THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I
UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

**Faculty of Arts, Letters
and Social Sciences**
*Faculté des Arts, Lettres et
Sciences Humaines*

**Department of African
Languages and Linguistics**
*Département de Langues africaines
et Linguistique*

BORROWING AND STANDARDIZATION

IN AGHEM

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of the "Maîtrise" degree in Linguistics.

By

LILIAN MBI ATTIA

B.A. (Hons) in Linguistics
DIPEN II in English Didactics
The University of Yaounde 1

Supervised by

Prof   Ngessimo M. MUTAKA

September 2004

Language has been structured to meet the ever increasing demands of men and women. So the need for new words to represent new creations will definitely arise.

Lilian Attia

Dedication

To: My Parents Mr. Attia John Tegha
      and Mrs. Attia Emilia Nnam
      and to my unborn children who
      constitute the sad mystery of my life.

Acknowledgements

This study would not have been complete without the assistance sought from some people to whom I am greatly indebted. I will therefore seize this opportunity to thank them sincerely.

My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor Professor Mutaka Philip whose constructive criticisms, suggestions, and corrections guided me in this research endeavour.

My special thanks go to my parents Mr. Attia John Tegha and Mrs Attia Emilia Nnam for their constant solicitude and encouragements to complete this research study I had abandoned. I am particularly grateful for the assistance you gave me in the execution of my questionnaires in Wum.

I must thank the academic support of my lecturers in the Linguistics Department of UNIYAO 1 for the linguistic knowledge imparted on me. I say thank you to: Dr. Ogwana John, Dr. Tamanji Pius, Prof. Biloa Edmond, Dr. Ndamsah Gratiana, and Dr. Sadembouo Etienne.

I am extremely grateful for the moral support I got from Mr. and Mrs. Fou-uh Attia, Menyi Mulu, Mr. Kuchah Harry, my brother Arthur Attia who spared no effort in carrying out all the errands I sent him to do with respect to the realisation of this work. I also thank my younger ones Bridget, Walters, Roland, Ethel, Valentine, Evelyne, Armel, Derrick, Donald, and Desmond Attia for the inspiration they gave me.

My sincere gratitude goes to ALDEC Wum. Here, I am thinking of Tschonghongei Nelson and Fung Angus who helped me

during the collection of my data. I am also thankful for the assistance I got from Mr. Joseph K. Attia, Mr. Tegha Mbeng Peter, Waffi, Olga, Wilfred and Judith Dzenyagha. Mr. Kang Joseph Chi, Mr. Abang Martin, Mr. Njuh James, Mr. And Mrs Kuchah, Mr. Mvo Johnson, and Chuo Gerald.

I also acknowledge the assistance from the authorities of the British Council and SIL libraries.

Finally, my gratitude goes to Mrs. Mutaka Jacky for typing my work and, I suspect, for encouraging her husband to proofread it.

For all these, may the Lord Almighty, whom I sincerely adore, thank, and exult, bless the hearts that have shared in the realisation of this work.

List of Abbreviations and Symbols.

ALAC: Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale

ALCAM: Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun

ALDEC: Aghem Language Development Committee

CERDOTOLA: Centre Régional de Documentation sur les Traditions

CREA: Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes Anthropologiques

DGRST: Délégation Générale à la Recherche Scientifique et

Ed. :   Editors

            et De la Recherche Scientifique.

ISH: Institut des Sciences Humaines

MESIRES: Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur de l'Informatique

            Orales et les Langues Africaines.

SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics

            Technique.

:   word boundary

--# :   word final position

#_: word initial position

σ :   syllable

/ / :   phonemic transcription

/ :   context/ environment

/ or H: High tone

[ ] :   phonetic transcription

\ or L: Low tone

= :   equal to

->:   becomes/is realised as

ǎ or LH: rising tone (here as on the vowel a)

â or HL: falling tone (here as on the vowel a)

C: consonant

C_1 :   Initial consonant

G: Glide

N: syllabic nasal

Ø: zero

V: vowel

Vd: voiced

Vl: voiceless

V—V :   intervocalically

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 General Introduction

An apt introduction to the contents of this dissertation is a quotation from Bloomfield (1935:445):

"Every speech community learns from its neighbours. Objects, both natural and manufactured, pass from one community to the other, and so do patterns of action, such as technical procedures, war like practices, religious rites or fashions of individual conduct. This spread of things and habits is studied by ethnologists, who call it 'cultural diffusion'."

Along with these objects, concepts and patterns of actions come yet another very important element of culture: language. The speech forms, which designate these objects and ideas in their place of origin, are often imported into the borrowing language. In most cases the foreign elements are absorbed quite naturally by the borrowed language. Sometimes language policies have to be devised for the thorough absorption of some items, especially the very living technical terms.

Aghem, like any other living language, has its share of borrowings drawn mostly from the English language and Pidgin, which it has been in contact with for the past century. It has also borrowed from French, Duala, Befang, and Yoruba.

In our work, we will be looking at some of the borrowings from Pidgin English, French, and Duala. We will also look at the methods

of rehabilitation in Aghem through phonological and morphological processes.The attitudes towards the spoken and written forms. We will draw a conclusion as to whether the borrowed items realized are necessary to incorporate in Aghem for future standardization.

1.3. Location of Aghem

Aghem will be located geographically, historically and lastly, linguistically.

1.2.1 Geographical Location

Wum, where the main Aghem dialect is spoken, is the administrative and economic center of Menchum Division found in the North West province of Cameroon. It is spoken by a population estimated between 20,000 and 25,000 (1993) according to Watters (2003:230). SIL (1982) in Grimes (1992: 176) evaluates it at 14,000.

Wum shares boundaries with Bu, Weh, Befang, Modele, Esimbi, Kuk, Kumfutu, and Fundong. Figures 1, 2, and 3 below show these boundaries shared between Wum and its neighbours.

Figure 1 : Location of Aghem in the Menchum Division
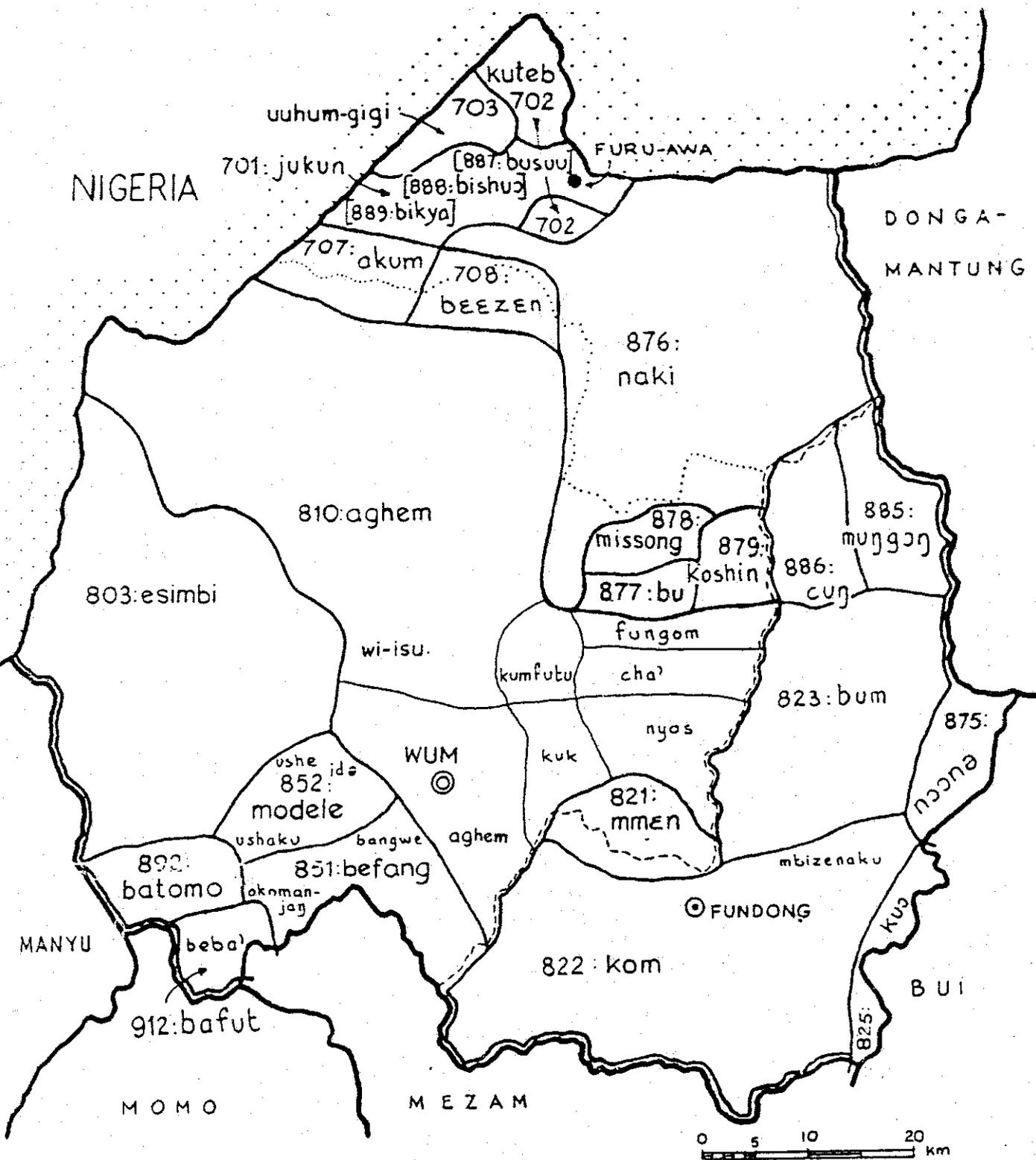
	département	arrondissement	district
limites	———	- - - - - - -	··········
chef-lieu	◎	⊙	●

		langues	dialectes
limites		———	———
désignation		aghem 810	kumfutu

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Bikia

Figure 2: Location of Wum in the Menchum Division in the North
West Province   Adapted from ALCAM (397)

Figure 3: Location of Aghem in Cameroon.

Zone 8

ZONE 1-2
tchadique

ZONE 3

z.3

3

3

3

zone 3
adamaoua-
oubanguien

7

z.8
grassfield-
ouest

9

7
et
bantou
au
sens large

3
zone 9
grassfield-est

tikari

z 7
bénoué-congo
non-bantou

8

zone 6
bantou
côtier

bafia

mbam

z.5

7

zone 4
bantou équatorial nord-est

4

6

SLAC.CAM.13
1985

6

6

3

3

0   1   2   3   4   5 cm

0   50   100   150   200   250 km

1/5 000 000
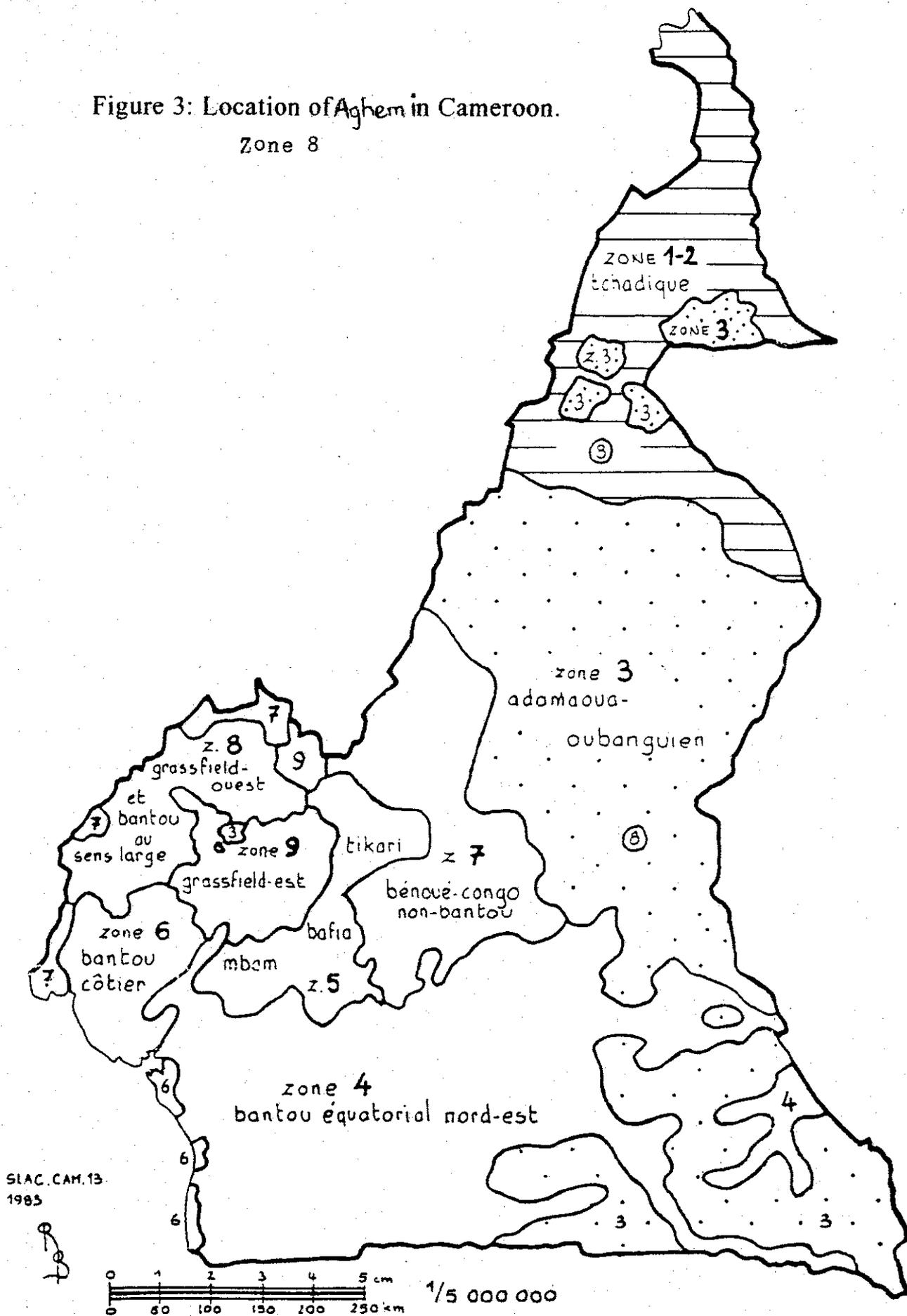
1.2.2 Historical situation

Oral tradition (literature) and Aghem ethnogenesis from Kopytoff (1975: 371) hold that the people from Wum are said to have left the Congo Basin due to land dispute and class distinction at a place that bore the name Si-nndong. They are said to have settled amongst the Mundani people at the Bauchi plateau where their continuous power-mongering attitude caused a division amongst them. The division was brought about by a war after the death of one of their chiefs. Being unable to place the next ruler provoked a genocide with a section of the people escaping uplands.

In the language spoken by the Mundani tribe the people who escaped upland were known as 'Bafum' meaning 'brothers gone upland' The loss again of another chief brought about by the struggle to sit another chief caused another division. The groups were now divided into three. Some settled in Bazi, others in Bambe near Balin in the Akwaya Sub division and a third moved northwestward.

This third party moved through Okoromhjong-Mukuru-Befang and settled in the Ngooh region, where they met Kengoho people who paid tributes to the Ukpwa Empire. That was a land that was believed to have been full of milk and honey and no insect bites. Being jealous of this empire they waged another genocide in the surrounding villages to occupy the present site Wum. The name of this site is a German rendition of the Kom pronunciation of 'Aghem'. The Germans, on their way to Aghem, were astonished to see a woman carrying so much load on her head and a child on her back while the man moved with his walking stick majestically behind her. They then exclaimed: "wum", which means "women under men".

1.2.3 Linguistic Location

Aghem, the language under study, can be divided as follows. The phylum it belongs to is Niger Kordofan, within the Niger Congo sub phylum, the Benoue-Congo Family, the Bantoide sub-family, the Bantu branch, the Grass field west sub-branch, the Ring group and under Zone Language [810]

According to Ethnologue (Grimes 1992: 176) and ALCAM (Dieu et al. 1983: 69), Aghem and its 'dialects' are spoken over a wide area of the Menchum Division in the following communities: Wum, Zoa, Kumfutu Kung, Kuk, Chaɩ, and Nyos. To this ALCAM adds the villages of Weh, Isu, and Fungom.

The classification of Aghem can be seen in the following genealogical tree.

