LEXICAL EXPANSION IN THE MANKON LANGUAGE

A Dissertation submitted in partial Fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of a Masters Degree in Linguistics

by

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This work is dedicated
to my beloved parents, Mr. and Mrs. ADE,
to my elder brother, Mr. Chi Zeph Fru, and
to my loving daughter, Bih Marie-Claire
Acknowledgements

I do not know where to start in my endeavour to express my profound gratitude for all the help I have received in my dire need to have this dissertation see the light of day. I hate to spell out names but I hope that you will excuse me for I want to toe the line with the present climate of opinion in which I have found myself.

A memorable place is given to my very able and learned supervisor, Dr. Mutaka. His incisive mind, friendly criticisms and scholarly judgements came in time and at the right moments to fill up all the gaps. The mechanism he employs in retaining my ideas is laudable. To him, I am much indebted.

I greatly appreciate the excellent contributions of Dr. Tamanji, Dr. Ogwana and others who helped me during my studies. Their great ability to organize and critically analyse linguistic theories served as my guideline.

I equally owe my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ade Tumasang, much appreciation for procreating and bringing me up morally and in a social positive atmosphere.

My elder brother and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. CHI FRU, left no stone unturned in their moral, social and financial contribution to my successful career. To them I say: “thank you.” Despite all odds, they have sacrificed their time and money for me.

My darling daughter, Bih Marie-Claire, had no option but to miss me dearly while I was away studying. My sister and brothers, Mrs. Judith Ambe, Ivo, Fidelis, Emmanuel and Norbert did not relent their efforts in supporting me with their brilliant ideas and suggestions.

An academic piece of work like this cannot be successfully written without classmates and friends. In this light, I think especially of the support of Francis Vemyuy; Flora, Gerald, Beatrice, Florence, and Debra are not left out. To them I express my gratitude.
I also acknowledge the unflinching support of Mr. Nche Simon, Mr. Tikum Ngwa and Dr Nche Che. Mr. and Mrs. NDEH MISHIMBO are not left out for their moral encouragement and support; I wish them my profound gratitude.

My heartfelt thanks go to you Mrs. Jackie Mutaka, my typist.

All those who have in one way or the other acted as a link to the success of this venture are always thought of.

Finally, I acknowledge my HEAVENLY FATHER in whose perfect plan I have found myself called to work in this language. I derive much satisfaction whenever I think of the fact that you have looked at it through the spectacles of eminent linguists. I welcome your corrections and suggestions.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

VE: Verbal extension
Pfx: prefix
Sfx: suffix
G: glide
H ( / ): High tone
L ( \ ): Low tone
T: Floating tone
Sth: something
sb: somebody
GBWG: Grassfield Bantu Working Group
IPA: International Phonetic Association
[ ] : Phonetic transcription
/ / : Phonemic transcription
→ : becomes; is realized as
NP: noun phrase
Ø : zero
L: Floating Low tone
H: Floating high tone
ed: editor
α : alpha
UR: underlying representation
PR: phonetic representation
C: consonant
V: vowel, verb
-#: word final position
#--: word initial position
V--V: intervocally
VD: voiced
VL: voiceless
bk: back
syll.: syllable
cons.: consonant
lat: lateral
FV: Final Vowel

LIST OF MAPS
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Lexical expansion in the Mankon language is a morpho-phonological piece of study which is aimed at examining some of the devices that the language uses in enriching its vocabulary.

A language cannot exist without a given society. That is why it is necessary to know the background of the society that uses a given language. This therefore is the reason why this work starts with the geographical, historical, and linguistic location of the Mankon Fondon.

This introductory chapter acquaints the reader with what the dissertation is all about. As such, it will discuss the objectives of the study and the methodology.

1.1 Geographical Location

Mankon lies about one thousand metres (1000m) above sea level and is probably a fault plain formed during the knolls (mintâ?à). Much of the entire Mankon land lies astride the Mezam river which takes its rise from the “MiJuga” (Bamenda escarpment). In the West of Mankon, the Mezam river turns and flows northwards to form a natural boundary between Mankon and Meta.

Mankon is bounded in the East by the ‘MiJuga’ and the villages of Mendakwe and Nkwen; in the North by Bafut; in the West by Meta, Ngyenbu and Bali and finally in the South by the villages of Mbatu and Nsongwa. Before the arrival of the Bali people in 1850, one of the neighbours in the West of Mankon was Bossa.
Mankon has an estimated land area of about 315 square kilometres (315 sqkm) and an estimated population of fifty thousand (50,000) inhabitants. On the average therefore, the population density is about 158 persons per square kilometre (Tabah Helen Ngum 1980).

The land area is roughly spherical and has a diameter of about 20 kilometres.

The Bamenda escarpment is the main watershed from which Mankon river (Mezam) and some of its tributaries take their rise.

The climate is tropical with two main seasons; the dry season which runs from mid November to mid March and the rainy season from mid March to mid November. Agriculture is one of the main occupations of the Mankon natives amongst hunting, tapping and weaving. The maps will better illustrate this.
LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION ON THE BAMENDA PLATEAU

Language areas

1. Ngemba
2. Meta' (or Menemo)
3. Munggaka
4. Mogarno

SCALE: 0 5 10 km

Legend:
- below 1000 metres
- above 1400 metres
- above 2000 metres
- entrenched settlement
- non-entrenched settlement
1.2 Historical situation

History is a presentation of past events. But history first begins with human thought, eventually expressed in action. When we read history, we read of the aspirations, efforts, achievements, and mistakes of man. He who reads history learns his relationship to the past and is often better prepared to face the future.

It is said that history repeats itself. This is because human nature tends to follow certain trends. By reading history, we can often intelligently guide our lives. We can review the events of the past and avoid the pitfalls.

Linguistic evidence suggests that the Mankon people are a semi-Bantu race of the Tikari group. They are said to have come from Tikari as a result of wars, harsh weather conditions and pressures from stronger tribesmen from the North between the 14th and 15th centuries under the leadership of Fo Ndemagha?a I.

The Mankon fondom is a kingdom in Mezam Division of the North West province of the Republic of Cameroon. It is an area surrounded by numerous chiefdoms, clans and tribes. The forefathers with the expelled group from the present day Middle-East carry with them the Mankon language known as “Ngomba Makuja” meaning “I say Mankons” , a language said to have developed in Asia, specifically in China by the isthmus of the Suez. The closest evidence to prove their legacy from China is in some of the names like: Che (tsay), Chi (tsi), Tsetu, Fen, Chang, Ntshe, Su’kien which resemble Chinese names like Kuofeng, Suchen, Mao Tsetung, Chiteng, Chang, Chitang, Tsaichang. The connotation of the Chinese ' Tsin' is relevant to today’s Mankon as seen in the names ' Tsimankopo “tortoise”, Tsitankora “species of cricket”.
The “tsimako?o” is a trickster in most Mankon fables. 'Tsin' is the name of the Chinese ruler who built the “Great Chinese wall” (3000) (three thousand kilometres long, seven metres high and six metres broad to check invasions from the North (Warnier 1975) in Precolonial Mankon.

1.3. Linguistic Location and Classification of the Language

Mankon is a language within the group of languages that Williamson (1971) called the “Ngemba Group”. This included the following languages:

a) Pinyin (Bapinyi, Mankon (Bande, Bandoe, Bandeng), Awing (Bambuluwe)
b) Bafut (BuFe, Afughe)
c) 1) Nkwen (Bafreng)
   2) Mendankwe (Munda, Bamenda)
   3) Bambili (Mbilim Mbele)
d) Bamunkumbit (Bamunkum)
e) Kpati

Williamson's (1971) classification was based on vocabulary items. She considers the languages grouped under the same letter ((a) and (c) ) as dialects of the same language.

The declaration of native speakers and knowledge that a native speaker of a given language has about the other Ngemba languages adds unto the list a number of languages.

Leroy (1977) reclassifies the Mankon language as
a) Mankon - Shomba, Songwa, Mbutu, Njong, Akum
b) Mundum I, Mundum II
c) Babaji, Bafut

d) Nkwen, Mendankwe

e) Bambili, Bambui

f) Piyin, Alatining

g) Awing, Bamunkumbit

In Dieu and Renaud's ALCAM (1983), subgroup 913 is Mankon. The dialects of the Mankon language are included in Lower Ngemba. The Grassfield Working Group (GBWG), Hyman and Voorhoeve (1977) divides the languages of the Grassfields into Western and Eastern Grassfield (Mbam-Nkam). The Eastern Grassfield is subdivided into four sub-groups: North, Central, Bamileke, and Ngemba. Lower Ngemba (Mankon) is among the seven languages of the Ngemba group.

BANTU GRASSFIELD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WESTERN GRASSFIELD</th>
<th>EASTERN GRASSFIELD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Bamileke</td>
<td>Central Ngemba</td>
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<tr>
<td>(NUN)</td>
<td>(Nkwen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafut</td>
<td>Mundum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mankon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bambili</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nkwen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Awing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piyin</td>
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</table>
We therefore have the Mankon language classified within the phylum of African languages as follows:

Phylum: NIGER-KORDOFANIAN

Sub-phyllum: NIGER-CONGO

FAMILY: BENUE-CONGO

SUB-FAMILY: BANTOID

BRANCH: BANTU

SUB-BRANCH: BANTU GRASSFIELD

GROUP: EASTERN GRASSFIELD

SUB-GROUP: NGEMBA

LANGUAGE: MANKON

DIALECTS: Akum Songwa Munkuu Shomba Njong Mbutu Alatining

Source: ALCAM (1983)

Following our classification, the Mankon language has dialects and surrounding languages. It falls under the phylum Niger Kordofanian and the Benue-Congo family. The code number is 913 which means that it is the language of the ninth zone, first group and the third language of that
group. Maps 2, 3, and 4 will better illustrate the linguistic classification of the Mankon language.
1.4 The Mankon Language

The Mankon language is one of the Ngemba languages spoken by the Mankon natives in the North Western part of Cameroon. According to Greenberg’s linguistic classification (1966), it is a Bantu language that falls under the Niger-Congo family. We cannot be categorical because in Kaberry’s *Women of the Grassfield and Traditional Bamenda*, she says:

“...The bulk of the language spoken in the grassfield has been labelled semi-Bantu by German scholars and later as Bantoid by the English school.”

This designation which the Mankon language shares with other languages includes some of those in Nigeria (Tiv, Efik, Yoruba and Ibibio).

Like most of the grassfield languages, Bafut, Nkwen, Plyin, the Mankon language shows lexical correspondences with Proto-Bantu.

Richardson (1956) points out that no case can be made out for relating the two class genders found in the grassfield languages with those of true Bantu; they are moreover found together with suffixal agreements unknown in true Bantu.

The majority of the Mankon natives speak the Bantu languages. The languages spoken by the natives and members of its former confederation are:

Mbatu
Chomba
Akum
Nsongwa.
These languages have undergone a considerable evolution. There is some mutual intelligibility amongst them. The Mankon language forms part of the Ngemba group. It also has a subset closely related to the languages within the Mbam-Nkam spoken in the Bamenda plateau.

The language itself is known as “Makujo”, meaning “main tail.”

1.4.1 The Sounds of the Mankon language.

The transcription symbols used in this piece of work *Lexical Expansion in the Mankon Language* are those of the International Phonetic Association (I.P.A.) presented in *General Alphabet of Cameroon Languages* edited by Tadadjeu and Sadembou (1984).

