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AFRICAINES ET LINGUISTIQUE**

**LEXICAL EXPANSION IN THE
MANKON LANGUAGE**

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

by

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

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

VE:	Verbal extension
Pfx:	prefix
Sfx:	suffix
G:	glide
H (/):	High tone
L (\):	Low tone
T:	Floating tone
Sth:	something
sb:	somebody
GBWG:	Grassfield Bantu Working Group
IPA:	International Phonetic Association
[]:	Phonetic transcription
/ /:	Phonemic transcription
→:	becomes; is realized as
NP:	noun phrase
∅:	zero
L _f :	Floating Low tone
H _f :	Floating high tone
ed:	editor
α:	alpha
UR:	underlying representation
PR:	phonetic representation
C:	consonant
V:	vowel, verb
-#:	word final position

#-- : word initial position

V—V: intervocalically

VD: voiced

VL: voiceless

bk: back

syll.: syllable

cons.: consonant

lat: lateral

FV: Final Vowel

LIST OF MAPS

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

1.1 Geographical Location

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

Mankon is bounded in the East by the ' Mifugə' and the villages of Mendakwe and Nkwen; in the North by Bafut; in the West by Meta, Ngyenbu and Bali and finally in the South by the villages of Mbatu and Nsongwa. Before the arrival of the Bali people in 1850, one of the neighbours in the West of Mankon was Bossa.

Mankon has an estimated land area of about 315 square kilometres (315 sqkm) and an estimated population of fifty thousand (50,000) inhabitants. On the average therefore, the population density is about 158 persons per square kilometre (Tabah Helen Ngum 1980).

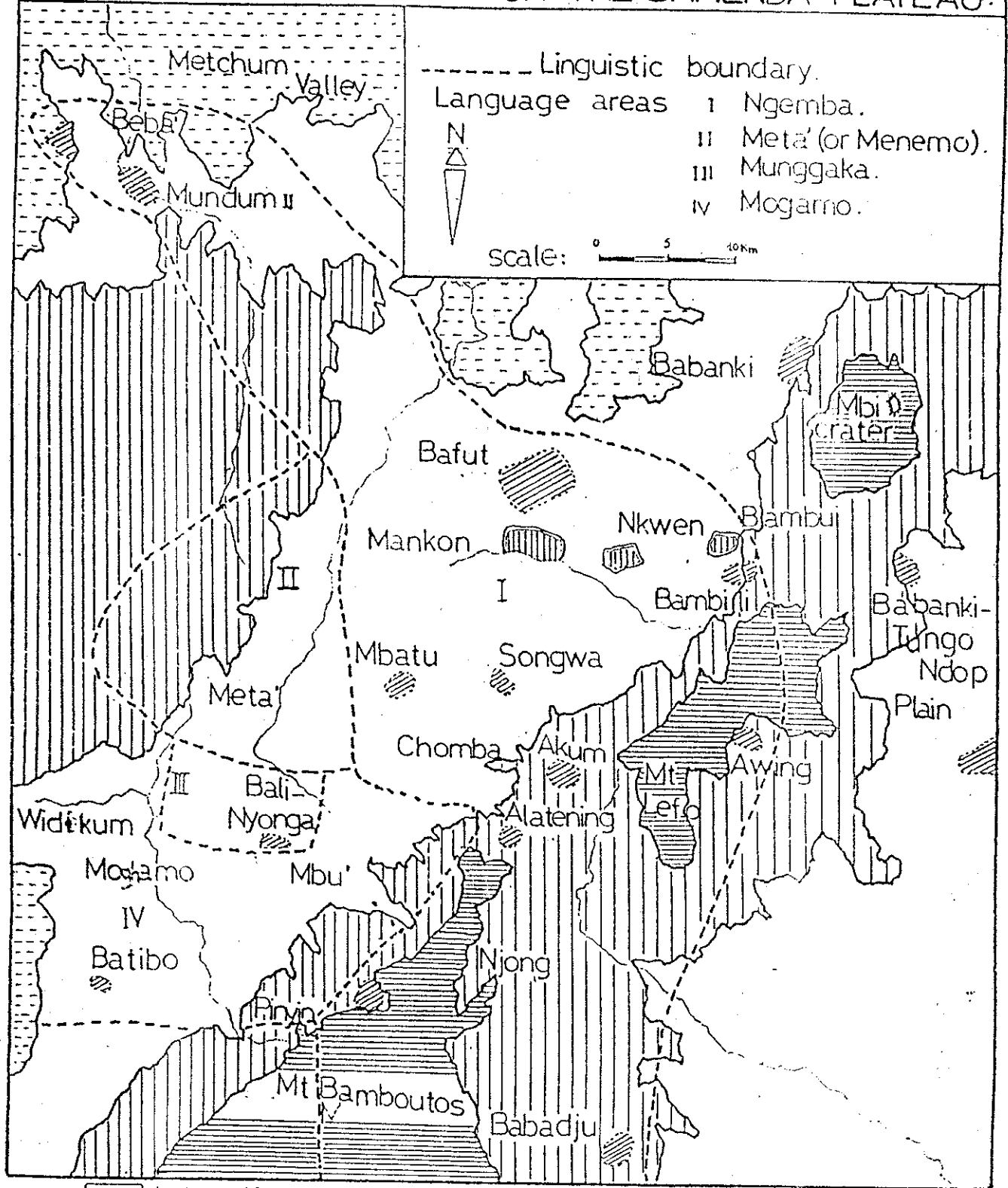
The land area is roughly spherical and has a diameter of about 20 kilometres.

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

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

MAP I.

LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION ON THE BAMENDA PLATEAU.








----- Linguistic boundary.

Language areas

- I Ngemba.
- II Meta' (or Menemo).
- III Munggaka.
- IV Mogamo.



scale: 0 5 10km

 below 1000 metres.
 above 1400 metres.
 above 2000 metres.
 entrenched settlement.
 non-entrenched settlement.

1.2 Historical situation

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

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

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

The Mankon fendom is a kingdom in Mezam Division of the North West province of the Republic of Cameroon. It is an area surrounded by numerous chiefdoms, clans and tribes. The forefathers with the expelled group from the present day Middle-East carry with them the Mankon language known as "Ngamba Makunə" meaning "I say Mankons", a language said to have developed in Asia, specifically in China by the isthmus of the Suez. The closest evidence to prove their legacy from China is in some of the names like: Che (tsay), Chi (tsi), Tsetu, Fen, Chang, Ntseh, Su'kien which resemble Chinese names like Kuofeng, Suchen, Mao Tsetung, Chiteng, Chang, Chitang, Tsaichang. The connotation of the Chinese 'Tsin' is relevant to today's Mankon as seen in the names 'Tsimanko?o "tortoise", Tsitankorə "species of cricket".

The “ tsimako?o” is a trickster in most Mankon fables. ' Tsin' is the name of the Chinese ruler who built the “ Great Chinese wall” (3000) (three thousand kilometres long, seven metres high and six metres broad to check invasions from the North (Warnier 1975) in *Precolonial Mankon*.

1.3. Linguistic Location and Classification of the Language

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

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

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

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

Leroy (1977) reclassifies the Mankon language as

- a) Mankon - Shomba, Songwa, Mbutu, Njong, Akum
- b) Mundum I, Mundum II

- c) Babaji, Bafut
- d) Nkwen, Mendankwe
- e) Bambili, Bambui
- f) Piyin, Alatining
- g) Awing, Bamunkumbit

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

BANTU GRASSFIELD

WESTERN GRASSFIELD

EASTERN GRASSFIELD

North Bamileke (NUN)	Central	Ngemba
		Bafut
		Mundum
		Mankon
		Bambili
		Nkwen
		Awing
		Piyin

We therefore have the Mankon language classified within the phylum of African languages as follows:

Phylum: NIGER-KORDOFANIAN

Sub-phylum: NIGER-CONGO

FAMILY: BENUE-CONGO

SUB-FAMILY: BANTOID

BRANCH: BANTU

SUB-BRANCH: BANTU GRASSFIELD

GROUP: EASTERN GRASSFIELD

SUB-GROUP: NGEMBA

LANGUAGE: MANKON

DIALECTS: Akum Songwa Mun̄kuṅə Shomba Njong Mbutu Alatining

Source: ALCAM (1983)

Following our classification, the Mankon language has dialects and surrounding languages. It falls under the phylum Niger Kordofanian and the Benue-Congo family. The code number is 913 which means that it is the language of the ninth zone, first group and the third language of that

group. Maps 2, 3, and 4 will better illustrate the linguistic classification of the Mankon language.

