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DEPARTEMENT DE LANGUES AFRICAINES ET LINGUISTIQUE

A SKETCH PHONOLOGY AND A STEP TOWARDS THE STANDARDIZATION OF NAKI

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a 'Maîtrise' Diploma in Linguistics

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DEDICATION

I Dedicate this Study to my Father

PA. KUM FUH

and my Benefactor

EL-HADJI MONGBET NJOYA ABUBAKAR.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Under normal circumstances, a maiden study like this one can be very difficult or even impossible to be done single-handedly. I am therefore seizing this opportunity to thank those who in one way or the other contributed to the success of this study.

I would like at the outset to express my warm and sincere thanks to my supervisor Mr. Etienne Sadembouo, with whom working with, has not only been a necessity, but has been and will always be a great joy.

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May the following individuals who have not had a sound sleep since the beginning of this work be blessed with many nights of sweet and revitalising sleep. They are: Sem John, Meh Athanasius, Manchu Martin, Bwache Jeremaih, Beng Peter, Abong Felix, Njoya Fatimatou, Mbanwi Martha, Tem Cyprain, Bota Martin, Bengsi Richard, Ning Valentine, Tem Elizabeth, Meh Ephraim, Kum Benedict, Ntam Eric and Kum Amatus Che.

For those whose names have not been mentioned, but who contributed a quota to this study, know that this study would not have been what it is without you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ALCAM:	Atlas Linguistique du Cameroon
Ass.m:	Associative marker
Gloss:	Glossary
Refl:	Reflexive
SIL:	Société International de Linguistique
C:	Consonant
V:	Vowel
Vl:	Voiceless
Vd:	Voiced
Km:	Kilometres
T.m:	Tense marker
/---/:	Phonemic data
[---]:	Phonetic data
#.:	Word boundary
#---:	Word initial position
---#:	Word final position
+:	Possible
——▶:	Becomes
N°:	Number

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.....iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....iv
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....1
0.1 Introduction.....2
0.2 Scope of Study.....2
0.3 Motivation of Choice of Topic.....3
0.4 The Language.....4
0.4.1 Geographical Situation.....5
0.4.2 Historical Situation.....6
0.4.3 Socio-economic Situation.....7
0.4.4 Linguistic Classification.....8
0.5 Literature Review.....14
0.6 Methodology.....15
0.7 The Data Sources.....16
0.8 Outline of Study.....18
0.9 Conclusion.....19
PART ONE: PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS.....20
CHAPTER ONE: TONES.....21
1.1 Introduction.....21
1.2 Inventory of Tones.....21
1.2.1 Level Tones.....21
1.2.2 Contour Tones.....22
1.3 Phonemic Tone contrast.....23
1.3.1 The high Toneme (H).....24

1.3.2 The low Toneme (L)....25
1.3.3 The low High Toneme (LH)....24
1.3.4 The High-Low Toneme (HL)....25
1.4 Conclusion....25
CHAPTER TWO: VOWEL PHONEMES....27
2.1 Introduction....27
2.2 Vowels....27
2.2.1 Phonic Inventory of Vowels....27
2.2.2 Pairs of Similar Sounds....28
2.2.3 Phonemic Analysis....28
2.2.4 Phonemic Inventory....32
2.2.5 Definition of vowel phonemes....32
2.3 Conclusion....33
CHAPTER THREE: CONSONANT PHONEMES....34
3.1 Introduction....34
3.2 Interpretation problems....34
3.2.1 Vowel or Consonant....34
3.2.2 Syllabic Consonant....35
3.2.3 Labialized Consonant....36
3.2.4 Palatalized Consonants....38
3.3 Consonant....39
3.3.1 Phonic Inventory of Consonants....39
3.3.2 Pairs of Similar sounds....43
3.3.3 Phonemic analysis....43
3.3.3.1 Opposition in Identical Contexts....43
3.3.3.2 Opposition in Analogous Contexts....53
3.3.3.3 Contextual Variant....55
3.3.4 Phonemic Inventory....57

3.3.5 Definition of Consonant Phonemes....58
3.4 Conclusion....59
PART TWO: SYNTAGMATIC ANALYSIS....60
CHAPTER FOUR: SYLLABLES AND SYLLABLE COMBINATIONS....61
4.1 Introduction....61
4.2 Types of Syllables....62
4.2.1 The Syllable V....62
4.2.2 The Syllable C....62
4.2.3 The Syllable VC....62
4.2.4 The Syllable CV....63
4.2.5 The Syllable CVC....63
4.3 Syllable Combinations in Words....63
4.3.1 Monosyllabic Words....63
4.3.1.1 The CV Structure....63
4.3.1.2 The CVC Structure....64
4.3.1.3 Monosyllabic Combination....64
4.3.1.3.1 Combination in the CV Structure....64
4.3.1.3.2 Combination in the CVC structure....66
4.3.1.3.3 General Tables of Monosyllabic Combinations....67
4.3.2 Disyllabic Combination....72
4.3.2.1 C.CV. Structure....72
4.3.2.2 C.CVC Structure....73
4.3.2.3 V.CV Structure....73
4.3.2.4 V.CVC Structure....73
4.3.2.5 CV.CV Structure....74
4.3.2.6 CV.CVC Structure....74
4.3.2.7 CVC.CV Structure....74

4.3.2.8 VC.CV Structure....75
4.3.2.9 VC.CVC Structure....75
4.3.2.10 CVC.CVC Structure....75
4.3.3 Trisyllabic Combination....76
4.3.3.1 V.CV.CV Structure....76
4.3.3.2 VC.CV.CV Structure....76
4.3.3.3 VC.CVC.CV Structure....76
4.3.3.4 C.CV.CV Structure....77
4.3.3.5 CV.CV.CV Structure....77
4.3.3.6 CV.CVC.CV Structure....78
4.3.3.7 V.CVC.CV Structure....78
4.3.3.8 C.CVC.CV Structure....78
4.3.3.9 CVC.CV.CV Structure....79
4.3.3.10 CVC.CVC.CV Structure....79
4.3.4 Tetrasyllabic Combination....79
4.3.4.1 CV.CV.CV.CV Structure....79
4.3.4.2 V.CV.CV.CV Structure....79
4.3.4.3 C.CVC.CV.CV Structure....80
4.4 Phoneme Distribution....80
4.5 Conclusion....82
CHAPTER FIVE: TONE DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION....83
5.1 Introduction....83
5.2 Tone Distribution....83
5.2.1 Disyllabic Words....83
5.2.1.1 The H.L Structure....83
5.2.1.2 The H.H Structure....83
5.2.1.3 The L.H Structure....84
5.2.1.4 The L.L Structure....84

5.2.1.5 The H.HL Structure....84

5.2.1.6 The L.HL Structure....84

5.2.1.7 The L.LH Structure....85

5.2.2 Trisyllabic Words....85

5.2.2.1 The H.H.L Structure....85

5.2.2.2 The H.H.H Structure....85

5.2.2.3 The L.L.L Structure....85

5.2.2.4 The L.L.H Structure....86

5.2.2.5 The L.H.L Structure....86

5.2.2.6 The L.H.H Structure....86

5.2.3 Tetrasyllabic Words....86

5.2.3.1 The L.L.L.H Structure....86

5.2.3.2 The L.L.L.L Structure....87

5.3. Tone Function....87

5.3.1 Singular or Plural Marker....87

5.3.2 Tense Marker....88

5.4 Conclusion....89

PART THREE: STANDARDISATION STEPS. 90

CHAPTER SIX: STANDARDISATION PRELIMINARIES....91

6.1 Introduction....91

6.2 Government Policy Toward Standardization....92

6.3 Number of Speakers and Inherent Intercomprehension....93

6.4 The Absence of Transitory Social Bilingualism....93

6.5 The Active Interest of Speakers in the Standardization of their Language 94

6.6 The Viability and Vitality of the Language....95

6.6.1 The vitality of the language within the community....96

6.6.2 The church use of the mother tongue....96

6.6.3 The socio-economic aspect....97
6.6.4 Education....97
6.7 Language of Wider Communication....98
6.8 Standardization Agency....98
6.9 Reference Dialect for the Written Form....98
6.10 Conclusion....99
CHAPTER SEVEN THE ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES....100
7.1 Introduction....100
7.2 The Alphabet of Naki....100
7.3 Orthographic Principles....102
7.3.1 Tone Principles....103
7.3.2 Vowel Principles....103
7.3.3 Consonant Principles....103
7.3.4 Words Sequence Principles in Phrases or Sentences....103
7.3.5 Punctuation Principles....105
7.4 Conclusion....105
7.5 General Conclusion....106
ANNEX....109
A. ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT....109
B. LEXIS....113
BIBLIOGRAPHY....122

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

0.1 INTRODUCTION

The topic of this study is A Sketch-Phonology and a Step Towards the standardization of Naki. Naki is spoken by the people of Mekaf, Marshi, Nser and Lebo. These villages are found in Fungom Sub-Division in Menchum division of the North West Province in the Republic of Cameroon.

This study is divided into three parts. The first two parts are devoted to a sketch-phonology of Naki. We have adopted the structural approach to phonological analysis. The last part is based on the standardization of the language. Before the beginning of the three parts which make up this study, there is the general introduction.

Our goal in this general introduction is to shed light on: The scope of study, motivation of choice of topic, the language situation, geographically historically and socio-economically, literature review, methodology used, data sources, outline of study and the conclusion of the general introduction

Under normal circumstances, we are very conscious of the fact that such a study can neither be exhaustive nor devoid of shortcomings. Nevertheless, that ultimate gratitude is going to be ours, should this study function as a stepping-stone for deeper studies on Naki in particular and African linguistics in general.

0.2 SCOPE OF STUDY

Our goal in this study is to initiate the standardization process of Naki. In order to attain this goal:

a) Naki is going to be located geographically, historically and socio-economically.

b) All the sounds of Naki are going to be examined in order to determine which are phonemes and which are not.

c) Phonemes are going to be analyzed to determine the manner in which they combine to form syllables and words.

d) Then, we are going to reveal whether the language under study deserves a reference dialect for the purpose of standadization or not.

e) Lastly, still in the language under study, we are going to state clearly the orthographic rules governing the language.

0.3 MOTIVATION OF CHOICE OF TOPIC

The choice of the topic of this study was inspired by four main reasons.

First, Naki has never experienced any scientific written work. It began to dawn on us the necessity for one, which we anticipated was going to serve as a stepping –stone for several linguistic findings in the language, thereby making the unwritten form of the language a regrettable memory of the distant past. A written form of the language we also thought was going to enable the speakers to embark on writing and reading texts on their language.

Secondly, our choice of the topic emanated from a transcribed data of one hundred and seventeen words on Naki, discovered in the SIL library. This data was collected by some missionaries as far back as 1953. CHILVER, and KABBERY, edited it in 1974 under the title Western Grass field Linguistic Notes Cameroon Republic. It was our goal to accomplish this unfinished data. Hence a source of immense motivation.

Thirdly, we were swayed by the vast land occupied by the speakers of Naki in Fungom Sub-Division that was linguistically unexplored. It was our desire to know whether the villages of Mekaf, Marshi, Nser and Batari really all existed, (see map on page 13). If they do, we also wanted to know whether the language used by these villages were dialects of Naki or not.

Lastly the notion of the insertion of Cameroon national language in different school curricula, backed by Law N° 98/004 of 14th April, 1998, published on Cameroon Tribune N° 6580 of Friday, 17th April, 1998 on page 2. According to this law laying down guidelines for Education in Cameroon, part II section ii states:

> Ensure the constant adaptation of educational system to national economic and socio cultural realities and also to international environment,

especially through the promotion of bilingualism and the teaching of national languages.

The only way we thought could guarantee Naki a secured position when this reformed period comes in our school curricula was to move it from its oral stage to a written one. In other words developing its written norms.

0.4 THE LANGUAGE

The people of Mekaf, Marshi, Nser and Lebo generally know the language under study as Naki. In order to know whether a slight variation prevails among the Naki spoken in Mekaf, Marshi, Nser and Lebo, which in any way might distort mutual intelligibihty, the speakers of these villages were interviewed sperately. From what we gathered from the speakers of Mekaf, Marshi and Nser, the village of Lebo is made up of Naki speakers from these three villages who have settled in Lebo because of its fertile land. In a high minded way, the speakers of Mekaf, Marshi and Nser each admitted that they have brothers and sisters living in Lebo and that the Naki spoken in Lebo is the same to the one spoken in these three other villages. Table one below illustrates what we got from the speakers of Mekaf, Marshi and Nser.

English	Mekaf	Marshi	Nser
head	fú	fú	fú
hand	àbàn	àbàn	àbàn
house	tsò	tsò	tsò
rice	lét	lét	lét
tongue	lì	lì	lì
go	gè	gè	gè
nose	jŭ	jŭ	jŭ
give	də̀	də̀	də̀
sing	tífí	tífí	tífí
body	gɔ̀p	gɔ̀p	gɔ̀p

Table 1

0.4.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

Naki shares boundary to the North with the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to the South with Koshin and Missong to the East with Donga Mantung division and to the West with Wum and Beezen (see map on page 13). TJEEGA and ELINGUI (1987) shed more light on the exact location of Marshi, Lebo; Nser and Mekaf on this vast land that harbours them as shown below.

According to TJEEGA and ELINGUI (1987:18:19), the following locations of each attested village above are given.

The village of Marshi is located on Meridian $10^0 16'$ and on latitude $6^0 36'$, with a population of six hundred and twenty four inhabitants (1976 census).

The village of Lebo is situated on Meridian $10^0 03'$ and on latitude $6^0 57'$ The population of Lebo is one hundred and seventy inhabitants (1987 census). Batari is a quarter of Lebo with a population of nineteen inhabitants (1987 census). This information and the population figures are collected from the Ministry of Economy and Finance, Department of Taxation Yaounde. For the fact that Batari is a quarter of Lebo, under normal circumstances we prefer Lebo to Batari on the map on page 13 of this study.

The village of Nser is located on Meridian $10^0 06'$ and on latitude $6^0 50'$, Sources from the Ministry of Economy and Finance Department of Statistics and National Account Yaounde give the population of Nser to be three hundred and eighty-four inhabitants (1976 census).

Lastly, the village of Mekaf is located on meridian $10^0 10'$ and on latitude $6^0 33'$. The population of Mekaf and its detached hamlet "Small Mekaf" is estimated to be about one thousand five hundred inhabitants, according to the inhabitants.

Mekaf is situated some 30 km from Wum the headquarter of Menchum Division. Mekaf shares boundary to the South with Zhoa, the administrative headquarter of Fungom Sub Division, to the North with Kung, to the North West Zaac, to the North East with Fungom, from where the Sub Division gets its name and to the West with Esu.

For the purpose of this study, attention is focused on most parts on the village of Mekaf. This is so because Mekaf is the biggest village among the four villages cited above in terms of population and it is the nearest village to the administrative headquarter.

0.4.2 HISTORICAL SITUATION

Much concerning the history of Naki is acquired from the oral source. Oral source from the villages of Mekaf, Marshi and Nser says that, the speakers of Naki migrated from Mbih, some where around the northern fringes of today Donga-Mantung Division. While in Mbih, they were generally called Njeyibah. The validity of the above oral source is backed by CHILVER and KABBERY (1967:31), as they say:

> The village of Bunaki (Munkap) and Bukpang (Marshi) claim to have come from near Bebe-Jatto and administrator record that their institution are matrilineal in former times. There are also two other villages Furu and Nser which claim to come from the same area.

Apart from CHILVER and KABBERY (1967), NKWI and WARNIER (1982:192) have this to say;

> The Bunaki villages (Munkap and Bukpang) arrived in the area from Bebbe Jato in Mbembe. Munkap is related to Marshi and Nser who assert they also came from Mbembe.

It is alleged that, while in Mbih the soil lost its fertility due to excessive farming. In their search for greener pastures, the Naki speakers realized themselves in Menchum Division along the Katsina. This newly discovered area was named Mbwe-Mbwe. Mbwe-Mbwe was a land of plenty having a river, forestland and

grassland. The grassland part of the new settlement lured the Fulani tribe with their cattle from Nigeria. For the fact that they were armed with bow and arrows, the Fulani tribe invaded the whole area, thereby dispersing the Njeyibah's sons and daughters all over the vast land.

In the course of fleeing from this invasion, the Bunakis (Mekaf) headed towards the direction of Esu and settled in a quarter there known as Wehndzenyeah. While in Esu, the Bunakis were subjected to systematic and callous attacks by the natives of Esu, who accused them of intruding into their land. However a friendly understanding generated between one of the Bunakis and a native of Zhoa, which ended up in their settling on the present site.

The name Mekaf only appeared with the coming of the European in that society. It is generally uphold that the first Bunaki to come face to face with a European was Mekap. When asked the name of the community, Mekap thought his name has been asked. He gave the European his name and it was booked down. With the passage of generations, the name has finally settled at Mekaf.

0.4.3 SOCIO-ECONOMICAL SITUATION

Our knowledge concerning the various tribes that make up the speakers of Naki has been broadened by TJEEGA and ELINGUI (1987).