Niger Kordofan
|
Niger Congo

West Atlantic   Adamawa Oubangui   Benue - Congo

Jukunoid   Cross River   Bendi   Bantoid

Mambiloid   Bantu

Jarawan   Tivoide   Ekoide   Nyang   Beboide   Grassfield   Mbam   Equatorial

Western Grassfield   Eastern Grassfield

Momo   Menchum   Ring

West   Center   East   South

Aghem 810   Mmen 821   Lamnso 830   Vəŋ° 843

-Wi-isu

-Kumfutu

-Fungom

-Chaz

-Nyos

-Kuk
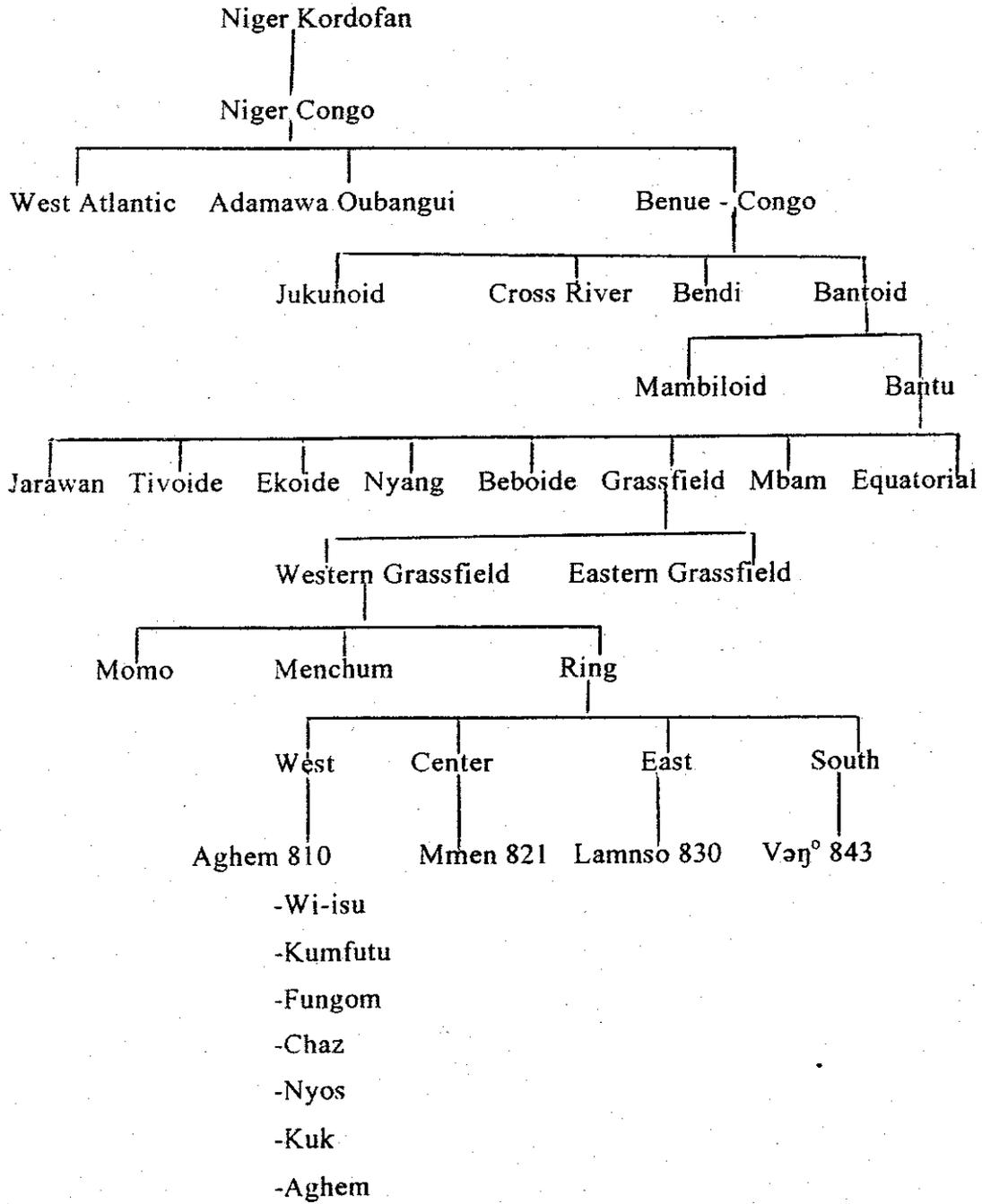
-Aghem

Adapted from ALCAM   (pages 352, 360, 362)

1.3 Aghem

Aghem designates three items in the language: the people, the language, and the area of inhabitants. Aghem is the name used to refer to the people from Wum in the Menchum Division in the Northwest Province of Cameroon. Aghem is also the stretch of land in which the indigenes of Wum live. It is also the name given to the language the people from Wum speak. ALCAM labels it as language [810].

1.3.1 Sounds and graphemes of Aghem

1.3.1.1. Vowels

Hyman (1979:5) distinguishes vowels is Aghem according to whether they are short vowels, long vowels or diphthongs.

Short vowels or monophthongs consist of a single vowel quality throughout the syllable; Aghem distinguishes ten short vowels according to roundedness and vowel height.

Front		centre		Back	
Unrded	Rounded	Unrded	Rounded	Unrded	Rounded
i		ɨ	ʉ		u
e					o
ɛ					ɔ
a					o

This chart is adapted from Hyman (1979: 5)

As shown in this chart, Aghem has five unrounded front vowels and five rounded back vowels. They are illustrated in the following examples.

(1) Vowel illustration of Aghem.

i :	é-sí	'ceiling'	u :	é - sú	'to wash'
ɨ :	é-sɨ́	'eye'	ʉ :	é-sʉ́	'to play'
e :	è-sê	'to put out'	o :	é-só	'raphia fibre'
ɛ :	é-sɛ́	'to split'	ɔ :	é-sɔ́	'maize'
a :	é-sá	'buttock'	ɒ :	é-tɒ́	'intelligence'

So far, the vowels illustrated here are short vowels. Aghem has also long vowels, which include ii ee ɛɛ, aa, uu, oo. In addition to these short and long vowels, there are also diphthongs in Aghem which include ia , ɨa, ua, uo, uɔ, ʉɔ, and ɔe. The following is an illustration of long vowels and diphthongs.

(2) Long Vowels

ii:	é-bíi	' to sleep'
ee:	é-fêe	' to sell'
ɛɛ:	é-kêɛ	' to clear'
aa:	fì-kàa	' squirrel'
uu:	é-núu	' to leave'
oo:	kíkó'ó	' juju'

(3) Diphthongs

ia:	é-tía	' stone'
ia:	é-kîa	' to cut down'
ua:	ú-lûa	' bridge'
uo:	é-búo	' to become tired'
uɔ:	é-búɔ	' to come'
uɒ:	ú-bùɒ	' leopards'
ʉɔ:	é-dzûɔ	' to close'
ɔe:	é-kɔé	' rice'

Concerning diphthongs, Hyman (1979:8) makes the following observations:

-All instances of ua involve nouns whose prefix is ú-. This is exemplified in words such as ú-lûa ' bridge' ú-nûa belly.

-ia occurs after velars as in é-kía ' headpad' , ŋ-ghîa 'faeces'. After other consonants, we have the interrupted diphthong igha, which could be called a velarized diphthong as in bìghà ' two' and ǹ-tíghà 'spittle' .

-uo is found after all consonants. This is exemplified in such words as é-fúo ' to give', é-kúo ' to hold' .

-Concerning uɔ, since it rarely occurs, it is believed that uɔ and ughɔ result from uo + a and ugho +a. Thus one hears búɔ and búghɔ meaning 'if'.

-ʉɔ occurring after affricates comes from ia which has undergone rounding as in the singular and plural of the words for " bed/beds" , that is ú-ʧʉɔ /ń-ʧîa.

1.3.1.2 Consonants

We conveniently group consonants into rows according to how they are made with the voiced consonants below their voiceless counterparts, and columns according to their place of articulation.

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stops	p b		t d		k g	kp gb	ʔ
Fricatives		f v	s z	ʃ 3	gh/ɣ		
Affricates	pf bv		ts dz	tʃ dʒ			
Liquid			l				
Glides				j̃/y		w	
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ŋ		

This chart is adapted from Hyman (1979:3)

For stops Aghem distinguishes nine:

(4) Stop consonants in Aghem

/ p,b / as in é-pú	'to die',	é-bú	'barn'.
/ t, d/ as in é-tá	'to sew',	é-dá	'tall'.
/ k,g/ as in é-kúo	'catch',	é-gúo	'harvest'.
/ kp, gb/ as in e-kpâ	'to burn',	kí-gbîn	'dust'.
/ʔ / as in é-lâʔ	'lost'.		

The labial / p / occurs only word initially before / u / as in ú-púù ' huckleberry' which is a simplification of kpú, a word that comes from other dialects.

The fricatives are seven in number.

(5) Fricatives in Aghem

/f,v/ as in é-fúo	'to give',	é-vú	'death'.
/s,z / as in é-sɛ́	'split' ,	é-zɛ̂	'vomit',
/ ʃ,ʒ / as in é-ʃîa	'grave',	é-ʒwîi	'to breathe',

/ ɣ/ which, in this work is written as a digraph /gh / as in é-ghé ' breast'

Affricates are six in number and include / pf /, /bv/, /ts/, /dz/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/. They are exemplified in the following words:

(6) Affricates in Aghem

pf:	é-pfú	'burnt'
bv:	é-bvʉ	'dog'
ts:	é-tsʉ́	'open'
dz:	é-dzí	'give birth'
tʃ:	é-tʃélɔ́	'change'
dʒ:	ú-dʒwîm	'pus'

There is only one single liquid, the lateral " l" as illustrated in the following words:

(7) The liquid in Aghem

     ú-lûa   'bridge',

     ú-lîŋ   'bamboo'

Aghem has two glides: /y/ and /w/. They are exemplified in the following words:

(8) The glides in Aghem

(a)   é-yɔ̂sɔ́   'to help'

      yɔ̀   'yawn'

(b)   é-wí   'nose',

      é-wɛ̂   'girl'.

Note that /y/ has been found to occur only before /ɔ/.

Nasals are four in Aghem m, n, ɲ   and ŋ. They are illustrated in the following words.

(9) the nasals in Aghem

    m : é-mîi   'to swallow'

    n : é-nîi   'to marry'

    ɲ: é-ɲí   'to enter'

        é-ɲɔ̂z   'to roast'

        ɲɔ̀m   'meat'

    ŋ: é-sɔ́ŋ   'tooth'

        é-tɔ́ŋ   'read'

1.3.1.3 Tones

The Aghem language makes use of two basic tones. The high (') or H   and the low (`) or L tones. The two basic tones occur in combinations as H-L, H-H, L-H, and L-L. Tones are assumed to be a property of the syllable in the Aghem language, so only one tone is assigned to a syllable.

The following words exemplify high tones

(10)   nwín   'bird'

         ú-nwín   'birds'

The following words exemplify low tones

(11)   mbɔ̀ŋ   'cow' ,

         tì-mbɔ̀ŋ   'cows'

The following exemplifies the low high tone sequence:

(12)   fì-mbóʔ   'banana'

As can be observed from the above examples, a vowel bears only one tone. These are level tones.

Apart from these tones, there are also contour tones, that is the rising tone with the symbol (ˇ) and the falling tone with the symbol (ˆ) .

The rising tone is rare and mostly found on vowels while the falling tone occurs on both short and long vowels.

The rising tone is exemplified in the following words:

(13) kì - tĕɛ   'cricket'
      kì – kwĕɛ   'breeze'

The falling tone is exemplified in the following words:

(14) kì - kôɔ   'cutlass'
      kí -kô   'slave'
      ú - kwâʔ   'hill'

It is worth noting that the tones in this language differentiate meaning in the same words as exemplified in the following words:

(15) i. a)   bíghà   'father'
     b)   bìghà   'two'
     c)   bîghà   'build'

     ii.a)   é-zú   'sun'
     b)   é-zú   'bee'
     c)   e᷄-zù   'itch'

     iii. a) é-wú   'rain'
     b)   é-wú   'raphia fibre'
     c)   é-wû   'someone's'

Whereas in (i) the bigha has been differentiated using different tones, ezu in (ii.a and ii.b) have the same tone marks and can only be differentiated in spoken Aghem depending on its use in a sentence. That goes the same for ewu in (iii..a and iii. b).

1.3.2 Syllable and Word Structure

1.3.2.1   Syllable Structure

In Aghem almost all lexical stems are monosyllabic. If we use C for consonant and V for vowel, we will have syllables in Aghem as:

(16) $C_1 V_1$:

é-sí	'eye',
bvú	'dog' ,
kɛ́	'monkey'

(17)) $C_1 V_1 V_2$:

é-bɔ́ɔ	'to agree' ,
zúo	'snake'

(18) $C_1 V_1 C_2$:

é-sám	'seed' ,
é-líŋ	'bamboo' ,
tsóm	'drum'

We could also have

$C_1 \ w \ V_1 \ V_2$ as in:

(19) é-ʒwíi   'to breathe' ,

       ú-twíi   'medicines'.

$C_1 \ w \ V_1 \ C_2$ as in

(20) ń-nwín   'bird',

       ú-dʒwîn   'pus'

From the above, we can state the following generalisation about the the syllabic structure of Aghem stems as being: $C_1 \ (w) \ V_1 \ (V_2, C_2)$

1.3.2.2 Word Structure

In Aghem, the syllable and word structure makes use of nouns and verbs. We will therefore classify them according to their various classes in the language.

Noun Structure:

Aghem distinguishes twelve noun classes, singular and plural as illustrated below:

(21) Aghem class system

Class	Singular	class	plural
1	ø	2	á-
3	ú-	4	é-
5	é-	6	á-
7	kí-	8	ú-
9	ø	10	tí-
11	fí-	12	N

These class prefixes are illustrated in the following forms.

(22) Exemplifications.

1	ø: wé	'child'	2	á: á-wé	'children'
3	ú: ú-kɔ́ʔ	'ladder'	4	é: é-kɔ́ʔ	'ladders'
5	é: é-ghɔ́m	'egg'	6	á: á-ghóm	'eggs'
7	kí: kí-fú	'rat'	8	ú: ú-fú	'rats'
9	ø: bvʉ́	'dog'	10	tí: tí-bvʉ́	'dogs'
11	fí: fí-nwín	'bird'	12	Ń: ń-nwín	'birds'

From the illustrations above, six of the classes are used with singular nouns while six are used with plurals. Classes 1 and 9 are zero ø-, meaning no prefix marker. The numbering of the classes is used as in Narrow Bantu with classes 11 and 12 corresponding to Bantu classes 19 and 6a respectively, and class 10, which presumably corresponds to class 13 in the Narrow Bantu Class system. The numbering adopted here is the one in Hyman (1979).

Other noun genders which are the singular / plural pairings of the classes can also be found in the Aghem Language. These noun genders also form separate noun classes.

Gender 3/12, which are class 3, ú-prefix and class 12, Ń-prefix. Words in this gender are illustrated in the following examples.

(23) ú-kúa   'money'   ŋ̀-kía   'monies'
      ú-twíi   'medicine'   ń-tíi   'medicines'

Gender 5/10, which are class 5, é-prefix and class 10, tí-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(24) é-bía   'kolanut'   tí-bía   'kolanuts'
      é-ghɔ̂   'wing'   tí-ghɔ̂   'wings'

Gender 1/10, which are class 1, ø prefix and class 10, tí-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(25) fɛ̀   'chief'   tì-fɛ̀   'chiefs'
      bàʔtɔ̀m   'quarterhead'   tì-bàʔátɔ̀m 'quarterheads'

Gender 3/6, which are class 3, ú-prefix and class 6, á-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(26) ú-lû   'raphia'   á-lû   'raphia bush'

Gender 3/10, class 3, ú-prefix and class 10, tí-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(27) ú-lîŋ   'bamboo'   tí-lîŋ   'bamboos'

Gender 5/12, class 5, é-prefix and class 12, ń-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(28) é-kûo   'belt'   ŋ́-kûo   'belts'

Gender 7/4, class 7, kí -prefix and class 4, é-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(29) kí-bî   'thigh'   é-bî   'thighs'
      kí-fé   'leg'   é-fé   'legs'

Gender 7/6, class 7 kí-prefix and class 6, á-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(30) kí-wú   'foot'   á-wú   'feet'
      kí-wó   'hand'   á-wó   'hands'

Gender 7/12, class 7 kí-prefix and class 12, ń-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(31) kí-kɔ̂   'slave'   ŋ́-kɔ̂   'slaves'

Gender 7/10, class 7 kí-prefix and class 10, tí-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(32) kí-kɔe   'buttock'   tí-tɔe   'buttocks'

kí-lóʔó   'place'   tí-lóʔó   'places'

Gender 11/10 class 11 fí-prefix and class 10, tí-prefix. The following words illustrate this gender.

(33) fì-ndàŋ   'stool'   tì-ndàŋ   'stools'

While some nouns exist in the singular / plural forms and fall under any of the above mentioned noun classes, others exist only in one class in Aghem. This is usually because of their semantic nature. They are neither singular nor plural because of their nature.

(34) Examples

classes 3/8 = ú	ú-fɔ́	' cold',	údʒwîn	'pus'
classes 4/5 = é	é-fɔ́	' rain',	é-zú	'sun'
class 9 = ø	zìŋ	' wind'		
class 10 = tí	tí-kâŋ	'blood'	tí-zú	'honey'
class 12 = ń	ŋ́-kía	'corn beer'	ń-tsɔ̂ʔ	' salt'

We have treated the noun classes intensively because our data makes use of more nouns and their classes.

Verb Structure:

Aghem has three basic verb classes. Hyman (1979: 77) further divides the third verb class into classes 3a, 3b, and 3c.