Our proposed alphabet consists of symbols which represent phonemes of the language. The symbols are drawn from the Roman alphabet and when it is not possible, a recourse to digraph is used (a digraph is the combination of two letters to represent a single sound).

Vowels

There are nine vowels in this language. These vowels include front, high, unrounded, back, rounded, low, mid vowels. They include i, e, ə, u, ɔ, ʊ, ɪ, ʊ, and a.

Vowel Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>ə</th>
<th>u</th>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
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</table>

These vowels are illustrated by the following examples:
There are six unrounded vowels and three rounded vowels. [i] sometimes is used as a nominal prefix marker for nouns in class 3(b) and [a] for class seven nouns. Examples include:

l-ka?3 ladder
h-tâ?3 snail
1.4.2 Consonant Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio Alveolars</th>
<th>Pre-dental</th>
<th>palatals</th>
<th>Palatals Velars</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Labio velar</th>
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<td>Fricatives VL</td>
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<td>Pre-nasalised</td>
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</table>

With the addition of prenasalized and labialized sounds the Mankon language has 29 consonants. These are exemplified in the following words:

(2)   [ b]  nibi  kolanut
      [ m]  amĩ  neck
      [ f]  fũ  rat
      [ v]  vũrũ  frightful
      [ t]  átũ  tree
      [ d]  nadenĩ  boundary
      [ k]  kũũ  bed
      [ g]  ãgũũ  fowl
1.4.3 Morpheme Structure

The structural form for most non-compound noun roots in the Mankon language is:

\[ C_1V(C_2) \], i.e. a consonant, vowel and an optional consonant.
Examples:

(3)  âdâ  house
    kângà  squirrel

This formula does not take into consideration certain noun roots, notably
(i) Noun roots beginning with a vowel; here we have three types:
(4)  m-ângyê  woman
    mû  child

(ii) Morphemes which seem to have been derived either by reduplication or affixation of a simple form that does not exist independently. For instance we have

(5)  ñòngònyò  mosquito

(iii) Roots which seem to have been compounded but whose morpheme cannot be identified as exemplified in:

(6)  kyémâwàʔà  shrew mouse

(iv) Morphemes borrowed from foreign languages

(7)  búrusâ  police
    tisâna  station

From the chart and examples, we have stops, fricatives, nasals, and others.
1.5 Tones

Tones play a very distinctive role in the Mankon language. The H, L, HL, LH tones can be identified in this language. Those commonly marked are the H and Low tones. Contour tones are derived by tonological rules. The Mid tone is not marked.

We have monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic tone words.

1.5.1 Monosyllabic Words

L kwè knock
H tá push
yá give
L kà run

1.5.2 Disyllabic Words

HH siŋó today
ntirí louse
HL sàŋò moon
bíŋò dance
LL à-bò bag
fèrò play
L-H à-tí tree
1.5.3 Polysyllabic Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>bibúʔu</td>
<td>chimpanzees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>mıkúmə</td>
<td>names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHL</td>
<td>álágə</td>
<td>wound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>a-ləminə</td>
<td>sore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HML</td>
<td>fɨŋgwaŋə</td>
<td>salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHH</td>
<td>bəɾisi</td>
<td>policeman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMM</td>
<td>ahaɾa</td>
<td>throne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tones in this language equally bring about a difference in meaning. For instance let us have the following minimal pairs:

(i) \( \hat{\eta} \bar{w}i \): cutlass  
    \( \hat{\eta} \bar{w}i \): God  
    \( \hat{\eta} \bar{w}i \): penis

(ii) \( \hat{l} \acute{a}mə \): to cook  
    \( \hat{l} \grave{a}mə \): sap  
    \( l\hat{a}mə \): lamp

(iii) \( \hat{t} \grave{a} \): push  
    \( t\hat{a} \): sew

Two contour tones can be identified in this language. They are the HL ("\( ' \)) and LH ("\( ' \)). These two tone types are derived by tonological rules. It is usually a floating tone from a deleted sound that spreads or docks to the preceding or following sound.
As earlier said, tonal changes in the words of this language are as a result of a floating tone and these floating tones may be found on the original underlying form or may appear in the course of derivations by elision of a vowel. The floating tone and the tone of the segment are usually confusing when they are identical, but they combine to form a contour tone when different. When identical, the tone delinks.

This language identifies the following tonal processes which will be discussed in detail later in the work: tone grounding, tone absorption, tone simplification and downstep.

It is important to note that a downstep does not permit an immediately following tone that is higher than itself. After a downstep, another tone of the same height is allowed. A M tone permits a H tone after itself.

The grammatical tones in this language mark an inflexion which represents or introduces grammatical words. We can therefore have:

i) H tones (\( \star \))
This tone also marks the present as in

(10) ma súgo i-tse'ie I am washing dresses

ii) Floating L tones (\( \ell \))
This tone marks the preposition “à” in the language as in

(11) lum yë à ãwà?;àmà Lum goes to school
    go Prep school
iii) Lexical Tones

Here, we have H, L, M tones. The Mid tone is not marked because it is the most frequent and because of historical reasons.

H  dōmə  bite
L  tsə  pass
M  ṣwaʔana  book

These tones combine to form contour tones as in

LL  mūə  →  mū  child
LH  n̄́ʃwi-ə  →  n̄́ʃwi  maize
HLH  mîtə  market
LL  k̄ūnə  bed
HLL  finidži  a fly

1.6 OBJECTIVES

Language is a very important aspect of identity and culture. The written form of a language has a magic of fostering the prestige of the language vis-à-vis other languages, thereby, internationalizing the language as well as allowing foreign access to indigenous information. It brings about the creation of knowledge that is useful to internal and external agencies. The study *Lexical Expansion in the Mankon Language* will foster and project the identity of the language. It is worth noting that little linguistic work has been done on the language as compared to its historical study.
Jacqueline Leroy (1977) attempts the phonology and noun class system of the language but she does not really paint a true picture of the language. Mfonyam (1988) examines the tones in orthography of the language but he still does not come out with a positive result.

This piece of work will thus serve as a contribution to the phonological development of this branch of linguistic science. There is some originality in the data found in the work.

In addition, *Lexical Expansion in the Mankon Language* makes use of devices which are very important and productive as a resource used to enrich the lexicon of the language. It goes further to create an awareness in the native speakers that their language has been written somewhere.

Lucress R. Ngum in her maîtrise dissertation (1997) talks of non-nasal clusters which are not appropriate in this language. This academic piece of study therefore rectifies such errors.

### 1.7 Review of Earlier Linguistic Works on the Mankon Language

As concerns the Mankon language, not much has been done linguistically as compared to its history. Linguistic works attempted so far are:

Ndéfru's Orthography established over fifty years ago. The orthography was first used in 1938 when the author translated some catholic prayers and hymns into the Mankon language. The title of this work is *Anwaana Tssatui bo wizobukiyit Anye Naighammui Mankon*.

This book was neither meant to be kept in libraries as part of research nor was it meant just to profess the author's ability to translate. It is nevertheless being used in catholic churches, choir groups and doctrinal
classes. Though the pronunciation key of this work is not perfect in itself, it gives a clue on how to go about reading. He does not mark tones.

Jacqueline Warnier Leroy and Jan Voorhoeve (1975) studied vowel contraction and vowel reduction in the Mankon language. Leroy (1977) uses a generative approach and presents the phonology; the nouns, their distribution into varying genders, the markers which indicate the gender to which they belong, the concord elements and some tonal rules.

In Leroy (1980), she analyses concords in the noun class system of the Mankon language.

In 1983, she expresses the location in Mankon and tries to relate the Mankon language forms to the Proto-Bantu forms.


In a maîtrise dissertation Ngum (1977), Structure Syntaxique de la Phrase Mankon, in which she looks at the syntax of this language, she assigns prefixes to verbs and makes use of consonant clusters which is not correct. In the course of this study, the readers will observe that the language uses nominal prefixes only when a noun is to be derived from a verb. The only clusters allowed in this language are syllabic nasals. It should also be noted that the language does not permit long vowels or diphthongs.

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Data Source

This work has been realised with the aid of about one thousand words and some transcribed passages. Being a native speaker of the
language I was one of the main informants. In addition, I equally had the assistance of some native speakers like Pa Ade, Pa Nkwenti, mama Bridget, Mr Anye Nche, Nimo Cecilia, Che Norbert and Bih Marie-Claire. Some unpublished works and Leroy’s (1977) *Morphologie et Classes Nominales en Mankon* were also used.

1.8.2 Analytical Procedure

The analysis of the data for this piece of work follows the generative approach. Where this approach cannot be used successfully to analyse certain concepts, we had recourse to the structural approach. The generative approach is concerned with the formation of phonological rules from postulated underlying representations of the language. It is used in chapter two, three, and four. Chapter one and part of five is structural.

1.9 Outline of Work

*Lexical Expansion in the Mankon Language* is divided into four chapters and a General Conclusion.

Chapter one which is an introductory chapter presents general information on Mankon in its linguistic and non-linguistic contexts. It also presents the objectives and methodology of work of this study. This chapter equally presents the sounds of the language as well as its tonal system.

Chapter two treats reduplication as an aspect of lexical expansion in the language under study. Reduplication of nouns, verbs, and adjectives are treated.

The third chapter is titled “Verbal Extension in the Mankon Language”. These extensions are affixes, precisely suffixes which are
suffixed to verb roots for the main reason of enriching the Mankon language vocabulary.

The fourth chapter deals with how this language expands its lexicon through borrowing/loan adaptation. In this chapter, we have the various restructuring processes involved in the above device.

The General Conclusion, major problems encountered in the research process, proposals, make up the fifth chapter, that is, it is in this chapter that the findings of the study are summarized.

The Appendix and the Bibliography constitute the last section of the work.
CHAPTER TWO
Reduplication

2.1 Definition

This chapter sets out to examine reduplication as the first aspect of lexical expansion in the Mankon language. No lexicon formation can really be treated in this language without really looking at reduplication. Reduplication processes in this language characterized in the different word classes generate and enrich the vocabulary. The chapter will be divided into sections devoted to reduplication in each category of speech.

Marantz (1982) defines this device tentatively as:

“ A morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that can be analyzed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form.”

Crystal (1986:259) defines this same term as

“ A term in morphology for a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix or suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root.”

Mutaka and Hyman (1990) have a similar definition as that of Crystal and Marantz. To this wise, we can say that reduplication is repetition, be it partial or whole.

Though a morphological device, we will examine it from a phonological point of view and see what changes it has and what it adds to the language under study.
The Mankon language employs reduplication not only to increase its lexicon but equally to express the intensity of qualities, the superlative degree of adjectives and the duration of an activity.

In this language, we will notice that reduplication takes place at the word-level and stem-level.