Map No 11

MAP 11

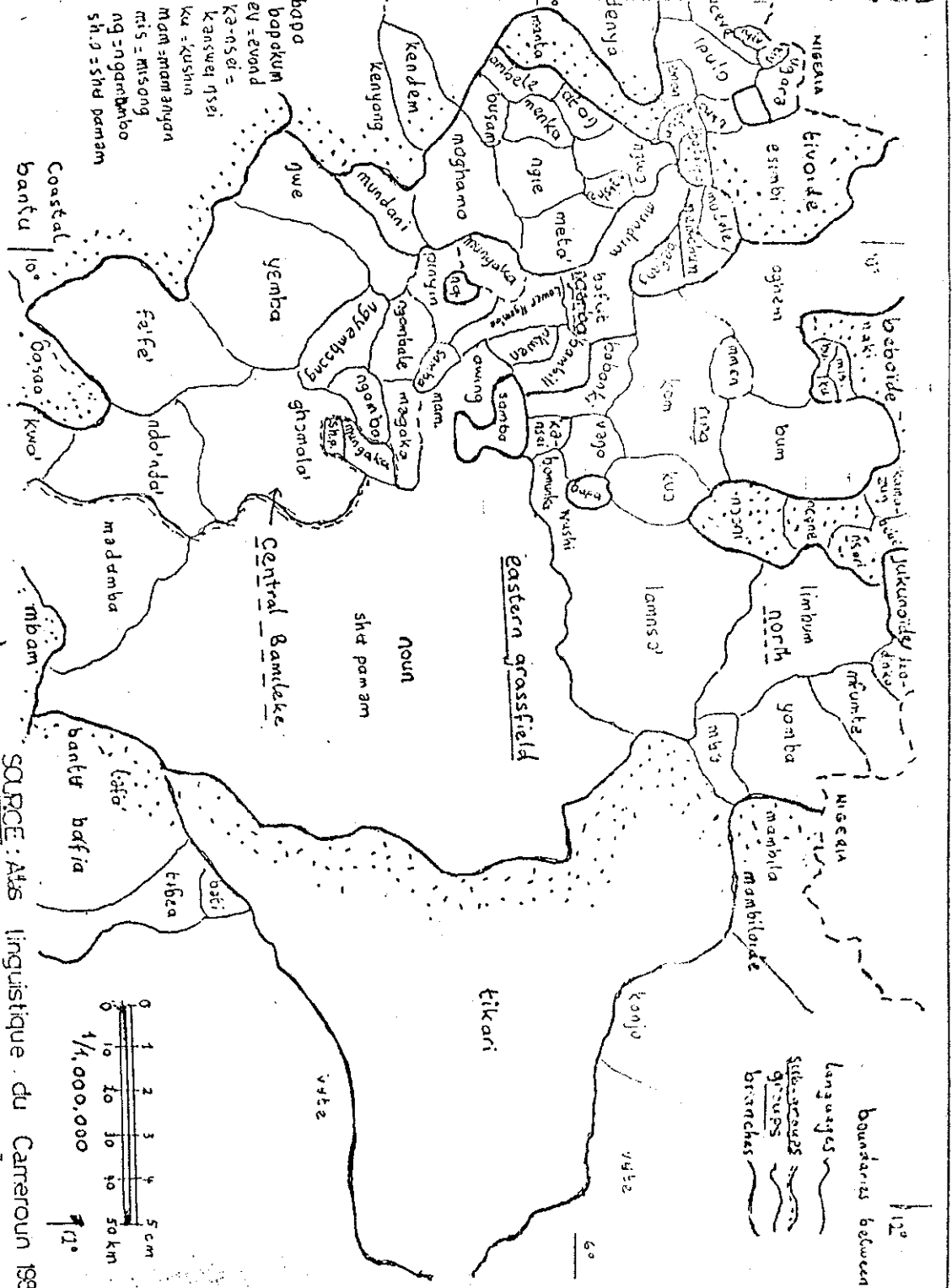
LINGUISTIC FAMILIES AND GROUPS IN CAMEROON

Division	sub. family	family	sub. family	branches	sub. branches	groups
Afro-ASIA-TIC	SEMITIC					
	CHADIC					
Afro-SAR-RIAN	SAHARIAN					
	CHADIC					
NIGER-KOR-DOFAN	WEST ATLANTIC					
	NIGER CONGO	ADAM	ADAMAWA			
			UBANGWEN			
			JUKUNOISE			
			CROSS RIVER			
			BEBI			
	BENUE CONGO	BANTOISE	MAMBILOISE			
			JARAWAN			
			TIVOISE			
			EKOISE			
NYANG						
BANTU	BANTU	BEBOISE				
		BEBOISE				
		CRASSFIELD				
		MBAM				
		TIKARI				
		EQUATORIAL				



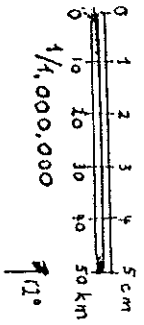
Source: *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun* 1983.

GRASSFIELD BANTU LANGUAGES



GRASSFIELD
 bappa
 bapokum
 ev = evond
 ka-n-sai =
 Kanswai n'sai
 ka = kusim
 mam = mam anyan
 mis = misonq
 ng = ngambilo
 sh. o = shu pamam

SOURCE: Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun 1933.



boundaries between:
 languages
 sub-groups
 branches

1.4 The Mankon Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mbatu

Chomba

Akum

Nsongwa.

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

The language itself is known as "Makuṅə", meaning "main tail."

1.4.1 The Sounds of the Mankon language.

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

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

Vowels

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

Vowel Chart

i	ɪ	u
e	ə	o
ε		ɔ
	a	

These vowels are illustrated by the following examples:

- (1) [i] tírí type of rat
 àtí tree
- [e] kyè basket
 ñkè cage
- [ɛ] a-tsèʔè cloth
 a-bébà he-goat
- [u] túrú pant
 ni-búmə stomach
- [o] tònə fight
 ñ-gobə skin
- [ɔ] zəbà sing
 i-kəbà belt
- [i] lwi bitter
 ni-bĩ kolanut
 ŋwí God
- [ə] lámə cook
 à-lemə blood
- [a] ɲàʔà open

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

i-kəʔə ladder

à-tàʔà snail

1.4.2 Consonant Chart

Place of Articulation		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolars	Pre-palatals	Palatals	Velars	Glottal	Labio-velar
Name of Articulation									
Stops	VL			t			k	ʔ	kw
	VD	b		d			g		gw
Fricatives	VL		f	s	ʃ				
	VD		v	z	ʒ		y		
Affricates	VL			ts	tʃ				
	VD			dz	dʒ				
Nasals		m		n			ŋ	ŋw	
Pre-nasalised		mb		nd					
Stops									
Liquids				l					
Trill				r					
Glides		w				y		(w)	

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

(2)	[b]	nibĩ	kolanut
	[m]	amĩ	neck
	[f]	fũ	rat
	[v]	vúrò	frightful
	[t]	àtí	tree
	[d]	nadenə	boundary
	[k]	kùŋə	bed
	[g]	ŋgúbə	fowl

[ʔ]	wiʔúsá	respect
[kw]	kwáre	take
[gw]	gwága	minimize
[s]	sugə	wash
[ʃ]	ʃuŋə	drive
[ʒ]	ʒúʔú	murmur
[ʎ]	ʎá	give
[ts]	tsúmə	all
[dz]	ndzúmə	back
[tʃ]	tʃíʔí	wipe
[dʒ]	ndʒwí	give birth
[m]	míɡə	eyes
[n]	narə	lazy
[ŋ]	ŋaʔa	open
[mb]	mbenə	belief
[nd]	ndómə	husband
[l]	lwí	bitter
[r]	ntiri	louse
[y]	nyèʔè	throw
[w]	wiŋə	yours

1.4.3 Morpheme Structure

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

$C_1V(C_2)$, i.e. a consonant, vowel and an optional consonant.

Examples:

- (3) ñdâ house
káŋè squirrel

This formula does not take into consideration certain noun roots, notably

(i) Noun roots beginning with a vowel; here we have three types:

- (4) m-àŋgyě woman
mû child

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

- (5) ŋòŋŋòŋ mosquito

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

- (6) kyémáwà?à shrew mouse

(iv) Morphemes borrowed from foreign languages

- (7) búrusə police
tisəŋə station

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

1.5 Tones

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

We have monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic tone words.

