

**THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I
UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I**

**FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN
LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS**



**FACULTE DES ARTS, LETTRES
ET SCIENCES HUMAINES**

**DEPARTEMENT DE LANGUES
AFRICAINES ET LINGUISTIQUE**

**A STEP TOWARDS THE
STANDARDISATION OF KÀNSWÉYNSÉY
(A grassfield bantu language)**

***A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE POSTGRADUATE DIPLOMA
« MAITRISE » IN LINGUISTICS***

**By
AKERIWEH
B.A. Applied Foreign Languages**

**Supervised by :
Dr. SADEMOUO ETIENNE
Chargé de Cours**

September 2000

DEDICATION

To:

God Almighty;

my Parents, Late Pah Njei Ngie Peter;

Mama Elizabeth Neck;

Penn Simon Taninkeng and

Shiri Suzana;

my late sister, Mme Rose Mengwi;

my sister, Mrs Acham Debora.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A work of this nature could not have been achieved by one person. As such, I owe profound gratitude to the following people:

- my supervisor, Dr. Sadembouo Etienne who, despite his other commitments, took time off to read my work, guide, advise and encourage me;
- the entire staff of the Linguistic Department;
- the Ngibang's family who generously provided a shade for me in their home during my data collection in Nsey village;
- all my informants who are numerous to be mentioned;
- my brother Mr. Achidi N. Joseph and his wife, Mme Achidi Therese Bih, for their moral and financial support;
- my sister, Mrs Acham Debora and her husband, Mr. Acham Peter Cho, who have sacrificed so much to see me through my educational undertaking;
- my cousins, Mr. Fru Ngwa Peter and Mr. Cho Ngwa Fidelis for their unswerving support;
- my sisters, Solange Lum, Josialle P. Nkenna, Mme Chi Ndi Beatrice, Mme Mbah Sidonie and Mme Mejang Pamela Nanga for their encouragement;
- my friends and school-mates like Tiambei Francis, Frida Kong L., Forku Doris T., Mama Chandini, Madah T.M. Robercine and Ntongue E. Hortence, for their co-operation and help;
- Mr. Abah Peter Angyie of the Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences, University of Yaounde I for typing this work.

Finally, I want to thank everyone who helped me in one way or the other to succeed.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- ALCAM: Atlas linguistique du Cameroun
- I.C: Identical Context
- G.A.C.L: General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages
- H/˥: High tone
- L/˩: Low tone
- LH/˨˨˥: Rising tone
- HL/˥˥: falling tone
- Gloss: Glossary
- C: Consonant
- V: Vowel
- VI: Voiceless
- Vc: Voiced
- N: Nasal
- NC: Pre-nasalised Consonant
- #: Word Boundary
- # ... : Word Initial Position
- ... #: Word Final Position
- / / : Phonemic Transcription
- []: Phonetic Transcription
- + : Presence / Possible
- ∅ : Zero
- Sple: Simple
- Lab: Labialised
- Pal: Palatalised
- : Becomes

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
0. GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
0.1. Scope of Study	2
0.2. Justification of Choice of Topic	2
0.3. General Information about the Nsey People	3
0.3.1. Geographical and Historical Backgrounds	3
0.3.1.1. Geographical Background	3
0.3.1.2. Historical Background	3
0.3.2. Socio-economic Situation	4
0.4. The Language	6
0.4.1. Linguistic Classification	6
0.4.2. Typology	9
0.4.3. Literature Review	10
0.5. Methodology	12
0.5.1. Theoretical Framework	12
0.5.2. Data Collection	13
0.5.3. The Informants	14
0.5.4. Plan of Work	14
 PART ONE: PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS	
CHAPTER 1: TONES	16
1.1. Inventory of Tones	17
1.1.1. Punctual Tones	17
1.1.1.1. The High Tone: [']	17

1.1.1.2.	The Low Tone: [ʌ]	18
1.1.2.	Contour Tones	18
1.1.2.1.	The Rising Tone [ʔ]	18
1.1.2.2.	The Falling Tone: [ʔ]	19
1.2.	Tonemes	19
1.2.1.	Lexical Tones	19
1.2.1.1.	The High (H) Toneme	19
1.2.1.2.	The Low (L) Toneme	20
1.2.1.3.	The Low-High (L-H) Toneme	20
1.2.1.4.	The High-Low (H-L) Toneme	21
1.2.2.	Grammatical Tones: Tone Variations	21
1.2.2.1.	The Generative or Noun Complement Marker	21
1.2.2.2.	The Tense Marker	22
CHAPTER 2: VOCALIC PHONEMES		24
2.1.	Identification of Vocalic Phonemes	25
2.1.1.	Phonic Inventory of Vowels	25
2.1.2.	Phonic Vowel Chart	26
2.1.3.	Vowels' Pertinence	26
2.1.4.	Phonemic Vowel Chart	30
2.1.5.	Definition and Classification of Vocalic Phonemes	30
2.1.5.1.	Definition	30
2.1.5.2.	Classification	31
2.2.	The Kànsweýnséy Vocalic System	31
2.2.1.	System at Word Initial Position	31
2.2.2.	System at Word Medial Position	32
2.2.3.	System at Word Final Position	33
CHAPTER 3: CONSONANTIC PHONEMES		34
3.1.	Identification of Consonantic Phonemes	35
3.1.1.	Phonic Inventory of Consonants	35

3.1.2. Phonic Chart of Consonants	38
3.1.3. Interpretation Problems	39
3.1.3.1. Interpretation of [w] and [y]	39
3.1.3.2. Interpretation of Sound Sequences	40
3.1.3.2.1. Labialisation	40
3.1.3.2.2. Palatalisation	41
3.1.3.2.3. Interpretation of Pre-nasals	43
3.1.4. Inventory of Consonantic Phonemes	46
3.1.4.1. Opposition in Identical Context	46
3.1.4.2. Variation	59
3.1.4.2.1. Contextual Variation	59
3.1.4.2.2. Free Variation	60
3.1.5. Definition of Consonantic Phonemes	61
3.1.6. Classification of Consonantic Phonemes	63
3.1.6.1. Manner of Articulation	63
3.1.6.2. Place of Articulation	64
3.1.7. The Phonemic Chart of the Kə̃nswéỹnséy Consonantic Phonemes	66
 PART TWO: SYNTAGMATIC ANALYSIS	68
CHAPTER 4: THE SYLLABLE	69
4.1. Definition	70
4.2. Types of Syllables in the Kə̃nswéỹnséy Language	71
4.2.1. The VC Syllable	71
4.2.2. The CV Syllable	71
4.2.3. the CVC Syllable	71
 CHAPTER 5: SYLLABLE COMBINATIONS	73
5.1. Monosyllables	74
5.1.1. The VC Structure	74

5.1.2. The CV(C) Structure	74
5.2. Combinations in Monosyllables	74
5.2.1. Table of Combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables with Simple C ₁	75
5.2.2. Table of Combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables with a Labialised C ₁	76
5.2.3. Table of combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables with a Palatalised C ₁	77
5.3. Combinations in Disyllables	78
5.3.1. The V-CV Structure	78
5.3.2. The CV-CV Structure	78
5.3.3. The CV-CVC Structure	78
5.3.4. Table of Possible Dissyllabic Combinations	79
5.4. Combinations in Trisyllables	79
5.4.1. The CV-CV-CV Structure	79
5.4.2. The CV-CV-CVC Structure	80
5.5. Interpretation Problem: Pre-fixation	80
5.6. Phoneme Distribution	82
5.6.1. Table of the Various System of Appearance of Vowels	82
5.6.2. Table of the Various Systems of Appearance of Consonants ...	83
 CHAPTER 6: TONE DISTRIBUTION	 86
6.1. Disyllabic Words	87
6.1.1. The H-H Structure	87
6.1.2. The L-H Structure	87
6.1.3. The L-L Structure	87
6.1.4. The H-L Structure	88
6.1.5. The L-HL Structure	88
6.1.6. The L-LH Structure	88
6.2. Trisyllabic Words	88
6.2.1. The H-H-H Structure	89

6.2.2. The L-H-H Structure	89
6.2.3. The L-H-L Structure	89
6.2.4. The L-L-L Structure	89
6.2.5. The L-H-HL Structure	90
6.2.6. The L-HL-H Structure	90
 PART THREE: STANDARDISATION PERSPECTIVES	 92
CHAPTER 7: PRELIMINARIES	93
7.0. Steps of an Initial and Basic Standardisation of a Language ...	94
7.1. Dialect or Variant Problems	94
7.1.1. Dialect Situation	94
7.1.2. Multilingualism	95
7.2. Language of Wider Communication	98
7.3. Language Vitality and Viability	98
7.3.1. Language Use Within the Nsey Community	98
7.3.2. Church Use of the Mother Tongue in the Nsey Community ...	98
7.3.3. Attitudes Towards the Development of the Kànséynséy Language	 99
7.3.4. Language Maintenance	99
7.3.4.1. Marriage and Migration Patterns	99
7.3.4.2. Education	100
7.3.4.3. Socio-economic Factors	101
 CHAPTER 8: ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES ...	 102
8.1. The Alphabet of the Kànswéynséy	103
8.2. Orthographic Principles	106
8.2.1. Consonant Principles	106
8.2.2. Vowel Principles	106
8.2.3. Tone Principles	107
8.2.4. Orthographic Principles for Words in Sentences or Phrases	107

8.2.5. Punctuation Principles	107
GENERAL CONCLUSION	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	111
ANNEX	113
A. ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT	113
B. LEXIS	120

0. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

0.1. Scope of Study

We intend in the following work to make an attempt at the standardisation of the kə̀nswéyńsáy language. This will be achieved by:

- Systematically examining all the sounds of this language in order to determine which among them are phonemes and which of them are not, phonology being the first step in a standardisation process,
- Analysing the way sounds are combined in this language to form syllables and words,
- Laying basis for the development and use of this language in its written form after its thorough survey.

0.2. Justification of Choice of Topic

As any other language, the kə̀nswéyńsáy language interests many linguists. This language has more than fifteen thousand (15.000) native speakers and is up till date not standardised. Nevertheless, some linguistic works have been carried on this language as can be seen in some booklets we consulted at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.). Among these were: A word list Bamessing/English (1978) by Shaub Vremi and Willi Schaub (unpublished), The Bamessing Folkstories (1982) by Bibi J.M.

In these works, we found that there was nothing done to support the written literature of kə̀nswéyńsáy speakers. This is why we chose to make at least a first step in the standardisation of this language.

Another reason for undertaking this work is that through it, we want to contribute to the development of African languages in general, and of Cameroonian languages in particular, and to put at the disposal of kə̀nswéyńsáy speakers and of linguists, a work that will enable them write texts in this language.

Finally, this work was motivated by Professor Maurice Tadadjeu's speech at the 1995 National Education Forum in Cameroon (Yaounde) in which he stressed the need to include the national languages of Cameroon in the different school curricula.

0.3. General Information about the Nsey people

0.3.1. Geographical and Historical Backgrounds

0.3.1.1. Geographical Background

Formerly called Bamessing, the Nsey village is situated in the Ngoketungia Division of the North-West Province of Cameroon. This village is the gate way into this Division coming from the provincial capital, Bamenda. It is one of the thirteen (13) villages that make up the vast Ndop Plain. Nsey village occupies a fertile land surface with a population of fourteen thousand (14.000) inhabitants according to the 1984 population census. It shares boundaries with Babungo to the north, Bamunka to the north-east, Bamali to the south-east, Balikumbat to the south and Babanki to the west. All these villages except the last one, are within the Ndop Plain.

The position of this village at the entrance and at the extreme end of the Division may have contributed in rendering the kə̀nswéynséy language different from the other languages of the Ndop Plain.

0.3.1.2. Historical Background

Like many other tribes of the North-West Province, the Nsey tribe originated from Tikari in the fifteenth century. In fact, the repeated attacks on the Sao kingdom forced these people out of Tikari. They then moved westwards led by Fon Felanteu in search of a land where they could settle. While looking for their home, these people were divided into two groups. One group decided to remain in Bamessing in the West Province because they did not want to move any longer and the other group entered the Ndop Plain. This is why the Bamessing people and the Nsey people have some similar cultural aspects. When entering Ndop, these people were attracted by a gigantic tree standing in an uninhabited land below the hills. They then settled there

and after a short while, the oldest man among them whose name was Nsey died. As he was the first person to be buried there, his followers decided to name this place after him. This spot where the land of Nsey was initiated is found in Mbahang in Pah Kemende's compound, one of the princes who came from Tikari. The Nsey fon's palace is also around this area.

Although all the people of the Ndop Plain came from Tikari, they did not follow the same tracks. While some went towards the Bamboutos hills, others went through Foumban. This is why in this Division, even though all the languages are Grassfield Bantu languages, they are divided into three sub-groups which are the Ring sub-group, the Noun sub-group and the Ngemba sub-group (Dieu Michel et al, 1983).

0.3.2. Socio-economic Situation

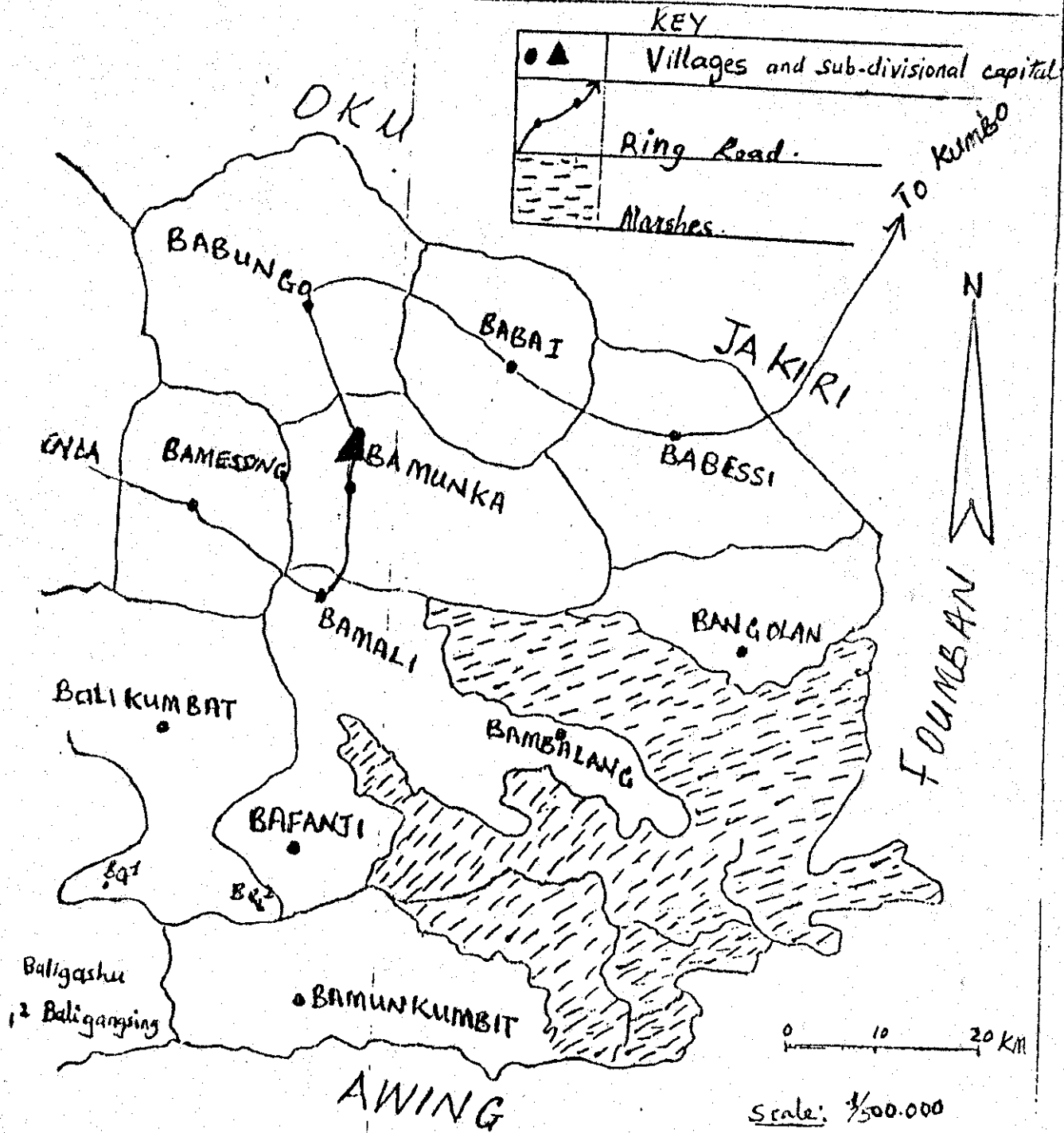
In addition to agriculture which is their main economic activity, the resourceful and highly productive people of Nsey carry out many social and economic activities geared towards the development of their village. These activities include hunting, weaving, carving, pottery, trade and other co-operative economic activities.

The large-scale cultivation of both food and cash crops is the main occupation of most families in Nsey. The main types of cash crops include coffee, raffia palm wine and most of all rice. Some food crops which are also sold include cocoyams, maize, sweet potatoes, plantains, cassava and bananas.

The Nsey people indulge in activities such as traditional dances, drinking, birth, marriage and death celebrations and meeting groups where they save money. The main type of food eaten by these people is corn-fufu and huckle berry (a type of vegetable).

Language being the vehicule of culture and knowledge, it is probable that the standardisation of the kə̀nswéynséy language will help a lot in keeping the culture of the Nsey people unchanged and in transferring it from one generation to another. It will also serve in ameliorating their economic situation.

NDOP PLAIN



Source: L'Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun.