(To not confuse the reader with the numbering of the examples borrowed from Hyman (1979), I suspend temporarily my own system of numbering with the following examples. I will resume my own numbering when the reader comes across examples (35)).
They are:

1 - ø /- a

2 - a / - ø

3a - lɔ / - n

3b - sɔ / - sɨ

3c - ø / - ø

The examples of the verb classes 1 and 2 are taken from the A - form - completive aspect, and B - form -incompletive aspect.

Classes 3a and 3b are taken from the C - form: clause -final, and D - form: not clause - final and class 3c from E-form: invariant.

1	A - form	B - form	
	bɛ̀	baa	' hate'
	dzɛ̀	dzaa	' tell'
	dín	díla	' be heavy'
	bín	bíla	' dance'
	kán	kíla	' drunk'

The B - form is derived by adding /-a/ suffix to the A - form. The root vowel assimilates to the /-a/ suffix. This means an /-a/ suffix which is underlying changes an A - form to a B - form which ties in with Welmers 1973 in Hyman (1979: 79) who says Niger Congo Languages commonly have an /-a/ verbal suffix which indicates incomplete action.

2.

A - form	B - form	
dzìlà	dzìn	' wear'
nèŋá	náŋ	' put'
fáŋá	fáŋ	' tie'

For this verb-class, the A- form is derived from the B- form by an addition of the /-a/ suffix. The verbs in the B- form have one common feature, which is their endings with the nasal consonant.

3a

C - form	D - form	
kpélɔ́	kpéen	'meet (with)'
lélɔ́	léɛn	' look'

3b

C - form	D - form	
sésɔ́	sɛ́sɨ	' cool'
mìɛsɔ̀	mìɛsɨ	' finish'
lɔ̀ʔsɔ̀	lɔ̀ʔsɨ	' deceive'

3c

E - form	
bíí	' sleep'
tée	' stand'
zèe	' loosen'
kèɛ	' clear away'

While the verbs in class 1 and 2 change according to their aspect (complete and incomplete), those in class 3 changes due to their positions in sentences.

Examples:

3a.   ghàʔ má'á lɛ́lɔ́   ' we had looked for'

      ghàʔ má'á lɛ̀ɛ́n kì   ' we had looked for in vain'

3b.   ghé má'á mìɛsɔ̀   ' they had finished'

      ghé má'á mìɛsɨ mɛ́   ' they had finished all'

3c.   ò   má' á zèe   ' he had loosened'

      ò   má' á zèe gbàʔwɔ̀   ' he had loosened the ropes'

The verbs in class 3 show that the changes in their suffixes are phonological and that these changes are not due to a change in aspect. As such the verbs in class 3a and 3b from the C form do not constitute clauses and those in D - form are not clause - final. The verbs in class 3c from E- form are invariant as has been illustrated above.

After distinguishing the various verb classes, note must be made concerning the verb prefixes with respect to the Aghem verb. The infinitive form of Aghem verbs are marked by [é] and [álé-]. To form the infinitive of any Aghem verb we add /é-/ to its form. It could be the A- C-, E- forms only. In the case of a low tone stem, the high tone of the /é-/ prefix spreads onto the root as is illustrated in the following forms.

(35) é-bó [ébó]   ' to hit'

      é-sù [ésû]   'to wash'.

The second prefix /álé-/ is a fusion of the locative preposition /án/ and the infinitive prefix /é-/, an alternation of /n/ and /l/ results to álé-/. When applied on the above words, this gives

(36) álé-bó   ' to hit'

      álé-sù   ' to wash'.

Given this sketch of the word structure of the noun and verb in Aghem with the relevant exemplifications, I am going to make explicit in the remaining part of this introduction   the aim of the study, its scope, the review of   literature, the methodology and the outline of the work.

1.4 Aim of Study

When the need arises for a new term to express a new meaning or for already existing ones to be given nuances, foreign terms will be imported. Dryden (1969) was aware of the purpose of importing them when she writes: *"If sounding words are not of our growth and manufacture, who shall hinder me to import them from a foreign country?" (*Dryden 1969: 19)

Borrowing which is our subject matter takes place in the Aghem language as a result of contact between the Aghem people and

their neighbours and the English language. This contact is exemplified through the interaction between human beings, their cultures, and their language as well.

At this point in time we are interested to know what are the borrowings in Aghem as well as the phonological and morphological processes involved in borrowings. We are also interested in the following questions: why have the foreign words been kept in the Aghem language; why have the foreign items in Aghem remained static, or why have they increased or decreased following the fact that the Aghem people have searched equivalents or coined new words from the Aghem linguistic elements. It is from this premise, that is, assuming that we find the appropriate answers to such questions that we will judge whether the borrowed items are necessary to be standardized as non-native words or not. Hopefully, we will be able to thus pave the way for borrowed items to be taken into account for the future standardization of the language.

This work, it is believed, will create an awareness in the minds of the Aghem speakers who use borrowed items unknowingly the need to strive for the most standardized forms of such borrowings. Even in case this work does not induce such a result in the language performance of the Aghem speakers, it will definitely and above all constitute a step forward towards the lexical expansion of the lexicon of the Aghem language.

1.5 Scope of Study

The scope of this study is limited to those who speak and understand Aghem in Wum and specific areas in Cameroon- Limbe,

Douala, and Yaounde. The age limit is from ten years and above and those who can understand and speak Aghem; this is because they are able to make meaningful phrases and sentences in Aghem and can also find words to designate items that do not occur in the Aghem language.

Looking at the treatment of borrowings in Aghem cannot be handled in a single task like this one. We will therefore focus our study on the rehabilitation of the borrowings basing our attention on the phonological and morphological processes involved.

1.6 Review of Literature

Linguistically and literature wise, not much has been done on the Aghem language. In 1979, a phonological, morphological, and grammatical sketch of Aghem entitled " Aghem Grammatical structures" was published in the Southern California Occasional papers in linguistics (SCOPIL), a journal edited by Hyman. This study is divided into three parts. The first part written by Hyman, establishes a sound system and tone system, the structure of nouns in the A - form and their noun class affiliations, noun modifiers, pronouns and lastly B -, C-, D- and E-forms of nouns.

The second part written by Anderson, deals with the structure of verbs. He makes an overview of the verbal system, presenting the different verb classes and their different forms in contexts. He also looks at the tense, aspect, mood distinctions in the language and negation and he summarizes the tone rules. The third and last part of the study by Watters addresses the syntax and semantics of focus in Aghem focusing his analysis on the background of universal

typologies and linguistic theory within Simon Dik's (1978) framework of functional grammar.

Other research works include: a rapid appraisal survey of languages in the Aghem Group carried out by Grant and Griffin (1993) and published by SIL; a rapid appraisal survey of Mmen (ALCAM 8210 and Aghem dialects (ALCAM 810) was also carried out by Troyler and Huey (1995) published by SIL.

Still in relation to Aghem is a word list of approximately 1000 entries done by Tschonghongei and Thormoset (2000) and published by SIL.

Some literature is also available in Aghem, " saŋlɔ e Nee ki lɔ a kiwala" translated into English as *There will be great toy in heaven.* (2000), "Dzi e Yeso" translated into English as *The birth of Jesus* (2000), " Ghia ghila ghe fĩ ge naŋa alew yeso' translated into English as *The Easter Story* (2003) were all written and published by the Aghem Bible Translation committee of Wum.

In an article by Kibang (1992) *A short History about Aghemians,* the author discusses the Aghem lineage and literature related to the Aghem culture.

Still in this light, Kopytoff 1975 in " *Contribution de la Recherche Ethnologique à l' Histoire des Civilisations du Cameroon"* talks about Aghem ethnogenesis and the grassfield ecumene where an official history of the origins of the Aghem and their trade links in 1900, pre-colonial trade and local development is given.

Again Thormoset (2000) in *Some Aghem Cultural Attributes to consider when designing, developing and implementing a literacy development program for Aghem Women,* talks about the activities of

a woman in Aghem within the family circle and those outside her home.

In all the above cited linguistic and literature review, none of the authors have written on borrowings in Aghem as if it was not important within the language system. Borrowings in a language are an integral part of its language system. Aghem for example makes use of borrowing in nouns of names, things, etc. It also makes use of borrowings in verbs as well. It is in this wise that our work is going to be a step ahead towards the standardization of the language.

So far a similar topic has been treated by Poubom (1979) "Borrowing and standardization in Mədumba" a dissertation on the borrowed words in Mədumba spoken by Francophones. He establishes a word list of borrowed items and describes the mechanism of loan words in Mədumba, suggesting that the borrowed items should be associated to the development of the language.

In our work we will partly adopt the latter's approach in order to show how borrowed items are incorporated into the Aghem Language. We shall not only deal with nouns as Poubom did structurally, but also go further to verbs and differentiate the various processes. These are phonological as well as morphological processes by means of which borrowed words get incorporated in the Aghem Language. As we will argue, the resulting borrowed words will serve for the future standardization of the language.

1.7 Methodology

In this work the collection of data is based on written documents as well as spontaneous speech in different situations. Some

of our data thus come from music; others have been collected in the market, on the road as we talked to people, during social gatherings and in homes. The spoken production was considered with a stress on the contrast between literate speakers and illiterates. Being a native and a native speaker of Aghem, I was the major source of some borrowings attested in Aghem. Some of the borrowings came from ALDEC while others came from Mr Attia John and Mrs Attia Emilia, Nelson. English, Pidgin, French, and Duala are the source languages from which borrowings in Aghem are based.

The analysis in our work is partly based on the use of the generative and descriptive approaches, with more emphasis on the descriptive approach. However we found the two approaches very useful and while the descriptive is used exclusively in all the chapters, the generative approach is successfully used to analyze certain concepts in chapters 2 and 3.

1.8 Outline of Work

Our work entitled "Borrowing and standardization in Aghem" consists of four chapters. Chapter one gives a general introduction to the work and language. It situates the language geographically, historically, and lastly linguistically, presenting the consonants and vowels, the morpheme and syllable structures as well as the tones.

Chapter two which has two sections looks at the definition of terms related to borrowing and standardization and some major phonological and morphological processes in Aghem. In the definition of terms the major word is defined. The various types are looked into as well. We also look at its synonyms and the conditions under which

borrowing takes place and this section of chapter two concludes with a subsection that looks at borrowing in relation to standardization. The second section on phonological and morphological processes dwells on reduplication, labialization, aspiration, velarization, apocope, consonant and vowel alternations, assimilation, vowel lengthening, final consonant sequence, nasal assimilation, and tone rules.

In chapter three, phonological and morphological processes are also examined to show how the Aghem language rehabilitates borrowings through some of the processes briefly presented in chapter 2.

The fourth chapter, which is the last chapter, treats borrowing and standardization. This is in relation to the attitudes of the speakers towards the spoken and written forms. It is from this basis that we draw our judgement on the standardization of borrowings in Aghem, drawing a general conclusion by stating our findings, problems encountered in the research study and lastly giving suggestions and recommendations for further research. The appendix, containing borrowed words and a questionnaire on suggestions towards standardization and a bibliography are the last part of this work.

Chapter 2: Definition of terms and some major phonological and morphological processes in Aghem

In order to fully appreciate the importance of borrowings and their use in a standardized form, it is imperative that the definition of terms related to borrowings be clarified and that the major phonological and morphological processes common in Aghem be made explicit. This chapter thus deals with the definition of such terms and some major phonological and morphological processes .

2.1 Definition of Terms

In the definition of terms we will look at the borrowing and the types of borrowing.

2.1.1 Borrowing

The word "borrow" means to receive or obtain something temporarily from somebody with the promise or intention of returning it. "Borrowing" which is a noun derived from the verb "to borrow" means a thing that is borrowed. In this case, a word is adopted by one language from another. The process might be called adoption because the speaker adopts elements from a second language into his own. But the confusion will arise if we have to develop a name for a word that has been adopted. Will it be "adoptee?" Anthropologists call it "diffusion" and linguists call it "loan word." One might as well call it "stealing" since the borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness. But because the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan and that the lender is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his loan, it cannot be stealing.

Whenever two languages come into contact, one or both may be modified with the speakers imitating features of the other's speech.

The feature which is imitated, Hocket (1958. 401) calls it 'the model' and the language in which the model occurs is called ' the donor' and the language which acquires something new in the process is the ' borrowing language'. The process itself is called ' borrowing'.

Mutaka and Tamanji (2000:280) define borrowing as an outright adoption of foreign lexical items from other languages the target language is in contact with.

Borrowing is therefore a process whereby language features of one language are integrated into another language. While the donor goes on speaking as before, the borrower's speech becomes altered with the borrowed features.

2.1.2 Types of Borrowing

There is actually no lie that we shall never be able to catch a speaker in the process of making an original borrowing; it is also very true that loans today had once appeared as an innovation. If we accept that in the process of borrowing there is an original pattern (model) and an imitation, we shall be able to distinguish two types of borrowing: imported and substituted. Haugan (1950: 212) describes these two types of borrowing. He says

"If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have imported the model into his language, provided it is an innovation in that language. But in so far as he has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally substituted a similar pattern from his own language. "

This means when patterns of the model are new to the borrowing language, a *compromise is reached between the two sets of patterns:* in this case, the speakers choose a set of a pattern to stand for a similar one in the model.

2.1.3 Borrowing *and its synonyms*

The process of borrowing cannot be looked at in isolation without a link made with other related terminologies. These are: loan word, loan shifts, loan blends, interference, code switching and code mixing.

Loan word

When the borrower adopts the donor's word along with the object or practice: the new form in the borrower's speech is a loan word. The speakers are usually unaware that they have changed the foreign word as in Haugan (1950: 215) where a story is told by Polivancy of the Japanese student who asked his teacher whether "dzurama" or "dorama" was the correct pronunciation of the European word "drama." When the teacher answered that it was neither one, but "drama," he nodded and said, "*Ah yes, then it is dorama.*" This was a clear case of substitution. Where the speaker substitutes the sounds of his mother tongue to those of the donor.

Loan shifts

When foreign loans appear in a language as changes in the usage of native words, such changes are called shifts. As the borrower does not accept the donor's words and the new cultural item, he adapts material in his own language, which in one way or another is patterned iike the donor's.

Loan blends

These are new words developed in a borrowing situation where both the loan word and loan shift mechanisms are used. Hockett (1958: 413) says *"the borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of it by something already in his own language."*

Interference

Eastman (1975: 117) defines it as *"a deviation from the norms of each language (or dialect) from familiarity by members of the speech community with one or more other languages or dialects."* While borrowing is linked to a group, interference is linked to an individual. This is when, in a bilingual group, the same word is liable to variations in reproduction because of the varying degree of bilingualism. Barkman (1968: 60) in Poubom (1979: 36) writes, *"a case of interference appears whenever a bilingual individual produces a form in a language which a monolingual speaker of that language would not use."*

Code Switching

Anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between these languages according to circumstances, with the first consideration being the language that will be understood to the person addressed. To use Eastman's words " *The practice of alternatively using two or more languages or dialects in one speech situation.* " (Eastman 1975:117).

Code switching defined in the Linguistic Encyclopedia (1991:61) is "*a change from one language to another in the same utterance or conversation.* "

It can take place at various points in an utterance: between sentences, clauses, phrases and words. Hudson (1998: 52) draws our attention to the code switching in Sauris, a village in Northern Italy, where German is spoken within the family. Saurian is spoken informally in the village and standard Italian to outsiders and in formal village settings, school, church, and work. Hudson also says standard Italian would feel wrong at home because different rules link the languages to different communities since each language here has a social function, which no other language can fulfill. The main reason for preserving the languages is because of the social distinctions that they symbolize. It is therefore quite a different thing from borrowing.

Code mixing

Code mixing is often used by bilingual speakers who communicate in both languages. Code mixing, as defined by the linguistic Encyclopedia (1991), is " *the use of elements, most*

typically nouns, from one language in an utterance predominantly in another language. " This may be as a result of the fact that a bilingual has forgotten the term for something in the language being spoken and uses the term in the other language instead or to exclude a third person from part of a conversation. Hudson (1998: 53) makes mention of the fact that the purpose of code mixing symbolizes an ambiguous situation. He further observes that, to get the right effect, " *the speakers balance the two languages against each other as a kind of linguistic cocktail - a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on.*"

2.2   Conditions for Borrowing

Contact between two languages does not necessarily mean that one will borrow from the other. For borrowing to take place certain conditions must be met.

1. The speaker of the borrowing language must understand, or think he understands, the particular utterance produced in the donor language.

2. The speaker of the borrowing language must have some motive, overt or covert, for borrowing to take place. Here Hockett (1958: 405) gives two overt pieces of evidence, which could be discerned. The prestige and need - filling motive.

-*The prestige motive:* when speakers of two different languages intermingle in a single region, one of the languages is the one spoken by those in power. This is the upper or dominant language, and the other one is the lower. In the meantime, however, the prestige factor

leads to extensive borrowing from the dominant language into the lower.

The need-filling motive: The most obvious motive for borrowing is to fill a gap in the borrowing language. New experiences, new objects and practices bring new words into a language. It does not matter whether the new objects and practices come to the community by what anthropologists call diffusion or if the community goes to the new objects and practices, by way of migration, the result is the same. What matters is that borrowing takesplace.