1.5.1 Monosyllabic Words

L	kwè	knock
H	tá	push
	yá	give
L	kà	run

1.5.2 Disyllabic Words

HH	sínó	today
	ntírí	louse
HL	sáŋò	moon
	bíŋò	dance
LL	à-bò	bag
	fàrò	play
L-H	à-tí	tree

1.5.3 Polysyllabic Words

HHH	bíbú?ú	chimpanzees
HHL	míkúmà	names
LHL	àlágà	wound
LLL	à-lèminà	sore
HML	fíngwàṅḁ	salt
LHH	bùrísí	policeman
LMM	abərə	throne

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

- (8) (i) ḡwí cutlass
 ḡwì God
 ḡwi penis
- (ii) lámḁ to cook
 làmó sap
 lamə lamp
- (iii) tá push
 tà sew

Two contour tones can be identified in this language. They are the HL (^) and LH (~). These two tone types are derived by tonological rules. It is usually a floating tone from a deleted sound that spreads or docks to the preceding or following sound.

(9)	n̄-bò		a nail	
	à-kùé	→	a-kwě	a bone
	n̄-dzàá	→	n̄-dzǎ	soup
	n̄-dáà	→	n̄dâ	house

As earlier said, tonal changes in the words of this language are as a result of a floating tone and these floating tones may be found on the original underlying form or may appear in the course of derivations by elision of a vowel. The floating tone and the tone of the segment are usually confusing when they are identical, but they combine to form a contour tone when different. When identical, the tone delinks.

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

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

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

i) H tones (´)

This tone also marks the present as in

(10) ma súgò i-tse?e I am washing dresses

ii) Floating L tones (L̄)

This tone marks the preposition “ à ” in the language as in

(11) lum yê à ñwà?anò Lum goes to school

go Prep school

iii) Lexical Tones

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

H	dómà	bite
L	tsà	pass
M	ŋwaʔanə	book

These tones combine to form contour tones as in

HL	múà	→	mû	child
LH	ntswì-ə	→	ntswĩ	maize
HLH	mító			market
LL	kùŋà			bed
HLL	fínìdzì			a fly

1.6 OBJECTIVES

Language is a very important aspect of identity and culture. The written form of a language has a magic of fostering the prestige of the language vis-à-vis other languages, thereby, internationalizing the language as well as allowing foreign access to indigenous information. It brings about the creation of knowledge that is useful to internal and external agencies. The study *Lexical Expansion in the Mankon Language* will foster and project the identity of the language. It is worth noting that little linguistic work has been done on the language as compared to its historical study.

Jacqueline Leroy (1977) attempts the phonology and noun class system of the language but she does not really paint a true picture of the language. Mfonyam (1988) examines the tones in orthography of the language but he still does not come out with a positive result.

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

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

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

1.7 Review of Earlier Linguistic Works on the Mankon Language

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

Ndefru's Orthography established over fifty years ago. The orthography was first used in 1938 when the author translated some catholic prayers and hymns into the Mankon language. The title of this work is *Anvaana Tssatui ho wizobnkyi cathoroh Anye Nuighammui Mankon*.

This book was neither meant to be kept in libraries as part of research nor was it meant just to profess the author's ability to translate. It is nevertheless being used in catholic churches, choir groups and doctrinal

classes. Though the pronunciation key of this work is not perfect in itself, it gives a clue on how to go about reading. He does not mark tones.

Jacqueline Warnier Leroy and Jan Voorhoeve (1975) studied vowel contraction and vowel reduction in the Mankon language.

Leroy (1977) uses a generative approach and presents the phonology; the nouns, their distribution into varying genders, the markers which indicate the gender to which they belong, the concord elements and some tonal rules.

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

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

Mfonyam (1988) in a Doctorat d'Etat thesis attempts a representation of tones in the orthography of Mankon.

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

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Data Source

This work has been realised with the aid of about one thousand words and some transcribed passages. Being a native speaker of the

language I was one of the main informants. In addition, I equally had the assistance of some native speakers like Pa Ade, Pa Nkwenti, mama Bridget, Mr Anye Nche, Nimo Cecilia, Che Norbert and Bih Marie-Claire. Some unpublished works and Leroy's (1977) *Morphologie et Classes Nominales en Mankon* were also used.

1.8.2 Analytical Procedure

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

1.9 Outline of Work

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

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

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

The third chapter is titled "Verbal Extension in the Mankon Language". These extensions are affixes, precisely suffixes which are

suffixed to verb roots for the main reason of enriching the Mankon language vocabulary.

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

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

The Appendix and the Bibliography constitute the last section of the work.

CHAPTER TWO

Reduplication

2.1 Definition

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

Marantz (1982) defines this device tentatively as:

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

Crystal (1986:259) defines this same term as

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

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

Though a morphological device, we will examine it from a phonological point of view and see what changes it has and what it adds to the language under study.

The Mankon language employs reduplication not only to increase its lexicon but equally to express the intensity of qualities, the superlative degree of adjectives and the duration of an activity.

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

2.2 Reduplication in Verbs.

In the language under study, reduplication does not take place only in nouns, adjectives but also in verbs. Verbs reduplicate in this language to derive new lexical items, which is our main topic of concern.

Here also, we will notice that reduplication is the addition of a phonemically bare affix which motivates the copying of the melody of a base. Verbs do not take prefixes in their basic forms. hence, our structure of verb is

Stem + Suffix

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

1. nóŋ-ə	sleep	nóŋə nóŋə	sleeps too much
kánə	jump	kánəkánə	jumps too high
bíŋ-ə	dance	bíŋəbíŋə	dances too much
zé-ə	steal	zézé	steals too much
màʔà-ə	throw	màʔàmàʔà	throws too much
sugə	wash	sugəsugə	wash too much

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

2. à-bíṅə	a dance	i-bíṅəbíṅə	full of dances
à-sugə	a soap	i-sugəsugə	full of soaps
a-zəbə	a song	i-zəbəzəbə	full of songs

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

3. zúṅ	buy	zúṅəzúṅə	buys a lot
fíṅ	sell	fíṅəfíṅə	sells a lot

2.2.1 Monosyllabic Verbs.

The combination of monosyllabic verbs with the final vowel does not lead to disyllabic verbs. The final vowel deletes since the verbs are composed of CV₁V₂ and this language does not allow this sequence. Examples:

4. yá-ə	→	yâ	give	yáyá	gives a lot
bí-ə	→	bî	plant	bíbí	plants a lot
bà-ə	→	bâ	nail	bâbâ	nails a lot
vó-ə	→	vò	fall	vòvò	falls a lot
ʒɛ-ə	→	ʒè	know	ʒèʒè	knows much

We notice that the contour tones simplify when the verb is reduplicated. Since most of the infinitive forms of the language have the final vowel, our monosyllabic stems therefore have an underlying CV₁V₂ sequence. A phonological rule of the language known as vowel deletion is applied and the result is either CGV or CV syllable. We can therefore have a rule as:

$$V \rightarrow \sigma / V \text{ --\#}$$

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

2.2.2 Verbs with Bisyllabic Stems.

Consider the following examples.

5. bù?ù	hid	bù?ùbù?ù	hit hard
zò?ò	marry	zò?òzò?ò	marry several times
là?à	announce	là?àlà?à	announce several times
lamə	cook	laməlamə	cooks a lot
kaŋə	fry	kaŋəkaŋə	fries a lot
túmə	shoot	túmə túmə	shoots a lot
sarə	tear	sarəsarə	tears a lot

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

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

6. bíè	→	byê	decay	byébyé	decays too much
tʃié	→	tʃyé	wipe	tʃyéʔtʃyé	wipes too much
gìè?è	→	gyè?è	learn	gyè?ègyè?è	learns too much

kúarə → kwáre	take	kwárəkwarə	takes too much
gúage → gwáge	minimize	gwágəgwáge	minimize a lot

The same reduplicated processes are observed when one or both syllables of a bisyllabic stem reduplicate. As earlier said, the glide rule conforms with the phonological rules of the language. We can have a rule as:

7. $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{syll} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{syll} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right] / \text{--} \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{syll} \\ -\text{cons} \end{array} \right]$

i.e. $V \rightarrow G / \text{--} V$ where G stands for "glide"

2.2.3 Partial-Stem Reduplication

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

8. zəbə	sing	zəzəbinə	instead sing
lamə	cook	lalamnə	instead cook
biŋə	dance	bibiŋnə	instead dance
bʉʉ	hit	bubʉʉinə	instead hit
sarə	tear	sasarinə	instead tear
fərə	play	fəfərinə	instead play

We observe that there exists a nasal cluster. It is an exception in the language. Again, we notice that reduplication is to the right of the base forming suffixes. Later in the work, we will discover that -n-, -t- are verbal

extension markers. There is equally the insertion of the default vowel “ i” to break non-nasal clusters.