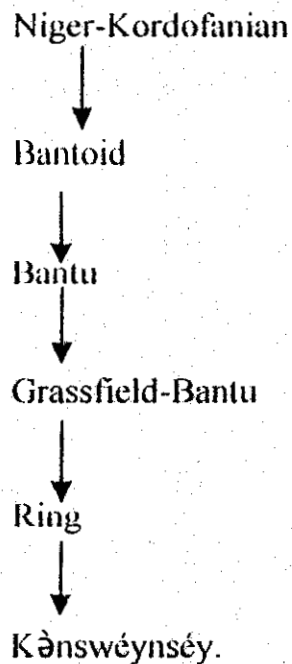
0.4. The Language

0.4.1. Linguistic Classification

Among various linguistic classifications of African languages, Joseph, H. GREENBERG's (1963: 171 pp) classification appears to be the most understood and globally accepted one. In his classification of African languages, he identifies four major families:

1. The Niger-Congo-Kordofanian family
2. The Nilo-Saharan family
3. The Afro-Asiatic family
4. The Khoisan family.

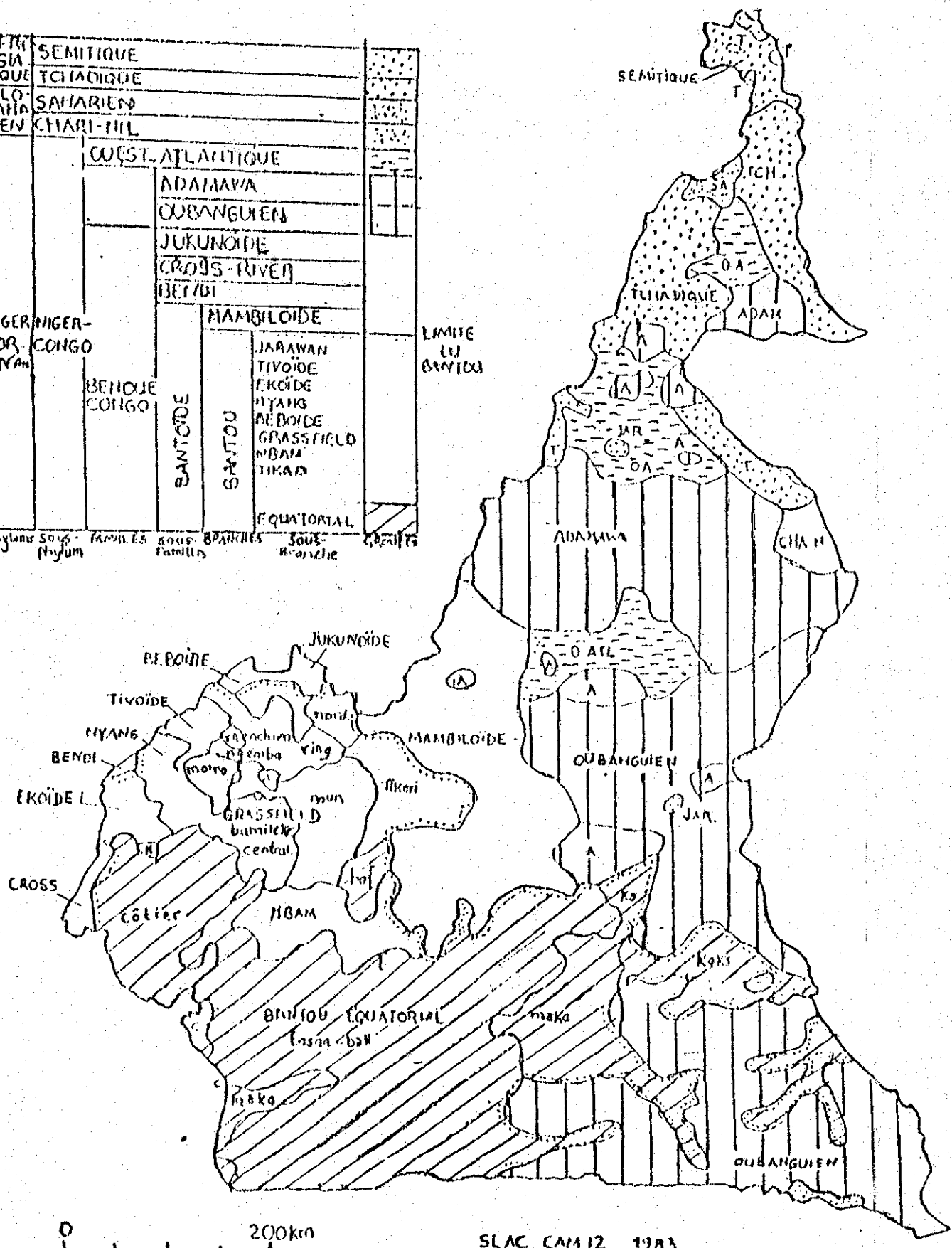
The kə̀nswéy̯nséy language, code 841, belongs to the Niger-Kordofanian phylum as can be seen in the following diagram:



(See maps on pp. 7, 8)

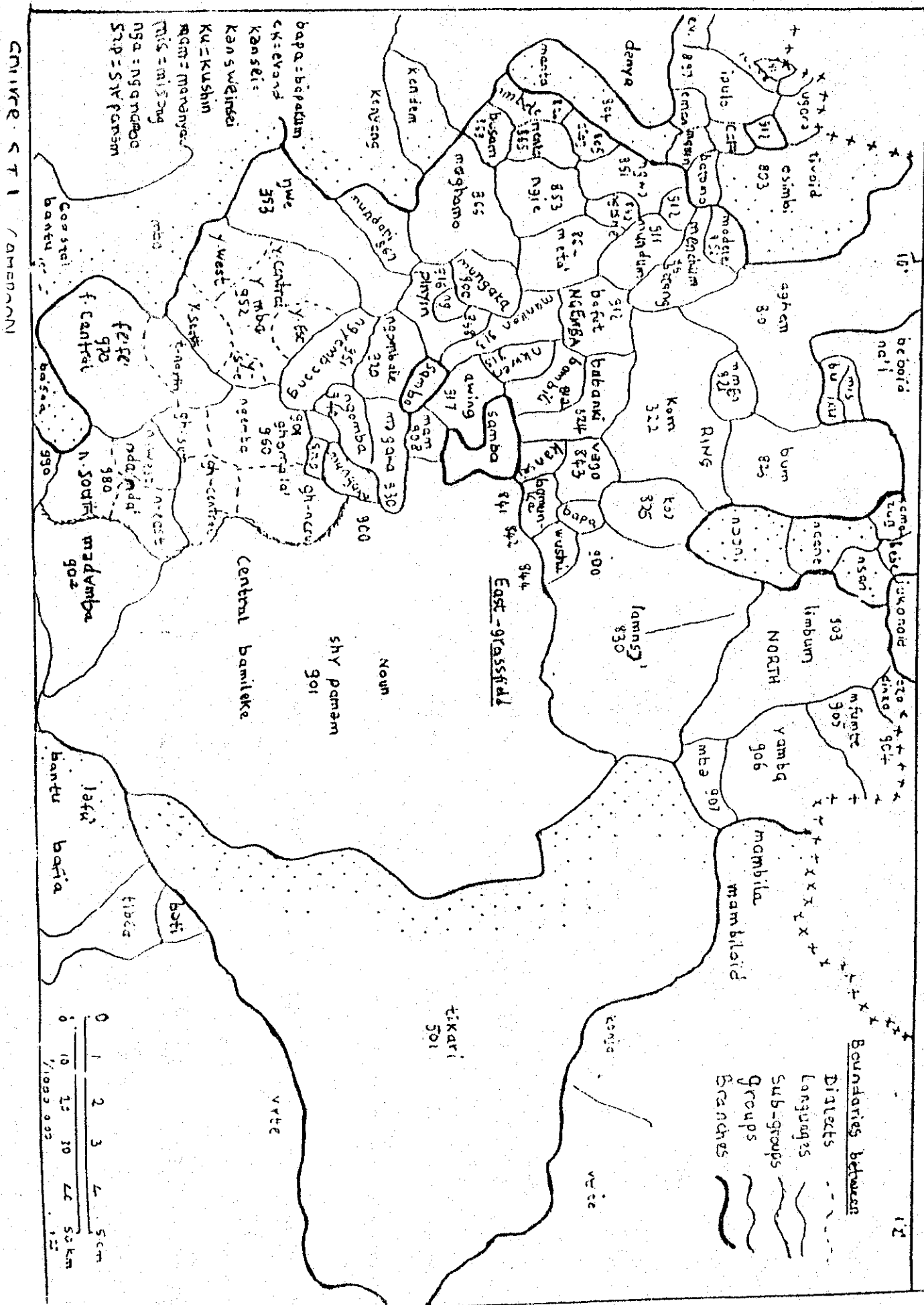
FAMILLES ET GROUPES LINGUISTIQUES DU CAMEROUN

AFRIQUE	SEMITIQUE				
ASIE	CHADIQUE				
NILO-SAHARIEN	SAHARIEN				
NILO-SAHARIEN	CHARI-NIL				
		COÛST-ATLANTIQUE			
			ADAMAWA		
			OUBANGUIEN		
			JUKUNOÏDE		
			CROSS-RIVER		
			BET/BI		
			HAMBOÏLOÏDE		
NIGER-KORDOYAN	NIGER-CONGO		JARAWAN		
			TIVOÏDE		
			EKOÏDE		
			NYANG		
			BENDOÏDE		
			GRASSFIELD		
			N'BAM		
			TIKAN		
			EQUATORIAL		
Phylum	Sous-Phylum	Familles	Sous-Familles	Branches	Sous-Branches

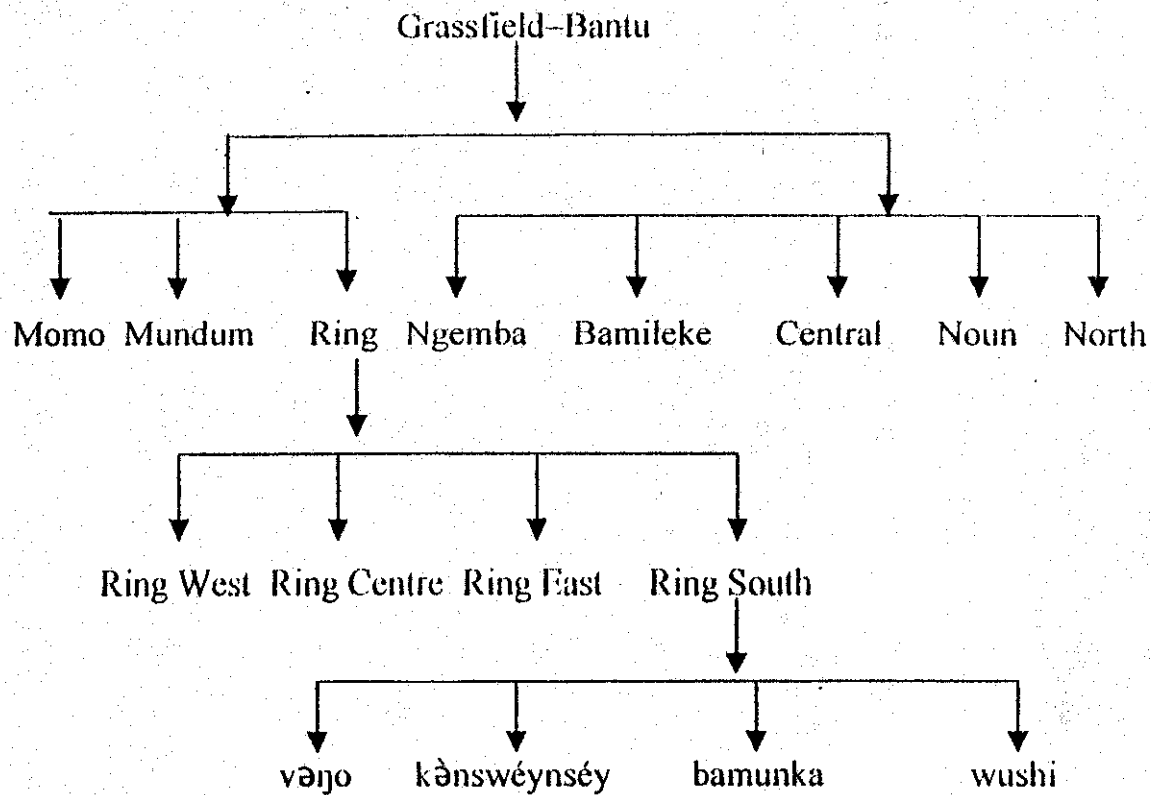


GRASSFIELD BANTUS

Boundaries between
Dialects
Languages
Sub-groups
Groups
Branches



The following diagram is an elaborate presentation of Grassfield Bantu languages:



(Source: Michel Dieu et als, 1983).

0.4.2. Typology

The kə̀nswéynséy language, like many African languages, is a tone language. That is one in which tones affect the meanings of words. In this language, there are words that are spelt orthographically the same but which have different meanings when pronounced with different tones. Below are some examples:

[kə̀táŋ]: “box”

[kə̀tàn]: “elephant”

[fúŋ]: “leg”

[fûŋ]: “close”

This language has a nominal class system as can be seen in the following words:

[kə́tɔ́]: "head"

[bə́tɔ́]: "heads"

[jɪ́]: "name"

[tə́jɪ́]: "names"

[fə́nyúŋ]: "bird"

[mə́nyúŋ]: "birds"

The main sentence structure of the kə́nswéyńsáy language is that of subject-verb-object (S.V.O).

Examples:

Affirmative sentence: [mə́ zé kə́báj]: "I am eating fufu"
I eat fufu

Negative sentence: [mə́ zé kə́báj bə́]: "I am not eating fufu"
I eat fufu not

Interrogative: [wə́ zé kə́báj mə́ ?]: "Are you eating fufu?"
you eat fufu question marker

Through these examples, we realise that this language is an agglutinative language because, it is easy to determine morpheme boundary in a sentence.

0.4.3. Literature Review

As we earlier said, some works have been done on the kə́nswéyńsáy language notably: A Word List Bamessing/English (1978) by Shaub Vremi and Willi Schaub (unpublished), The Bamessing Folkstories (1982) by Bibi, J.M.

These works were done without the preliminary step in the standardisation of a language, that of bringing out the sound system of the language. Nevertheless, Bibi

Joseph (1982) brought out a sound inventory at the beginning of his book. Among these sounds were:

a) Vowels

Short Vowels

[i] [ɪ] [ʊ] [u]
[e] [ə] [o]
[ɛ] [æ] [ɔ]
[æ] [a]

Long Vowels

[ii] [ɪɪ] [uu]
[ee] [oo]
[ɛɛ] [æɛ] [ɔɔ]
[ææ] [aa]

b) Simple Consonants

[t] [c] [k] [ʔ]
[b] [d] [j] [g]
[m] [n] [ny] [ŋ]
[l]
[f] [s]
[v] [z] [gh] [h]
[y]

c) Pre-nasalised Consonants

[nt] [nc] [ŋk]
[mb] [nd] [nj] [ŋg]
[ml̥] [ns]

d) Labialised Consonants

[tʷ] [kʷ]
[bʷ] [dʷ] [gʷ]
[cʷ]

[ɯ^w]
 [ny^w] [ŋ^w]
 [l^w]
 [s^w]
 [z^w]
 [y^w]

When investigating the language, we found that what he considered as long vowels were not actually long vowels. He thought they were long because they are uttered with a contour tone.

This lack of a linguistic study and literature on the language is what has brought us to study the phonology of the language in order to promote the development of its literature, through some general principles that we will propose in our study.

0.5. Methodology

0.5.1. Theoretical Framework

The method used in this study is the structural approach. According to ANDRE MARTINET (1970, 1982), a structural phonology analysis aims at identifying the various phonic elements of a language and classifying them according to their role in this language. This exercise will permit us to determine the different phonemes and variants of phonemes. To achieve this, sounds will be compared in identical context (I.C), in analogous context (A.C) and in complementary distribution (C.D).

In the identical context, sounds will be contrasted in minimal pairs of words, that is, pairs of words that are almost similar and in which the difference in meaning comes from the sounds being contrasted.

Example:

[nɛ]: "put down"

[mɛ]: "finish"

In the absence of these absolute minimal pairs in some cases, we shall oppose sounds that will be almost minimal, in the analogous context, that is in a context where the sounds being contrasted will not be the only difference, but where the contexts of appearance of those sounds, even though not identical, will at least be "similar enough so that the difference between the two sounds in contrast should be caused by the contexts" (URSULA WIESEMANN et al, 1983).

Example:

[pat]: "pen"

[kan]: "spoon"

For those sounds that will neither be opposed in the (I.C) nor in the (A.C) we shall examine their environment to see whether they are distributed in different contexts of appearance.

Concerning standardisation, we are going to study some criteria under the sociolinguistic and organisational frameworks according to SADEMBOUO, E. (1991: pp. 21-23). These criteria will include demography, the language use in the Nsey community and the public's opinion.

0.5.2. Data Collection

Our data was collected using the "Questionnaire d'Enquête Linguistique" (QEL), the 149 words of the ALCAM data, to which we added some other words. We had a total of 1000 words. We went to Nsey village and collected this data for three weeks through oral interview with various age groups. After collecting the data from the native speakers who are born and bred in Nsey, we came back to Yaounde and did a cross checking with some educated kɛ̃nswéyɛ́nsey native speakers.

The alphabet system we used in collecting our data is that of the General Alphabet of Cameroon languages (1979).

0.5.3. The Informants

Our data was collected from the native speakers whose names, age, profession and places of residence are found in the following table:

N o.	Name	Surname	Age	Profession	Place Residence of
1	Melenfe	Boniface	56 years	Primary School Teacher	Nsey village
2	Gwain	Christina	46 years	Primary School Teacher	Nsey village
3	Bibi	Joseph M.	52 years	Secondary School Teacher	Bamenda
4	Wankweng	Née P.W. Bongwa	30 years	Secondary School Teacher	Yaounde
5	Bibi	Princely	29 years	Student	Yaounde
6	Ngibang	Ansela	32 years	Trader	Nsey village

0.5.4. Plan of Work

Our work will be divided into three (3) main parts: paradigmatic study, syntagmatic study and standardisation.

In the paradigmatic part, we shall bring out an inventory of basic sounds. After this, we will analyse distinctive units, interpret complex sounds before defining and classifying the distinctive units.

In the second part, we shall describe the syllable and analyse all the possible sound combinations of this language.

In the third part, we shall proceed to the standardisation of this language by studying some preliminaries and by establishing an alphabet and bringing out some orthographic principles.

Nevertheless, we should note that to standardise a language does not only end at analysing its sound system, studying its vitality and viability and establishing an alphabet and some orthographic principles. What we are going to do is just a step. Much will still have to be done to reach the basic standardisation of this language, among these the elaboration of readers, spelling-books, short-stories books, dictionaries, grammar books and much more.

PART ONE

PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 1

TONES

kə̀nswéynséy, as we have earlier said is a tone language. That is, one which uses tones to distinguish the meaning of words. According to Ursula Wieseemann et al, (1983: 84) a tone is "la hauteur relative de la voix pendant l'exécution d'un son". That is, a tone is the rise and fall of the voice during the production of a sound. While analysing the kə̀nswéynséy language, we found words that were almost similar and their meanings differed only because of their tone patterns.

Example:

[fú ɲ]: "leg"

[fûɲ]: "lack"

[k"È]: "bachelor"

[k"Ê]: "harvest"

1.1. Inventory of Tones

Two types of tones are found in the kə̀nswéynséy language: level tones and contour tones.

1.1.1. Level Tones

A tone is said to be level when its height remains unchanged during the pronunciation of a syllable. The tonal system of this language is made up of two level tones: a high tone and a low tone.

1.1.1.1. The High Tone: [']

It is the highest musical height during the production of a syllable. It is abbreviated H. It is found in words like:

[ɲó]: "month"

[só]: "teeth"

[húɲ]: "here"

This high tone is found on nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns.