According to TJEEGA and ELINGUI (1987:18:19), the villages of Lebo, Marshi, Nser and Mekaf are made up of two tribes, the Tikari and Aku.

At the centre of the day to day life in Mekaf is the Chief (ŋkùŋ), who is assisted by four hereditary Ward Heads. The Ward Heads keep the chief abreast with day-to-day happenings in their respective wards.

The main organ of government is the meeting-house (tso-ntshú) solely presided by the Chief. Prior to assuming total responsibility and membership in this highest organ people are entitled to pay a fee of ten goats, five cooks, four hens and twenty pots of wine. Members are usually identified cladded in traditional robes, a

long stick and a traditional raffia fibrous hand bag. This meeting-house concerns itself with all village matters.

Kwifa is another organ of recognisable importance but inferior by comparison with tso-ntshu at the level of handling crucial matters regarding the well being of the village. In Mekaf a ward heard can own it or any well to-do individual. The entry fee is low and Kwifa has masks like ńkok and mabu. In this village, there is total respect for elders.

At the economic level, the economic activities can be structured into two. We have primary activities and secondary activities. In the area of primary activities, agriculture is the predominant occupation of the entire village. The people cultivate food crops, cash crops and breeding of livestock. In this society, cash crop cultivation is solely in the hands of men and the main cash crop grown is coffee. Food crops are cocoyams, groundnuts, beans, egusi, kernel, oranges and potatoes. All these are grown by both sexes. Livestock breeding is mostly the duty of the Akus, who are settled on hilltops with cattle, goats, sheep, horses and chicken. The villagers breed pigs, goats, sheep and chicken in very minute numbers.

Secondary activities in the village in question include: carving, pottery, carpentry, weaving, hunting, tapping of palm wine, petty trading, fishing, bricklaying and brewing and selling of local corn beer (Mkat). These are only secondary because they are carried out after having retired from the farm.

0.4.4 LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

The classification of African languages had preoccupied many linguists for many years in the distant past. For example BLEEK (1856), TORREND (1891), WESTERMANN (1911), GUTHRIE (1948), GREENBURG (1963,1966), GRIMES (1984) are some among many authorities who attempted the classification of African languages. Among those mentioned above, GREENBERG's classification of African languages seems to have won over many

people's admirations and understanding. BENDOR, SAMUEL JOHN (ed) (1988: 148); notes that:

> The Benue-Congo working group which first met at the sixth west African languages congress at Yaounde in 1966 accepted Greenberg's classification as a working hypothesis...

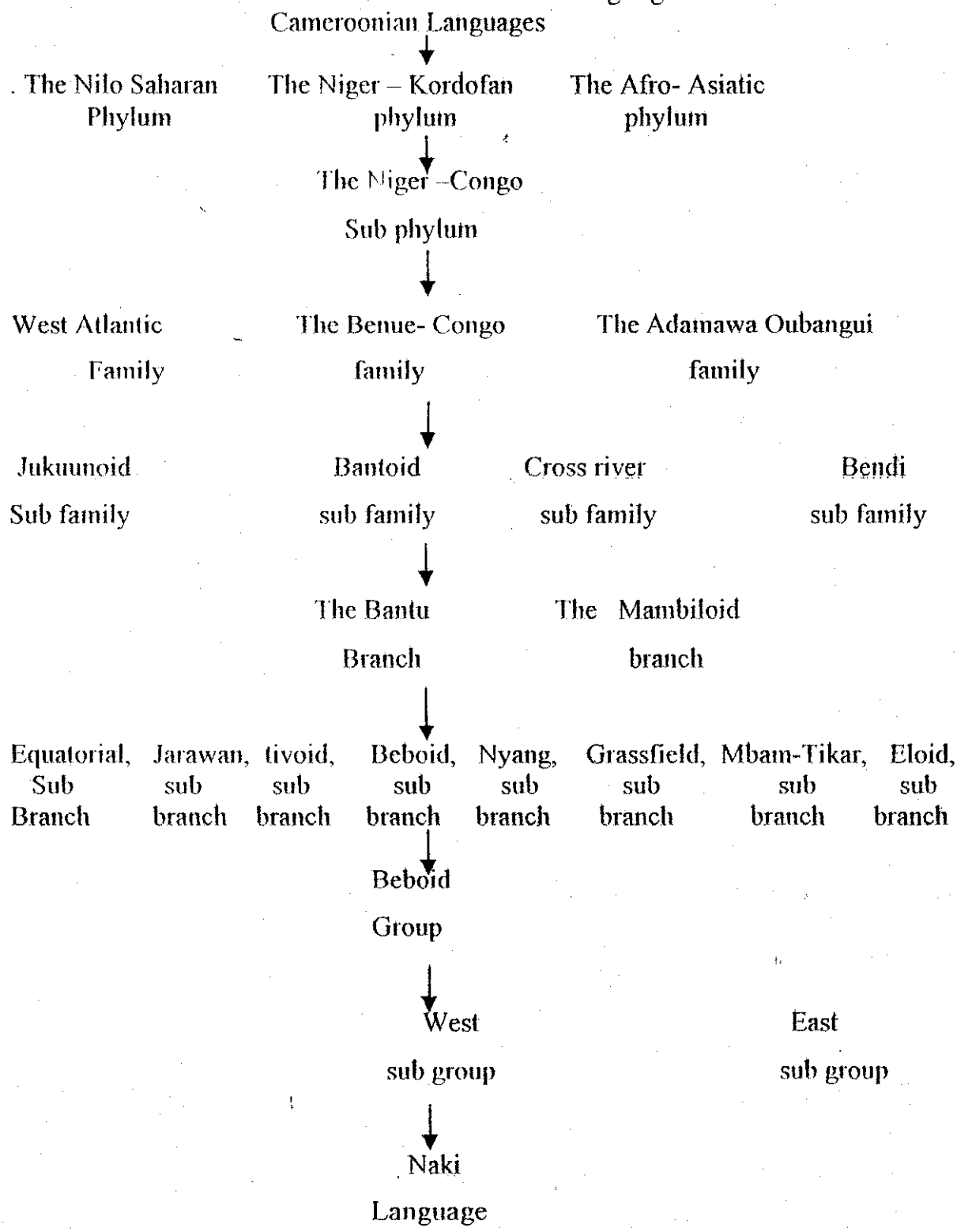
GREENBERG's classification of African languages was based on genealogy, which embodied the comparative study of vocabulary grouping.

He classified the languages from top to bottom, commencing from phyla, families, sub-families, branches, sub-branches, groups and real languages. By 1963, GREENBERG had identified phyla like Niger-congo Kordofanian, Nilo-saharan, Afro-Asiatic and Khoisan. Though GREENBERG mentioned nothing about Naki, following his phyla, Naki belongs to the Niger-Kordofanian phylum as follows:

Niger-Kordofanian
↓
Benue Congo
↓
Bantoid
↓
Bantu
↓
Beboid
↓
West
↓
Naki

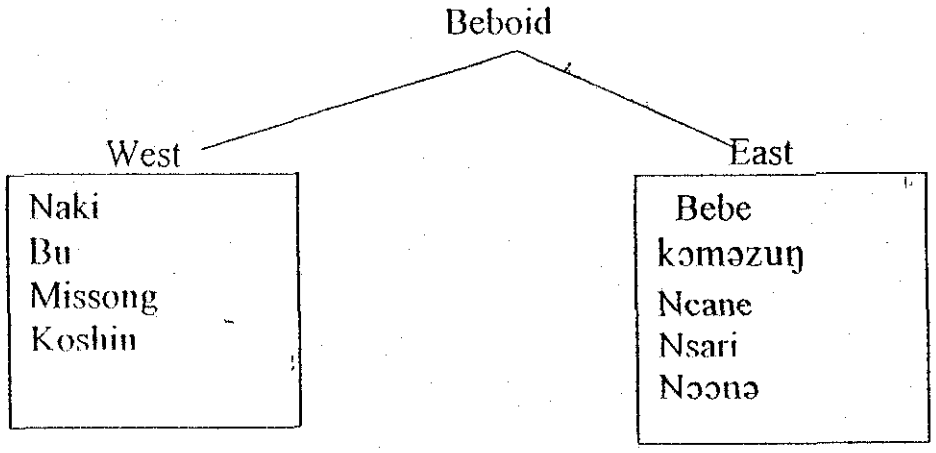
A detail classification of Naki in this study is entirely based on the classification carried out by linguistic Atlas of Cameroon (ALCAM). According to

ALCAM Naki falls under the zone eight, which covers all the languages spoken north of the South West Province and west of the North West Province. This zone consists of languages that are neither real Bantu nor Easter Grassfield Bantu languages (former mbam –Nkam). The diagram below presents the position of Naki in ALCAM's classification of Cameroon languages.



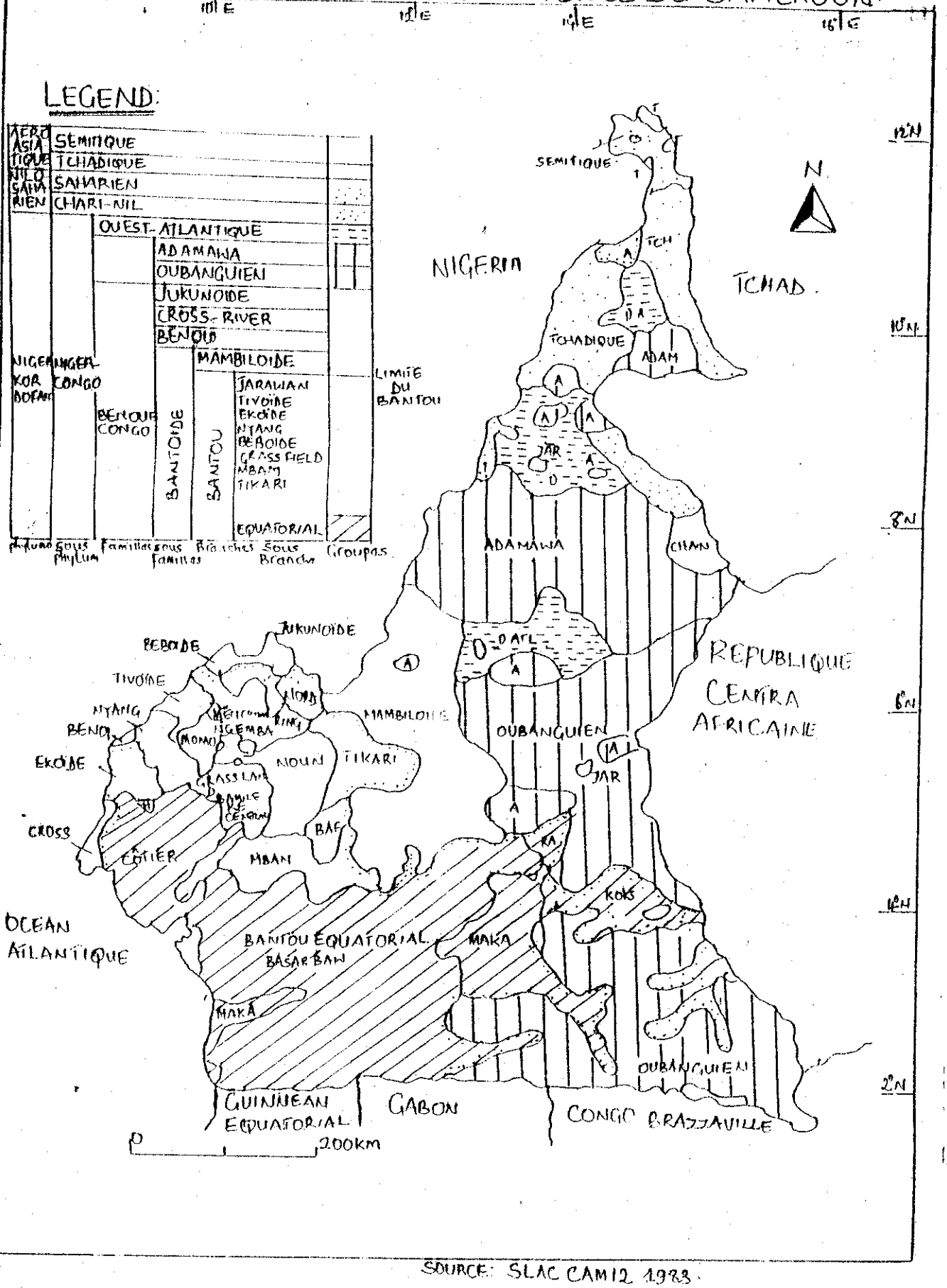
Source: Adapted from ALCAM (352 and 360)

The Beboid group is further divided into two sub-groups. These sub-groups are Beboid-West and Beboid-East. The languages in this group are spoken in villages with very low population. Naki is in the sub-group Beboid-West. The diagram below presents the group Beboid, its two sub groups and the languages found in it.



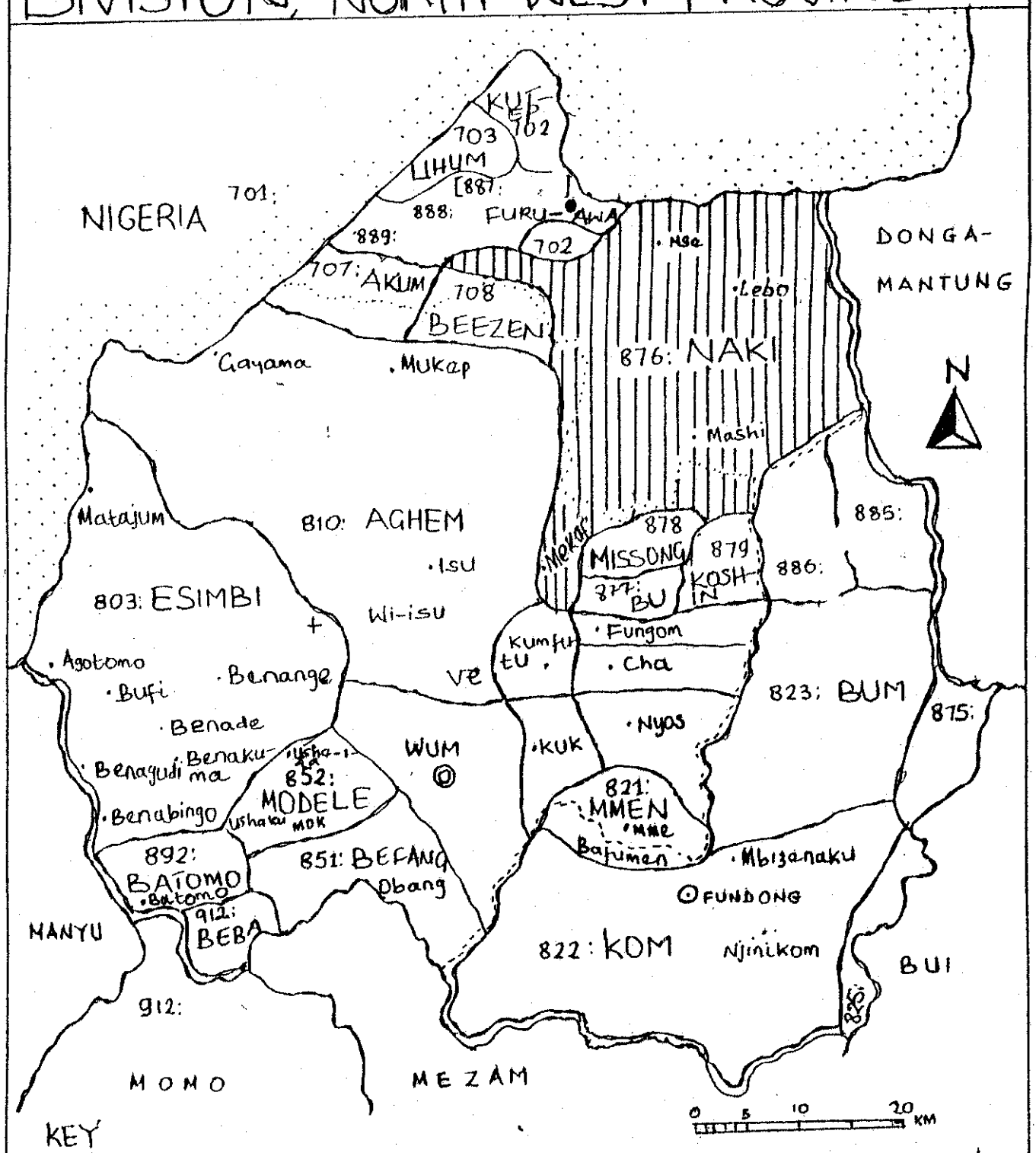
Source: Dieu, M.RENAUD ,P.(1983 :360)

FAMILLES ET GROUPES LINGUISTIQUES DU CAMEROUN.