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

9. lamə	cook	laməlalamnə	cooks very very well
kamə	squeeze	kaməlakamnə	squeezes very well
tumə	shoot	tuməlatumnə	shoots very well
ta	sew	talatanə	sews very well
zəbə	sing	zəbəlazəbinə	sings very well
sugə	wash	sugəlasuginə	washes very well
zəʔə	rub	zəʔələzəʔənə	rubs very well

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

2.3 Reduplication in Adjectives

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

2.3.1 Whole-Word reduplication

This involves both the prefix and the stem that reduplicate as exemplified below:

9. ni-kwa	four	nikwanikwa	in fours
bi-tə	five	bitəbitə	in fives
ni-wum	ten	niwumniwum	in tens
à-dzumə	last	a-dzumədzumə	far behind
ŋ-gabə	week	ŋgabəŋgabə	weekly
milinə	sad	milinəmilinə	very sad

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

2.3.2 Whole-Stem reduplication

This involves the stem and the FV.

10. kigə	small	kigikigi	very small
fiŋə	black	fiŋəfiŋə	very black
vugə	short	vugivugi	very short
ŋwitə	tasteful	ŋwitəŋwitə	very tasteful
narə	lazy	narənarə	very lazy
baŋə	red	baŋəbaŋə	very red
sagə	tall	sagisagi	very tall
fugə	white	fugifugi	very white

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

For intensity we can have a pre-associated -la and the extensions -n-ə as in

11. narə	lazy	narə-lanari-nə	very very lazy
bəŋə	good	bəŋə-labəŋ-nə	very very good
baŋə	red	baŋə-labaŋ-nə	very very red
vugə	short	vugilavuginə	very very short
fugə	white	fugi-lafugi-nə	very very white

2.3.3 Partial-Stem Reduplication

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

12. baŋə	red	babəŋə	instead red
saŋə	dry	sasaŋə	instead dry
səgə	tall	sasəgə	instead tall
fugə	white	fufuginə	instead white

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

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

13. bi-tə	five	bi-tə bitə	in fives
baŋə	red	bi-baŋəbibaŋə	red ones
fiŋə	black	bi-fiŋəbifiŋə	black ones.

2.4 Reduplication in Nouns

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

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

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

2.4.1 Noun Class Markers

Singular		Plural	
Noun Class	Prefix	Noun Class	Prefix
1 a	σ-		
b	N-	2	bi, b-
3 a	i-		
b	N-	6	mi, m-
5	ni-		
7	à	8	i-
9	N-	10	N-
19	fi-		

Examples:

1a	síŋə	bird
b	m-fə	fon
2	bì-síŋə	birds

	bi-fɔ̃	fons
3a	i-li	soldier ant
b	ɲogàŋɔ̃	root
5	ni-lwě	nose
6	mi-lwě	noses
7	à-káŋɔ̃	pan
8	i-káŋɔ̃	pans
9	m-bvo	dog
19	fí-sáŋɔ̃	broom

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

2.4.2 Reduplication of Class One Nouns.

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

- a. With a zero prefix (Ø-) and
- b. With a nasal prefix (N-)

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

15. a.	máŋgorə	mango	bí-máŋgorə	máŋgorə	full of mangoes
	làmsí	orange	bí-làmsí	làmsí	full of oranges
	byâ	pear	bí-byá	byá	full of pears
	bá	bar	bi-bábá		full of bars
	bóda	powder	bí-bóda	bóda	full of powders
	redyô	radio	bi-redyô	redyô	full of radios

b. m-fɔ̃	fon	bi-fɔ̃fɔ̃	full of fons
n-domə	husband	bi-dombidomə	full of husbands
n-dəmə	witch	bi-dəmbidəmə	full of witches
m-aŋgyɛ	woman	b-aŋgyɛbaŋgyɛ	full of women
m-û	child	bɔ̃bɔ̃	full of children
ŋ-ð	person	bɛ̀ɛ̀	full of people

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

m-aŋgyɛ → b-aŋgyɛ women

This is because the plural prefix is a CV and the noun begins with a V. Thus, the two vowels cannot be maintained. One has to be deleted. That is why instead of *bi-aŋgyɛ*, we have

baŋgyɛ women.

The rule is $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syll} \\ - \text{cons} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \sigma / \text{--} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syll} \\ - \text{cons} \end{array} \right]$
 (i.e. V → σ / --V)

This rule states that a vowel deletes before another vowel.

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

ŋð	person	*bi-ŋɔ̃biŋɔ̃	persons
mû	child	*bi-múbimú	children

we have

bebe	persons
bòbò	children

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

16. bá	bar	baba	carry somebody on the back	
	byā	pear	byábyá	hair
	ŋ-ò	person	ŋòŋò	pig
	mū	child	múmú	dumb

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

2.4.3 Reduplication of Class Three Nouns.

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

A has an i- prefix

B an N- prefix

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

Examples:

17. i-sá?á	case	sa?asa?a	quarrelsome
		i-sa?asa?a	a judge
		mi-sa?ami-sa?a	many cases
i-li	soldier ant	lili	smoothly
		i-lili	maize tassel

	mi-limi-li		many soldier ants
ṁ-baṅə	palm tree	baṅbaṅə	infertile soil
		ṁbaṅbaṅə	withered leaves
		mibaṅmibaṅə	many palm trees
ḡ-gaṅə	root	gaṅgaṅə	no! no!
		ḡgaṅgaṅə	fat root
		migaṅmigaṅə	full of roots

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

2.4.4 Noun Class Five

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

18. ni-diga	eye	digədigə	thick substance
		ni-diginidigi	fat eye
		migimigi	full of eyes
ni-lwe	nose	lwelwe	not thick
		ni-lwèni-lwè	fat nose
		milwèmilwè	full of noses
ni-yamə	speech	yamyamə	chaffs
		ni-yamni-yamə	talks a lot
		mi-yammi-yamə	full of speeches
ni-zèʔè	cry	ni-zèʔè ni-zèʔè	full of cries
ni-dorə	joy	ni-dorə ni-dorə	full of joy

Here, the abstract nouns do not change their prefixes when reduplicated. When only the stem of these abstract nouns are reduplicated, there is no meaning. We equally observe that there is a phonological change in which $mi \rightarrow m / --V$. There is vowel deletion unlike in $bi \rightarrow b- / --V$.

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

19. ni-kwè	arm	kwèkwè	bony
		ni-kwè ni-kwè	fat arm
		ŋkwè ŋkwè	full of arms
ni byă	tadpole	byèbyè	sideways
		nibyènibyè	fat tadpole
		ṁbyèṁbyè	full of tadpoles

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

2.4.5 Noun Class Seven

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

20. \grave{a} -lájə	chair	\grave{a} -lájəlájə	only chairs
		i -lájəlájə	full of chairs
\grave{a} -bə	bag	\acute{a} -bəbə	only bag/ empty bag
		i -bəbə	full of bags
\acute{a} -kájə	pan	\acute{a} -kájəkájə	empty pan
		i -kájəkájə	full of pans

à-kòṅḍ	umbrella	a-konḱonḱ	only an umbrella
		i-konḱonḱ	full of umbrellas
à-tsèʔè	cloth	à-tsèʔè tsèʔè	somebody who is very pale
		i-tsèʔè tsèʔè	full of clothes

In this class we notice a difference from the other classes. The prefix marker does not reduplicate as in the previous classes. We equally observe that when reduplication is in its original form, we have an adjective as the result.

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

à-ku	foot	kùkù	gigger
		akuku	fat foot
		mi-kumiku	full of feet

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

2.4.6 Reduplication of Noun Class 9, 10, and 19

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

21. ì-bĩ	goat	bìbì	the whole world
		ìbimbì	full of goats
ì-bvó	dog	bvobvo	falls too often
		ìbvómbvó	full of dogs
ì-dá	house	dádá	gently
		ìdándá	full of houses

		ndádá	only houses / empty houses
ḡ-gúbà	fowl	ḡ-gubəḡgubə	only fowls
		ḡgubəḡgubə	full of fowls
ḡ-kà	monkey	kàkà	nothing
		ḡkəkə	only monkeys
		ḡkəḡkə	full of monkeys

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

22. <i>fi-ḡwanə</i>	salt	<i>ḡwanḡwanə</i>	throw carelessly
		<i>fi-ḡwanḡwanə</i>	salty
		<i>fi-ḡwan fi-ḡwanə</i>	full of salt
<i>fi-sənə</i>	broom	<i>sənə sənə</i>	dry several times
		<i>fi-sənəsənə</i>	only brooms
		<i>fi-sənfi-sənə</i>	full of brooms
<i>fi-ndzənə</i>	thorn	<i>ndzənndzənə</i>	huge somebody
		<i>fi-ndzənfi-ndzənə</i>	thorny
		<i>fi-ndzənfi-ndzənə</i>	full of thorns

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

23. <i>ḡkí</i>	water	<i>ḡkiki</i>	watery
<i>ḡgòʔò</i>	stone	<i>ḡgòʔò gòʔò</i>	stony
<i>à-wánə</i>	sand	<i>à-wánəwánə</i>	sandy

We can also identify some nouns in this language whereby verbs are obtained because of a change in tones:

24. bú?ù	chimpanzee	bú?ùbú?ù	only chimpanzees
bú?ú	hit	bú?ubú?u	hit hard
kamə	crab	kaməkamə	only crabs
kámə	squeeze .	kamkamə	squeeze hard

2.5 Reduplication of Possessive Pronouns

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

25. mi-lù?ù məmə	only my spoons
ṁ-fə ɣəɣə	only my fon
bi-fə bəbə	only my fons
ni-lwe nənə	only my nose
mi-lwe məmə	only my noses
a-laŋə zəzə	only my chair
i-laŋə tsətsə	only my chairs
ṁ-bvo tsigitsigi	only our dogs
ṁ-bvo zigizigi	only our dog
ṁ-bvo tsátsá	only their dogs
ŋwí zozo	only your knife
fisaŋə fəfə	only your broom
fɪŋgwaŋə məmə	only my salt

So far, we have observed that there is whole-word, whole-stem reduplication of nouns in this language. Reduplication really enriches the vocabulary of the Mankon language. It is thus vast and varied. All the forms cannot be explained in this study. Only the most frequent forms have

been discussed. We have seen that reduplication of the various speech categories results in the creation of new lexical items.