2.2 Reduplication in Verbs.

In the language under study, reduplication does not take place only in nouns, adjectives but also in verbs. Verbs reduplicate in this language to derive new lexical items, which is our main topic of concern. Here also, we will notice that reduplication is the addition of a phonemically bare affix which motivates the copying of the melody of a base. Verbs do not take prefixes in their basic forms. hence, our structure of verb is

\[
\text{Stem} + \text{Suffix}
\]

The Mankon language has nine tenses. The tense is also vital here because we will have some phonological changes as the tense changes. We have whole-stem reduplication and partial-stem reduplication, monosyllabic and disyllabic stems. Polysyllabic stems are mostly derived forms. The examples illustrating this include:

1. nóŋ-a sleep  
   nóŋŋó nóŋŋó sleeps too much

káŋ-o jump  
kánkánó jumps too high

bíŋ-o dance  
bíŋbíŋo dances too much

zé-o steal  
zézé steals too much

máʔa-a throw  
máʔámáʔá throws too much

sug3 wash  
sug3sug3 wash too much
In order to derive nouns from these verbs, we simply have to add a prefix which corresponds to the different noun classes. This is illustrated in the following examples.

2. à-biŋa a dance $\rightarrow$ i-biŋəbiŋə full of dances
à-sugə a soap $\rightarrow$ i-sugəsugə full of soaps
a-zəba a song $\rightarrow$ i-zəbaəzəba full of songs

Most verb roots of the language have the canonical structure CVC-. When combined with a final vowel, a common disyllabic verb stem is obtained. Examples include:

3. zũŋ buy $\rightarrow$ zũŋəzũŋə buys a lot
fĩŋ sell $\rightarrow$ fĩŋəfĩŋə sells a lot

2.2.1 Monosyllabic Verbs.

The combination of monosyllabic verbs with the final vowel does not lead to disyllabic verbs. The final vowel deletes since the verbs are composed of CV$_1$V$_2$ and this language does not allow this sequence. Examples:

4. γa-ə $\rightarrow$ γa give $\rightarrow$ γaγa gives a lot
bĩ-ə $\rightarrow$ bĩ plant $\rightarrow$ bĩbĩ plants a lot
bə-ə $\rightarrow$ bə nail $\rightarrow$ bəbə nails a lot
vũ-ə $\rightarrow$ vũ fall $\rightarrow$ vũvũ falls a lot
zẽ-ə $\rightarrow$ zẽ know $\rightarrow$ zẽzẽ knows much
We notice that the contour tones simplify when the verb is reduplicated. Since most of the infinitive forms of the language have the final vowel, our monosyllabic stems therefore have an underlying CV₁V₂ sequence. A phonological rule of the language known as vowel deletion is applied and the result is either CGV or CV syllable. We can therefore have a rule as:

\[ V \rightarrow \sigma / V \rightarrow \# \]

A vowel deletes after a vowel at the word final position.

2.2.2 Verbs with Bisyllabic Stems.

Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. bűʔu</th>
<th></th>
<th>hid</th>
<th></th>
<th>bűʔubűʔu</th>
<th></th>
<th>hit hard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zɔʔɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>marry</td>
<td></td>
<td>zɔʔɔzɔʔɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>marry several times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləʔâ</td>
<td></td>
<td>announce</td>
<td></td>
<td>ləʔâləʔâ</td>
<td></td>
<td>announce several times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləmə</td>
<td></td>
<td>cook</td>
<td></td>
<td>ləmələmə</td>
<td></td>
<td>cooks a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kənə</td>
<td></td>
<td>fry</td>
<td></td>
<td>kənəkənə</td>
<td></td>
<td>fries a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûmə</td>
<td></td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td></td>
<td>tûmətûmə</td>
<td></td>
<td>shoots a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səʔə</td>
<td></td>
<td>tear</td>
<td></td>
<td>səʔəsəʔə</td>
<td></td>
<td>tears a lot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these examples, both syllables of the stem reduplicate. The tones are copied alongside the reduplicated forms.

Let us in addition have instances of glide formation in the verbs of this language. Consider the following examples:

| 6. bîè |  | byè |  | decay |  | byèbyè |  | decays too much |
| tʃiè |  | tʃyè |  | wipe |  | tʃyɛtʃyɛ |  | wipes too much |
| gîèʔè |  | gyèʔè |  | learn |  | gyɛʔɛgyɛʔɛ |  | learns too much |
The same reduplicated processes are observed when one or both syllables of a bisyllabic stem reduplicate. As earlier said, the glide rule conforms with the phonological rules of the language. We can have a rule as:

$$[+\text{syll}] \rightarrow [+\text{syll}] / -- [+\text{syll}]$$
$$[-\text{cons}] / -- [-\text{cons}]$$

+ high

i.e. \( V \rightarrow G / -- V \) where \( G \) stands for "glide"

### 2.2.3 Partial-Stem Reduplication

With partial-stem reduplication, there is this pre-associated -nə and the disappearance of the velar nasal “ŋ” since the language does not accept consonant clusters. The following examples illustrate this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Original Meaning</th>
<th>Partial-Stem Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zəbo</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>zəzəbəno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamə</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>lalamənə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biŋə</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>bibiŋənə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋə</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>bubuŋənə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarə</td>
<td>tear</td>
<td>sarəsinə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farə</td>
<td>play</td>
<td>farərənə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We observe that there exists a nasal cluster. It is an exception in the language. Again, we notice that reduplication is to the right of the base forming suffixes. Later in the work, we will discover that -n-, -t- are verbal
extension markers. There is equally the insertion of the default vowel “i” to break non-nasal clusters.

We did mention in the introduction of this chapter that reduplication expresses the intensity of qualities. Let us have these examples.

9. lama cook laməlalamna cooks very very well
    kama squeeze kaməlakamna squeezes very well
    tuma shoot tuməlatumna shoots very well
    ta sew talatana sews very well
    zəba sing zəbaəazəbina sings very well
    suga wash sugalasugina washes very well
    za?̞ rub za?̞əazə̞ba rubs very well

In these examples we notice a pre-associated -la at the final position of the verb; and in the reduplicant, there is an extension -n-. Not only is there the extension but also the insertion of “i” breaking the clusters but for the nasals which are exceptions in the language.

2.3 Reduplication in Adjectives

An adjective is a word that names a quality or that which defines or limits a noun. It is whole-word, whole-stem and partial-stem reduplication that takes place with adjectives in this language.

2.3.1 Whole-Word reduplication

This involves both the prefix and the stem that reduplicate as exemplified below:
9. ni-kwa four  nikwanikwa in fours
   bi-tə five   bitəbitə in fives
   ni-wum ten  niwumniwum in tens
   a-dzumo last a-dzumədzumə far behind
   ŋ-gabo week  ŋgaboŋgabo weekly
   milinə sad   milinəmilinə very sad

Whole-word reduplication here shows adverbial expressions like with the numbers; intensity as being “sad.”

2.3.2 Whole-Stem reduplication

This involves the stem and the FV.

10. kiga small  kigikigi very small
    fɪŋə black  fɪŋəfɪŋə very black
    vuga short  vugivugi very short
    ɳwitə tasteful  ɳwitəɳwitə very tasteful
    nara lazy    naranara very lazy
    bəŋə red    bəŋəbəŋə very red
    sagə tall    sagisagi very tall
    fuga white  fugifugi very white

In this set of data all the adjectives that have “g” as C₂, the following schwa changes to the high, front, unrounded vowel “i” in its reduplicated form.

For intensity we can have a pre-associated -la and the extensions -n-ə as in
11. nara lazy nara-lanari-no very very lazy
bona good bona-lubq-no very very good
baga red baga-laban-no very very red
vuga short vugilavugina very very short
fuga white fugi-lafugi-no very very white

2.3.3 Partial-Stem Reduplication

Unlike in verbs, partial-stem reduplication involves the copying of the initial CV of the stem. Examples include:

12. baga red babagna instead red
saga dry sasagnna instead dry
saga tall sasagina instead tall
fuga white fufugina instead white

In this language, not only does an adjective in its original form reduplicate but those having the prefixes of nouns also reduplicate as in example (9) above.

The adjectives in this language function both as singular and plural but these cannot be determined out of context. This is because adjectives use the nominal prefixes they modify and these adjectives also agree in number with these nouns.

13. bi-ta five bi-ta bita in fives
baga red bi-bagana babaqna red ones
fiiga black bi-fiiga bifiiga black ones.
2.4 Reduplication in Nouns

A noun is the name of a place, person, thing, or idea. The Mankon language like many Bantu languages is a noun class language. It groups its nouns into classes with identical prefixes. Reduplicative processes are involved in these different classes. Reduplication also causes some of the nouns to change to other speech categories like verbs, adjectives.

Monosyllabic, bisyllabic nouns, partial-stem reduplication, whole-stem and whole-word reduplication of nouns were identified.

In order to facilitate the reader's understanding, let us have a summary of the noun class markers and some examples.

### 2.4.1 Noun Class Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Plural Noun Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bi, b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>mi, m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 a</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>N-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>à</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>fi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

1. siŋø  bird
2. bi-siŋø  birds
3a i-li soldier ant
5 ñ-ogáŋá root
6 mi-lwé nose
7 à-káŋá pan
8 i-káŋá pans
9 m-bvo dog
19 fí-sáŋá broom

The syllabic nasal prefixes adopt the place of production features of
the immediately following consonant sound. This language therefore makes
use of nasal assimilation.

2.4.2 Reduplication of Class One Nouns.

In this class of nouns, we have identified two sets:

a. With a zero prefix (Ø-)

Guthrie (1970) and Hyman (1980) refer to this class as human nouns
although the Mankon native speaker adds non-human nouns. In this class,
we have whole-word reduplication. When the words reduplicate, the result
is plural. When reduplication takes place in the singular forms, a different
category of words is obtained. Examples include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fruit</th>
<th>Reduplicated Fruit</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mango</td>
<td>bi-māŋgoromāŋgora</td>
<td>full of mangoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orange</td>
<td>bi-lāmsīlāmsī</td>
<td>full of oranges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pear</td>
<td>bi-byābyā</td>
<td>full of pears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>bi-bābā</td>
<td>full of bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powder</td>
<td>bi-bōdabōda</td>
<td>full of powders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>bi-redyōreyō</td>
<td>full of radios</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. With a nasal prefix (N-)
From data (a) and (b) above, we notice that in (a) the prefixes can reduplicate or not. The nouns in (a) are mostly borrowed nouns. In (b) the prefixes also reduplicate. We can notice the vowel deletion process in (b) as in

\[
m-\text{angy} \rightarrow b-\text{angy} \quad \text{women}
\]

This is because the plural prefix is a CV and the noun begins with a V. Thus, the two vowels cannot be maintained. One has to be deleted. That is why instead of \( bi-\text{angy} \), we have \( b\text{angy} \) women.

The rule is

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{+ syll} \\
\text{- cons} \end{array} \rightarrow \sigma / \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{+ syll} \\
\text{- cons} \end{array}
\]

(i.e. \( V \rightarrow \sigma / \rightarrow V \))

This rule states that a vowel deletes before another vowel.

We also have these exceptions whereby “person” and “child” have new forms when they are reduplicated. Instead of

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ŋ} \quad \text{person} \\
\text{ŋ} \quad \text{child}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{bi-ŋb} \quad \text{persons} \\
\text{bi-ŋbim} \quad \text{children}
\end{array}
\]
we have

bebe  persons
bɔbɔ  children

When the forms in (a) and (b) reduplicate without the prefixes, we have something else. Examples are:

16. bä  bar  baba  carry somebody on the back
byâ  pear  byâbyâ  hair
ŋ-ŋ  person  ŋŋŋ  pig
mû  child  mûmû  dumb

In these examples we notice that either a verb, adjective, or noun is derived. The meaning changes because there are no prefixes attached.