3. There is also the degree of similarity between the two languages. If they are very similar, borrowing is unlikely, because neither speaker is apt to use any form unknown to the other. However, if the two languages are so divergent that the speakers cannot understand each other, borrowing is equally unlikely. Between these two extremes we find the situations in which borrowing is more probable. In one type the two languages share a common core; we could speak of dialect borrowing; in the other, there is no common core; in this case we speak of language borrowing.

2.3 Borrowing and Standardization

Borrowing which is the linguistic forms being taken over by one language or dialect from another is related to standardization: the taking over of a prestige variety of language used within a speech community. In this work on borrowing and standardization, we are looking at borrowed items, which need to be imposed as a standard in the standardization process. This is to aim at the functional efficiency of the language with everyone understanding the borrowed items in

the same way with minimum misunderstanding and maximum efficiency. When new words are introduced in Aghem, they are brought to follow the pattern of the items they meet in Aghem. This process is a form of standardization. We have as examples the new words adapting the prefix makers of the singulars and plurals in the following words:

(1) Examples

	Singular	plural	
blouse	fì-bìlà	m̀-bìlà	blouse(s) classes 11/12
coconut	kì-kùkùnɔ́	ù-kùkùnɔ́	coconut(s) classes 7/8
basket	bàsìkî	tì-bàsìkî	basket (s) classes 9/10

It is this phenomenon of nativizing and harmonizing the new word making it suit the accepted norm of the language to avoid impeding communication that we term "standardization."
Milroy and Milroy (1992: 22) say, *"absolute standardization of a spoken language is never achieved (the only fully standardized language is a dead language)."* Therefore it seems appropriate to speak more abstractly of standardization as an ideology, and standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality. Basing our attention on the above, we therefore wish to re-iterate here that, no spoken language can ever be fully standardized. Aghem borrows from different languages and through the influence of its phonology and morphology it adapts the new words using the rules of the language. The following section deals with such rules.

2.4 Some phonological and morphological processes in Aghem.

In the last part of this chapter we are going to dwell only on the phonological and morphological processes in Aghem. We will deal with those that apply specifically to the new words in the next chapter.

2.4.1 Reduplication

Crystal (2003: 325) defines reduplication as a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix / suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root. This process is exemplified in Aghem in two cases: 1) where only the root is reduplicated and 2) where the whole word is reduplicated.

1. Where the root is reduplicated. This is exemplified in the following forms.

(1) Examples

Singular	plural	gloss
é-wíi wíi	tí-wíi wíi	mosquito(s)
fì-ɲòŋɔ̀ ɲòŋɔ̀	ù-ɲòŋɔ̀ ɲòŋɔ̀	anopheles mosquito(s)
kì-kpáʔà kpáʔà	ú-kpáʔà kpáʔà	bean(s)
fì-zìa zìa	ŋ̀-zìa zìa	story /s stories
é-dzîa dzîa	tì-dzîa dzîa	fly / flies
é-káʔà káʔà	tì-káʔà káʔà	grasshopper(s)
	ú-kwà kwà	burnt remains of fufu.
fì-kɔ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ŋɔ́	ŋ̀-kɔ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ŋɔ́	marrow(s)
kí-bvú bvú	ú-bvú bvú	request (fat the air)
fì-tsɔ̀ŋ tsɔ̀ŋ	ñ-tsɔ̀ŋ tsɔ̀ŋ	ant(s)
fì-mɔ̀ŋɔ̀ mɔ̀ŋɔ̀	ŋ̀-mɔ̀ŋɔ̀ mɔ̀ŋɔ̀	tadpole (s)

As shown in these forms, the whole stem is reduplicated as the change from the singular to the plural is indicated by the change of prefixes.

2. Where the whole word is reduplicated, this is exemplified in the following forms:

(3)   wâa   wâa   ' cousin'

   nɔ́ghɔ́ nɔ́ghɔ́   ' mother'

   ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ   ' tin'

   tsúe tsúe   ' quickly'

   tsʉ tsʉ   ' tomorrow'

2.4.2 Labialization

This is a general term referring to a secondary articulation involving any noticeable lip rounding. In Aghem Labialization occurs at word initial position in singulars as well as in plurals.

Consider the following forms:

(4) ú-kwíŋ   ' mortar'   é-kíŋ   ' mortars'

ú-kwâʔ   ' hill / mountain' é-káʔà   ' hills / mountains'

ú-twíi   ' medicine'   ń-tíi   ' medicines'

ú-kúa   ' money'   ŋ́-kía   ' monies'

The forms in the left-hand column are in singular whereas those in the right-hand column are in plural. Notice that the singular forms begin with the prefix ú- and the following consonant is labialized. Here, labialization is shown by the glide that occurs after the consonant.

Consider also the following forms.

(5) kì-tĕɛ   ' cricket'   ù-twĕɛ   ' crickets'

kí-nâŋ   ' cocoyam'   ù-nwâŋ   ' cocoyams'

kì-kìa   ' monkey'   ù-kùa   ' monkeys'

kí-fíghà   ' plantain'   ù-fûɔ   ' plantains'

As is shown in these forms, when it is the plural that starts with the prefix ú- the initial consonant becomes labialized as shown in the forms in the right-hand column. Here, the vowels in the stem are: ɛ, a, ia or igha but they do not constitute the crucial element for accounting for this labialization. It is rather the initial round vowel ú- that does.

Notice also that when the initial consonant is " b" we usually get the sound [gb], which labializes depending on the stem vowel when the round high back vowel ú- is prefixed to the form. This is shown in the following examples.

(6) kí-bɛ́   ' fufu'   ú-gbwɛ́   ' fufus'

     kí-báʔ   ' rope'   ú-gbwáʔ   ' ropes'

2.4.3 Aspiration

Aspiration is the audible breath, which may accompany a sound's articulation. Certain stops are released in this way. In Aghem, apart from the labial velar stop /kp/, the voiceless stops tend to be aspirated. This is exemplified in the following forms where aspiration is indicated by a raised small "h" after the voiceless consonant.

(7) ú- p$^{[h]}$úú   'huckleberry'

     é- p$^{[h]}$ú   'die'

     t$^{[h]}$ɔʔ   'juju house'

     kí-t$^{[h]}$ú   'head'

     é-k$^{[h]}$áŋ   'mound'

     é-k$^{[h]}$ɛ́   'melon'

     ŋ̀-k$^{[h]}$ɔ́'ɔ́   'juju'

/p/ does not exist in Aghem except before / u/. Borrowings have greatly influenced the use of /p/ in Aghem as in (8).

(8) pílùm   'pillow'   póòdà   'powder'

     pósà   'purse'   pípà   'paper'

     pásíndzà   'passenger' pólòfì   'profit'

     pàn   'pant'   pìlésídè   'president'

     pítà   'peter'   élúpílé   'aeroplane'

     sítép   'step'

2.4.4 Velarization

Velarization is a general term referring to any secondary articulation involving a movement of the back part of the tongue towards the velum. For a velarized sound to be realized, the place of articulation must be elsewhere in the tongue and during articulation the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. Velarization in Aghem is seen in the diphthong ia and the velarized diphthong igha. ia occurs after velars as exemplified in the following forms:

(9) ŋ̀-kíà   'corn beer'

     kì-kìà   'chimpanzee'

     é-ghíà   'matter'

     ŋ́-ghîà   'faeces'

As for igha, it occurs after all other consonants except velars as exemplified below:

(10) bìghà   ' two'

      tíghá   ' three'

      kí-fíghá   ' thing'.

There is also the velarised ughɔ. While the plain diphthong uɔ occurs after all other consonants ughɔ occurs after alveolars as illustrated below:

(11) é-túghɔ́   'strength'

      é-súghɔ̀   'to stab'

      é-dzúghɔ́   'mouth'.

From the above, we discovered that diphthongs which have been interrupted by -gh- have different tone marks before and after gh. This is shown in the following examples.

(12) tíghá   'three'

      súghɔ̀   'stab'

2.4.5 Apocope

Apocope refers to the deletion of the final element in a word. In Aghem, the consonant /m/ deletes at the word final position from the A-forms to the B-forms. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(13) A-forms   B-forms

      é-bám   báa   'return'

      é-tám   táa   'sow'

      é-zɔ́m   zɔ́ɔ   'sing'

When /m/ is after the stem vowel /ɨ/ it does not delete as in

(14) A-forms   B-forms

 é-tɨ́m   tɨ́m   'shoot'

é-fɨ́m   fɨ́ma   'whiten'

2.4.6 Consonant Alternations

Crystal (2003: 21) defines " alternation" as " *the relationship, which exists between the alternative forms, or variants of a linguistic unit.*" Consonant alternation will therefore mean the relationship, which exists between the alternative forms of consonants. In Aghem, consonant alternations occur in two consonants /l/ and /n/. They contrast in C_1 position as in (15).

(15) l: ú- lûa   ' bridge'

n: ú-nûa   ' stomach'

/l/ is found in stem initial positions as above, intervocalicalically, and in -CV suffixes, while /n/ is found at syllable final positions and when it is syllabic. These l/n alternations are exemplified in the following forms:

(16) l/n alternations

kpélɔ   'meet'   kpéen   'met'

lɛ́lɔ   'look'   lɛ́ɛn   'looked'

múlɔ   'jealous'   múun   'jealousy'

félɔ   'resemble'   féen   'resembles'

(17) n/l   alternations

    tsín   tsíla   'cover, bury'

    kwín   kwíla   'return from farm'

    kán   kíla   'drunk'

These alternations are best clarified in the following sentences where attention is mostly drawn for the words meaning " meet" (cf. kpélɔ ~ kpeen) and " look" (cf. lɛlɔ ~ lɛɛn).

(18) sɛ má' á kpélɔ   'we had met'

    sɛ má' á kpeen   'we met'.

    ń-feen ndùghɔ   'who do I resemble?'

    lɛlɔ á wɛ   'look after the child'.

    lɛɛn wɛ   'look after the child' .

Following Hyman's analysis (Hyman1979), to account for these n/l alternations, we consider that all consonants undergoing these alternations are underlying /n/ with the rule that /n/ will become [l] either intervocalically or when /n/ begins a suffix and is followed by a vowel.

(19) n--> l/ { V, ⱴ } -V (where ⱴ = suffix boundary)

There is also consonant alternation in the production of [álé] which is the result of the suffixation of [é] to [án]; in other words,

[án] + [é] --> [álé].

/n/ in /an/ alternates with intervocalic /l/ followed by a vowel and becomes [álé] to form the second form of the infinitive verbs in Aghem.

2.4.7 Vowel Alternations

Unlike consonant alternation where two consonants alternate, one at the intervocalic position and the other at the syllable final position, in vowel alternations, two vowels come together creating various types of coalescence by assimilating or deleting other vowels. Here again, illustrations are used from the A- and B-forms.

(20) Various types of coalescence

i + a → ii	é-ní	' to feed'	ni + a → nii
e + a → ee	é-sè	' to pull'	se + a → see
u + a → uu	é-pú	' do die'	se + a → puu
ɔ + a → ɔɔ	é-fɔ̀	' be blind'	fɔ + a → fɔɔ
ɛ + a → aa	é-lɛ́	' be poor'	lɛ + a → laa
ɨ + a → ɨa	é-dzɨ́	' give birth'	dzɨ + a · → dzɨa
ʉ + a → ʉɔ	é-tsʉ́	' to play'	tsʉ + a → tsʉɔ

A-forms take the suffix /-a/ to form their B-forms. As illustrated in these forms, there is complete assimilation with the vowels i, e, u, ɔ (cf. the first four forms). When the syllable final stem vowel is /ɛ/, we find aa (cf. lɛa --> laa); and when the stem vowel is /ɨ/ we have ɨa (cf. dzɨa); and when the stem vowel is /ʉ/ we have ʉɔ (cf. tsʉɔ).

2.4.8 Assimilation

We saw in verb class 1 in 1.3.2.2 that a verb in this class is either in the complete A-form or the incompletive B-form. The illustrations above on vowel alternation and the ones below show that the B-form is derived by adding an /-a/ suffix to the A-form.

(21) tí + a →   tii   'escape (run)'

       dè + a→   dee   'show'

       tá + a →   taa   'sew''

       bɔ́ + a→   bɔɔ   'bad'

       zú + a→   zuu   'hear'

       bè + a →   baa   'hate'

       sí + a→   sia   'go out'

       pfʉ + a →   pfʉɔ   'eat'

Whereas the /-a/ suffix assimilates to the quality of the root vowel with open syllables, the vowel /ɛ/ assimilates to /-a/ suffix.

2.4.9 Vowel lengthening

Consider again the forms in 2.4.6 that are repeated here for convenience:

(22) kpélɔ   'meet'   kpéen   'met'

       lɛ́lɔ   'look'   lɛ́ɛn   'looked'

       mʉ́lɔ   'jealous'   mʉ́ʉn   'jealousy'

       féiɔ   'resemble'   féen   'resembles'

With the loss of the final vowel in the suffix of the C-form (clause-final) as in zìlɔ̀, kpélɔ́, kèlɔ̀, the suffix is realized as /-n/ as described in consonant alternation in 2.4.6 with the preceding vowel undergoing vowel lengthening to produce the D-forms which are not clause-final, that is, ziin, kpeen, kɛɛn which mean respectively 'rest', 'meet' and 'curse'.

2.4.10 Final Consonant Sequence

When we look at all the consonants existing in Aghem as presented in the consonant chart of 1.3.1.2, only a few occur as C_2 in word-final position. They are the glottal stop /ʔ/ which will never begin a stem syllable or occur at word initial position, the bilabial nasal /m/, the alveolar nasal /n/, and the velar nasal /ŋ/. Thus, at any syllable-final consonant position in Aghem, one will find /ʔ, m, n, and ŋ /. All vowels do not occur in closed syllables. The following words exemplify these possible word-final sequences.

(23) Examples

/m/

im :	ú-dʒîm	'ashes'
am :	kí -tám	'basket'
om:	bàʔtòm	'quarterhead'
ɔm :	kí - fɔ́m	'cockroach'
om :	é-tóm	'to write'

/n/

in :	fí - nwín	'bird'
an :	é- lân	'be sour'
ɔn :	é-fɔ̂n	'leak'

/ŋ/

iŋ :	ú-lîŋ	'bamboo'
aŋ :	mbàŋ	'stick'
ɔŋ :	mbɔ̀ŋ	'cow'
oŋ :	kí-túŋ	'ear'

/ʔ/

aʔ:	é-náʔ	'country'
oʔ :	é-bvóʔ	'break'
ɔʔ :	mbɔ̀ʔ	'shoulder'
ʋʔ :	é-bɔ̀ʔ	'pumpkin'

The rare sequences which are /oŋ/, /an/, and /ɔn/ only occur in verbs.

2.4.11 Nasal Assimilation

In Aghem the sequence n +C, that is nasal +consonant, is common. But it is considered as consisting of separate phonemes because the nasals are usually syllabic or they most often serve as noun class prefixes for words.

As syllabic consonants, consider the following words:

(24) ŋ́gwín   'bush'

      ŋ́kía   'corn beer'

      ŋ́ghîa   'faeces'

      ńdúghó   'house'

      m�notsbvú   'chicken'

      ńvʉ́   'oil'

      m̀bí   'world'

The nasals in the initial position in these words are syllabic because they can bear tone. The word for "oil" where homorganic nasal assimilation does not occur can also be taken as a piece of evidence for saying that this is due to the fact that the nasal is syllabic and that the alveolar nasal does not assimilate to a labiodental fricative.

As noun class prefix, consider the following forms:

(25) fí-nwín   ń-nwín   birds(s)   classes 11/12

      ú-twíì   ń-tiì   medicine(s) classes 3/12

      fí-ghâm   ŋ-ghâm   mat(s)   classes 11/12   .

The forms in the second column are in class 12. The noun class 12 prefix assimilates the root consonant sound in the plurals of the above examples.

2.4.12 Tone rules

Four tone rules are attested in Aghem: tone grounding, spreading, simplification and lowering.

Tone grounding: This is when a floating tone is assigned to a syllable. Aghem, with an intonational downdrift system ensures during pronunciation that in a sequence of H-L-H-L each H tone will be pronounced lower than the preceding H. e.g in kí-fú ' rat' and kí-wú the H tone in fú and wú is lower than the H in kí.

Tone spreading: is the spreading of a high tone on a following noun or verb.

(26)a ɲùm   tí-ɲûm   'animal(s)'

     wù (person) á-ghî   'people'

   b   bà   é-bâ   'to split'

     mɔ̀m   é-mɔ̂m   'to try'

As shown in the first example above, the High tone of the prefix tí- spreads onto the vowel of the stem ɲùm to give a HL tone onto this vowel.

Schematically, this process is:

(27) H-L → H-HL

that is, a High tone followed by a Low tone is realised as a high - falling tone.

Consider also the following word:

(28) kì-těɛ   ' cricket'.

In this word, kì-těɛ, the rising tone here is due to an earlier low prefix and a High in the stem. Schematically, this process is the following:

(29) L-H → L-LH.

That is, a Low tone followed by a High tone is realized as a low-rising tone.

