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DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN
LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS



**A SKETCH OF THE PHONOLOGY OF
MAMONYAN AND STANDARDIZATION
PERSPECTIVES**

*A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the post graduate Diploma.*

"MAITRISE" IN LINGUISTICS

By

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DEDICATION



To the memory of my late father Tsafack Joseph

To my mother Djeufack Martina who has always given me the moral support I need.

To my sister Tsafack Cecilia without whom my studies would never have been possible

Their ceaseless and immeasurable love is all that an ambitious child needs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.

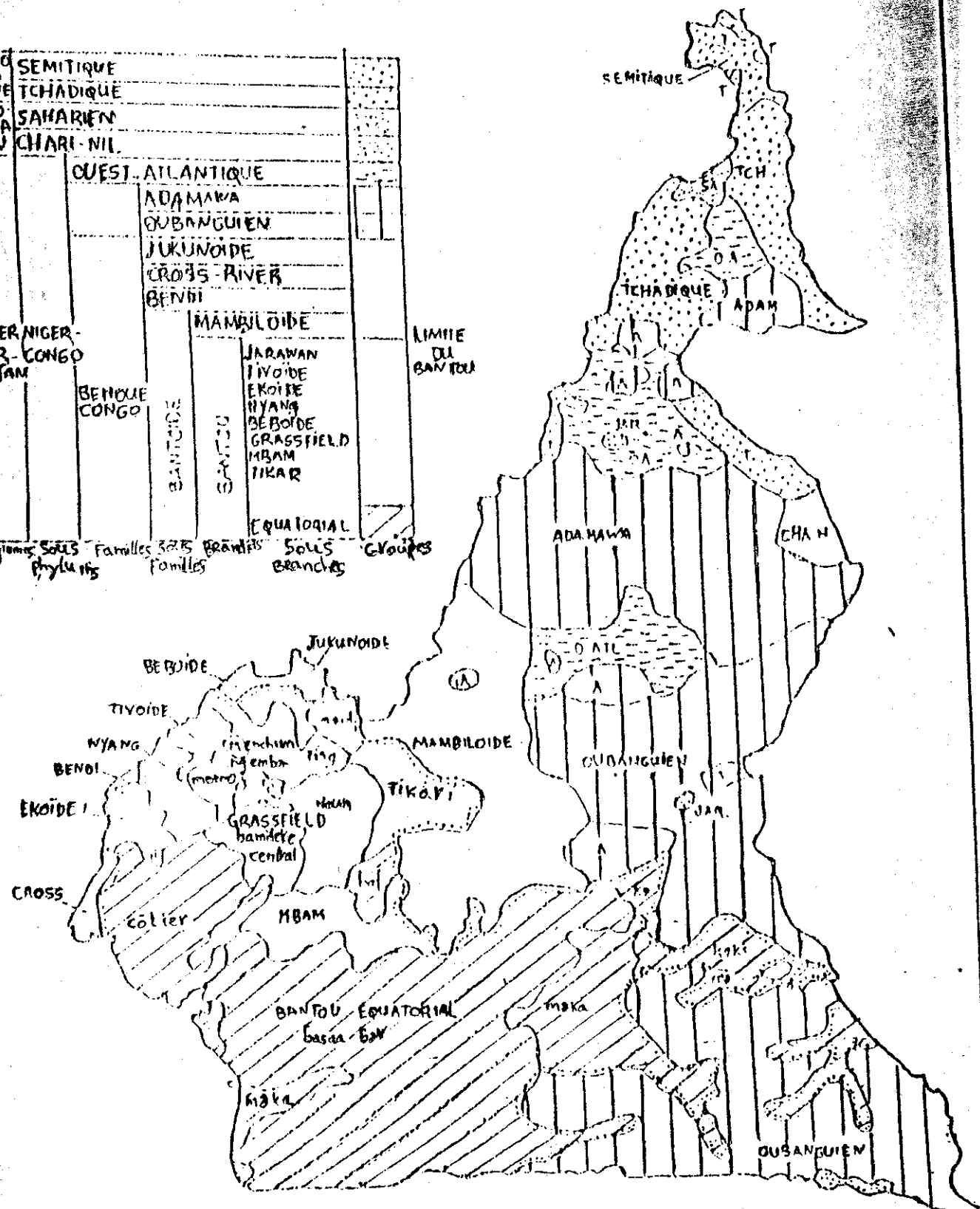
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet.
GACL	General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages.
H or (ˊ)	High tone.
L or (ˋ)	Low tone
LH (v)	Rising tone
HL (^)	Falling tone
V	Vowel
C	Consonant
VV	Vowel cluster
CC	Consonant cluster
C ₁	First consonant in a consonant cluster.
VL	Voiceless
Vd	Voiced
Lab	Labial
Pal	Palatal
Asp	Aspirated
#...	Word initial position
...#	Word final position
I.C	Identical Context
AC	Analogous Context
Gloss	Glossary
→	Becomes / is realized as
/	Context / environment
[]	Phonetic boundaries
/ /	Phonemic boundaries
N	Syllabic nasal
TB	Table

<<	>>	English translation or orthographic transcription.
nb		Number
<		Inferior
>		Superior
~		Alternates
+		Presence
t		Tens
Cpf		Cardinal prefix
pl		plural

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

FAMILLES ET GROUPES LINGUISTIQUES AU CAMEROUN

AFRO-ASIATIQUE	SEMITIQUE	
	CHADIQUE	
NILO-SAHARIEN	SAHARIEN	
	CHARI-NIL	
OUEST-ATLANTIQUE		
	ADAMAWA	
	OUBANGUIEN	
	JUKUNOÏDE	
	CROÏS-RIVER	
	BENÏI	
MIGER-NIGER-KOR-CONGO DOFAN	MAMBOÏDE	LIMITE DU BANTOU
BENOUÉ CONGO	JARAWAN	
	TIVOÏDE	
	EKOÏDE	
	NYANG	
	BEBOÏDE	
	GRASSFIELD	
	MBAM	
	TIKAR	
	EQUATORIAL	
Phylogén. Soles Phyl. 113	Familles Soles Fam. 113	Branches Soles Branches



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SLAC CAM 12 1983

0.1 Scope of Study

Our intention in the following Study is to investigate in the speech properties and qualities that constitute the distinctive phonological apparatus of Màmányán. This will not be limited only to the examination of the sounds, but will equally go further to explore some major prosodic phenomena of this language. After all the above, we will look into the standardisation perspectives of the Màmányán language.

0.2 Justification of choice of topic

0.2.1 Scientific motivation

The choice of this topic emanated from the fact that up till now, the Màmányán language has not undergone any linguistic study except sociolinguistic investigations. We have then chosen to start with a descriptive work and the standardization since they are necessary for any other further research to be carried out in this language.

0.2.2 Practical motivation

From purely academic and scholarly perspectives, this work is designed as a contribution to the study of Cameroon languages. By establishing a writing system and factors of its standardization, we ought to have contributed to the development of Màmányán and to the literacy of the native speakers since these are very important as far as the cultural identity of a people is concerned.

0.3 Geographical Situation

The Màmónyán language of the "bàmónyám" is spoken in the North Western Galim Subdivision, Bamboutos Division, West province. According to researchers Domche, Teko and Caroline, A. Grant (1993), outside of the sixteen quarters belonging to the Bàmónyám village, there are four other villages where the Màmónyán was reported by interviewed groups to be spoken: Bamali, Bambalang, Bamukumbit, and Batchandé, the latter being a quarter of Awing village. According to our informants, the population is estimated to about 8,000 inhabitants. Màmónyán is surrounded by the following languages:

- The Məngaka (ALCAM Code 930) to the South and east
- Awing (917) to the North and west.
- Samba leekə (300) to the North and North east.
- Shupamam (901) is spoken to the east beyond the river.

The Bamenyam people live essentially on farming.

0.4 Historical Situation

According to Mveng, E. (1963:228-229), we can assert that, the people who form what is called Bàmónyám clan today, detached originally from the Tikars, crossed the Nun before settling finally in Bàmónyám. Domche Teko cited by Caroline A. (1993:3) states that Màmónyán refers to the place where the people of this village originated. Bàmónyán which designated both the village and the language, was spoken in the Noun. This language according to the people had disappeared completely. The people of this village prefer to be called "pənê" and to call their language "Məngá'm'ə" which means "I say". Community leaders in Bàmónyám said they could not understand people from the neighbourhood and that they could only communicate using Pidgin English or French. Contrary to what

is written in ALCAM (1983:122), there was no indication given during our interview that general bilingualism exists with Shupaməm.

The majority of the community follow traditional practices while at the same time, many attend church. There is also a small community of Moslem cattle headers in the hills surrounding Bàmányám.

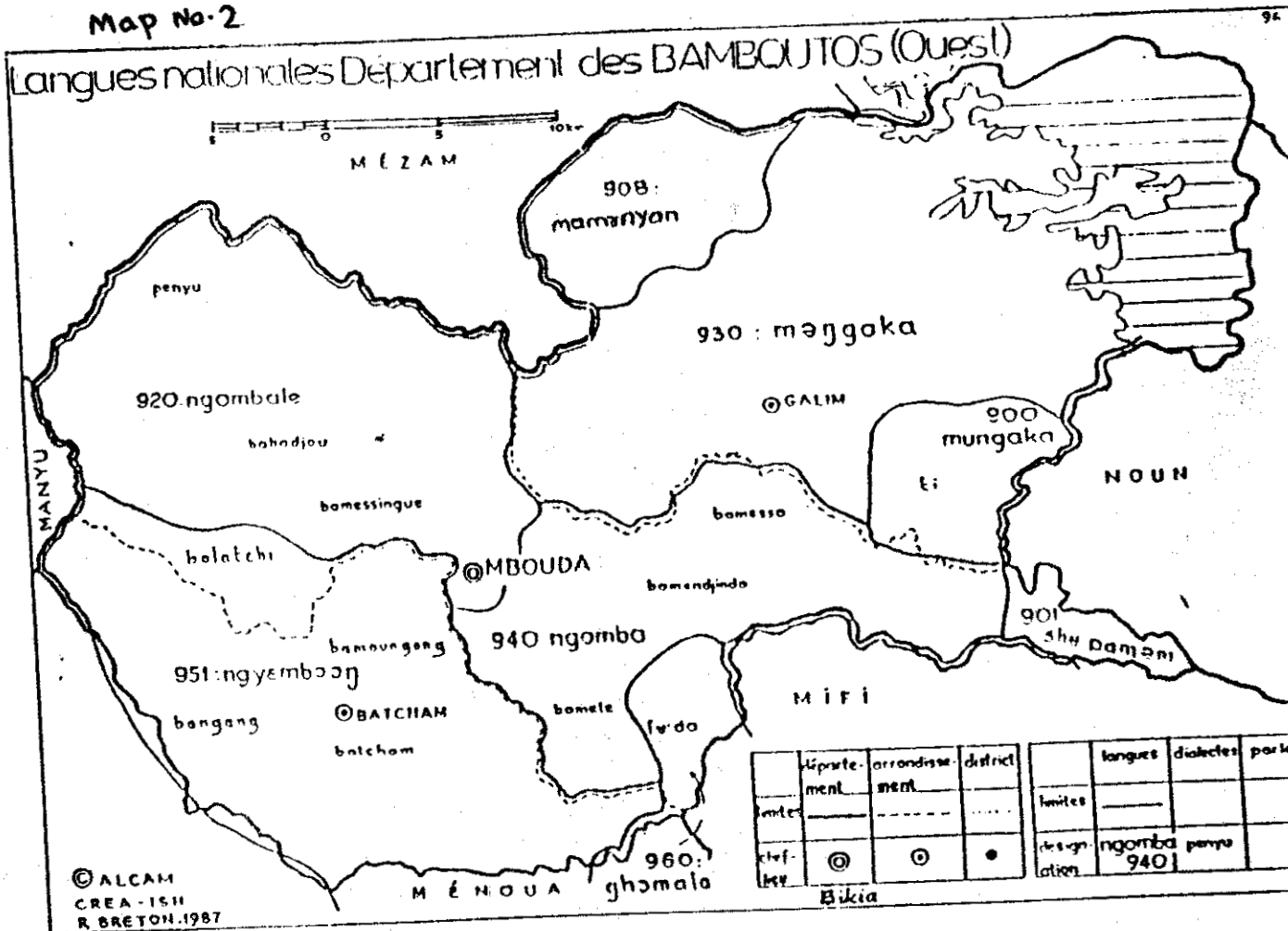
0.5 Socio-economic situation of Bamənyam

In addition to agriculture which is their economic main activity, the people of Bàmányám carry out many social activities geared towards the construction of their clan. These activities include hunting, trade, and breeding. The main types of cash crops include coffee and raffia palm wine. Some food crops which are also sold include cocoyams, maize, potatoes, cassava, and vegetable. The main type of food is 'achu' prepared from pounded cocoyams and eaten with soup prepared with palm oil and a number of spices. They preserve their culture through festivals and other traditional activities.

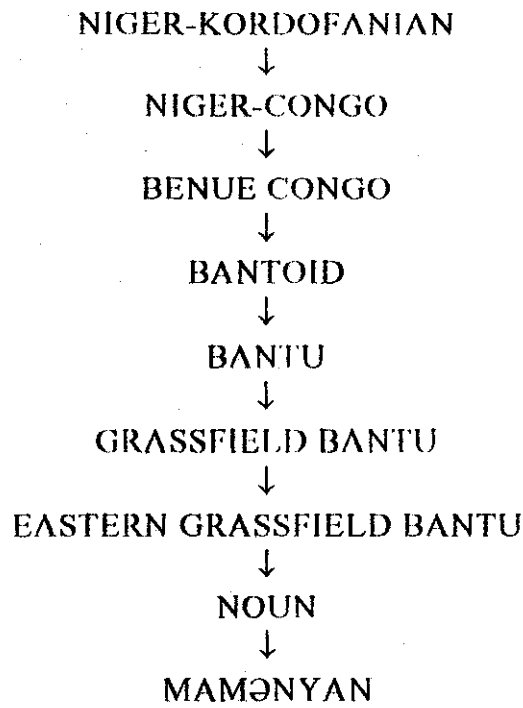
0.6 Classification of the language.