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

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

CHAPTER THREE

VERBAL EXTENSIONS

3.1 Definition

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

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

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

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

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

We can therefore have the structure

Root + Extension + Final Vowel

The relation of the verbs to the Noun Phrase in sentences changes when we have

4. tsɔʔɔ	pull out	tsɔʔɔ-t-ə	pull out one after the other
kiʔə	cut	kiʔi-t-ə	cut several times
dunɔ	uproot	dun-t-ə	uproot one after the other

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

5. ɲɔʔɔ	squeeze	ɲɔʔɔ-t-ə	squeeze a little
zəgə	sweep	zəgɪ-t-ə	sweep a little portion
ʃwɛ	wet	ʃwɛ-t-ə	wet a bit
lubə	slap	lub-i-t-ə	pat, tap (on the back)

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

6. kwó	die	kwó-k-ə	die one after another
vo	fall	vo-k-ə	fall several times
dzɪŋə	urinate	dzɪŋ-k-ə	urinate several times

3.2 The Mankon Verb Structure

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

The structure of the verb in this language is:

TM + OM + RT + Ext + FV

TM being the tense marker,

OM is the object marker,

RT is the Root

Ext being the extension and

FV is the final vowel.

Our main concern in this chapter is:

Root + Extension + Final Vowel

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

The following consonants were identified as C_2

m	n	ŋ	
b	r	g	ʔ

Examples:

7. bî	plant
zòbò	sing
zùʔ	bear
kúŋò	fry
kamò	press / squeeze
zàrò	select
sàrò	tear

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

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

3.2.1 Monosyllabic Verb Roots

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

Root + Final Vowel

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

3.2.1.1 CV Syllable Structure

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

8. yá-à	→	yâ	give
bí-à	→	bî	plant
tá-à	→	tâ	push
bà-à	→	bâ	nail
vō-à	→	vò	fall
ʒɛ-à	→	ʒè	know

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

3.2.1.2 CVC Syllable Structure

Most of the roots in this class have the CVC sequence plus the FV. This class of final vowels behaves differently when coming in contact with the varying extensions. This difference will be seen later. In CVC, the C₂ which forms a coda of the syllable is always a nasal and end in a nasal when they are followed by an object which begins with another nasal or a suffix. Let us have some examples.

9. túmə	shoot
túm ñyámə	shoot an animal
tum-t-ə	shoot several times.

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

3.2.1.3 CCV Syllable Type

This group of verb roots undergoes the glide formation rule which states that a high vowel becomes a semi vowel or consonant when it is followed by another vowel. It therefore occurs when we previously had CV₁V₂. It does not occur only in monosyllabic verb roots but also in disyllabic verbs.

The reason why we do not have a glide in the underlying forms of this language is because it is derived by a phonological rule. The only exception is when the word is borrowed from another language. Examples:

10. kúa-ə → kwá play
 kúi-ə → kwî grow
 kîé → kyě sieve
 lié → lyě sleep
 dié → dyè fly
 guava → gwafa guava

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

$V \rightarrow G / _ _ V$

A vowel devocalizes when it is followed by another vowel.

3.2.2 Disyllabic Structure.

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

3.2.2.1 CV.CV Syllable Structure

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

11. nà?à-ə to open
 kanə-ə to jump
 zəb ə-ə to sing
 zəgə-ə to sweep
 kifi-ə to cut

tʃerə-ə	to slice
ʃiʔI-ə	to descend
koŋə-ə	to love
sarə-ə	to tear
fika-ə	to vomit
kàʔà-ə	to promise

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

The following rule can therefore be proposed for that:

$V \rightarrow V_i / V_iʔ--$

3.2.2.2 CCV.CV Syllable Structure.

Consider the following examples.

12. gúágə-ə	→	gwágə	to minimize
kuəgə-ə	→	kwəgə	to cough
kuarə-ə	→	kwárə	to take
kuemə-ə	→	kwemə	to implant
dueʔe-ə	→	dwèʔè	to hide
nieʔè-ə	→	nyèʔè	throw
ɲiamə	→	ɲyamə	mix

CCV.CV syllable types are realized as a result of the glide formation rule.

3.2.2.3 CVCVCV Syllable Type

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

13. kug-i-n-ə	deaf
wuʔ-u-s-ə	respect
ligi-n-ə	forget

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

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

3.3 *Forms of Verbal Extensions*

As earlier mentioned, four extension markers can be identified in this language. These markers have in addition to iterative, distributive, and attenuative functions, causative and reciprocity. Causative causes or makes somebody do something or causing something to become something different as illustrated in the following examples.

14. zəbə	sing	zəbi-t-ə	sing a little
fə̀rə̀	play	fə̀ri-t-ə	play a little
yí	do	yí-t-ə	do a little

As for reciprocity, the extension indicates that there is no more than one agent. Examples include:

15. lúbà	slap	lub-i-n-ə	slap each other
wè	laugh	wè-n-ə	laugh each other
ɣámà	talk	ɣam-n-ə	talk to each other

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

16. lomə	to be hot	(intransitive)
lom-t-ə	to heat	(transitive)
kə̀ʔə̀	climb	(intransitive)
kə̀ʔə̀-k-ə̀	to raise	(transitive)
lwèʔè	to hide	(transitive)
lwèʔè-t-ə̀	to be hidden	(intransitive)

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

3.3.1 Monosyllabic Verbs + Extensions

3.3.1.1 CV + Extensions

Monosyllabic verbs are made up of a consonant and a vowel. The extension therefore does not change the structure as exemplified below:

17. bî	plant			
bí-t-ə	plant some			
bí-n-ə	people should plant			
bí-tí-nə	people should plant some			
nð	drink	nð-t-ə	nð-n-ə	nð-t-i-n-ə
ɣâ	give	ɣá-t-ə	ɣá-n-ə	ɣá-t-i-n-ə
ʒê	know	ʒê-t-ə	ʒê-n-ə	ʒê-t-i-n-ə
vo	fall	fo-t-ə	vo-n-ə	vo-t-i-n-ə

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

3.3.1.2 CVC + Extensions.

Most of the CVC roots in this language have a nasal as C_2 . The vowel after the nasal deletes when it is followed by an object, a nasal, or an extension. In such cases there is no vowel insertion. There are equally other verb roots which are considered to be CVC when the V_2 deletes before extensions. Examples:

18. túmə	shoot
túm-t-ə	shoot some
túm-n-ə	people should shoot
túm-t-i-n-ə	people should shoot some

tɔŋə	call	tɔŋ-t-ə	tɔŋ-n-ə	tɔŋ-ti-n-ə
lamə	cook	lam-t-ə	lam-n-ə	lam-t-i-n-ə
ŋəmə	bend	ŋəm-tə	ŋəm-n-ə	ŋəm-t-i-n-ə

Our observation here is that there is no vowel insertion. Although consonant clusters are not allowed in the language, the nasals are exceptions.

3.3.1.3 CCV + Extensions

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

kyě	sieve	kyè-n-ə	kyè-t-ə	kyè-t-i-n-ə
kwî	grow	kwí-n-ə	kwí-t-ə	kwí-t-i-n-ə
lyě	sleep	lyè-n-ə	lyè-t-ə	lyè-t-i-n-ə
dyè	fly	dyè-n-ə	dyè-t-ə	dyè-t-i-n-ə

Tones in these data change as the extensions are added. The contour tones simplify to either a H or Low tone before extensions.