SOURCE: SLAC CAM12 1983.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES: MENCHUM DIVISION, NORTH WEST PROVINCE



	DIVISION	SUB DIVISION	DISTRICT
LIMITES	═══	- - - - - - - - - -	.....
HEAD QUARTER	◎	⊙	•

	LANGUAGES	DIALECTES
LIMITES	———	———
DESIGNATION	NAKI 876	

SOURCE: 1987 © ALCAM-CREA-ISH - R. BRETON -

0.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Literary works on this language will be viewed from two perspectives. Firstly, works done scientifically and secondly, those carried out unscientifically. As concerns scientifically done work, we mean anything on linguistics, which might concern phonology, morphology, syntax and the other branches. While works done unscientifically will embody works on history, culture religion anthropology and socio-economy of the language.

Unfortunately, much has not been done on Naki in the field of literacy. TSHONG (1996:3) seems to share this point of view when he says:

> Being a fact that with no written records anywhere on earth about such a people as Mekaf, the need for one was highly thought of by me.

However, in the area of popular or unscientific works, some historians like CHIVER and KABBERY (1967) and NKWI, and WARNIER, (1982) made immense efforts in bringing out the history of Naki. In their works, the history of Naki has been given a clear and deeper understanding from when the people immigrated from Mbembe to the present site.

Another work of profound study on the language under study is that of TSHONG, (1996). He focuses entirely on the historical and cultural nature of the people of Mekaf. His attempt to encroach into the scientific aspect of the languages like transcription met with little success as this move fell short of African linguistic principles .For example he was using the English alphabet.

Apart from the aboves, TSHU (1999) has explored some areas on Naki. In this work, TSHU depicted the history, culture and some linguistic aspects of the language like the transcription of some objects on Naki. She demonstrated how a feminine dance group called Ansehm guided by the rhythm of a song, the dancer knows when to clap the hands, shake the head and twist the buttocks. The work on the most part had a literary tune with a poetic inclination.

Basing our minds on works carried out scientifically in this language, Naki unfortunately has not been an object of attention to linguistic findings so far. This might be attributed to the inaccessible nature of the land, a handicap that has rendered many Naki speakers to people born with little prospects to dignified lives. For example the village Nser which is just a stone throw from Furu-Awa District has a foot path as the only means of reaching the outside world, passing through dense forests, rivers and high hills. Marshi on its part can be accessed through River Kimbi with a locally made bridge over it. During the rainy season, the access motorway to Mekaf is often muddy.

Nevertheless, a data of one hundred and seventeen words list has been carried out on Naki. It was collected by some missionaries as far back as 1953 with the informant in person of William Meh, who by then was the Roman catholic mission catechist in Mekaf. CHILVER, and KABERRY edited the data in 1974. This is the data that shedded more light on our data correction on Naki

0.6 METHODOLOGY

The method used as aforementioned is the structuralist approach to phonological analysis. Structuralists' works like TRUBETZKOY, (1939/1969), and WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU, (1983) are going to be highly exployed.

Every thing being equal, in most parts of this study, the gradual phonological analysis by WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU, (1983) is going to be fully exployed. This gradual step-by-step phonological analysis is aimed at determining separate phonemes and variants of the language and classifying them based on their function in the language. To achieve our goal, the sounds are going to be compared in opposition in identical contexts, opposition in analogous contexts and in complementary distribution.

At the level of opposition in identical contexts, sounds are going to be contrasted in minimal pairs of words. From these minimal pairs of words, the difference in meaning is going to be got from the sounds being contrasted.

In situations where we can not find opposition in identical contexts in minimal pairs, we are going to resort to opposition in analogous contexts, where the sounds being contrasted shall not be the only difference, but are going to be similar enough so that the difference between the two sounds in contrast should bring about a difference in the meaning of the near minimal pairs.

The last step is going to be distribution in different contexts of appearance. We are going to examine their environments to determine if they are contextual variants or free variants. This shall be reached if opposition in identical contexts in minimal pairs and opposition in analogous contexts in near minimal pairs fail to determine the nature of the sound.

As concerns standardization, we are going to embrace some criteria propounded by WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU, (1983) and MBONGUE, (1997). Some of these criteria embody: The population of the speakers, the language used in the community, the attitude of the people towards the standardization of their language.

0.7 THE DATA SOURCES

Prior to embarking on the fieldwork, we had at our disposal a questionnaire of one thousand and forty-three words list gathered from two separate questionnaires. They were: Mbembe English words list and "Cours de M carl Ebobisse". Also we were influenced by BOUQUIAUX and THOMAS (1992).

According to BOUQUIAUX and THOMAS (1992:32), they contend that:

> Young people are more easily available than older men. It is true that the older people are better repositories of tradition than the young and must be consulted for information, but an older person is not essential as the reference speaker. The opposite may even be preferable, even a teenager may make an excellent speaker.

Inspired by the above quotation, we contacted Sem John, aged twenty-eight, who has grown up and spent some years in the village (Mekaf) as a primary school teacher. He became our main informant. We exhausted five straight days for the data collection through oral interviews. Our occasional informants were Meh Athanasius, Gelem Eugene both of whom have grown up in the village (Mekaf). These informants were contacted on weekly bases and their remarks were very satisfactory.

The speaker of Marshi, Chief Sergeant Bwache Jeremaih was contacted at his home in Etoug-Ebe (Yaounde). From the data we collected from him through oral interview it was crystal clear that the villages of Mekaf and Marshi speak the same language with no differences.

Mr. Manchu Martin, a speaker from the village of Nser was consulted in his residence in Mom II some 7 km from Mom I a village between Yaounde and Douala. It was reached by train. We footed the 7 km to Mom II in 3 hours. From the data we collected through oral interview with Manchu Martin, it became clear that Mekaf, Marshi and Nser speak the same language.

It should be noted that our fieldwork trip to Mekaf was on most part based on some standadization criteria and not data collection due to the availability of informants in and around Yaounde.

TADADJEU and SADEMBOUO (1984) was what guided us in transcription. With the help of table two below, the names, ages, villages and occupations of the informants are spelt out.

N°	Name	Surname	Ages in year	Villages	Occupations
1	Sem	John	28	Mekaf	University student
2	Meh	Athanasius	26	Mekaf	Upper-Sixth
3	Bwache	Jeremaih	49	Marshi	Army chief sergeant
4	Manchu	Martin	35	Nser	Farmer
5	Gelem	Eugene	18	Mekaf	Barber
6	Sem	Anna	31	Mekaf	Secondary school teacher

Table 2

0.8 OUTLINE OF STUDY

This study is made up of three parts. They are; paradigmatic study, syntagmatic study and standardization. These three parts are further broken up into seven chapters. Before the beginning of part one, which is the paradigmatic study, we have the general introduction of the study.

In the general introduction, we have included; motivation of choice of topic, the situation of the language geographically, historically and socio-economically.

PART ONE is the paradigmatic study, which is made up of three chapters.

Chapter One treats the prosody with the aim to determine distinctive tones on the language.

Chapter Two deals with the vowels. This too is aimed at determining distinctive vowels on the language.

Chapter Three handles the consonants. Here our focus is on determining distinctive consonant on the language.

PART TWO is the syntagmatic analysis, which is made up of two chapters.

Chapter Four deals with the syllables and the combination of these syllables to form words.

Chapter Five studies tone distribution and some functions on the language

PART THREE is the last part, which deals with the standadization of the language. It is made up of two chapters.

Chapter Six treats some criteria justifying the reasons why the language under study should be standardized.

Chapter Seven which is the last chapter handles the alphabet and orthographic principles of the language.

0.9 CONCLUSION

From the outset, the general introduction has been aimed at throwing light on: The scope of study, motivation of choice of topic, the language situation-geographically, historically, and socio-economically, literature review, methodology used, data sources and the outline of the study. With this done, the general introduction has highlighted the facts that:

a) Naki is spoken in the villages of Mekaf, Marshi, Lebo and Nser with no variation
b) The surrounding villages do not know Batari, which was considered by ALCAM as a village. Instead it is a quarter of the popular village Lebo, well known by its surrounding villages.

PART ONE

PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER ONE

TONES

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter on tones marks the beginning of the paradigmatic analysis of Naki in this study. Conscious of the fact that the general introduction has shedded light on the language geographically, historically and socio-economically, our next area of study on the language is on tones. This is necessary because Naki is a tone language. This implies the language uses tones to distinguish the meaning of words. Our goal in this chapter, therefore is to determine pertinent tones on Naki.

WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU (1983: 85), contend that:

> Le ton est la hauteur relative de la voix pendant l'exécution d'un son. D'où l'emploi du terme musical pour le determiner. Cette hauteur musicale correspond donc aux variations que subit la courbe mélodique au cours de l'emissiom d'une phrase.

From the definition, one can say that tone refers to the relative height of the voice during the emission of a sound.

1.2 INVENTORY OF TONES

There are basically two types of tones in Naki, These are level and contour tones.

1.2.1 Level Tones

A tone is considered to be level or punctual, if the musical height does not change during the emission of a syllable. In Naki two level tones have been attested. They are a high tone and a low tone.

1.2.1.1 The High Tone

The high tone is marked with the diacritic [ˊ], and abbreviated H. It is the highest musical height in the course of the emission of a syllable. In Naki, this high tone is seen on verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and prepositions.

Examples:

[fú] "head"

[sóŋ] "bullet"

[kú] "catch"

[shí] "market"

1.2.1.2 The Low Tone

The low tone is marked with the diacritic [ˋ] and abbreviated L. It is the lowest tonal level during the production of a syllable. In Naki it is found on verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and prepositions. The words below are some examples on which the low tone has been attested on Naki.

Examples:

[kàn] "sell"

[gə̀] "put"

[də̀] "give"

[dzìm] "sing"

1.2.2 Contour Tones

A tone is considered a contour tone, when there is a variation of the musical height during the utterance of a syllable. In Naki, two contour tones have been attested. They are the rising tone and the falling tone.

1.2.2.1 The Rising Tone

The rising tone is also called the low-high tone. It is marked with the diacritic [ˇ] and is usually abbreviated L H. This contour tone begins with a low tone and ends in a high tone. The rising tone is witnessed in most parts on nouns and adjectives on Naki.

Examples:

[Jŭ] "nose"

[b^{w} ǎ] "broom"

[tsə̌] "gorilla"

[àdə̌] "cutlass"

1.2.2.2 The Falling Tone

The falling tone is also called the high-low tone. It is marked with the diacritic [^] and is abbreviated H L. It begins with a high tone and ends in a low tone. It is seen in many words on Naki.

Examples:

[àsû] "soap"

[yâ] "our"

[ùdâ] "bridge"

[ásê] "dress"

1.3 PHONEMIC TONE CONTRAST

The toneme is for the tone what the phoneme is for the sound. At this moment, our goal is to establish pertinent toneme in the language under study by contrasting them. This will enable us to determine clearly the phonemic status of each toneme.

1.3.1 The High Toneme (H)

The high toneme (H) is distinct from the other tonemes through its contrast in the following words:

H/L	[mí]	"sink"	[mì]	"swallow"
	[gbə́m]	"fine"	[gbə̀m]	"God"
	[mú]	"drink"	[mù]	"person"
	[dzə́ŋ]	"spear grass"	[dzə̀ŋ]	"leg"
H/HL	[ní]	"termite"	[nî]	"grandmother"
	[ǹsə́]	"praise"	[ǹsə̂ŋ]	"provoke"
H/LH	[fú]	"head"	[fŭ]	"foam"
	[kú]	"catch"	[kŭ]	"snore"

1.3.2 The Low Toneme (L)

The low toneme (L) is distinct from the other tonemes through its contrast in the following words:

L/H	see	H/L		
L/HL	[mbèn]	"milk"	[`mbên]	"breast"
	[jàŋ]	"eight"	[finjâŋ]	"potato"
L/LH	[b^{w}è]	"foot"	[b^{w}ĕ]	"dog"
	[kù]	"perch"	[kŭ]	"snore"

1.3.3 The Low-High Toneme (LH)

The Low-High toneme (LH) is dinstinct from the other tonemes through its contrast in the following words

LH/HL	[ŋ̀gbŏ]	"collapse"	[ŋ̀gbô]	"worm"
	[lăŋ]	"joy"	[álâŋ]	"law"
LH/H	see	H/LH		
LH/L	see	L/LH		

1.3.4 The High-Low Toneme (HL)

The High-Low toneme (HL) is dinstinct from the other tonemes through its contrast in the following.

HL/LH see LH/HL

HL/H see H/HL

HL/L see L/HL

Table three below shows the possible contrast between one toneme and the others in words. The tones placed vertically acquire the status of pertinent tonemes, by contrasting with the ones horizontally. The sign (+) shows a possible contrast.

Table of Phonemic Tone Contrast

Contrastive Tones / Tones	H	L	LH	HL
H		+	+	+
L	+		+	+
LH	+	+		+
HL	+	+	+	

Table 3

1.4 CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this chapter, we mentioned that our goal was to determine pertinent tones on Naki. This goal has been attained by contrasting tones on similar pairs of words, whose difference has been the tones. The different in tones is what has brought about a difference in the meaning of these similar pairs of words. Following this analysis, one can state that this chapter has enabled us to demonstrate the fact that:

a) The language under study is made up of four tones

i The high tone (H) / ´/

ii The low tone (L) / `/

iii The rising tone (LH) / ˇ/

vi *The falling tone.* (HL) / ˆ/

CHAPTER TWO

VOWEL PHONEMES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, our goal was geared towards determining pertinent tones on Naki. Chapter two is aimed at determining pertinent vowels on the language.

2.2 VOWELS

Through out our study on Naki, eight phonetic vowels have been attested.

2.2.1 Phonic Inventory of Vowels

The data below comprises all the vowels in Naki and some words in which they are found.

Vowels	Words	closs
[i]	[cí]	"dirty"
	[ʧinə́]	"show"
[e]	[m̀bên]	"breast"
	[ǹtè]	"box"
[ɛ]	[íné]	"where"
	[bɛ̀]	"weed"
[a]	[dzáŋ]	"rain"
	[àdə̌]	"cutlass"
[ɔ]	[bɔ́d	"gun"

	[sóŋ]	"flute"
[o]	[fó]	"axe"
	[són]	"sigh"
[u]	[tù]	"horn"
	[tsùk]	"hot"
[ə]	[dzəŋ]	"jump"
	[səŋ]	"tap"

Table four below presents the eight phonetic vowels that have been attested on Naki. The classification of these vowels is based on: the position of lips, height of tongue, and movement of tongue. From our classification, we have three front, two central and three back vowels.

Vowel Phonic Table

place of articulation / height of tongue	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
mid high	e	ə	o
mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Table 4

2.2.2 Pairs of Similar Sounds

With the aid of the table above, we are going to sort out pairs of similar sounds, as shown below.

(i,e), (e,ɛ), (e,ə), (a,ə), (ɔ ,o), (u,o), (o,ə).

2.2.3 Phonemic Analysis

Before we embark on the phonemic analysis of vowels, let us first of all define a phoneme.

According to TRUBETZKOY (1939:35) he says;

> Phonological units that, from the stand point of a given language cannot be analyzed into still smaller successive distinctive units are phonemes. Accordingly, the phoneme is the smallest distinctive unit of a given language.

Beside what Trubetzkoy says on page 35, he further emphasizes on page 41 that:

> The phoneme is a member of such an opposition that cannot be analysed into still distinctive phonological units.

From what we have learned from WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU (1983), a phoneme is the smallest sound unit that helps to distinguish word meaning.

2.2.3.1 Opposition in Identical Context

The sound i

It acquires the status of a distinctive phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

i/e	[dzíd]	"beard"	[dzéd]	"sooth"
	[tsǐ]	"guitar"	[tsè]	"devil"
	[shí]	"market"	[shé]	"stay"
	[kpí]	"firewood"	[kpé]	"die"
	[átí]	"tree"	[até]	"boat"
	[fi]	"weevil"	[fè]	"slow"

The sound e

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following.

e/i see i/e

e/ɛ	[tsè]	"devil"	[tsɛ̀]	"fight"
	[àmé]	"neck"	[mɛ́]	"look"
e/ə	[tsè]	"devil"	[tsə̀]	"monkey"
	[shè]	"hen"	[shə̀]	"soil"
	[wè]	"open"	[wə̀]	"you"
	[nèm]	"sleep"	[nə̀m]	"treatment"
	[kpé]	"die"	[kpə́]	"drive"

The sound ɛ

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following.

ɛ/e see e/ɛ

The sound a

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

a/ə	[dzàm]	"grave"	[dzə̀m]	"tiger"
	[shàm]	"seed"	[shə̀m]	"heart"
	[dzàŋ]	"pen"	[dzə̀ŋ]	"jump"
	[k^{w}àm]	"sprang"	[k^{w}ə̀m]	"python"
	[ʃyàŋ]	"handle"	[ʃyə̀ŋ]	"support"

The sound ə

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

ə/a see a/ə

ə/e see e/ə

ə/o	[dzàŋ]	"jump"	[dzóŋ]	"whisker"
	[tsà]	"monkey"	[tsò]	"house"
	[tə́]	"stone"	[tó]	"lift"
	[sə́n]	"dry"	[són]	"sigh

The sound u

It established a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the followings:

u/o	[fú]	"head"	[fó]	"axe"
	[àkú]	"cloud"	[àkó]	"heap"
	[tú]	"horn	[tó]	"carry"
	[kùn]	"hawk"	[kòn]	"sell"
	[lù]	"she"	[lò]	"plait"

The sound o

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

o/u see u/o

o/ɔ	[bód]	"ache"	[bɔ́d]	"gun"
	[són]	"sigh"	[sɔ́ŋ]	"flute"

The sound ɔ

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

ɔ/o see o/ɔ

2.2.4 Phonemic Inventory

At the outset, eight phonetic vowels were attested on Naki. From our phonemic analysis through opposition in identical contexts, these vowels have emerged as distinctive phonemes.