Məngə'mə , identified by Michel, Dieu et al (ALCAM 1983:122) as Màmányán is assigned code '908'. For the sake of easy generalisation and familiarity, the latter appellation will be used in this study. This language has no dialect. According to ALCAM, this language can be classified under the Niger Kordofanian phylum as follows:

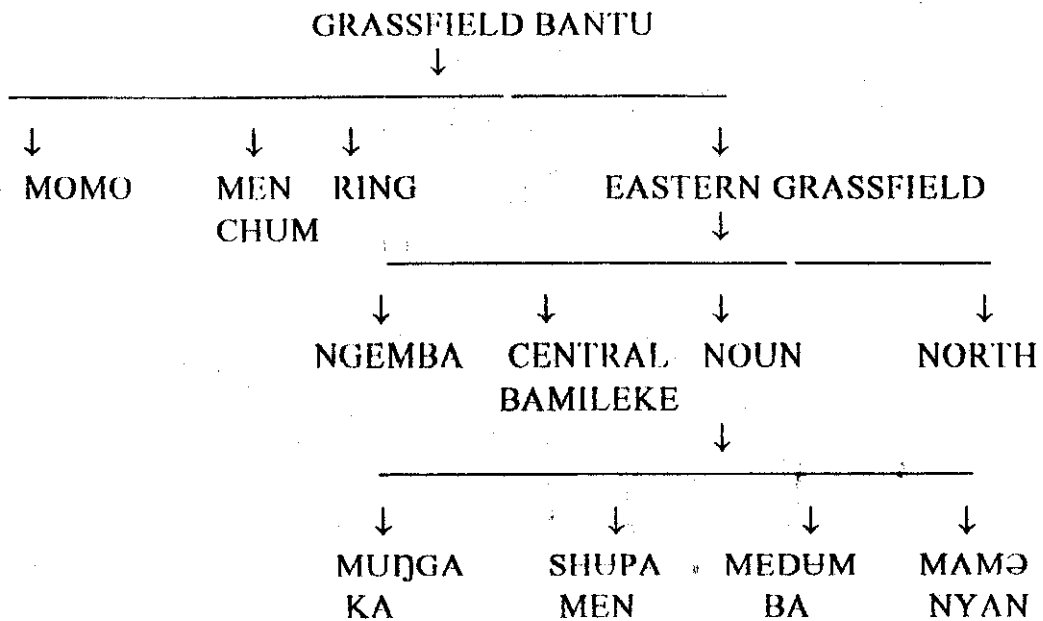
Map No. 2

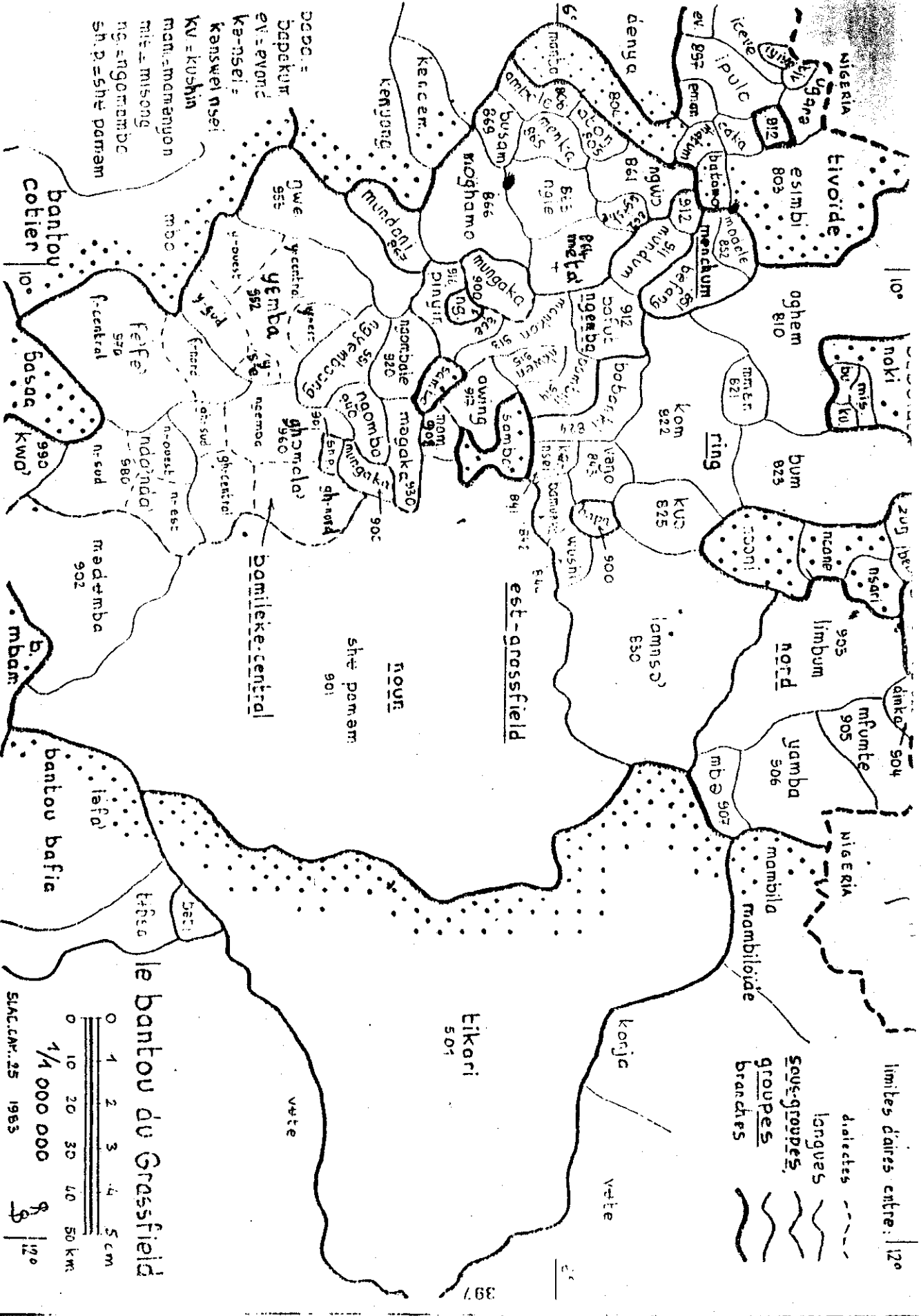


Source: ALCAM



The figure below is an elaborate presentation of Grassfield Bantu languages by ALCAM (1983:362)





SOURCE: SIF YAGU NDE

le bantou du Grassfield

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SIAC. CAR. 25 1983

Likori 501

limites dialectes entre: | 12°

diaclectes

langues

groupes

groupes branches

0.7 Typology

The Màmónyán language is a tone language. Without this tone, it will be impossible to get the meaning of a word since we found many words in the language which differ only in their tones.

Examples 1:

[môŋgúp]	'hen'	[môŋgùp]	'shoes'
[pé]	'payment'	[pè]	'profit'

The Màmónyán language is a language which has a noun class system as can be noticed in the examples below:

(2) [nənǔ]	'vagina'	[mənǔ]	'viginas'
[nèmbû]	'dog'	[mèmbû]	'dogs'
[m ^w ô]	'child'	[pô]	'children'
[f ^w ð kúp]	'spoon'	[mðf ^w ð kúp]	'spoons'
[tsókòt]	'mouse'	[pètsókòt]	'mice'

0.8 Corpus and informants

Our study is based on an inventory of 1,300 words and expressions collected through interviews and observations. Through interviews, informants articulated verbs, names of things, places and events. These words were immediately transcribed. Questions were also asked and observations done on a possible standardisation of the language.

Five informants, all native speakers of Màmónyán contributed enormously in the collection of the data. The following outline provides information about the informants.

TBI:

No	Name of informant	Age	Occupation	place of residence
1	Kumeteu Helen	28	Student	Yaounde
2	Healla Andre	48	Business man	Bafoussam
3	Mbone Joseph	32	Teacher	Edea
4	Mafo Anne	50	Farmer	Bamənyam
5	Njika Pierre	84	Retired D.O	Bamənyam

0.9 Literature review.

Màmənyán is among the numerous Cameroonian languages that are not yet studied. All that has been done on the language is essentially found in general surveys of Bantu languages and in Caroline A. Grant's *Rapid Appraisal Survey in Bamənyam Village* in particular. It has been established in this survey that Bamənyam has sixteen quarters sharing the same language with no major problem of comprehension. The recommendations of this survey are the following:

- Potential need for standardisation of speech variety used in Bamənyam
- Investigation on the question of Bilingualism with Shupaməm, given the influence of the Bamoun people and their language in Galim subdivision.
- The ALCAM entry be changed to include "Mənga'mə" as the locally used name of the language.

0.10 Methodology

The method used in this study is the structural approach. This will help us carry our phonological analysis on the indicated language given the practical aspect we want to give our work. The structural method defended by N.S. Troubetzkoy and André Martinet permits first of all to do the inventory of all the sounds of the language. These sounds are next opposed to each other through comparison of the contexts in which they occur. This exercise permits us to determine phonemes and variants of phonemes. For phonemes to be determined, the sounds have to be compared in identical context (I.C.), analogous context (A.C.), and in contextual variation. In the identical context, sounds will be opposed in minimal pairs. However, in the absence of these minimal pairs, sounds will be opposed in analogous contexts where the difference between the sounds in opposition will not be the only one. In case where the sounds do not oppose neither in identical context nor in analogous context, their environments of occurrence shall be examined.

The reference alphabet used in this survey is the IPA. However, to facilitate the interpretation of Màmónyán orthography alongside those of other Cameroonian languages, the graphemes will be chosen from the G.A.C.L. (General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages).

0.11. Outline of Work.

Our study consists of seven chapters which can broadly be divided into three parts: paradigmatic analysis, syntagmatic analysis and standardisation perspectives.

In the first part which covers three chapters, our study will consist of the inventory of phonetic units. We will next analyse the distinctive units and finally proceed with the interpretation of complex units before defining and classifying the distinctive units. We will examine in order tones, vowels, and consonants.

In the second part which covers two chapters, we will describe the syllable, study the structural patterns of syllables and words in the language and tone distribution.

The third part consists of two chapters which include some preliminaries for standardisation, the alphabet and some basic fundamental orthographic principles.

**PART ONE:
PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS**

Chapter I
TONES

Ursula Wiesemann et al. (1983:84) define the tone as “la hauteur relative de la voix pendant l’exécution d’ un son.” That is, the tone is the relative pitch of the voice during the production of a sound. Tones, as well as vowels and consonants play distinctive functions.

As a tone language, Màmónyán has the pitch phenomenon of tone which functions in the language as a feature associated with vowels and syllabic nasals. When analysing this language, we found words whose meaning differed just because of their tones.

Examples 3:	[pé]	‘ payment’
	[pè]	‘profit’

1.1 Inventory of tones

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

1.1.1 Level tones.

A level tone is a tone which remains unchanged during the pronunciation of a syllable. Level tones identified in Màmónyán include the high and low tones.

1.1.1.1 The high tone (´)

It is the highest “musical height” during the production of a syllable. It is also marked H and found in words like:

- (4) [tú] 'basket'
 [ní] 'cutlass'
 [kʰ] 'chair'

1.1.1.2 The low tone (`)

It is the lowest "musical height" during the production of a syllable. It is also marked L. It can be found in this language in the following words:

- (5) [kòt] 'foot'
 [fɔ̃] 'chief'
 [pʰò] 'slave'

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 one. We found two contour tones in the Màmányán language: the rising tone and falling tone.

1.1.2.1 The rising tone (ˇ)

This tone is known as the the low-high tone (LH) because it starts with a low tone and ends with a high tone. It can be found in words as:

- (6) [tǎ] 'father'
 [tsǎp] 'language'
 [yǒ] 'disease'

1.1.2.2. The falling tone (^)

This tone is also called a high-low tone. It starts with a high tone and ends with a low tone. We find it in words like:

(7)	[li]	'eye'
	[nû]	'honey'
	[m ^w ô]	'child'
	[pfâ]	'corpse'

From the above, it appears clearly that the Màmányán language is a tone language.

1.2 Tonemes

J. Dubois et al. (1973:516) define the toneme as an accentuated high unit that helps to oppose two meaningful units. In other words, the toneme is to the tone what the phoneme is to the sound. In Màmányán, lexical tones as well as vowels and consonants, perform the distinctive function of causing grammatical and semantic changes in words.

1.2.1. The H toneme

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

H/L	[pé]	'payment'	[pè]	'profit'
	[môḡgúp]	'hen'	[môḡgùp]	'shoe'
	[-nó-]	'bite'	[nò]	'time'
	[ká'-]	'tired'	[ḡkà']	'plantation'

H/HL	[-só-]	'sigh'	[-sô-]	'play'
	[sô]	'black (color)'	[sô]	'today'
H/LH	[sú]	'friend'	[sû]	'venom'

1.2.2 The L toneme

This toneme gains its distinctive feature through the following contrasts:

L/H	[ɜ̀ú']	'misery'	[ɜ̀ú']	'yam'
	[-sè̀t-]	'comb'	[-sè̀t-]	'cut'
L/HL	[kù]	'owl'	[kû]	'torrent'
	[p ^w ò]	'slave'	[p ^w ô]	'ash'
L/LH	[nə̀h̃gò]	'cane'	[nə̀h̃gô]	'leaf'

1.2.3 The LH toneme

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

LH/H	[h̃kũ]	'hill'	[h̃kú]	'widow'
	[m̃bǎ]	'enemy'	[m̃bá]	'pot'
LH/HL	[sũ]	'venom'	[-sû-]	'wash'

1.2.4 The HL toneme

It is distinctive in the following oppositions:

HL/L	[i]	'eye'	[li]	'quality'
	[ɨkâ]	'corn beer'	[ɨkâ]	'drum'
HL/H	[-sô-]	'wash'	[sú]	'friend'

HL/LH See LH/HL (1.2.3): the LH toneme

To conclude this section, we can say that the four lexical tones found in this language are all tonemes since all of them are pertinent.

Chapter II
VOCALIC PHONEMES

To begin with, it is necessary to define the notion of phoneme. According to Wieseemann et al. (1983:34), a phoneme is: "la plus petite unité de son qui permet de distinguer le sens des mots." In other words, a phoneme is the smallest sound unit that helps to distinguish the meaning of words. As many other languages in the world, Màmónyán has vocalic and consonantic phonemes as minimal distinctive sound units.

2.1 Identification of vocalic phonemes.

We identified twelve vocalic sounds in Màmónyán language. Our analysis will help us to determine their status.

2.1.1 Phonetic inventory.

The vocalic sounds found in the language are as follows:

Sounds	Illustrations	Gloss
[i]	[Lí]	'eye'
[e]	[Yê]	'hip'
[ɛ]	[Yét]	'ring'
[ü]	[fû]	'a blind'
[ɔ]	[tô]	'calabash'
[u]	[nè] [ǎ]	'vein'
[ə]	[pàp]	'he goat'
[a]	[páp]	'sparrow hawk'
[u]	[nú]	'honey'
[o]	[kòt]	'foot'
[ɔ]	[fò]	'chief'
[ɑ]	[fà]	'work'

2.1.2 Phonetic Vowel chart.

TB2:

Position of tongue and lips	front		central	back
height of the tongue				
high	i	ü	u	u
mid-high	e	ø	ə	o
mid-low	ɛ			ɔ
low			a	ɑ

2.1.3 Phonemic analysis

We will determine vocalic phonemes by opposing sounds in identical context (IC) and in analogous context (AC). In cases where sounds are not attested as phonemes through these approaches, their environment of occurrence or distribution will be examined. This examination will reveal the sounds either as allophones of the same phoneme or as separate phonemes.

1. The phoneme /i/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

i/e [màsínà] 'to iron' [màsénà] 'to spread'

i/ø [m̀bì] 'seed' [m̀bò] 'body'

i/u [fi] 'key' [fù] 'a blind'

/i/ front unrounded vowel, high.

2. The phoneme /e/

It acquires its pertinence in the following:

e/i [m̀àz^wé'nà] 'to taste' [m̀àz^wí'nà] 'to rest'

e/ɛ	[pɛ]	'profit'	[pɛ]	'bag'
e/ø	[pɛ]	'profit'	[ɱbø]	'body'
/e/	front unrounded vowel, mid-high.			

3. The phoneme /o/

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

o/u	[tɔ]	'calabash'	[t ^h u]	'up'
o/ə	[-sát-]	'to stir'	[sót]	'egg-plant'
o/e	[ɱbò]	'body'	[pɛ]	'profit'
/o/	front rounded vowel, mid-high.			

4. The phoneme /ɛ/

It is proven as a distinctive phoneme through the following contrasts:

ɛ/e	[mɛz ^w ɛnɛ]	'breathe'	[mɛz ^w é'nɛ]	'to taste'
ɛ/a	[sét]	'comb'	[sá]	'wall'
ɛ/o	[pɛ]	'bag'	[ɱbø]	'body'
/ɛ/	front unrounded vowel, mid low			

5. The phoneme /u/

It acquires its pertinence in the following words:

u/i	[ɱbü]	'rain'	[ɱbi]	'seed'
u/u	[nɛʃü]	'vein'	[nɛʃú]	'tooth'
u/o	[fû]	'a blind'	[fô]	'cold'

u/ü will be studied in variations

/u/ central unrounded vowel, high

6. The phoneme /a/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

ə/a	[pəp]	'he- goat'	[páp]	'sparrow hawk'
-----	-------	------------	-------	----------------

- ə/ɔ [màtsátnə] 'to break' [màtsótɲə] 'to drop'
 /ə/ central unrounded vowel, mid-high.

7. *The phoneme /a/*

It acquires its pertinence in the following words:

- a/ə see /ə/
 a/ɛ see /ɛ/
 a/ɑ [ŋgá] 'no' [ŋgɑ] 'thief'
 /a/ Central unrounded vowel, low

8. *The phoneme [u]*

It acquires its pertinence in the following words:

- u/ʌ [màcũ'nə] 'to join' [màcũ'nə] 'shake'
 u/o [ʃũ] 'scorpion' [ʃó] 'fish'
 /u/ back rounded vowel, high.