2.4.3 Reduplication of Class Three Nouns.

This class of nouns is also divided into two sets: A and B.

A has an i- prefix
B an N- prefix

When reduplicated without its prefix, we have a different meaning.

Examples:

17. i-sáʔá  case  saʔasaʔa  quarrelsome
i-saʔasaʔa  a judge
mi-saʔami-saʔa  many cases
i-li  soldier ant  lili  smoothly
i-lili  maize tassel
mi-limi-li  many soldier ants

mi-bañ±  palm tree  bañ±bañ±  infertile soil
mibañmibañ±  many palm trees

ŋ-gañ±  root  gangañ±  no! no!
ŋgangañ±  fat root
migañmigañ±  full of roots

From these examples, we see how different meanings can be obtained from one word. This of course expands the lexicon of the language without necessarily adding words.

2.4.4 Noun Class Five

We have many nouns under this class. Its marker is ni-. It contains some body parts and abstract nouns. We can have

18. ni-diga  eye  digodigo  thick substance
ni-diginidigi  fat eye
migimigi  full of eyes

ni-lwe  nose  lwelwe  not thick
ni-Iwèni-lwè  fat nose
milwèmilwè  full of noses

ni-yam±  speech  yamyam±  chaffs
ni-yamni-yam±  talks a lot
mi-yammi-yam±  full of speeches

ni-zè?è  cry  ni-zè?è ni-zè?è  full of cries
ni-doro  joy  ni-doro ni-doro  full of joy
Here, the abstract nouns do not change their prefixes when reduplicated. When only the stem of these abstract nouns are reduplicated, there is no meaning. We equally observe that there is a phonological change in which mi → m /-V. There is vowel deletion unlike in bi → b- /--V.

Let us look at what takes place in the examples below:

19. ni-kwè  arm  kwèkwè  bony
    ni-kwè ni-kwè  fat arm
    ɳkwè  ɳkwè  full of arms

ni byš  tadpole  byèbyè  sideways
    nibyènibyè  fat tadpole
    ìbyènìbyè  full of tadpoles

Instead of the plural marker mi- we have a nasal. This is to prove that there are exceptions in the language. This also substantiates the existence of nasal assimilation as earlier mentioned.

2.4.5 Noun Class Seven

In this class, we have the greatest number of nouns. It consists of household utensils and most body parts. The nominal prefix marker for this class is ə-. Its plural class is class eight with i- as its prefix. Though similar with class 3(a), it is different in function as illustrated in the following examples:

20. ə-làŋà  chair  à-làŋðààŋà  only chairs
    i-laŋlaŋà  full of chairs
    ə-ɓà  bag  a-ɓàɓà  only bag/ empty bag
    i-ɓàɓà  full of bags
    à-kàŋà  pan  a-kaŋkaŋà  empty pan
    i-kaŋkaŋà  full of pans
In this class we notice a difference from the other classes. The prefix marker does not reduplicate as in the previous classes. We equally observe that when reduplication is in its original form, we have an adjective as the result.

There is an exception in this class of nouns. This is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{à-ku} & \quad \text{foot} \\
\text{kûkû} & \quad \text{gigger} \\
\text{akuku} & \quad \text{fat foot} \\
\text{mi-kumiku} & \quad \text{full of feet}
\end{align*}
\]

The exception is that its plural is in class 6 with \text{mi-} as the marker.

2.4.6 Reduplication of Noun Class 9, 10, and 19

Class Nine is made up of animal names. The nominal prefix marker for this class is a nasal (N-) which is identical to the class marker of its plural class 10 (N-). These two classes are differentiated contextually. Some nouns from classes 3, 7, and 19 also form their plurals in class ten.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m-bi} & \quad \text{goat} & \quad \text{bibi} & \quad \text{the whole world} \\
\text{mbimbî} & \quad \text{full of goats} \\
\text{m-bvô} & \quad \text{dog} & \quad \text{bvôbvô} & \quad \text{full of dogs} \\
\text{mbvômbvô} & \quad \text{falls too often} \\
\text{n-dâ} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{dádá} & \quad \text{gently} \\
\text{ndândâ} & \quad \text{full of houses}
\end{align*}
\]
ndádá only houses / empty houses

į-gūbə only fowls
į-gubə full of fowls

į-kə only monkeys
į-kə full of monkeys

Class 19 consists mostly of diminutive nouns. Its nominal prefix marker is fi-. Examples:

22. fi-ngwənə salt ęgwaŋwə full of salt
fi-ngwənə salty
fi-ngwənə full of salt

fi-səŋə broom saŋə dry several times
fi-səŋə only brooms
fi-səŋə full of brooms

fi-ndzənə thorn ndzənə huge somebody
fi-ndzənə thorny
fi-ndzənə full of thorns

Let us have these other examples to prove that adjectives can be obtained from reduplicating noun stems.

23. ękí water ękikí watery
ęgə̱ḏ́ stone ęgə̱ḏ́ gə̱ḏ́ stony
ə-wə̱ŋə sand ə-wə̱ŋəwə̱ŋə sandy

We can also identify some nouns in this language whereby verbs are obtained because of a change in tones:
24. bù?ù  chimpanzee  bù?ùbù?ù  only chimpanzees
   bù?ù  hit  bù?ùbù?ù  hit hard
   kamə  crab  kaməkamə  only crabs
   kámə  squeeze  kamkamə  squeeze hard

2.5 Reduplication of Possessive Pronouns

The possessives of the Mankon language are suffixes and not prefixes. So we can have the following examples:

25. mi-lù?ù məmə  only my spoons
   m-fo Ꙁغو  only my fon
   bi-fə bəbə  only my fons
   ni-lwe nənə  only my noses
   mi-lwe məmə  only my noses
   a-laŋə zəzə  only my chair
   i-laŋə tsətsə  only my chairs
   m-bvo tsiɡi tsiɡi  only our dogs
   m-bvo zigizigi  only our dog
   m-bvo tsâtsə  only their dogs
   Ꙁῳ zozo  only your knife
   fisaŋə fofo  only your broom
   Ꙁ珺ɡwaga məmə  only my salt

So far, we have observed that there is whole-word, whole-stem reduplication of nouns in this language. Reduplication really enriches the vocabulary of the Mankon language. It is thus vast and varied. All the forms cannot be explained in this study. Only the most frequent forms have
been discussed. We have seen that reduplication of the various speech categories results in the creation of new lexical items.

The reduplicative processes have led us to develop the suffixation constraint in verbs.

The tones are always copied alongside the segments. The reduplicant normally appears to the right of the base forming suffixes.
VERBAL EXTENSIONS

3.1 Definition

According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, a verb is

"a word or phrase that tells what someone or something is, does or experiences"

Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines a verb as "the part of speech which asserts or predicates something."

Verbal extension (VE) consists of the non-category changing derivational suffixes. After suffixation, we still have verbs though sometimes with an apparently unrelated or only vaguely related meaning. The addition of an extension to a verb root in the Mankon language modifies the meaning thus leading to expansion.

Researchers like Leroy (1977) concentrated almost exclusively on the more conspicuous nominal class system of this language. This is because the verbal extension in the Mankon language has an intricate morphology which lends itself less readily than the nominal class system to a quick analysis. Extensions in this language mostly occur between the root and the final vowel (FV).

We can therefore have the structure

Root + Extension + Final Vowel

The relation of the verbs to the Noun Phrase in sentences changes when we have
i) A transitive verb becoming an intransitive verb. This is exemplified below:

1. mà bëʔè ŋtò I break the pot
   ŋtò bëʔè-no the pot is broken
   (Ext)

ii) An NP may be added to a transitive verb as in:

2. ṣiwàʔà-na ọgàʔà-na write a letter/book
   ṣiwàʔà-na ọgàʔà-na ǹbò X write a letter to X

In the passive verbal extension, the function of subject and object NP is permuted or interexchanged.

The verb roots in this language do not have a prefix in their citation or basic forms. More than one extension may occur with a root to form a verb stem.

In this language, the following extensions can be identified:

-k-
-t-
-n-
-r-
-s-

These extensions are for reciprocal, causative, iterative, distributive, and attenuative functions respectively. One extension can have more than one function as we will discover later in the chapter. But let us have some examples of an extension with more than one function.

The extension -t- has a distributive function. This marker is mostly used with transitive verbs:
4. tsɔʔa pull out tsɔʔa-t-ə pull out one after the other
tsiʔa cut kisi-t-ə cut several times
dunə uproot dun-t-ə uproot one after the other

As an attenuative function, the action or effect of the action is reduced or weakened.

5. ṭsɔʔa squeeze ṭsɔʔa-t-ə squeeze a little
zɔɡa sweep zɔgi-t-ə sweep a little portion
fsa wet fsa-t-ə wet a bit
luba slap lub-i-t-ə pat, tap (on the back)

-kt- functions as an iterative. With such extensions, the action is repeated or the situation is carried out or experienced by several people in several places. It is mostly used with intransitive verbs.

6. kwɔ die kwɔ-k-ə die one after another
vo fall vo-k-ə fall several times
dziŋa urinate dziŋ-k-ə urinate several times

3.2 The Mankon Verb Structure

The verbs in this language do not have prefixes in their basic forms. The structure of word stems and affixes do not have the same syllable structure as we will discover. The stem syllable structure consists of an obligatory syllable peak V and an optional marginal consonant element C which serves as either an onset or a coda.
The structure of the verb in this language is:

TM + OM + RT + Ext + FV

TM being the tense marker,
OM is the object marker,
RT is the Root
Ext being the extension and
FV is the final vowel.

Our main concern in this chapter is:

Root + Extension + Final Vowel

The radical of the Mankon language has the structure $C_1V$ ($C_2$).

The following consonants were identified as $C_2$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

7. bi plant
   zòòbò sing
   zùʔ bear
   kùŋà fry
   kamà press / squeeze
   zàrò select
   sàrò tear

These consonants are not only $C_2$ of the radicals but also final consonants of all morphemes. The vowels bear either a H or L tone. The rule which predicts the FV of the words and its tone will be discussed under the section "Phonological processes."

The verb root together with the verbal extension make up the verb stem. The stem forms the main part of the verb and may be affixed by a number of suffixes as will be seen later.
3.2.1 Monosyllabic Verb Roots

Most of the verb stems in this language are composed of:

Root + Final Vowel

The following are the morpheme and syllable structures of verb roots attested in the language.

3.2.1.1 CV Syllable Structure

These are roots made up of a consonant and a vowel. The addition of the FV does not make it a disyllabic root. This is because the FV usually deletes when it comes after the root vowel as exemplified below:

8. ɣâ-à  →  ɣâ  give  
   bî-à  →  bî  plant  
   tâ-à  →  tâ  push  
   bà-à  →  bà  nail  
   vô-à  →  vô  fall  
   ɛê-à  →  ɛê  know

CV roots form a relatively small class of verbs in this language. Their extension is often irregular and less common. From the data above, we observe that the FV deletes and their tones spread to the preceding vowel. Later, when we will have examined the extensions in this language, we will discover why we consider the schwa as the FV.
3.2.1.2 CVC Syllable Structure

Most of the roots in this class have the CVC sequence plus the FV. This class of final vowels behaves differently when coming in contact with the varying extensions. This difference will be seen later. In CVC, the $C_2$ which forms a coda of the syllable is always a nasal and end in a nasal when they are followed by an object which begins with another nasal or a suffix. Let us have some examples.