Table five below shows all the vowel phonemes with their articulatory characterisics

Table of Vowel phonemes

Place of articulation / Height of Tongue	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid-high	e	ə	o
Mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Table 5

2.2.5 Definition of Vowel Phonemes

Considering our analysis of vowels on Naki above, it is of paramount importance to portray the peculiarity of each attested vowel phoneme on Naki.

/ i/: High front unrounded

/ e/: Mid-high front unrounded

/ɛ /: Mid-low front unrounded

/ a/: Low central unrounded

/ ə/: Mid-high central unrounded

/u /: High back rounded

/ o/: Mid-high back rounded

/ ɔ/: Mid-low back rounded.

2.3 CONCLUSION

In the introduction of this chapter, we mentioned that our goal was to determine pertinent vowel phonemes on Naki. This has been attained through a phonemic analysis, at the level of opposition in identical contexts. Thus from the analysis carried out in this chapter, the following facts are worth noting:

a) Naki has eight vowel phonemes

i Three fronts

iiT wo centrals

iii Three backs

CHAPTER THREE

CONSONANT PHONEMES

3.1 INTRODUCTION.

Like vowels, our goal in this chapter is to determine pertinent consonant phonemes on Naki. However unlike vówels, we observed that certain consonants were posing some problems. It is for this reason that in this chapter, we are going to embark first on interpreting these problems, before attempting a phonemic analysis of consonants.

3.2 INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS.

3.2.1 Vowel or consonant

Certain sounds have characteristics of both vowels and consonants. These are the glides [y] and [w] as well as the high vowels [i] and [u] The truth is that whenever these two vowels are articulated, the tongue has the tendency to raise very high almost touching the palatal and labio-velar. They are phonetically similar to the palatal and labio-velar glides [y] and [w]. Due to the fact that glides are articulated in a manner that is similar to vowels, it is therefore possible that glides [y] and [w] can occupy the V position in some cases and C position in another.

On Naki these glides [y] and [w] are looked upon as consonants. This conclusion is backed by some reasons.

First, all vowels and only nasals in this language bear tones. Since [y] and [w] are not tone bearers, they are consonants.

Secondly [y] and [w] appear before vowels in most cases on the language. This quality is common in consonants.

The examples below illustrate the consonantal quality of [y] and [w].

Example

Word	Gloss
[yɛ́t]	"egg"
[yón]	"peel"
[yák]	"stop"
[wé]	"expand"
[wɔ́n]	"tail"
[wàyə̀]	"harlot"

3.2.2 Syllabic Consonants

Nasal and sometimes lateral consonants can be the centre (nucleus) of a syllable that means bearing a tone in a tones language. In fact it sometimes happen that in the course of speech production an oral sound is emitted preceded by a nasal sound. It is also of great importance to determine whether these are single or separate sound units. If such sound sequences are concluded as separate sound units, then the preceding nasal often bears a tone and becomes a syllabic nasal, which functions as a vowels.

On Naki, all the nasal consonants that precede oral consonants bear tones. This entails no prenasalized consonants exist in Naki. This conclusion has been reached, based on some reasons.

First, many cases of nasal plus consonant have been attested on Naki, which are not homorganic or natural. This poses a lot of stress in the course of emitting the sounds. Placing a tone on the nasal to form a separate sylable solves this stress. The examples below shed more light on the above explanation.

Examples

Word	Gloss
[ǹfà]	"sieve"
[m̀nàm]	"intestine"
[m̀kù]	"fight"
[m̀dèm]	"dream"
[m̀gbàŋ]	"vein"
[ǹfɔ̀kà]	"measurement"

Secondly, syllabic nasals, and not prenasals, exist on Naki because at the level of pluralization, many nouns have been observed forming their plural forms, by prefixing a nasal to the roots of the word. This nasal bears a tone since the language under study does not admit the cc sequence. The examples below throw more light on the above assertion.

Examples

singular		Plural	
[fiŋgbúfù]	"bat"	[m̀gbúfù]	"bats"
[finsùn]	"pepper"	[m̀sùŋ]	"pepper"
[fintén]	"ring"	[m̀tén]	"rings"
[findzù]	"star"	[m̀dzùŋ]	"stars"
[fiŋkàm]	"wasp"	[m̀kàm]	"wasps"

3.2.3 Labialized Consonants

Labialization is a situation whereby the vowel quality of lip rounding is super imposed on a consonant in the course of emission.

Our goal here is to determine whether labialized consonant on Naki are emanating from glide formation or are complex consonants.

Whenever the notion of glide formation is perceived, we think of a situation where a vowel loses its vowel quality to become a semi-consonant. Glide formation implies the sequence CWV is from CVV.

On Naki, we believe that labialized consonants are complex consonants. This is possible judging from the fact that Naki does not admit the VV or CC sequences, and secondly because labialization involves only some consonants on Naki. The examples below show some labialized consonants on Naki.

Examples

Word	Gloss
[b^{w}án]	"rock"
[m^{w}ə̀d]	"lap"
[f^{w}i]	"moon"
[t^{w}è]	"abuse"
[k^{w}ə̀m]	"python"

Table six below contains labialized consonants on Naki. On this table we obersve that there are ten labialized consonants on Naki.

Table of labialized consonants

Place of articulation / Manner of articulation	Bilabials	Labiodentals	Alveolars	Post Alveolars	Velars
Stops Vl			t^{w}		k^{w}
Vd	b^{w}				g^{w}
Affricates Vl			ts^{w}	c^{w}	
Vd				j^{w}	
Fricatives Vl		f^{w}		sh^{w}	
Vd					
Nasals	m^{w}				

Table 6

3.2.4 Palatalized Consonants.

This is a situation where the vowel quality of high front is super imposed on a consonant in the course of emission.

Like labialization, our goal here is to determine whether palatalized consonants on Naki are emanating from glide formation or are complex consonants.

Glide formation as mentioned above is a situation where a vowel loses its vowel quality to become a semi-consonant. Glide formation entails the sequence CWV is from CVV.

On Naki, like labialization, we think palatalized consonants are complex consonants. This is convincing because the language under study does not admit the VV or CC sequences. The examples below show some words with palatalized consonants on Naki.

Examples

Words	Gloss
[f^{y}àŋ]	"handle"
[b^{y}ə̀m]	"calabash"
[ts^{y}ə̀]	"say"
[sh^{y}ə̀]	"earth"

Table seven below contains palatalized consonants on Naki. On this table we observe four palatalized consonants on Naki.

Table of Palatalized Consonants

Place of Articulation / Manner of articulation		Bilabials	Labio dentals	Alveolars	Post Alveolars
Stops	VL				
	VD	b^y			
Affricates	VL			ts^y	
	VD				
Fricative	VL		f^y		sh^y
	VD				

Table 7

3.3 CONSONANTS

Naki has thirty-seven phonetic consonants.

3.3.1 Phonic Inventory of Consonants.

The data below is made up of all the consonants in the language under study and some words in which they are attested.

Consonants	Words	Gloss
[p]	[dzàp]	"carpet"
	[g à p]	"share"
[b]	[b ì]	"goat"
	[bɔ̀k]	"enter"
[b^w]	[b^wán]	"rock"
	[b^wè]	"foot"
[b^y]	[àb^yà]	"avocado"

	[bʸəm]	"calabash"
[m]	[mù]	"person"
	[nyàm]	"meat"
[mʷ]	[mʷəd]	"lap"
	[mʷən]	"pity"
[w]	[wún]	"whistle"
	[àwɔ̀p]	"threshold"
[f]	[fàŋ]	"send"
	[fú]	"head"
[fʷ]	[fʷí]	"moon"
	[fʷɛ̀]	"leak"
[fʸ]	[fʸàŋ]	"handle"
	[fʸə]	"ankle"
[t]	[ǹtù]	"week"
	[tə́]	"stone"
[tʷ]	[tʷè]	"abuse"
[d]	[kə̀d]	"kick"
	[də̀]	"give"
[ts]	[tsò]	house
	[tsí]	guitar
[tsʸ]	[tsʸə̀]	" say"
[tsʷ]	[tsʷɛ̀]	" spit"
[dz]	[dzə̀m]	"back"
	[dzɔ̀n]	" hunger"
[s]	[sùn]	" thank
		"spoon"

	[sɔ̀m]	
[n]	[nóń]	"beg"
	[ní]	"termite"
[l]	[lí]	"tongue"
	[tsɔ̀lɔ́]	"greet"
[c]	[cí]	"dirt"
	[cɔ̀nɔ̀]	"allow"
[c^w]	[ác^{w}àp]	"mortae"
	[c^wá]	"toilet"
[j]	[jŭ]	"nose"
	[újí]	"lake"
[j^w]	[j^wɔ̀dlɔ̀]	"short"
	[àj^{w}ɔ̀]	"direction"
[sh]	[shɔ́]	"soil"
	[shàk]	"comb"
[sh^w]	[sh^wàk]	"drain"
	[sh^wɔ̀]	"elephant grass"
[sh^y]	[sh^yɔ̀]	"Earth"
	[sh^yɔ̀]	"thing "
[zh]	[zhɔ̀k]	"feel"
	[zhèn]	"sweep"
[ny]	[nyàm]	"meat"
	[nyù]	"honey"
[y]	[yɛ́t]	"eye"
	[nám]	"suck"
[k]	[ákáŋ]	"dish"

	[kó]	"grow"
[k^w]	[k^wə̀m]	"python"
	[k^wà̀m]	"spang"
[g]	[gú]	"spear"
	[gé]	"go"
[g^w]	[g^wɔ̀k]	"grind"
	[ŋ̀g^{w}à]	"guava"
[ŋ]	[shɔ̀ŋ]	"sheep"
	[dzàŋ]	"rain"
[kp]	[kpàn]	"wife"
	[kpè]	"die"
[gb]	[gbə̀m]	"God"
	[gbí]	"rope"

Table eight below contains thirty-seven attested phonetic consonants on Naki. On this table, sounds are classified according to place and manner of articulation; it also contains labialized and palatalized consonants.

Consonants Phonic Table

Place of Articulation / Manner Of articulation	bilabials	Labio-Dentals	Alveo-lars	Post-alveolars	palatals	velars	Labio-velars
Stops VL	p		t,t^w			k,k^w	kp
VD	b, b^w,b^y		d			g,g^w	gb
Affricates VL			ts, ts^w ts^y	c,c^w			
VD			dz	j,j^w			
Fricatives VL		f,f^w,f^y	s	sh,$sh^w$$sh^y$			
VD				zh			
Nasals	m,m^w		n		ny	ŋ	
Laterals			l				
Glides					y		w

Table 8

3.3.2 Pairs of similar sounds

With the help of the phonic table above, we are going to sort out pairs of similar sounds as shown below.

(p,b), (b,b^w), (b,b^y), (b,m), (b,gb), (b^w,b^y), (b^w,m^w), (m,m^w), (m,n), (f,f^y), (f,f^w), (f^w,f^y), (t,t^w), (t,d), (t,ts), (d,dz), (d,l), (d,n), (ts,ts^w), (ts,ts^y), (ts,s), (ts,dz), , (s,sh), (n,l), (n,ny), (c,c^w), (c,j), (c,sh), (c^w,j^w), (j,j^w), (j^w,sh^w), (sh, sh^w), (sh, sh^y), (sh, zh), (sh^y,sh^w), (ny, ŋ), (ny, y), (y,w), (k,k^w), (k,g), (k,kp) (k^w,g^w), (g,g^w), (g, ŋ), (g,gb), (kp,gb), , (w,gb).

3.3.3 Phonemic Analysis

3.3.3.1 Opposition in Identical Contexts

The sound b

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

b/b^w	[bán]	"paste"	[b^wán]	"rock"
	[àbà]	"wing"	[b^wà]	"quietness"
b/b^y	[àbà]	"wing"	[àb^yà]	"avocado"
	[bòd]	"ache	[b^yòd]	"fish"
b/m	[bə]	"come"	[mə]	"construct"
	[bǐ]	"goat"	[mǐ]	"swallow"
	[bú]	"them"	[mú]	"drink"
b/gb	[bí]	"cake"	[gbí]	"rope"
	[m̀bàŋ]	"fence"	[m̀gbàŋ]	"vein"
	[bɔ̀k]	"enter"	[gbɔ́k]	"difficult"

The sound b^w

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

b^w/b	see b/b^w			
b^w/b^y	[b^wà]	"quietness"	[àb^yà]	"avocado"
b^w/m^w	[b^wə̀d]	"young"	[m^wə̀d]	"lab"

The sound b^y

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

b^y/b	see	b/b^y
b^y/b^w	see	b^w/b^y

The sound m

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

m/b see b/m

m/n	[bèm]	"inject"	[bèn]	"ascend"
	[sòm]	"break"	[sòn]	"sigh"
	[nyàm]	"animal"	[nyàn]	"spark"
	[mí]	"sink"	[ní]	"termite"

The sound f

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

f/f^w	[fɛ̀]	"sharpen"	[f^wɛ̀]	"leak"
	[fi]	"decay"	[àfwì]	"face"
	[fàŋ]	"send"	[f^wàm]	"sniff"

f/f^{y}	[fə]	"count"	[f^{y}ə]	"ankle"
	[àfəfə]	"thorn"	[f^{y}əf^{y}ə]	"fresh"
	[fàŋ]	"send"	[f^{y}àŋ]	"handle"
	[fú]	"head"	[f^{y}ù]	"parcel"

The sound f^{w}

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

f^{w}/f see f/f^{w}

The sound f^{y}

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

f^{y}/f see f/f^{y}

The sound t

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

t/t^{w}	[àté]	"cannoe"	[t^{w}è]	"abuse"
t/d	[lét]	"rice"	[léd]	"flow"
	[àtúŋ]	"ram"	[dúŋ]	"sit"
	[tə]	"sting"	[də]	"give
t/ts	[áti]	"tree"	[átsí]	"stick"
	[tɔ́k]	"fetch"	[tsɔ́k]	"pound"
	[tàn]	"tear"	[tsàn]	"wheel"
	[átí]	"tree"	[átsí]	"stick"

	[tɔ́k]	"fetch"	[tsɔ́k]	"pound
	[tɔ́]	"sting"	[àtsɔ́]	"menstruate"
t/s	[tɔ́]	"stone"	[sɔ́]	"swim"
	[átí]	"tree"	[ásí]	"pipe"
	[tɔ́ŋ]	"crow"	[sɔ́ŋ]	"bullet"

The sound t^w

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

t^w/t see t/t^w

The sound d

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the followings:

d/t see t/d

d/t^w see t^w/d

d/dz	[dè]	"cry"	[dzè]	"road"
	[àdà]	"filaria"	[àdzà]	"year"
	[ǹdəgə]	"encourage"	[ǹdzəgə]	"push"
	[dɔ̀]	"give"	[dzɔ̀]	"cricket"
d/l	[də]	"give"	[lə]	"love"
	[dă]	"cook"	[lăŋ]	"joy"
d/n	[àdàŋ]	"debt"	[ànàŋ]	"day"

The sound ts

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

ts/t	see	t/ts		
ts/ts^{w}	[tsɛ̀]	"fight"	[ts^{w}ɛ̀]	"spit"
ts/ts^{y}	[tsə̀]	"monkey"	[ts^{y}ə̀]	"say"
ts/s	[tsí]	"guitar"	[sí]	"us"
	[tsò]	"house"	[ạsò]	"blade"
	[átsí]	"stick"	[ásí]	"pipe"
	[àtsə́]	"menstruate"	[sə́]	"swim"
ts/dz	[tsàn]	"wheel"	[dzàn]	"urinate"
	[tsi̇̀m]	"navel"	[dzi̇̀m]	"song"
	[tsɔ̀k]	"pound"	[dzɔ̀k]	"penis"

The sound ts^{w}

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

ts^{w}/ts see ts/ts^{w}

The sound ts^{y}

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

ts^{y}/ts see ts/ts^{y}

The sound dz

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

dz/ts	see	ts/dz		
dz/d	see	d/dz		
dz/j	[dzàn]	"urinate"	[jàŋ]	"eight"
	[dzù]	"hill"	[jŭ]	"nose"

The sound s

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the followings:

s/ts	see	ts/s		
s/t	see	t/s		
s/sh	[sí]	"we"	[shî]	"market"
	[sɔ́]	"swim"	[shɔ́]	"soil"
	[sák]	"judge"	[shàk]	"comb"

The sound n

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

n/m	sec	m/n		
n/ny	[ní]	"termite"	[nyí]	"excrete"
	[nú]	"refuse"	[nyú]	"knee"
n/l	[ní]	"termite"	[lí]	"tongue"