9. *The phoneme /o/*

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

- o/u see /u/
 o/ɔ [màzónə] 'to buy' [màzɔnə] 'to insult'
 /o/ back rounded vowel, mid-high.

10. *The phoneme /ɔ/*

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

- ɔ/o see /o/
 ɔ/ɑ [lɔ'] 'scar' [lɑ'] 'village'
 ɔ/a [mɔ] 'light' [mɑ] 'mum'
 /ɔ/ back rounded vowel, mid-low.

11. The phoneme /ɑ/

It is attested as a phoneme in Māmányán through the following contrasts:

ɑ/ɔ	[m̄bǎ]	'enemy'	[m̄bô]	'creator'
ɑ/a	[m̄ ǎ']	'dew'	[-má'-]	'reduce'

/ɑ/ back rounded vowel, low.

We notice from the analysis above that, of all the 12 vowels identified, 11 are full phonemes. We will now determine the status of the sound [ü].

During our data analysis, we found just one case of free variation in the Māmányán language with sounds [ü] and [u]. We noticed that this variation is optional because the natives of this language use either sounds optionally. We have the following examples:

(8)	[f̄ü]	'a blind'	[f̄ǔ]	'a blind'
	[p̄ü]	'we'	[p̄ǔ]	'we'
	[nə̄jü]	'vein'	[nə̄jǔ]	'vein'

Because [ü] and [u] are used optionally, we conclude that, they are allophones of the same phoneme /u/.

2.1.4 Definition and classification of Vowel phonemes

2.1.4.1 Definition of Vowel phonemes

Only the pertinent features are considered. That is features which can help distinguish one vowel from another in this language.

/i/ Front, high vowel.

/e/ Front, unrounded vowel, mid-high

/σ/	Front, rounded vowel, mid-high
/ε/	Front, mid-low vowel
/ʉ/	Central, high vowel
/ɔ/	Central, mid-high vowel
/a/	Central, low vowel
/u/	Back, high vowel
/o/	Back, mid-high vowel
/ɔ/	Back, mid-low vowel
/α/	Back, low vowel

2.1.4.2 Classification of vowel phonemes

Only the pertinent features will be considered.

The vowels attested in Màmányán are classified below in terms of the height of the tongue, the position of the tongue in the mouth and the roundness.

-In terms of the position of the tongue.

Front vowels	i, e, σ, ε
Central vowels	ʉ, a
Back vowels	u, o, ɔ, α

-In terms of roundness

Rounded	σ
Unrounded	e

2.2 The Mamónyán phonemic vowel chart

TB3:

Position of the tongue and lips Height of the tongue	front	Central	back
high	i	u	u
mid-high	e o	ə	o
mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	ɑ

2.2.1 The system at word initial position.

Only four (4) vowels out of 11 occur at this position in the Mamónyán language.

TB4:

Position of the tongue and lips Height of the tongue	front	Central	back
high	i		
mid-high		ə	o
low		a	

From this chart, it is clear that only the following vowels appear at the initial position: /i/ , /ə/, /a/, /o/. These vowels are found at the initial position of words like:

(9) /i/ → [ítâ] 'five'

/ə/	→	[əmô']	'one'
/a/	→	[à]	'third person singular'
/o/	→	[ò]	'second person singular'

2.2.2 The system at word middle position.

All the eleven (11) vowels of the phonemic vowel chart appear at this position.

TB5:

Position of the tongue and lips	front	Central	back
Height of the tongue			
high	i	ɨ	u
mid-high	e ɔ	ə	o
mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	ɑ

These vowels are found at the middle position in the following examples:

(10)	/i/	[k ^w ít]	'donkey'
	/e/	[màž ^w é'nà]	'to taste'
	/ɔ/	[kók ^h ú']	'little'
	/ɛ/	[yét]	'ring'
	/u/	[màstùndù'nà]	'to hang'
	/ə/	[pəp]	'he-goat'
	/a/	[tsǎp]	'language'

/u/	[màḡùp]	'shoes'
/o/	[kòt]	'foot'
/ɔ/	[sòp]	'pepper'
/ɑ/	[lá']	'village'

2.2.3 The system at word final position

It is the same as the one at the middle position. These vowels are found at the final position in the following words:

(11)	/i/	[fì]	'key'
	/e/	[pè]	'profit'
	/o/	[tô]	'calabash'
	/ɛ/	[pè]	'bag'
	/u/	[fù]	'a blind'
	/ɔ/	[m̀b̀ɔ̀ǹɔ̀]	'peace'
	/a/	[ǹd̀â]	'house'
	/u/	[ǹɔ̀fũ]	'tooth'
	/o/	[fó]	'fish'
	/ɔ/	[zò]	'prayer'
	/ɑ/	[pâ]	'fufu'

We can conclude from our analysis that, of the twelve vowels found in the Mamányán language, eleven are distinct phonemes.

After the analysis of the vocalic phonemes, we will, in the following section, study the consonantic phonemes.

CHAPTER III
CONSONANTIC PHONEMES

The Màmányán consonantic system is made up of 59 sounds. As it was the case with the vowels, our analysis will help us to know whether they are all phonemes or not.

3.1 Identification of Consonantic phonemes

3.1.1 Phonetic inventory

Words are chosen from the data we collected to illustrate the phonetic inventory which will be presented in the chart below.

Sounds	Illustrations	Gloss
[p]	[păt]	'wing'
[p ^w]	[p ^w â]	'hand'
[p ^l]	[p ^l è']	'burden, load'
[b]	[m̂bî]	'seed'
[b ^w]	[m̂b ^w ô' m̂bî]	'God'
[b ^l]	[m̂b ^l è]	'outside'
[m]	[mă']	'dew'
[m ^w]	[m ^w ô]	'child'
[m ^l]	[m ^l á]	'mother'
[w]	[wă]	'who'
[w ^l]	[w ^l è]	'my'
[pf]	[pfê]	'corpse'
[pf ^w]	[pf ^w â]	'intestine'
[f]	[fɔ]	'king'
[f ^w]	[f ^w ă]	'leaf'
[f ^l]	[f ^l è]	'feather'

[t]	[tâ]	'father'
[t ^w]	[nt ^w ó']	'testicle'
[t ^l]	[t ^l â]	'tail'
[t ^h]	[t ^h ú]	'tree'
[d]	[ndè]	'needle'
[d ^w]	[nd ^w ó]	'whistle'
[d ^w]	[mând ^w ónə]	'to rot'
[d ^l]	[nd ^l á]	'house'
[ts]	[tsǎ]	'bladder'
[dz]	[ndzǎ']	'chest'
[n]	[nû]	'honey'
[n ^w]	[n ^w â]	'snake'
[s]	[sâ]	'long'
[s ^w]	[s ^w í]	'sect'
[s ^l]	[s ^l è]	'month'
[z]	[zǎ]	'bush butter'
[z ^l]	[z ^l è]	'palm leaf'
[l]	[lí]	'eye'
[l ^w]	[l ^w ó]	'breast'
[ʃ]	[ʃú]	'face'
[ʃ ^w]	[mâʃ ^w ónə]	'to draw (a rope)'
[ʒ]	[ʒà']	'place'
[ʒ ^w]	[ʒ ^w ó']	'yam'
[ny]	[mânyí]	'knife'
[tʃ]	[tʃú']	'nchu'
[tʃ ^w]	[mâtʃ ^w ě]	'tortoise'
[dʒ]	[ndʒǔ']	'egusi'
[dʒ ^w]	[mândʒ ^w ǎ]	'groundnut'
[ly]	[lyà]	'cap'

[j]	[jì]	'claw'
[k]	[kòt]	'foot'
[k ^w]	[k ^w é]	'cough'
[k ^w]	[mák ^w ǎ]	'rooster'
[k ^j]	[k ^j á]	'coal'
[k ^h]	[kók ^h á]	'little'
[g]	[ŋgáp]	'antelope'
[g ^w]	[ŋg ^w ê]	'salt'
[g ⁱ]	[ŋg ⁱ à]	'voice'
[ŋ]	[ŋù]	'man'
[ŋ ^w]	[ŋ ^w áŋ]	'bell'
[y]	[yě]	'hip'
[y ^w]	[y ^w à]	'this'
[ʔ]	[tʃékà]	'elephant'

3.2. Interpretation Problems.

Some ambiguities that exist in human languages pose serious interpretation problems in linguistic studies. These ambiguities and their attendant interpretation problems can better be analyzed on the basis of the internal organization and structure of the language under study.

3.2.1 Labialization

This consonant process which results in lip rounding during articulation is indicated by the labial glides [w̥] and [w]. The problem at this level is to determine whether the labialized 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. If we then talk of glide formation, this will mean that the sequence [C^wV] comes from /CVV/. But this is not the case because the structure of the Màmányán language does not allow /VV/ sequences. Moreover, the labialization process does not involve all the consonants. Thus, we think that in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|------------|
| (12) | [p ^w ô] | 'ash' | [t ^w ö] | 'navel' |
| | [k ^w ít] | 'donkey' | [f ^w â] | 'medecine' |

The structure [C^wV] at the surface structure would be /CV/ in deep structure and not /CVV/. Since neither the /VV/ sequence nor the /CC/ sequence exist in the language.

C^w and C^w are to be considered as complex consonants as defined by Wiesemann and al (1983:65)

3.2.2 Palatalization

This process which involves the raising of the body of the tongue to the hard palate is indicated by the palatal glide [j]. Like labialization, it is restricted only to some Màmónyán consonants and we also think that in the examples below:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------|
| (13) | [s ⁱ è] | 'month' | [p ⁱ è'] | 'burden' |
| | [k ⁱ á] | 'coal' | [nàf ⁱ á] | 'feather' |

The sequence [CⁱV] derives from / CV/ since the structure of the language does not allow neither a vowel sequence / VV/ nor a consonant sequence / CC/ unless the first consonant (C₁) is a nasal.

Cⁱ is to be considered as a complex consonant as defined by Wieseemann and al (1983:63)

3.2.3 Aspiration

Aspiration is a secondary articulation of a consonant which gives the impression of being followed by an [h]. In the Màmónyán language, we identified just two cases of aspiration [t^h] and [k^h]. Since the structure of the language allows neither the / VV/ sequence nor the / CC/ sequence unless C₁ is a nasal, we think that in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------|
| (14) | [t ^h á] | 'hair' | [kól ^h ú] | 'little', |
|------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------|

the sequence [C^hV] at the surface structure would be / CV/ in deep structure and not / CVV/ because / CC/ does not exist in the language unless C₁ is a nasal.

C^h is therefore a complex consonant and not a sequence of consonants.

3.2.4 Interpretation of prenasals.

Considering the existence of a homorganic syllabic nasal which appears at word initial position and constitutes a class marker; considering the fact that in a NC sequence where N represents a homorganic nasal, the nasal and the oral are pronounced in two sequences; considering the fact that, in a series of consonants C_1C_2 , C_1 is never any other consonant than a nasal, we opt for a biphonemic nasal called syllabic nasal which always bears a tone.

3.2.5 Neutralization

Neutralization is a loss of a pertinent feature distinguishing two phonemes in such a way that they can no more be opposed in certain contexts. In the case of the Màmányán language, neutralization concerns nasals.

At word pre-initial syllable position, the opposition $m / n / ŋ$ is neutralized. The result is an archiphoneme $/ N /$ which is realized in conformity with the place of articulation of the preceding consonant, that is:

- [m] in front of labial consonants
- [n] in front of alveolar consonants
- [ŋ] in front of velar consonants

Examples 15:

/Ñ-pì/	[m-bì]	'seed'
/Ñ-lè/	[n-dè]	'needle'
/Ñ-ghǒ/	[ŋgǒ]	'a patient'

3.2.6 consonant alternation

Some consonants vary systematically at word initial position. This is caused by the presence of a homorganic nasal /N/ which is assimilated to the place of articulation of the concerned consonants. In the Màmónyán language, we noticed some alternations with verbs between their infinitive form and their conjugated form.

The consonants which alternate are listed below:

-p~mb in [màpéna] and [m̀mbé]	'to accept'
-w~ngw in [màwéna] and [m̀gwé]	'to dress up'
-l~nd in [màlé'nà] and [m̀ndé']	'to announce'
-z~ndz in [màzónà] and [m̀ndzó]	'to buy'
-γ~ng in [mà γǎnà] and [m̀ngǎ]	'to pay a visit'
-ʒ~ndʒ in [màʒú'nà] and [m̀ndʒú']	'to cultivate'

from the above, we can deduce that:

N+p →	mb
N+w →	ngw
N+l →	nd
N+z →	ndz
N+γ →	ng
N+ʒ →	ndʒ

3.3 Phonemic analysis

In this section, minimal pairs will be used to attest the phonemic status of Màmónyán sounds. However, in the absence of minimal pairs, the contrast of sounds in analogous context will be considered. In case where

all the above fail, the sounds will be considered allophones of the same phoneme.

This means that the sounds are contextual variants since they occur in mutually exclusive environments. At this level their distribution would be studied to differentiate between the phonemes and the allophones.

3.3.1 Opposition in identical context and analogous context

1. The phoneme /p/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

p/b will be studied under contextual variation.

p/p^w [p^h] 'bag' [p^w] 'handful'

p/pⁱ [p^h] 'fufu' [pⁱ] 'pear'

p/t [p^h] 'fufu' [t] 'father'

/p/ This sound is: voiceless, bilabial, plosive

2. The phoneme /p^w/

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

p^w/p see /p/

p^w/pⁱ [p^w] 'hand' [pⁱ] 'pear'

p^w/b^w will be studied under contextual variation.

/p^w/ This sound is: voiceless, labialized, bilabial, plosive

3. The phoneme /pⁱ/

Its status as a phoneme in Màmónyán is confirmed by the following contrasts:

pⁱ/p see /p/

pⁱ/p^w see /p^w/

pⁱ/bⁱ will be studied under contextual variation.

/pⁱ/ This sound is: voiceless, palatalized, bilabial plosive

4. The phoneme /m/

Its phonemic status is gained through the following contrasts:

m/m ^w	[mó]	'light'	[m ^w ô]	'child'
m/m ⁱ	[mǎ]	'grand-mother'	[m ⁱ á]	'mother'
m/n	[mó]	'light'	[nò]	'time'
/m/	This sound is: nasal, bilabial, plosive.			

5. The phoneme /m^w/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

m ^w /m	see /m/			
m ^w /n ^w	[m ^w ô]	'child'	[-n ^w ó-]	'to lay down'
/m ^w /	This sound is : nasal, labialized, bilabial, plosive.			

6. The phoneme /mⁱ/

It acquires its pertinence in:

/m ⁱ /m	[-m ⁱ á-]	'to finish'	[-má'-]	'to reduce'
/m ⁱ /	This sound is: nasal, palatalized, bilabial, plosive.			

7. The phoneme /w/

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

w/j	[wǒ]	'your'	[jô]	'thing'
w/m	[wó]	'your'	[mó]	'light'
w/w ⁱ	[wě]	'his'	[w ⁱ è]	'my'
/w/	This sound is: bilabial, glide.			

8. The phoneme /wⁱ/

wⁱ/w see /w/

/wⁱ/ This sound is: palatalised, bilabial, glide.

9. The phoneme /pf/

Its status as a phoneme in mǎnányán is confirmed by the following contrasts:

pf/ts	[pfú]	'to shoot'	[tsú]	'to peck'
pf/p	[-pfú-]	'to shoot'	[pú]	'raw'
pf/f	[pfâ]	'corpse'	[fî]	'new'
/pf/	This sound is: voiceless, labio-dental, affricate.			

10. The phoneme /f/

It acquires its pertinence through the following:

f/f'	[nâfê]	'wasp'	[nâf'ê]	'thunder'
f/p	[nâfð]	'nobleness'	[mâpð]	'runny-nose'
f/s	[fô]	'cold'	[sô]	'disgrace'
f/pf	[fû]	'co-spouse'	[pfú]	'to shoot'
/f/	This sound is: voiceless, labio dental, fricative.			