9. túma        shoot
   túm Ḣyáma   shoot an animal
   tum-t-ə    shoot several times.

The V element has been deleted because the next word begins with a nasal and secondly because there is an extension.

3.2.1.3 CCV Syllable Type

This group of verb roots undergoes the glide formation rule which states that a high vowel becomes a semi vowel or consonant when it is followed by another vowel. It therefore occurs when we previously had $CV_1V_2$. It does not occur only in monosyllabic verb roots but also in disyllabic verbs.

The reason why we do not have a glide in the underlying forms of this language is because it is derived by a phonological rule. The only exception is when the word is borrowed from another language. Examples:
10. kúa-a → kwá play
kúi-a → kwí grow
kíč → kyé sieve
líč → lyé sleep
díś → dyé fly
guava → gwafa guava

From these examples, we observe that this language does not permit long vowels or VV sequences. One has to be elided or devocalize.

V → G / -V
A vowel devocalizes when it is followed by another vowel.

3.2.2 Disyllabic Structure.

This syllable type is made up of two or more syllables. We can have $C_1V_1C_2V_2$, $C_1C_2V_1C_3V_2$, and others.

3.2.2.1 CV.CV Syllable Structure

This is the most common group of verbs in the language under study. The most canonical root consists of CVC.V. The dot is used here to separate the different syllables. Examples:

11. ṣà?à-ə to open
kána-ə to jump
zàb ə-ə to sing
zàgà-ə to sweep
kí?í-ə to cut
54

tsera-a to slice
ji?I-a to descend
kona-a to love
sara-a to tear
fika-a to vomit
kà?I-a to promise

From these examples it can be observed that the schwa is the most common FV of the root. This is because most of the CV.CV have the schwa as V₂ and the FV is always the vowel of the root. When a vowel is followed by the voiceless glottal stop, the vowel that comes after it is the same vowel before it.

The following rule can therefore be proposed for that:
V → V₁ / V₁?

3.2.2.2 CCV.CV Syllable Structure.

Consider the following examples.

12. guágà-a → gwágà to minimize
kuaga-a → kwágà to cough
kuara-a → kwàrà to take
kuema-a → kwema to implant
due?e-a → dwè?e to hide
nie?e-a → ñye?e throw
ñiama → ñyama mix

CCV.CV syllable types are realized as a result of the glide formation rule.
3.2.2.3 CVCVCV Syllable Type

In this syllable type, we have formal or historical suffixes. This means that the suffixes and even the FV are inseparable from the roots. The roots cannot exist independently. Consider the following examples.

13. kug-i-n-o  deaf
wu?-u-s-o  respect
ligi-n-o  forget

From these data we discover that there is a vowel before the suffix marker. There is therefore an inserted vowel. Verbs which have a glottal stop as C₂ always have an identical vowel as V₂. That is the vowel that comes after the glottal stop is always the vowel that comes before it. The examples above are referred to as historical because the roots have no meaning without the extensions.

Unlike the stem syllable, non-stem syllables do not need to begin with a consonant.

3.3 Forms of Verbal Extensions

As earlier mentioned, four extension markers can be identified in this language. These markers have in addition to iterative, distributive, and attenuative functions, causative and reciprocity. Causative causes or makes somebody do something or causing something to become something different as illustrated in the following examples.
As for reciprocity, the extension indicates that there is no more than one agent. Examples include:

15. lubɔ slap lub-i-n-ɔ slap each other
wɛ laugh we-n-ɔ laugh each other
yamɔ talk yam-n-ɔ talk to each other

These extensions, in addition, cause transitive verbs to become intransitive as in:

16. lomo to be hot (intransitive)
lom-t-ɔ to heat (transitive)
kɔɔ to climb (intransitive)
kɔɔ-k-ɔ to raise (transitive)
lwɛ to hide (transitive)
lwɛ-t-ɔ to be hidden (intransitive)

The structure of the extensions is C+V in which the V is usually the FV of the root.

3.3.1 Monosyllabic Verbs + Extensions

3.3.1.1 CV + Extensions

Monosyllabic verbs are made up of a consonant and a vowel. The extension does not change the structure as exemplified below:
17. bî
   plant
   bî-t-ô plant some
   bî-n-ô people should plant
   bî-tî-nô people should plant some

   nô drink  nô-t-ô  nô-n-ô  nô-t-i-n-ô
   yâ give  yâ-t-ô  yâ-n-ô  yâ-t-i-n-ô
   3ê know  3ê-t-ô  3ê-n-ô  3ê-t-i-n-ô
   vo fall  fo-t-ô  vo-n-ô  vo-t-i-n-ô

   The vowel insertion aspect here will be discussed under the section “Phonological Processes.”

3.3.1.2 CVC + Extensions.

   Most of the CVC roots in this language have a nasal as C2. The vowel after the nasal deletes when it is followed by an object, a nasal, or an extension. In such cases there is no vowel insertion. There are equally other verb roots which are considered to be CVC when the V2 deletes before extensions. Examples:

   18. túmô shoot
       túm-t-ô shoot some
       túm-n-ô people should shoot
       túm-t-i-n-ô people should shoot some
Our observation here is that there is no vowel insertion. Although consonant clusters are not allowed in the language, the nasals are exceptions.

3.3.1.3 CCV + Extensions

19. kwá trim
   kwá-t-o trim some
   kwá-n-o people should trim
   kwá-t-i-n-o you people should trim some

kyē sieve       kyē-n-o     kyē-t-o     kyē-t-i-n-o
kwī grow        kwī-n-o     kwī-t-o     kwī-t-i-n-o
lyē sleep       lyē-n-o     lyē-t-o     lyē-t-i-n-o
dyē fly         dyē-n-o     dyē-t-o     dyē-t-i-n-o

Tones in these data change as the extensions are added. The contour tones simplify to either a 11 or Low tone before extensions.
3.3.2 Disyllabic Syllable Structures.

3.3.2.1 CVCV + Extensions

20. kaʔa  
   kaʔa-t-ə  promise
   kaʔa-n-ə  you people should promise
   kaʔa-t-i-n-ə  you people should promise some

bàʔà  plait  bàʔà-t-ə  bàʔà-n-ə  bàʔà-t-i-n-ə
làʔà  announce  làʔà-t-ə  làʔà-n-ə  làʔà-t-i-n-ə
zúʔú  listen  zúʔú-t-ə  zúʔú-n-ə  zúʔú-t-i-n-ə

With CVCV verbs, it is the glottal stop that comes in or is inserted to break the long vowel (V: ) sequence. We can therefore say that a “?” is inserted to break up CV1V2 since the language does not allow CVV sequences.

3.3.2.2 CCVCV + Extension

21. dwéʔë  hide
   dwéʔë-t-ə  hide some “shift”
   dwéʔë-n-ə  you people should hide
   dwéʔë-t-i-n-ə  you people should shift ...

kwára  take  kwar-i-t-ə  kwar-i-n-ə  kwar-i-t-i-n-ə
kwemo  implant  kwem-t-ə  kwem-n-ə  kwem-t-i-n-ə
ńyęʔë  throw  ńyęʔë-t-ə  ńyęʔë-n-ə  ńyęʔë-t-i-n-ə
Although we have been illustrating the extensions -n-, -I-, let us now look at -k- and others.

The extension marker -k- marks repetition. The action is carried out several times by several people in several places or instances. It is used mostly with intransitive verbs. Examples:

22. jú?ú
   jú?ú-k-o stammer
   jú?ú-n-o you people should stammer
   jú?ú-k-i-n-o you people should stammer a bit

bê?e break  bê?e-k-o  bê?e-n-o  bê?e-k-i-n-o
fora peel   fora-k-o  fora-i-n-o  fora-i-k-i-n-o
sarà tear   sari-k-o  sari-i-n-o  sari-i-k-i-n-o
nàmà bend   nàm-k-o  nàm-n-o  nàm-k-i-n-o
lamà cook   lam-k-o  lam-n-o  lam-k-i-n-o
sànà dry    sàn-k-o  sàn-n-o  sàn-k-i-n-o
tji?à wipe   tji?i-k-o  tji?i-i-n-o  tji?i-k-i-n-o

As earlier observed, there exists a cluster in this language only when the first consonant is a nasal.

The extension marker -k- often functions as a kind of pluralizer, referring to an action or event that occurs repeatedly, or which applies individually to the members of a plural subject or object.

23. lamà
   lam-k-o cook much ...
   bê?e break  bê?e-k-o break so much
   fora peel   fora-k-o peels so much
Occasionally pluralizing and diminutive functions combine as in the above examples to indicate that the given action is both repeated and comparatively slight. More examples.

24. vo fall vo-t-a to fall a little at a time
    vot-t-a walk with some squatting
    sūṇa pull sūṇ-t-a to pull a little at a time or
to tighten

From example (24), -t- at times changes the verb valency.

The extension marker -s- is a clear marker for causative functions as exemplified below:

25. ji?i descend
    ji?i-s-a put down something
    ji?i-n-a you people should descend
    ji?i-s-i-n-a you people should put down something
    kəʔəs climb
    kəʔə-s-a put up, hoist
    kəʔə-n-a you people should climb
    kəʔə-s-i-n-a you people should put up ...
    lwi make bitter lwi-s-a lwi-n-a lwi-s-i-n-a

The extension marker -s- is less productive in this language. That is why the native speakers often use syntactic procedures as in:

26.a. Nde kəʔə-s-a Nde hoisted
    Nde ji?i-s-a Nde helped him down
    b. Nde kəʔə Nde drowned
mà ɣi Nde kɔŋə  I drowned Nde
I do drown
mà kɔŋ-s-ə Nde  I drowned Nde
Ext FV
(Here ɣi means: make, do, cause.)

3.4 Phonological Processes

From our illustrative examples discussed in this chapter, we observe that morphemes combine to form words, the segments of neighbouring morphemes become juxtaposed and sometimes undergo change. Changes equally occur in environments other than those in which two morphemes come together, as at word initial or final positions. All these changes refer to what we call phonological processes.

The following phonological processes can therefore be identified from the illustrative examples we have had so far. They are mostly syllable structure processes.

3.4.1 Vowel Deletion

This phonological process is illustrated with mostly monosyllabic verbs, though it is a general rule in the language that whenever there is a CV₁V₂, one of the vowels deletes or devocalizes. Consider the following examples:

27. bì-ə → bì  plant
gù-ə → gù  give
kà-ə → kà  pluck
This vowel deletion rule can be formulated as follows:

\[ V \rightarrow \emptyset / V--\]

This rule implies that a vowel deletes at the root final position. This occurs mostly with \(CV_1V_2\). That is why the final vowels delete. The tone of the deleted vowel usually spreads to the vowel of the root as shown in example (27).

3.4.2 Vowel Insertion

Consonant clusters are not permitted in this language except syllabic nasals. A vowel is inserted to break up the clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. zóbá</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>zób-i-t-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zób-i-n-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zóg-i-t-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zóg-i-n-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lub-i-t-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lub-i-n-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sar-i-t-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sar-i-k-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sar-i-n-ó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel insertion rule can be formulated as follows:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow V / C--C \]
All the verb stems which have a nasal as $C_2$ before the extension do not comply with this insertion rule. That is why we have cases like:

29. kwemə implant kwem-t-ə implant some
lamə cook lam-k-ə cook much
zoma peel zom-t-ə peel some
kəŋə fry kəŋ-t-ə fry some
yamə talk yam-n-ə you people should talk
kogə drown kog-s-ə make drown
saga dry saga-n-ə you people should dry ...