The sound l

The sound l acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the followings:

l/d	see	d/l
l/n	see	n/l

The sound c

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

c/ts see ts/c

c/j	[càglà]	"ladder"	[ijàglà]	"dust"
	[àcè]	"foundation"	[jć]	"eat"
c/sh	[càm]	"dig"	[shàm]	"heart"
	[cí]	"dirt"	[shí]	"market"
	[àcè]	"foundation"	[shè]	"better"

The sound j

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

j/c	see	c/j		
j/dz	see	dz/j		
j/j^{w}	[jà]	"sound"	[àj^{w}à]	"direction"
j/zh	[jé]	"eat"	[zhè]	"name
	[àjɔk]	"jug"	[zhɔk]	"feeling"

The sound j^{w}

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

J^{w}/j see j/j^{w}

The sound sh

It becomes a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

sh/c	see	c/sh		
sh/s	see	s/sh		
sh/sh^{w}	[shàk]	"comb"	[sh^{w}àk]	"drain"
sh/sh^{y}	[shə]	"soil"	[sh^{y}ə]	"earth"
sh/zh	[shè]	"hen"	[zhè]	"name"

The sound sh^{w}

It is established a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

sh^{w}/sh	see	sh/sh^{w}		
sh^{w} / sh^{y}	[sh^{w}ə]	"elephant grass"	[sh^{y}ə]	"earth"

The sound sh^{y}

The sound sh^{y} is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with followings:

sh^{y}/sh	see	sh/sh^{y}
sh^{y}/sh^{w}	see	sh^{w}/sh^{y}

The sound zh

It is established a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

zh/sh	see	sh/zh		
zh/j	see	j/zh		
zh /y	[zhé]	"name"	[yé]	"who"
	[zhùncə]	"idea"	[yùncə]	"think"
	[zhɔ̀k]	"feel"	[yɔ́k]	"hear"

The sound y

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

y/zh	see	zh/y		
y/w	[yè]	"who"	[wè]	"open"

The sound k

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

k/k^w	[kəm]	"hit"	[k^wəm]	"python"
	[kəd]	"kick"	[k^wəd]	"clap"
k/kp	[kàn]	"tether"	[kpàn]	"wife"
	[káp]	"bend"	[kpáp]	"money"
	[ké]	"know"	[kpé]	"die"
k/g	[kəm]	"hit"	[gəm]	"pay"
	[ákáŋ]	"dish"	[ágáŋ]	"gown"
	[kú]	"country"	[gú]	"spear"
	[kɔp]	"knife"	[gɔp]	"body"

The sound k^w

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

K^w/k see k/k^w

The sound g

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

g/k see k/g

g/gb	[gə̀m]	"pay"	[gbə̀m]	"God"
g/ŋ	[b^{y}àg]	"palm tree"	[b^{y}àŋ]	"palm nut"
g/w	[gə̀]	"put"	[wə̀]	"you"
	[gè]	"go"	[wè]	"open"
	[gú]	"spear"	[wún]	"whistle"

The sound ŋ

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

ŋ/ny see ny/ŋ

ŋ/g see g/ŋ

The sound kp

The sound kp is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the followings:

kp/k see k/kp

kp/gb	[kpí]	"firewood"	[gbí]	"rope"

The sound gb

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

gb/kp	see	kp/gb		
gb/b	see	b/gb		
gb/g	see	g/gb		
gb/w	[gbɔ́m]	"fíne"	[wɔ́n]	"tail"

The sound w

It is considered a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

w/g	see	g/w
w/y	see	y/w
w/gb	see	gb/w

3.3.4.2 Opposition in Analogous Contexts.

After having gone through with the opposition in identical context to determine pertinent phonemes on Naki, the next step is opposition in analogous context.

In the course of the phonemic analysis of consonants on Naki, we observed that some consonants acquire their status of pertinent phonemes through the opposition in analogous context. The consonants under analysis below are not the only diference in the pair of words in which they are contrasted, but the difference between the two phonetically similar consonants in the near minimal pairs brings about a difference in the meaning of the words. We also make use of the sounds surrounding the contrasted consonants to determine their status as pertinent phonemes.

The sound m^w

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

m^w/m [m^wə̀d] "lap" [mə̀] "build"

m^w/b^w see b^w/m^w

The sound c^w

It acquires the status of a pertinent phoneme in this language through its contrast with the following:

C^w/c

Due to lack of minimal pairs we shall consider the vowels that follow the sounds being contrasted.

[ác^{w}àp]	"mortar"	[ǹcàk]	"branch"
[ác^{w}àp]	"mortar"	[càglə̀]	"laddle"
[ǹc^{w}álə́]	"reply"	[cábə́lə̀]	"lazy"

c^w/sh^w

Due to lack of minimal pairs we shall consider the vowels that follow the sounds being contrasted.

[ác^{w}àp]	"mortar"	[sh^{w}àk]	"drain"

The sound ny

It is established a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

ny/ŋ

Due to lack of minimal pairs we shall consider the vowels that follow the sounds being contrasted.

[bànyə̀]	"scramble"	[bàŋ]	"prevent"
[yànyə́]	"vomit"	[fàŋə́]	"force"

ny/y

Due to lack of minimal pairs we shall consider the vowels that follow the sounds being contrasted.

[nyán]	"chain"	[yám]	"suck"
[nyǐmnə́]	"quench"	[yǐm]	"cut"
[ányàŋ]	"hammer"	[áyàgə̀]	"climb"

The sound g^w

It is established a pertinent phoneme in this language through it contrast with the following:

g^w/g

Due to lack of minimal pairs we shall consider the vowels that follow the sounds being contrasted.

[gwɔ̀k]	"grind"	[gɔ̀p]	"body"
[ŋ̀gwà]	"guava"	[áŋgáŋ]	"bicycle"

g^w/k^w

Due to lack of minimal pairs we shall consider the vowels that follow the sounds being contrasted.

[áŋg^{w}éntə]	"feather"	[àŋk^{w}ám]	"hoses"
[ŋ̀g^{w}à]	"guava"	[k^{w}àm]	"spang"

3.3.3.3 Contextual Variation

> According to BURQUEST and PYNE (1993:32)
> If two phonetically similar segments are each consistently found in distinct contexts in the phonetic data from some language, the investigator should suspect that they are in complementary distribution.

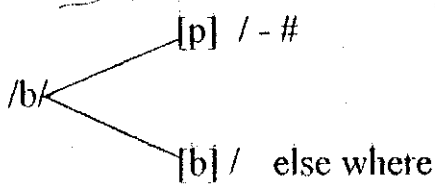
Let us survey the limited data of p and b below.We can chart the two sounds as follow.

[p]		[b]	
[gɔ̀p]	"body"	[bùk]	"cheat"
[dzə̀p]	"hides"	[bèn]	"ascend"
[tàp]	"conquer"	[báŋ]	"close"
[àwɔ̀p]	"mreshold"	[bí]	"goat"
[ùtsáp]	"Witchcraft"	[àbə]	"bag"
[tɔ̀p]	"knowledge"	[bùm]	"beat"
		[àbà]	"wing"

We can chart the above sounds as follow

p	b
ɔ-#	#-u
ə-#	#-e
ɔ #	#-a
ɑ-#	#-i
ɑ-#	a- ə
ɔ-#	a-a

From what we have observed, while [P] appears at words final only, [b] appears words initial and words media. They are therefore contextual variants. We are going to choose [b] as our basic phoneme because it features in more positions than [P]. The rule accorded the process is:



3.3.4 PHONEMIC IVENTORY

After having done the phonemic analysis, , we have at the end emerged with thirty six consonantic phonemes, from the thirty-seven phonetic consonants we attested from the out set, we are very convinced that a good number of the phonetic sounds have ended up being pertinent phonemes in this language because they all appear at the initial position of the words, sharing common vowels. These phonemic consonants are grouped into stops, affricates, fricative, nasals, lateral and glides. Thirty two of the consonants contrasted through opposition in identical contexts, while four did so through opposition in an analogous contexts and only one appeared in complementary distribution and formed a contextual variant.

Table nine below shows all the distinctive consonant phonemes attested on Naki.

Consonants Phonemic Table

Manner of Articulation \ Place of Articulation		Labials	Alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Labio velars
Stops	vl		t t^w		k k^w	kp
	vd	b b^w b^y	d		g g^w	gb
Affricates	vl		ts ts^w ts^y	c c^w		
	vd		dz	j j^w		
Fricatives	vl	f f^w f^y	s	sh sh^w sh^y		
	vd			zh		
Nasals		m m^w	n	ny		
Laterals			l			
Glides				y		w

Table 9

3.3.5 Definition of Consonant Phonemes.

Like vowels, our goal here is to accord each attested consonant the qualities it possesses on Naki.

/b/: voiced labial stop.

/b^w/: voiced labialized labial stop.

/b^y/: voiced palatalized labial stop.

/f/: voiceless labial fricative.

/f^w/: voiceless labialized labial fricative.

/f^y/: voiceless palatalized labial fricative.

/m/: labial nasal.

/m^w/: labialized labial nasal.

/t/: voiceless alveolar stop.

/t^w/: voiceless labialized alveolar stop.

/d/: voiced alveolar stop.

/ts/: voiceless alveolar affricate.

/ts^w/: voiceless labialized alveolar affricate.

/ts^y/: voiceless palatalized alveolar affricate.

/dz/: voiced alveolar affricate

/s/: voiceless alveolar fricative.

/n/: alveolar nasal.

/l/: alveolar lateral

/c/: voiceless palatal affricate

/c^w/: voiceless labialized palatal affricate

/j/: voiced palatal affricate

/j^w/: voiced labialized palatal affricate

/sh/: voiceless palatal fricative

/sh^w/: voiceless labialized palatal fricative

/sh^y/: voiceless palatalized palatal fricative

/zh/: voiced palatal fricative

/ny/: palatal nasal

/y/: palatal glide

/k/: voiceless velar stop

/k^w/: voiceless labialized velar stop

/g/: voiced velar stop

/g^w/: voiced labialized velar stop

/ŋ/: velar nasal

/kp/: voiceless labio-velar stop

/gb/: voiced labio-velar stop

/w/: labio-velar glide

3.3 CONCLUSION

Chapter three is the last chapter of the paradigmatic analysis. Our goal in this chapter has been to interpret certain problems and to determine pertinent consonants phonemes on Naki. Before our goal could be attained, we embarked on a phonemic analysis, which embodied: the opposition in identical contexts opposition in analogous contexts and the complementary distribution of sounds. Thus based on our analysis in this charpter, one can say the charpter has underscored the following facts:

a) The glides /y/ and /w/ are consonants on Naki

b) No pre-nasalized consonant exists on Naki. Instead the syllabic nasal does.

c) Labialized and palatalized consonants are complex sounds, which have all appeared as separate phonemes.

d) Naki contains thirty-six pertinent consonant phonemes.

PART TWO

SYNTAGMATIC ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR

SYLLABLES, AND SYLLABLES COMBINATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter four begins part two, which is the syntagmatic analysis of this study. Considering the fact that pertinent phonemes of the language are already established it is important to examine the various syllables, word structures and the environments of occurrence of the phoneme in the attested syllabic patterns. This is very necessary since a study of the syllabic patterns and phoneme distribution will enable us to review and confirm some of the conclusions arrived at in the course of phonemic analysis.

According to WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU, (1983:60) a syllable is defined as:

> une unité de séquence de sons comprenant au moins un centre de syllabe qui en est le sommet ou le noyau

Following the definition, we can then say that a syllable is considered as a sequential unit of sounds containing at least a centre, which is the summit or nucleus.

On Naki, the centre or nucleus of the syllable is indicated by a tone which is borne either by a vowel or a syllabic nasal. Naki admits both open and closed syllables. The examples below support this assertion.

Examples

Open syllables		closed syllables	
/fú/	" head"	/kùn/	"hark"
/gbì/	" rope"	/dzàŋ/	"pen"
/ɲfà/	" sieve"	/sóŋ/	"bullet"
/shè/	" hen"	/b^{w}án/	"rock"
/gú/	" spear"	/dzék/	"spade"

4.2 TYPES OF SYLLABLES ON NAKI

Five types of syllables have been attested on Naki.

4.2.1 The Syllable V.

The syllable V occurs on most parts as prefixes marking either singular or plural. The prefixes in the following words exemplify this.

Examples

/à.tú/ " car"

/ú.jì/ " lake"

/á.bán/ " hand"

/ì.gǐlɔ́/ " teeth"

/ì.kàm/ " crabs"

5.2.2 The Syllable C.

The syllable C is a syllabic nasal consonant. It plays the function of a syllabic nucleus and bears a tone.

Examples

/ǹ.fà/ " sieve"

/m̀.tèn/ " rings"

/m̀.gə́ŋ/ " gongs"

/m̀.kpá/ "scabies"

/ǹ.fɔkə̀/ "measurement"

4.2.3 The Syllable VC.

The syllable VC is a case whereby a vowel combines with a nasal at word initial. This syllable is very limited in the language.

Examples

/án.fù/ " stature"

/án.fèmfə/ " cockroach"

/ùn.zhùŋcə̀/ " ideas"

4.2.4 The Syllable CV.

The syllable CV is the most recurrent syllable structure on Naki

Examples:

/tɔ́/ "stone"

/mú/ "person"

/tsò/ "house"

/gbí/ "rope"

/mɛ́/ "see"

4.2.5 The Syllable CVC.

The syllable CVC seconds the cv syllable structure in recurrenting on the language. Examples:

/dzàm/ "back"

/shàm/ "seed"

/gòp/ "body"

4.3 SYLLABIC COMBINATION IN WORDS

Four syllabic combinations have been attested on the language under study.

4.3.1 Monosyllabic Words

In this syllabic combination, words are formed by a single syllable.

4.3.1.1 The CV structure

This structure is made up of a consonant and a vowel. It is therefore an open syllabic structure.

Examples:

/fú./ "head"

/lí./ "tongue"

/tsò./ "house"

/mɛ́./ "see"

4.3.1.2 The CVC. Structure

This structure is made up of an initial consonant a vowel and a final consonant. It is then a closed syllabic. Structure.

Examples:

/dzàm /	"grave"
/kùn /	"hawk"
/sóŋ/	"bullet"
/gòm/	"pay"
/fáŋ/	"send"

4.3.1.3 Monosyllabic Combination

4.3.1.3.1 Combination in the CV Structure

All the vowels in the language appear at V in the CV syllable structure, like vowels, all consonants appear at C in the CV structure. Table ten below shows the appearance of vowels after consonants in CV syllabic structure. In this case C is a simple consonant.

Table of combination in CV syllable structure, C is simple consonant.

C \ V	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b	+		+		+	+		
m	+	+			+	+		
f	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
t					+	+	+	
d		+		+	+			
s	+				+			
ts	+	+	+		+		+	
dz	+	+			+			
n	+					+		
l	+				+			
sh	+	+			+			
zh		+						
c	+							
j		+			+	+		+
ny	+					+		
y		+						
k		+				+	+	
g	+	+			+			
ŋ					+			
kp	+	+						
gb	+		+	+				+
w		+				+		

Table 10

Table eleven below shows the appearance of vowels after consonants in the CV syllable structure. In this case C is a labialized consonant.

Table of combination in CV syllable structure. C is labialized.

C \ V	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b^w		+	+	+				+
m^w								
f^w	+		+		+			
t^w		+						
ts^w			+					
sh^w					+			
c^w				+				
j^w	+				+			
k^w	+	+		+				
g^w				+				

Table 11

Table twelve below shows the appearance of vowels after consonants in the CV syllable structure. In this case, C is a palatalized consonant

Table of combination in CV syllable structure. C is a palatalized.

C \ V	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	u	o	ɔ
b^y		+		+	+			
f^y		+			+	+	+	
ts^y					+			
sh^y					+		+	+

Table 12

4.3.1.3.2 Combination in the CVC structure

The CVC syllable structure seconds the CV syllable structure in recurrence on Naki. Table thirteen below shows the combination of consonants and vowels in the CVC syllable structure.

Table of combination in CVC syllable structure. C_1 is a simple consonant.

C_1- \ V	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b	+		+		+	+	+	+
m				+				
t				+	+	+		+
f				+	+	+		+
d						+		
s				+	+	+	+	+
ts	+			+	+	+		+
dz	+	+		+	+		+	
n				+	+		+	
l		+			+			
sh				+	+			+
zh		+						+
c				+	+			
j				+		+		
ny				+	+			+
y	+		+		+		+	+
k				+	+		+	+
g				+	+	+		+
ŋ					+			
kp				+				
gb					+			+
w					+	+		

Table 13

Table fourteen below shows the combination of consonants and vowels in the CVC syllable structure. C_1 in this case is labialized.

Table of combination in the CVC structure. C_1 is labialised.

C_1- \ V	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b^w				+	+			+
m^w					+			
f^w		+		+				
t^w								
ts^w								
sh^w				+				
c^w				+				
j^w								
k^w				+	+		+	
g^w		+						+

Table 14

Table fifteen below shows the combination of consonants and vowels in the CVC syllable structure. C_1 is palatalized.

Table of combination in the CVC structure. C_1 is palatalized.