3.3.2 Disyllabic Syllable Structures.

3.3.2.1 CVCV + Extensions

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

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

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

3.3.2.2 CCVCV + Extension

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

kwára	take	kwar-i-t-ə	kwar-i-n-ə	kwari-t-i-n-ə
kwemə	implant	kwem-t-ə	kwem-n-ə	kwem-t-i-n-ə
nyèʔè	throw	nyèʔè-t-ə	nyèʔè-n-ə	nyèʔè-t-i-n-ə

Although we have been illustrating the extensions -n-, -t-, let us now look at -k- and others.

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

22. ʃúʔú	stammer
ʃúʔú-k-ə	stammer a bit, several times/places
ʃúʔú-n-ə	you people should stammer
ʃúʔú-k-i-n-ə	you people should stammer a bit

bèʔè	break	bèʔè-k-ə	bèʔè-n-ə	bèʔè-k-i-n-ə
fərə	peel	fəri-k-ə	fər-i-n-ə	fər-i-k-i-n-ə
sarə	tear	sari-k-ə	sar-i-n-ə	sar-i-k-i-n-ə
ŋəmə	bend	ŋəm-k-ə	ŋəm-n-ə	ŋəm-k-i-n-ə
lamə	cook	lam-k-ə	lam-n-ə	lam-k-i-n-ə
saŋə	dry	saŋ-k-ə	saŋ-n-ə	saŋ-k-i-n-ə
tʃiʔə	wipe	tʃiʔi-k-ə	tʃiʔ-i-n-ə	tʃiʔi-k-i-n-ə

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

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

23. lamə	cook		
lam-k-ə	cook much ...		
bèʔè	break	bèʔè-k-ə	break so much
fərə	peel	fər-i-k-ə	peels so much

Occasionally pluralizing and diminutive functions combine as in the above examples to indicate that the given action is both repeated and comparatively slight. More examples.

24. vo	fall	vo-t-ə	to fall a little at a time
		vot-t-ə	walk with some squatting
ʃuŋə	pull	ʃuŋ-t-ə	to pull a little at a time or to tighten

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

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

25. ʃiʔi	descend			
ʃiʔi-s-ə	put down something			
ʃiʔi-n-ə	you people should descend			
ʃiʔi-s-i-n-ə	you people should put down something			
kəʔə	climb			
kəʔə-s-ə	put up, hoist			
kəʔə-n-ə	you people should climb			
kəʔə-s-i-n-ə	you people should put up ...			
lwi	make bitter	lwi-s-ə	lwi-n-ə	lwi-s-i-n-ə

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

- 26.a. Nde kəʔə-s-ə Nde hoisted
 Nde ʃiʔi-s-ə Nde helped him down
- b. Nde kəŋə Nde drowned

mâ yí Nde kóŋə I drowned Nde

I do drown

mâ koŋ-s-ə Nde I drowned Nde

Ext FV

(Here yí means: make, do , cause.)

3.4 Phonological Processes

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

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

3.4.1 Vowel Deletion

This phonological process is illustrated with mostly monosyllabic verbs, though it is a general rule in the language that whenever there is a CV_1V_2 , one of the vowels deletes or devocalizes. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|----------|---|----|-------|
| 27. bí-ə | → | bî | plant |
| yá-ə | → | yâ | give |
| ká-ə | → | kâ | pluck |

ʒè-ə → ʒè know

bà-ə → bà to nail

This vowel deletion rule can be formulated as follows:

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / V\text{--}\#$

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

3.4.2 Vowel Insertion

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

28. zóbə	sing	zób-í-t-ə	sing a little
		zób-í-n-ə	you people should sing
			sing to one another
zəgə	sweep	zəg-í-t-ə	sweep a little
		zəg-í-n-ə	you people should sweep
			sweep one another
lubə	slap	lub-í-t-ə	slap a little
			tap, pat on the back
		lub-í-n-ə	you people should slap
			slap each other
sarə	tear	sar-í-t-ə	tear some
		sar-i-k-ə	torn in several places
		sar-í-n-ə	you people should tear part

The vowel insertion rule can be formulated as follows:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V / C\text{--}C$

All the verb stems which have a nasal as C_2 before the extension do not comply with this insertion rule. That is why we have cases like:

29. kwemə	implant	kwem-t-ə	implant some
lamə	cook	lam-k-ə	cook much
zomə	peel	zom-t-ə	peel some
kaŋə	fry	kaŋ-t-ə	fry some
ɣamə	talk	ɣam-n-ə	you people should talk
koŋə	drown	koŋ-s-ə	make drown
saŋə	dry	saŋ-n-ə	you people should dry ...

3.4.3 Vowel Weakening

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

30. tsiŋə	wait	tseŋ-t-ə	wait a bit wait for some time
fiŋə	sell	feŋ-t-ə	sell some
liŋə	look	leŋ-t-ə	look for a while
zuŋə	buy	zeŋ-t-ə	buy some

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

3.4.4 Devocalization

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

31. kua-ə	→	kwá	trim
kuemə-ə	→	kwemə	implant
niɛʔè-ə	→	nyèʔè	throw
liɛ-ə	→	lyě	sleep
diɛ-ə	→	dyè	fly

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

3.5 *Tonological Processes*

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

32. bi-ə	→	bí	plant
ya-ə	→	yá	give
vo-ə	→	vo	fall
zè-ə	→	zè	know

In glide formation, the tone of the devocalized tone bearing unit (TBU) floats. This floating tone either docks to the left or to the right forming a simple tone or a contour tone.

33. kîé-ə → kyě	sieve
kûî-ə → kwî	grow
lié-ə → lyě	sleep
dîé-ə → dyè	fly

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

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

34. diè	→	dyè	fly
bà-à	→	bà	to nail
tó-á	→	tó	burn

Complex bases.

Consider the following word *bó lámá-à* which is realised as

35. bó lámâ	they cooked
bó lám-t-â	they cooked a little.

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

36. lámə cook

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

37. lámê

Let us have more examples:

38. a. bítə-ə → bítê ask
 wúʔú-s-ə-ə → wúʔúsê respect
- b. bó bítê they asked
 bó lám-tê they cooked a little

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

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

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

CHAPTER FOUR

BORROWING / LOAN ADAPTATION

4.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

Most elders in Mankon prefer to avoid using the borrowed forms because of the general anti-colonization fever. They prefer to describe or adopt from other languages like Duala, Hausa, English, French, and Latin. They equally prefer to keep Mankon pure and uncontaminated by the influence of the foreign languages.

In this chapter, we will try to examine the phenomenon of borrowing in its broader sense in the light of generative phonology. We shall examine how the foreign material conforms with the phonological properties of the Mankon language. Cases where the forms resulting from both forms of contact are possible lexical items in the first language.

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

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

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

Mutaka and Tamanji (1995) define borrowing as:

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

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

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

4.2 Restructuring Phonological Processes.

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

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

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

4.2.1 Cluster Simplification Through Epenthesis

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

- 1.a. CVCC [ba:sɪ]
- CVVCC [teɪbɪ]
- CCVC [bred]
- CVCCV [marcu]
- CCVCCV [kristo]

The Mankon language makes use of epenthetic vowels to have:

b. CVCVCV	basərə
CVCVCV	tebirə
CVCVCV	berədə
CVCVCVCV	Marikusə
CVCVCVCV	kirisito

In these examples, we have the insertion rule

$\emptyset \rightarrow V / C - C$

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

	wisiki	kirak	tebirə	basərə	medari
UR	/ wiski	krak	tebrə	basrə	medri /
V-ins.	i	i	i	ə	a
PR	[wisiki	kirak	tebirə	basərə	medari]

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

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

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

2. [ka:pintə(r)]	kabĩnda
[pæsindzə (r)]	basinja

[komreid]	kombi
[æŋgl]	aŋgere
[mesindzə(r)]	masinja
[bændidz]	bandasi
[mɔ̃ndi]	monde

Newly created syllables of CiC, CiC, CuC and others are obtained. Instead of looking for new words, the native speaker simply inserts a vowel between clusters unless one of the clusters is a nasal as seen above.

4.2.2 Harmonisation of Prosody

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

3. [áuə]	áwa
[reidiəu]	lédyo
[ˈkɔ: nə(r)]	kóna
[wáíə(r)]	wáya
[ˈtraɪ]	tíra
[pəlís]	burísə

Since the Mankon language has more than two tones, the distribution in loan words is more complex. It is normally determined by the tonal rules of the language.

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

4.2.3 Re-Interpretation of Strange Segments.

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

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

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

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

The speaker of this language in an attempt to borrow and adapt a loan-word in order to have his lexicon enriched, realizes the English sound

[p] as [b] . This of course substantiates the idea of phonetic approximation, since [b] is the closest sound he has for [p] . Examples:

4. [pa:stə(r)]	básító
[plæŋk]	bíraŋə
[peipə]	biba
[pəpə:]	bəbə
[paudə(r)]	boda
[ka:pintə(r)]	kabinda
[pəkɪt]	boki
[preə]	biriya

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

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

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

new words then consist of phonological strings which are composed of underlying segments or even segments closer to the phonetic output.