3.4.3 Vowel Weakening

So far, we discovered that it is an unstressed vowel that is deleted. In this language we have high vowels which change to mid or low vowels as exemplified below:

30. tsiŋə wait tsen-t-ə wait a bit
       wait for some time
fiŋə sell fen-t-ə sell some
liŋə look len-t-ə look for a while
zuŋə buy zon-t-ə buy some

We notice that the velar nasal changes to a dental alveolar nasal before the extension. It is because of the weakened vowel that the nasal changes.
3.4.4 Devocalization

This involves the glide formation. If a vowel deletion rule does not take place, then devocalization is another option as exemplified below:

31. kua-o → kwā trim
kuema-o → kwema implant
nieʔə-o → niyɛʔə throw
lie-o → lyɛ sleep
die-o → dyɛ fly

From (31), we notice that it is the first vowel that devocalizes to either a semi vowel or a consonant. Whereas with vowel deletion the vowel that deletes is not predictable (cf. V → G / --V discussed earlier).

3.5 Tonological Processes

Tones play a very vital role in this language. The vowels of the root bear either a H or a L tone. Almost all the vowels of the extension bear L tones. The FV of the verbs usually has no tone underlyingly but others have and, when deleted, the tone spreads to the preceding or following vowel. Examples:

32. bi-ə → bi plant
yə-ə → yə give
vo-ə → vo fall
zə-ə → zə know
In glide formation, the tone of the devocalized tone bearing unit (TBU) floats. This floating tone either docks to the left or to the right forming a simple tone or a contour tone.

33. kīē-ə → kyē sieve
    kūi-ə → kwē grow
    liē-ə → lyē sleep
    die-ə → dyē fly

When a vowel cannot devocalize, it is deleted. This is because the language does not permit two vowels in a row. Whenever the vowel is deleted, be it word medially or finally, the tone is not deleted. The floating tone most often spreads to the following or preceding vowel. Examples can be seen from (32, 33).

Whenever the tones are identical, there is tone delinking after spreading as in

34. diē → dyē fly
    bā-ā → bā to nail
    tō-ā → tō burn

Complex bases.

Consider the following word bó lámā-ā which is realised as

35. bó lámā they cooked
    bó lám-t-ā they cooked a little.

If the base is a simple one, the verbal form with a H tone is realized with a L tone on the schwa at the final position.
36. lámá cook

But when it is complex, we have a contour tone as in:

37. lámá

Let us have more examples:

38. a. bitó-á → bitó ask
    wú?ú-s-á-a → wú?ásá respect

b. bó bitó they asked
    bó lám-tó they cooked a little

We therefore observe from the analysis in this chapter that Verbal Extension in Mankon language is really a productive device in which words are added to the lexicon of the language. We discovered that the verbs in this language have no prefixes in their basic forms.

We have both complex and simple verbs. Complex roots are historically but not synchronically derived. Simple roots have either a H or a L tone.

Illuminating examples have been given to illustrate the different kinds of extensions added to the verb roots. The addition of an extension to a verb root therefore necessitates the addition of a complement.
BORROWING / LOAN ADAPTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to highlight some of the processes employed by the Mankon native speaker in the lexical expansion of this language. After having looked at Reduplication, Verbal Extension as productive devices for lexical expansion in the language under study, borrowing / loan adaptation is the next.

In order to expand the vocabulary of the language, the Mankon native speakers adopt foreign lexical items from other languages. Linguists have generally assumed that a scale for the time of borrowing can be set up on the basis of phonological form. New words came into the Mankon language through various members of the community in different forms. In the Mankon language most loan-words appear in various forms with more or less phonemic substitution; but some of the substitutions are so widespread that they can hardly have been borrowed recently.

The foreign usage borrowed words in Mankon have been accepted for so long that it is difficult to think of them as loan words. The Mankon language borrows much from the English language because it is a language of science, formal education, communication and trade.

In addition, it is one of the two official languages used in Cameroon and the Mankon language is spoken in the Northwestern part of Cameroon being one of the two English speaking provinces.

Most elders in Mankon prefer to avoid using the borrowed forms because of the general anti-colonization fever. They prefer to describe or adopt from other languages like Duala, Hausa, English, French, and Latin. They equally prefer to keep Mankon pure and uncontaminated by the influence of the foreign languages.
In this chapter, we will try to examine the phenomenon of borrowing in its broader sense in the light of generative phonology. We shall examine how the foreign material conforms with the phonological properties of the Mankon language. Cases where the forms resulting from both forms of contact are possible lexical items in the first language.

The phonological properties of a language largely determine both the phonological shape and phonetic realization of a lexicalised loan-word. That is what determines its lexicalised shape.

Lexicalisation in this chapter will be used to refer to the way borrowed forms will be represented in the receptor's lexicon.

Being one of the rich devices that expands the vocabulary of the Mankon language, loan adaptation can determine the various aspects of internalized phonology. In order to support the contention that it is only through the apparatus provided by generative phonology that the facts of lexicalisation can be truly accounted for, we will have a rich set of data and illustrative exercises.

Mutaka and Tamanji (1995) define borrowing as:

an outright adoption of foreign lexical items from other languages the target language is in contact with.

Loan adaptation which is generally and regularly subjected to phonological and morphological restructuring is designed to make them conform to the phonetic and syllable structures of the receiving language.

From these definitions, there is no great difference between loan adaptation and borrowing. This is the reason why the researcher chose to treat them together. When you borrow or loan a word, you have to adapt it to the rules governing the situation.
4.2 Restructuring Phonological Processes.

The observation so far is that nouns are generally more amenable to loan adaptation than other speech categories. Chumbow (1982) says:

“In the face of new culture and new knowledge, the felt inadequacy is often the absence of appropriate lexical items to express new concepts.”

The Mankon language in its gradual development process through time tries to fill this gap. As such there is deliberate, conscious and unconscious effort of lexical expansion. That is, they are struggling to connect social, economic and scientific progress. From the data in the appendix, we have loan words from the English, French, Duala, Latin, German, and others. From these words, we have the following restructuring phonological processes identified.

4.2.1 Cluster Simplification Through Epenthesis

The donor languages always carry in themselves consonant clusters. Some of these clusters are looked upon as being abnormal in the Mankon language. There is therefore this tendency of breaking the clusters by the insertion of a vowel. In the donor language we can have the following structures.

1.a. CVCC [ba:sl]
CVCC [teibl]
CCVC [bred]
CVCCV [marcu]
CCVCCV [kristo]
The Mankon language makes use of epenthetic vowels to have:

b. CVCVCV      basora
CVVCVCV      tebira
CVVCVCV      berebo
CVCVCVCV    Marikusa
CVCVCVCV      kirisito

In these examples, we have the insertion rule

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow V \rightarrow C \rightarrow C \]

This rule states that a vowel is inserted between two consonants. This rule is illustrated in the following derivation.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{UR} & \text{wiski} & \text{krak} & \text{tebira} & \text{basora} & \text{medari} \\
V\text{-ins.} & i & i & i & o & a \\
\text{PR} & [\text{wiski} & \text{kirak} & \text{tebira} & \text{basora} & \text{medari}]
\end{array}
\]

The above rule is guided by the shape of the incoming words that are borrowed.

Every morpheme structure condition and phonological rule postulated in this study can readily be productive through loan adaptation.

Unacceptable consonant clusters are broken up by epenthetic vowels. It therefore implies that syllabic nasals are ignored, which possibly have examples:

2. [ ka:pinta(r )] kabi\=nda
[ pa\=sind\=za (r )] basinja
Newly created syllables of CiC, CiC, CuC and others are obtained. Instead of looking for new words, the native speaker simply inserts a vowel between clusters unless one of the clusters is a nasal as seen above.

4.2.2 Harmonisation of Prosody

Most of the languages from which the Mankon language borrows are stress timed languages. The stress has the function of cumulating and signalling prominence. The Mankon language being an African language is no exception for being a tone language. Loan-words from these stress-timed languages are compelled to bear tones. H tones are marked where syllables bearing primary stress are borrowed. The unstressed syllable bears L or M tones. However, in this language, Mid tones are not marked. Here are a few examples.

3. [áuə]    áwa
[reidiou]     lédyo
[ˈkoː nə(r)]  kóna
[ˈwáia(r)]    wáya
[ˈtraɪ]       tira
[ˈpɔlːs]   burísə
Since the Mankon language has more than two tones, the distribution in loan words is more complex. It is normally determined by the tonal rules of the language.

The tone of the syllable created by, say, epenthesis is a copy of the tone of the preceding syllable.

4.2.3 Re-Interpretation of Strange Segments.

According to Mutaka and Tamanji (1995), this process is said to be

"where some sounds attested in the donor language are absent in the receptor language, these 'strange' sounds will be approximated to the indigenous sound segments with which they have the highest degree of phonetic similarity."

The language under study makes use of what is known in linguistics study as "Phonetic Approximation." This is simply to help them expand their vocabulary. Phonetic Approximation is when a language adopts a sound that is felt to be closest to the prototype. The only way in which a sound, say "X" from the donor language is realized as "Y" and not "Z" in the borrowing language is by having recourse to the phonological facts that L₁ and the phonetic data of the donor language L₂.

Differing phonological properties are responsible for different nativization processes. Some of the sounds of the donor language are not re-analyzed as an isolated phenomenon, but simply fit into the phonological system. It was only after our data of loan-words had been collected and analyzed that we discovered which sounds a Mankon native speaker would be likely to substitute in each given case.

The speaker of this language in an attempt to borrow and adapt a loan-word in order to have his lexicon enriched, realizes the English sound
[ p] as [ b]. This of course substantiates the idea of phonetic approximation, since [ b] is the closest sound he has for [ p]. Examples:

4. [ pʰətə(r)] básito
   [ plæŋk] bíraña
   [ peɪpə] biba
   [ pəpə] bọbọ
   [ pəudə(r)] bọda
   [ kəpintə(r) ] kabinda
   [ pəkit] boki
   [ preə] biriya

The English voiceless stop [ p] is therefore realized as being the voiced stop [ b] in the Mankon language.

The language speaker feels that the English [ p] is much closer to his [ b]. They can predict how a foreign sound will come into their language, especially if the Mankon native speaker thoroughly understands what that sound is. That is the native speaker's tacit knowledge of his language. In order to enrich his lexicon, the speaker of this language finds the closest phoneme that encompasses the phonetic quality of the foreign sound, and then this sound is appropriately phonemicized and subjected to the phonological constraints of the members of that phoneme. Now that the donor's [ p] is Mankon [ p], it is subjected to the phonological rules of the Mankon language and will be realized as [ b] in native words unless the foreign word is to be singled out as an exception and not subjected to these constraints.

It is interesting to note that in the language under study, most borrowed forms are re-interpreted as non-exceptional Mankon formatives. A word or formative when borrowed becomes part of the Mankon language lexicon with a phonological representation which is subject to the morpheme structure conditions, and then all of the phonological rules. The
new words then consist of phonological strings which are composed of underlying segments or even segments closer to the phonetic output.