C_1- \ V	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b^y				+	+		+	
f^y		+		+	+			
ts^y								
sh^y								

Table 15

4.3.1.3.3 General Tables of Monosyllabic Combinations.

The various monosyllabic combinations attested above can be reduced to three main tables, for the sake of deeper understanding.

Table sixteen below shows the general combination in the CV monosyllabic combination.

Table of combination in the cv word structure

V / C_1-	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b	+		+		+	+		
b^w		+	+	+				
b^y		+		+	+			
m	+				+	+		
m^w								
f	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
f^w	+		+		+			
f^y					+	+	+	
t					+	+	+	
t^w		+						
d		+		+	+			
ts	+	+	+		+		+	
ts^w			+					
ts^y					+			
dz	+	+				+		
s	+				+			
n	+					+		
l	+				+			
c	+							
c^w					+			
j		+			+	+		+
j^w	+				+			
sh	+	+			+			
Sh^w					+			
sh^y					+			+

zh		+						
ny	+					+	+	
y		+						
k		+				+	+	
k^w	+	+		+			+	
g		+			+	+		
g^w				+				
ŋ					+			
kp	+	+						
gb	+	+	+					+
w		+			+			

Table 16

Table seventeen below shows the general combination in the CVC Monosyllabic structure , where C_1 is an initial consonant.

Table of combination in the CVC word structure. C_1 initial consonant

V / C_1-	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
b^w				+	+			+
b^y				+	+		+	
m				+				
m^w					+			
f				+	+	+		+
f^w		+		+				
f^y		+		+	+			
t				+	+	+		+
t^w								
d						+		

ts	+			+	+	+		+
ts^w								
ts^y								
dz	+	+		+	+		+	+
s				+	+	+	+	+
n				+	+		+	
l		+			+			
c				+	+			
c^w				+				
j				+		+		
j^w								
sh				+	+			+
Sh^w				+				
sh^y								
zh		+						
ny				+	+			+
y	+		+	+			+	+
k				+	+	+		
k^w				+	+			
g				+	+	+		+
g^w								+
ŋ				+				
kp				+				
gb					+			+
w					+	+		

Table 17

Table eighteen below shows the general combination of final consonants in the CVC monosyllabic structure.

In our attempt to know the final consonants in words on Naki, we generally observed that the nasals on most parts occupy this position. However, we also observed that a handful of consonants occupy and even contrast in this position.

Table of final consonants in the CVC word structure combination

V / -C	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	u	o	ɔ
b		+		+	+			+
b^w								
b^y								
m	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
m^w								
f								
f^w								
f^y								
t		+	+					
t^w								
d		+		+	+	+	+	+
ts								
ts^w								
ts^y								
dz								
s								
n	+	+		+		+	+	
l								
c								
c^w								
j								

j^w								
sh								
Sh^w								
sh^v								
zh								
ny								
y								
k				+	+	+		+
k^w								
g				+				
g^w								
ŋ	+	+		+	+		+	+
kp								
gb								
w								

Table 18

4.3.2 Disyllabic Combination

Disyllabic words are words that are made up of two syllables.

4.3.2.1 C.CV. Structure

This word structure comprises an initial nasal, which bears a tone and a consonant-vowel structure. It is an open syllabic structure.

Examples:

/ŋ.gù/ "drum"

/ ǹ .tè/ "box"

/ǹ .tù/ "week"

/ ǹ .cò/ "river"

/ŋ.gó/ "water"

4.3.2.2 C.CVC Structure

This word structure is made up of an initial nasal, which bears a tone, and the structure of a consonant-vowel and a final consonant. It is therefore a closed word structure.

Examples:

/ǹ.sɔ̀k/ "cup"

/m̀.bòŋ/ "cow"

/ǹ.dèm/ "mud"

/m̀.bàn/ "nail"

4.3.2.3 V.CV. Structure

The structure is made up of an initial vowel and the structure of a consonant-vowel. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Examples:

/à.tù / "ear"

/ á .sê / "dress"

/ á.kpɔ́ / "shoe"

/ à .kù / "cloud"

4.3.2.4 V.CVC. Structure

This structure comprises an initial vowel and the structure of a consonant-vowel and a closed final consonant. It is a closed syllabic word structure.

Examples:

/ ú.lâb / "stomach"

/ à .yót / "liver"

/ á .káŋ / "dish"

/ a .bán/ "hand"

/ ù .tɔ́b / "knoweedge"

4.3.2.5 CV.CV. Structure

This structure comprises the consonant vowel structure and another consonant-vowel syllabic structure. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Examples:

/ cí.lì /	"mat"
/ sù .nì/	"thank"
/ fì .kò /	"hare"
/ shć .shć/	"scissor"
/ kɔ.gɔ́/	"duck"
/ tì .fì /	"narrate"

4.3.2.6 CV.CVC Structure

This structure is made up of the consonant-vowel structure and the consonant-vowel and closed final consonant. It is a closed syllabic word structure.

Examples:

/ shì.bùt/	"cat"
/ fì .súk/	"kettle"
/ tsə́.tšk /	"buttlefly"
/ fì.nàm/	"intestine"
/ fi.gə́ŋ/	"gong"

4.3.2.7 CVC.CV Structure

This structure is made up of the consonant-vowel and consonant structure and the consonant-vowel structure. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Examples

/sèn.fə /	"laugh"
/tsìn.dà/	"messenger"
/dzùg.tì/	"air"
/bùŋ.yɛ/	"needle"
/dzàŋ. tí /	"sugar cane"

4.3.3.6 CV.CVC.CV Structure

This word structure comprises a consonant-vowel structure, a consonant-vowel-consonant structure and another consonant-vowel structure. It is an open syllabic structure.

Examples

/fi.dàn.kà / "donkey"

/ j^{w}i.tàŋ.lə̀/ "tall"

/ fi.f^{y}àg.fi/ "swallow"

/bi.dág.là / "chins"

4.3.3.7 V.CVC.CV. Structure

This word structure is made up of a vowel at the initial, the consonant-vowel- consonant structure and a consonant-vowel structure. It is an open syllabic structure.

Examples

/ù.tab.tə́/ "power"

/ à.táŋ.nə̀/ "bambara groundnut"

/ ù.núŋ.yə́/ "hum"

/à.kpóŋ.té / "husk"

4.3.3.8 C.CVC.CV. Structure

This word structure is made up of a nasal, which bears a tone at the initial, a consonant-vowel-consonant vowel structure and a consonant-vowel structure. It is an open syllabic structure.

Examples:

/m̀.bóŋ.ní / "grass hopper"

/ ǹ.jɔŋ.ni/ "bell"

/ ǹ.zhùŋ.cə̀/ "idea"

4.3.3.9 CVC.CV.CV. Structure

This structure comprises the consonant-vowel-consonant structure, and two consonant-vowel structures. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Examples

/fiŋ.gbú.fù/ "bat"

/ nyɛm.tɘ́.lɘ́/ "greedy"

4.3.3.10 CVC.CVC.CV Structure

In this structure, a word is made up of two consonant-vowel consonant-structures and a consonant-vowel structure. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Example:

/fim.bèn.tə̀/ "underwear"

4.3.4 Tetrasyllabic Combination

In the case, a word is made up of four syllables.

4.3.4.1 CV.CV.CV.CV Structure

This structure is made up of four consonant-vowel structures. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Example

/fi.mə̀.k^{w}à.mɘ́ / "chameleon"

4.3.4.2 V.CV.CV.CV Structure

In this structure, a word is made up of a vowel at the initial position and three consonant-vowel structures. It is an open syllabic word structure.

Example:

/à.dzì.yà.dzí/ "chaff"

4.3.4.3 C.CVC.CV.CV Structure

In this structure, a word is made up of a nasal, which bears a tone at the initial, a consonant-vowel-consonant structures and two consonant-vowel structures It is an open syllabic word structure.

Example

/ŋ.gbáŋ.tə̀.lə̀ / "sour"

4.4 PHONEME DISTRIBUTION

At this level, it is important to depict the position each attested phoneme occupies in this language. This is going to enable us know which, among the phonemes are capable of occupying all the positions in words.

When we were dealing with vowels, three vowels featured at word initial position. They are / ɪ/ /a/ and /u/. All the other vowels feature at word medial and final positions.

Concerning consonants, almost all the consonant phonemes appear at word initial position, not all appear at word medial position and a very limited number feature at word final position.

Table nineteen below shows how vowels are distributed in words. On this table, we observe that all the vowel phonemes appear at medial and final positions, while only / ɪ/ /a/ and /u/ appear at initial position.

Table twenty shows consonant distribution in words. The first column shows consonants at initial position of words, the second depicts consonants at the medial position of words, while the third column portrays consonants at the final position of words.

Table of vowels appearance in words

Vowel phonemes	I	M	F
ɪ	+	+	+
e		+	+
ɛ		+	+
a	+	+	+
ə		+	+
u	+	+	+
0		+	+
ɔ		+	+

Table 19

Table of consonants appearance in words

Consonants phonemes	I	V-V	F
b	+	+	+
b^w	+	+	
b^y	+	+	
m	+	+	+
m^w	+		
f	+	+	
f^w	+	+	
f^y	+	+	
t	+	+	+
t^w	+		
d	+	+	+
ts	+	+	
ts^w	+		
ts^y	+		
dz	+	+	
s	+	+	
n	+	+	+
l	+	+	
c	+	+	
c^w	+	+	
j	+	+	
j^w	+	+	
sh	+	+	
sh^w	+		

zh	+		
ny	+	+	
y	+	+	
k	+	+	+
k^w	+	+	
g	+	+	+
g^w	+		
gh		+	
ŋ	+	+	+
kp	+	+	
gb	+		
w	+	+	

Table 20

4.5 CONCLUSION

All through in this chapter, we have been examining various syllables, word structures and the distribution of phonemes in words on Naki. At this level that we are rounding off, we think this chapter has emphaszed the facts that:

a) Naki has five types of syllables
   - i The syllable V
   - ii The syllable C
   - iii The syllable VC
   - iv The syllable CVC

b) Naki has four types of words based on four syllabic combinations.
   - i Monosyllabic words
   - ii Disyllabic words
   - iii Trisyllabic words
   - iv Tetrasyllabic words

c) The vowel phonemes /i/ /a/ and /u/ appear at the initial, medial and final positions.

d) All the consonant, phonemes appear at the initial position in words.

CHAPTER FIVE

TONE DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Conscious of the fact that pertinent tones have been established in chapter one in this study, this chapter is aimed at examining the distribution of these tones in polysyllabic words and some of the roles which they play on Naki. This is going to further consolidate the important role tones play on the language under study.

5.2 TONE DISTRIBUTION

5.2.1 Disyllabic words

The tonal combinations depicted below have been attested in disyllabic words on Naki.

5.2.1.1 The H.L Structure

Examples:

/dzákì/ "light"

/dzɔ́kì/ "sweat"

/gɔ́là/ "Kolanut"

/wídzàŋ/ "match"

5.2.1.2 The H.H Structure

Examples

/ákáŋ/ "dish"

/ át^{w}áb/ "mortar"

/ ánáŋ/ "bed"

/ kpɔ́lə/ "end"

/lábtɔ́/ "run"

5.2.1.3 The L.H Structure

Examples

/ àgáb / "time"

/ àtsə́ / "hut"

/ gàblə́ / "separate"

/ fifʷí / "fever"

5.2.1.4 The L.L Structure

Examples:

/fìnsùn/ "pepper"

/ǹsɔ̀k/ "cup"

/wàyɔ̀/ "harlot"

/ m̀bàn/ "nail"

5.2.1.5 The H.HL Structure

Examples:

/údâ/ "bridge"

/ásê/ "dress"

/úlâb/ "stomach"

/ándzîm/ "green"

5.2.1.6 The L.HL Structure

Examples:

/mbên/ "breast"

/àbâŋ/ "lizard"

/fìnjâŋ/ "potato"

/àdûn/ "snail"

5.2.1.7 The L.LH Structure

Examples:

/àdə̌/ "cutlass"

/ǹtǎk/ "basket"

/bànə̌/ "hoist"

/shànfə̌/ "scatter"

5.2.2 TRISYLLABIC WORDS

The tonal combinations depicted below have been attested in trisyllabic words in Naki.

5.2.2.1 The H.H.L Structure

Examples:

/átágə̀/ "chair"

/áfúmə̀/ "salt"

/álə́bdə̀/ "rubber"

/ányégə̀/ "weal"

5.2.2.2 The H.H.H Structure

Examples:

/ántə́ncə́/ "belt"

/ándzə́mə́/ "fly"

/nyémtə́lə́/ "selfish"

5.2.2.3 The L.L.L Structure

Examples:

/àmbàgə̀/ "shoulder"
/àntùshə̀/ "ladle"
/àdzàlà/ "madness"
/àdə̀glə̀/ "jaw"

5.2.2.4 The L.L.H Structure

Examples:

/fìfʸə̀glí/ "swallow"

/fí dànká/ "donkey"

/àbə̀ntí/ "compound"

/ǹdzùmtí/ "kind"

5.2.2.5 The L.H.L Structure

Examples:

/àgílə̀/ "tooth"

/àláshì/ "thread"

/àbʷáglə̀/ "rattle"

5.2.2.6 The L.H.H Structure

Examples:

/ànyénə́/ "bird"

/ìjáglə́/ "dust"

/fʸkpɔ́ŋə́/ "xylophone"

/ǎlámú/ "orange"

5.2.3 TETRASYLLABIC WORDS

The tonal combinations depicted below have been attested in tetrasyllabic words in Naki.

5.2.3.1 The L.L.L.H Structure

Examples:

/fìmə̀kʷàmə́/ "chameleon"

/ àdzìyàdí/ "chaft"

5.2.3.2 The L.L.L.L Structure

Example

/ŋgbàŋtələ / "sour"

Following our analysis on tonal distribution, we observe that contour tones are less frequent in the language except in disyllabic words, where a handful of them are observed.

Now that we have reviewed the distribution of tones on Naki, we think it is of importance to summarise the whole distribution on a table. Table twenty one below shows the distribution of tones on Naki.

Table of Tone Distribution in Words

Two Syllable words	Three Syllable words	Four Syllable words
H.L	H.H.L	L.L.L.H
H.H	H.H.H	L.L.L.L
L.H	L.L.L	
L.L	L.L.H	
H.HL	L.H.L	
L.HL	L.H.H	
L.LH		

Table 21

5.3 TONE FUNCTION

5.3.1 Singular or Plural Marker

Pluralization in certain nouns on Naki is marked by tones. The examples below shed more light on the above assertion.

Examples:

Singular			plural	
[dzə̀ŋ]	"leg"	⟷	[dzə́ŋ]	"legs"
[dzə̀m]	"back"	⟷	[dzə́m]	"backs"
[nyə̀m	"animal"	⟷	[nyə́m]	"animals"
[shə̀m]	"seed"	⟷	[shə́m]	"seeds"
[bi]	"goat"	⟷	[bi]	"goats"
[tsò]	"house"	⟷	[tsó]	"houses"

Based on the examples above we observe that the low tone (L) in the words marks the singular form, but when the tone becomes high (H) the word changes to plural and vice-versa.

5.3.2 Tense Marker

Naki has four tenses, they include: the present tense, the recent past tense, the distant past tense and the future tense. From our analysis, we observed that the present tense is marked by a low tone (L), the recent past tense is marked by the high tone (H). The distant past and the future tenses are marked by morphemes. The examples below throw more light on the above assertion.

Present tense:

[Shibút à kú] "The Cat is catching" or "The Cat catches"

Cat Tm catch

Recent past tense:

[Shibút á kú] "The Cat has caught"

Cat Tm catch

Distant past tense:

[Shibút í kú] "The Cat had caught"

Cat Tm catch

Future tense:

[Shibút sí kú] "The Cat will catch"

Cat Tm catch

From the examples above the difference between the present and the recent past tenses is marked by a change in tone.

6.4 CONCLUSION

From the beginning of this chapter, we were aimed at examining the distribution of tones on polysyllabic words and to show some roles that tones play on Naki. Based on our analysis in this charpter, one can conclude at the end of this charpter that:

a) Level tones are distributed in disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words.

b) Tones play the role of singular and plural markers in nouns and tense marker in verbs

PART THREE

STANDADIZATION STEPS

CHAPTER SIX

STANDARDIZATION PRELIMINARIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Considering the fact that pertinent tones and phonemes with the sound system on Naki has been established, part three in this study is devoted to some steps aimed at standardizing the language. Chapter Six therefore, begins part three, which is the last part in this study. Our goal in this chapter is to shed more light on some reasons for standardizing Naki, based on some criteria laid down by WIESEMANN,SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU (1983) and MBONGUE (1997).

It is worth stating some definitions of standardization at this juncture. According to MBONGUE (1997:104), he says:

> "selon le Dictionnaire linguistique Larousse, une forme de langue est dite standard quand dans un pays donné au-delà des variations locales ou sociales, elle s'impose au point d'être employée couramment, comme le meilleur moyen de communication, par des gens susceptibles d'utiliser d'autre formes ou dialectes ; c'est d'une manière générale une langue écrite. Elle est diffusée par l'école, par la radio, et utilisée dans les relations officielles."

WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU, (1983 : 132) say:

> « Elle traite du développement des normes de la langue écrite. Chaque langue a ses variarits dialects et souvent les locuteurs particuliers d'un dialecte développent leurs propres particularités. Comme la langue doit être écrite la communauté doit se mettre d'accord sur certaines normes afin de dépasser les differences regionales,sociales et individuelles. »

Based on these two definitions, standardization is therefore the development of the writing norms of a language. This implies the whole process of transforming a language from it oral nature to the written form, for wider usage in the community concerned. Our target below is to shed light on the criteria laid down by WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU (1983) and MBONGUE (1997)

6.2 Government Policy Toward Standardization

One of the criteria that can facilitate standadization of national languages is government policy towards the promotion and the use of national languages.

Paul Biya (1986-116) as quoted by MBONGUE (1997:108) contents that:

> " les linguistiques camerounais ont dénombré deux cents trente langues parmi lesquelles une centaine de langues standardisables. D'aucun ont tenté de se servir de cette diversité pour diviser les camerounais. Je considère plutôt notre diversité linguistique comme un privilège culturel. Face à cette richesse linguistique, l'on choisit deux niveau de travail : le niveau ethnique et le niveau national. Au niveau ethnique, il faut encourager le développement de toutes les langues nationales, véhicules privilégiés des cultures ethniques...

It is worth noting that government policy towards the standardization of its national languages may be negative or positve for several reasons, ranging from political, social and economical. From what the President of the Republic advocated in 1986 as qyoted above, we think there is no question of fear in standardizing the national languages of Cameroon.

6.3 Number of Speakers and Inherent Intercomprehension

Another basic criterion that can help in the standardization precess of a language is the number of speakers already using the said language. WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU (1983 :138) hold that:

> "Plus la langue a de locuteurs (natifs et non natifs combinés) plus elle a des chances d'être viable sous la forme écrite . En effect, le nombre de locateurs d'une langue qui sont suscetibles de l'utiliser sous la formes écrite (et qui est directement propotionel au nombre total de ses locateurs) doit être assez élevé pour guarantir la viabilité de cette forme écrite."

Naki as of now is boasting of about four thousand speakers according to its speakers, from the four villages of Marshi, Lebo, Nser and Mekaf. Our goal is to secure this isolated group that has difficulties integrating into other groups like Aghem, Bu, Missong and Koshin. Due to the fact that Naki has no dialacts, there is that feeling of optimism that this homogeneity will prevail and survive in the far future.

6.4 The Absence of Transitory Social Bilingualism

In addition to the above mentioned basic criteria, the absence of transitory social bilingualism plays a vital role in the standardization process of a language. WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU, (1983 : 138) note that

> "Le bilinguisme social transitoire est caractéristique de la situation d'une langue par exemple A dont la majorité des locuteurs ont appris une langue véhiculaire, par exemple B, et utilisent cette dernière à tel point que leurs enfants apprennent B comme langue maternelle et sont susceptibles d'abandonner définitivement l'usage de A "

If we were to have a glance at the map on page 13, it is but crystal clear that the group of Beboid West which is made up of Naki, Missong, Bu and Koshin, Naki occupies the largest surface area of land, with the highest population. In an interview we accorded the speakers of Marshi and Nser, these individuals in a high minded way dismissed any linguistic relation-ship existing between their language and the rest of the surrounding languages. The only language uniting them with the other villages is the Pidgin English. When we interviewed individuals and groups of Mekaf, we observed that individuals aged sixteen right up to thirty five years were indeed finding it extremely hard if not totally impossible to understand speakers from Zhoa, Weh, Esu, Kung and Fungom, which are the surrounding villages. In our quest to know the language these individuals use in their week to week trading with their neighbouring villages, the only answer was Pidgin English, reason being that the surrounding villages also find it completely impossible to understand Naki. However the reverse appeared when some individuals ranging from forty years were contacted in Mekaf. We could observe them trying with difficulties to utter some slangs in Zhoa, Weh, Kung, Esu and Fungom. From our observation we were compelled to conclude that comprehension of the neighbouring languages was done through acquisition and not inheritance so the notion of transitory social bilingualism is completely out of the question.

6.5 The Active Interest of Speakers in the Standardisation of their Language

Besides what we have seen above, the active interest of speakers in the standardization of their language is another basic criterion that can facilitate the standardization process of a language. WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU, (1983 : 139) Contend that:

> "La standardization d'une langue est normalement et avant tout l'œuvre de ses locuteurs. Ainsi la volonté de ces locuteurs de standardiser leur langue exprimée par leur engagement effectif dans l'œuvre de la standardisation constitue un critère de viabilité de la langue sous forme écrite "

Individuals and groups from the three villages of Mekaf, Marshi and Nser have be consulted and interviewed on various occasions and situations to sample their attitude towards the development of their mother tongue. From our observations, the feed backs are generally impressive. In fact there is that burning zeal within the speakers to see their mother tongue developed. Conscious of the fact that what people say might not truly be reflecting what they indeed want and can do, we resorted to drawing up rendez-vous with our informants. It was amazing indeed to witness informants travelling from various parts of the town to honour our appointments. Moreso, others spent sleepless nights with us. In addition to the above encouraging attitude, if we were to imagine the fact that some Naki speakers under the leadership of Tshong had attempted to transcribe some words in Naki, though with little success for they were using the English Alphabet, then it suffices for us to envisage how much interest and willingness the speakers are upholding for the development of their mother tongue.

6.6 The viability and vitality of the language

Under normal circumstances, the development of a written form of a language is done based on the felt need by the community in question. In other words there must be that practical need for the written form of the language by its speakers for their day to day undertakings. This basic criterion that facilitate the standadization process of a language is backed by WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO, and TADADJEU, (1983 : 139).

> "Le développement de la forme écrite d'une langue doit normalement répondre à un besoin réel de la communauté concernée. Ce besoin s'exprime à travers des domaines clairement identifiables d'utilisation écrite de la langue"

. The cases below shed light on the viabilty and vitality of Naki .

6.6.1 The vitality of the language within the community

From the inception of this study we were introduced to the vast surface area of land that harbour's Naki speakers, Many a time these villages come together for various reasons. These reasons range from business transactions, birth, funeral and matrimonial ceremonies. Still on a wider scale, these villages whose common bond is the language Naki, usually assemble in Mekaf to settle and iron out their differences and also to improve on their various life styles. In such come-together, the only language of communication is the mother tongue. Songs too play a vital role in the well-being of the entire community. Songs are used to pacify the ancestors, invoke spirits for curing some diseases and merry makings. So if we were to consider the fact that most of these songs and ceremonies are done in the mother tongue, then there is that great need for the development of the language.

6.6.2 Church use of the mother tongue.

Within the Naki community, two churches are very prominent, there is the Roman catholic church and the protestant church. Narrowing our scope on the village of Mekaf, it is made up two churches, the Roman catholic and the Protestant churches. The Roman catholic church is piloted in its day to day existence by a catechist, who is assisted on monthly bases by a Rev Father from Wum. Services are being done in both mother tongue and pidgin English. Announcements and songs are carried out in most part in the mother tongue. It should be noted that the existence of pidgin English here is due to the fact that the Rev Fathers in most cases are Europeans. Meanwhile the situation in the protestant church is entirely different. Here the preacher is a Naki speaker. So songs and announcements are done in Naki . We are therefore thinking that if the language is developed then more changes shall be witnessed in these holy houses.

6.6.3 The socio-economic aspects

The villages that speak Naki as mother tongue are directly under the control of their various chiefs (bùŋkùŋ). Developmental meetings, traditional rites, and annual festivals like the kwifa are normally presided over by the chiefs and these are usually done in the mother tongue. It is also alleged that whenever one of the chiefs dies other chiefs rally themselves together, prior to the enstoolment of a successor. In such high-level ceremonies, the mother tongue is the only language of use, hence the great need for the language to be developed.

At the economic level, each village has its market day that comes up after every seven days. On these various market days, it is very normal to see any of the villager in any market. But the truth on the ground at the area of trading is that business within the villages is being done on momentary bases. At any giving moment, an individual from Mekaf can be in Marshi, Nser or Iebo. The same story holds true for all the villages. In fact trading within the villages is a continuous affair. In the course of these transactions, the mother tongue is the only language of communication.

6.6.4 Education

The villages of Mekaf and Marshi have primary schools. The village of Mekaf is the seat of the oldest primary school in Fungom sub-division with its creation dating as far back as the early sixties. It is known as Roman catholic school Mekaf, it classes range from class one to seven. The language of instruction in this school is English. Considering the fact that majority of the pupils mostly in the junior section of the school are often too young and less proficient in English, it has been our wish that if Naki is standardised, these young pupils will be instructed in their mother tongue for the better understanding of their lesson, by so doing, we think the standardisation of Naki will limit the rate of repeaters due to language barrier.

6.7 Language of wider communication.

Fungom sub-division has six national languages. These national languages are Mmen, Naki, Bu, Koshin , Missong and part of Aghem. Each of these national languages has dialects within the twenty-one villages that make up the sub-division. Naki distinguishes itself among these six national languages in that it occupies the largest surfaces area of land, with all the different villages on it speaking the same language. Based on our findings, we observed that pidgin English is the only language of wider communication in this sub-division. So from indications, the probability of Naki surviving among these six national languages in this sub-division is great. Therefore the development of the language is vital.

6.8 Standardization agency

Furthermore, the existence of a standardization agency for the provision of reading and writing materials for the language is another vital criterion that helps in the standardization process of a language. WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU (1983 : 140) hold that:

> ...une agence de standardisation d'une langue est constituée d'un groupe d'auteurs généralement renforcé par au moins une institution établie, engagé dans la production et la diffusion du matériel écrit dans cette langue

As of now, there is no language committee or group of authors capable of producing and distributing written material in the language. Considering the fact that Mekaf is the seat of the oldest primary school in the area, and that the other villages of Naki like Marshi possess primary schools it is but obvious that the population is made up of people who can read and write in English. This implies there is little or no obstacles in training the speakers. Also coupled with the burning zeal of developing their mother tongue, there are greater hopes of the total success and survival of a language committee, should it be created.

6.9 Reference Dialect for the Written Form

The standadization process usually ends in a reference dialect.

WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU (1983 : 140). Contend that:

> La notion du dialecte de référence a pour fondement la variation dialectale à l'intérieur d'une langue, c'est-à-dire le manque d'homogénéité dans la façon dont les locuteurs d'une même langue parlent selon leur région d'origine

From what we have gathered above, the idea of a reference dialect is spoken in a situation where there is dialect variation within a language on other words, there is little homogeneity in the manner in which the speakers of the same language understand each other. This being the case of a reference dialect. Then the language under study is devoid of it.

6.9 CONCLUSION

Our goal in this chapter has been to shed light on the importance of standardising Naki for the wellbeing of speakers. Before this goal could be attained we used criteria like: Government policy towards standardisation, number of speakers of the language, the absence of transitory social bilingualism, the active interest of the speakers towards the standardisation of their language, the viability and vitality of the language, language of wider communication, standardisation agency and reference dialect for the written form. At this moment that we are rounding off, this chapter has enabled us to drive home the fact that:

a) The government policy towards the standardisation of its national languages is positive.

b) The speakers of Naki have unanimously reacted positively to the notion of having their mother tongue developed.

c) Naki is spoken homogeneously in Mekaf, Marshi, Nser and Lebo, so there is no search for a reference dialect for the developed form.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter seven has double significance, it marks the end of part three and the end of this study. In this chapter, we are therefore aimed at establishing a writing system of the language under study. This goal is going to be attained by stating the alphabet and the orthographic principles of Naki. The alphabet is going to be made up of the graphic representation of all the phonemes of the language.

7.2 The alphabet of Naki.

Following the phonological analysis carried out on Naki in this study, we propose the following alphabet :

a, b, b^w, b^y, c, c^w, d, dz, e, ɛ, ə, f, f^w, f^y, g, g^w, gb, i, j, j^w, k, k^w, kp, l, m, m^w, n, ny, ŋ, , o, ɔ, s, sh, sh^w, sh^y, t, t^w, ts, ts^w, ts^y, u, w, y, zh.

Table twenty two below contains the phoneme symbols, their proposed graphemes and illustrative words.

Phoneme symbol	Proposed graphemes	Illustration	Gloss
a	"a"	ákáŋ	"dish"
b	"b"	bì	"goat"
b^w	"bw	bwán	"rock"
b^y	"by	byèm	"calabash"
c	"c"	cèné	"allow"
c^w	"cw	Cwá	"toilet"
d	"d"	dùŋ	"sit"
dz	"dz"	dzèm	"back"

dz	"dz"	dzèm	"back"
e	"e"	jé	"eat"
ɛ	" ɛ"	àfɛ	"viper"
ə	ə	kpə́	"drag"
f	"f"	fá	"lock"
f^w	"fw	fwèn	"grass"
f^y	"fy	fyè	"ankle"
g	"g	àgílè	"tooth"
g^w	"gw	gwòk	"grind"
gb	"gb	gbèm	"god"
i	"i"	lì	"tongue"
j	j	fìnjâŋ	potuto
j^w	Jw	jwèdlè	"short"
k	"k"	kèm	"hit"
k^w	"kw"	kwàm	"spang"
kp	"kp"	kpi	"firewood"
l	"l"	lù	"shelhi"
m	"m"	mù	"person"
m^w	mw	mwèd	« lap »
n	"n"	nî	"grand mother"
ny	"ny"	nyàm	"animal"
ŋ	ŋ	figéŋ	"gong"
o	"o"	tsòŋbè	"groudnut"
ɔ	ɔ	tsɔ̀k	« peck

sh	"sh"	shèm	"heart"
sh^{w}	"shw"	shwàk	"drain"
shy	"shy"	shyò	"thing"
t	"t"	tém	"weave"
t^{w}	"tw"	twè	"abuse"
ts	"ts"	tsò	"house"
ts^{w}	"tsw"	tswɛ	"spit"
ts^{y}	"tsy	tsyè	"talk"
u	"u"	fú	"head"
w	"w"	wén	"tail"
y	y	yè	who
zh	zh	zhè	"name"

Table 22

Based on a phonological analyses carried out on naki, which was aimed at determining basics sounds of the language for the sake of easy reading and writing on the language, we conclude that the alphabet of Naki is made up of:

a) Eight vowel phonemes

b)Thirty six consonant phonemes

c) In all, we have forty-four pertinent phonemes.

7.3 Orthographic principles

According to WIESEMANN, SADEMBOUO and TADADJEU (1983 : 156) they say that :

> L'orthographe est l'ensemble des règles qui régissent l'emploi des lettres de l'alphabet pour écrire et lire une langue

Our attention for now is going to be focused on the principles that governs the application of all the letters of the alphabet that we have come across in the language under study.

7.3.1 Tone principles

a) we are going to mark the high tone because it is least frequent on texts.

b) Contour tones shall not be marked. Instead we shall double the vowel bearing the contour tone and the high tone (H) shall be marked on one of the vowel, the whole process will look like this:

/ ê / ⟶ "ée" or / ě / ⟶ "eé"

7.3.2 Vowel principles

For the fact that Naki neither admits long vowels nor diphthongs, we shall double the vowel bearing a contour tone and mark a high tone on one of the vowel as has been shown above.

7.3.3 Consonant Principles

a) The sound [p] is going to be orally pronounced, but in the course of writing,we are going to write "b" because these two sounds are contextual variants and "b" is the basic phoneme.

b) Labialization and palatalisation are going to be marked by the glides "w" and "y" respectively on the preceding consonant, and they shall be accorded the status of separate phonemes.

a) Syllabic nasal in the place of prenasal is admitted on Naki.

7.3.4 Words Sequence Principles in Sentences or Phrases

According to pike (1977) cited by TAMANJI, (1987 : 100) he says :

> This principle holds that morphemes are to be considered separate words if the two can be separated by a word

Based on this :

a) Infinitive markers plus the verb shall be considered as one word because they cannot be separated by another word. The example below shed light on this:

Example:

Use [si je nyam] not [si nyam je] "to eat meat"

to eat meat to meat eat

b) Singular and plural markers plus the noun they determine shall be considered one word, because they can not be separated by a word. The example below shed light on this:

Example:

Use [ábán kám] not [á kám bán] " my hand"

Hand my sing my nail

c) A tense-marker plus a verb are two different words, because they can be separated by another word.The example below shed light on this:

Example:

Use [a dúŋ] not [adúŋ] because we can get [a tə́ dúŋ] "to sit first"

to sit to sit to first sit

d) Compound words shall be seperated by a hyphen. The example below shed light on this:

Example:

[ŋwə-bwəd] "youth"

child young

7.3.5 Punctuation principles

a) Bracket (( )): It shall be used for extra information or after thoughts.

b) Capital letters (A,B...Zh):they shall be used to mark the beginnin of sentences, proper nouns and abbreviations

c) Colon (:): It shall be used to introduce a list of items or to describe a group.

d) Comma (,): It shall be used to separate items in a list and pauses in Sentences.

e) Dash (-): It shall be used to mark summaries or conclusions.

f) Exclamation mark (!): It shall be used to express joy, surprise and anger.

g) Full stop (.): It shall be used to mark the end of sentences.

h) Inverted commas (" "):They shall be used for direct speeches.

i) Question mark (?): It shall be used to mark the end of questions.

j) Semi colon (;): It shall be used to separate main clauses from subodinate Clauses.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Our goal in this chapter has been to establish the writing system of Naki. This has been attained by stating the alphabet and the orthographic principles of the language. At this moment that we are rounding off, we think this chapter has served to put across the facts that:

a) Naki has forty four pertinent phonemes.
   i Eight vowels
   ii Thirty six consonants

b) The high tone shall be marked on the language.