11. The phoneme /f'/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

f'/f	see /f/			
f'/p'	[f'ê]	'quarrel'	[p'è]	'burden'
/f'/	This sound is: voiceless, palatalized, labio-dental, fricative.			

12. The phoneme /t/

It gains its status as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

t/t ^w	[-tó-]	'to dig'	[-t ^w ó-]	'to whistle'
t/t'	[tǎ]	'father'	[t'á]	'rust'
t/s	[tô]	'calabash'	[sô]	'moment'
t/d	will be studied in contextual variation.			
/t/	This sound is: voiceless, alveolar, plosive.			

13. *The phoneme /t^w/*

It acquires its pertinence in:

t^w/t see /t/

t^w/t^l [-t^wá-] 'to come' [-t^lá] 'to sew]

/t^w/ This sound is: voiceless, labialized alveolar plosive.

14. *The phoneme /t^l/*

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

t^l/t see /t/

t^l/t^w see /t^w/

/t^l/ This sound is: voiceless, palatalized, alveolar, plosive.

15. *The phoneme /n/*

It is attested as a phoneme in Màmányán through the following contrasts:

n/m [nǎ'] 'meat' [mǎ'] 'dew'

n/n^w [nǎ] 'time' [-n^wǎ-] 'to suck'

n/y [nǎ] 'honey' [ŋǎ] 'man'

n/l [nǎ'] 'meat' [lá'] 'village'

/n/ This sound is: nasal, alveolar, plosive.

16. *The phoneme /n^w/*

It acquires its pertinence in:

n^w/n [-n^wǎ-] 'to suck' [-nǎ-] 'to bite'

n^w/m^w [-n^wǎ-] 'to lay' [m^wǎ] 'child'

/n^w/ This sound is: nasal, labialized, alveolar, plosive.

17. *The phoneme /ts/*

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

/ts/s [-tsǎ-] 'to break' [-sǎ-] 'to stir'

/ts/pf see /pf/

/ts/ This sound is: voiceless, alveolar, affricate.

18. The phoneme /s/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

s ^h	[-sá]	'wall'	[s ^h á]	'soil'
s/z	[sòp]	'pepper'	[zòp]	'song'
/s/	This sound is: voiceless, alveolar fricative			

19. The phoneme /s^w/

It acquires its pertinence in:

s ^w /s	[s ^w í]	'sect'	[sí]	'black'
s ^w /s ^w	[s ^w í]	'sect'	[-s ^w í-]	'-to beg'
/s ^w /	This sound is: voiceless, labialized, alveolar, fricative.			

20. The phoneme /s^h/

It gains its pertinence through the following contrasts:

s ^h /s	see /s/			
s ^h /z ^h	[s ^h ê]	'broom'	[z ^h ê]	'palm leaf'
/s ^h /	This sound is: voiceless, palatalized, alveolar, fricative.			

21. The phoneme /z/

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

z/z ^h	[-zê-]	'plenty'	[z ^h ê]	'palm leaf'
z/s	[màzônə]	'to insult'	[màsônə]	'to play'
z/ʒ	[màzúnə]	'to drive (a car)'	[màʒúnə]	'to inherit'
/z/	This sound is: voiced, alveolar, fricative			

22. The phoneme /z^h/

Its status as a phoneme is confirmed through the following contrasts:

z ^h /z	see /z/			
z ^h /s ^h	see/ s ^h /			
/z ^h /	This sound is: voiced, palatalized, alveolar, fricative.			

23. *The phoneme /l/*

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

l/l^w [lɔ́] 'scar' [l^wɔ́] 'greediness'

l/n [lɔ́] 'village' [nɔ́] 'meat'

l/d will be studied under contextual variation.

/l/ This sound is: voiced, alveolar, lateral.

24. *The phoneme /l^w/*

It acquires its pertinence in:

l^w/l [-l^wé-] 'bitter' [lé] 'glue'

l^w/n^w [-l^wá-] 'rain' [-n^wá-] 'to drink'

/l^w/ This sound is: voiced, labialized, alveolar, lateral

25. *The phoneme /ʃ/*

It acquires its pertinence in:

ʃ/s [ʃú] 'pregnance' [sú] 'scorpion'

ʃ/ʃ^w [ʃó] 'fish' [-ʃ^wó-] 'to pull'

ʃ/ʒ [ʃ ú] 'face' [-ʒú-] 'to see'

ʃ/tʃ [ʃú] 'face' [tʃú] 'jaw-bone'

/ʃ/ This sound is: voiceless, post alveolar, fricative

26. *The phoneme /ʃ^w/*

It acquires its pertinence in:

ʃ^w/ʃ see /ʃ/

ʃ^w/s^w see /s^w/

/ʃ^w/ This sound is: voiceless, labialized, post alveolar, fricative

27. *The phoneme /ʒ/*

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts:

ʒ/ʃ see /ʃ/

ʒ/ɣ [màʒì] 'food' [mèyè] 'achu peelings'

ʒ/ʒ^w [màʒè'nà] 'to throw' [màʒ^wé'nà] 'to wait'

ʒ/z [ʒú'] 'yam' [zó'] 'marriage'

/ʒ/ This sound is: voiced, post alveolar, fricative.

28. *The phoneme /ʒ^w/*

It gains its phonemic status through the following oppositions

ʒ^w/ʒ/ see /ʒ/

ʒ^w/ʃ^w [màʒ^wé'nà] 'to wait' [màʃ^wénà] 'to slide'

/ʒ^w/ This sound is: voiced, labialized, post alveolar, fricative.

29. *The phoneme /ny/*

It acquires its pertinence in:

/ny/ŋ [tsónyè] 'here' [tsáŋè] 'there'

ny/n [mànyí] 'knife' [mànò] 'sun'

/ny/ This sound is: nasal, palatal, plosive.

30. *The phoneme /ly/*

Its phonemic status is attested through the following contrast.

ly/l [lyà] 'cap' [là] 'bridge'

/ly/ This sound is: voiced, palatal, lateral.

31. *The phoneme /j/*

It gains its status as a phoneme through the following oppositions.

j/w [jè] 'mine' [wě] 'his, her'

j/w^j [jè] 'mine' [w^jè] 'my'

/j/ is characterized as: palatal, glide.

32. The phoneme /tʃ/

Its phonemic status is attested through the following contrasts:

tʃ / ʃ see /ʃ/

tʃ / t [tʃú] 'achu' [tú] 'round'

tʃ / ʒ [tʃú] 'achu' [ʒú] 'yam'

/tʃ/ This sound is: voiceless, palatal affricate.

33. The phoneme /tʃʷ/

It acquires its status as a phoneme through the following opposition.

tʃʷ / tʃ [mà tʃʷě] 'tortoise' [mà tʃénè] 'to carry'

/tʃʷ/ This sound is: voiceless, labialized, palatal, affricate.

34. The phoneme /k/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts.

K/k^w [màkánè] 'to get tired' [màk^wánè] 'to take'

k/k^j [màkánè] 'to get tired' [màk^jánè] 'to refuse'

k/k^h will be studied under contextual variation

k/ɣ [nàkà] 'a bundle' [nàɣá] 'jaw'

/k/ This sound is: voiceless, labialized, velar, plosive.

35. The phoneme /kʷ/

It acquires its pertinence in:

k^w/k [màk^wónè] 'to return' [màkónè] 'to peel'

k^w/k^j [màk^wánè] 'to take' [màk^jánè] 'to refuse'

/k^w/ This sound is voiceless, labialized, velar, plosive.

36. The phoneme /kʲ/

It acquires its pertinence in:

kʲ/k see /k/

kʲ/kʷ [-kʲè-] 'fry' [kʷê] 'wood'

/kʲ/ This sound is voiceless, palatalized, velar, plosive.

37. The phoneme /ŋ/

Its phonemic status is attested through the following contrasts:

ŋ/ŋʷ [màŋá'nə] 'to open' [màŋʷá'nə] 'to write'

ŋ/ny see /ny/

/ŋ/ This sound is: nasal, velar, plosive.

38. The phoneme /ŋʷ/

It gains its phonemic status through the following contrasts.

ŋʷ/ŋ see /ŋ/

ŋʷ/nʷ [màŋʷá'nə] 'to write' [mènʷánə] 'to drink'

/ŋʷ/ This sound is: nasal, labialized, velar, plosive.

39. The phoneme /ɣ/

It is attested as a phoneme through the following contrasts:

ɣ/ɣʷ will be studied under contextual variation

ɣ/k see /k/

ɣ/z [ɣǒ] 'disease' [zǒ] 'bush butter'

ɣ/ʒ see /ʒ/

/ɣ/ is characterized as: voiced, velar, fricative.

After our analysis in identical context (IC) and in analogous context (AC), the following 39 sounds gained their phonemic status: / p, p^w, p^j, m, m^w, m^j, w, w^j, pf, f, f^j, t, t^w, t^j, n, n^w, ts, s, s^w, s^j, z, z^j, l, l^w, ʃ, ʃ^w, ʒ, ʒ^w, ny, l^j, j, tʃ, tʃ^w, k, k^w, k^j, ŋ, ŋ^w, y/.

We shall then determine the status of the rest of the sounds by examining their environments of occurrence or distribution.

3.3.2 Contextual variation.

According to Wiesemann et al. (1938:48), they talk of complementary distribution between suspected sounds, when these sounds have no common context. Still according to them, two sounds are said to be in contextual variation when phonetically near, they are in complementary distribution. In other words, one never appears where the other appears. Given the fact that two sounds in complementary distribution are considered as allophones of the same phoneme, we will then study the different variants of the Màmónyán consonantic system.

1. [p,b] presents the following distribution:

	[p]	[b]	
[păt]	'wing'	[mbà]	'even'
[pəp]	'he-goat'	[mbà']	'earth-worm'
[tətöp]	'mud'	[mbò]	'body'
[pè]	'bag'	[mbàpò]	'squirrel'
[pépup]	'dust'		

2. [l,d] presents the following distribution:

[l]		[d]	
[lí]	'eye'	[ndù]	'old'
[lǔ]	'hoarse'	[ndè]	'needle'
[là]	'bridge'	[ndǔ]	'bamboo'
[lúlà]	'bat'	[ndà']	'only'
[ləlú]	'fog'		

3. [z,dz] presents the following distribution:

[z]		[dz]	
[mézônə]	'to abuse'	[ndz ǒ]	'an abuse'
[zǒ]	'bush-butter'	[ndzò']	'chest'
[nəzò]	'buttock'	[ndzě]	'axe'

4. [ɣ,g] presents the following distribution:

[ɣ ǒ]	'disease'	[ngǒ]	'a patient'
[ɣě]	'hip'	[ngǎ]	'thief'
[məɣǎ]	'play'	[ngú]	'mother-in-law'
[məɣí]	'herb'	[ngò']	'stone'
[məɣǒnə]	'to be sick'	[ngó]	'a guest'

5. [ʒ,dʒ] presents the following distribution:

[ʒ]		[dʒ]	
[ʒù']	'place'	[ndʒǔ']	'egusi'
[məʒí]	'food'	[ndʒú's'á]	'farmer'
[məʒú'nə]	'cultivate'		

In the above cases, [p] and [b], [l] and [d], [z] and [dz], [ʒ] and [dʒ], [ɣ] and [g] can be said to be in complementary distribution since they occur in mutually exclusive environments. While [b] in [p,b], [d] in [l,d], [dz] in [z, dz], [dʒ] in [ʒ, dʒ], [g] in [ɣ, g] occur exclusively at middle position after nasals, [p], [l], [z], [ʒ] and [ɣ] appear elsewhere.

Therefore in Mămónyán, [p] and [b], [l] and [d], [z] and [dz] and [ɣ] and [g] and their modified correspondents are contextual variants of the phonemes /p/, /l/, /z/ and /ɣ/ and their modified correspondents respectively. Thus we can illustrate their environments of occurrence by the following rules:

↗ [b] / # N—
/p/
↘ [p] elsewhere

↗ [d] / # N—
/l/
↘ [l] elsewhere

↗ [dz] / # N—
/z/
↘ [z] elsewhere

↗ [g] / # N—
/ɣ/
↘ [ɣ] elsewhere

↗ [dʒ] / # N—
/ʒ/
↘ [ʒ] elsewhere

6. [pf, pf^w] presents the following distribution:

[pf]		[pf ^w]	
[pfú]	'shoot'	[pf ^w â]	'intestine'
[pfâ]	'corpse'		

[pf] and [pf^w] are in complementary distribution. While [pf] occurs at word initial position in front of high vowels [pf^w] occurs also at word initial but exclusively in front of Low vowels.

Therefore [pf] and [pf^w] are allophonic variants of the same phoneme /pf/. Their environments of occurrence can be illustrated by the following rule:

$$\begin{array}{l} \nearrow [pf^w] / \# \text{ -- +Low Vowel} \\ /pf/ \\ \searrow [pf] \text{ elsewhere.} \end{array}$$

7. [t, t^h] presents the following distribution:

[t]		[t ^h]	
[tã]	'father'	[t ^h ú]	'tree'
[túnà]	'ear'		
[tâtòp]	'mud'		
[sàt]	'hoe'		

[t] and [t^h] are in complementary distribution since they occur in mutually exclusive environments. [t] occurs at word initial and middle position in front of all vowels except /u/ and also at word final position. [t^h] occurs exclusively at word initial position in front of /u/.

Therefore [t] and [t^h] are allophones of the same phoneme. /t/ which is realized [t^h] in front of /u/ and [t] elsewhere. Their environments of occurrence can be illustrated by the following rule:

$$\begin{array}{l} \nearrow [t^h] / \# \text{ -- u} \\ /t/ \\ \searrow [t] \text{ elsewhere.} \end{array}$$

8. [f, f^w] presents the following distribution:

[f]		[f ^w]	
[fɔ]	'king'	[f ^w ɔ]	'leaf'
[màfè]	'shadow'	[f ^w àkúp]	'spoon'
[fà]	'a blind'		

[f] occurs at word initial and middle positions in front of any other vowel than /ə/. [f^w] occurs at word initial position in front of /ə/.

Therefore [f] and [f^w] are contextual variants of the same phoneme /f/ as can be illustrated by the following rule:

$$\begin{array}{l} \nearrow [f^w] / \# \text{ -- } \text{ə} \\ /f/ \\ \searrow [f] \text{ elsewhere} \end{array}$$

9. [k^w, k^w] presents the following distribution:

[k ^w]		[k ^w]	
[k ^w í]	'bone'	[k ^w ɔ]	'rooster'
[nàk ^w ó]	'spear'		
[-k ^w ɔ-]	'return'		
[-k ^w á-]	'take'		

While [k^w] occurs at word initial and middle positions in front of any other vowel than /ə/, [k^w] occurs at word initial position in front of /ə/.

Therefore both [k^w] and [[k^w]] are allophones of the same phoneme /k^w/ which is realized as [k^w] in front of /ə/ and [k^w] elsewhere as can be seen in the following rule:

$$\begin{array}{l} \nearrow [k^w] / \# \text{ -- } \text{ə} \\ /k^w/ \\ \searrow [k^w] \text{ elsewhere} \end{array}$$

10. The trio [k, k^h, '] presents the following distribution:

[k]		[k ^h]		[']	
[kòt]	'foot'	[kók ^h ú]	'little'	[tànká']	'a fence'
[tèkè']	'elephant'			[kəkù']	'sugar cane'
[màkát]	'a white'			[p'è']	'burden'

[k] occurs at word initial and middle position after vowels different from /ə/. [k^h] occurs exclusively at intervocalic position after /ə/. ['] appears exclusively at word final position.

Therefore [k], [k^h] and ['] are allophones of the same phoneme [k] which is realized [k^h] at intervocalic position after /ə/, ['] at word final position and [k] elsewhere. Their environments of occurrence can be illustrated by the following rule:

$$\begin{array}{l} \nearrow [k^h] / \text{ə} \text{ -- } V \\ /k/ \rightarrow ['] / \text{ -- } // \\ \searrow [k] \text{ elsewhere} \end{array}$$

11. [ɣ, ɣ^w] presents the following distribution:

[ɣ]		[ɣ ^w]	
[ɣě]	'hip'	[ɣ ^w ə]	'this'
[ɣǒ]	'disease'		
[mâyè]	'spider'		
[ɣèt]	'ring'		

[ɣ] occurs at word initial and middle positions in front of vowels other than /ə/ while [ɣ^w] occurs exclusively at word initial in front of /ə/.