4.2.4 Redistribution of Segments.

As earlier mentioned, words borrowed into the Mankon language bring in new sound segments. They do not really occur in particular word positions. Let us have some examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mankon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. table</td>
<td>tafera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobolo</td>
<td>boboro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukuta</td>
<td>mikuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukala</td>
<td>mlikura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rubber</td>
<td>loba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>table</td>
<td>tebira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gallon</td>
<td>garon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palaver</td>
<td>baraba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raphia</td>
<td>lafya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>leso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>razor blade</td>
<td>lisa bereda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>ledyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger</td>
<td>loje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>lebeka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the examples we notice that variants are substituted which are habitually pronounced. Furthermore, we observe that “I” in the donor language becomes “r” intervocally. It is being maintained at word initial position.

I propose the following rule to account for this change:
This rule says: a lateral alveolar becomes a trill intervocically.

In addition to this, we notice some changes with the noun class markers. The donor’s nominal prefix marker mu- becomes the Mankon nominal prefix marker mi-. It is more particular when the donor language is also a Bantu language which has nominal prefixes.

Our examples will be limited to the Duala language.

Duala & Mankon  
mu-kuta & mi-kuta  
mu-kala & mi-kara  
ma-kabo & makabo  
a-haba & a-kaba  

We observe that other prefixes like a- are maintained.

Borrowed words which end in the voiceless fricative [s, f] have an [i] or [ə] vowel added after it. This is illustrated in the following examples:

6. [witnis] wusinek  
   [fu:liːf] furisi  
   [krismos] kirisime  
   [gləs] firasi  
   [mætris] matarasi  
   [tæks] takisi  
   [pəlɪs] burisi  
   [tæts] tosi
We can therefore have a rule as

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow i/s -\]

Using features, this rule reads as:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
\rightarrow \\
+\text{syll} \\
-\text{cons} \\
+\text{high} \\
-\text{bend} \\
-\text{rd} \\
\\
/ \\
-\text{syll} \\
+\text{cons} \\
+\text{cont} \\
-\text{cor} \\
\end{array}
\]

This rule states that the vowel which comes after the voiceless fricative [s] or [f] is [i] .

The phonological process of glide formation is also seen as part of loan adaptation. The glide is inserted to break up some diphthongs as will be seen in the examples below.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[\text{aua}] & \text{awa} \\
[\text{prea}] & \text{biriya} \\
[\text{tau}] & \text{tawora} \\
[\text{waia}] & \text{waya} \\
[\text{flu}] & \text{farawa} \\
[\text{dial}] & \text{dyâ} \\
\end{array}
\]

The front, high, unrounded vowel and the back high rounded vowel become the semi vowels [ y, w ] respectively before a schwa. This can be seen in the examples above. Here, we observe the glide rule in the formation of new words. In the cases where the GV sequence is itself borrowed, it is realized with an identical surface glide, if it is permissible
in the language. The reason why this process breaks down in the presence of glides, labialized consonants is that, since foreign sounds are treated in terms of underlying forms, the order of the rules affects their phonetic output.

Furthermore, words which end in a schwa in the donor language are pronounced or written with [ a] in the receptor language. Let us have the following words to illustrate this;

[ pæsin’da] basinka
[ ma’sto] masa
[ waio] waya
[ lei’boro] lebira
[ pasto] basita
[ ti:fto] titfa
[ peo] byã
[ rabo] loba
[ gwa:vo] gwafa

We can therefore have a rule as

\[
\begin{array}{l}
+ \text{bk} \\
\text{-high} \\
\text{-low} \\
\text{-rd}
\end{array} \rightarrow [ + \text{low}] / -- #
\]

(i.e. o \rightarrow a / -- #)

The rule states that a back mid unrounded vowel becomes a low vowel at word final position. The [ a] is stronger than the schwa. This is because the language is a tone language.
Another change is $[dʒ]$ which scarcely appears at word initial position in mostly borrowed words. It is regularly substituted by $y$ as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>Yerusarem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>Yesosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judas</td>
<td>Yudasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>Yakoba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremia</td>
<td>Yerimyâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the rule is:

\[
\begin{align*}
+ \text{cons} \rightarrow - \text{cons} \\
- \text{syll} \\
+ \text{high} \rightarrow ^{-} \text{high} \\
+ \text{cor} \rightarrow + \text{son} \\
+ \text{strid} \\
+ \text{Del rel} \\
+ \text{vd} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(i.e. $dʒ$ $\to$ $y$ / # --)

We did make mention of vowel reduction or vowel shortening. $CV_1V_2$ is not permitted in this language. That is the reason why one has to be deleted. We can see this from the examples below:

| [ ba: ( r ) ] | bá |
| [ kɔnɔ(r ) ] | kɔna |
| [ tı:] | t̂f |
| [ miːtiŋ ] | mitiŋa |
The proposed rule is:
\[ V \rightarrow V \]

A long vowel is realized as a single vowel in any given environment. This implies that a long vowel becomes only one vowel in the receptor language. In cases of vowel deletion, it is always the second vowel that deletes as in

[ teibl]  tebira
[ laim]   lamsi
[ leibora] lebira

When devocalization, deletion, and reduction do not take place, a voiceless glottal stop is inserted as shown in this example:

[ kɔnːu:]  kanuʔu

Another phonological change observed in the findings is this case where the days of the week have [ e] instead of [ i] at the final position. That is:

[ mændi]  monde
[ tjuːzdi]  tuside
[ wɛnɔzdi] wenside
[ ʃrəzdi]  təside
[ fræidi]  firade
[ sæzɔdi]  saside
[ səndi]  sonde
The receptor language is influenced by the use of "-day" and not the phonetic form. [e] is therefore as a result of the influence of "day" say "Monday." Equally, sounds like [ʌ], [ə], [æ] are not attested in the language; they replace them with [o], [ɔ] and [a] respectively. This goes further to substantiate the idea of "phonetic approximation" used in the language.

4.2.5 Prothesis

This is one of the restructuring processes in our study in this chapter. This language is one of the Cameroonian Bantu Grassfield languages that has a rich nominal prefix class system. In order to adapt foreign words into its vocabulary, this prefixation process is not left out. Only some of the nouns bear the nominal prefix markers. The receptor language either changes the prefix to suit the nominal class system of its style or it is prefixed according to the class it belongs to. Hence, we can have

[pokit] a-boki
[kenu] a-kanu?u
[hospitl] a-wasibita
mu-kala mi-karo
mu-kuta mi-kuta
wrapper a-laba

The prefixation is to the left and this is to fit the noun class system of the Mankon language to have a prefix. Not all the borrowed nouns are involved as not all the nouns in the receiving language have prefixes.
### 4.3 Other Motives for Borrowing

Loan-adaptation has got other motives that remain nonetheless in line with expanding the lexicon.

Mutual intelligibility is one of such motives. Any language that has experienced contact with another language finds its vocabulary enriched through this device. So too is the Mankon language with other neighbouring and distant languages.

There is in addition this prestige motive in which words with their native equivalence have borrowed forms. This psychological process is simply to embellish the language in order to impress the listeners.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor Form</th>
<th>Borrowed Form</th>
<th>Non Borrowed Equivalence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>razor blade</td>
<td>lisa beredc</td>
<td>jwaʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>table</td>
<td>tebirɔ</td>
<td>ʔə-teka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cup</td>
<td>kɔba</td>
<td>ʔi-dɔŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meeting</td>
<td>mitiŋa</td>
<td>ʔi-gotɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>ledyŋ</td>
<td>ni-loŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>bɔra</td>
<td>a-tamaji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest number of speakers who borrow for prestige motive are the youth and those in urban areas. Most of the learned elders use this to test the competence of their children in L1.

From data (14), we observe that the non borrowed forms have a nominal prefix marker. This confirms the fact that borrowed words have a noun prefix to match the noun class system of the Mankon language. According to Towa (1975) and Logan (1965),
“Borrowing is the most obvious way of becoming aware of the deficiency in language and of the fact that language is always lagging behind the development of thought.”

M.A.K. Halliday et al. (1970) states that:

“Words, indeed, for the ordinary purpose of life are seldom lacking; our most pressing needs are somehow satisfied; new inventions and convenience, new development in political and social life find their popular denominations and at least twenty or more new terms are added to our familiar vocabulary every year.”

The Mankon language has assimilated most loan-words into the language in such a way that native speakers now use them as part of the language. The assimilation is not only limited to the phonology but extends to lexis as well as morphology. A typical instance can be seen in loan-words from the English language which drop their plural suffixes and take on the Mankon noun class prefixes as illustrated in the following examples:

- apostles → bi-bosito
- balls → bi-bora
- pastors → bi-basito
- radios → bi-ledyő
CHAPTER FIVE
GENERAL CONCLUSION

I modestly believe that *Lexical Expansion in the Mankon Language* stands as a great step in the initial contribution to the science of linguistics.

### 5.1 Summary

The main objective of this dissertation has been to examine how the Mankon language expands its lexicon.

In Chapter One, the Geographical, Historical Location and earlier linguistic works on the language were presented. The objectives and methodology of the study were well spelt out. The linguistic classification of the language under study was not left out.

The second chapter treated Reduplication as the first device of lexical expansion in the language. This process affects the open class of lexical items in the language. Phonologically, this process leads to resyllabification which implies that two or more words are pronounced as one.

Chapter Three was devoted to examining the extensions affixed to verbs in this language. Here, we had -n-, t-, -k- as extension markers. It is equally in this chapter that the schwa stands out clearly as the FV of the language.

The verb structure of the language is also discussed in this chapter. Alternations between sounds are realised which leads to phonological rules. An example is a case where the “i” vowel sound and “u” devocalise to “y” and “w” respectively. This takes place when the vowel comes before another vowel. Thus, we had a rule as:

\[
i, u \rightarrow y, w / \rightarrow V \\
V \rightarrow G / \rightarrow V \\
\rightarrow #
\]
A high vowel is realised as a semi-vowel when it is followed by another vowel.

Chapter Four set out to examine borrowing and loan adaptation as another productive device for enriching the vocabulary of the Mankon language. In order to adapt foreign words into its lexicon, the receptor language makes use of its phonological rules and "phonetic approximation" to fit in the borrowed forms into its vocabulary.

In the last chapter, the summary, problems encountered, possible solutions and the appendix are treated.

In the course of the analysis a few problems to which ready solutions could not be found surfaced. Some of these problems could serve as areas of future research.

5.2 Problems Encountered and Possible Solutions

Given the fact that a piece of academic study cannot be free from problems, the following were the major problems encountered during the research.

Considering the morpheme structure CVC2 of the language, the complex sounds like /ts, tʃ, dz, dʒ, nd, ɲk/ were interpreted as single consonants. In the course of our analysis, labialisation, palatalisation, homorganic nasalisation and consonant alternations were some of the problems. The sounds above violate the morpheme structure which does not permit consonant clusters in the language. We can have the following:
As for the CV sequence, the vowel is realised as a glide when followed by another vowel. In order to conform with the non-existence of clusters, the glide is then coalesced with the preceding consonant as in

\[
is /k\text{ijgta}/ \rightarrow [\text{ky}5\text{iqtal}] \text{ arrange}
\]

The proposal here is that labialised and palatalised consonants should be considered as phonemic sounds. With this, it conforms with the morpheme structure of the language.