7.5 GENERAL CONCLUSION

All through in this study, our main aim has been initiating the standardisation process of Naki, in other words, moving Naki from its oral nature to a written one. Before we could attain this goal in this study, we divided the study into three parts, the paradigmatic analysis, syntagmatic analysis and standardization steps. These three parts were further sub-divided into seven chapters, but before the beginning of these seven chapters, we had the general introduction of the study.

In the general introduction, our goal has been to determine the real villages that use Naki as their mother tongue, and to know whether a slight variation prevails among the various forms. From our findings we observed that Naki is spoken in the villages of Marshi, Lebo, Nser,and Mekaf with no variation existing among the various forms.

PART ONE of this study is the paradigmatic analysis. It contains three chapters. Guided by the fact that the writing system of any language has to be as simple as possible, our goal in this part has been to determine pertinent tones and phonemes on Naki.

Chapter One therfore begins part one and is based on tones. Our goal in this chapter has been to determine pertinent tones on Naki. From our analysis on tones we observed that there are four pertinent tones on Naki, the high(H), the low(L), the rising(LH), and the falling(HL) tones.

Chapter Two is based on vowels. It has been our goal to determine pertinent vowel phonemes. From our phonemic analysis, at the level of opposition in identical contexts, we observed that there are eight vowel phonemes on Naki, three fronts, two centrals and three backs.

Chapter Three handles consonants. We have been determining pertinent consonant phonemes on Naki. Based on a phonemic analysis at the level of opposition in identical contexts, thirty two consonants emerged as pertinent phonemes. At the level of opposition in analogous contexts, four consonants emerged as pertinent phonemes and only one emerged as a contextual variant and

forms an allophone. In all thirty six consonant phonemes have been attested on Naki in this chapter.

PART TWO of this study is the syntagmatic analysis. It contains two chapters. Our goal here is to show how these attested pertinent tones and phonemes in part one combine to form syllables and words on the language.

Chapter Four begins part two and deals with syllables and syllable combinations. Our goal has been to examine the types of syllables, syllable combinations and the distribution of phonemes in words. From our analysis we observed that there are five types of syllables on Naki, and that syllables combine in monosyllabic words, disyllabic words, trisyllabic words and tetrasyllabic words. At the level of phonemic distribution the vowel phonemes a, i and u appear at initial, medial and final positions in words, while all consonants appear at the initial position in words.

Chapter Five handles tone distribution and functions. We have been determining the manner in which tones are distributed in words and to show some roles tones play on Naki. We observed that the level tones appear on disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words, and that tones are plural and tense markers on Naki.

PART THREE of this study is standardization steps. Like part two, it contains two chapters. Our goal at this level has been to highlight the necessity for Naki to be standardized and to propose a writing system for the language.

Chapter Six begins part three and is based on standardization preliminaries. We have been sheding light on the roles the language play on its speakers and the attitude of the speakers towards the notion of having their mother tongue standardized. From our findings, we observed that the language has no dialect and that the reaction of the speakers towards the standardization of their mother tongue is positive.

Chapter Seven ends part three of the study. It handles the alphabet and orthographic principles of the languge. Our goal here has been to establish a

writing system on Naki. From our examination of the phonemes so far,we observed that Naki has forty four pertinent phonemes and that the high tone (H) should be marked in words on Naki.

We are openly admitting the fact that despite the scientific nature of the study it has not explored much of the phonological features and processes of the language due to its methodology. Under normal circumstances, works on generative phonology, dictionaries, grammar, literature, spellings and semantic of the language are highly needed before the standardization of the language will be concretely carried out.

We will end up by saying that Naki is a reach language not yet explored. We are conscious of the fact that this study is not devoid of short-comings, but these short-comings should open more fertile grounds for further studies on the language in particular and linguistics at large.

ANNEX

A. ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

The text below shows the alphabet graphemes and the orthographic principles on Naki.

shí : shí

Attention : Attention

hoŋ :

Affirmation

Acɔ́m	kám	dzə	dzə
Story	my	rise	rises

á	gé	kú	nyám	fyá
Tm	go	catch	animal	two

fiməkwamə́	bu	fiko.
Chameleon	and	hare

Nyám	yə́ní	í	dúŋ		sú.
Animals	these	T.m	be		friends
Fiməkwamə		í	dzə	anaŋ	adoka
Chameleon		T.m	rise	day	one

a	gé	i	fiko	lí	a	gé	tífí
T.m	go	to	hare	this	T.m	go	tell

fiko	lə́,	nyám	a	làbtə́
hare	that	animals	T.m	run

jɔbtí	sisab	lí	nyàm	yi	sishé
Race	to select	this	animal	which	infbe
ŋkuŋ		wi	nyám.		
chief		of	animals		
Anaŋ	kə	í	jenə	i jɔbtí	wə lí,
Day	when	Tm	come	for race	ass this
.nyàm	yi a	labtɔ́	yə a	tɔd	nyám júyə́
animal	that T.m	run	above T.m	win	animals
	other				
síshé	ŋkuŋ	wi	ŋyám		
tobe	chief	of	animals		
fiməkwamɔ́	í	yák	kwanə	fiko	kpəd.
Chameleon	T.m	stand	by	hare	side
Acúbə	bú	bɛ	labtɔ́	fiməkwamɔ́	
soon	they	start	run	chameleon	
í	kú	fiko	i wən	bí á	zhánə́
Tm	catch	hare	on tail	refl T.m	change
.gɔb	yín		i	fiko	lí.
body	his		like	hare	this
Fiko	í	labtɔ́	á	ge fwashə	mu
hare	T.m	run	T.m	go reach	person
wí dzok	dzok.	Wə	fiko	lí sije	átágə
of first	first	For	hare	this To eat	chair

kí	ŋkuŋ	wí	nyám	lə	í	dúŋ	kɔ́d.
of	chief	of	animals	it	T.m	sit	down
Fiməkwamɔ́	í	shí	mə	wán	w í		

chameleon T.m descend from tail of

.fiko wə bí á tə́ dúŋ á nù lə́

hare ass refl T.m first sit T.m refuse that

fiko a dúŋ kə i lù bí bancə́

hare T.m sit not on it refl because

lá tə́ fwashɔ i fiko lí afwebi

T.m first reach on hare this before

á je átágə ki ŋkuŋ wí nyám.

T.m eat chair of chief of animals

.Fiko í shətɔ á fyəglə́ bu gəb

hare T.m surprise T.m turn with body

.á mɛ́ fiməkwamə́ i mə átágə

T.m see chameleon on from chair

ki ŋkùŋ bí.

of chief refl.

. Fiməkwamə́ á fəd utɔ́b

chameleon T.m make sense

.á je átágə ki ŋkuŋ wí nyám.

T.m eat chair of chief of animals

Nyám júyə́ í fwashə á mɛ lə́

Animals other T.m reach T.m see that

.fiməkwamə á je átágə ki ŋkùŋ

chameleon T.m eat chair of chief

.wí nyám á nənə bu shəm.

of animals T.m return with anger

Fiko á gbɔ jɔbtí wə fiməkwamə́ á tɔ́d

hare T.m fail race while chameleon T.m win

Profound understanding of the story

Attention! Attention!

Affirmation

My story is about two animals. The chameleon and the hare. Once Upon a time, these animals were great friends. One bright day, the chameleon paid the hare a visit. This visit was aimed at informing the hare of a race, which had been organised by all animals to choose the king.

According to the chameleon, a stool had been placed by all the animals in a given distance. The truth on the ground was that the first animal to sit on this stool was undoubtedly going to become the paramount king of the animals.

So, when the day came for the race, the chameleon changed his colour to that of the tail of the hare. He stoot beside the hare, and as the race was abvout to start, the chameleon hung on the tail of the hare.

After having defeated all the other animals who were engaged in this race, the arrived first and just as he was about to sit on the stool, the chameleon fell off from his tail to the stool, and warned the hare not to sit on him. This set hare in total confusion and surprise.

When the other anomals arrived and discovered that the chameleon was the one occupying the prestigious stool, they all left in anger, and total dissatisfaction. Obviously the chameleon became the king due to his intellect.

B LEXIS

Our goal here is to illustrate a work-list of Naki/English.

a/Λ

aba	wing	adzala	madness
abaglə	sheath	adzo	cook
ábán	hand	adɛ	viper
ábánɔ́	accident	afɔbɔ	dark
abaŋ	lizard	afɔfɔ	thorn
ábélé	bad	afɔm	trouble
abemnɔ	big	áfúmɔ	salt
abɔ́ɔ	bag	afwe	face
ɑbɔ́bɔ́	fox	afyɔ́b	pig
ɑbɔnti	compound	agáb	time
ɑbwágló	rattle	ɑgáŋ	gown
abya	avocado	agílɔ́	tooth
acɛ	foundation	ájɔ́k	holi
ácúcú	River back	ajulɔ	caterpillar
acwab	mortar	ajwɔ	direction
ada	filaria	ákám	crabs
adɔɔ́	cutlass	ákáŋ	dish
adɔglɔ	jaw	akó	heap
adúum	snail	aku	frog
ɑdza	year	akulɔ́	free gift
ɑkwígɔ́	tortoise	até	boat
akwoóm	horse	áti	Tree

akpɔ́	shoe	awɔb	threshold
ákpí	block	ayót	liver
alámú	orange	ási	pipe
áláshi	thread	aso	razor blade
áláaŋ	law	asuú	soap
ambaŋ	door	**b/B**	
amé	neck	bab	Attempt
anaŋ	day	abn	Paste
anaŋ	bed	banɔ́	Harm
anfɔmfɔ́	cockroach	báŋ	Prevent
ánɔ́ŋ	Peace	baŋyɔ	Scrable
antónco	belt	bem	inject
anwagti	book	ben	ascend
anyénɔ́	bird	bɛ	weed
anyɔlɔ	Anus	bəb	ice
áŋgáŋ	bicycle	bəfə	stammer
áŋgwɔ́ntɔ	feather	bənə	hoist
aŋshɔ́ŋɔ́	cough	bi	goat
áseé	dress	bifi	ask
atíĕ	ear	byɔgló	meet
atsɔ́	menstruate	bino	accept
atsɔk	part	bɔ́d	ache
atsiŋɔ	jar	**bəblɔ́**	destroy
átsí	stick	bɔ́d	fire

bɔk	cheach	**cw/CW**	
bum	beat	cwá	toilet
buŋnɔ	start	cwád	few
bw/BW		**D/D**	
bwa	quietness	da	cook
bwaá	broom	dɛ	cry
bwán	rock	dɔ	give
bwe	foot	duŋ	sit
bwemɔ	huĩt	**dz/Dz**	
bwɔcɔ	Plant	dzablɔ	stagger
bwɔd	youth	dzám	light
bwílénti	weakness	dzam	grave
bwɔmnɔ́	park	dzan	urinate
by/By		dzaŋe	wander
byabti	rib	dzanŋi	sugar cane
byag	palmtree	dze	road
byentɔ́	roll	dzɔb	skin
byɔm	calabash	dzi	corn
byod	fish	dzɔŋ	hunger
c/C		dzɔk	penis
cábɔ́lɔ	lazy	dzɔŋnɔ	tickle
caylɔ	ladder	dzu	illness
cɔm	dig	dzúfú	ten
cɔnɔ́	dirt	dzugli	louse

f/F		fyágló	drum stick
fá	lock	fyancɔ	argue
fán	send	fyaŋ	handle
fe	slow	fyeb	rat
fɔ	count	fyɔfyɔ	fresh
fefyɔ	rest	fyɔglɔ	spin
fɔd	make	fyɔ	ankle
fiko	hare	fyɔk	twist
filɔ	borrow	fyóko	wipe
finɔ	escort	fyu	parcel
finfi	breeze	**G/g**	
finfya	cane	gab	share
finybúfu	bat	gablɔ	separate
fisúk	kettle	ge	go
fishújɔ	dove	genɔ	trek
fɔk	mimie	gə	put
fɔkɔ	measure	gɔm	pay
Fw/Fw		gɔb	body
fwam	sniff	góla	kolanut
fwe	leak	gu	spear
fwen	grass	gud	harvest
fwɔncó	mix	**gw/GW**	
fwí	moon	gwɔk	grind
Fy/Fy			

gb/Gb		**jw/Jw**	
gbá	ceiling	jwədlə	short
gbɔd	cut	jwitəŋlə	tall
gbəkɔ	break	**k/K**	
gbɔm	god	káb	bend
gbí	rope	kak	quarter
gbɔ	fall	kamtə	scratch
gbɔk	difficult	kan	tie
i/I		káŋ	fry
icɔ́m	stories	ké	know
ijágle	dust	**kəd**	kick
itsinə	drunkenness	kəm	hit
j/J		kən	sell
jaŋ	eight	kənə	have
je	eat	**kətə**	shift
jə	sound	kó	grow
jələ	bury	kon	betray
joka	evening	kəb	knife
jɔ	flour	kóŋ	follow
Júu	nose	kəŋnə	clase
júk	heavy	kú	catch
jumná	hurry	kun	hawk
jumnələ	deep	kutuŋ	chest

kw/Kw

kwacá embrace

kwabyá creep

kwam sprang

kwamtə ring

kwəd clap

kwəm python

kwənə respect

kwíyə sew

kp/Kp

kpáb money

kpakə pluck

kpaki easy

kpan wife

kpe die

kpenə quarrel

kpá pull

kpəbyə wink

kpələ end

kpəŋnə bargain

kpi firewood

l/L

labtá run

lét rice

lə love

lələ lick

ləŋ lie

lí tongue

m/M

mamnə follow

mban nail

mbaŋ fence

mboŋ cow

mbií palm wine

mbinə belief

mbúŋni grass hopper

mdzaŋ castle oil

mə build

mfinfi arrow

mfwə slave

mgbáŋ vein

mi swallow

mjaŋga crayfish

mw/Mw

mwəd swell

mwən pity

n/N

nagtɔm queen

namtɔ́	straight	ŋgúm	blood
naŋ	bamboos	ŋgwa	guava
ncak	branch	ŋwɔ	child
ncəm	hook	**s/S**	
nco	river	sab	choose
ncushə	knot	sák	judge
ndənə	prayer	sakə́	demolish
ndɔk	passion	sámə	shine
ndzə	cricket	saŋkə	munch
ndzɔk	journey	sə́	swim
ndzúm	fine	səŋ	tap
nem	sleep	si	we
nón	beg	som	break
ŋkuŋ	chief	sɔ́m	spoon
nsɔk	cup	sɔ́ŋ	flute
ntu	week	sun	flay
ny/Ny		**sh/Sh**	
nyaghlə	write	shak	comb
nyam	animal	sham	seed
nyan	smoke	shan	pumpkin
nyiŋkə	lion	shanfə	scatter
nyu	knee	she	hen
ŋ/ŋ		shéshé	scissors
ŋgə	garden egg	shə́	soil

shəm	heart	tóŋ	crow
shəmsh	fast	tú	horn
shí	market	tuſú	throw
shishi	wound	tulə	burst
shibút	cat	tuŋtə	point
shɔŋ	sheep	**tw/Tw**	
shuŋə	stoop	twe	abuse
shushə	sprinkle	**ts/Ts**	
shw/Shw		tsan	wheel
shawk	drain	tsaglə	sieve
shwə	elephant grass	tse	devil
shy/Shy		tsɛ	fight
shyə	earth	tsə	monkey
shyɔ	thing	tsəd	lid
t/T		tsək	plough
tab	conquer	tsí	guitar
tan	tear	tsim	navel
tanɔ	boundary	tsindá	messenger
tó	stone	tso	house
təbə́	tobacco	tsoŋbe	groundnut
tɔ́m	weave	tsɔk	peck
tífí	tell	tsúk	heavy
tó	carry	**tsy/Tsy**	
tɔ́k	fetch	tsyɔ	talk

tsw/Tsw

tswé spit

u/U

úcú bitter leaf

údáa bridge

úde length

ufɔ́ two

uji lake

ujitɔ weight

uláab stomach

úmú dew

unáa four

unɔ́ fufu

únəŋ huckleberry

usi six

utɔ́b knowledge

utsitsi silence

útsók advise

utsúk apology

w/W

wayə harlot

we expand

wə you

wən tail

wiyɔ́ shout

wún whistle

y/Y

yaghɔ́ learn

yák stop

ye who

zh/Zh

zhe name

zhedlc red

zhen sweep

zhɔk feeling

zhudlc white

zhúŋcə idea

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