Therefore [ɣ] and [ɣ^w] are allophones of the same phoneme /ɣ/ which is realized as [ɣ^w] in front of /ə/ and [ɣ] elsewhere. This can be illustrated by the following rule:

↗ [ɣ^w] / #-- ə
 /ɣ/
 ↘ [ɣ] elsewhere.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the Màmónyán language also presents contextual variants in its consonant system. Thus, we found ten phonemes after our analysis: /p/, /f/, /pf/, /t/, /z/, /l/, /ʒ/, /k/, /k^w/, /ɣ/.

3.3.3 Definition and classification of consonantic phonemes.

Only the pertinent features are considered.

3.3.3.1 Definition of consonant phonemes.

The Màmónyán phonemic system is made up of thirty-nine consonants which are described as follows:

/p/ is a voiceless labial stop

/p^w/ is a voiceless labialized labial stop

/p^j/ is a voiceless palatalized labial stop

/m/ is a nasal labial

/m^w/ is a nasal labialized labial

/m^j/ is a nasal palatalized labial

/w/ is a labial, glide

/w^j/ is a palatalized, labial glide

/pf/ is a labial affricate.

/f/ is a labial fricative

/f^j/ is a palatalized, labial fricative

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop

/t^w/ is a voiceless labialized alveolar stop

/tʰ/ is a voiceless palatalized alveolar stop

/n/ is a nasal alveolar

/nʷ/ is a nasal labialized alveolar

/ts/ is a alveolar affricate

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative

/sʷ/ is a labialized alveolar fricative

/sʰ/ is a voiceless palatalized alveolar fricative

/z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative

/zʰ/ is a voiced palatalized fricative

/l/ is an alveolar lateral.

/lʷ/ is a labialized lateral

/ʃ/ is a voiceless palatal fricative

/ʃʷ/ is a labialized palatal fricative

/ʒ/ is a voiced palatal fricative

/ʒʷ/ is a voiced labialized palatal fricative

/ny/ is a nasal palatal

/tʃ/ is a palatal affricate

/tʃʷ/ is a palatal labialized affricate

/ly/ is a palatal lateral

/j/ is a palatal lateral glide

/k/ is a voiceless velar

/kʷ/ is a voiceless labialized velar

/kʰ/ is a palatalized velar

/ŋ/ is a nasal velar

/ŋʷ/ is a nasal labialized velar

/ɣ/ is a voiced velar fricative

3.3.3.2 Classification of consonant phonemes.

The thirty nine consonants phonemes attested in Màmónyán either as voiced or voiceless can be classified under the following phonetic categories:

-plosives: p, p^w, p^j, t, t^w, t^j, k, k^w, k^j

-Affricates: pf, ts, tʃ, tʃ^w

-Fricatives-voiceless : f, f^j, s, s^w, s^j, ʃ, ʃ^w

voiced : z, z^j, ʒ, ʒ^w, ʎ

-Nasals: m, m^w, m^j, n, n^w, ny, ŋ, ŋ^w

-Lateral: l, l^w, ly

-Glide: w, w^j, j

3.4 The màmónyán phonemic chart

TB7:

Place of articulation	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar
Manner of articulation				
plosive	p p ^w p ^j	t t ^w t ^j		k k ^w k ^j
nasal	m m ^w m ^j	n n ^w	ny	ŋ ŋ ^w
affricate	pf	ts	tʃ tʃ ^w	
fricative	f f ^j	s s ^w s ^j	ʃ ʃ ^w	
		z z ^j	ʒ ʒ ^w	ʎ
lateral		l l ^w	ly	
glide	w w ^j		j	

3.4.1 The system at words initial position.

It is the same as the phonemic consonant chart.

3.4.2 The system at words middle position

TB8:

p	t	t ^j	k
m	n	ny	ŋ
	ts	tʃ	ʃ ^w
	l ^w		
	s		
	z	ʒ	ʒ ^w ʁ

3.4.3 The system at words final position

TB9:

p	t	k
m	n	ŋ
	l	
w	j	

Consonants which occur at this position are very limited.

We conclude this part by saying that, the Màmányán language has a total of 11 vowel phonemes, 39 consonant phonemes and 4 tonemes.

We will now begin with part II of our work which is the syntagmatic analysis.

PART II
SYNTAGMATIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER IV
THE SYLLABLE

After establishing the phonemes of the Màmónyán language, it is important to examine the various syllable and word structures, alongside the environments of occurrence of the phonemes in the attested patterns. This is very important because it will help to review and confirm some of the conclusions arrived at during phonemic analysis. It will equally justify some of the interpretations provided for ambiguous sound segments in the previous chapter.

4.0 General definition

The syllable according to Wieseemann et al. (1983:57) can be considered as a unit of sound sequence containing at least a centre which is the summit or nucleus.

In African languages, identifying a syllable is not always easy. There are words easy to interpret: those with simple sounds, and words whose interpretation is very difficult: those with complex sounds. For example, if we have to determine the syllabic boundary of a word structured CC VC VC, we will have to return to the paradigmatic analysis and check first whether the language has a syllabic nasal. Secondly whether the language has modified consonants and finally if it has closed syllables.

4.1 Definition of the syllable in Màmónyán.

In the scope of our analysis, we will define the syllable in Màmónyán as being a sound or more, grouped round a syllable centre which is the summit or the nucleus.

In Màmónyán, the nucleus is defined by a tone which is born either by a vowel or a syllabic nasal N.

4.2 Types of syllables in the Màmónyán language.

Four types of syllables are found in this language:

1. V: It is the most simple form of the Màmónyán syllable.

Examples 16: /ó/ 'you'
 /à/ 'he'

2. N: It is the syllabic form of the nasal consonant. It functions as a syllabic nucleus and bears a tone in this case.

Examples 17: /ṁ/ 'I'
 /ṁ̃/ 'yes'
 /ṅ-k'ě/ 'water'
 /ṅ-túk/ 'night'

3. CV: this is the recurrent form in this language.

Examples 18: /i/ 'eye'
 /iḁ/ 'king'
 /pè/ 'bag'

4. CVC: This form comes immediately after the CV form in terms of frequency.

Examples 19: /səp/ 'pepper'
 /kət/ 'foot'
 /lóp/ 'a hook'

4.3 Syllabic Combinations

There are four (4) types of syllabic combinations in Màmónyán:

4.3.1 Monosyllables

A monosyllable is just one syllable which stands for a significant unit. This syllable can have the following structures:

4.3.1.1 The V Structure

Examples 20: /ò/ 'you'
 /à/ 'he'

Words which have this structure are usually prepositions, and personal pronouns.

4.3.1.2 The N Structure

N is a syllabic nasal which can be considered as [m], [n] or [ŋ] depending on the nature of the consonant it precedes.

Examples 21: /ñ-lè/ 'needle'
 /m-pì/ 'seed'
 /ñ-tôk/ 'palace'
 /ŋ-kèt/ 'hundred'
 /m/ 'I'
 /m̃ / 'yes'

This structure stands for the first person singular, the affirmative and mostly for the singular prefix class marker.

4.3.1.3 The CV structure.

This structure is an open syllable made up of a consonant and a vowel.

Examples 22:	/pè/	'profit'
	/mó/	'light'
	/fɔ̃/	'king'
	/ʃó/	'fish'
	/m ^w ô/	'child'

4.3.1.4 The CVC structure

This is a closed syllable structure which is made up of an initial consonant, a vowel and closed by a final consonant.

Examples 23 :	/fàk/	'work'
	/k ^j âk/	'mirror'
	/kòt/	'foot'

4.3.2 Monosyllabic combinations.

4.3.2.1 Combinations in the CV structure

The combinations here are limited since not all the consonant phonemes can occur in monosyllables. The tables below illustrate the co-occurrence of consonants and vowels in the CV syllable structure.

The following information is necessary to understand these tables: the + sign refers to a possible combination.

4.3.2.1.1 Monosyllabic combinations table in CV structure where C stands for a simple consonant.

TB10:

V	ɪ	e	ɛ	ʊ	u	ə	a	u	o	ɔ	ɑ
C											
p	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
m	+				+			+		+	+
pf						+					
f	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+
w			+				+			+	
t	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+
n	+		+			+		+		+	
ts	+	+	+	+							
s	+			+	+				+		+
z				+			+	+	+	+	
l	+	+			+			+		+	
ny		+									
tʃ					+			+			
ʃ					+			+			
ʒ	+										
ly							+				
j	+	+								+	
k	+		+					+	+	+	+
ŋ							+	+			
ɣ					+			+	+		

From the above, it is observed that some simple consonants present very limited occurrence contexts. It is the case of /pf, tʃ, ny, ly, ʃ, ŋ, ɣ, ʒ, w/

4.3.2.1.2 Monosyllabic combinations table in CV structure where C stands for a labialized consonant.

This is an open syllabic structure which is made up of a labialized consonant and a vowel.

TB11:

V	i	e	ɛ	a	o	ɔ
C						
p ^w				+		
m ^w					+	
l ^w	+			+		+
n ^w			+	+	+	+
s ^w			+			
l ^w		+		+		+
ʃ ^w	+					
ʒ ^w			+		+	
ʒ ^w	+					
k ^w	+	+	+	+	+	
ŋ ^w				+		

It can be discerned from the above table that the following vowel phonemes /u, ɔ, ə, u, ɑ/ never occur after labialized consonants in a CV word structure.

4.3.2.1.3 Monosyllabic combinations table in CV where C stands for a palatalized consonant.

TB12:

V	i	e	ɛ	ə	a
C					
p ^j		+			
m ^j					+
w ^j			+		
f ^j		+			
t ^j				+	+
s ^j		+			+
z ^j		+			+
k ^j		+			+

From the above table, we notice that the distribution of vowels after palatalized consonants in a CV word structure is very limited. The vowels which occur most after these consonants are /e/ and /a/. We also observe from the above that the following vowels /u, ɔ/ and all the back vowels never occur in this position.

4.3.2.2 Combinations in the CVC structure.

The tables below illustrate the occurrence of consonants and vowels in the CVC syllabic structure.

4.3.2.2.1 Monosyllabic combinations table in CVC structure
where C₁ is a simple consonant.

TB13:

V	ɪ	e	ɛ	ʌ	a	u	ɔ	ɑ
C								
m			+		+			+
f	+			+		+	+	+
l						+	+	
n	+			+	+			+
ts			+				+	
s			+		+		+	
z					+			
l	+		+	+			+	+
(f				+		+		
ly		+						
ʒ				+		+		
ŋ					+			

From the above table, one can deduce that, not all the vowels occur in this closed syllable CVC with C₁ as a simple consonant. Also, not all the simple consonants occur in this structure.

4.3.2.2.2 Monosyllabic combinations table in CVC where C₁ is labialized.

TB14:

V	i	ε	a	o
C				
p ^w				+
t ^w			+	
s ^w	+			
k ^w	+	+		

It can be deduced from the above chart that consonants and vowels occurring in this structure are very limited.

4.3.2.2.3 Monosyllabic combinations table in CVC structure where C₁ is palatalized.

TB15:

V	e
C	
p ^j	+
m ^j	+
f ^j	+
s ^j	+
z ^j	+

We can conclude from the above chart that only one vowel /e/ occurs in this position. also, we notice that this syllabic structure is not quire recurrent in Màmónyán.

4.3.3 Disyllabic combinations.

A disyllabic word is a word made up of two syllables. The various combinations we can have here are:

4.3.3.1 The N-CV structure

Examples 24:	/ŋ-kǔ/	'hill'
	/m-pò/	'body'
	/n-zà/	'behind'
	/n-lyâ/	'house'
	/n-zě/	'axe'

4.3.3.2 The VCV structure

Examples 25:	/i-pê/	'two'
	/i-tâ/	'five'
	/i-tò/	'six'
	/i-cí/	'other'

4.3.3.3 The N-CVC structure

Examples 26:	/ŋ-yáp/	'antelope'
	/m-pèt/	'stool'
	/ŋ-kòt/	'hundred'
	/ŋ-y'ók/	'year'
	/n-zòk/	'chest'

4.3.3.4 The V.CVC structure

Examples 27:	/ə-môk/	'one'
	/i-t'án/	'three'

4.3.3.5 The CV CV structure

Examples 28:	/lə-l'í/	'car'
	/nə-fű/	'tooth'
	/mə-t'á/	'saliva'
	/nə-k'ó/	'spear'
	/nə-f'è/	'thunder'
	/nə-t'ö/	'a prickle'

4.3.3.6 The CVCVC structure

Examples 29:	/fű-f'öt/	'wind'
	/t'ě-k'èk/	'elephant'
	/nə-p'ót/	'sky'
	/f'ək'úp/	'spoon'

4.3.4 Trisyllabic combinations.

The structures we can have here are the following:

4.3.4.1 The CV CV CV structure

Examples 30:	/mə-f'ě-nə/	'to go out'
	/mə-t'ă-nə/	'to go back/ to come back'
	/mə-ly'á-nə/	'to sleep'
	/mə-ý'é-nə/	'to threaten'

4.3.4.2 The V.CV.CV structure

Examples 31:	/í-nó-fó/	'eight'
	/í-nó-k ^w à/	'four'

4.3.4.3 The V CV CVC structure

Examples 32:	/lí-nó-púk/	'nine'
	/í-nó-fó/	'eight'

4.3.4.4 The N CV CV

Examples 33 :	/ñ-lò-zí/	'forehead'
	/m̃-pó-nà/	'peace'
	/m̃-pà-pò/	'squirrel'
	/m̃-pàlà/	'blanket'

4.3.4.5 The CV CVC structure

Examples 34:	/tà-ñ-kák/	'fence'
	/mà-ñ-yúp/	'hen'
	/mà-ñ-z ^w ǎ/	'ground nut'

4.3.4.6 The CV. CVC CV Structure

Examples 35:	/nà-lúk-nà/	'chin'
	/mà-lák-nà/	'to forbid'
	/mà-lék-nà/	'to announce'
	/mà-f'ék-nà/	'to argue'
	/mà-sáp-nà/	'to tore'
	/mà-zák-nà/	'to chop'
	/mà-măk-nà/	'to make a reduction'
	/mà-sót-nà/	'to undress'
	/mà-lék-nà/	'to relate'

4.3.5 Tetrasyllabic combinations

4.3.5.1 The CV CV CV CV Structure

Example 36: /mà-sà-wú-nà/ 'to wash'

4.3.5.2 The CV CV CVC CV structure

Example 37: /mà-tsâ-lùk-nà/ 'to hang'

4.4 Interpretation problems

4.4.1 Prefixation

When analyzing the syllabic structures, we realized that many words have prefixes.

Examples 38:	/nà-fǔ/	'tooth'
	/ŋ-γǔ/	'a patient'
	/lə-l ^w i/	'ear'
	/mà-fǔ	'teeth'
	/mà-γǔ/	'patients'
	/mà-l ^w i/	'ears'

From these examples, we notice that there are four different nouns class markers: *nə*, *lə* and *ŋ* which stand for the singular markers of nouns and *mə* which stands for the plural noun marker.

4.4.2 Other prefixes

If we consider the following examples:

39:	/ipê/	'two'
	/it ^l án /	'three'
	/inók ^w à/	'four'

/itâ/	'five'
/itò/	'six'
/isǎmpé/	'seven'
/inǎfó /	'eight'
/inápúk/	'nine'
/ñtsəp mók/	'eleven'
/ñtsəppè/	'twelve'
/ñtsəpt ^h ǎn/	'thirteen'
/ñtsəpnák ^w a/	'fourteen'
/ñtsəp tâ/	'fifteen'
/ñtsəp t ^h ô/	'sixteen'
/ñtsəp sǎmpé/	'seventeen'
/ñtsəp nǎfó/	'eighteen'
/ñtsəp népúk/	'nineteen'
/mú ñpɛ/	'twenty'
/mü mǎt ^h ǎn /	'thirty'
/mü mǎnǎk ^w à/	'forty'
/mü mǎtâ/	'fifty'
/mü mǎtó/	'sixty'
/mü mǎsámpe/	'seventy'
/mü mǎnǎfo/	'eighty'
/mü mǎnǎpúk/	'ninety'

We can deduce from the above that:

- the prefix 'i' stands for numbers in between one and ten
- the prefix 'ntsəp' stands for numbers in between ten and twenty.
- the 'mu' prefix stands for tens

We then conclude that 'i', 'ntsəp' and 'mu' are cardinal prefixes.