1.1.1.2. The Low Tone: [ˊ]

It is the lowest tonal level in a language. It is characterized by a low tension and a relatively slow vibration of the vocal cords. Its abbreviation is L. This low tone can be found in this language, on the following words:

[yɛ̃]: "person"

[nə̃]: "with"

[fũŋ]: "chief"

[kə̃]: "only"

Like the high tone, the low tone is found on nearly all the grammatical categories or parts of speech in the kə̃nswéyɛ̃nséy language.

1.1.2. Contour Tones

A Contour tone is a tone rendered with a varying musical height during the production of a syllable. This variation is considered as the passage of a tone from a given level tone to another level tone.

During our analysis, we discovered that the kə̃nswéyɛ̃nséy language has two contour tones, among which the rising tone [ˊˊ] and the falling tone [ˊˋ].

1.1.2.1. The Rising Tone: [ˊˊ]

This tone is also known as the low-high tone. It is abbreviated: L.H. It starts with a low tone and ends with a high tone. We find it on words like:

[nʂɛ̃]: "tail"

[bãŋ]: "behind"

[gũ]: "coldness".

This rising tone is found on all the parts of speech in this language except on verbs.

1.1.2.2. The Falling Tone: [˥]

This tone can also be called a high-low tone. It is abbreviated: H.L. It starts with a high tone and ends with a low tone. We find it on words like:

[kə̀kə̀]: “bench”

[cə̀]: “mouth”

[wə̀ŋ]: “ten”

[ntə̀ŋ]: “message”.

This falling tone appears on nouns, adjectives, adverbs and never on verbs.

1.2. Tonemes

J. Dubois et al, (1973: 516 p) define the toneme as an accentuated high unit that helps to oppose two meaningful units. In other words, the toneme is for the tone what the phoneme is for the sound. Generally, tones are classified in two categories: lexical tones, which differentiate lexis and grammatical tones, which mark the difference between the infinitive form, the aspect, the tense and the mood.

1.2.1. Lexical Tones

1.2.1.1. The High (H) Toneme

This toneme is distinct from others as can be seen in the following words:

H/L [kə̀tán]: “box” / [kə̀tán]: “elephant”

[lón]: “husband” / [lón]: “hot”

[kú]: “claypot” / [kù]: “look for”

H/LH [tán]: “five” / [tán]: “old”

[ngó’]: “termite” / [ngó’]: “year”

[lwé]: “nose” / [lwé]: “bile”

H/HL [mètɔ́w]: “to whistle” / [mètɔ̀w]: “to jump”
 [cí]: “in-law” / [cî]: “cover”

1.2.1.2. The Low (L) Toneme

This toneme is a distinct one. Its status is established through the following contrasts:

L/H: [mɛ̀kàŋ]: “magic” / [mɛ̀káŋ]: “to squeeze”
 [fɛ̀ŋ]: “black” / [fúŋ]: “leg”
 [tɛ̀ŋ]: “burn” / [túŋ]: “up”

L/LH: [gù]: “cold” / [gǔ]: “coldness”
 [mbà’]: “button” / [mbǎ’]: “fog”
 [ŋù]: “fur” / [ŋǔ]: “moon”
 [nsè]: “soil” / [nsě]: “tail”

L/HL: [mɛ̀fàŋ]: “to fear” / [mɛ̀fāŋ]: “to get fat”
 [kʷè]: “bachelor” / [kʷê]: “harvest”.

1.2.1.3. The Low-High (L.H) Toneme

This toneme is distinct from others as can be seen in the following words:

LH/HL [jǔ]: “hunger” / [jû]: “to plant a stick”
 [ŋkǔ]: “rope” / [ŋkû]: “cripping grass”
 [ntĩ]: “louse” / [ntî]: “to drag, to pull”

LH/H [wǒŋ]: “egg” / [wóŋ]: “farm”
 [ŋkǒ’]: “coq” / [kó’]: “penis”
 [nsě]: “tail” / [nsé]: “down”

LH/L [ŋkũ]: "rope" / [ŋkù]: "date palm"
 [jě]: "path" / [mǎjè]: "to come".

1.2.1.4. The High-Low (HL) Toneme

It acquires its status as a toneme, in the following contrasts:

HL/LH (see LH/HL)

HL/H [ŋgê]: "rip" / [ŋgé]: "shell"
 [kònsû]: "car" / [kònsú]: "sissongho"

HL/L [wâ]: "wing" / [wà]: "operate"
 [kwêŋ]: "hill" / [kwèŋ]: "tin"

To conclude this paragraph, we can say that the four tones found in this language are all tonemes for they are all pertinent. In the following lines, we shall analyse the different grammatical tones found in this language.

1.2.2. Grammatical Tones: Tone Variation

We noticed during our data collection, that lexical tones are not stable. This brought us to look for the principles that govern this tone variation. But here, we shall limit ourself to the study of the genitive and the tense markers.

1.2.2.1. The Genitive Marker or the Noun Complement Marker

Given the following examples:

[yèlón]: "friend"	[ŋgû]: "fowl"
[fùŋ]: "chief"	[kàfwá]: "thing"
[fúŋ]: "leg"	[mbà]: "soup"

*Did you ever
 consider that intonation
 is not phonetic - it's
 in the eye of the beholder
 of sound? I've found
 teachers' posture
 in French intonation
 are premeditated.*

[yɛlɔŋ fùŋ]: "the chief's friend"

[fùŋ fùŋ]: "the chief's leg"

[ŋgû fùŋ]: "the chief's fowl"

[mbá fùŋ]: "the chief's soup"

[kəfwâ fùŋ]: "the chief's thing"

Region: Karamoja

is / please

maybe pka could influence

low here it is the tone

We see that in this language, there is no particular word or morpheme that indicates or marks the genitive. But we notice a tone variation, that is, a high tone (H) becoming a high-low (H.L) tone, and a low tone (L) becoming a Low-High (L.H) tone.

As such in kənsweynséy language, possession is marked by a tone variation.

floating tone (L.H)

1.2.2.2. The Tense Marker

This language, like many other African languages, has four verb tenses which are the present tense, the future tense, the recent past tense and the far past tense. While studying verb conjugation in this language, we found that contrary to some languages that mark differences in tenses by varying the tones, the kənsweynséy language simply maintains the verb's tone and root in the present tense. For the other tenses, some morphemes are added to the root whose tone pattern remains the same. This was realised after having studied a data of ten (10) verbs bearing different tones.

For the recent past (past 1), we have the prefix morpheme "tá". The far past (past 2) uses "nà" as its marker and the future tense "yè".

Example:

[mətɔ'] : "to walk"

Present tense: [mə tɔ'] : "I am walking" or "I walk"
I walk

Recent past tense: [mə tá tɔ'] : "I have walked"
I past(1) walk

*should be attached
of Kya as pka
(Tone)*

Far past tense: [mà nà tɔ́]: "I had walked"
 I past(2) walk

Future tense: [mà yè tɔ́]: "I will walk"
 I future walk

A deep study of this phenomenon of tone variation, due to its grammatical function, will be carried later in a different work as it seems to be very important for the standard orthography of the language.

*why you're not on
 you should be on
 convincing!*

CHAPTER 2

VOCALIC PHONEMES

To begin with, we will first say what we understand by the term phoneme. TROUBETZKOY, N.S. (1939: 48) defines the phoneme as "a phonological symbolic sign which has a self-evident function". WIESEMANN, U. et al, (1983) further explain it by saying that it is the smallest sound unit that helps to distinguish words' meanings. Like many other languages, the kə̀nswéynséy language has vocalic and consonantic phonemes.

W. Siepmann
1983

2.1. Identification of Vocalic Phonemes

In this language, we found ten (10) vocalic sounds. After analysing them, we will see whether they are all phonemes or whether some of them are variants of the same phoneme.

2.1.1. Phonic Inventory of Vowels

Sound	Illustration	Gloss
[i]	[wí]	"fire"
[e]	[mfé]	"sorcery"
[ɛ]	[ncé]	"mother"
[æ]	[fæ]	"thunder"
[ɯ]	[mú]	"duc"
[ə]	[fə]	"jaw"
[a]	[wǎŋ]	"child"
[u]	[ŋú]	"breast"
[o]	[ŋó]	"month"
[ɔ]	[cô]	"mouth"

2.1.2. Phonic Vowel Chart

<div> <div>Place of Articulation</div> <div>Degree of openness</div> </div>	Front	Central	Back
	i	ɨ	u
High	e	ə	o
Mid-High	ɛ		ɔ
Mid-Low	æ	a	
Low			

As we have earlier said in our introduction, we shall determine vocalic phonemes by contrasting sounds in identical context (I.C), in Analogous context (A.C) and in Complementary distribution (C.D) if necessary.

2.1.3. Vowels' Pertinence

1. The Phoneme /i/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

i/e: [màbíŋ]: "to accept"

[màbéŋ]: "to sleep"

[kəndwí]: "hippotamus"

[kəndwê]: "banana"

i/ɨ: [nyí]: "animal"

[nyú]: "fight"

[líŋ]: "brother/sister"

[lèŋ]: "sweet"

[màbíŋ]: "to answer"

[màbúŋ]: "to dance"

i/u: [màbí]: "to explode"

[màbú]: "to chase off"

[nyí]: "animal"

[nyù]: "hair"

/i/ High front unrounded vowel.

2. The Phoneme /e/

Its pertinence is established, through the following comparisons:

e/i: (see i/e)

e/ɛ: [sê]: "speak" [sê]: "to cut with scissors"

[gè]: "beard" [gè]: "go"

e/ə: [mé]: "neck" [mə]: "I, me"

[fě]: "heart" [fə]: "where"

/e/: Mid-high Front Unrounded Vowel

3. The Phoneme /ɛ /

Its pertinence is established through the following comparisons:

ɛ/e: (see e/ɛ)

ɛ/æ: [nsɛ]: "soil" [nsæ]: "comb"

[ncɛ]: "mother" [ncæ]: "sky"

/ɛ/: Mid-low Front unrounded vowel.

4. The Phoneme /ʉ/

Its pertinence is established through the following comparisons:

ʉ/i/: (see i/ʉ)

ʉ/ə: [kʉ]: "boundary" [kə]: "what"

[kəncʉ]: "brush" [kəncə]: "home"

ʉ/u: [fʉŋ]: "lock" [fʉŋ]: "chief"

[gʉ]: "voice" [gʉ]: "cold"

/ʉ/: High central rounded vowel.

5. The Phoneme /ə/

Its pertinence is established through the following comparisons:

ə/e: (see e/ə)

ə/a: [báʼ]: "to broke"

[báʼ]: "to approach"

[mə̀kà̀]: "to want"

[mə̀kà]: "to tie"

ə/ɐ: [fə̀]: "where"

[fú]: "from"

[bá]: "they"

[bù]: "ugliness"

/ə/: Mid-high Central Vowel

6. The Phoneme /a/

Its pertinence is established through the following comparisons:

a/ə: [kə̀dàʼ]: "power"

[kə̀dàʼ]: "wound"

[bàŋ]: "Hatred"

[bə̀ŋ]: "terrible"

a/e: [mə̀cáʼ]: "to see off"

[mə̀céʼ]: "to greet"

[njàʼ]: "no"

[njèʼ]: "outside"

a/æ: [wá]: "hand"

[wæ]: "beating"

[bà]: "near"

[bà]: "red"

/a/: low central unrounded vowel.

7. The Phoneme /æ/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

æ/e (see e/æ)

æ/a (see a/æ)

/æ/: low front unrounded vowel.

8. The Phoneme /u/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

u/o: [ɪkú]: "rope"	[ɪkǝ]: "type"
[mǝtó]: "to spite"	[mǝtú]: "to vomit"

u/ɐ: [lúŋ]: "thrust"	[lǝŋ]: "leg"
[búŋ]: "stomach"	[bǝŋ]: "return"

u/ɔ: [mǝtúŋ]: "to roast"	[mǝtǝŋ]: "to send"
[túŋ]: "suffocation"	[tǝŋ]: "stranger"

/u/: High back rounded vowel.

9. The Phoneme /o/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

o/: [kǝtó]: "ear"	[kǝtǝ]: "head"
[bó]: "dog"	[bǝ]: "corner"
[dò]: "death celebration"	[dǝ]: "pile"

o/u: [kǝlónŋ]: "dry season"	[kǝlǝŋ]: "fright"
[mǝgò]: "to fall"	[mǝgú]: "to wear"

/o/: Mid-high back rounded vowel.

10. The Phoneme /ɔ/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

ɔ/o: [ndów]: "cup"	[ndǝw]: "maize pudding"
[ŋgǝ́]: "stone"	[ŋgǝ́]: "year"

ɔ/u: (see u/ɔ)

/ɔ/: Mid-low back rounded vowel.

As we can see, all the ten (10) vowels are phonemes. So our phonemic chart will be the same as the phonic chart.

2.1.4. Phonemic Vowel Chart

Position of Tongue Height of Tongue	Position of Tongue		
	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ʊ	u
Mid-high	e	ə	o
Mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low	æ	a	

2.1.5. Definition and Classification of Vocalic Phonemes

2.1.5.1. Definition

To define a sound is to give its features.

/i/: High front unrounded vowel.

/e/: Mid-high front unrounded vowel.

/ɛ/: Mid-low front unrounded vowel.

/æ/: Low front unrounded vowel.

/ʊ/: High central unrounded vowel.

/ə/: Mid-high central unrounded vowel.

/a/: low central unrounded vowel.

/u/: High back rounded vowel.

/o/: Mid-high back rounded vowel.

/ɔ/: Mid-low back rounded vowel.

low unrounded

high unrounded

low rounded

2.1.5.2. Classification

- According to the level of openness:

High	i	u	u
Mid-High	e	ə	o
Mid-Low	ɛ		ɔ
Low	æ	a	

- According to the place of articulation:

Front:	i	e	ɛ	æ
Central:	u	ə		a
Back:	u	o		ɔ

2.2. The Kə̀nswéyńséy Vocalic System

2.2.1. System at Word Initial Position

Out of the ten (10) vocalic phonemes we found in this language, only one (1) stands at this position.

Table:

Place of Articulation Degree Of openness	Front	Central	Back
Low		a	

This vowel is found at the initial position of words as in the following examples:

[àkə́]: “father”

[àŋ]: “yes”

2.2.2. System at Word Medial Position

Out of the ten (10) vowel phonemes of this language nine (9) occupy this position.

Table:

Place of Articulation Degree of Openness	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɯ	u
Mid-high	e	ə	o
Mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

We find these vowels at the medial position in the following examples taken from our data:

[lɪŋ]:	/lɪŋ/	“brother/sister”
[béy]:	/béy/	“life”
[ké’]:	/ké’/	“light”
[kúŋ]:	/kúŋ/	“crab”
[kà’]:	/kà’/	“only”
[fà’]:	/fà’/	“work”
[cún]:	/cún/	“price”
[bò’]:	/bò’/	“slave”
[bó’]:	/bó’/	“pumpkin”

*Where did you find it?
Give an example.*

2.2.3. System at Word Final Position:

All the ten (10) vowels of this language occupy this position.

Table:

Place of Articulation Degree Of Openness	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid-high	e		o
Mid-low	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Low	æ	a	

We find them in the following examples:

[wí]:	/wí/	“fire”
[gé]:	/gé/	“chin”
[kəg ^y é]:	/kəgyé/	“grass”
[bà]:	/bà/	“red”
[kù]:	/kù/	“boundary”
[ákə]:	/ákə/	“father”
[kəf ^w â]:	/kəf ^w â/	“something”
[ŋgû]:	/ŋgû/	“fowl”
[sǒ]:	/sǒ/	“fish”
[cétó]:	/cétó/	“throat”

Having done the analysis of vocalic phonemes, we will continue in the following chapter with consonantic phonemes.

CHAPTER 3

CONSONANTIC PHONEMES.

While examining our data, we distinguished fifty-five (55) consonantic sounds in this language. In order to know whether they are all phonemes or variants of phonemes, we will proceed as we did with the vowels.

3.1. Identification of Consonantic Phonemes

3.1.1. Phonic Inventory of Consonants

Like the vowels, our consonants'inventory is taken from our data. Below are some illustrations:

<u>Sounds</u>	<u>Illustrations</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
[b]	[bə́tú']	"night"
[b ^w]	[wáŋb ^w ô]	"baby"
[b ^y]	[kə̀b ^y éŋgê]	"veranda"
[t]	[táŋ]	"five"
[t ^w]	[kə̀t ^w â]	"intestine"
[t ^y]	[mə̀t ^y é]	"to grow"
[d]	[kə̀dɛ́']	"place"
[c]	[cô]	"mouth"
[c ^w]	[mə̀c ^w à']	"to lend"
[c ^y]	[mə̀c ^y é]	"to cut"
[j]	[jɛ́]	"hunger"
[j ^w]	[mə̀j ^w à']	"to split"
[k]	[mə̀kán]	"to squeeze"
[k ^y]	[k ^y é]	"money"
[k ^w]	[kə̀k ^w éy]	"bone"

[g]	[m̩əgó]	"to fall"
[g ^w]	[g ^w ò]	"shoe"
[g ^y]	[g ^y æ]	"leaf"
[ʔ]	[m̩əméʔ]	"to throw"
[mf]	[mféy]	"bicycle"
[mb]	[mb̩ðŋkú]	"potter"
[nt]	[nt̩]	"six"
[nt ^w]	[nt ^w ólón]	"iron smith"
[ns]	[m̩ənsélé]	"lightening"
[ns ^w]	[kínswó]	"sissongho"
[nd]	[ndàlàʔ]	"sweet potato"
[nd ^w]	[nd ^w é]	"dress/cloth"
[nc ^y]	[nc ^y é]	"lie"
[nc]	[k̩əncé]	"day"
[nj]	[nj̩]	"thorn"
[ŋk]	[k̩əŋkóʔ]	"dumb"
[ŋg]	[sáʔŋgòŋ]	"worm"
[ŋgw]	[ŋgwà]	"seed"
[m]	[m̩əmə]	"to finish"
[n]	[m̩ənd̩ʔ]	"to be"
[ny]	[ŋkúnyà]	"pig"
[ny ^w]	[f̩ənywé]	"knife"
[ŋ]	[k̩əŋáj]	"scorpion"
[ŋw]	[ŋwàʔ]	"clean"
[f]	[m̩əfiʔ i]	"to tell"

[f ^w]	[kəfwó]	"medicine"
[f ^ʳ]	[f ^ʳ ə]	"mouse"
[z]	[məzé]	"to eat"
[zh]	[zhì]	"name"
[zh ^w]	[zh ^w à]	"snake"
[gh]	[gháʼ]	"big"
[h]	[húŋ]	"here"
[l]	[yɛlɔŋ]	"friend"
[lw]	[l ^w é]	"nose"
[w]	[lɔw]	"nervil"
[y]	[yɛʼ]	"time"
[yw]	[y ^w ó]	"honey"
[s]	[sɔ]	"fish"
[sw]	[məs ^w éy]	"to speak"
[sy]	[s ^y ə]	"comb"

labiodental & palatoalveolar

l^w or lw
l^y or ly

most of systematicity
referred to as

3.1.2. Phonic Chart of Consonants

This chart includes all the Kánsweýnséy language's consonants, both simple and modified ones.