Tone simplification: This is the simplification of contour tones to level tones. A rising tone could be simplified to a low tone when followed by a high tone. Here, the process can be schematically presented as follows:

(30) LH-H →   L-H

that is, a LH H sequence is realized as a L H sequence. This is exemplified in the following form:

(31) kì-tɛ̌ɛ   kín → kì-tɛ̀ɛ   kín → tɛ̀ɛ kín   'this cricket'
       (cricket) (this)

To make this process clearer, I mark the tones under the vowels:

kì-tɛ̌ɛ   kín → kì-tɛ̀ɛ   kín → tɛ̀ɛ kín   'this cricket'
L LH   H   L L   H   L H

Tone lowering: This is when verb forms which end in a low tone as the noun prefix H which is lowered to L as in the following example where kí of kíbɛ́ becomes kì in ú nàá kì-bɛ́ ' she is turning corn fufu'

(32) kí-bɛ́   ' corn fufu'

      ú nàá kì-bɛ́   'she is turning corn fufu'

As illustrated in the second form, the kí of kíbɛ́ bears now a low tone.

2.5 Summary

We have so far in this chapter looked at the definition of borrowing, borrowing and its synonyms, borrowing and standardization, as well as some major phonological and morphological processes, which have been attested in Aghem.

These are: reduplication, labialization, velarization, alternations in consonants and vowels, aspiration, apocope, assimilation by vowels and nasals and lastly tonal rules of grounding, spreading, simplification and lowering.

In the following chapter, we will look more closely at borrowings and see to what extent these borrowings undergo some of these phonological and morphological processes.

Chapter 3

The rehabilitation of phonological and morphological processes of borrowings in Aghem.

This chapter is based on the processes in which new words are rehabilitated into the phonology and morphology of the Aghem language. We will therefore, in this chapter, look at the phonology and morphology of the new words in relation to the existing Aghem consonants, vowels, nouns, verbs and tones. As a last point in this chapter, we will talk on the reasons for the continuous survival of borrowed forms when equivalents exist in Aghem.

3.1 Processes involved in Aghem borrowed words.

Consider first the following forms:

(1) Borrowed words in Aghem.

Singular	plural	gloss
kí-ʃiaʃía	ú-ʃiaʃía	sand
kí-bùghù bùghù	ú-bùghù bùghù	paw-paw
síkúw	tì-sìkúw	schools
mútùw	tì-mútùw	motor
pôm	tì-pôm	pomp
kɔ́lὲn	tì-kɔ́lὲn	current

bɛ́tòló		petrol
kánès	tì-kánès	kernel
bèsî	ù - bèsî	bed sheet
fì-bílè	m̀-bílè	blade
kwáyà		choir
fìlàwà	tì-fìlàwà	flower
ǹdzàndà	tì-ǹdzàndà	gendarme
sìŋgélè	tì-sìŋgélè	singlet
élántélé	tì-élántélé	electricity

3.1.1 Reduplication

Reduplication which has been identified as a morphological process in 2.4.1 occurs in borrowed words in Aghem. Whereas in Aghem words it is exemplified in whole words and in the roots, in the borrowed words it is exemplified only in the roots and in onomatopoeic sounds as seen below.

(2)Further examples of borrowed words

Singular	plural	gloss
kí-ŋgàŋ ŋgàŋ	ú-ŋgàŋ ŋgàŋ	motor(s)
fì-ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ	ú-ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ	tin(s)
kì-bùghù bùghù	ú-bùghù bùghù	paw-paw(s)
kì-kpìm kpìm	tì-kpìm kpìm	grinding machine(s)
kí-ʃiaʃía	ú-ʃía ʃía	sand

3.1.2 Labialization

Labialization also occurs in borrowings. It does not only occur at word initial position but also at word final position. Consider the following words:

(3) gbwèlé   'police'

    tì-gbwèlé   'policeman'

    ʃwàlɔwátà   'salt water(sea)'

In these words, the initial consonant of the root is labialized.

At word final position there is also some kind of labialization when the word is pronounced with [u] at the final syllable position as is exemplified in the following words.

(4) Other examples with -u

Singular	gloss	plural	gloss
básíkùw	bicycle	tì-básíkùw	bicycles
mútùw	motor	tì-mútùw	motors
fútùw	photo	tì-fútùw	photos
síkùw	school	tì-síkùw	schools
támátùw	tomatoe	tì-támátùw	tomatoes

Notice that the spelling does not fully translate this labialization, as the labiovelar glide "w" is not written after the consonant. However, if you try to pronounce the word, you will notice that the lips are

rounded while pronouncing the last syllable that ends with the round back high vowel " u". That is why; I suggest that these words are also an exemplification of the labialization process.

3.1.3 Apocope

Borrowing in Aghem provides convincing external evidence that not any consonant can appear at final position. In the following data, it is shown that consonants are deleted at syllable final positions, as the language does not make room for such consonants at syllable final positions. Rather, the consonant becomes ø or takes the /N/ and /s/ syllable final positions.

(5) Borrowed form	Aghem	gloss
[dʒækæs]	fì-ǹdzàkân	jack ass
[kɒbəʊ]	kâʔbàŋ	kobo
[pɒmp]	pôm	pomp
[kæmp]	kâm	camp
[pænt]	pàn	pant
[ʌniən]	ányûs	onion
[fræŋks]	fîlâŋ	francs
[kʌrənt]	kɔ́lὲn	current
[mætʃiz]	mátsîs	matches
[kætəkɪst]	kàtàki	catechism teacher
[θaʊzənd]	tɔ́ɔ́sì	thousand
[kaɪnd]	kân	kind

We also have the deletion of the glottal fricative (h) and the glottal stop /ʔ/ at word initial position. Unlike /ʔ/ which exists in Aghem but does not occur word initially, /h/ is not a phoneme in Aghem. In the words that follow, it is rejected.

(6) Borrowed word	borrowed form	gloss
áŋkàchî	[hæŋkətʃɪf]	handkerchief
ámà	[hæmə]	hammer
óndélè	[hʌndrəd]	hundred
òsíbítà	[hospɪtl]	hospital
élɔ	[herəd]	Herod
òtê	[həʊtel]	hotel

The rule will therefore be h → ø / #-

In prose form, the rule reads, " the glottal " h" fricative becomes deleted at word initial position."

3.1.4 Consonant Alternations

Borrowing in Aghem also makes use of n/l alternations at syllable final positions as is exemplified in the following word:

(7)   táwìn   'towel'

In this word, the nasal [n] rather than the liquid [l] is the one that surfaces in syllable final position; the " l" has thus been deleted. The following paradigm also supports l-deletion in word final positions.

(8) Borrowed word   gloss

ɔtɛ̂   hotel

bɛ̀ɔ̀ló   petrol

bàsí   basel

kàŋsí   council

bɔ́ɔ̀   ball

émànwè   Emmanuel

kánès   kernel

As observed from these words, whenever the donor language has " l" in final position, that " l" does not surface in the borrowing word at the syllable final position.

3.1.5 Substitution of Consonants

In 2.4.6 we discussed consonant alternations in -n/l where n -> l / {V,ɑ} -V. and in 3.1.4 we also discussed consonant alternations, where, when /n/ does not come at syllable final the /l/ is deleted as in kàŋsí for council. Now we are going to be looking at the substitution of the alveolar liquid /l/ and palatal glide /y/ in other segments.

(9) a. borrowed word   gloss

ɔ́kɔ̀lɔ̀   okro

gìlítà   grater

bìlèzía	breast wear
élúpílé	aeroplane
lέbìlá	labourer
kɔ́lèn	current
lédìa	radio
làfía	raphia
lɔ́bà	rubber
lôɗ	road

b. Borrowed word   gloss

yéléfùm	uniform
yàkɔ(b)	Jacob
yílímìa	Jeremiah
yésó	Jesus

Because /r/ does not exist in Aghem it is substituted by /l/. The forms in (9a) can therefore be accounted for by the following rule:

(10)   r-->l / #-,V-V

which reads the alveolar trill /r/ becomes alveolar liquid /l/ at syllable initial position and intervocalically.

In (9b) the palatal affricate /dʒ/ is substituted by the palatal glide /y/ at syllable initial position. Hence the rule

(11)   dʒ -->y / #--

Again, because the bilabial voiceless stop /p/ exists in Aghem only before /u/ as we mentioned in 2.4.3, the Aghem language has therefore substituted the voiced bilabial stop /b/ and the labio-velar stops /kp/ and the velar fricative /gh/ for the [p] sounds as in

(12) a. borrowed words   gloss

      ghwèlé   police
      bìláŋ   plank
      bíà   pear
      bɛ́tòló   petrol
      kpàelé   Pilate
      sìkpîn   spoon

  b. émvìlɔm   envelope
      káméndà   carpenter
      tàm   stamp

The rule that helps account for the forms in (a) can be written informally as:

(13) p -->   b ~ kp ~ gb /   # --,V-V

/p/ becomes b, kp, gb at word initial position and intervocalically. Notice that this rule is not really a phonological rule as one cannot really predict whether the /p/ will become [b], or [gb] or [kp]. That is why we stated it as an informal rule. What it really tells us is that

when a word with the consonant [p] is borrowed, it will surface as one of the consonants [b, gb, kp].

As for the forms in (b), they can be accounted for by the following rule:

(14) p --> m /   V-V, --#

which reads /p/ becomes /m/ intervocalically and at word final position

When /p/ becomes /m/ at word final position it qualifies the statement in 2.4.10 concerning the final consonant sequence. We said " *in all syllable final consonant position in Aghem, one will find m, n, ŋ and ?*".

3.1.6   Prothesis

Prothesis is the insertion of an extra sound or sounds in a word. This can be seen in some lexical items borrowed to the Aghem language. The use of prefixes in words, which have been borrowed from English, Pidgin and other Cameroonian languages, constitute our list. The Aghem language places the prefixes to suit the nominal class system of its style by prefixing the lexical items to suit the class it belongs to. Below are a number of the so many existing ones.

(15) Borrowed words

gloss	singular	plural	noun class	source language
kaki	kì-kàkí	ù-kàkí	7/8	Pidgin
koki	kì-kɔkí	ù-kɔkí	7/8	Duala
gendarme	ǹdzàndà	ti-ǹdzàndà	9/10	French
makara	fì-kàlà	ǹ-kàlà	9/12	Duala
pillow	pílùm	tì-pílùm	9/10	English
market	màkî	tì-màkî	9/10	English
bank	bâŋ	tì-bâŋ	7/8	English
mat	kì-màtà	ù-màtà	7/8	English
blade	fì-bílè	m̀-bíle	11/12	English
milk	kì-mìlé	ù-mìlé	7/8	English

From this table above we notice that not all the singulars have prefixes, like ǹdzàndà, pílùm, màkî and bâŋ. This is because they start with a non-prefix like syllable in other words they have no prefix.

Not all the borrowed nouns are involved in this process of prothesis. This is because not all the nouns borrowed have prefixes. Some examples are

(16) ókɔlɔ   'okro'

ʃwàlɔwátà   'salt water (sea)'

wátà   'water' .

Verbs too, that have been borrowed in Aghem are also prefixed according to the infinitive form of one of the Aghem verb prefixes /é/ or /álé/. /álé/ is the verb prefix used on borrowed Aghem verbs.

(17) álé ʃàn   'to sign'

      álé hùmbóg   'to trouble'

      álé dísítɔb   'to disturb'

      álé pòní   'to punish'

The rule here would be

(18) Ø --> V/C / # --

and it reads: A vowel or consonant is inserted at word initial position.

Also from our table it is evident that Aghem uses prefixes to differentiate between singulars and plurals.

3.1.7 Anaptyxis

This is the insertion of a vowel to break consonant clusters. In Aghem the only consonants that appear in consonant clusters, which is permitted in the language, are the syllabic nasals. These are considered as separate phonemes because of their syllabic nature and also because they serve as class 12-noun prefix for words. When a consonant clustered word is borrowed to the language, it is checked by the following rule.

(19) Ø -- > V /C-C

which reads: a vowel is inserted between two consonants. The consonant cluster is broken by the insertion of a vowel. The following are clear examples of vowel insertion.

(20) Examples

Borrowed form	borrowed word	gloss
[wɪtnɪs]	wúwsìnè	witness
[brɪkleɪə]	bìlékìlà	bricklayer
[saɪprəs]	sàépélɛ́	cypress
[gʌvənment]	gɔ́fìmèn	government
[græmə]	gílàmá	grammar
[fræŋks]	fìlâŋ	francs
[æfrɪkə]	áfìlékà	Africa
[blæŋkɪt]	bálàndzí	blanket
[bleɪd]	bílè	blade
[bedʃiːt]	bèsî	bed sheet

The CVCCVC   in the word for "witness" becomes CV(w)CVCV

The CCVCV   in the word for "blade" becomes CVCV

The CVCVCCVCC in the word for "government" becomes CVCVCVC

As can be noticed in these words, the consonant cluster is always broken by the insertion of a vowel, thus qualifying the rule

ø--> V / C -- C as stated above. In general, the inserted vowel is "i" as in the words for "bricklayer, government, grammar, Africa, blade".

3.1.8 Vowel Lowering

Vowel Lowering is the lowering of high vowels to lower vowels. Words which end in a schwa /ə/ in English are pronounced and written as /a/ in Aghem. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(21)

Aghem	borrowed	gloss
kwáyà	[kwaɪə]	choir
wáyà	[waɪə]	wire
fìlàwà	[flaʊə]	flower
káyá	[kærɪə]	carrier
númbà	[nʌmbə]	number
dɔ́lɔ́bà	[draɪvə]	driver
lɔ́bà	[rʌbə]	rubber
káméndà	[ka:pəntə]	carpenter
pásíndzà	[pæsɪndʒə]	passenger
kɔ́nà	[kɔ:nə]	corner
bíà	[peə]	pear
bìa	[biə]	beer

Since /ə/ does not exist in Aghem and it is close to /a/ one could easily be tempted to say that the schwa is perceived as [a] in Aghem at word final position. Therefore, the following rule can be proposed:

(22)   ə -->   a / --#

which reads: a schwa becomes [a] at word final position.

Also, in Aghem, in the course of pronouncing [ɪ], it is lowered to [ɛ] in the following words.

(23) Borrowed word	English [ɪ]	gloss
mɔ́ɔ́ndɛ́	mʌndɪ	Monday
túwsìdɛ́	tju:zdɪ	Tuesday
wénésìdɛ́	wenzdɪ	Wednesday
tɔ́sídɛ́	θɜ:zdɪ	Thursday
fìlàydɛ́	fraɪdɪ	Friday
sáàdɛ́	sætədɪ	Saturday
sɔ́ndɛ́	sʌndɪ	Sunday

(24)   I-->ɛ/--#

/I/ becomes /ɛ/ at word final position. The two rules ə -->a / --# and I -->ɛ /--# can be seen as a lowering process whereby a vowel becomes lower at word final position.

3.1.9 Vowel Simplification

This is the realization of a single vowel from a diphthong or triphthong. This process can be seen in Aghem through a number of borrowed words below.

(25)

Borrowed word	English diphthong	Alternation observed	gloss
kân	kaɪnd	aɪ~ a	kind
tìlέn	treɪn	eɪ~ ε	train
ʃàn	saɪn	aɪ~ a	sign
tílì	traɪ	aɪ~ i	try
pé	peɪ	eɪ~ e	pay

The diphthongs are simplified to single vowels in the following rules:

(26)

aɪ-->a / -n   aɪ   becomes /a / when it is followed by / n /

aɪ-->i / -#   aɪ   becomes /i / when it is at word final position.

eɪ-->e / -#   eɪ   becomes /e / when it is at word final position.

eɪ-->ε / -n   eɪ   becomes /ε / when it is followed by / n /.

Vowel simplification is different from glide formation where a glide is used to break diphthongs and triphthongs as will be seen in 3.1.11.

3.1.10 Vowel Shortening

This is a situation where long vowels are shortened.

Examples are:

(27)

English long vowel	borrowed word	gloss
[kɔːnə]	kɔ́nà	corner
[miːtɪŋ]	métìŋ	meeting
[tiː]	tí	tea
[məskiːtəʊ]	mɔ̀sìkítò	mosquito

Thus the rule:

(28) V: -> V

It reads: A long vowel is realized as a short one in any environment.

3.1.11 Glide Formation

Glide formation is the devocalization of a vowel to a semi-consonant. This process in the Aghem borrowed words occurs to break or separate diphthongs and triphthongs. The diphthongs or triphthongs are devocalised by a glide. Consider also the following forms.

(29)

English diphthong or triphthong	borrowed word	gloss
[auə]	áwà	hour
[ʌnɪən]	ányûs	onion
[kærɪə]	káyá	carrier
[miondo]	míyóndó	miondo

[bɔɪ]   bwέ   boy

[flaʊə]   fîlàwà   flour

[sɪə]   síyà   seer

[kwaɪə]   kwáyà   choir

[waɪə]   wáyà   wire

The change in the words containing diphthongs or triphthongs can be captured by the following schematic syllable structure:

(30) $CV_1V_2(V_3) \rightarrow CV_1GV_2$

This reads: a consonant followed by a diphthong or triphthong becomes a consonant followed by a vowel, then a glide and another vowel. The following figure illustrating the word " onion" that becomes " ányûs" further clarifies the correspondent changes that appear during the borrowing process.