We can recapitulate this division in the table below:

The following symbols will be used to complete this table:

nb	=	number
cpf	=	cardinal prefix
nb > 1 < 10	=	numbers between one and 10
nb < 10 > 20	=	numbers between ten and twenty
t	=	tens

The cross indicates the correspondence between the number and prefix

TB16:

cpf	i	nstəp	mu
nb			
nb > 1 < 10	+		
nb > 10 < 20		+	
t			+

4.4.3 Prefixation and suffixation

All along our work, we noticed that verbs undergo these two affixations: prefixation and suffixation.

Illustration 40:

/mə-fě-nə/	'to go out'
/mə-sá-nə/	'to tear'
/mə-k ^w é-nə/	'to help'
/mə-lé-nə/	'to forget'
/mə-kòk-nə/	'to climb'
/mə-kô-nə/	'to touch'
/mə-pfá-nə/	'to die'

It is clear from the above examples that, the infinitive marker in the Màmónyán language is the discontinuous morpheme mə---nə.

CHAPTER V
TONE DISTRIBUTION

In this chapter, we will study the various structures of tonemes in polysyllabic words.

5.1 Disyllabic words.

The following combinations are possible tone occurrences in disyllabic words:

5.1.1 the H-H structure

Examples 41:	/káfá/	'sword'
	/kímí/	'tears'
	/pépúp/	'dust'
	/fúfú/	'white (color)'
	/mófú/	'bird'

5.1.2 The H-L structure

Examples 42:	/lúlà/	'bat'
	/tsókòt/	'mouse'
	/kúnè/	'pig'
	/nónò/	'day-time'

5.1.3 The L-L structure

Examples 43:	/tətòp/	'mud'
	/m̀pàk/	'worm'
	/nə̀f̀è/	'thunder'

/ɨkàt/	'hundred'
/məl ^w èt/	'beard'
/ɨkð/	'back'
/ɨzðk/	'chest'

5.1.4 The L- H structure

Examples 44:	/ɨɣ ^w ók/	'year'
	/mðwút/	'oil'
	/nðlú/	'guitar'
	/nðɣát/	'locust'
	/mðkát/	'a white'
	/nðɣá/	'jaw'
	/ɨz ^w í/	'cloth'
	/ɨzéj/	'plenty'
	/ɨɣá/	'no'
	/ɨtúk/	'night'

5.1.5 The H-LH structure

Example 45:	/mák ^w ðk/	'rooster'
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5.1.6 The H-HL structure

Examples 46:	/pák ^h ð/	'plate'
	/ɣáp ^h ð/	'part'

5.1.7 The L-LH structure

Examples 47:	/nəfǔ/	'tooth'
	/nəpǔ/	'melon'
	/nətǔ/	'a thorn'
	/məyǔ/	'a play'
	/nəpǐ/	'cola'
	/nək ^w ǔ/	'arrow'
	/nɛzǔ/	'axe'
	/ŋyǔ/	'a patient'
	/nǐǔ/	'bamboo'

5.1.8 The L-HL structure

Examples 48:	/əmōk/	'one'
	/nəyēm/	'armpit'
	/ipê/	'two'
	/màt ^w â/	'car'
	/nǐ/	'grain'
	/nǐ ^w ô/	'horn'
	/mpû/	'rain'
	/ŋyê/	'reap'
	/ŋyâ/	'thief'
	/yùkâ/	'sweet potatoes'

5.1.9 The LH-L structure

Example 49:	/tɛkək/	'elephant'
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5.1.10 The HL-L

Examples 50:	/mâkàp/	'cocoyam'
	/mâfò/	'queen'

5.2 Trisyllabic words.

5.2.1 The H-H-H structure

Examples 51:	/ínáfó/	'eight'
	/ínápúk/	'nine'

5.2.2 The H-H-L structure

Examples 52:	/mánwónà/	'breast feed'
	/máḡánà/	'to tickle'
	/ínók ^w à/	'four'

5.2.3 The H-L-H structure

Example 53:	/kókòná/	'ladder'
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5.2.4 The L-L-H structure

Examples 54:	/màḡá/	'woman'
	/ḡàs ^é /	'maize'

5.2.5 The H-L-L structure

Example 55:	/kálà/	'lizard'
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5.2.6 The L-L-L structure

Examples 56:	/m̀pà/	'blanket'
	/m̀pà/	'squirrel'

5.2.7 the L-H-L structure

Examples 57:	/m̀pónà/	'peace'
	/ǹtúnà/	'ear'

5.2.8 The L-LH-L structure

Examples 58:	/m̀zínà/	'to sweep'
	/m̀sě̀nà/	'to return'

5.2.9 The H-L-HL structure

Examples 59:	/m̀ám̀pú/	'dog'
	/t̀sám̀pí/	'life'

5.2.10 the H-LH-L structure

Examples 60:	/m̀áwönà/	'to do'
	/m̀álänà/	'to pick'

5.2.11 The HL-H-H structure

Example 61:	/m̀átátók/	'potatoes'
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5.2.12 The H-HL-HL structure

Example 62:	/kúk ^w ék ^w ê/	'butterfly'
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5.3 The tetrasyllabic words.

5.3.1 The L-L-H-L structure

Example 63:	/m̀sə̀wúnà/	'to wash'
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5.3.2 The L-H-L-H structure

Example 64: /ñléñlí/ 'smoke'

5.3.3 The L-L-L-LH structure

Example 65: /ñzəñzĩ/ 'fly'

5.3.4 The L-HL-L-L structure

Example 66: /màtʃùlùknə/ 'to hang'

5.3.5 The H-HL-HL-H structure

Example 67: /mátʃ^věmăkók/ 'tortoise'

PART III

STANDARDIZATION PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER VI
STANDARDIZATION PRELIMINARIES

According to Wieseemann et al. (1983:129), standardization deals with the development of written norms of a language. That is all the tasks performed in order to get a language from an oral communicative stage to a written one.

In this chapter, we will be concerned with some factors that should be taken into consideration before the standarization of any language. These factors will be applied to the Màmónyán context.

6.1 Dialect situation and inherent intercomprehension

The population of the Bamenyam village is estimated to about 8,000 occupying sixteen quarters, the inhabitants of which speak the same language. There seem to be no difference of pronunciation, nor problems of comprehension among them. Thus, the dialect situation seems to be homogenous among all the quarters of Bamenyam village.

6.2 Possible multilingualism

Most of the people interviewed, especially those from fifteen to thirty years, told us that they did not understand any of the neighbouring languages. However, they use Pidgin English and French with non-Màmónyán speakers and when they go marketing exchanges in the neighboring villages such as Galim, Bati, Bamukumbit, etc. Since they are obliged to communicate with others. Màmónyán is used exclusively in all the daily activities. The interviewed groups and individuals further added that unless they are in considerable contact with the other languages, they will not understand. We can now understand why only people from a certain age range, forty-five to seventy, reported that they understand and speak the

neighbouring languages very well and that there is mutual intelligibility among speakers of either languages.

Therefore, comprehension of neighbouring languages is acquired and not inherent.

6.3 The viability of the language.

Unlike the case in other continents, standardization of languages in Africa is based on the practical need of the written form of the languages in daily life activities by the speakers.

6.3.1 Language use within the community.

As we earlier mentioned, in all the sixteen quarters that constitute the Bamenyam village, the mother tongue is used within homes and plantations. Màmónyán is used in the local market, during marriage ceremonies and funerals where negotiations are done in the mother tongue and songs sung in the same language. The only instance where another language is used is when the people have to interact with non-Màmónyán speakers.

6.3.2 Church use of the mother tongue

In the protestant church since the preacher is not a Màmónyán speaker, readings are done in French and interpreted by a native speaker for the faithful to understand. In this church, nearly all the songs are sung in the mother tongue.

The situation is different in the Catholic church where services are conducted exclusively in Gyembõõ which is the language of the preacher

with no interpretation in Màmónyán. Some worshippers interviewed revealed that many people have abandoned this church since they do not understand the Gyembóon language to join the protestant church where they feel more at home. People who still go to the catholic church are those who have acquired the language in the course of time. Some Màmónyán speakers who continue going to the church without understanding said they still go there because of the songs sung in Màmónyán. They added further that the only word they could understand is "Amen" which ends the prayers. During this interview, we noticed a general preference expressed by the people for their own language to any other one.

6.3.3 Attitude toward the development of the mother tongue.

There is not yet a Màmónyán language committee. However, the speakers expressed the will to form one as soon as they have someone like a linguist who can lead them. Some even proposed to finance my research if I were to continue studies in their language.

A certain Thomas was said to have been teaching people during holidays in the Màmónyán language some years in the past. We insisted on interviewing him but nobody knew his whereabouts since he was no longer coming. According to the group and individuals interviewed, he was using the French alphabet to write the language. These people however expressed the wish to see their children read and write Màmónyán. They also added that, they would be very happy to read and write their letters in their own language without looking for somebody else to do it in French or English as it is the case now.

6.4 Reference dialect for the written form of the language

We talk of reference dialect only in a situation of dialect variation within a language. That is the lack of homogeneity in the way speakers of the same language speak depending on their region of origin. This is not the case of the Màmónyán language where we have a homogeneous situation.

In the survey carried by Grant Caroline, A. (1933) in the Bamenyam village, it is said that there are four other villages where the Màmónyán language was reported by the interviewed group to be spoken: Bamali, Bambalang, Bamukumbit, and Batchandé (a quarter of Awing). This was however to be verified. After our own investigations on groups and individuals, only the case of Batchandé was attested. Nearly all the people interviewed, young and old said in that particular quarter of Awing (Batchandé), they always feel at home when they go there for their trade since the Batchandé speak and understand Màmónyán. With the other three villages mentioned above, the Bamenyam people's points of view were divergent. We interviewed youths and old people separately.

The youths, most of them between fifteen and thirty years told us that they also go for market exchanges in these three villages: Bamali, Bambalang, and Bamukumbit but that they do not understand a single word uttered by the inhabitants. Thus they are forced to use Pidgin English for their interactions.

On the contrary, those people with ages ranging from forty-five to seventy years, said that they understand the speakers of these villages very well.

Historically speaking, it seems that the Màmónyán speaking community originally included the above mentioned villages. However,

since partition by the French and English people after World War I, Bamenyam has been under Francophone administration as part of the West province, whereas the other four villages have been under Anglophone administration as part of the North-West province.

According to those interviewed, there is no problem of comprehension between the inhabitants of Batchandé on the one hand and speakers of Màmányán in Bamenyam on the other.

The fact that those who attested the cases of Bamali, Bambalang, and Bamukumbit were old people could mean that comprehension of the languages spoken in those three villages is not inherent but acquired through frequent contacts. When asked if there are differences between the languages and their own mother tongue, the people said there are some differences which can be wiped off if one listens to the words attentively.

CONCLUSION

Investigations on the interviewed groups and individuals indicate that the Màmányán speakers all speak the same speech form with no apparent difference of pronunciation. The main language of wider communication is Pidgin English since most of the neighbouring markets the people frequent are under Anglophone administration. Comprehension and use of the neighbouring languages are limited to those who have been exposed to them.

The use of Màmányán in church, songs, ceremonies, etc. indicates that there is a pressing need for the development of the written form of the language. It is again highly needed for religious purposes where translation and interpretation are necessary for communication to occur. Attitude of the people toward the development of their language is paramount although there is no language committee yet.

The following two diagnostic questions were used for estimating how well related languages are understood and to know whether comprehension is based on inherent intelligibility (due to linguistic similarities) or to language learning (due to contact with speakers of the language.)

1. "If you are in that place where language X is spoken, what language do you use, and how well do you understand each other?"
2. "Can even a young child from this place understand someone from that place? If not, how old must the child be before he understands?"

CHAPTER VII

ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES OF THE Màmónyán LANGUAGE

Our main aim in this chapter is to establish an alphabet which constitutes the basis of the subsequent development of a writing system for the language. This alphabet will then help us to establish the orthographic principles.

7.1 The Màmónyán alphabet

Generally, alphabet can be defined as the graphic representations of individual sounds of a given language. Proposed graphemes for the Màmónyán language will be chosen from the General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages (GACL).

After the phonological analysis, we proposed the following alphabet:

a, c, c^w, e, ɔ, ɛ, ə, f, f^y, pf, gh, l, k, k^w, k^y, l, l^w, ly, m, m^w, m^y, n, n^w, ny, ŋ, ŋ^w, o, ɔ, ɔ, p, p^w, p^y, ts, s, s^w, s^y, sh, sh^w, t, t^w, t^y, u, u, w, w^y, y, z, z^y, zh, zh^w.

The table below shows the symbols used, their counterparts in proposed graphemes and illustrative words in Màmónyán and English in vertical columns.

Symbols used		Proposed graphemes	illustration	Gloss
/a/	[a]	'a'	'tǎ'	'father'
/tʃ/	[tʃ]	'c'	'cúk'	'achu'
	[f]	'c ^w '		
	[e]	'e'		
	[ɔ]	'ɔ'		
	[ɛ]	'ɛ'		
	[ə]	'ə'		

/f/	[f]	'f'	'fɔ'	'king'
/fʰ/	[fʰ]	'fʰ'	'fʰək'	'quarrel'
/pf/	[pf]	'pf'	'pfə'	'corpse'
/ɣ/	[ɣ]	'gh'	'ghɔ'	'disease'
/i/	[i]	'i'	'fi'	'key'
/k/	[k]	'k'	'kət'	'foot'
/kʷ/	[kʷ]	'kʷ'	'kʷɪ'	'shoulder'
/kʲ/	[kʲ]	'kʲ'	'kʲá'	'coal'
/l/	[l]	'l'	'li'	'eye'
/lʷ/	[lʷ]	'lʷ'	'lʷɔ'	'breast'
/ly/	[ly]	'ly'	'lyà'	'cap'
/m/	[m]	'm'	'mɔ'	'light'
/mʷ/	[mʷ]	'mʷ'	'mʷɔ'	'child'
/mʲ/	[mʲ]	'mʲ'	'mʲá'	'mother'
/n/	[n]	'n'	'nák'	'meat'
/nʷ/	[nʷ]	'nʷ'	'nʷá'	'snake'
/ny/	[ny]	'ny'	'mənɪ'	'knife'
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	'ŋ'	'ŋù'	'man'
/ŋʷ/	[ŋʷ]	'ŋʷ'	'nəŋʷán'	'bell'
	[ɔ]	'o'		
	[ɔʰ]	'ɔʰ'		
	[ɔʲ]	'ɔʲ'		
	[p]	'p'		
	[pʷ]	'pʷ'		
	[pʲ]	'pʲ'		
	[ts]	'ts'		
	[s]	's'		
	[sʷ]	'sʷ'		
	[sʲ]	'sʲ'		
	[ʃ]	'sh'		

/ʃ ^w /	[ʃ ^w]	'sh ^w '	'məsh ^w ónə'	'to pull'
/t/	[t]	't'	'tɛkək'	'elephant'
/t ^w /	[t ^w]	't ^w '	't ^w ɔk'	'testicle'
/t ^j /	[t ^j]	't ^y '	't ^y ə'	'tail'
/u/	[u]	'u'	'fù'	'blind'
/u/	[u]	'u'	'nù'	'honey'
/w/	[w]	'w'	'mèwút'	'oil'
/w ^j /	[w ^j]	'w ^y '	'w ^y ɛ'	'my'
/j/	[j]	'y'	'yì'	'claw'
/z/	[z]	'z'	'zòp'	'song'
/z ^j /	[z ^j]	'z ^y '	'z ^y ɛ'	'palm leaf'
/ʒ/	[ʒ]	'zh'	'mèzhî'	'food'
/ʒ ^w /	[ʒ ^w]	'zh ^w '	'mèzh ^w éknè'	'to wait'

7.2 Orthographic principles.

Usurla Wiesemann et al. (1983:149) define orthography as the rules that govern the way the letters of the alphabet are used in order to write and read a language. These are some of the reading and writing principles necessary to the Màmányán language.