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation			Labio-dental			Alveolar			Palatal			Velar			Glottal		
	Bilabial			Labio-dental			Alveolar			Palatal			Velar			Glottal		
Plosive	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Fricative	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Glide	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
	Lab			Pal			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		
Labio-vela	Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab			Sple			Lab		

3.1.3. Interpretation Problems

Some ambiguities we face in human languages pose serious interpretation problems in linguistic studies. These ambiguities and their attendant interpretation problems can better be analysed on the basis of the internal organisation and structure of the language under study. Among the phonological aspects that pose problems in linguistic analysis, we have sounds that can be treated either as single units or as a sequence of units and sounds that can either be considered as vowels, as consonants or as both. In the following lines we are going to clarify these problems as far as the kə̀nswéyńsáy language is concerned.

3.1.3.1. Interpretation of [w] and [y]

As a result of their semi-syllabic and semi-consonantic qualities, glides pose some interpretation problems. The high front unrounded vowel [i] and the high back rounded vowel [u] are similar to the palatal and labio-velar glides [y] and [w] respectively. In this language, we realise that [y] and [w] are full consonants. We say this because of the following reasons:

- Vowels are generally tone bearers, which is not the case with consonants.
- Consonants are units that appear always in front of vowels which is the case of [y] and [w].

no vowel like a gl. (no old form)

The following words illustrate the consonantal quality of [y] and [w] at initial, inter-vocalic and final positions:

<u>Word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
[mə̀yén]	"to melt"
[yè̀tón]	"stranger"
[mə̀yéy]	"to see"
[yi]	"name"

[m̩t̩éy]	"to read"
[yil̩ə]	"sluggish"
[wí]	"fire"
[wá]	"hand"
[m̩t̩ów]	"to dig"
[gh̩w]	"farm"
[m̩wáy]	"to put"
[wéy]	"market"

3.1.3.2. Interpretation of Sound Sequences

3.1.3.2.1. Labialisation

Labialisation according to linguists is a change undergone by a phoneme when followed by lip rounding. In other words, it is a phonological process where a consonant takes the round quality of a secondary articulation super-imposed on it.

The problem here is to determine whether the labialised consonants are a result of the glide formation or whether on the contrary, they are just complex consonants to be considered as such.

We talk of glide formation when a vowel loses its syllabicity to become a semi-vowel or a semi-consonant. Talking of glide formation will therefore mean that the sequence [cwv] comes from /cvv/. But this is not the case, given that the structure of the k̩nswéynséy language does not permit a sequence of /vv/. Furthermore, the labialisation process does not involve all the consonants. For this reason, we think that in the examples below, the structure [cwv] at the surface structure would be /cv/ in the deep structure and not /cvv/ since neither the /vv/ sequence nor the /cc/ sequence exist in this language.

Give a clear example of how you analyse it

Example:

<u>Word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
[mə́(ʔwə́)]	"to blow"
[fə́nywé]	"knife"
[ywó]	"honey"
[gwò]	"shoe"
[lwé]	"nose"
[mə́swá]	"to insult"

The following chart is that of the labialised sounds of the kə́nswéynséy language.

Place of Articulation Manner of Articulation		Bilabial	Labio- dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	Oral vI				c ^w	k ^w
	vc	b ^w			j ^w	g ^w
	Prenasal			nt ^w nd ^w ns ^w		ŋg ^w
	Nasal				ny ^w	ŋ ^w
Obstruents	Fricative		f ^w	s ^w		
	Lateral			l ^w		
	Glide				y ^w	

From this chart, we see that the kə́nswéynséy language has fifteen (15) labialised consonants.

3.1.3.2.2. Palatalisation

We talk of palatalisation when there is a forward displacement of the place of articulation of a phoneme. In other words, palatalisation is a phonological process

whereby a consonant has the palatal [y] super-imposed on it as a secondary articulation. Like labialisation, it is restricted only to some kə̀nswéy̌nséy consonants. After thorough investigations, we realised that the sequence [cʲv] in this language derives from the /cv/ structure since the language system does not allow neither a vowel sequence /vv/ nor a consonant sequence /cc/. Below are some examples:

Example:

<u>Words</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
[mə̀sʲə̀]	"to comb"
[kʲé]	"money"
[gʲé]	"share"
[kyà]	"ceiling"
[mə̀cʲà]	"to pass"

Again explain through an example how do we obtain the gl followed by a cʲv if c.

The following chart is that of the palatalised sounds that exist in the kə̀nswéy̌nséy language.

Place of Articulation Manner of Articulation		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	Oral vl			tʲ	cʲ	kʲ
	vc	bʲ				gʲ
	Pre-nasal				ncʲ	
Obstruents	Oral vl		pʲ	sʲ		
	Fricatives vc					

From the above chart, we notice that this language has eight (8) palatalised consonants.

3.1.3.2.3. Interpretation of Pre-nasals

During our analysis, we had a lot of problems with pre-nasals. In the following lines, we shall try to throw some light on their status. For this to be achieved we shall apply three (3) principles which are the principle of context of occurrence, the principle of commutation and that of pluralisation.

- NC Sequences with a Voiced C

Given a nasal N standing for all the nasals in kə̀nswéynséy, let us apply these three (3) principles to pre-nasals in order to determine their status. The same will be done in NC sequences where C is voiceless.

- First Principle: Context of Occurrence:

The sequences mb, nd, ŋg and nj appear at the initial and medial positions in the following examples:

mb:	[mbé]: “world”	[kə̀mbí]: “crocodile”
nd:	[ndàlà’]: “sweet potato”	[kə̀ndàŋ]: “whistle”
ŋg:	[ŋgáŋ]: “a market day”	[sàŋgɔ́ŋ]: “worm”
nj:	[njɔ́]: “thorn”	[mənjàlí]: “earring”

The structure of the language does not permit them to appear word finally.

- Second Principle: Commutation

The NC sequences with a voiced C obey the commutation principle as can be seen in the following examples:

mb/b:	[mbɔ́ŋ]: “builder”	[bɔ́ŋ]: “meet”
nd/d:	[ndó’]: “thief”	[dó’]: “show”
g/g:	[ŋgɔ́’]: “stone”	[gɔ́’]: “remain”
nj/j:	[njàŋ]: “axe”	[jà’]: “no”

- Second Principle: Commutation

The NC sequences with a voiceless C obey to the commutation principle as can be seen in the following examples:

ŋk/k:	[ŋkáʔ]: "firewood"	[káʔ]: "grasshopper"
m/f:	[mfúʔ]: "measurement"	[fúʔ]: "tell"
nt/t:	[ntôŋ]: "message"	[tôŋ]: "send"
ns/s:	[nsû]: "jar"	[sû]: "slide"
nc/c:	[ncùŋ]: "tête à tête"	[cùŋ]: "price"

- Third Principle: Pluralisation

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
[ŋkû]: "rope"	[təŋkû]: "ropes"
[mfúʔ]: "measurement"	[təmfúʔ]: "measurements"
[fəntán]: "branch"	[məntán]: "branches"
[nsæ]: "tail"	[tənsæ]: "tails"
[ŋjôʔ]: "chest"	[təŋjôʔ]: "chests"

only can't it be a prefix?
Test of pluralisation - not convincing but
- Affixes, possible to have a prefix
e.g. fəntán
ba-mu-olim

From the above analysis, we can say that the NC sequences with a voiceless C respect the three principles of context of occurrence, commutation and pluralisation.

To conclude, we will say that all the pre-nasals found in this language have a monophonemic homorganic status. We will also like to note here that during our analysis, we also noticed that most nouns starting with these pre-nasalised sounds, especially those with a voiceless c like [nt], [ns], [ŋk], [nc], [ntʰ]... have a Ø (zero) prefix at their singular form and [tə] as their plural prefix.

Below is the chart of the pre-nasalised sounds of this language.

JH Capital

Place of Articulation Degree of Openness	Bilabial	Labio- dental	Alveolar		Palatal		Velar
Pre-nasal	mb	mf	nt	nt ^w	nc	nc ^y	ŋk
			nd	nd ^w			
			ns	ns ^w	nj		ŋg ŋg ^w

Having finished with the sound inventory of the kə̃nswéynséy language, we shall continue in the following paragraphs with the identification of phonemes.

3.1.4. Inventory of Consonantic Phonemes

According to ARVOSOTAVALTA, quoted by TROUBETZKOY (1971: 48)

“a phoneme is the smallest fraction of a sequence of sounds occurring in the speech flow, which requires a more or less specific time for its production and which can be recognised and identified. It is further capable of forming recognisable and identifiable linguistic forms by combining with sounds of like nature.” In other words, a phoneme is a pertinent sound, that is one that helps us to differentiate two almost similar words in which the difference in meaning comes from the said sound only.

As we have done with vowel phonemes, we shall proceed to determine consonantic phonemes by contrasting sounds in minimal pairs of words. These are pairs of words that are almost similar and in which the only difference is at the sounds being opposed. Nevertheless, if some suspicious pairs cannot stand in the identical context (I.C) we shall examine them looking at their context of appearance. This will enable us to see whether it is the context or not that renders these sounds different.

3.1.4.1. Opposition in Identical Context

The Phoneme /b/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

b/by:	[bɛ̃]: "ripe" / [bʲɛ̃]: "front"
	[bé]: "birth" / [bʲé]: "done/ready"
b/bw:	[bó]: "dog" / [bʷó]: "tired"
	[kə̀báʼ]: "table" / [kə̀bʷáʼ]: "calabash"
b/m:	[mə̀béʼ]: "to carry" / [mə̀méʼ]: "to throw"
	[mə̀bù]: "to bend" / [mə̀mù]: "to hollow out"
/b/:	voiced bilabial stop.

The Phoneme /bʲ/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

bʲ/b:	(see b/bʲ/)
bʲ/bʷ:	[bʲá]: "pear" / [bʷá]: "soft"
/bʲ/:	voiced palatalised bilabial stop.

The Phoneme /bʷ/

The pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

bʷ/b:	(see b/bʷ/)
bʷ/bʲ:	(see bʲ/bʷ/)
/bʷ/:	voiced labialised bilabial stop.

The Phoneme /mb/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

mb/b:	[mbɛ́]: "wall" / [bɛ́]: "bush plum"
	[mbɔ́ŋ]: "real" / [bɔ́ŋ]: "meet"
mb/m:	[mbé]: "world" / [mé]: "neck"
/mb/:	pre-nasalised labial stop.

The Phoneme /m/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

m/b: [məmə́]: "to contribute" / [məbə́]: "to gather"

[mé]: "throw" / [bé]: "carry"

m/mb: (see mb/m)

m/n: [məmə́]: "to finish" / [məné]: "to put"

[mò]: "one" / [nò]: "sit"

/m/: nasal bilabial stop.

The Phoneme /mf/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

mf/f: [mfòŋ]: "first" / [fòŋ]: "on"

[mfú]: "measurement" / [fú]: "tell"

/mf/: Pre-nasalised labiodental fricative.

The Phoneme /f/

Its pertinence is established through the following comparisons:

f/mf: (see mf/f)

f/fw: [fò]: "leaf" / [fʷò]: "out"

[fə]: "where" / [fʷə]: "fever"

/f/: voiceless labiodental fricative.

The Phoneme /fʲ/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

fʲ/f: [fʲé]: "mouse" / [fé]: "valley"

/fʲ/: voiceless palatalised labiodental fricative.

The Phoneme /f^w/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

f^w/f: (see f/f^w)

/f^w/: voiceless labialised labiodental fricative.

The Phoneme /w/

It acquires its pertinence through the following comparisons:

w/y: [məwâ]: "to fan" / [məyâ]: "to loosen"

[kəwâ]: "hand" / [kəyâ]: "illness"

[wùŋ]: "this" / [yùŋ]: "buy"

w/gh: [wáŋ]: "child" / [gháŋ]: "scold"

/w/: labiovelar glide.

is [ph] a single sound.

The Phoneme /y/

It acquires its pertinence in the following comparisons:

y/w: (see w/y)

y/y^w: [yí]: "name"/[y^wí]: "woman"

/y/: palatal glide.

The Phoneme /t/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

t/d: [məto']: "to pierce" / [mədo']: "to show"

[dún]: "play" / [tún]: "suffocate"

t/t^w: [mətéy]: "to call" / [mət^wéy]: "to bury"

[tâ]: "already" / [t^wâ]: "burst"

/t/: voiceless alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /t^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

t^w/t: (see t/t^w)

t^w/: [mèt^wó]: "to mix" / [mèwó]: "oil"

/t^w/: voiceless labialised alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /t^y/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

t^y/t: [t^yê]: "to mix" / [têy]: "read"

[t^yé]: "three" / [té]: "stick"

/t^y/: voiceless palatalised alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /d/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

d/t: [dân]: "light fire" / [tân]: "five"

[mèdún]: "to play" / [mètún]: "to burn"

d/n: [mèdó]: "to fit" / [mèno]: "to drink"

/d/: voiced alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /nt/

nt/t: [ntôŋ]: "message" / [tôŋ]: "send"

[ntán]: "branch" / [tân]: "five"

nt/nt^w: [kèntà]: "spoon" / [kènt^wà]: "riddle"

/nt/: pre-nasalised alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /nt^w/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

ntw/nt: (see nt/nt^w)

ntw/t^w: [nt^wá]: "pierce" / [t^wá]: "burst"
 [mènt^wéy]: "stroke" / [mèt^wéy]: "to bury"
 /nt^w/: voiceless labialised pre-nasalised alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /nd/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

nd/d: [ndó']: "thief" / [dó']: "show"
 nd/nd^w: [kèndà]: "cricket" / [kènd^wà]: "divorce"
 [kèndàn]: "whistle" / [kènd^wàn]: "ill-luck"
 nd/nt: [ndàn]: "fungus" / [ntáj]: "branch"
 nd/: voiced pre-nasalised alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /nd^w/

Its pertinence can be established through the following comparisons:

nd^w/nd: (see nd/nd^w)
 /nd^w/: voiced pre-nasalised labialised alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /ns/

Its pertinence is determined by the following comparisons:

ns/s: [nsû]: "Jar" / [sû]: "slide"
 ns/ns^w: [kènséy]: "file" / [kèns^wéy]: "language"
 [kĩnsé]: "sugarcane" / [kĩns^yé]: "sand"
 ns/ns^y: [kènséy]: "file" / [kènsé]: "huckle berry"
 /ns^w/: pre-nasalised alveolar fricative.

The Phoneme /ns^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

ns^w/ns: (see ns/ns^w)

/ns^w/: pre-nasalised labialised alveolar fricative.

The Phoneme /n/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

n/m:	[nɛ̃]: "put down" / [mɛ̃]: "finish"
	[nɔ̃]: "be/sit" / [mɔ̃]: "one"
n/ny:	[nɛ̃]: "alone" / [nyɛ̃]: "fight"
	[nɔ̃]: "be/sit" / [nyɔ̃]: "annoyed"
/n/d:	[mɛ̃nɔ̃]: "to drink" / [mɛ̃dɔ̃]: "to fit"

/n/: nasal alveolar stop.

The Phoneme /s^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

s ^w /s:	[s ^w ɔ̃]: "cultivate" / [sɔ̃]: "fish"
	[mɛ̃s ^w á]: "to insult" / [mɛ̃sâ]: "to harvest"
	[kɛ̃s ^w á]: "hoe" / [kɛ̃sâ]: "wall"
s ^w /s ^y :	[kís ^w ɛ̃]: "sand" / [kís ^y ɛ̃]: "screan"
	[swɛ̃]: "grave" / [syɛ̃]: "comb"

/s^w/: voiceless labialised alveolar fricative.

The Phoneme /s/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

s/s ^w :	[mɛ̃sá]: "to tear" / [mɛ̃s ^w á]: "to insult"
	[séy]: "profit" / [s ^w éy]: "say"
s/s ^y :	[mɛ̃sɛ̃]: "to count" / [mɛ̃s ^y ɛ̃]: "to comb"
s/z:	[sɔ̃]: "fish" / [zɔ̃]: "wife"
	[sé]: "eye" / [zé]: "defeat"

[mə́sɔ́]: "to wash" / [mə́zɔ́]: "to kill"

/s/: voiceless alveolar fricative.

The Phoneme /sʲ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

sʲ/s: [sʲé]: "sink" / [sé]: "eye"

sʲ/sʷ: (see sʷ/sʲ)

/sʲ/: voiceless palatalised alveolar fricative.

The Phoneme /z/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

z/s: (see s/z).

/z/: voiced alveolar fricative.

The Phoneme /l/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

l/lʷ: [lé]: "hide" / [lʷé]: "nose"

[mə́lǎ́]: "to tell" / [mə́lʷǎ́]: "unripe"

l/d: [lún]: "beg" / [bún]: "stomach"

/l/: Alveolar liquid.

The Phoneme /lʷ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

lʷ/l: (see l/lʷ).

/lʷ/: labialised alveolar liquid.

The Phoneme /c/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

c/cʷ: [cá]: "soil, mud" / [cʷǎ́]: "meeting"

	[mêcáʼ]: "to jump"	/	[mêcʷáʼ]: "to borrow"
	[cěʼ]: "greet"	/	[cʷěʼ]: "fall off"
	[mêcáŋ]: "to chew"	/	[mêcʷáŋ]: "to vaccinate"
c/cʸ:	[mêcé]: "to stay"	/	[mêcʸé]: "to cut"
c/j:	[cú]: "leprosy"	/	[jǔ]: "hunger"
	[cúŋ]: "join"	/	[jùŋ]: "back"
/c/: voiceless palatal stop.			

The Phoneme /cʷ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

cʷ/c:	(see c/cʷ).		
cʷ/cy:	[cʷétə̃]: "decoration"	/	[cʸétə̃]: "to slice"
cʷ/jʷ:	[mêcʷáʼ]: "to borrow"	/	[mêjʷáʼ]: "to splid"
/cʷ/: voiceless labialised palatal stop.			

The Phoneme /cʸ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

cʸ/cʷ:	(see cʷ/cʸ).
/cʸ/:	voiceless palatalised palatal stop.

The Phoneme /j/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

j/c:	[mêjé]: "to come"	/	[mêcé]: "to stay"
	[jǔ]: "hunger"	/	[cú]: "leprosy"
/j/: voiced palatal stop.			

The Phoneme /j^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- j^w/c^w: (see c^w/j^w).
 j^w/j: [j^wà']: "splid" / [jà']: "no"
 /j^w/: voiced labialised palatal stop.

The Phoneme /nc/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- n/c: [ncùŋ]: "tête à tête" / [cùŋ]: "price"
 [ncé]: "mother" / [cé]: "there"
 nc/nc^y: [ncě]: "marshy area" / [nc^yě]: "sky"
 /nc/: Pre-nasalised palatal stop.