(31)   English   Aghem

             onion σ   anyus σ   σ

             V C V V C   V   C   C V C
             | | | | | | | | | |
             ʌ n ɪ ə n   a   n   y u s
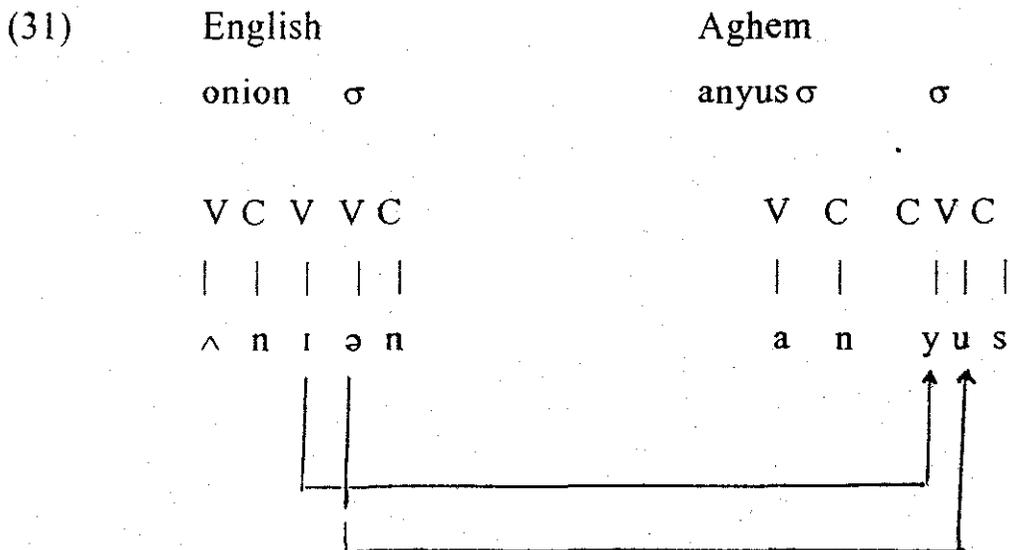
As illustrated in this figure, the high vowels become glides. This can be captured by the following rules:

(32)   ɪ → y /-ə

(33)   u→ w /-ə

These two rules can be collapsed into one single rule of glide formation, using the features of the generative phonology model:

(34)   +syll
       -cons   ---> -Syll /   --- -ə
       +hi

This rule says: the high vowels /ɪ/ and /u/ become /y/ and /w/ semi-consonants when followed by a schwa.

3.1.12 Nasal Assimilation

Nasal assimilation, which occurs in Aghem, also takes place in the borrowed words that exist in Aghem. As we mentioned in 2.4.11 that the nasals that appear in the nasal+consonant sequence are considered as separate phonemes because of their syllabic nature, and often serve as noun class prefix for words, the same process takes place in borrowings: such nasals that appear in the NC sequence are also syllabic consonants and serve as noun class 12 prefixes. Below is an illustration of nasal assimilation in borrowing.

(36) As syllabic consonants

Borrowed   words   gloss

a.   ǹdzànda   gendarme

        ǹdzàkân   jack ass

        m̀bɔ̂ŋmbɔ̂ŋ   bonbon

        ǹdzíndzà   ginger

b.   ɲ̀yúŋyà   new year

        wíndùm   window

        ákántàn   accountant

        sìŋgélè   singlet

        mɔ́ɔ́ndέ   Monday

        sɔ́ndέ   Sunday

        wándáfù   wonderful

        kɔ̀mpítísɔ̀ŋ   competition

        áŋkàchî   handkerchief

        élántélé   electricity

        bálàndzí   blanket

If you consider the forms in (36a), they start with a NC cluster.
These are the forms for which I am proposing that the nasal in the NC
cluster is syllabic. In (36b) as well as in (36a), wherever the nasal
appears in a NC cluster, it still shares the same place of articulation
as the following consonant. When such a nasal is not in a syllable-
initial position, it is not syllabic.

(37) As noun class prefix

Singular	plurals	noun class	gloss
fì-kàlà	ŋ̀-kàlà	11/12	makara
fì-bílè	m̀-bílè	11/12	bread
fì-fítí	m̀-fítí	11/12	fifty
fì-bìlà	m̀-bìlà	11/12	blouse

As is indicated in the third column of these data, the forms in the first column are in class 11 (or class 19 using the narrow Bantu noun class system) and those in the second column are in class (12 (or class 6 in the narrow Bantu class system). Those in the second column have a nasal that acts as a prefix. It nonetheless agrees with the place of articulation of the following consonant. The word for " fifty" may be argued not to assimilate completely to the place of articulation of the following consonant. The reason is that, in Aghem, there is no labio-dental nasal. The nasal that would be the equivalent of a labio-dental nasal is the labial nasal, which appears in that word.

3.1.13 Tonal Patterns of Borrowed words

Tones in the Aghem language are a property of the syllable. Usually, one tone is assigned just to one syllable. In the case of the rising and falling tone, which does not occur so often in Aghem, the rising tone is assigned to long vowels and the falling tone, is assigned to both the short and long vowels. We have illustrated examples in 1.3.1.3 that we repeat here for convenience.

(38) bíghà   father
       bìghà   two

bîghà	build
ézú	sun
ézù	itch
éwú	rain
éwû	someone

As illustrated in the above words, each syllable, more specifically, each vowel which constitutes the tone bearing unit bears a tone that might be H, L or Falling. No Rising tone is illustrated because it is rare.

3.1.13.1 On stressed words

Unlike in Aghem where the tone is unpredictable, as it is a property of the syllable and therefore is in the underlying representation (unless it can be shown that such a given tone is the result of H tone or Low tone spreading), the tones in the Aghem borrowed words from English are determined by the stress in word. The Aghem speakers match stressed syllables in English with High tones and unstressed syllables with low tones. This generalization can be observed from the following forms:

(39) Examples

Borrowed form	Aghem	Gloss
['gʌvnmənt]	gɔ́fìmɛ̀n	government
['blæŋkɪt]	bálàndzí	blanket

[ˈʌnɪən]	ányûs	onion
[ˈkwaɪə]	kwáyà	choir
[ˈdraɪvə]	dɔ́lɔ́bà	driver
[ˈpæsɪndʒə]	pásíndzà	passenger
[ˈsʌndɪ]	sɔ́ndɛ́	Sunday
[brikˈleɪə]	bìlékìlà	bricklayer

In the borrowed form the diacritic [ˈ] stands for the stress.

A one to one correspondence between the stressed vowel in English and a High tone in the Aghem borrowed words seems to obtain. But the unstressed syllable in English may still bear a H tone in the Aghem borrowed words as is the case for the word 'driver'.

3.1.13.2 Distribution of tones

In the distribution of tones, the tones on the Aghem borrowed word are also distributed following the syllables. In monosyllabic words we have only one tone assigned to it as in the following words:

(40)	zîn	'zinc'
	kân	'camp'
	pôm	'pomp'
	bɔ̂ɔ	' ball'
	bíà	' pear'
	bâŋ	' bank'

lôd	' road'
lûm	' room'
lêŋ	' ring'

In all of these monosyllabic words, a falling tone is assigned to the vowel.

In disyllabic and in trisyllabic words as the ones below, their tonal distribution varies from one word to the other. Disyllabic and trisyllabic borrowed words distinguish six different tonal patterns. The LH, HL, HH, LL, HHL and LLH tones. These are illustrated by the following examples:

(41)   LH

kɔkí	'koki'
bàmbɛ́	'bambe'
bùwsí	'pussy'
gìtá	'guitar'
kòfí	'coffee'

HL

lápìn	'wrapping'
kólò	'colour'
númbà	'number'
táwìn	'towel'

HH

káyá	'carrier'
kɔ́lɛ́	'college'
síté	'step'
áŋgá	'hanger'

LL

ŋ̀chàŋ	'rubber shoes'
mèdà	'medal'
kàtà	'cather'
bàbà	'papa'

HHL		LLH	
mákî	'market'	kìlèdî	'credit'
káméndà	'carpenter'	bàfìlûm	'bathroom'
pásíndzà	'passenger'	kàtàkí	'catechist'
yílíṃia	'Jeremiah'	dzùghùsí	'Joseph'

3.2   Survival of borrowings in Aghem

In studying borrowing, one encounters two different tasks: the analysis of the borrowed forms, and the examination of the factors, which condition the particular borrowing pattern observed. Linguists have successfully accomplished the task of analysing the borrowed forms in many languages, while the second task, the one of examining the factors which condition borrowing   remains incomplete. Some of these factors are purely linguistic, while others are extra-linguistic.

One reason for using a word from a foreign language is to pretend just for a moment to be a native speaker with whatever social characteristic we associate with the stereotype. Another reason, of

course, is that there is simply no other available word, in which case, the link to the country may be irrelevant, or at least unintended.

The Aghem language has borrowed extensively from the English language more than the other Cameroonian languages. This may be partly due to the fact that the English language is a " prestige" language. It is indeed the language of science, education communication, and socio-economy. It is also one of the official languages spoken in Cameroon from where Aghem speakers are situated linguistically and geographically.

The use of borrowed words is frowned upon because of their foreign associations, yet the Aghem speakers still continue to use borrowings. This is because for so long the foreign words in Aghem have been accepted because there were no native words for them. Some are so incorporated into the Aghem vocabulary that it makes it difficult for Aghem speakers to think of them as foreign. The substitutions are so widespread that they cannot have been borrowed of late. We have as examples:

(42) Aghem   gloss

      ká?píì   cabbage

      lùŋgélɛ́   looking glass (mirror)

      ɲ`yúŋyà   new year

      bándâ   bandage

      gbwèlé   police

      bíà   pear

      lámà   orange / lemon

      gíàsálà   cassava

pôm	pomp
mútùw	motor
kɔ́lé	college
bàbà	papa
kòfí	coffee

The other reason for the survival of borrowings in Aghem is that of mutual intelligibility. As long as the old people continue to understand the young and vice versa, there is bound to be continuity. This is because it is common for foreign items to be assimilated in some degree to the items already in Aghem with foreign sounds being replaced by native sounds.

The last reason for the survival of borrowing seems to be that which is cherished by the youth and those of the educated class. This is the prestige motive, which we discussed earlier in 2.2 as a choice from the dominant language into the lower. This is done most often to impress the listeners. In some cases, even though a word for a similar thing exists in Aghem, some speakers use the borrowed word. Consider the list below:

(43) Examples

Borrowed form	Non-borrowed equivalent	Gloss
bàsìkî	kísá?lɔ	basket
mɔ̀sìkítò	ńʃwílì	mosquito
pílùm	kì-tàlà	pillow
bɛ̀bɛ́	wê búghù	baby
sìkpîn	kì-tá?	spoon

ŋgánàkɔ́	ghe' bâʔ tì-mbɔ̀ŋ	people guarding cows	shepherds
tolébíídèŋ	ǹdúghú é-kɔ̂ʔ dàŋsɔ́	house that climbs-upwards	store building
télò	wɔ́ étâ	someone who sews	taylor
sàdí	tsìghá tì kí-ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ	fish from tins	sardine
bàfìlûm	lúʔú súuw kí-ghùe kɔ̀	place of washing the body	bathroom

The use of onomatopoeic words we saw in 3.1.1 follow the sounds made by the item. To a certain extent, it can be said that these sounds are used to describe the word. The following are a list of such items.

(45) onomatopoeia   Gloss

ŋgàŋ ŋgàŋ   motor

ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ   tin

kpìm kpìm   grinding machine

3.3 Summary

This chapter has mostly focused on the rehabilitation of phonological and morphological processes of borrowings in Aghem through the processes of reduplication, labialization, apocope, consonant alternations, substitution of consonants, prothesis, anaptyxis, vowel lowering, simplification and shortening, glide

formation, nasal assimilation, and the tonal patterns of borrowed words.

We have also in the last part of this chapter discussed the survival of borrowings in Aghem. It is from this premise of our phonological and morphological findings that we will conclude in the next chapter by looking at the relationship that might be established between borrowings and standardization.

Chapter 4: Borrowing and standardization

In this work on borrowing and standardization, we have been looking at borrowed items, which need to be imposed as a standard in the standardization process. We have seen in chapter three how borrowed words introduced in Aghem follow the pattern of the items they meet in Aghem. This form of nativising and harmonizing the new words into Aghem to make them suit the accepted norm of the language is what we term standardization. In this work, borrowed words can be said to have been standardized in the phonological and morphological processes of reduplication, labialisation, apocope, consonant alternation, substitution of consonant, prothesis, anaptyxis, vowel lowering, vowel simplification, vowel shortening, glide formation, nasal assimilation and tonal patterns of stressed English words. This natural integration and incorporation of the borrowed words into Aghem has greatly contributed to the survival of the foreign words in Aghem.

In this chapter, which concludes our findings, we will also state the attitudes towards the written and spoken forms of the borrowed words, the problems encountered and suggestions.

The status, value, and importance of a language are, most often, although imperfectly, measured by attitudes to that language. This could be done at an individual level, a group level, or a community level.

Baker (1992:9) rightly states: "in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death." The borrowing of words from English and Pidgin to Aghem seems to be a phenomenon, which restores and preserves words especially with regard to names like

English	Borrowed words
John	dzɔ̂n
Peter	pítà
Joseph	dzùghùsí
Thomas	tómà
Maria	máliá

And things like

English	Borrowed words
piiiow	píiùm
kitchen	kítsìm
photo	fútùw
purse	pósà

The attitude towards these borrowed words has been checked using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to the users of Aghem with focus on the standard Aghem as described in chapter two. The users of the spoken and written form included those who could either speak or write Aghem.

4.1 Attitudes towards the spoken form

The spoken form of Aghem is mostly maintained by the native speakers. Very few of them do write Aghem. Native speakers of Aghem believe that borrowings in Aghem came as a result of interactions with Europeans in the Wum area. Others also hold strongly that borrowings are not only a result of interactions with Europeans but also interactions with other cultures and rural exodus. This is very true when we consider borrowings from Yoruba, Duala and French. Borrowings such as:

Borrowed word	English	Source language
ŋgánàkɔ́	shepherd	Yoruba
kábà	cover slot	Duala
kì-nănà	pineapple	French (ananas)

are not only as a result of interactions with the Europeans but also a result of interactions with other cultures and rural exodus.

In the speech rendering of Aghem speakers one who consistently uses borrowed words in his speech creates a negative atmosphere to what he is saying because the native speakers look upon him as someone who does not know how to speak Aghem. He is also looked upon as someone not fit to represent the Aghem community when it comes to rendering speeches in the Aghem language in public.

Another view is checked when words which have no equivalents in Aghem are used. Consider the following:

Borrowed words	English
káʔkpîî	cabbage
kì-lùŋέlέ	looking glass (mirror)
lámà	lemon/orange

These are words, which do not have any equivalents in Aghem. Most of the Aghem speakers consider the words as Aghem words. Interestingly enough, the Aghem speakers who were interviewed would argue for some time before accepting the fact that these words were not Aghem words, and that those words had been borrowed and incorporated because there were no absolute paraphrases to describe them. An Aghem speaker who uses the above words is not however looked upon with contempt because they have no equivalents in Aghem. To a certain extent, they are obliged to accept them.

With respect to speakers living in the native land where Aghem is spoken, such speakers strongly believe they speak the real Aghem which has not been adulterated and that those living out of Wum or who have lived a long time out of Wum and who are called té long which means "stay long," speak the adulterated form of Aghem.

However, this is quite true because conversations held with "stay long" show a maximum use of foreign words in Pidgin which is the major language spoken by these groups of people. In this respect, borrowings we recognized were marks of secrecy used by people who are different from normal ones. Here, we mean, "stay long" as opposed to permanent residents.

Other reasons for the use of borrowed Aghem words is the fact that the individual is proud to have met, cohabited, and interacted with people of other cultures. To prove this, his language had to be different from those he had left in the village. As such his vocabulary was enriched by a constant flow of the new words he had admired while in service outside the native land of the Aghem language.

We also discovered that the major reason for the growing increase of borrowings was due to the fact that Aghem was already in existence before these new words were introduced. Where equivalents for new words could be searched for some of the words, people usually did so. Where an equivalent did not exist, a paraphrase was searched. When none of the above could apply, the word was borrowed and made to agree with the phonology and morphology of Aghem, so as to be incorporated for usage as an ordinary Aghem word.

One thing was noted in relation to attitudes towards the spoken form. Despite its ever-increasing usage, there was the marked negative attitude of the use of the borrowed words. The language loyalty supporters vehemently said they hated using borrowed words from foreign languages, but would accept them in cases where there are no appropriate, clear, and comprehensible descriptions.

4.2 Attitudes towards the written form

As we mentioned above, very few speakers can write Aghem. This language is written by literate people, notably by those interested in the development of the language and also by those who do so for research purposes. Others write Aghem to teach pupils and students who are interested in the study of Aghem. Considering written works in Aghem, linguists have played the major role in realizing the written form of Aghem. Chilver and Kaberry (1968) and Hyman (1979) where the first people to produce written documents and linguistic work on Aghem.