7.2.1. Consonant principles

-The glides w and y mark the labialization and the palatalization of the consonant they follow. Thus the labialized and the palatalized consonants have a monophonemic status.

-A NC sequence has a biphonemic status.

-The nasals m/n/ŋ before consonants are neutralized in /n/ which always bears a tone.

- In a CC sequence, C₁ is always nasal.
- Write /p/ but read [p^w] in front of /a/ and /p/ elsewhere.
- Write /f/ but read [f^w] in front of /ə/ and /f/ elsewhere.
- Write /t/ but read [t^h] in front of /u/ and /t/ elsewhere.
- Write /k/ but read [k^b] at middle position after /a/, ['] at final position and [k] elsewhere.
- Write /k^w/ but read [k^w] in front of /ə/ and [k^w] elsewhere.
- Write /gh/ but read [gh^w] in front of /ə/ and [gh] elsewhere.
- Write /p/, /z/, /l/ /zh/ and /gh/ but read [b], [dz], [d], [dʒ] and [g] respectively after nasals and [p], [z], [l], [zh], and [gh] elsewhere.

7.2.2 Vowel principles.

-The Mâmónyán language does not admit the VV sequence in its system. However a doubled vowel sequence will represent a contour tone in which only the high tone will be marked.

Write /u/ but read [ü] or [u].

4. Tone principles.

Whenever two or more tones occur in a lower register than the previous one,

if the high tone will be marked by a contour tone, the vowel will be marked. Thus the HL or LH tones will

7.2.4 Punctuation principles.

- A sentence starts with a capital letter and ends with a period.
- Orthographic transcription will be put in quotation marks.
- Words and clauses in a sentence will be separated by a comma.
- Compound words will be separated by a hyphen.

Example 41: /t^yè-mə̀k^wò̀nə̀/ 'dusk'

- A question ends with a question mark.

The above principles will be applied in the texts which will be presented in our annex.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The main objective of this work was to study the sound system of Màmányán and to elaborate some basic elements for its standardization. This required a paradigmatic and syntagmatic analysis of the language and also perspectives of its standardization. To some problems we encountered, solutions were found. In the following section, we are going to recapitulate the main points of our analysis.

After the examination of tones, four tonemes were attested: the H tone, the L tone, the HL tone and the LH tone.

As far as the phonemic analysis is concerned, we adopted the minimal pair approach and the complementary distribution. Thus eleven out of the twelve vowels found in the language were attested as phonemes. This is because [ü] and [u] are free variants. Thirty-nine of the fifty-nine consonants found in the language acquired their status as phonemes. This is because [b], [d], [dz], [dʒ] and [g] and their modified correspondents are just other realizations of /p/, /l/,

/z/, /ʒ/, and /ɣ/ and their modified correspondents respectively. [pʷ], [fʷ], [tʰ], [kʷ], [kʰ], [ʰ], and [ɣʷ] are also contextual variants of /pf/, /f/, /t/, /kʷ/, /k/, and /ɣ/ respectively.

A study of the structure of the syllables and words revealed that sequences of CC or VV are not permitted in Màmányán. The structures V, N, CV, CVC were corresponding structures for syllables. As far as words are concerned, we found monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables and words with up to four syllables.

Since some Màmányán segments were ambiguous and posed some interpretation problems, rules were postulated to govern their realization. Thus it was realized that labialized, palatalized and aspirated consonants have a monophonemic status in Màmányán. The interpretation of prenasals resulted in the option of a syllabic nasal N. Cases of consonant alternations were also noticed with verbs. Thus p~mb, w~ŋgʷ, l~nd, z~ndz, ʒ~ndʒ, ɣ~ndz.

The analysis of the preliminaries for standardization indicated homogeneity within the Màmányán speech community, the high use of the Mamányán language in all daily activities and the wish expressed by its users to read and write in their own language. Thus there is an urgent need for the development of the written speech of the language.

In spite of its scientific nature, this work is just a sketch since it does not explore all the phonological features and processes of Màmányán. Thus our conclusions could be an object of a much deeper study in order to enlighten some points which did not retain our attention. Further research would enrich both the distinctive system of segments and the prosodic phenomena that exist in the language. In fact, generative and autosegmental studies would reveal new insights in the analysis of this language especially in the case of suprasegmental elements. These include an examination of phenomena like tone and vowel harmony, tonal changes such as upstep, downstep and downdrift.

Further research is also very necessary in the domain of standardization. Therefore, pedagogic materials should be elaborated especially primers which

would be a vital tool for the reading and writing of Màmónyán. A language committee would be of great importance as it would favour the training of teachers in the target language.

It was our hope that this study would reveal the sound system of Màmónyán which is needed by teachers of English and French faced with the problem of interference and transfer. It would also reveal the urgent need for the standardization of this language considering its use within the Bamenyam community and the positive attitude of the people towards their language.

It was also our hope that this work would provide some of the information needed by linguists who intend to carry out comparative analyses with the aim of formulating universal linguistic theories.

Finally, this investigation is a contribution not only to Màmónyán and Grassfield Bantu linguistics in particular, but also to the more general study of Cameroonian languages.

ANNEX

a. Illustrative texts.

Each sentence of the texts will comprise five lines. The first line being the phonetic transcription, the second line the phonemic transcription, the third the orthographic transcription, the fourth the word for word translation and the fifth the literary translation in English.

Text 1

[m̀bám̀b`ò']

/m̀pám̀p`òk/

'Npá-np`ok'

'Tale Tale

'A tale'

[m̀ə̀h̃g`ǎ í(ʃǎ ǹə̀ndá ǹə̀ tʃǎ ǹə̀ p̀ò pé pé]

/m̀ə̀h̃g`ǎí tʃǎ ǹə̀ ndá ǹə̀ tʃǎ ǹə̀ p̀ò pépê/

'Mə̀ng`h`aá ícǎ́ ǹə̀ nlá ǹə̀ cǎ́ ǹə̀ p̀ó ɔ́ pépé'

'Woman certain past live with children two'

'A woman was living with two children'

[tá' m̀ə̀nt'á ǹə̀ m̀`ò p'é wě]

/ták m̀ə̀nt'á ǹə̀ m̀`ò p'é wě /

'Ták m̀ə̀nt'á ǹə̀ m̀`óo p'é wé'

'One orphan with child real her'

'Her real born child and an orphan'

[à nè ñ gó ñg^wõ ñg^wá' nõ má ñt'á]

/à nè ñyóñy^wõ ñy^wák nõ máñt'á /

'a nè ñghóngh^wóo ñgh^wák noó má nt'yá'

'She frequently do illtreatment to orphan'

'She illtreated the orphan too much'

[tá' Lyé' tá ñbá, á tó máñt'á ñgá'à y^wá t^wók' ñk'è]

/ták Lyék tá ñpá, á tó máñt'é ñyákà yá t^wók' ñk'è /

'ták Lyék táa npá, á tó máñt'é ghák à ghás t^wók' nk'yéé'

'One day past be she send orphan that he go fetch water'

'One day, she sent the orphan to go and fetch water'

[máñt'á nyí tē ñk^wé'ná ñpfás'á]

/máñt'á nyí tē ñk^wékná ñpfás'á /

'Máñt'á nyí i tē nk^wékná ñpfás'yá'

'Orphan walk until meet ghost'

'He walked until he met a ghost.'

[á tsú ñb^wá jé ñgá'páñdò ñk'è wálà máñbê]

/á tsú ñp^wá jé ñyák páñlò ñk'è wálà máñpê /

'Á cú np^wáá yé ñghák páanlò ñk'yé wála mápée'

'He tell to him that, roads water that two.'

'The ghost told him that there are two roads leading to the stream.'

[tá' lá, tá' màm̃bê màm̃bê]

/ták lá, ták màm̃bê màm̃bê /

'táák láá, táák mənpee mənpee'

'One clean one faeces faeces.'

'One is clean but the another is full with faeces.'

[ó ìnbéj mǎ ñdó láná, sátà m'ê wô]
 /ó ìnpéj mǎ ñló láná, sátà m'ê wô/
 'Ó npéy máa nló láná, sátà m'yée wóo'
 'You take road clean Satan swallow you.'
 'If you take the clean road, Satan will swallow you.'

[ìnbéj mǎñdó mǎmbê mǎmbê kówú ñg^wípót'á]
 / ìnbéj mǎ ñló mǎmpê mǎmpê kówú ñg^wípót'á/
 ' ìnbéy máa nló mǎ npée mǎ pée kówú ñgh^wí pót'á'
 'Take road faeces faeces then have luck.'
 'Take the one which is full of faeces and you will have luck'

[mǎnt'ís z^wò' ntú ìnpfàs'á]
 / mǎnt'ís z^wòk ntú ìnpfàs'á/
 'Mǎnt'ís zh^wok ntú ñpfàs'á'
 'Orphan listen advice ghost'
 'The orphan listened to the advice of the ghost.'

[á ñdē nǒ mǎñdó mǎmbê mǎmbê ñdz'ú ñgá ñk'ê]
 /á ñlě nǒ mǎñló mǎmpê mǎmpê ñz'ú ñgá ñk'ê/
 Á ñleé noó máanló mǎnpée mǎnpée nzh'yú ñgháa-nk'yée.'
 'He pass on road faeces faeces see hippopotamus.'
 'He passed through the dirt road and saw a hippopotamus.'

[áná ñàγǎ mǎjô ìnb^wá jé]
 /áná ñàγǎ mǎjô ìnp^wá jé/
 ' Á ñá ñagháá máyóo np^wáyé'
 'It give many things to him.'
 'It gave him many things.'

[máht'á k'ó tsǎ ñd'á, màñg'wà wó z'ù màjô mé]

/máht'á k'ó tsǎ ñl'á, màñg'wà wó z'ù màjô mé/

'Mánt'á k'ó tsǎ- ñl'áa, màñgh'wà wó zh'úu màjô mé.'

'Orphan reach mouth house woman that see things his.'

'When he went back home, his stepmother saw his things.'

[á tó m'ò wě ñg á' à γ'ê káñdó mé májô ñbàná]

/á tó m'ò wě ñg ák à γ'ê káñló mé májô ñpàná/

'Á tó m'ò wě ñgh ák a gháa káñló mé máyô ñpàná'

'She send child her that he go too his things bring.'

'She sent her own child to go and bring back his own things too.'

[m'ó wè γ'ê lá á má ñdz'ó' ntú ñpfàs'á]

/m'ówè γ'ê lá á má ñz'ók ntú ñpfàs'á/

'M'ó wè gh áa láa á má ñzh'ók ntú ñpfàs'áa'

'Child her go but he not follow advice ghost.'

'Her child went but did not follow the instructions of the ghost.'

[á ñbéj má ñdó láná, ñtsú ñk'ě sátà m'è wé]

/á ñpéj máñló láná, ñtsú ñk'ě sátà m'è wé]

'Á ñpéy máa ñló láná, ñtsú ñkyeé sátà m'ée wé.'

'He take road clean reach water, Satan swallow him.'

'He took the clean road and was swallowed by the spirit.'

Text 2

[ñbám'wò']

/ñpám'wòk /

'Npá-np'ok'

'Tale tale'

'A tale'

[màtʃ^wě māk^wà' pû nè ñ g^wà ì nè mbá pù sú]

/màtʃ^wě māk^wàk pû nè ñ ɣ^wà ì nè mpá pu sú/

'Màc^wéé máak^w ak púu ne ngh^wa ì nè npá pu sú.'

'Tortoise and panther past be pl friends

'Once upon a time, tortoise and panther were friends.'

[nũ tâ wó ñdz'è tʃà mb'è]

/nũ tâ wó ñz'è tʃà mp'è /

'Nuú táa wó nz'e cə np'e.'

'Moment past be hunger certain exist.'

'They lived together till when a great period of hunger came.'

[màtʃ^wé tʃú mb^wǎ nè ñg^wà ñgá pù ʒ^wé pám'á pú]

/màtʃ^wé tʃú mp^wǎ nè ñ ɣ^wà ñɣá pù ʒ^wé pám'á pú/

'Màc^wéé cú np^wáá ne - ngh^wa nghá puzh^wé pám'á pú.'

'Tortoise say to panther that they kill mothers their.'

'Tortoise suggested that the two of them should kill their mothers.'

[nè ñ g^wà pəj]

/nè ñ ɣ^wà pəj /

'Ne-ngh^wa páəy.'

'Panther accept.'

'Panther accepted'

[à tʃú mb^wǎ jè ñgá', mà ʒ^wé m'è w'è t'ə ñk'è, ó ʒ^wé wò m'è mb'è ñk'è.]

/à tʃú mp^wǎ jè ñɣák, mà ʒ^wé m'è w'è t'ə ñk'è, ó ʒ^wé wò m'è mp'è ñk'è./

'A cú np^{aa} ye nghak, mə zh^{wé} m^{ye} w^{ye} t^{ya} nk^{yeé}, ózh^{wé} wo m^y á npeé nk^{yeé}.
 'He say to him that: I kill mother my up water, you kill your mother down water'
 'Tortoise told panther that: 'I will kill my mother up stream and you will kill your mother down stream.'

[ó ñdzú ñgá' ñk^{lě} p^láná ká mə ñdz^{wé} m^lé w^lé]

/ó ñzú ñyák ñk^{lě} p^láná ká mə ñz^{wé} m^lé w^lé/

'Ó nzhú ghák nk^{yeé} p^yáná ká mə nzh^{wé} m^{ye} w^lé.'

'You see that water red mean I kill mother my.'

'If the water has a red colour, then you should know. I've killed my mother.'

[nè ñ g^{wa} zú ñgà' ñk^{lě} t^{wa} ñb^lé, ñgó z^{wé} m^lé é.]

/nè ñy^{wa} zú ñyàk ñk^{lě} t^{wa} ñb^lé, ñgó z^{wé} m^lé é.]

'Ne ng^{wa} zúu ñgak ñk^yéc t^{wa}áa npyéc, nghó zh^{wé} m^{ye} e e.'

'Panther see that water come red immediately kill mother his'

'When panther saw that the water coming down was red, he immediately killed his own mother.'

[màt^{wé} yə ñdá m^léé, ñdzá' məköp t^hú ñgà' nã é]

/màt^{wé} yə ñlá m^léé, ñzák məköp tú ñyàk nã é /

'Məc^{wé}é gháə ñlá m^yééé, nzák məkoóp tú nghak náə éé.'

'Tortoise, go hide mother his, cut back of tree that meat her'

'Tortoise hid his mother and brought back of trees as her flesh.'

[pú túmá nã' pəm^là pú nyé]

/pú túmá nãk pəm^là pú nyé/

'Pú túmá nãk pəm^ya pú nyé.'

'They mix meat mothers their cook'

'They mixed the flesh of their mothers and prepared it.'

[nâ' m'è mətʃě mâk^wa' má mb'é]

/nâk m'è mətʃ^wě mâk^wàk má mp'ié/

'Náak m'è məc^wéé-máak^wak má np'ié.'

Meat mother tortoise not cook.'

'Tortoise mother's flesh could only under do.'

[à ngà' nâ' m'èé kâ p'ê nt'ě à nè ñdũ sósó.]

/à ñyàk nâk m'èé kâ p'ê nt'ě à nè ñlũ sósó/

'À ngak náak m'èé é káa p'ée nt'cé a nè nluú sósó.'

'He say meat mother his not cook tender she past old much.'

'He said his mother's flesh could not be tender because she was too old.'

[pú ñk^wít nâ' à m'è mətʃ^w é mâk^wà', ñk^wót jé nè ñg^wà]

/pú ñk^wít nâk à m'è mətʃ^wé mâk^wàk, ñk^wót jé nè ñy^wà /

'Pú nk^wít náak a m'è məc^wéé-máak^wak, nk^wót yé ne Ngh^wa.'

'They throw meat of mother tortoise, eat that mother panther.'