The Phoneme /nc^y/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- nc^y/nc: (see nc/nc^y).
 /nc^y/: voiceless pre-nasalised palatal stop.

The Phoneme /nj/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- nj/nc: [njùŋ]: "dream" / [ncùŋ]: "all"
 nj/j: [njàŋ]: "axe" / [jà']: "no"
 /nj/: voiced pre-nasalised palatal stop.

The Phoneme /ny/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- ny/nyw: [nyí]: "animal" / [nywí]: "God"
 [nyá']: "aubergine" / [nywá']: "write"
 ny/n: [nyú]: "light" / [nú]: "alone"

[nyɔ́]: “annoyed” / [nɔ́]: “be, sit”

/ny/: palatal nasal stop.

The Phoneme /ny^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

ny/ny^w: (see ny/ny^w).

/ny^w/: labialised palatal nasal stop.

The Phoneme /k/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

k/g: [mɛ̀kó]: “to die” / [mɛ̀gò]: “to fall”

[mɛ̀kú]: “to eat something hard” / [mɛ̀gú]: “to wear”

[kú]: “pot” / [gù]: “voice”

k/k^w: [kɛ̀]: “what” / [kwɛ̀]: “four”

[kó]: “death” / [k^wó]: “forest”

[mɛ̀kɛ̀]: “to want” / [mɛ̀k^wɛ̀]: “to give”

/k^w/: voiceless labialised velar stop.

The Phoneme /k^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

k^w/k: (see k/k^w).

k^w/g^w: [k^wó]: “forest” / [g^wó]: “shoe”

[mɛ̀k^wá]: “to cash” / [mɛ̀g^wá]: “to grind”

/k^w/: voiceless labialised velar stop.

The Phoneme /k^y/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- kʸ/k: [màkʸá]: "to fry" / [màká]: "to tie"
 kʸ/gʸ: [kʸé]: "money" / [gʸé]: "share"
 [kʸà]: "ceiling" / [gʸà]: "herb"

/kʸ/: voiceless palatalised velar stop.

The Phoneme /g/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- g/gʸ: (see k/g).
 g/gʷ: [gò]: "fall" / [gʷò]: "shoe"
 g/gʸ: [màgè]: "to discuss" / [màgʸè]: "to stitch"
 [gè]: "go" / [gʸè]: "separate"

/g/: voiced velar stop.

The Phoneme /gʷ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- gʷ/g: [gʷó]: "skin" / [gó]: "start"
 gʷ/kʷ: [màgʷá]: "to grind" / [màkʷá]: "to cash"
 [gʷó]: "shoe" / [kʷó]: "forest"
 gʷ/ŋgʷ: [gʷà]: "cut" / [ŋgʷà]: "seed"
 gʷ/gʸ: [màgʷàtə]: "to iron" / [màgʸàtə]: "to arrange"

/gʷ/: voiced labialised velar stop.

The Phoneme /ŋk/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- ŋk/k: [ŋká]: "firewood" / [ká]: "grasshopper"
 [ŋkó]: "kind" / [kó]: "death"

- ɲk/ɲg: [ɲkə́]: "cock" / [ɲgə́]: "sufferance"
 [ɲkũ]: "tail" / [ɲgũ]: "fowl"
 [ɲkɔ́]: "juju" / [ɲgɔ́]: "termite"
 /ɲk/: voiceless pre-nasalised velar stop.

The Phoneme /ɲgʷ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- ɲgʷ/ɲg: [ɲgʷá]: "seed" / [ɲgá]: "hazelnut"
 [ɲgʷáɲ]: "sour" / [ɲgáɲ]: "name of a market day"
 ɲgʷ/gʷ: (see gʷ/ɲgʷ)
 /ɲgʷ/: voiced labialised pre-nasalised velar stop.

The Phoneme /ɲ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- ɲ/ɲg: [ɲá]: "open" / [ɲgá]: "most"
 ɲ/g: [ɲũ]: "rain" / [gú]: "wear"
 /ɲ/: velar nasal stop.

The Phoneme /ɲg/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- ɲg/g: [ɲgɔ́]: "stone" / [gɔ́]: "remain"
 [mə̀ɲgí]: "tinny" / [mə̀gí]: "to add"
 ɲg/ɲk: [ɲgɔ́]: "stone" / [ɲkɔ́]: "juju"
 [ɲgũ]: "fowl" / [ɲkũ]: "tail"
 /ɲg/: voiced pre-nasalised velar stop.

The Phoneme /gʷ/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- g^y/g: [məg^yɛ]: "to stitch" / [məgɛ]: "to discuss"
 [g^yə]: "separate" / [gə]: "go"
 g^y/k^y: (see k^y/g^y)
 /g^y/: voiced palatalised velar stop.

The Phoneme /ŋ^w/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- /ŋ^w/ŋ: [məŋwá]: "to spark, to glitter" / [məŋá]: "to open"
 /ŋ^w/: labialised velar nasal stop.

The Phoneme /gh/

It gains its pertinence through the following comparisons:

- gh/g: [məghə]: "to suffer" / [məgə]: "to go"
 [ghú]: "handle of a bag" / [gú]: "voice"
 [ghów]: "spear" / [gów]: "poison"
 /gh/: voiced velar fricative.

Having finished with the analysis in identical context and in analogous context, we realise that not all the sounds we found have been examined. So we shall continue our analysis by studying the context of appearance of the remaining sounds.

3.1.4.2. Variation

3.1.4.2.1. Contextual Variation

According to TROUBETZKOY, (1971: 46) a contextual variation is a situation where two sounds of a given language, related acoustically or articulatorily never occur in the same environment. Sounds that are in contextual variation are therefore the combinatory variants of the same phoneme. A contextual variation is also known

Final fricative

as a complementary distribution. This said, let us study the various variants of the kə̀nswéynséy language. We have just one case in this language: [h] and [ʔ].

Following these contexts:

[h]	[ʔ]	[ʔ]
# - a	# u -	u - u
# - u	# ɔ -	a - a
# - ɛ	# u -	ɔ - a

[h] and [ʔ] are in complementary distribution here because [h] appears only at word initial position while [ʔ] appears medially and finally. We therefore conclude that [h] and [ʔ] are variants of the same phoneme /h/ which is rendered [ʔ] at the middle and final positions (non-initial positions) while [h] appears only at the initial position.

/h/: voiceless glottal fricative. → *Original: but must be = at the end of the word!*

3.1.4.2.2. Free Variation

Two sounds of a given language are free phonetic variants of a single phoneme if they occur in exactly the same environment and are interchangeable without a change in the meaning of the word (TROUBETZKOY, 1971: 46).

Generally, there are three (3) types of free variations: facultative, individual and stylistic free variations. During our data analysis, we realised that all our free variation cases fall under the first type. The sounds concerned are [zh] and [y] and their labialised counterparts [yʷ] and [zhʷ]. The native speakers of this language use these sounds indifferently.

The following examples were got:

[zh]		[y]
[fə̀zhè]: "vein"	/	[fə̀yè]: "vein"
[kə̀zhá]: "illness"	/	[kə̀yá]: "illness"

[zhònúzhònú]: "bee" / [yònúyònú]: "bee"

[zhí]: "name" / [yí]: "name"

[kə́fwázhí]: "food" / [kə́fwáyí]: "food"

[mə́zhè]: "to make, to cause" / [mə́yè]: "to make, to cause"

[zh^w]

[y^w]

[zh^wà]: "snake" / [y^wà]: "snake"

[zh^wó]: "honey" / [y^wó]: "honey"

[zh^wí]: "woman" / [y^wí]: "woman"

[zh^wó]: "sing" / [y^wó]: "sing"

Because [zh] and [y] are used indifferently, we conclude that they are allophones of the same phoneme /y/. this is the same with [zh^w] and [y^w] which are variants of the same phoneme /y^w/.

/y/: palatal glide.

/y^w/: labialised palatal glide.

Out of the fifty-five (55) consonantic sounds we found in this language fifty-two (52) are phonemes as we have seen in our analysis.

In the next step, we are going to define those phonemes.

3.1.5. Definition of Consonantic Phonemes

/b/: voiced bilabial stop.

/b^w/: voiced labialised bilabial stop.

/b^y/: voiced palatalised bilabial stop.

/mb/: voiced pre-nasalised bilabial stop.

/m/: Bilabial nasal.

/mf/: voiceless pre-nasalised labio-dental fricative.

/f/: voiceless labio-dental fricative.

- /f^w/: voiceless labialised labio-dental fricative.
 /f^y/: voiceless palatalised labio-dental fricative.
 /w/: Labio-velar glide.
 /t/: voiceless alveolar stop.
 /t^w/: voiceless labialised alveolar stop.
 /t^y/: voiceless palatalised alveolar stop.
 /d/: voiced alveolar stop.
 /nt/: voiceless pre-nasalised alveolar stop.
 /nt^w/: voiceless labialised pre-nasalised alveolar stop.
 /nd/: voiced pre-nasalised alveolar stop.
 nd^w/: voiced labialised pre-nasalised alveolar stop.
 /ns/: voiceless pre-nasalised alveolar fricative.
 /ns^w/: voiceless labialised pre-nasalised alveolar fricative.
 /n/: Alveolar nasal.
 /s/: voiceless alveolar fricative.
 /s^w/: voiceless labialised alveolar fricative.
 /s^y/: voiceless palatalised alveolar fricative.
 /z/: voiced alveolar fricative.
 /l/: Alveolar lateral.
 /l^w/: labialised alveolar lateral.
 /c/: voiceless palatal stop.
 /c^w/: voiceless labialised palatal stop.
 /j/: voiced palatal (stop).
 /j^w/: voiced labialised palatal (stop).
 /nc/: voiceless pre-nasalised palatal (stop).
 /nc^y/: voiceless palatalised pre-nasalised palatal (stop).
 /nj/: voiced pre-nasalised palatal stop.
 /ny/: Palatal nasal.
 /ny^w/: Labialised palatal nasal.

affricate
 affricate
 affricate
 affricate

- /y/: palatal glide.
- /y^w/: Labialised palatal glide.
- /k/: voiceless velar stop.
- /k^w/: voiceless labialised velar stop.
- /k^y/: voiceless palatalised velar stop.
- /g/: voiced velar stop.
- /g^w/: voiced labialised velar stop.
- /g^y/: voiced palatalised velar stop.
- /ŋk/: voiceless pre-nasalised velar stop.
- /ŋg/: voiced pre-nasalised velar stop.
- /ŋg^w/: voiced labialised pre-nasalised velar stop.
- /ŋ/: velar nasal.
- /ŋ^w/: Labialised velar nasal.
- /gh/: voiced velar fricative.
- /h/: voiceless glottal fricative.
- /c^y/: voiceless palatalised palatal stop.

3.1.6. Classification of Consonantic Phonemes

To classify phonemes is to give their phonological internal organization. We shall use the same pertinent characteristics of manner and place of articulation used above. Despite the fact that nasals belong to the class of sonorants, we shall put them separately in order to better distinguish them from obstruents and fricatives.

3.1.6.1. Manner of Articulation

Plosives (stops)

	t	t ^w	t ^y	c	c ^w	c ^y	k	k ^w	k ^y
b b ^w b ^y	d		j	j ^w			g	g ^w	
	nt	nt ^w	nc				ŋk		
mb	mf	nd	nd ^w	nj			ŋg	ŋg ^w	

m ns ns^w
 n ny ny^w ŋ ŋ^w

Obstruents

f f^w f^y s s^w s^y h
 z
 l l^w

y y^w w

Sonorants

l l^w
 y y^w w

Pre-nasals

 nt ntw nc nc^y ŋk
 mb mf nd nd^w nj ŋg ŋg^w
 ns ns^w

Nasals

m n ny ny^w ŋ ŋ^w

3.1.6.2. Place of Articulation

Labials

b b^w b^y
 mb mf f f^w f^y
 m

What does obstruent
 mean?
 aren't stop obstruents?

⇒ do they form a natural class
 in other words, can they be
 grouped together?

Alveolars

t t^w t^y d n s s^w s^y z l l^w
 nt nt^w nd nd^w ns

Palatals

c c^w c^y j j^w nc nc^y nj ny ny^w zh zh^w

Velars

k k^w k^y g g^w gy ŋk ŋg ŋg^w ŋ ŋ^w gh w

Glottal

h

3.1.7. The Phonemic Table of the kə̀nswéy̌séy Consonantic Phonemes

Place of Articulation		Labial			Alveolar			Palatal			Velar			Glottal
		Simple	Labia- lized	Palata- lized	Sim- -ple	Labia- lized	Palata- talize	Sim- -ple	Labia- lized	Palata- -lized	Sim- -ple	Labia- lized	Palata- -lized	
Plosives	Oral	vl			t	t ^w	t ^y	c	c ^w	c ^y	(K)	k ^w	k ^y	
		vc	b	b ^w	b ^y	d								
	Pre-nasal				nt	nt ^w		nc		nc ^y	ŋk			
			mb			nd	nd ^w		nj			ŋg	ŋg ^w	
	Nasal		mf			ns	ns ^w							
Fricative	vl	f	f ^w	f ^y	n			n ^y	nv ^w		ŋ	ŋ ^w		
	vc				s	s ^w	s ^y							h
Lateral					z						gh			
Sonorant					l	l ^w								
								Y	Y ^w		w			

After this paradigmatic study, we discover that the kə̃nswéynséy language has a total of sixty-two (62) phonemes divided into two main groups: the vocalic phonemes (vowels) made up of ten (10) sounds and the consonantic phonemes (consonants) made up of fifty-two (52) sounds. In the next chapter, we are going to deal with the syntagmatic analysis of this language.

PART TWO

SYNTAGMATIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 4

THE SYLLABLE

Dubois (1973) defines the syntagmatic link as any link existing between two or many units appearing in the speech. Up till now, we have been dealing only with the paradigmatic approach which has enable us to identify and define phonemes.

In this chapter, we shall study the combination of phonemes that exist in the kànswéynséy language. To achieve this, we shall use the contrast principle, that is the succession of phonemes in words. In doing this, we are going to show how phonemes are combined to form words or syllables.

4.1. Definition

A syllable is a fundamental structure which is at the base when speech is produced. A phonetic definition of the syllable is given by BOUQUIAUX and THOMAS (1976: 30) as: "une unité articulatoire qui correspond à l'ensemble des sons réalisés en une seule émission de voix"; that is an articulatory unit corresponding to all the sounds, pronounced at once. WIESEMANN et al (1983: 57) give a phonological definition of the syllable as: "une unité de sequence de sons comprenant au moins un centre de syllabe qui en est le sommet ou le noyau". This means that a syllable is a sequence of sounds constituting a single unit and comprising at least a nucleus.

To study the general structure of the Kànswéynséy language is to examine the number of syllables, the different types of syllables that are found in this language, and the distribution of the various phonemes in syllables and words. Like any other language, this language has words that have a fixed number of syllables at the metric level. The syllable in this language has many elements among which:

- a nucleus or the centre of the syllable which is always a vowel, the only tone bearer.
- A facultative element: the margin which precedes or follows the nucleus and which WIESEMANN et al (1983: 60) term: "pre-nucleus margin" and "post-nucleus margin". This language admits both open and closed syllables.

Examples:Open Syllables

/wi /: "fire"

/mbé/: "world"

/cwà/: "war"

/mbà/: "meat"

/cɔ̃/: "mouth"

Closed Syllables

/ɲjàŋ /: "axe"

/bâŋ /: "outside"

/ŋgéy/: "house"

/ŋgə́/: "sufferance"

/búŋ/: "stomach"

4.2. Types of Syllables in the kə̀nswéyńsáy language

There are three (3) types of syllables in this language:

4.2.1. The Vc Syllable

It exists in this language only in one word:

/àŋ/: "yes"

4.2.2. The CV Syllable

This is the most frequent syllable structure in this language.

Examples:

/nyù/: "hair"

/yí/: "name"

/ntí/: "louse"

/cò/: "mouth"

/sǒ/: "fish"

/mbà/: "meat"

/kə̀/: "what"

4.2.3. The CVC Syllable

It is also frequent in this language.

Examples:

/lún/: “room”

/gháh/: “riches”

/kúŋ/: “crab”

/tów/: “nervil”

/ŋkáh/: “wood”

/fúŋ/: “dirty”

/lón/: “expensive”

/njàn/: “axe”

CHAPTER 5

SYLLABLE COMBINATIONS

The kə̀nswéy̌nséy language has many types of syllable combinations.

5.1. Monosyllables

Here, words are made up of just one syllable. The different types of monosyllables found in this language are:

5.1.1. The VC Structure

Example:

/aɪ̌/: "yes"

5.1.2. The CV(C) Structure:

This type of syllable can be closed or open. That is, it can be CVC or CV.

Examples:

/mə̀/: "I, me"

/c"á/: "war"

/kʲé/: "money"

/bũ̌/: "cheap"

/ɲgéy/: "house"

/ndóh/: "thief"

/lú̌/: "sweet"

5.2. Combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables

All the vowels of this language appear in v, in cv(c) syllables. Nevertheless, not all consonants go with all vowels. The following tables show the occurrences of vowels after consonants in CV(C). To each of the consonants attested at the initial position of CV(C) monosyllables, correspond a series of cross (horizontally), representing vowels' paradigm. The cross (+) stands for a possible combination.

5.2.1. Table of Combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables with C₁ Simple

V \ C	i	e	ɛ	a	u	æ	ə	o	ɔ	u
b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
mb	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
mf	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
f	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+
t		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
nt	+			+	+	+		+	+	+
d	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	
nd	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
s	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+
z		+						+		
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
c		+	+	+	+				+	+
j		+		+	+				+	
nc	+	+	+		+				+	+
ns		+	+			+				+
nj	+	+		+	+				+	
ny	+			+	+				+	+
y	+	+	+	+				+	+	
k				+			+	+		+
g		+	+		+		+	+	+	+
ŋk	+			+			+	+	+	+
ŋg		+		+			+	+	+	+
ŋ	+			+				+		+

gh				+		+			+	
h			+	+						+
w	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+

From this table, we see that all the simple consonants of this language appear at the initial position in CV(C) monosyllables; We also notice that some contexts of appearance are limited, as it is the case with: /y, nc, j, h/.

5.2.2. Table of Combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables with a labialised C₁

c \ v	i	e	ɛ	a	ʊ	æ	ə	o	ɔ
b ^w				+			+	+	+
ɸ ^w									+
t ^w	+			+					
nt ^w		+		+				+	
nd ^w		+		+				+	
s ^w	+	+	+					+	
ɸ ^w	+	+		+					
c ^w		+	+	+				+	
j ^w				+					
ny ^w	+	+							
y ^w				+				+	
k ^w			+	+			+		
g ^w			+					+	
ŋg ^w			+	+			+		
ŋ ^w	+	+	+						

We notice, following this table, that the high vowel /ʉ/ and the low vowel /æ/ never appear in front of labialised consonants.