As concerns the borrowed written form of Aghem, attitudes were clearly negative for native speakers who had not left the village or interacted with other cultures. There was however another view of those who were native speakers but had studied out of the village. These groups

of people we term "learned" had a greatly positive view towards the borrowed written form.

We will however advance some of the reasons why some speakers had a negative attitude towards the written form and also the positive attitude towards the written form. For the negative attitude towards the written form, the reasons were that:

-The foreign words will create a mixture of two languages and so the dictionary in Aghem will no longer be referred to as the Aghem language dictionary.

-The foreign words will easily change the original form of the Aghem language.

-The foreigner will be able to get the literal translation of our language.

-It will not make sense, since the sounds will differ from each other.

-It will be mixing up.

-Only words in Aghem should be found in the dictionary. So children can read them for better understanding.

-Languages are meant to keep secrets within a community.

-Children will be reading foreign words instead of Aghem words.

-The use of borrowed words will make reading and writing difficult.

-It mixes up the whole sentence.

-A descriptive word should be more suitable.

For the positive attitude towards the written form, the reasons were that:

-Some of the words do not have Aghem equivalents so the foreign forms can be used except if appropriate and acceptable equivalents can be found. The descriptive forms could be very lengthy to write.

-If the words are in use they have to appear in the dictionary. Since foreign languages have African words in their dictionaries so African languages such as Aghem should include foreign words in their dictionary as well.

-Another advantage would be that those words, which do not have the Aghem equivalents, should also appear in the dictionary rather than keeping blank spaces or not adding words that were not found at the time of the Aghem language creation.

Considering the negative and positive attitudes of the written form of borrowed words in Aghem, we discovered that despite the negative attitude of some native speakers towards the written form, borrowed words are in the increase. The Aghem, which is written, is fully accepted and has been used in classrooms to teach pupils how to read and write. One thing the Aghem loyalty supporters never seem to realize is that they have fully accepted the written form of Aghem in borrowed graphemes, yet borrowings have been tolerated in speech than in writing.

We also wish to state that our interest on standardization in general and standardization of borrowings in particular was both practical and linguistic. We think particularly of the way the orthography was realized by the SIL researchers as they taught those who could read and write (i.e. the literates) how to go about it. This was done in English. This explains why Aghem orthography ties in to that of English. These literates who received these lectures are the ones who use it today to teach others. Some monolingual speakers of Aghem do not appreciate them because they are looked upon as those who have not mastered Aghem, since, in some of their speeches, borrowed words are used. To avoid these repulsive attitudes they have started coining words to replace many borrowings. Examples include:

English	Borrowed words	Coinage in Aghem
television	tèlévísɔ̀ŋ	kùéèkésɔ̀ŋ
biology	bàylòdzî	ŋyùŋùwò
geography	dzùgîlàfî	tìká?à

These literates in Aghem are the ones who work hard to make speakers remain loyal to the Aghem language by re-introducing new native terms into Aghem in the form of coinages and also reviving old ones to replace borrowings.

Borrowed words	Non-borrowed equivalent	English
sìkpîn	kìtá?	spoon
élùp ílé	ékàlá	aeroplane
gíàsálà	tì-kwɔlúŋ	cassava
búkî	lùŋgáŋ	bucket

This means that in the near future the borrowed words for spoon, aeroplane, cassava, and bucket will give way once more to the revived non-borrowed words.

An appropriate way to end this discussion is to quote Milroy and Milroy (1992: 22)

"it is difficult to point to a fixed and invariant kind of English that can be called the standard language unless we consider only the written form to be relevant. It is only in the spelling system that full standardization really has been achieved, as deviations from the norm however logical are not tolerated there. When, however, we refer to "standard" spoken English, we have to admit that a good deal of variety is tolerated in practice, and scholars have often had to loosen their definition of a standard in dealing with speech."

This quotation by Milroy and Milroy ties in with the standardization of Aghem, which has borrowed from English. Just as different varieties are tolerated in speech in English, Aghem also tolerates and accepts borrowed items in spoken Aghem. ALDEC and other researchers are therefore left with the authority and duty to produce the appropriate spelling system that will fully pave the way for the relevant written form for standardization of the native and non-native words, which we choose to call Aghem and borrowed words respectively.

4.3   Problems Encountered

Considering the fact that no academic study can ever be completed without the realization of some problems, the researcher in this study encountered the following problems.

There was a lot of difficulty in marking the tones of consonants and vowels in words that were borrowed into Aghem. As for the morpheme structure C(w)V1(V2C2) of the language, the words borrowed into Aghem with consonant clusters violated the morpheme structure which does not permit consonant clusters. CCVCV becomes CVCV as in blade becoming bílì .

There was also the problem of the borrowed words from English diphthongs. This was not easy to analyze because there was no fixed pattern when the diphthongized word simplified.

a) aɪ → a /-n kaɪnd → kân

b) aɪ → ɨ /-# traɪ → tɨlì

c) eɪ → e /-# peɪ → pé

d) eɪ → ɛ /-n treɪ n→ tɪlɛ́n

This situation of diphthongs being simplified by different vowels made it difficult to come up with a rule, which could be used for vowel simplification. The rule was therefore given separately.

In a) above aɪ becomes /a/ when it is followed by /n/.

   b) aɪ becomes /i/ when it is at word final position.

   c) eɪ becomes /e/ when it is at word final position.

   d) eɪ becomes /ɛ/ when it is followed by /n/.

In this same light diphthongs and triphthongs were also devocalized by a glide. The sequence of CV1V2(V3)→CV1GV2 reading consonant followed by a diphthong or triphthong becomes consonant followed by a vowel, then a glide and another vowel.

The problem of pre-nasalised sounds as /mb/, /nd/ and /ŋk/ were treated as separate sound phonemes because nasals are syllabic in the Aghem language and always act as class 12 noun class prefix. We therefore suggest that nasals be considered as a single unit.

The researcher discovered one innovation during the analysis of substitution of consonants, the bilabial voiceless stop /p/ existed in Aghem only before /u/ as in é-púú 'huckleberry' and é-pú 'die'. Borrowing therefore greatly influenced the use of /p/ in Aghem as in the following borrowed words.

Borrowed words	English
pílùm	pillow
pítà	peter
élúpflɛ	aeroplane
pípà	paper

In the course of administering the questionnaire, the natives were welcoming but did not like the idea that Aghem had borrowed a great deal. They could not come to terms that their language made use of borrowings, which had to be integrated to the dictionary in progress. They were hostile to this idea and not ready to fill the questionnaire. However, the researcher made them realize that borrowed words form an integral part of the Aghem lexicon and that, once these words are adopted, they can be used in the same way as indigenous words.

The researcher faced a lot of problems in carrying out this research partly due to the scarcity of books to consult in the language. The ones, which existed, mentioned nothing on borrowings but gave a partial analysis of the language. Most of the discoveries had to be done by the present researcher.

4.4 Suggestions

From the analysis, findings, and problems encountered in this study we cannot claim to have fully exhausted everything on this topic. However, we are convinced that the salient points have been brought out. Just as we began with a quotation from Bloomfield (1935:445) we would like to conclude that every speech community learns from its interaction with others. If we consider that language was structured by ordinary men and women to meet their ever increasing demands. borrowings will therefore be an acknowledgement when two cultures or languages meet.

On this basis we therefore suggest that borrowings should be encouraged especially in the areas of modern technological concepts. We firmly believe that speakers of Aghem should use indigenous lexical items whenever possible if that lexical item appropriately designates the item in

question. When no appropriate lexical item is available a paraphrase from the language could be substituted. When all these fail, the name or term used in designating this item in the source language should be adopted following the phonological and morphological rules in the language, and integrated to the already existing words.

The researcher wishes that this work should serve as a stepping-stone to further research works on this language. More can still be done on the borrowings of other Aghem dialects. We also hope that in the nearest future, other linguists will find interest in this language to exploit other phenomena so that the language can also rise up linguistically.

The appendix in the following section consists of the words used in the analysis of this work, and a questionnaire which was used for the realization of the attitudes towards the spoken and written forms of the borrowed words.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name (optional):

Sex:

Age:

Status: Married   Unmarried

Level of Studies:

Occupation

1) Do you speak Aghem?   Tick   Yes   or   No

2) a. Do you like speaking Aghem? Tick   Yes   or   No

   b. Why? Please justify with a reason(s).

3) When there is no Aghem equivalent for a foreign word, what do you prefer to use? Tick just one:

   a) the word from a foreign language, e.g. bíà (beer) for beer

   b) A coinage in Aghem like Káʔkpíì for cabbage.

   c) A descriptive phrase like fîgha zîi kí wè for towel

b) Why? Please justify your answer.

4) What do you think is responsible for the use of the foreign words that you use in Aghem? Like táwìn for towel, lùŋgélé for **looking glass (mirror)**

5) Are you at ease when you speak Aghem using these foreign words?

Tick   Yes   or   No

b) Why? Please justify your answer.

6) If you were to teach your children (grandchildren) Aghem, would you use these foreign words?

Tick   Yes   or   No

b) Why? Please justify your answer.

7) Now that Aghem is being written, and thoughts are already on producing a dictionary, should these foreign words be incorporated to the existing Aghem words?

Tick   Yes   or   No

b) Why? Please justify your answer.

Thank you for cooperating.

My regards to your family

Lilian Mbi Attia

Maîtrise student, Uni. Yao 1.

BORROWED NOUNS FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

borrowed word	Singular	Plural	Noun class	Gloss	Non borrowed Equivalent	Source language
kaki	kì-kàkí	ù-kàkí	7/8			Pidgin
buyer and seller	bánàmsɛ́là	tì-bánàsɛ́là	9/10	detailler		Pidgin
jack ass	fì-ǹdzàkân	tí-ǹdzàkân	11/10	donkey/ ass	kì-kɔ̂	Pidgin
cutting grass	kɔ̀tíŋgílàs	tì-kɔ̀tíŋgílàs	9/10	porcu-pine	ŋùm	Pidgin
koki	kì-kɔ̀kí	ú-kɔ̀kí	7/8			Duala
okro	ɔ́kɔ̀lɔ̀					Pidgin
kalabot	kálàbùt	tì-kálàbùt	9/10	wooden house	ńdúghú tì bìláŋ	Pidgin
gendarme	ǹdzàndà	tì-ǹdzàndà	9/10		táŋà báŋgà mɔ́	French
bobolo	bɔ́bɔ́lɔ́	tì-bɔ́bɔ́lɔ́	9/10		ùtáŋàndàŋ bɛ̀lɛ́	Duala
bonbon	m̀bɔ̂ŋmbɔ̂ŋ	tì-mbɔ̂ŋmbɔ̂ŋ	9/10	type of sweet		French
grater	kì-gìlítà	ù-gìlítà	7/8	grate		Pidgin
tulukan	fì-tɔ́lɔ̀káŋ	ǹ-tɔ́lɔ̀káŋ	11/12	lamp ⁻		Duala

canoe	kì-kènúw	ù-kènúw	7/8	boat	kì-kwîn/ ù-kwîn	Pidgin
miondo	mìyóndó	tì-mìyóndó	9/10			Duala
ekwang	kì-ékwáŋ		7	wrapped cocoyams in cocoyam leaves		Coastline
nchang	ŋ̀chàŋ	tì-ŋ̀chaŋ	9/10	rubber shoes		Dschang
identity card	dàŋsíté/é-dáŋtíté	tì-dàŋsíté	9/10	identification papers		French
njambo	ǹdzámbu		9	poker	mbɔ́?	Pidgin
bambe	bàmbé	tì-bàmbé	9/10	mean job	kì-kɔ̂	Pidgin
Bayangi	báyáŋgé	tì-báyáŋgé	9/10	a tribe in the south west of Cameroon	ghé dìkíbè	Coastline
mayanga	mìnyàŋgà		9	kernel oil	vîn tì-kwɔ̀	
wrappen	lápìn / fì-lápìn	tì-lápìn / ù-lwápìn	9/10/ 11/12	wrapping		Pidgin
carrier	káyá	tì-káyá	9/10		fúghɔ̀ gbɔ́ŋ wɔ́	Befang

sea	ʃwàlɔwátà		9	sea/ ocean		Pidgin
half knicker	fì-níkà	tì-níkà	11/10	a pair of shorts		Pidgin
Maggi	fì-màgí	tì-màgí	11/10			
coal tar	kûntà		9	tar		Pidgin
ananas	kì-nănà	tì-nănà	7/10	pine apple		French
kaba	kábà	tì-kábà	9/10	cover slot		Duala
ganako	ŋgánàkɔ	tì- ŋgánàkɔ	9/10	shepherd	ghé bâ? tì-m̀bɔ̀ŋ	Yoruba
makara	fì-kàlà	ŋ-kàlà	9/12	puff- puff		Duala
kobo	kâʔbàŋ	tì-kâʔbàŋ	9/10			Nigeria
shilling	éʃwálà	tì-éʃwálà	9/10			Nigeria
njamanja ma	ńdʒámánd ʒàmá				ú-púú	pidgin
buba	bûbà	tì-bûbà				Yoruba
coast	kì-kû			coastline		Pidgin
matango	màtàŋgɔ			palm wine	lúŋ fámà mɔ̀	Coastline
dash	dàs				kì-nɔ̀msɔ̀	pidgin

basket	bàsìkî	tì-bàsìkî	9/10		kí-sá?lɔ́
kitchen	kítsìm	tì-kítsìm	9/10		
storeybuilding	tólébíîdèŋ	tì-tólébíîdèŋ	9/10		ńdúghú é-kɔ̂? dàŋsɔ́
mosquito	mɔ̀sìkítò	tì-mɔ̀sìkítò	9/10		ń-ʃwílì
market	mákî	tì-mákî	9/10	market place	bé kí-wín
kilogram	kílú	tì-kílú	9/10	kilogramme	
kilometre	kílúmétà	tì-kílúmétà	9/10		tí-tàm
bar	bèὲ	tì-bèὲ	9/10		
wire	wáyà	tì-wáyà	9/10		
stamp	tàm	tí tàm	9/10		kì-tsɔ̀nìn
medal	mèdà	tì-mèdà	9/10		fí-dàlàyà
telephone	téléfùn	tì-téléfùn	9/10		fì-tèé, ń-tèé
police	gbwèlé	tì-gbwèlé	9/10		
taxi	tàgsí/tàsí	tì-tàgsí / tì-tàsí	9/10		
classroom	kàlàsìlûm	tì-kàlàsìlûm	9/10		
bandage	bándâ	tì-bándâ	9/10		
frying pan	fìlèpàn	tì-fìlèpàn	9/10	–	tὲ fì-káŋyì fɔ̀

guitar	gìtá	tì-gìtá	9/10	hand piano	kí-bôm
wine	wáèn	tì-wáèn	9/10		ń-lû
flower	fìlàwà	tì-fìlàwà	9/10		tòŋó tì-ndzùŋ
flour	fìlàwà	tì-fìlàwà	9/10	cornflour	m̀-fùŋ
quinine	kwéné	tì-kwéné	9/10		
sister	sísítà	ghé sísítà	1		ŋ̀-wâzì
brother	bɔ́lɔ́dà	ghé bɔ́lɔ́dà	1		ŋ̀-wâz ì
baby	bèbí	ghé bèbí	1		wê búghù
taylor	télò	tì-télò	9/10		wɔ́ étâ
carpenter	káméndà	tì-káméndà	9/10		
passenger	pásíndzà	tì-pás índzà	9/10		
aeroplane	élúpílé	tì-élúpílé	9/10		é-kálà
zinc	zîŋ	tì-zîŋ	9/10		kí-kâ / ú-kwâ
mechanic	màkánè	tì-màkánè	9/10		
labourer	lébìlà	tì-lébìlà	9/10		
plank	bìláŋ	tì-bìláŋ	9/10		
sir	sà		1		
handker chief	áŋkàchî	tì-áŋkàchî	9/10		
envelope	émvìlɔm/ émvɔ́lɔm	tì-émvìlɔm	9/10		

messenger	máséndzà	tì-máséndzà	9/10		
spoon	sìkpîn	tì-sìkpîn	9/10		kìtá? ù-twá
motorcycle	mútù sékùw	tì-mútùwsékùw	9/10		
cinema	ʃílèmá	tì-ʃílèmá	9/10		
clerk	kìláŋ	ghé kìláŋ	1	office clerk	
ciment	sìmé	tì-sìmé	9/10		
ticket	tíkî	tì-tíkî	9/10		
corner	kɔ́nà				é-búghù
overseer	óvàsíyà	tì-óvàsíyà	9/10		
bench	bên	tì-bên	9/10		
black board	bìlákìbɔ̂	tì-bìlákìbɔ̂	9/10		
ball	bɔ́ɔ̀	tì-bɔ́ɔ̀	9/10		
teacher	ʃí	ghé ʃí	1		
paper	pípà	tì-pípà	9/10		fû kí-másɔ̀
packet	pákî /fì-pákî	tì-pákî	9/10/ 11	parcel	é-bú kɔ́n zɔ̀
pant	pàn	tì-pàn	9/10		fìgha kì-sâ
window	wíndùm	tì-wíndùm	9/10		
lemon	lámà	tì-lámà	9/10	lemon/ orange	