4.2.4 Redistribution of Segments.

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

5. tafel	taferə
bobolo	bəbərə
mukuta	mikuta
mukala	mlikurə
rubber	loba
table	tebirə
gallon	garon
palaver	baraba
raphia	lafya
rice	lesə
razor blade	lisa beredə
radio	ledyo
Roger	loje
Rebecca	lebeka

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

I propose the following rule to account for this change:

$l \rightarrow r / V - V$

This rule says: a lateral alveolar becomes a trill intervocalically.

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

Our examples will be limited to the Duala language.

Duala	Mankon
mu-kuta	mi-kuta
mu-kala	mi-karə
ma-kabo	makabo
a-kabə	a-kabə

We observe that other prefixes like *a-* are maintained.

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

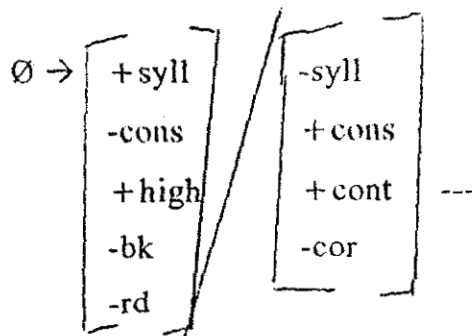
6. [witnis]	wusinek
[fu:lɪʃ]	furisi
[krisməs]	kirisime
[glɑ:s]	firasi
[mætris]	matarasi
[tæks]	takisi
[pɔ:lɪs]	burisi
[tɑts]	tosi

We can therefore have a rule as

$\emptyset \rightarrow i / s \text{ ---}$

\int

Using features, this rule reads as:



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

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

[auə]	áwa
[preə]	biriya
[tauə]	taworə
[waia]	waya
[flauə]	farawa
[dia]	dyâ

The front, high, unrounded vowel and the back high rounded vowel become the semi vowels [y, w] respectively before a schwa. This can be seen in the examples above. Here, we observe the glide rule in the formation of new words. In the cases where the GV sequence is itself borrowed, it is realized with an identical surface glide, if it is permissible

in the language. The reason why this process breaks down in the presence of glides, labialized consonants is that, since foreign sounds are treated in terms of underlying forms, the order of the rules affects their phonetic output.

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

[pæsindʒə] basinka

[ma:stə] masa

[waio] waya

[leiborə] lebira

[pastə] basita

[ti:tʃə] titʃa

[peə] byâ

[rʌbə] loba

[gwa:və] gwafa

We can therefore have a rule as

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

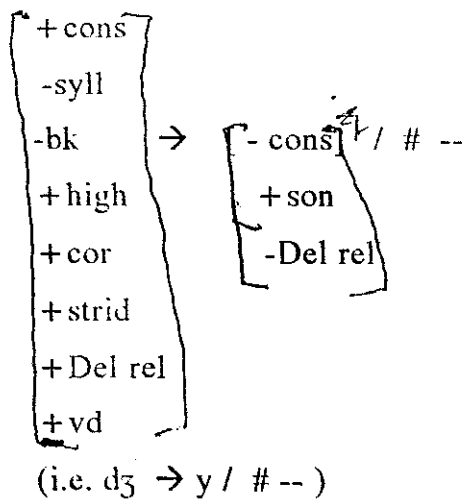
(i.e. ə → a / -- #)

The rule states that a back mid unrounded vowel becomes a low vowel at word final position. The [a] is stronger than the schwa. This is because the language is a tone language.

Another change is [dʒ] which scarcely appears at word initial position in mostly borrowed words. It is regularly substituted by y as in

Jerusalem	Yerusarem
Jesus	Yesosi
Judas	Yudasi
Jacob	Yakobə
Jeremia	Yerimyâ

Thus the rule is



We did make mention of vowel reduction or vowel shortening. CV₁V₂ is not permitted in this language. That is the reason why one has to be deleted. We can see this from the examples below:

[ba: (r)]	bá
[kə:nə(r)]	kəna
[ti:]	tí
[mi:tiŋ]	mitiŋə

The proposed rule is:

V: → V

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

[teɪbl]	tebirə
[laɪm]	lamsi
[leɪborə]	lebira]

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

[kənu:]	kanuʔu
----------	--------

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

[mɑndi]	monde
[tju:zdi]	tuside
[wenzdi]	wenside
[θɔ:zdi]	tɔside
[fraidi]	firade
[sætədi]	saside
[sɑndi]	sonde

The receptor language is influenced by the use of “-day” and not the phonetic form. [e] is therefore as a result of the influence of “day” say “Monday.” Equally, sounds like

[ʌ], [ə], [æ] are not attested in the language: they replace them with [o], [ɔ] and [a] respectively. This goes further to substantiate the idea of “phonetic approximation” used in the language.

4.2.5 Prothesis

This is one of the restructuring processes in our study in this chapter. This language is one of the Cameroonian Bantu Grassfield languages that has a rich nominal prefix class system. In order to adapt foreign words into its vocabulary, this prefixation process is not left out.

Only some of the nouns bear the nominal prefix markers. The receptor language either changes the prefix to suit the nominal class system of its style or it is prefixed according to the class it belongs to. Hence, we can have

[pəkɪt]	a-boki
[kenu]	a-kanuʔu
[hɔspɪtɪ]	a-wasibita
mu-kala	mi-karə
mu-kuta	mi-kuta
wrapper	a-labə

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

4.3 Other Motives for Borrowing

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

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

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

Examples:

14. Donor Form	Borrowed Form	Non Borrowed Equivalence
razor blade	lisa berede	ʃwaʔa
table	tebirə	à-tekə
cup	kəbə	ñ-dəŋə
meeting	mitiŋə	ñ-gotə
radio	ledyô	ni-ləŋə
ball	bərə	a-tamaji

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

From data (14), we observe that the non borrowed forms have a nominal prefix marker. This confirms the fact that borrowed words have a noun prefix to match the noun class system of the Mankon language.

According to Towa (1975) and Logan (1965),

“ Borrowing is the most obvious way of becoming aware of the deficiency in language and of the fact that language is always lagging behind the development of thought.”

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

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

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

apostles	bi-bosito
balls	bi-borə
pastors	bi-basito
radios	bi-ledyô

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

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

5.1 Summary

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

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

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

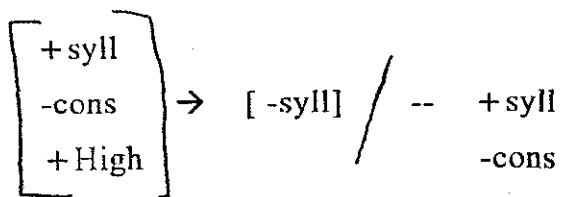
Chapter Three was devoted to examining the extensions affixed to verbs in this language. Here, we had -n-, t-, -k- as extension markers. It is equally in this chapter that the schwa stands out clearly as the FV of the language.

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

$$i, u \rightarrow y, w / --V$$

$$V \rightarrow G / --V$$

$$--\#$$



A high vowel is realised as a semi-vowel when it is followed by another vowel.

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

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

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

5.2 Problems Encountered and Possible Solutions

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

Considering the morpheme structure CVC2 of the language, the complex sounds like /ts, tʃ, dz, dʒ, nd, ŋk/ were interpreted as single consonants. In the course of our analysis, labialisation, palatalisation, homorganic nasalisation and consonant alternations were some of the problems. The sounds above violate the morpheme structure which does not permit consonant clusters in the language. We can have the following:

/N-kwiŋə/ → [ŋkwiŋə] maintain

CV₁V₂ Cw

/N-kwiŋə/ → [ŋkwìŋə] firewood

/bié/ → [byě] rotten

CV₁V₂ Cy

As for the CV sequence, the vowel is realised as a glide when followed by another vowel. In order to conform with the non-existence of clusters, the glide is then coalesced with the preceding consonant as in

/kiãŋtə/ → [kyãŋtə] arrange

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

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

N-bàʔà	→	m̀bàʔà	clouds
N-tòŋé	→	nt̀òŋé	throat
N-kàʔà	→	ŋkàʔ	light
N-tʃwáʔà	→	nt̀ʃwáʔà	“njangi”
N-gúbà	→	ŋgúbà	fowl
N-dâ	→	ndâ	house

These examples are governed by the homorganic assimilation rule in the language which states that the homorganic nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the consonant after it. It thus converts /N/ to [m] before labials, [n] before alveolars, prepalatals and [ŋ] before velars.