Also, all the contexts of appearance here are limited.

5.2.3. Table of Combinations in CV(C) Monosyllables with a palatalised C₁

c \ v	e	ɛ	a	æ	ə	o	ɔ	u	ʉ
b ^y	+		+						
p ^y	+	+	+						
g ^y				+					
t ^y	+								
s ^y	+		+	+					
c ^y	+								
nc ^y		+		+					
k ^y	+		+						

From this table, it can be seen that /ə, o, ɔ, u, ʉ/ never appear in front of palatalised consonants. /c/ appears in front of all palatalised consonants except in front of /nc^y/. Generally, the contexts of appearance here are limited.

5.3. Combinations in Disyllables

A disyllabic word is one made up of two (2) syllables. Its possible structures are the following:

5.3.1. The V-CV Structure

This structure is found in this language only in one word.

/à-kǎ/: "father"

5.3.2. The CV-CV Structure

Examples:

/c"ê-wó/: "sunshine"

/kǎ-lí/: "tongue"

/sí-syá/: "sixors"

/kí-ndwé/: "fly"

/mǎkú/: "to know"

/mǎ-γó/: "to hear"

/mǎ-gǎ/: "to go"

/mǎ-zó/: "to kill"

5.3.3. The CV-CVC Structure

Many words also have this structure.

Examples:

/fǎ-líh/: "smock"

/mí-ndów/: "blood"

/bǎ-túh/: "night"

/ndá-láh/: "sweet potato"

Shouldn't this be a root?
Why do you include it?
How do you then distinguish
roots from non-roots?
gallera

distinct root (for /a/)
Consonant + /a/

/kə-bán/: “fufu”

/mə-tòŋ/: “to send”

/mə-ghuh/: “to swell”

/mə-wéy/: “to cane”

/mə-dùh/: “to show”

5.3.4. Table of Possible Disyllabic Combinations

Syll 1 \ Syll 2	V	cv	vc	cvc
v		+		
cv		+		+
vc				
cvc		+		+

The cross (+) shows a possible combination.

5.4. Combinations in Trisyllables

A trisyllable word is one made up of three (3) syllables. Few words have this structure in kə̀nswéyńsáy.

5.4.1. The CV-CV-CV Structure

Examples:

/kə-ywí-hí/: “feather”

/mə-ká-lè/: “white man”

/cè-kè-lè/: “sieve”

What does this mean of CVC-V

*e cvcv
wí-wí-lé
má-má-lé
cvc cv
or
cvc cvc
eg?
má-má-lé*

/kə-mbɔ-lɛ/: "ladpole"

/mə-si-hi/: "to put down"

/mə-gi-tu/: "to add"

/mə-li-hi/: "to tell"

/mə-ywi-sə/: "to respire"

5.4.2. The CV-CV-CVC Structure

In this language, only one (1) word obeys this structure.

/kú-má-kán/: "tortoise"

(parrot: chameleon)
= loan words.

Nevertheless, there are many other words in this language which appear like trisyllables, but, when we analyse them well, we realise that they are compound words. So, we consider them as combinations of monosyllabic and disyllabic words or vice versa, or even, combinations of three (3) monosyllabic words.

As we have seen, the kənsweýnséy language has three (3) syllable types: monosyllables, disyllables and trisyllables.

5.5. Interpretation Problem: Prefixation

During our data analysis, we discovered that many words have prefixes.

Example:

/kə-tɔ/: "head"

/lɛ-nywé/: "cutlass"

/lɛ-ntán/: "fruit"

/bɛ-tɔ/: "heads"

/sé/: "eye"

/mə -nywé/: "cutlasses"

/tə-sé/: "eyes"

Following these examples, we notice that there are six noun class markers in this language: kə, fə, tə, mə, bə and Ø. Among them kə, fə and Ø stand for the singular while bə, mə and tə mark the plural. We should note here that Ø means zero prefix.

These noun class prefixes function as follows: nouns with kə as singular prefix form their plural with bə, those with fə form their plural with mə and those with Ø (zero) prefix form their plural with tə. The table below better explains this.

Plural Prefix \ Singular Prefix	bə	mə	tə
Ø			+
kə	+		
fə		+	

Why don't you use kə m!
 follows 19-1 (fo-mə)
 7-8 kə-bə
 is tə
 Ø = a or :

The cross (+) shows the correspondence between the singular form and the plural form.

We also notice some prefixation with verbs.

Example:

/mə-nó/: "to drink"

/mə-méh/: "to throw"

/mə-gə/: "to go"

/mə-yə/: "to hear"

/mə-bə/: "to hate"

From these words, we deduce that the prefix morpheme *mə̀* marks the infinitive form in this language.

In the next lines, we shall study the distribution of vocalic and consonantic phonemes in the syllable. In doing this, we will try to see all the contexts of appearance of each phoneme.

5.6. Phoneme Distribution

Here we shall indicate the context of appearance of the attested phonemes in *kə̀nswéynséy*. There are certain distinctive sounds which occur only at word initial position, some at word medial position and others at word final position. There are others which appear in all these positions.

All the consonant phonemes of this language appear word initially and medially. Only four of them: /h/, /y/, /ŋ/ and /w/ appear word finally.

Concerning vowel phonemes, all of them appear word, finally and medially. /a/ is the only vowel phoneme that appears word initially.

The following tables better portray the phonemes and their positions.

5.6.1. Table of the Various Systems of Appearance of Vowels

Vowel Phonemes	System at the initial position	System at the medial position	System at the final position
i		+	+
e		+	+
a	+	+	+
ɛ		+	+
ə		+	+
u		+	+
o		+	+

ɔ		+	+
æ		+	+

5.6.2. Table of the Various Systems of Appearance of Consonants

Consonant Phonemes	System at the initial	System at the middle	System at the final
b	+	+	
b ^w	+	+	
b ^y	+	+	
mb	+	+	
mf	+	+	
m	+	+	
f	+	+	
f ^w	+	+	
f ^y	+	+	
t	+	+	
t ^w	+	+	
t ^y	+	+	
d	+	+	
nt	+	+	
nd	+	+	
nd ^w	+	+	
ns	+	+	
ns ^w	+	+	
n	+	+	
s	+	+	
s ^w	+	+	
s ^y	+	+	

z	+	+	
l	+	+	
l ^w	+	+	
c	+	+	
c ^w	+	+	
c ^y	+	+	
j	+	+	
j ^w	+	+	
nc	+	+	
nc ^y	+	+	
nj	+	+	
n ^y	+	+	
ny ^w	+	+	
y	+	+	+
y ^w	+	+	
k	+	+	
k ^w	+	+	
k ^y	+	+	
g	+	+	
g ^w	+	+	
gk	+	+	
gg	+	+	
gg ^w	+	+	
g	+	+	+
g ^w	+	+	
gh	+	+	
h	+	+	+
w	+	+	+

From this table, we realise that all consonants appear word initially and medially while only /y, ŋ, h, w/ appear word finally.

CHAPTER 6

TONE DISTRIBUTION

In this chapter, we are going to study various structures of tonemes in polysyllabic words.

polysyllabic

6.1. Dissyllabic Words

The following structures are possible in dissyllabic kə̀nswéyńsáy words:

3

6.1.1. The H-H Structure

Examples:

/mí-ndów/: “blood”

/kí-cáh/: “soil”

/cé-tò/: “throat”

/cə́-ńí/: “armpit”

/lò-sú/: “blue”

6.1.2. The L-H Structure

Examples:

/à-kə́/: “father”

/ki-bí/: “dust”

/fə́-nyúń/: “bird”

/lə́-líh/: “smoke”

/bə́-túh/: “night”

6.1.3. The L-L Structure

Examples:

/ndà-làh/: “sweet potato”

/ńgwà-làh/: “okro”

/kə́-ńjùń/: “back”

/mè-tòh/: “to walk”

/kè-ṇàṇ/: “scorpion”

6.1.4. The II-I Structure

Examples:

/ntwó-làn/: “blacksmith”

/ywó-ṇkòh/: “evening”

/báṇ-mè/: “nape”

/yò-mù/: “plum”

6.1.5. The L-III Structure

Examples:

/kè-wâ/: “wing”

/fè-ṇgwê/: “salt”

/kè-ṇgê/: “rip”

/fè-ṇjêy/: “star”

6.1.6. The L-LI Structure

Examples:

/ndè-lwě/: “bile”

/mbù-ṇǔ/: “body”

6.2. Trisyllabic Words

The following structures are possible in kə̀nswéynséy trisyllabic words.

7

6.2.1. The H-H-H Structure

Example:

/kú-mǎ-kǎŋ/: "tortoise"

6.2.2. The L-H-H Structure

Examples:

/kǎ-kwé-hé/: "knee"

/kǎ-ywí-hí/: "sweat"

/kǎ-njú-ŋké/: "round"

/mǎ-ntó-lé/: "hernia"

/mǎ-nsé-lé/: "lightening"

6.2.3. The L-H-L Structure

Examples:

/kǎ-bó-cè/: "wood ash"

/fǎ-ntá-ŋká/: "fruit"

/kǎ-nó-gò/: "mistake"

6.2.4. The L-L-L Structure

Examples:

/mǎ-fí-hí/: "to tell"

/mǎ-ywí-nǎ/: "to shout"

/mǎ-zò-tǎ/: "to get cold"

6.2.5. The L-II-III Structure

/kə-íwó-gâ/: "grass"

/kə-íó-ŋgêy/: "roof"

/kə-dú-hûŋ/: "hier"

7. 15/1-1

6.2.6. The L-III-II Structure

Example:

/kə-íwâ-yi/: "food"

From this tone distribution, we realise that contour tones are less frequent be it in disyllables or in trisyllables.

During our analysis here, we noticed a down-drift phenomenon. We talk of down-drift when in a succession of tones in a polysyllabic word, a low or a high tone following another low or high tone becomes lower than the first low or high tone.

Example 1: mə - í - hí / "to tell"

~ not 2 - 1 - 1

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 1) | - | | |
| 2) | | - | |
| 3) | | | - |
| | a | b | c |

In this example with three (3) low tones, tone c is a bit lower than tone b which is itself a bit lower than tone a.

Example 2: kú - mə - kánj : "tortoise"

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 1) | - | | |
| 2) | | - | |
| 3) | | | - |
| | a | b | c |

91
Please raise doubts?
not what is currently observed
across the document

In this second example, high tone b is lower than high tone a, high tone c is lower than high tone b.

We have arrived here at the end of our syntagmatic analysis in which we defined the kənsweýnséy syllable and brought out all its possible structures.

This done, we shall pass to the final step of our work: standardisation perspectives.

PART THREE

STANDARDISATION PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER 7

PRELIMINARIES

7.0. Steps of an Initial and Basic Standardisation of a Language

According to WIESEMANN et al (1983: 129), standardisation deals with the development of written norms of a language. In other words, standardisation is the entire process that permits us to move a language from its oral stage to a written stage and to diffuse it through vulgarisation channels like grammars, spelling-books, dictionaries, etc. There are four (4) main steps in a standardisation process. These are: selection (the choice of the reference dialect), codification (the writing of the standard form), elaboration (the publication of written materials) and acceptance (the public's opinion about the standardisation of the language).

As we earlier said in our introduction, due to some methodology constraints, we cannot go deeply into the standardisation of kə̀nswéy̯nséy in a single work like this. We are simply opening tracks to further works. So having examined the sound system of this language, we are now going to study some preliminary points we find necessary for the standardisation of this language. In further research, we are going to bring more to continue the standardisation process of this language.

7.1. Dialect or Variant Problems

7.1.1. Dialect Situation

There are fourteen (14) quarters which make up Nsey village and the approximate population of its speakers is 14.000 in the 1987 government census. A group we interviewed reported that all kə̀nswéy̯nséy speakers in all these quarters speak in exactly the same way and that there are no problems of comprehension between any of the quarters. Those interviewed said there is no quarter where the best kə̀nswéy̯nséy is spoken. They said all speak the same.

This is a strong indication that the dialect situation in Nsey is homogenous.

→ not sufficient as a test:
any test conducted?

7.1.2. Multilingualism

Most of those interviewed, both in a group situation and individually, reported that they did not understand any of the related languages unless they had considerable contacts with speakers from these areas. These related languages are Bamungo, Bamunka and Babessi. This suggests that comprehension, when it does occur, is acquired and not inherent.

a) Babessi

We interviewed a group of ten (10) people on whether they understand Babessi or not. They told us that it was not easy for them to really get what a Babessi speaker says. However, four (4) people out of the ten (10) kə̀nswéyńsáy speakers confirmed that only aged Nsey people would understand Babessi when spoken at a slower speed than usual.

Some of these people said nsey youths would not speak or understand Babessi except they were born and bred in Babessi.

Four (4) interviewers out of the ten (10) said in order to converse effectively with a Babessi speaker, they would rather use Pidgin English.

These varied points of view show clearly that kə̀nswéyńsáy and Babessi are not variants of the same language.

b) Babungo

Out of these three (3) ring group languages related to kə̀nswéyńsáy, Babungo appears to be the most nearest to it. We interviewed a group of ten (10) kə̀nswéyńsáy speakers on how similar were Babungo and kə̀nswéyńsáy. Five (5) people told us that they don't understand Babungo at all. Three (3) people confirmed that if a Babungo speaker speaks slowly to them, they might understand him. But if they have to reply, they would do so in kə̀nswéyńsáy at a slow speed also. Two (2) people said

only elder Nsey people will understand and try to speak Babungo due to the fact that they often go to Babungo for trading and as years go by, they capture the language bit by bit.

These varied points of view once more, make us believe that Babungo and kə̀nswéyńsáy are two different languages.

c) Bamunka

According to a group interviewed in Nsey village, the language spoken in Bamunka is quite different from that spoken in Nsey. They said many kə̀nswéyńsáy speakers understand Bamunka because they go there for trading and schooling.

In individual questionnaires however, the response to whether they understand Bamunka or not was not so clear. Out of ten (10) individuals interviewed, four (4) claimed that they would speak kə̀nswéyńsáy to a Bamunka speaker who will then reply in Bamunka. Both speakers would have to speak more slowly than normal. Four (4) people out of ten (10) said they would use Pidgin English with Bamunka speakers.

Thus, it is not clear from the mixed responses of the small number of kə̀nswéyńsáy speakers interviewed that the majority of the kə̀nswéyńsáy speaking community understands Bamunka.

At the end of the interviews on each language, we asked our interviewers which language among Babessi, Bamungo, Bamunka and kə̀nswéyńsáy was going to be used during an important meeting involving all the speakers of these languages. They told us that none of the languages will be used. That only English or Pidgin English would be used during such an occasion.

We took twelve (12) lexical items at random to show how similar or different were these four languages of the ring group. We are going to put them in the chart below:

Items	Bamunka	Babungo	Babessi	Kə̀nswéynséy
1. wind	wónə́	ɓálə́	bðlə́	kəwá
2. tree	tí+kə́	thé	ts+kə́	kə́lí
3. firewood	ŋkóhmə́	ŋkðh	ŋkám	ŋkáh
4. sing	lúlú	yáú	yð	ywó
5. goat	bí	bí+náú	və̀mè	bé
6. give	kò	kó	kə́'	kwə́
7. water	múh	múú	ndzó	mó
8. child	vám	wè	vém	wǎŋ
9. fire	víhí	wí	víe	wí
10. intestine	njímə́	mə̀ntó	ntə́má	kə̀twá
11. tongue	léhəkə́	ndí+tə́	ndwósəkə́	kə̀lí
12. mouth	cú	shú	cú	cô

Following this chart, we realise that these languages are quite different. In fact, out of our twelve (12) words, only one (1) "mouth" appears a bit similar in all the languages.

In general, it may be concluded that kə̀nswéynséy speakers do not have inherent comprehension of any other language, but that their understanding of other languages is acquired through contact. Babessi, Bamunka, Babungo and Nsey villages are situated along the same road which links the town of Bamenda with the Ndop Plain, thus facilitating the frequent contact between them and the exchange of market activities. However there may be some linguistic proximity of these neighbouring speech forms to kə̀nswéynséy so that learning them may be fairly easy, once contact is made and continued.

7.2. Language of Wider Communication

Pidgin English is the language of wider communication for the villages in the Ndop Plain area. It is used by kànswéynséy speakers where there is inadequate understanding of a second language. Pidgin English is also used by children under the age of fifteen (15), who have not yet had sufficient contact with speakers of a neighbouring second language to understand it.

7.3. Language Vitality and Viability

7.3.1. Language Use Within the Community

The mother tongue is always used in all domestic domains and by all age groups, within the home and within the local community. The exception to this pattern occurs when kànswéynséy speakers encounter non-mother tongue speakers, or when the head of the household is not a mother tongue speaker.

Kànswéynséy is used between mother tongue speakers in the local market and in the main market of Ndop town. Pidgin is used with speakers of other languages in these contexts.

7.3.2. Church Use of the Mother Tongue in the Nsey Community

a) Presbyterian Church

In the three (3) Presbyterian churches found in Nsey village, approximately half of the congregation members are kànswéynséy speakers and the others are from neighbouring language groups. The services are conducted in English with Bible readings interpreted from English into Pidgin English. Not everyone however, understands Pidgin English or English, particularly the older members of the congregation.

Songs and hymns are sung in English, Mungaka (the former North-West official Church language) and some in kànswéynséy. Announcements are usually

made in Pidgin English and interpreted into kànswéynséy. Usually the Pastor is not a kànswéynséy speaker. As yet, there are no written materials in this language for church use.

b) Roman Catholic Church

In the two (2) Roman Catholic churches found in Nsey, the entire service is conducted in Pidgin English, including the liturgy and the lectionary Bible readings.

Announcements are made in Pidgin English because not all the people in the congregation understand kànswéynséy.

7.3.3. Attitudes Towards the Development of the kànswéynséy Language

Overall, attitudes seem to be positive to the development of kànswéynséy as a standardised language.

Most of those interviewed in a group situation and individually indicated that they would like their own children to be taught how to read and write in kànswéynséy. There was generally a hesitation expressed to using written materials in any other language than kànswéynséy.

7.3.4. Language Maintenance and Shift

It seems likely, from the information obtained, that the speech form known as kànswéynséy is not in any immediate danger of dying out or of being replaced by other languages or speech forms.

7.3.4.1. Marriage and Migration Patterns

Women from Nsey tend to marry outside the area, although usually not from too far distance and probably from the Ndop Plain. Although women often leave the

language area in order to get married, Nsey men eventually set up their homes in Nsey and do not move away permanently from the language area.

Kə̀nswéynséy speakers who have received a good level of education usually move away to look for employment in the bigger towns and cities. These include professional workers and civil servants. Most of them return at retirement age, and build their house in their home village. However, because of financial constraints and the current economic situation, many of those who have worked for some time in other cities and towns return to the Nsey area before retirement age. This means that there is a fairly stable community of kə̀nswéynséy speakers at all times, who speak their mother tongue.