'They threw tortoise mother's meat away and ate that of panther's mother.'

b. LEXIS

MONOSYLLABLES

lí	1.	'eye'	sá	'wall'
	2.	'name'	kák	'plantation'
táə		'hair'	sát	'hoe'
lɔ ə		'tongue'	ne	'animal'
l ^w ó		'breast'	fuk	'scorpion'
p ^w áa		'hand'	suú	'frog'
yí		'claw'	naák	'cow, meat'
kot		'foot'	pəp	'he-goat'
kwí		'bone'	lú	'horse'
ŋu		'person'	k ^w ít	'donkey'
N		'me, I'	ngháp	'antelope'
m ^w óo		'child'	tú	'basket'
ghéc		'waist'	ní	'machete'
Np ^y əó		'world'	kók	'chair'
fɔ		'king'	tóo	'calabash'
p ^w o		'slave'	yóo	'thing'
s ^y ée		'month'	fak	'work'
taá		'father'	ghóó	'disease'
m ^y á		'mother'	zhuk	'place'
s ^y ée		'moon'	p ^y ek	'burden, load'
mæk		'dew'	l ^y a	'cap'
mó		'fire, light'	ghét	'ring'
paát		'wing'	fɔ	'blind'
			yó	'yours: 2 nd pers. Pl.'
			yú	'theirs'
			ím	'yes'
			w ^y ε	'my'
			wɔ	'your'
			nuú	'louse'
			p ^w óo	'ash'

waá	'who'	np ^w ó	'nice'
kσ	'what'	k ^w ek	'name-save'
túk	'round'	tsəə	'bottle'
tsəə	'bladder'	lyék	'day'
fəə	'cold'	yée	'mine'
fíi	'new'	zhúk	'white yam'
kúu	'torrent'	paá	'jealousy'
k ^y áa	'coal'	sɛ	'comb'
núu	'honey'	sú	'love'
sɔp	'pepper'	pe	'profit'
k ^w é	'cough'	pe	'bag'
nσ	'time, moment'	lɔŋ	'trousers'
kak	'fatigue'	k ^y ó	'dish'
sáá	'long'	páα	'fufu'
kó	'small, little'	ó	'you'
sí	'deep'	á	'he/she'
tset	'a child that has undergone premature weaning'	puú	'we'
shú	'face'	cúk	'achu'
cú	'jaw-bone'	la	'bridge'
lαk	'village'	pɔók	'mushroom'
pfəə	'corpse'	kú	'bed'
fi	'key'	wɔó	'your:2 nd pers. Pl.'
tsók	'key'	fá	'drugs'
fu	'co-spouse'	lów	'cloud'
shúu	'pregnancy'	zɔó	'plum'
lóp	'fish-hook'	k ^y óət	'mirror'
kwíi	'shoulder'	paát	'wing'
yó	'yours (2 nd person sing.)'	p ^y áa	'pear'
		kúu	'arbre de paix'
		k ^w ɔó	'pestle'

t ^w óo	'cup'	nzéy	'plenty'
ts ^y é	'soap'	np ^w ó	'nice'
pú	'raw'	nl ^w ét	'boundary'
náa	'whole'	nglát	'gun'
nə	'with'	ngħóó	'a patient'
twóok	'testicles'	nghá	'no'
ŋá	'where'	nlu	'old'
l ^y á	'how'	nle	'needle'
w ^y éé	'that'	nluú	'bamboo'
zó	'today'	nlfi	'grain'

DISYLLABLES

nkáa	'corn beer'	ngħə	'this'
ntsé	'deaf'	niak	'only'
nló	'on top'	nl ^w é	'price'
np ^y e	'outside'	nluú	'ageing'
ngħup	'skin'	nkoóp	'suitcase'
npa	'even'	npáá	'enemy'
nt ^y éé	'father-in-law'	nkuú	'mountain'
ngħú	'mother-in-law'	ngħok	'stone'
nzok	'chest'	nlú	'full'
nkɔ	'the back'	npi	'seed'
nlyáa	'house'	ngħée	'rib'
npak	'earth-worm'	npə	'body'
ngħók	'termite'	npet	'faces'
ngħúá	'thief'	ngħ ^y ə	'voice'
nkət	'hundred'	nk ^w e	'bachelor'
		ngħə	'guest'
		ntúk	'night'
		npúu	'rain'
		nk ^y éé	'water'
		nkée	'Wood'

nl ^w óo	'Horn'	nəghát	'insect'
nc ^w a	'War'	nəlyək	'sweet yam'
ntsá	'mouth'	məgháá	'play'
nt ^y á	'walking stick'	f ^y e-kót	'judge'
nze	'hunger'	kímí	'tears'
nzeé	'axe'	ghomα	'umbrella'
ngh ^w ók	'year'	gháp ^y óo	'part'
nzh ^w í	'cloth'	ghukóo	'sweet potatoes'
nəghá	'jaw'	máakap	'cocoa yam'
məl ^w et	'beard'	lá-p ^w áa	'palm'
kátsə	'lips'	kúne	'pig'
kómí	'nape of the neck'	məkí	'eyebrow'
m ^w ó-l ^w ó	'throat'	məfe	'shadow'
nəghéem	'armpit'	sísí	'black'
m ^w óo-p ^w áa	'finger'	p ^y əónə	'red, yellow'
m ^w óo-kot	'toe'	kínə	'short'
nət ^y á	'stick'	kókúk	'little'
nətoó	'thorn, prickle'	nəshuú	'thickness'
məghí	'herb'	nəfəá	'leaf'
tsətsák	'soil, land'	maghe	'spider'
tətəp	'mud'	tsókot	'mouse'
pépúp	'dust'	məzhíi	'food'
lála	'bat'	máləŋ	'ugly'
ləlúu	'fog'	nəpəó	'melon'
nəf ^y ε	'thunder'	mók ^w əók	'rooster'
məkát	'a white'	məwút	'oil'
fáknó	'error'	nəpíi	'cola'
səs ^y ə	'rope'	káfá	'sword'
nəfə	'nobility'	nək ^w óo	'arrow'
nəlú	'guitar'	tápet	'table'

kəkuk	'sugar cane'	nətsií	'blood'
fəkúp	'spoon'	mətsə	'urine'
kəónə	'step'	mat ^w áa	'car'
nəcúk	'bundle'	kó-t ^y áə	'hair-scarf'
icí	'other'	kó-tyáə	'hair-dresser'
ŋ ^w ána	'shining'	kúko	'mortar'
shíkə	'fine'	nəŋ ^w áŋ	'bell'
nini	'empty'	teékək	'elephant'
tak-yóə	'the same'	məshú	'bird'
nəkəót	'penis'	məc ^w éé	'tortoise'
nənuú	'vagina'	nəpəó	'egg'
ləl ^w í	'bladder, bile'	nəkəóp	'bark of a tree'
nəshuú	'vein'	nəfó	'fat'
mət ^y áə	'saliva'	əməók	'one'
məpə	'mucus'	ipéé	'two'
ghum-ŋúu	'ghost'	it ^y án	'three'
m ^w óo-sə	'young man'	itáá	'five'
tsútsa	'teacher'	ito	'six'
mak-púu	'hunter'	nəwúu	'ten'
sət ^y óə	'breeder'	luknə	'grinding stone'
nəpót	'sky'	lapá	'wrappa'
mənə	'sun'	nəsá	'really'
mənyí	'knife'	nəs ^y aá	'grave'
nək ^w ó	'spear'	ŋ ^w aknə	'letter, book'
nəf ^y áə	'feather'	pák ^y áə	'plate'
nənəó	'hair'	tseke	'sieve'
nəl ^w íi	'nose'	ŋuŋá	'okro'
nəpuú	'breast'	məl ^w íi	'bitter leaves'
nət ^w óo	'navel'	mətsá	'beans'
nəpfáa	'intestine'	máafo	'queen'

kák ^{yə}	'kitchen'	n ^y áa-zók	'marriage'
lób-yób	'harvesting'	nlozfi	'forehead'
ták-yób	'bead'	zhúk-nkə	'yellow yam'
tsánye	'here'	npónə	'peace'
tsəŋe	'there'	tsə-nlyáa	'door'
nəshuú	'tooth'	p ^w ók-ntə	'lion'
nəzə	'buttock'	nɛ-ngh ^w ɛ	'leopard'
nəpu	'belly'	zh ^w í-nk ^y ée	'hippopotamus'
mak-shup	'fisherman'	nəlúkə	'chin'
k ^w ékə	'knee'	m ^w óo-nəfáa	'twin'
fəl ^w áa	'sleep'	máatátók	'potatoes'
məp ^y áá	'lungs'	npapo	'squirrel'
nəfuk	'luck'	mənghúp	'hen'
mú-m ^y á	'family member'	mənz ^w áá	'groundnut'
taá-m ^y á	'maternal grandfather'	məlákə	'to forbid'
taá-taá	'paternal grandfather'	mələkə	'to announce'
m ^y á-m ^y á	'maternal grandmother'	məgh ^h énə	'to threaten'
m ^y á-taá	'paternal grandmother'	mətwónə	'to whistle'
nghup	'shoe'	mətóónə	'to send'
fúfú	'white (color)'	məmékə	'to leave (something)'
TRISYLLABLES			
nghó-p ^w áa	'elbow'	məshúkə	'to tremble'
lúm-nlyáa	'room'	məleénə	'to pass'
tú-nlyáa	'ceiling'	məlyákə	'to battle'
pót-nk ^y ée	'well'	mənyénə	'to cook'
som-nt ^y á	'ant'	mécúkə	'to pound'
mú-npée	'twenty'	məkósó	'to be ashamed'
ta-nkák	'fence'	mət ^y áanə	'to surprise'
		mátsókə	'to borrow, to lend'
		məzénə	'to charm'

suú-máshuú	'toothbrush'	məf'ékna	'to argue'
mətónə	'to burn'	mələkna	'to relate'
kúkweékweé	'butterfly'	məpéna	'to question, to ask'
mətséna	'to chew'	məpáɣna	'to answer'
məsúna	'to tighten'	məkwónə	'to desire'
mághókna	'to grind'	mələkna	'to refuse'
málaána	'to pick'	məsápna	'to tear'
məmóónə	'to try'	məzákna	'to chop'
pák-a-lyí	'like this'	məkótna	'to build'
pék-e-lé	'like that'	məzh ^w éna	'to dress up'
mətópna	'to stir'	məsótna	'to undress'
té-ɣíɣil	'longtime ago'	məmaákna	'to make a discount, reduction'
məsiína	'to iron'	mələónə	'to hide'
nza-ɣuú	'back ground'	məkweéne	'to help'
məkaána	'to swear'	mək ^w áɣna	'to imagine'
məfééna	'to arise'	məkweéna	'to remember'
məzópna	'to paint'	mələéna	'to forget'
məpána	'to saw'	mətúna	'to dig'
məwána	'to minimize'	məzhúkna	'to cultivate'
məzhúna	'to inherit'	məl ^w ína	'to weed'
məp ^w ónə	'to be beautiful'	məz ^y ékna	'to study'
t ^y eé-npálé	'cricket'	məpúk-gho	'to shout'
npəlúu	'bread'	mək ^w ókna	'to cry'
mát ^y éesi	'match'	məzúna	'to drive (a cat)'
npala	'blanket'	məzh ^w ína	'to seize'
məɣ ^w ákna	'to write'	məpéna	'to take'
məcúkna	'to gather'	məmákna	'to fling'
mətsána	'to accompany'	məlína	'to sell'
mək ^y éna	'to roast'	məzónə	'to buy'
mənyéna	'to warm'		

məména	'to call'	məsh ^w əna	'to slide'
məcá-s ^y áa	'to sit down'	mən ^w óna	'to suck'
məzhekna	'to throw'	mən ^w ána	'to smoke, to drink'
mək ^w kna	'to add'	məjéna	'to tickle'
mənuú-yóo	'to dance'	nlapak	'cigarette'
məkétna	'to jump'	məkóna	'to cover'
mətséna	'to sneeze'	məcúkna	'to join'
məzéna	'to yawn'	məseéna	'to return'
məména	'to finish'	məcuúkna	'to shake'
məz ^y ána	'to begin'	mətóóna	'to burst'
məlúkna	'to fill'	mətóóna	'to lean'
məzókna	'to marry'	mətoókna	'to bend'
məs ^y éna	'to dry'	məzina	'to wipe'
məlyéna	'to rotten'	məsəkna	'to scrub'
məkótna	'to tie, to attach'	məzhúna	'to see'
məkékna	'to detach'	məzhóna	'to find'
mənyína	'to wet'	məfúkna	'to measure'
məzhíina	'to sweep'	mənákna	'to keep quiet'
məpákna	'to weave, to plait (hair)'	npfi	'goat'
məgháapna	'to share, to divide'	nlínlyáa	'beginning'
məlána	'to lick'	nlonp ^y əə	'world'
məp ^y əna	'to ripen'	nlónzə	'darkness'
məkuúkna	'to be lazy'	máanghut	'mango'
nəghək-mó	'lightening'	t ^y ánghak	'because'
məfína	'to resemble'	sh ^y e-tsá	'prison'
mənukna	'to lack'	lot ^y é	'dirt'
məpána	'to avoid'	lánghá	'bucket'
məzh ^w ékna	'to wait'	nghələ	'gari'
məy ^w ók-na	'to grow'	múu-ntók	'prince'
		nkó-p ^w áa	'one armed'

kɔ-ntɔ	'viper'	máwoónə	'to do'
ng húu-n ^w áa	'boa'	məgháəna	'to move'
npíkáə	'when'	məfɛ́ɛna	'to go out'
məzónə	'to dry'	məkuúna	'to enter'
tə-nk ^y é	'adult'	məkəkna	'to climb'
məng ^w á	'female, woman'	mətóŋna	'to descend'
mánlɔɔ	'road'	məkóɔna	'to touch'
mənpúu	'dog'	məkóɔkna	'to feel'
nətúna	'ear'	mázóɔna	'to insult'
mətwána	'to come'	məshuúna	'to draw (a rope)'
mənyína	'to walk'	məpfúna	'to shoot'
məgháəna	'to go'	məmína	'to swallow'
mənónə	'to bite'	məŋéna	'to raise'
məsána	'to break'	mən ^w ónə	'to lay down'
məŋána	'to give'	məlyána	'to sleep'
məzətna	'to steal'	məzh ^w ína	'to rest'
mənátne	'to press'	məŋékna	'to open'
mət ^w éna	'to bury'	məc ^w éna	'to carry'
məzékna	'to vomit'	məfúna	'to close'
məsh ^w éna	'to suck'	mək ^w éna	'to cough'
mət ^w éna	'to spit'	nkəkát	'rope'
məfónə	'to blow (wind)'	np ^y é-ŋúu	'testicle'
məpúkna	'to swell'	m ^w óo-npɔt	'baby'
məpína	'to give birth to'	ng ^y etsá	'prisoner'
məpfána	'to die'	nzhúk-s ^y áa	'farmer'
məzh ^w éna	'to kill'	nleé-yɔɔ	'blacksmith'
məlína	'to push'	mó-nəf ^y e	'star'
məzópna	'to sing'	məkáəna	'morning'
məfókna	'to foam'	ntsəp-mók	'eleven'
mənánə	'to defecate'	ntsəp-pé	'twelve'

ntsəp-táa	'fifteen'
muú-mətáa	'fifty'
muú-mətó	'sixty'
npóó-tʷə	'brain'
məfúna	'to cheat'

TETRASYLLABLES

mətsúulukna	'to hang'
npó-nzə	'anus'
m ^w oó-np ^y əónə	'son, male'
np ^w ok-npíi	'God'
nk ^y á-npu	'rainy season'
ntsəp-t ^y éna	'thirteen'
ntsəp-nək ^w a	'fourteen'
ntsəp-ntáw	'sixteen'
ntsəp-náfó	'eighteen'
ntsəp-nəpuk	'nineteen'
muú-mət ^y éna	'thirty'
muú-mónək ^w a	'forty'
muú-mənafó	'eighty'
muú-mənapuk	'ninety'
nghúlók-t ^y ə	'skull'
nzənzií	'fly'
lúum-nlyáa	'room'
nlénlí	'smoke'
məsəwúna	'to wash'

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