	àfò
Oro	éđib	íkíè	àmì / òmì	àfù / òfù
Uda	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfi
Ukwa	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
Usakade	éđib	íkíè	àmì	àfò
PLC	*éđib	*íkíè	*àmì	*òfò

	she, he, it	we	you (pl.)	they
Anaang	àné	àjíd	àrìn	ámmd
Ebughu	àrì	ìrìn		ímí
Efai	àné	àjíd	ìrìn ; m̀fò	r̀m̀m̀
Efik	èné	ìrìn	m̀b̀f̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Ekit	àné	àjíd	àr̀n	émù
Enwang	àrì	àrìn	m̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Etebi	àrì	àjíd	àrìn	émò
Ibibio	àné	ìrìn	m̀b̀f̀f̀ ; òd̀f̀f̀	àr̀m̀m̀
Ibino	àné	àífi		
Ibuoro	àné	ìrìn	m̀b̀f̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Iko	ámò	àzì	àrì	r̀m̀m̀
Ilue	òrì			
Ito	àné	ìr̀n	m̀b̀f̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
ItuMbuso	àné	ìr̀n	m̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Nkari	àné	ìr̀n	m̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Obolo	òm̀	èd̀z̀	èr̀	émá
Okobo	àné	ìr̀n	m̀f̀	m̀óm̀
Oro	òrì	ìr̀n / èr̀n	èf̀ / èv̀	émù
Uda	àrì	àrìn	m̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Ukwa	èné	ìr̀n	m̀b̀f̀f̀ / òd̀f̀f̀	r̀m̀m̀
Usakade	ómò	àrìn	m̀b̀f̀f̀	émmd
PLC	*ómò	*àjíd	*àrìn ; *m̀b̀f̀f̀	*émmd

APPENDIX B

A reconstruction of the system of initial consonants has been presented in Connell (in press a). The following table outlines the initial consonant inventory of proto-Lower Cross and their reflexes in the various Lower Cross languages today. Reflexes separated by a semicolon (;) indicate a split; those separated by a slash (/) indicate phonetic variation.

PLC	*m	*n	*ɲ	*ŋ	*b	*t	*d	*l	*k	*kp	*g ^w	*f	*s	*ʃ
Anang	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b; w	t	r / i; d	d	k; s	kp / p	g ^w ; w	f	s; tʃ	j / dɛ / j
Ebughu	m	n	ɲ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b/β	t / tʃ	r / d	l	k / g; s	p	g ^w ; gb	f	s/z	j / dɛ / j
Bfai	m	n	ɲ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d	d; l	k; s	kp	g ^w / w	f	s	j
Efik	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d / r	d	k; s	kp	w	f	s	j
Ekit	m	n	ɲ	ŋ ^w	b	t	d	d	k; s	kp	w	f	s	j / dɛ
Erwang	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w	b; v	t	d / r	l	k; s	p	g ^w / g	f	s	j
Eiebi	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d	d	k; s	kp	w	f	s	j / dɛ
Ibibio	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b; w	t	d / r	d	k; s	kp	w	f	s	j
Ibino	m	n	ɲ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	p; b; w	t	d / r	i; d	k; tʃ	kp	k ^w / w	f	s	ʃ
Ibuoro	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	r / d	d	k; s	kp	w / g ^w	f	s	j
Iko	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ɰ	b	t	r / d	l	k; tʃ	kp; gb	g ^w	f	s	z
Ilie	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d	l	k	kp	g ^w / w	f	s	j
Ilo	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d	d; r	k	kp	w	f	s	j
InhMouso	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d	d	k; tʃ	kp/p	w	f	s	j
Nkari	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d	d	k	p	w	f	s	j
Obolo	m	n	ɲ; ʃ; s	ŋ ^w	b; f	t; tʃ	r; d	l; r	k; k ^w ; g; tʃ	kp; k ^w ; gb	g ^w / w	w	s; dɛ	dɛ; j
Okobo	m	n	ɲ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b	t	d / r	l	k; tʃ	p	w	f	s	j
Oro	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w	b; f	t	d	l	k / g	kp	w / g ^w	f / w	s / z	j / j
Uda	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	b; v	t	r / d	l	k	p / kp	g ^w / w	f	s	j
Ukwa	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w	b	t	d	d	k; s	kp	w	f	s	j
Usakade	m	n	ɲ / ʃ	ŋ ^w / ɰ	β; b	t; tʃ	d / r	n	k; tʃ	b; kp	w	f	s	j