7.3.4.2. Education

There are five (5) primary schools, two (2) secondary schools among which a technical and a general in the Nsey area. After obtaining their ordinary level or C.A.P., those who feel the need to further their studies go to Bamunka (Ndop).

The language of instruction in these schools is English. Although Nsey children begin to speak Pidgin English when attending school, this is only to enable them to communicate with non-kə̀nswéynséy speakers.

According to both groups interviewed, there is no encroachment on to the use of the mother tongue by either Pidgin English or by another language. Although several of the surrounding languages are known by kə̀nswéynséy speakers in different quarters, these are mostly respective neighbouring groups. None of the neighbouring languages is as yet spoken sufficiently well by any large section of the community as to constitute a threat to the vitality of kə̀nswéynséy.

Those interviewed both in a group situation and individually said that they felt that kə̀nswéynséy would still be spoken in the future, in the same way as it is now.

7.3.4.3. Socio-economic Factors

Culturally, the kə̀nswéỹnséy speaking community seems to be homogenous. This is also apparent linguistically. Economically, the fourteen (14) different quarters of Nsey village are linked by a single market day [ngán] which comes up after every eight (8) days.

There is no quarter of Nsey which is cut off during rainy season and all quarters are reachable by foot, which means that the language area is geographically homogenous.

There is an active development committee in the area, previous projects of which include the construction of a health centre, and currently involved in the provision of piped-borne water to the village.

Findings from two (2) informal group interviews and ten (10) individual questionnaires indicate that kə̀nswéỹnséy speakers all speak the same speech form, with no apparent difference of pronunciation. The main language of wider communication is Pidgin English which is used whenever kə̀nswéỹnséy cannot be understood. Comprehension and use of neighbouring languages are limited to those who have had considerable exposure to them, and are also limited to those parts of the village which border with these neighbouring speech forms.

Use of kə̀nswéỹnséy for religious purposes demonstrates that there is a perceived need to translate or to interpret into the kə̀nswéỹnséy language for adequate communication to take place.

Attitudes to the development of the kə̀nswéỹnséy language are positive. It seems from the information gathered that this speech form has probable needs for standardisation and language development.

This said, we shall now propose an alphabet and some orthographic principles of the kə̀nswéỹnséy language so that things should not be done at random.

CHAPTER 8

ALPHABET AND

ORTHOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES

Having attested the distinctive consonantal and vocalic sounds of the kànswéynséy language, we find it necessary to contribute to the development and the standardisation of this language which is our main aim as we said in our introduction to this work. To achieve this, we will propose a writing system comprising an alphabet that is the graphic representation of all the phonemes found in this language and orthographic principles or rules.

8.1. The Alphabet of Kànswéynséy

As we earlier said, an alphabet is the graphic representation of individual sounds of a given language. Graphemes will be taken from the General Alphabet of Cameroonian languages (GACL).

With respect to our phonological analysis, we propose the following alphabet: a, æ, b, b^w, b^y, c, c^w, c^y, d, e, ε, ə, f, f^w, f^y, g, g^w, g^y, gh, h, i, j, j^w, k, k^w, k^y, l, l^w, m, mb, mf, n, nc, nc^y, nd, nd^w, nj, ns, ns^w, nt, nt^w, ny, ny^w, ŋ, ŋ^w, ŋg, ŋg^w, ŋk, o, ɔ, s, s^w, s^y, t, t^w, t^y, u, ʉ, w, y, y^w, z.

The table below shows the symbols used, their counterparts, proposed graphemes and illustrative words:

is not correct to this

Symbol Used		Proposed Grapheme	Illustration	Gloss
/a/	[a]	"a"	"àkǎ"	"father"
/æ/	[æ]	"æ"	"bǎe"	"red, ripe"
/b/	[b]	"b"	"bǎléy"	"groundnut"
/b ^w /	[bw]	"bw"	"mǎbwǎ"	"peace"
/b ^y /	[by]	"by"	"byǎ"	"pear"
/c/	[c]	"c"	"cǎ"	"mouth"
/c ^w /	[cw]	"cw"	"cwǎ"	"war"

/cʸ/	[cy]	“cy”	“cyé”	“many”
/d/	[d]	“d”	“dúŋ”	“play”
/e/	[e]	“e”	“lwé”	“nose”
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	“ɛ”	“ncé”	“mother”
/ə/	[ə]	“ə”	“kəfwâ”	“wind”
/f/	[f]	“f”	“fah”	“work”
/fʷ/	[fw]	“fw”	“kəfwó”	“drug”
/fʸ/	[fy]	“fy”	“fyə”	“rat”
/g/	[g]	“g”	“gò”	“fall”
/gʷ/	[gw]	“gw”	“gwágwà”	“duck”
/gʸ/	[gy]	“gy”	“gyə”	“leaf”
/gh/	[gh]	“gh”	“gháh”	“riches”
/h/	[h]	“h”	“háj”	“him”
/i/	[i]	“i”	“fəlih”	“smoke”
/j/	[j]	“j”	“jě”	“road”
/jʷ/	[jw]	“jw”	“jwàh”	“splide”
/k/	[k]	“k”	“kúməkáŋ”	“tortoise”
/kʷ/	[kw]	“kw”	“kwêŋ”	“hill”
/kʸ/	[ky]	“ky”	“kyé”	“money”
/l/	[l]	“l”	“lój”	“husband”
/lʷ/	[lw]	“lw”	“fəlwilwí”	“yellow yam”
/m/	[m]	“m”	“mé”	“neck”
/mb/	[mb]	“mb”	“mbŭŋ”	“grain”
/mf/	[fm]	“mf”	“mféy”	“bicycle”
/n/	[n]	“n”	“nŭŋ”	“sleep”
/nc/	[nc]	“nc”	“ncùŋ”	“all”

/nc ^y /	[ncy]	“ncy”	“ncyě”	“sky”
/nd/	[nd]	“nd”	“ndàláh”	“sweet potato”
/nd ^w /	[ndw]	“ndw”	“ndwé”	“cloth”
/nj/	[nj]	“nj”	“njò”	“thorn”
/ns/	[ns]	“ns”	“nsú”	“jar”
/ns ^w /	[nsw]	“nsw”	“kə̀nswà”	“vegetable”
/nt/	[nt]	“nt”	“ntáj”	“fruit”
/nt ^w /	[ntw]	“ntw”	“ntwòlàng”	“blacksmith”
/ny/	[ny]	“ny”	“nyû”	“hair”
/ny ^w /	[nyw]	“nyw”	“nywé”	“knife”
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	“ŋ”	“ŋó”	“body”
/ŋ ^w /	[ŋw]	“ŋw”	“ŋwàh”	“bright”
/ŋg/	[ŋg]	“ŋg”	“ŋgéy”	“house”
/ŋg ^w /	[ŋgw]	“ŋgw”	“ŋgwə̀sə́é”	“corn”
/ŋk/	[ŋk]	“ŋk”	“ŋkú”	“rope”
/o/	[o]	“o”	“kə̀tɔ́”	“ear”
/ɔ/	[ɔ]	“ɔ”	“yò̀nɔ́yò̀nɔ́”	“bee”
/s/	[s]	“s”	“sáh”	“dispute”
/s ^w /	[sw]	“sw”	“kíswé”	“sand”
/s ^y /	[sy]	“sy”	“syə̀”	“comb”
/t/	[t]	“t”	“táj”	“five”
/t ^w /	[tw]	“tw”	“twà”	“burst”
/t ^y /	[ty]	“ty”	“tyé”	“three”
/u/	[u]	“u”	“búŋ”	“stomach”
/u/	[u]	“u”	“gù”	“voice”
/w/	[w]	“w”	“wéy”	“market”

/y/	[y]	"y"	"yó"	"honey"
/y ^w /	[yw]	"yw"	"y ^w a"	"snake"
/z/	[z]	"z"	"zé"	"eat"

8.2. Orthographic Principles

WIESEMAN, et al, (1983: 149) define orthography as the rules that govern the way letters of the alphabet of a given language are used in order to write and read it correctly. Below are some reading and writing principles necessary for writing and speaking the kànswéynséy language.

8.2.1. Consonant Principles

- The glides w and y mark labialisation and palatalisation respectively of the consonants they follow. Thus, a labialised or a palatalised consonant has a monophonematic status.
- The Nc, New, Ney structures, standing respectively for a pre-nasalised, a labialised and palatalised sounds have a monophonematic status.
- The phoneme /h/ is pronounced [ʔ] at word final position and [h] anywhere else.
- The phonemes /zh/ and /zhw/ can be interchangeable with /y/ and /yw/ respectively, orally, but in the written form, only /y/ and /yw/ would be used.

8.2.2. Vowel Principles

The v.v. sequence is not admitted in the kànswéynséy language. We shall therefore use a v.v. sequence for a contour tone. In this case, only the low tone will be marked on one of the vowels.

Example: wǎŋ → wàaŋ

8.2.3. Tone Principles

- Contour tones are full tonemes. Only grammatical contour tones will be marked. For lexical contour tones, the vowel shall be doubled and one of these vowels shall carry a low tone. So, a H.L. or a L.H. tone will be as follows:

â —————> aa and ǎ —————> ǎa

- Only the Low tone will be marked because it is the less frequent.

8.2.4. Orthographic Principles for Words in Sentences or Phrases

According to Pike (1974) words or morphemes can be considered separate words if the two can be separated by a word. For this,

- A singular or a plural morpheme together with the noun it determines, constitute a single word because another word cannot be placed between them.
- The infinitive marker plus the verb constitute a word because they cannot be separated by another word.
- A verb-tense-marker will be considered as a full word. So, the verb and the tense marker are two different words.
- In a compound-word, words will be separated by a hyphen.
- Names of persons and places will start with a capital letter.

8.2.5. Punctuation Principles

- A sentence starts with a capital letter and ends with a full stop.
- Quotations and indirect speeches will be put in quotation marks.
- The comma will be used to mark a pause in a sentence.
- Orthographic transcriptions will be put in quotation marks.
- A question ends with a question mark.

The above established principles will be applied in a text we are going to present later on, in the annex.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Throughout this work, we have been trying to move the kə̀nswéynséy language from its oral state to a written one. This required an examination of the properties and qualities of the sounds that speakers internalise in order to communicate effectively, some standardisation perspectives and some orthographic rules that govern this language.

After exploring historical, geographical and socio-economic perspectives, we studied the linguistic situation of kə̀nswéynséy.

The first part which is made up of three chapters, deals with the paradigmatic analysis of the language. In chapter 1, we made an inventory of the tones that exist in the kə̀nswéynséy language. We identified four tonemes among which are two level tones and two contour tones. In chapter 2, phonemic analysis of vocalic sounds was carried out after a phonetic inventory of those sounds was made. through minimal pairs, we realised that all the ten (10) vowels we found in our phonetic inventory were phonemes. In chapter 3, after having got fifty-five (55) consonantic sounds in the phonetic inventory, we examined them through a phonemic analysis and finally came out with fifty-two (52) consonantic phonemes. This is because [h]/[ʰ], [zh], [y] and [zhw]/[yʷ] were identified as variants of the phonemes /h/, /y/ and /yʷ/ respectively.

The second part, made up of three chapters, deals with syntagmatic analysis. In chapter 4, we studied the kə̀nswéynséy syllable structure and found three types: the vc, cv and cvc structures. In chapter 5, we examined syllable combinations in this language. It was realised that words in this language do not exceed three syllables except they are compound words. Chapter 6 was about tone distribution. Here tonemes' structures were also examined in polysyllabic words.

The last part of this work, part three, throws some light on the standardisation process of the kə̀nswéynséy language and is made up of two chapters. In chapter 7, we tried to explain why we think this language can or should be standardised. To achieve this, we passed through some sociolinguistic and demographic criteria which revealed that there was a need for this language to be standardised. We compared

kə̀nswéynséy to its neighbouring languages, studied its use in the society, asked the public's opinion about its standardisation. In chapter 8, the last but not the least chapter, we brought out the alphabet of this language and some orthographic principles that should govern it. Altogether, the kə̀nswéynséy alphabet is made up of sixty-two (62) letters among which fifty-two (52) consonants and ten (10) vowels.

In spite of its scientific nature, this work does not explore all the phonological features and processes, nor does it go through all the stages of the standardisation process of a language. The inability to do this derived from difficulties posed by methodology and other spatio-temporal constraints. Therefore, further research would enrich both the distinctive system of segments and the written literature of the language. In fact, generative and autosegmental phonology would reveal much. Also, the elaboration of dictionaries, grammar books, spelling-books and much more is very imperative for the standardisation of this language. Further research is also very necessary in the domain of English loan words and their phonological adaptation. This would reveal some of the phonological processes that account for deviations in the speech of some kə̀nswéynséy speakers of English.

It is hoped that this study would reveal the sound system of kə̀nswéynséy and help teachers of English faced with the problem of interference and transfer. For example, it can be noticed that the absence of the [p] and [r] sounds in kə̀nswéynséy leads to their substitution with [b] as in [ban] and [l] as in [lice] for "pan" and "rice", respectively.

Finally, we will like to note here that kə̀nswéynséy, like many other languages, is very rich and researchers could do a lot of works on it. *well - what*

We hope that this project has added to the research in linguistic sciences in general and in kə̀nswéynséy in particular. However, we cannot say that this work is exhaustive. As such, loopholes in it can be used as bases for further linguistic research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBI, J.M., 1982. *Bamessing Folkstories*. Nsey Language Committee
(unpublished). 45 p. *full names*

BOUQUIAUX, L. et al., 1974. *Enquête et description des Langues à tradition orale*.
S.E.L.A.F., C.N.R.S., Paris. 950 p. *be comm. et. d.*

BRETON, R. et BIKIA, F., 1991. *Atlas administratif des langues nationales
camerounaises*. Programme DYLAN/ALCAM, CREA, ISH, ACCT,
MESIRES, CERDOTOLA, Yaoundé, 143 p. *Wm info*

DIEU, M. et al., 1983. *Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale : Le Cameroun*.
Entre le monde et le monde

A.C.C.T., C.E.R.D.O.T.O.L.A., D.G.R.S.T., Yaoundé, Cameroun, 475p. *119*

ESSONO, J.M., 1998. *Précis de linguistique générale*. L'Harmattan, Paris.
176 p.

GREENBERG, J.H, Languages of Africa. The Hague, Mouton, 175p.

GUTHRIE, M., 1967. *The Classification of Bantu Languages*. Dawson of
Fall Mall, London. 91 p.

KAMGAIS, W.A.M., 1997. *Esquisse phonologique du L. fa'*. Mémoire de
Maîtrise, Université de Yaoundé I, 136 p. *3*

KUOUH, M.C.J. *Esquisse phonologique du bālo*. Mémoire de
Maîtrise, Université de Yaoundé I, 157 p. *2*

LOVING, R., 1986. *Language Variation and Survey Techniques*. S.I.L.,
Dallas. 352p.

MARTINET, A., 1970, 1982. *Eléments de Linguistique Générale*. Armand
Colin, Paris, 223 p.

MOUNIN, G., 1968, 1971, 1987. *Clefs pour la linguistique*. Seghers, Paris,
189 p.

MUTAKA, N.M. and TAMANJI, P., 1995. *An Introduction to African Linguistics*. Université Catholique de l'Afrique Centrale, I.C.Y. and University of Yaoundé I, 256 p.

NASHIPU, J., 1989. *A Dialectometrical Study of Languages in Ndop Plain*.

Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Yaoundé, 131 p.

PIKE, K., 1947. *Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Language to Writing*. Ann Arbor University, Michigan Press, U.S.A. 254 p.

SADEMOUO, E., 1991. "Préalable à la standardisation des langues africaines" in *Language Standardisation in Africa*. P₂₁₋₂₃

_____. 1980. *Critères d'identification du dialecte de référence standard*. Thèse 3^e Cycle, No. 9, Yaoundé, Université de Yaoundé. 257 p.

TADADJEU, M. et SADEMOUO, E. (eds.), 1984. *Alphabet générale des langues camerounaises*. Collection PROPELCA. No. 1, Edition bilingue, S.I.L., I.S.H., C.R.E.A., D.L.L., Université de Yaoundé I, F.A.L.S.H., D.L.A.L., 34 p.

TROUBETZKOY, N.S., 1939, 1964. *Principles of Phonology*. University of California Press, London, 396 p.

WIESEMANN et al, 1983. *Guide pour le développement des systèmes d'écriture des langues africaines*. Collection PROPELCA, No. 2, Yaoundé, 195 p.

ANNEX

A. ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

Below is an illustrative text to show the alphabet graphemes and the orthographic principles. The text is a story presented in three (3) lines. The first line is the phonemic transcription, the second line is the orthographic transcription and the third line the literal translation. A free or literary translation of the whole story will be given after this.

/yé' kə kəbú nà cú, sà'ngungun nà bontǎ/

"Yeh kə kəbu nà cu, sàh-ngu-ngun nà bontaa"

Time that rainy season past arrive, spider past lazy

/məswó bəfwa' gútə kəbù bú tɔŋ kəcə/

"məswə bəfwa gútə kəbu bu tɔŋ kəcə"

To plant things like other people in village.

/léy ù nà bəsù yé' bəncé ncɔŋ bɛŋ sá kətú/

"Ley ù nà bəsù yeh bənce ncɔŋ bɛŋ sa kətɔ"

Instead he past spend time days all sleep under tree.

/bəncé ncɔŋ zô háŋ bí nè háŋ lɛ ù yé ntáŋ/

"Bənce ncɔŋ zoò haŋ bi nè haŋ lɛ ù ye ntaŋ"

Days all wife his ask to him that he future start

/fà' tɛŋ ghòw yé' kə/
 "fàh tɛŋ ghòw yeh kə"
 work in farm time when.

/ù là' nə háŋ lɛ: "ŋkô'fwə mə yè ntáŋ fà'/
 "Ù làh nə háŋ lɛ: "ŋkòòh-fwə mə yè ntáŋ fàh".
 He tell to him that: "tomorrow I future start work.

*Starts of
long vowels*

/ù nə làsə kəncé kəmə' fí' nè zô háŋ lɛ ù gə/
 "Ù nə làsə kənce kəməh fíh nè zoò háŋ lɛ ù gə"
 He past finally day one tell to wife his that she go

/wéy gə yún kəmbà bèléy kyæ/
 "wey gə yun kəmbà bèley kyæ".
 market go buy bag groundnuts fried.

/kəno ná kwə ŋgə' nè zô háŋ/
 "Kəno ná kwə ŋgəh nè zoò háŋ"
 Problem past give trouble to wife his,

/lè wə kú bèléy kyæ məswó/
 "lè wə ku bèley kyæ məswo"
 that he want groundnuts fried to plant.