We have words which begin with a syllabic nasal followed by a non-nasal consonant such as stops, affricates or fricatives. The syllabic nasals and non-nasals are always homorganic, that is, they have the same place of articulation. These nasals act as syllabic nuclei and carry tones, occur word initially and medially. If the nasal is followed by a vowel, it loses its syllabic nature and functions as a nasal consonant as in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N-bå?å} & \rightarrow \text{mbå?å} \quad \text{clouds} \\
\text{N-tåjå} & \rightarrow \text{ntåjå} \quad \text{throat} \\
\text{N-kå?å} & \rightarrow \text{jkå?} \quad \text{light} \\
\text{N-tfwåjå} & \rightarrow \text{ntfwåjå} \quad \text{"njangi"} \\
\text{N-gübå} & \rightarrow \text{ngübå} \quad \text{fowl} \\
\text{N-då} & \rightarrow \text{ndå} \quad \text{house}
\end{align*}
\]
These examples are governed by the homorganic assimilation rule in the language which states that the homorganic nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the consonant after it. It thus converts /N/ to [m] before labials, [n] before alveolars, prepalatals and [ŋ] before velars.

Another problem was how to determine the phonemic status of certain consonants due to a number of constraints on their distributions. For instance: the verb in this language has a "zero" form generally characterizing the imperative and completed aspect and to derive nouns we have a pre-nasalised form. The pre-nasalised is marked by a homorganic nasal prefix /N-./ Let us have these examples:

- fɔ̀?à to work  →  m fɔ̀?à  the worker
- sà?à to judge  →  ñ sà?à  the judge
- fùŋà to pull    →  ñ fùŋà  the puller
- kà?à to plan    →  ñkà?à  the planner

So far, we notice that when C₁ is voiceless, the marked form is derived from the unmarked by simply prefixing a homorganic nasal before C₁. But when C₁ is voiced, the unmarked form of the verb contains not only a homorganic nasal prefix but also C₁ undergoes certain modifications as in

- lwèʔè to hide  →  ndlwèʔè  the hider
- yâ to give       →  ñgâ       the giver
- yǐŋà to come    →  ñgyǐŋà  the comer
- wètà to laugh   →  ñgwètà  the laugher

It therefore means that the voiced continuants become non-continuants after a nasal consonant.
The language has not got a voiced palatal non-continuant, that is why [y] has moved backwards to resemble the velar stop which is a feature in the language.

I acknowledge the fact that not all the aspects of lexical expansion have been treated in this work but I hope that the salient points have been brought out in the study.

In spite of the problems, the rules obtained from the various expansion devices – reduplication, verbal extension, borrowing/loan adaptation, the entire study has hopefully succeeded in providing an acceptable analysis of lexical devices in Mankon; an exercise which leads to a better understanding of how the human mind produces and processes the expansion in the Mankon language. It has also tried to paint a true picture of the language as compared to the previous works cited in the literature review.

I equally hope that the ideas examined in this work will stimulate the reader to further thought and research. Below is an appendix of some of the words that are used in this work.
APPENDIX

5.3.1 Nouns

5.3.1.1 Borrowed Nouns

(The forms in the left-hand column are in Mankon in this appendix).

kírak        clerk
kawo         cow
moskito      mosquito
kíro         kilo
wisíkí       whiskey
bá           bar
mata         mat
dyá          dear
farawa       flower
kwínfí       quinine
mani         Mummy
baba         daddy
kabindá      carpenter
basinja      passenger
zíjo         zinc
masa         master
sá           sir
à-bóki       pocket
masínja      messenger
mato    motor
sinema   cinema
kanufu   canoe
simen    cement
kona     corner
tikera   ticket
konkoni  malice
loya     lawyer
girafi   grassfield
wasine   nightwatch
nirono   nylon
waya     wire
korafisi crayfish
kamboro cupboard
lebira   labourer
akuisedo accident
wusine   witness
medari   medal
hotere   hotel
koboro   cupboard
sikura   school
bandari  bandage
kirisime Christmas
angere   angel
basita   pastor
katoro   catholic
basaro   basel
tebfra   table
bira    plank
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
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<tr>
<td>ball</td>
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<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>tíjìja</td>
</tr>
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<td>paper</td>
<td>bíba</td>
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<tr>
<td>carton</td>
<td>kátóna</td>
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<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>lèddyò</td>
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<td>hospital</td>
<td>wàsibìtì</td>
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<tr>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>dòkìta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurse</td>
<td>nòsìa</td>
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<tr>
<td>lime</td>
<td>lamsì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>park</td>
<td>báyọ</td>
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<tr>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>kasanà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>kòkonà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawpaw</td>
<td>bòbò</td>
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<tr>
<td>guava</td>
<td>gware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mango</td>
<td>màngòrọ</td>
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<tr>
<td>powder</td>
<td>bódà</td>
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<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>bered</td>
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<tr>
<td>meeting</td>
<td>ìgòta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jug</td>
<td>jòga</td>
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<td>gallon</td>
<td>garon</td>
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<tr>
<td>mass</td>
<td>masi</td>
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<tr>
<td>rubber</td>
<td>lóba</td>
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<tr>
<td>coal tar</td>
<td>kútáyọ</td>
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<td>trouble</td>
<td>torobo</td>
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<tr>
<td>fever</td>
<td>sìba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cup</td>
<td>ndójìa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glass</td>
<td>girasì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>saside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>sonde</td>
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</table>
doroba  driver
èfùba  palaver
terebilino  television
daŋtite  identity
makiza  maquisard
betorà  perdro (Latin)
marikùsà  Marcus (Latin)
yakorò  Jacob
Yesosì  Yeso
kfrisìtò  Kristo
Yerúsaremò  Jerusalem
kurikuìì  kruku (Yoruba)
makaro  makra
kòbò  kòbo
òdorle  ndole
bùba  bùba
a-kabò  akàbò
mìnyandòìì  mìondo
makabo  makabo
mikaro  mukala
mì-borò  bobolo
tefere  tafel (German)
bahàtò  bad heart
korokoro  krokro
wasi  watch
sitasc  starch
dasi  dash
tòsì  torch
ò-jùìì  thousand
a-liigii  lock
búriso  police
kóra  court
ni-nínníñ picture
tawora  towel
basíko  bicycle
vara  blanket
bíriya  prayer
síribasi  slippers
i-µýé  skin
lamo  lamp
jwà?à  blade
lisabered  razor blade
karo  card
i-bíra  poker
awa  hour
tusíde  Tuesday
monde  Monday
wensíde  Wednesday
tosíde  Thursday
fírade  Friday

5.3.1.2  Prefix Nouns

karo  ring
síÚó  bird
fú  rat
kama  crab
mangoro  mango
lamsi  lime
byā   pear
farawa flower
bā   bar
tebirə  table
boda  powder
bigisa hinge
bogə   lock
redyó radio
windo window
búru chimpanzee
kūnu  bed
tūru pant
sētē weaver

5.3.1.3 Nouns with N-Prefix

n-dā  house
m-bā nail
i-jō  person
m-ū  child
n-tiri louse
i-j-qulů fowl
n-dzānu ask
i-j-kē cage
i-j-kə  monkey
m-bi goat
m-bvō dog
m-fō  fon
n-domə  husband
ñ-dama  witch
ñ-dzere  thief
m-bábo  meat

5.3.1.4 Nouns with Other Nominal Prefixes

5.3.1.4.1 a- Prefix

a-tí  tree
a-bò  bag
a-kú  leg
a-tù  head
a-kwè  bone
a-bəro  throne
a-mí  neck
a-lémò  blood
a-bíbò  he-goat
a-tsèlè  cloth
a-sò  hoe
a-bó  hand
a-kóno  umbrella
a-tálémò  

5.3.1.4.2 ni-prefix

ni-bumò  stomach
ni-bí  kolanut
ni-kwè  arm
ni-dígo  eye
ni-lwe  nose  
ni-tu?u  lap  
ni-s?o  tooth  
ni-b?o  pumpkin

5.3.1.4.3 fi-prefix

fi-3wira  maggots  
fi-gwa!  salt  
fi-tu?u  potato  
fi-dzoy  thorn

5.3.1.4 i-prefix

i-kobo  belt  
i-k?o  ladder  
i-bo  children  
i-kobo  mortars

5.3.2 Verbs

5.3.2.1 Monosyllabic verbs

vo  to fall  
y?  to give  
t?  to push  
t?  to sew  
h?  to mail
3è to know
dyè to fly
lyè to sleep
kyè to sieve
yì to do
nò to drink
kâ to luck
sé to steal
kwí to grow
kwá to play
kwo to die
tfè to sit

5.3.2.2 Bisyllabic Verbs

tuna to deny
borikà to meet
køŋa to love
tam-t-ø to deceive
bàʔà to plait
tøŋa to call
tiro to try
møm-t-ø to touch a bit
wine to win
tøŋa to fight
ʒùʔù to murmur
dʒwi to give birth to
běmø to believe
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
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<td>tskyé</td>
<td>to wipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súgá</td>
<td>to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma?á</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biñáa</td>
<td>to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bítâ</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuño</td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lîñá</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwemá</td>
<td>to implant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwará</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwágá</td>
<td>to cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ká?á</td>
<td>to promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tseřa</td>
<td>to slice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twiga</td>
<td>to peel</td>
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<tr>
<td>fi-ka</td>
<td>to vomit</td>
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<td>fi?í</td>
<td>to descend</td>
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<tr>
<td>kañá</td>
<td>to jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bèlè</td>
<td>to break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsó?ó</td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kí?í</td>
<td>to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúñá</td>
<td>to uproot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go?ó</td>
<td>to squeeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zágá</td>
<td>to sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lúbo</td>
<td>to slap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzíñá</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
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<td>zóbó</td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zara</td>
<td>to select</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sára</td>
<td>to tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túnó</td>
<td>to shoot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.2.3 Polysyllabic Verbs

ligina  to forget
wû?ûsê  to respect
fûrisa  to be foolish
bû?ina  to start/begin
figâta  to reduce
bonisa  to punish

5.3.3 Adjectives

wandafurâ  wonderful
biga    bad
lasi    last
îyâ?â    dirty
bona    bon, good
dzoma   dry
fuga    white
saga    tall
bâna    red
vuga    short
nara    lazy
fiña    black
kìgà    small
îwîta    tasteful
ni-kwa  four
ni-wum  ten
biba    five
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<td>weak</td>
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<td>borika</td>
<td>weak</td>
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<tr>
<td>fana</td>
<td>fat</td>
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<td>fema</td>
<td>clean</td>
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<td>dzomka</td>
<td>thin</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñkiki</td>
<td>watery</td>
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<td>go?ogó?á</td>
<td>stoney</td>
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<td>dwito?á</td>
<td>angry</td>
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<td>midá?a</td>
<td>powerful</td>
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<td>tsegó</td>
<td>sour</td>
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<td>dumb</td>
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### 5.3.4 Grammatical Words

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<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-wa</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
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<td>i-ñgáno</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wina</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi?ike</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ano</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá?aní</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambyè</td>
<td>by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambo</td>
<td>to, for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
azə  yours  
ažə  mine  
tsítsè  some  
ake  what  
tsá  those  
zíŋə  this  
tsâ  theirs  
tșíigo  ours  
tșâ  as  
amu  in, into  
lá  but  
mbiʔake  because  
boy  them  
atú  above  
və  my  
abye  outside  
tsíŋə  these  
bíŋə  which (plural)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


CERDOFOLA, DGRST.