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

fàʔà	to work	m̄ fàʔà	the worker
sàʔà	to judge	n̄ sàʔà	the judge
fúŋə	to pull	ŋfúŋə	the puller
kàʔà	to plan	ŋkàʔà	the planner

So far, we notice that when C_1 is voiceless, the marked form is derived from the unmarked by simply prefixing a homorganic nasal before C_1 . But when C_1 is voiced, the unmarked form of the verb contains not only a homorganic nasal prefix but also C_1 undergoes certain modifications as in

lwèʔè	to hide	ndwèʔè	the hider
yâ	to give	ŋgâ	the giver
yíŋə	to come	ŋgyíŋə	the comer
wètə	to laugh	ŋgwètə	the laugher

It therefore means that the voiced continuants become non-continuant after a nasal consonant.

The language has not got a voiced palatal non-continuant, that is why [y] has moved backwards to resemble the velar stop which is a feature in the language.

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

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

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

APPENDIX

5.3.1 *Nouns*

5.3.1.1 Borrowed Nouns

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

kírak	clerk
kawo	cow
mosíkító	mosquito
kíro	kilo
wísíkí	whiskey
bâ	bar
mata	mat
dyâ	dear
farawa	flower
kwíní	quinine
mani	Mummy
baba	daddy
kabíndá	carpenter
basínja	passenger
zíjə	zinc
masa	master
sá	sir
à-bókí	pocket
masínja	messenger

mato	motor
sínema	cinema
kanù?ù	canoe
símen	cement
kóna	corner
tíkerə	ticket
koníkoni	malice
lóya	lawyer
gíràfi	grassfield
wàsínèl	nightwatch
nírònə	nylon
wáya	wire
kórafíji	crayfish
kambe	comrade
lebira	labourer
àkísidena	accident
wúsínèl	witness
medari	medal
hotere	hotel
kòbərə	cupboard
síkùrə	school
bandasi	bandage
kírísíme	Christmas
angere	angel
basíla	pastor
kátərə	catholic
bàsərə	basel
tebírə	table
bíranə	plank

borí	ball
titfa	teacher
bíba	paper
kátonə	carton
lédyô	radio
wàsíbítá	hospital
dòkíta	doctor
nósə	nurse
lamsì	lime
bàyə	park
kasarə	cassava
kəkənərə	coconut
bòbò	pawpaw
gwàfa	guava
mànḡorə	mango
bódà	powder
bered	bread
ḡgotə	meeting
jògə	jug
garon	gallon
masì	mass
lóba	rubber
kúntáḡə	coaltar
torobo	trouble
fíba	fever
ndòḡə	cup
ḡírasí	glass
saside	Saturday
sonde	Sunday

doroba	driver
àfúbà	palaver
terebifona	television
daṅtite	identity
makiza	maquisard
betorà	perdro (Latin)
maríkùsà	Marcus (Latin)
yakobà	Jacob
Yesosi	Yeso
kírísító	Kristo
Yerúsaremo	Jerusalem
kuríkufí	krukru (Yoruba)
makarà	makra
kòbò	kòbò
ṅdorle	ndole
buba	buba
a-kabà	akabà
miṅyandò?ò	miondo
makabà	makabo
mìkarà	mukala
mí-borà	bobolo
tefere	tafel (German)
bahatà	bad heart
korokoro	krokro
wasi	watch
sítase	starch
dasi	dash
tòsì	torch
ṅ-jù?ù	thousand

a-fijə	lock
búrisə	police
kóre	court
ni-niŋniŋ	picture
taworə	towel
basíko	bicycle
baraŋə	blanket
bíríya	prayer
síríbasí	slippers
i-ŋyé	skin
lamə	lamp
ʃwàʔà	blade
lisabered	razor blade
karə	card
i-bírə	poker
awa	hour
tusíde	Tuesday
monde	Monday
wensíde	Wednesday
təsíde	Thursday
fíradə	Friday

5.3.1.2 Ø Prefix Nouns

karə	ring
síŋə	bird
fū	rat
kamə	crab
maŋgorə	mango

lamsi	lime
byá	pear
farawa	flower
bâ	bar
tebirə	table
boda	powder
bigisə	hinge
lɔŋ	lock
redyó	radio
windo	window
búʔú	chimpanzee
kúŋə	bed
túru	pant
séʔé	weaver

5.3.1.3 Nouns with N-Prefix

n-dá	house
m-bə	nail
ŋ-ɔ	person
m-ú	child
n-tiri	louse
ŋ-gúba	fowl
n-dzámá	ask
ŋ-ké	cage
ŋ-kə	monkey
m-bí	goat
m-bvó	dog
m-fə	fon
n-domə	husband

ñ-dəmə	witch
ñ-dzere	thief
ñ-bábo	meat

5.3.1.4 Nouns with Other Nominal Prefixes

5.3.1.4.1 a- Prefix

a-tí	tree
à-bè	bag
à-kú	leg
à-tù	head
à-kwě	bone
à-bərə	throne
à-mí	neck
à-lémè	blood
à-bébo	he-goat
à-tsèʔè	cloth
à-sò	hoe
à-bó	hand
à-kónḡ	umbrella
à-tálémè	

5.3.1.4.2 ni-prefix

ni-bumə	stomach
ni-bí	kolanut
ni-kwè	arm
ni-díḡə	eye

nì-lwɛ	nose
nì-tù?ù	lap
nì-sɔŋɔ	tooth
nì-bò?ó	pumpkin

5.3.1.4.3 fi-prefix

fi-zwirɔ	maggots
fi-gwayɔ	salt
fi-tù?ù	potato
fi-dzɔŋɔ	thorn

5.3.1.4 i-prefix

i-kəbɔ	belt
i-kə?ò	ladder
i-bɔ	children
i-kəbɔ	mortars

5.3.2 Verbs

5.3.2.1 Monosyllabic verbs

vo	to fall
yá	to give
tá	to push
tà	to sew
bà	to nail

ʒɛ̀	to know
dyɛ̀	to fly
lyɛ̀	to sleep
kyɛ̀	to sieve
ɣi	to do
nɔ̀	to drink
kâ	to luck
sé	to steal
kwî	to grow
kwá	to play
kwo	to die
tʃɛ̀	to sit

5.3.2.2 Bisyllabic Verbs

tɔŋə	to deny
borikà	to meet
koŋə	to love
tam-t-ə	to deceive
bàʔà	to plait
tɔŋə	to call
tirə	to try
məm-t-ə	to touch a bit
winə	to win
tɔŋə	to fight
ʒùʔù	to murmur
dʒwî	to give birth to
bémà	to believe

tʃyé	to wipe
súgə	to wash
maʔa	to throw
bíŋə	to dance
bítə	to ask
zuŋə	to buy
liŋə	to look
kwemə	to implant
kwarə	to take
kwəgə	to cough
káʔá	to promise
tʃerə	to slice
twigə	to peel
fi-kə	to vomit
ʃíʔí	to descend
kanə	to jump
běʔě	to break
tsəʔə	to carry
kíʔí	to cut
dúŋə	to uproot
ŋəʔə	to squeeze
zəgə	to sweep
lúbə	to slap
dzíŋə	to urinate
zəbə	to sing
zarə	to select
sərə	to tear
túmə	to shoot

5.3.2.3 Polysyllabic Verbs

lígínə	to forget
wúʔúsə	to respect
fúrísə	to be foolish
bíʔínə	to start/begin
fígítə	to reduce
bənísə	to punish

5.3.3 Adjectives

wandafurə	wonderful
bigə	bad
lasí	last
ɲyàʔà	dirty
bəŋə	bon, good
dzomə	dry
fugə	white
sagə	tall
bəŋə	red
vugə	short
narə	lazy
fíŋə	black
kigə	small
ɲwitə	tasteful
ni-kwa	four
ni-wum	ten
bìbə	five

milinə	sad
ngabə	week
borikə	weak
fəŋə	fat
femə	clean
dzomkə	thin
ŋkiŋki	watery
gəʔəgəʔə	stoney
dwitəŋə	angry
midəʔə	powerful
tsegə	sour
kəkugə	dumb
mifūʔə	foamy

5.3.4 Grammatical Words

kəkə	nothing
a-yè	where
i-wa	who
i-ŋgəŋə	no
winə	which
biʔike	why
kə	or
anə	how
hə	also
bəʔəni	and
bə	if
ambyè	by
ambo	to, for

azə	yours
azə	mine
tsítsè	some
ake	what
tsá	those
zínə	this
tsâ	theirs
tsígə	ours
tsò	as
anu	in, into
lá	but
m̀biʔake	because
boye	them
atú	above
ɣə	my
abye	outside
tsínə	these
bínə	which (plural)

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