pear	bíà	tì-bíà	9/10		
garlic	gálè	tì-gálè	9/10		
ginger	ǹdzíndzà	tì-ndzíndzà	9/10		
cassava	gîàsálà	tì-gîàsálà	9/10		tì-kwɔ̀lúŋ
tomato	támátùw	tì-támátùw	9/10		
mango	múŋgɔ̀lɔ̀	tì-múŋgɔ̀lɔ̀	9/10		
powder	póòdà	tì-póòdà	9/10		
bottle	bótùlù	tì-bótùlù	9/10		sɔ̀?
sardine	sàdí	tì-sàdí	9/10		tsìghá tì kí-ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ
lawyer	lɔ́yà	tì-lɔ́yà	9/10		
gutter	gɔ́ɔ̀tà	tì-gɔ́ɔ̀tà	9/10		kí-fã
camp	kâm̧	tì-kâm̧	9/10		kí-bèlé
nylon	nàélɔ̀ŋ	tì-nàélɔ̀ŋ	9/10		
pomp	pôm	tì-pôm	9/10	tap	sɔ̀ŋ
slippers	sìlépâ?	tì-sìlépâ?	9/10		
rat	álátà	tì-álátà	9/10		kí-fúw
pussy	bùwsí	ú-bùwsí	9/8	cat	fì-bwìn
franco phone	fìlákàfûm	tì-fìlákàfûm	9/10		ghé kì-fílàŋsí
anglo phone	áŋgìlúfûm	tì-áŋgìlúfûm	9/10		ghé kí-ŋgèlé

oversea	òvàsî				nǎ ghí bàŋà zɔ́
cargo	kágù	tì-kágù	9/10	luggage	ú-fúghɔ̀
witness	wúwsìnè	tì-wúwsìnè	9/10		
apolo	ápɔ́lɔ́ ·			eye disease	
line	lân	tì-lân	9/10		
hour	áwà	tì-áwà	9/10		é-nùŋghɔ́
minute	ménè	tì-ménè	9/10		
electricity	élántélé	tì-élántélé	9/10		
bread	bílé	tì-bílé	9/10		bɛ́ kí-ŋkàlá
ring	lêŋ	tì-lêŋ	9/10		fì-tê
bicycle	básíkùw	tì-básíkùw	9/10		fì-tsà
kernel	kánès	tì-kánès	9/10	palmnuts	tí-kùw
road	lôd	tì-lôd	9/10		dʒì / dzì
pepper	pépè	tì-pépè	9/10		kí-tsítíghá
motor	mútùw	tì-mútùw	9/10		kí-ŋgaŋ ŋgaŋ
television	tèlévísɔ̀ŋ	tì-tèlévísɔ̀ŋ	9/10		kùéèkésɔ̀ŋ
floor	fìlɔ̂	tì-fìlɔ̂	9/10		ʃì ndúghú
bathroom	bàfìlûm	tì-bàfìlùm	9/10	bathroom	lúʔ ú-súùw kí hùè kɔ̀
room	lûm	tì-lûm	9/10		dzû é-ńdúghú
bank	bâŋ	tì-bâŋ	9/10		
credit	kìlèdî	tì-kìlèdî	9/10		kì-fɔ̀lɔ̀
veranda	válàndà	tì-	9/10	—	tsìlà bìghà

		válàndà			
form	fûm	tì-fûm	9/10	form (fill)	
cards	kât	tì-kât	9/10		
frame	fìlím	tì-fìlím	9/10		
country	kòntílè	tì-kòntílè	9/10		é-ná?
cabbage	ká?kpíì	tì-ká?kpíì	9/10		
magistrate	mádzítì	tì-mádzítì	9/10		
shirt	shê	tì-shê	9/10		
school	sìkúw	tì-sìkúw	9/10		ńdúghú kí-mà?sò
college	kólé	tì-kólé	9/10		
bricklayer	bìlékìlà	tì-bìlékìlà	9/10		
current	kólɛn	tì-kólɛ̀n	9/10		
raffia	làfíà	tì-làfíà	9/10		àlù
step	sítép	tì-sítép	9/10		tîà kì-fû ńdúghú
file	fáè	tì-fáè	9/10		
field	fíì	tì-fíì	9/10		
president	pìlésídè	tì-pìlésídè	9/10		tú kí-ná?
treasurer	tìlézwílà	tì-tìlézwílà	9/10		wú nàŋ úkwà
accountant	àkántàn	tì-àkántàn	9/10		
papa	bàbá	ghé bàbá	1	father	tsílé
mama	màmé	ghé màmé	1	mother —	zí

water	wátà				m̀-múghú
helicopter	èlékɔ́tà	tì-èlékɔ́tà	9/10		é-kálà
jug	dzɔ̂ ?	tì-dzɔ̂ʔ	9/10		
hammer	ámà	tì-ámà	9/10		kì-tsɔ̂ɔ̀
boy	bwɛ̌	tì-bwɛ̌	9/10		wê nùw
cypress	sàépɛ́lɛ́	tì-sàépɛ́lɛ́	9/10		
radio	lédìà	tì-lédìà	9/10		kí-bɔ̂m
bucket	búkî	tì-búkî	9/10		lùŋgáŋ
government	gɔ́fìmèn	tì-gɔ́fìmèn	9/10		
governor	gɔ́fínò		1		
torch	tɔ̀s	tì-tɔ̀s	9/10		kì-mwɛ̀
torchlight	tɔ̀sìlàm	tì-tɔ̀sìlàm	9/10		
lamp	làm	tì-làm	9/10	light	
yam	nyâm	tì-nyâm	9/10		é-lím
matches	mátsîs	tì-mátsîs	9/10		kì-gbò
pen	pɛ́n	tì-pɛ́n	9/10	.	kí-dzàŋ, é-tí
bulb	bɔ̀b	tì-bɔ̀b	9/10		
key	kîî	tì-kîî	9/10		
onion	ányûs	tì-ányûs	9/10		
choir	kwáyà				
hour	áwà				
table	tébìlè	tì-tébìlè	9/10		
hotel	ɔ̀tɛ̂	tì-ɔ̀tɛ̂	9/10		
glass	gfìà	tì-gfìà	9/10		wâ

singlet	sìŋgélè	tì-sìŋgélè	9/10		fìghá fì-ghúè
meeting	métìŋ	tì-métìŋ	9/10	gathering	kì-dzíŋé
rubber	lɔ́bà	tì-lɔ́bà	9/10		ǹdàŋ ŋgáŋ
coffee	kòfí	tì-kòfí	9/10		
cocoa	kàkà	tì-kàkà	9/10		
sugar	súkà	tì-súkà	9/10		
mattress	mátàlá	tì-mátàlá	9/10		
kerosene	kálàsí				múghú làm
grammar	gílàmá			English language	ʃwá ú-túghù wò
petrol	bétòló				múghú mútùw
gallon	gàlóŋ	tì-gàlóŋ	9/10		
beer	bìà	tì-bìà	9/10		
hanger	áŋgá	tì-áŋgá	9/10		ʃwìn
profit	pólɔ̀fì	tì-pólɔ̀fì	9/10		kí-nàmsɔ̀
hospital	ɔsíbítà	tì-ɔsíbítà	9/10		ndúghú ŋgàŋ
town	tɔ̀n				é-nàʔ
parlour	pálùm			sitting room	sáŋ
master	másà	tì-másà	9/10		mùghǔ kí-bé
Monday	mɔ́ɔ́ndé				tsúʔù kpwà
Tuesday	túwsìdé				tsúʔù wě
Wednesday	wénésìdé				tsúʔù tòmlɔ́
Thursday	tɔ̀sídé				tsúʔù mě
Friday	fìlàydé				tsúʔù ghìm
Saturday	sáàdé				tsúʔù dzìkɔ̀ʔ

Sunday	sóndé				tsúʔù tsì
one	wàn	tì-wàn	9/10		mɔʔ
two	tûw	tì-tùw	9/10		bìghà
three	tìlê	tì-tìlê	9/10		tíghà
four	fóò	tì-fóò	9/10		ʃìàkɔ
five	fáèf	tì-fáèf	9/10		tè
francs	fìlàŋ	m̀-fìlàŋ	9/12		
five francs	fáèfìlâŋ	m̀-fáèfìlâŋ	9/12		
ten francs	twálá	tì-twálá	9/10		
one hundred	wàn ɔ́ndélè	tì-wàn ɔ́ndélè	9/10		fì-fúw
hundreds	óndélè	tì-ɔ́ndélè	9/10		bɔm
five hundred	fá óndélè	tì-fá ɔ́ndélè	9/10		ǹ-fùw ǹ-tè
1000	wàntɔ́ɔ́sì	tì-wàntɔ́ɔ́sì	9/10		
thousands	tɔ́ɔ́sì	tì-tɔ́ɔ́sì	9/10		
scissors	sísà	tì-sísà	9/10		ú-kɔm
Africa	áfìlékà				
English	éŋgèlésì	tì-éŋgèlésì	9/10		
German	dzámè	tìdzámè	9/10		
stranger	tìléndzà	tì-tìléndzà	9/10		kì-tùm / tì-tùw
America	àmílékà				
mathematics	màtímàtí			–	kì-tàŋ

chemistry	kèmétìlé				sámìntíi
physics	fízì				kì-kŭee
biology	bàylòdzì				ŋ̀yùŋúwè
economics	ékɔ́nɔ́mì				tàŋà ghù / kì-màghù
geography	dzùgílàfí				tì-ká?à
literature				stories	ŋ́-zìazìa
history		·		old stories	ŋ́-zìazìa tì-wĭi
kaiser	kĕsa	ghé kĕsa	1		
Luke / lu cas	lúkà	ghé lúkà	1		
Christian	kìlétèn	tì-kìlétèn	9/10		
pagan	pégàṇ	tì-pégàṇ	9/10		
Magdaleine	mádàlén	ghé mádàlén	1		
Zacharias	zàkàléyà	ghé zàkàléyà	1		
catechist	kàtàkí	ghé kàtàkí	9/10		
Cather	kàtà	ghé kàtà	1	Catherine	
Catholic	kátílé	ghé kátílé	9/10	Catholics	zé kì-múe tùŋ
basel	bàsí	ghé bàsí	9/10	presby terians	zé kì-kàŋ nsín
tradition	tìládísɔ́ŋ	tì-	9/10	–	

		tìládísôŋ			
prayer	pìléyà	tì-pìléyà	1		
Moses	músî	ghé músî	1		
Jacob	yàkô(b)	ghé yàkô(b)	1		
bishop	bísô (b)	ghé bísô	9/10		
John	dzôn	ghé dzôn	1		
Peter	pítà	ghé pítà	1		
Joseph	dzùghùsí	ghé dzùghùsí	1		
Thomas	tómas	ghé tómà	1		
Susan	súsà	ghé súsà	1		
Maria/Mary	málìá/mélí	ghé málìá	1		
pastor	bàsìtò	tì-bàsìtò	9/10		
pharoah	félò				
Aaron	élòn			.	
Church	ʃós	tìʃós	9/10		
Israel	ézìlé				
mission	mìsôŋ				
amen	àmìn				
Jesus Christ	yésókìlèstò				
Jerusalem	yélòsálìm				
Judea	dzúdìà				

Jeremiah	yílímìà			
Abraham	áblàm			
pharisee	fálásì			
Satan	sátàn			
father	fálà	tì-fálà	9/10	priest
Matthew	màtíá			
David	dévì			
Emmanuel	émànwè			
Cornelius	kwílènùs			
Nazareth	názàlè			
Galilee	gálìlìì			
Bethlehem	bétèléhìm			
Judas Iscariot	dzúdà éskàlyó			
Gethsemane	gètsèmànè			
Barnabas	bàlà?bà			
council	kàŋsí			
Pilate	kpàèlé			
Simon	símwìn			
Golgota	góògótà			
Elijah	éláèdzà			
Salome	sálúmè			
Herod	élɔ			
cigar	sìkà	tì-sìkà	9/10	cigarette
tea	tí			tea
paw-paw	kì-bùghù búghú	ù-bùghù búghú	7/8	–

policeman	wɔ̀ gbwèlé	ghé gbwèlé	1		
mat	kɨ̀-màtà	ù-màtà	7/8		fɨ́-ghâm
carton	kɨ̀-kàtûn	ù-kàtûn	7/8		
coconut	kɨ̀-kùkùnɔ́	ù-kùkùnɔ́	7/8		
ear-ring	fɨ̀-yɨ̀lɔ́	ŋ̀-yɨ̀lé	11/12		
blanket	kɨ̀-bálàndzí	ù-gbɨ́làndzí	7/8		
truck	kɨ̀-tɨ̀lɔ́	ù-tɨ̀lɔ́	7/8		
bed-sheet	kɨ̀-bèsî	ù-bèsî	7/8		
looking glass	kɨ̀lùŋgélé	ù-lúŋgélé	7/8	mirror	
machine	kɨ̀-màsɨ̀ŋ	ù-màsɨ̀ŋ	7/8	grinding machine	kɨ̀-gwùw ú-gwùw kɨ̀-kɨ̀mkpɨ̀m, ù-kpɨ̀mkpɨ̀m
fifty	fɨ̀-fítí	m̀-fítí	11/12		
trousers	kɨ̀-tɔ́lɔ́sà	ù-tɔ́lɔ́sà	7/8		
coat	kɨ̀-kût	ù-kût	7/8		
milk	kɨ̀-mɨ̀lé	ù-mɨ̀lé	7/8		
okrika	kɨ̀-kɨ̀lèkàŋ	ù-kɨ̀lèkàŋ	7/8		
blade	fɨ̀-bɨ̀lè	m̀-bílè			
English	kɨ̀-ŋgélé		9	English man	kɨ̀-kala, ŋ̀-kàla
French	kɨ̀-fɨ̀lánsí		9	French man	
blouse	fɨ̀-bɨ̀là	m̀-bɨ̀là	11/12		fɨ̀gha fɨ̀-wè

BORROWED VERBS

borrowed word	singular			Gloss	non-borrowed Equivalent
pay	álé pé				álé tsì
fit	álé fìt				
win	álé wèn			to win	álé zí
excuse	álé ésìkí			to excuse	
wonder	álé wándà			to wonder	é-lâʔ
stamp	álé tàm			to stamp	
sign	álé ʃàn			to sign	álé tɔ̀m kí-wù
humbog	álé hùmbóg			to trouble	ú-tsô
punish	álé pòní			to punish	é-kúnàŋá
try	álé tílì			to try	álé dzinfĩŋ
summon	álé sɔ́mè			to summon	álé nâŋatì tsà
wait	álé wèt			to wait	álé lámà
shame	álé sé /ʃém			to shame	álé dìn sì kì-tŭ
disturb	dísítɔb			to disturb	álé fughu tsô

BORROWED ADJECTIVES

Borrowed adjectives	Aghem	loans		gloss	Non borrowed equivalent
bad	bâd /bêd				é-bɔ́
good	gûd				é-dzɔ́
dear	díɛ			expensive	wîn é-tɔ́ghɔ́ zɔ́
cunny	kɔ̀né			cunning	wâ ndɔŋ
wonderful	wándáfù				
njoh	ǹdzɔ̀			free of charge	kí núghú núghú
better	bítà / bétà				
time	tâm				
fit	fît				ńtsɔ̀ yɔ́

REDUPLICATION

	Singular	plural		Gloss	
	é-wíi wíi	tí-wíi wíi		mosquito(s)	
	fì-ɲòŋɔ̀ ɲòŋɔ̀	ù-ɲòŋɔ̀ ŋòŋɔ̀		anopheles mosquito(s)	
	wâà wà			cousins	
	ŋɔ̀ghɔ̀ ŋɔ̀ghɔ̀			mother	
	fì-zìà zìà	ŋ̀zìa zìa		stories	
	ú-kwà kwà			burnt remains of fufu	
	kì-kpá?à kpá?à	ú-kpá?à kpá?à		beans	
	ḿ-gbáŋ gbáŋ			brain	
	é-dzîa dzîa	tì-zîa dzîa		fly	
	é-ká?à ká?à	ti-ká?à ká?à		grasshopper	
	fì-kɔ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ŋɔ́	ŋ̀ -kɔ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ŋɔ́		marrow	
	kì-bvú bvú	ú-bvú bvú		request or fat the air	
	fì-kɔ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ŋɔ́	ŋ̀-kɔ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ŋɔ́		tadpole	
	fì-tsɔ̀ŋ tsɔ̀ŋ	ŋ̀-tsɔ̀ŋ tsɔ̀ŋ		ant	
	tsɔ̀ŋɔ́ tsɔ̀ŋ kí-fíghà			thief	
	tsúe tsúe			quickly	
	tsú tsú			tomorrow	

tin	ʃĩ-ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ	ú-ŋgɔ̀ŋ ŋgɔ̀ŋ		tin	
paw paw	kì-bùghù bùghù	ú-bùghù bùghù		paw paw	
machine	kì-kpìm kpìm	tì-kpìm kpìm		grinding machine	
sand sand	kí-ʃía ʃía	ú-ʃía ʃía		sand	
motor	kí-ŋgàŋ ŋgàŋ	ú-ŋgàŋ ŋgàŋ		motor	