/léy tɛ̀kə̀ ù swó, sà'ngúṅgún nà lé/
 "Ley tɛ̀kə̀ ù swo, sàh-ṅgu-ṅguṅ nà le"
 Instead of him plant, spider past take

/bèléy há gə̀ nó' nsé kú nǎ ncùṅ/
 "beley ha gə̀ nɔh nse ku nàa ncùṅ."
 groundnuts those go sit down eat them all.

/fə̀dɪ' yé' kə̀bù bú bú nà líntə̀ ghɔ̀w/
 "Fə̀dih yeh, kə̀bù bu ba nà lintə̀ ghɔ̀w"
 Small time, other people who past cultivate farm

/tɪṅ kə̀cə̀ nà kú bə̀fwá yíṅ/
 "tɪṅ kə̀cə̀ nà ku bə̀fwa yíṅ."
 in village past harvest things their.

/zô sà'ngúṅgún bí nè hán búɬə̀ wún bèléy/
 "Zoò sàh-ṅgu-ṅguṅ bi nè han butə̀ wun beley."
 Wife spider ask to him about their groundnuts.

/tə̀ nà kú' kə̀ncé kə̀mò' sà'ngúṅgún/
 "Tə̀ nà kuh kə̀nce kə̀mòh, sàh-ṅgu-ṅguṅ"
 Then past reach day one, spider

/ná kwè nè kàmbwà cú bèléy/
 “ná kwè nè kàmbwà cu bèléy”.
 Past come back with bag full groundnuts.

/ù ná kú lè sà'ngúngúng bǝŋ bèléy/
 “ù ná ku lè sàh-ngu-ngun bèeŋ bèléy”
 She past know that spider steal groundnuts

/há fè túŋ ghòw yè njù béy/
 “ha fè tuŋ ghòw yè njù bey”.
 those from in farm person near negation.

/tòw yè njù há ná nyò'/
 “Tòw yè njù ha ná nyòh”
 Throat person near that past pain.

/ù ná kwà' tɔ̃ jě yè ndó' há/
 “ù ná kwàh tɔ̃ jèe yè ndoh ha”.
 He past think of way catch thief that.

/ù ná nyítə yè nè bèfwô ná' tú túŋ ghòw hán/
 “ù ná nyítə yè nè bèfwɔ̃ nàh tu tuŋ ghòw han”.
 He past arrange person with leaves and stand in farm his.

/ù nà cíṭə yè bəfwô há nə fə̀dòŋ/

“Ù nà cíṭə yè bəfwô ha nə fə̀dòŋ”.

He past cover person leaves that with sticky gum.

/nâ məkó' bə́tú' sà'ngúŋgúŋ nà mə̀bɛ̀ŋ/

“Naà məkoh bə́tuh,sàh-ŋgu-ŋguŋ nà mə̀bɛ̀ŋ”

When to reach night, spider past to steal

/bèléy fə̀ túŋ ghòw yè njù nyà/

“bèley fə̀ túŋ ghòw yè njù nyà”

groundnuts from in farm person near him.

/ù nà gùtə yéy yè bàŋ háŋ/

“Ù nà gùtə yey yè bàaŋ haŋ”.

He past suddenly see person behind him.

/sà'ngúŋgúŋ nə fán nà' mù cá yè há/

“Sàh-ŋgu-ŋguŋ nə fə̀ŋ nàh mù cə yè ha”.

Spider to be afraid and try kick person this.

/fə̀dòŋ fà nà dóŋ háŋ nə yè bəfwô bá/

“Fə̀dòŋ fà nà dóŋ haŋ nə yè bəfwô ba”

Sticky gum that past stick him with person leaves that

/nā	màkó'	ŋkô'fwə	kəcə	ncùŋ	nà/
"Naà	màkoh	ŋkôh-fwə	kəcə	ncùŋ	nà"
When	to reach	morning	village	all	past

/yéy	ndó'	há	ù	tú	túŋ	ghòw/
"yey	ndoh	ha	ù	tə	təŋ	ghòw".
see	thief	the	he	stand	in	farm.

/kə̀tə́	sà'ngúŋgúŋ	nà	dí	cà	ghə́/
"Kə̀tə́	sàh-ŋgu-ŋguŋ	nà	dí	cà	ghə́h".
Head	spider	past	heavy	too	much.

/tán	fə	kə̀nce	há	wə	lítə	túŋ	bò/
"Tan	fə	kə̀nce	ha	wə	lítə	təŋ	bò".
Since	from	day	that	he	hide	in	corners.

Literary Translation

Why the Spider Hides in Corners

When the rainy season arrived, the spider was too lazy to plant crops like everyone else in the village. Instead, he spent all days, sleeping under a tree. Everyday his wife asked him when he was going to start work in the fields but he always answered: "tomorrow I will start work".

Finally, one day he told his wife to go to the market and buy a bag of roasted groundnuts. His wife was very worried that he wanted roasted groundnuts for planting. But instead of planting them, the spider simply took the groundnuts to the fields and sat down and ate them.

Soon the other farmers in the village were harvesting their crops and the spider's wife asked him about their groundnuts. One day the spider returned home with a bag full of groundnuts. His wife did not know that the spider had stolen them from a neighbour's farm. The neighbour was angry and thought of a way to catch the thief. So, he made a man out of leaves and put this leaf-man in his field. Then he covered this man with a sticky gum.

The next night, as the spider was stealing more groundnuts from his neighbour's field, he suddenly saw a man behind him. The spider was afraid and he tried to kick the leaf-man. As he kicked the man, he became completely stuck to him. The following morning, the whole village saw the thief stuck in the middle of the field. The spider was so ashamed that since that day he has always hidden in corners.

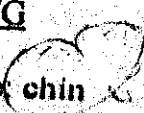
B. LEXIS

now many words!

In this section, we shall bring out a small word-list kənsweýnséy/English. We shall consider only the orthographic transcription.

<p><u>a/A:</u></p> <p>ākā: father āŋ: yes</p>	
<p><u>b/B</u></p> <p>bāŋ: behind baŋ: nail baāŋ: we, us bānjūŋ: Junior brother or sister bæ: red be: goat beè: kolanut benjì: he-goat bèey: life bey: you (plural) bèy: not (negation) bèe: ripe bèley: groundnut bèduŋ: old age bèghūŋ: they bèkōh: ladder bèŋ: terrible bèŋkəŋ: lion</p>	<p>bəŋgeè: ribs bənyūŋ: race bəsə: ahead bətò: at the head of bətuh: night bòo: dog bòh: slave boh: so that bomo: well bò: corner bòh: pumpkin bòw: nice, good buh-kə: why buŋ: belly bū: evil būŋ-ncè: kitchen buse: in front bèsùuŋ: friendship</p>
<p><u>bw/Bw</u></p> <p>bwo: tired, soft bwotaŋ: lazy man</p>	<p><u>by/By</u></p> <p>byà: pear bya: still</p>
<p><u>c/C</u></p> <p>càtò: forehead ce: there cècùuŋ: cassava</p>	<p><u>cw/Cw</u></p> <p>cwà: war cweècweè: sun cwo: sharp</p>

cɛ̃njoh: chest cɛ̃tɔ: throat cə̃wi: fireplace cɔɔ: mouth cɔ̃geɛy: door cuŋ: price	
<u>d/D</u> dà: calabash for palm-wine dli: heavy duŋ: game dùu: long	
<u>f/F</u> fah: work faŋ: how fæ: thunder fèe: heart fe: new fə: where fə̀bɛ̃ŋ: squirrel fə̀boh: fable fə̀gumə̀-gumə̀: bat fə̀ghaŋ: mat fə̀kɔ: mortar fə̀lih: smoke fə̀lwilwi: yellow yam fə̀ncih: gendarme, policeman fə̀ncwe: bow (of arrow) fə̀ndò: vein fə̀njej: star fə̀nyuŋ: bird	fə̀nywe: knife fə̀ŋgwè: salt fə̀syè: gizzard fə̀stɔŋ: truly fə̀ye: root fili: entier fikə̀: where fiŋku: ring fò: day fo: compound foŋ: on fòŋ: first fɔ: out fɔŋ: fat fɔɔŋ: eight fu: white fuiŋ: chief fui: fever fukah: stick fùntaŋ: fruit fuiŋ: black, dirty fuiŋ: leg fuiŋkɔh: cow

<u>fy/Fy</u> fyə: mouse fyə-bəlo-jəbè: rabbit fyə-ndɔŋ: rat	<u>g/G</u>  ge: chin gò: poison gùu: cold gù: voice
<u>gw/Gw</u> gwagwa: duck gwò: skin, shoe gwò-fukah: back of tree	<u>gh/Gh</u> ghah: big, rich ghen: small ghòw: farm ghon: egg
<u>h/H</u> haŋ: he, him hè: there hun: here	<u>j/J</u> ja: palm nut jùu: hunger jùuŋ: back (of body)
<u>k/K</u> kabisè: cabbage kaŋ: corn beer kàn: leader keh: penis keh: light kə: what kəbah: table kəbaŋ: fufu kəbaŋ-kye: bread kəbe: thigh kəbey: field kəboh: hole kəbwa: tiger kəbɔŋ-lwe: nose kəbɔ: rainy season kəbyengey: veranda kəcə: village, home	kəndwi: hippopotamus kənjà: key kənswey: language, speech kəntà: spoon kəntaŋ: insect kəntuŋ: heat kəŋaŋ: scorpion kəŋi-wa: finger-nail kəŋi-wo: toe-nail kəŋgeè: rib kəŋgùh: jealousy kəŋgwe: lighter kəŋgwo-còò: lip kəŋka-tò: headscarf kəŋkoh: dumb kəsah: stomach kəsɔ: thread

<p> kàcɔŋ: chimpanzee kàdèdè: nothing kàdɔh: wound kàfwaabaŋ: paint kàfwaayi: food kàghe: bitter leaf kàghəh: cowrie kàghoh: mushroom kàka: iron, metal kàkə-wi: charcoal kàkuŋ: bed kàkwye: bone kàkwi: umbrella kàkwo: belt kàli: tongue kàlonŋ: dry season kàlow: guitar kàlunŋ: fear kàlu: bamboo kàmbà: bag kàmbòlè: tadpole kànce: day kànci: lid kàncih: mortar <u>pistle</u> kàndaŋ: cricket, whistle kàndunŋ: darkness, shadow </p>	<p> kàswaa: hoe kàtaanŋ: trap kàtanŋ: elephant kàtaŋbox kàtakoh: snail kàto: ear kàto: head kàtongeey: roof kàto-yèkɛ: young woman kàto-yèlonŋ: young man kàtu: tree kàtɛ: order, command kàtu-ŋwàh nà: pen kàtwaà: intestine kibi: dust kicah: soil kicye: mud kindwe: fly kiinse: sugarcane kinswo: elephant grass kiiswe: sand ko: death kúmákáŋ: tortoise kusà: blunt kuŋ: beans kuŋ-màkalè: rice kɛ: pot kɛh: colour kukà: how kɛŋ: crab </p>
<p> <u>kw/Kw</u> kwèmbəh: shoulder kwè: four kwo: forest kwo-màkalè: cocoyam </p>	<p> <u>ky/Ky</u> kyà: <u>grainary</u> kye: money </p>

<u>L</u> Laj: today lɪŋ: brother/sister lotə: really lɔŋ: husband lɔŋ: hot, expensive	lɔsɯ: green luŋ: room lùŋgà: bucket <u>lw/Lw</u> lwe: cathar/nose lwi: bitter
<u>m/M</u> maà: lake mangolo: mango masiŋ: machine me: neck mə: I, me mə: infinitive marker məbàŋ: to hate məbe: to give birth məbeh: to carry məbɛɛŋ: to steal məbeŋ: to sleep məbesə: to threaten məbəh: to break məbi: to ask məbiŋ: to accept məbo: to lack məboh: to beat (a drum) məbo: to build məbɯ: to bend down, to bow məbɯŋ: to come back məbɯŋ: to dance məbwa: to weave, to plait məhwè: peace məcàh: to jump məcay: to sneeze məce: to sejourne	məliŋ: to wrap məlɔ: to warm məlɔlɔ: brain məlɔh: to bewitch məlɔŋ: to bite məluh: wine, drink məlùh: to forbid, to refuse məlùŋ: to hide məluŋ: to cultivate məlwa: to lick məlweŋ: to scent məmàh: to wear məmè: to swallow məmèh: to throw məmù: to taste məmù: to finish mənè: to defecate məne: to cook məno: to drink mənò: to sit down mənùŋ: to lay mənswà: magic mənsɛle: spark mənyah: to write mənyɔ: to suck məsa: to tear

məcih: to wipe
 məcij: to see off
 məcij: to gather
 məcisù: to fill in
 məcitə: to cover
 məcòh: to remove
 məcù: to tie
 məcuh: to pound
 məcya: to pass
 məcye: to slice
 məcwah: to borrow, to lend
 məðæ: to fly
 məduj: to play
 məduh: to show, to teach
 məfaŋ: to be afraid
 məfatə: to decrease
 məfe: to receive
 məfihi: to tell
 məfi: to sell
 məfùh: to measure
 məfùsə: to resemble
 məfwə: to blow
 məfwə: blindness
 məfye: to get rotten
 məgantə: to help
 məgə: to go
 məgo: to fall
 məghay: to yawn
 məgwà: to grind
 məgwàsə: to iron, to fold
 məje: to come
 məjòŋ: to follow
 məkà: to cough

məsà: to dry
 məsah: to seize
 məsaj: to split
 məsə: to count
 məsihi: to put down
 məsinə: to slide
 məsu: to drag, to pull
 məsò: to wash
 məswà: to insult
 məswi: to pour
 mətà: to sew
 mətaj: to begin
 mətey: to read
 mətiŋ: to push
 mətò: to dig
 mətòŋ: to send
 mətòh: to stroll
 mətow: to whistle
 mətu: to vomit
 mətùŋ: to roast, to burn
 mətuŋ: to shoot
 mətə: to lift up
 mətwà: to burst
 mətwey: to bury
 mətye: to grow
 məway: to put in
 məwə: to whip
 məwo: oil
 məwuh: to swell
 məya: to be sick
 məyatə: to untie
 məyey: to see
 məyè: to make, to cause

<p> <u>màkaŋ</u>: to squeeze <u>màkey</u>: to cry <u>màkoð</u>: to die <u>màkò</u>: to like <u>màkòh</u>: to climb <u>màkòŋ</u>: to touch <u>màkòŋ</u>: to knock (door) <u>màkuŋ</u>: to scrape, to enter <u>màkù</u>: to want <u>màkùh</u>: to wait <u>màkwaŋ</u>: to try <u>màkwà</u>: to give <u>màlàh</u>: to report <u>màlaŋ</u>: to marry </p>	<p> <u>màyo</u>: to hear <u>màyoh</u>: to rub <u>màyuŋ</u>: to buy <u>màyù</u>: to sweep <u>màyuh</u>: to wake up <u>màywinà</u>: to shout <u>màywisà</u>: to <u>respire</u> <u>màze</u>: to eat <u>màzo</u>: to kill mindow: blood mo: water mòh: one mùh: dew </p>
<p> <u>mb/Mb</u> mbà: meat mbàh: fog mbàsè: soup mbe: world mbè: sleep mbeè: walking stick mbimbi: ant </p>	<p> mbòŋ: real mbòŋkù: potter mbumbu: mosquito mbùuŋ: grain mbulù: bell mbùŋùu: body mbùŋgeèy: wall </p>
<p> <u>mf/Mf</u> mfey: bangle mfey: bicycle mfòŋ: first </p>	<p> <u>n/N</u> nàŋ: as nè: who </p>
<p> <u>nc/Nc</u> nce: mother ncùŋ: all ncyà: sky </p>	<p> <u>ndw/Ndw</u> ndwe: dress, cloth ndwo: corn pudding </p>
<p> <u>nd/Nd</u> ndàlàh: sweet potato ndelwii: bile </p>	<p> <u>nj/Nj</u> njàaŋ: axe </p>

<p>ndoh: thief ndow: horn, cup nduyun: yesterday ndù bàah: tobacco, cigarette nduh: poison</p>	<p>njèh: outside njòd: thorn njùè: hedgehog njùj: dream</p>
<p><u>ns/Ns</u> nsah: niddle nsàhà: cup nsèè: tail nse: ground nsùù: jar</p>	<p><u>nt/Nt</u> ntah: between ntàndwe: dress maker ntañ: branch ntii: louse ntòh: palace ntòdñ: message</p>
<p><u>ntw/Ntw</u> ntwoòlàn: blacksmith</p>	
<p><u>ny/Ny</u> nyah: yellow nyi: animal nyikan: monkey nyikoh: horse nyij: chain nyòh: annoyed nyù: hair</p>	<p><u>nyw/Nyw</u> nywèè: cutlass nywì: God</p>
<p><u>ñ/D</u> ño: rain ñu: milk ñùu: month ñubà: with ñumfè: moon</p>	<p><u>ñw</u> ñwàh: clean, bright wahn: book ñwa-ywo: bee hive</p>
<p><u>ng/Dg</u> nga: cashew nut ngàlù: garri ngan: week ngeèy: house ngeè-mfèy: prison ngeè -nywi: church</p>	<p>ngòh: termite nguù: fowl ngun: python ngùtò: deaf <u>ngw/Dgw</u> ngwà: seed, family ngwaba: guava</p>

ngəh: trouble ngòoh: year ngəh: stone	ngwáláh: okro ngwaŋ: sour ngwəsə: corn
<u>ŋk/Dk</u> ŋkah: wood ŋkəəh: cock ŋkò: type	ŋkòfwəə: tomorrow ŋkùtɔpɔ ŋkumbəh: lizard
<u>s/S</u> sàh: dispute sàh-ŋgɔŋ: earth worm sàh-ŋgug-gug: spider se: eye sey: profit sənɛŋ: all sisya: scissors sòo: fish sòh: bottle	sɔw: teeth suka: sugar <u>sw/Sw</u> swɛ: shallow swɛ: grave <u>sy/Sy</u> syə: cumb
<u>t/T</u> ta: already tahaŋ: because taŋ: five təkə: so that tɔdi: shame tɔw: temper tɔw: navel tɛŋ: heart, in tye: three	<u>w/W</u> wa: hand waaŋ: child waaŋ-bwɔd: baby waaŋ-bəkɛ: girl waaŋ-bəlɔŋ: boy waaŋ-bənywi: twins wey: market wɛh: strong, powerful wəwə: also wi: fire wo: foot wuh: fat
<u>y/Y</u> yè: person yèbəlɔŋ: mendicant yècəəŋ: someone yè-dùh: teacher	yè-tɔŋ: stranger yi: name yilə: sluggish yɔmu: plum yɔnɛyɔnɛ: bee yɔɔŋ: dry

yèh: time yèlɔŋ: friend yè-ntɔŋ: errand boy yè-ta: adult	<u>yw/Yw</u> ywà: snake ywo: honey ywoŋkɔ: evening
<u>z/Z</u> zòɔ: wife	