

**REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON**  
**Peace-Work-Fatherland**

**REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN**  
**Paix-Travail-Patrie**

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

**DOCTORAL RESEARCH CENTRE  
AND TRAINING IN ARTS,  
LANGUAGE AND CULTURES**

**DOCTORAL RESEARCH AND  
TRAINING UNIT IN LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURE**

**DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAAN  
LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS**



**CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE ARTS,  
LANGUE ET CULTURES**

**UNITÉ DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN  
LANGUES ET LITTÉRATURE**

**DÉPARTEMENT DE LANGUES  
AFRICAINES ET LINGUISTIQUE**

# **MBUK**

## **DOCUMENTARY GRAMMAR**

*A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Award of a Doctorate of Philosophy (PhD) in African  
Languages and Linguistics*

By

**NELSON C. TSCHONGHONGEI**

BA, MA – African Languages & Linguistics  
**University of Yaounde 1**

Supervised by

**Gabriel MBA**

Professor

**March 2018**

## **CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that the research entitled "Mbuk Documentary Grammar" is researched and authored by Nelson C. Tschonghongi of the Department of African languages and Linguistics of the University of Yaounde I, for the award of a PhD in African Languages and Linguistics.

## **SUPERVISOR**

.....

**Gabriel MBA**  
**Professor**  
**University of Yaounde I**

## **DEDICATION**

**The Fon of Mbuk**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A single firewood cannot make a flame that cooks a pot, less the content would remain raw. In the same light, salt alone would not give the required taste and flavour to a meal unless other spices are added. Thus, if we are reading Mbuk today is thanks to the good wishes and will of nature and people of all social strata who played the role of enough firewood, pepper, oil and maggi to make the pot, thesis, somehow ready for intellectual consumption. We thank all those who have fruitfully partnered for the success of this research for the Mbuk people.

Immensely, I thank my supervisor, Prof. Gabriel Mba, who shared his knowledge and gave up his time and energy for my intellectual growth and joy in research.

I appreciate those who nurtured me at the Department of African Languages and Linguistics of the University of Yaounde 1 for handing over to me the linguistic torch. The grammar is what was imparted by you all: Professor Cledéor Nseme, E. Sadembouo, Ndongo S., J. A. Njika. Other lecturers have furnished me with various, supplementary help in refining the research, such as B. S. Chumbow, N. Mutaka, G. Ndamsah, F. Tabe, Edmond Biloa, J. Ogwana and Bitjaa Kody. And not forgetting the staff of the Endangered Language Documentation Program (ELDP) of the Summer School Buea and my colleagues of the African Network for Language Documentation. Thus a piece of documentary, the fruit borne here, is a compendium of knowledge.

The "discovery" of Mbuk happened thanks to a short fieldwork I did in November 2011 with Dr. Pierpaolo Di Carlo, Miss Kefen Ivoline, Mr. Takor, Dr. Mbe and Dr. Wirba (CATUC), with financial support from the U.S. NSF with which we produced a preliminary report, still unpublished, about the Fio language.

In addition, I would not have been to the research terrain if not for a year funding (2015) still by the American National Science Foundation (U.S. NSF) through the partnership of the University of Yaounde I and University at Buffalo - State University of New York under the auspices of Prof. Jeff C. Good with the keen monitor of Dr. Pierpaolo Di Carlo. May this fruitful partnering continue to support and promote research.

Moreover, another complementary assistance to this thesis has been the Hon. KOUINCHE Albert scholarship award to PhD research students. This work benefited serially from the IVth, Vth and VI editions of 2015, 2016 and 2017 respectively. Thank you Honourable together with your benevolent team of men and women of good will.

I am grateful to my initiator into linguistics, Mr. David THORMOSET, and his family for their moral, financial, and prayer support toward the attainment of this my last level of the classroom certificate, the PhD.

We acknowledge the digitisation of this work by CERDOTOLA Yaounde with Dr. Ngue Um Emmanuel as the Digital Archival Manager and Trainer, hence, letting the last aspect of the documentary theory; digital archival and dissemination to be complete.

I thank Prof. P. N. M. Mutaka for always leaving his house for Sous Prefecture Tsinga.

My gratitude as well goes to the staff of SIL, especially to the computer department; Mr. Emmanuel Chinepoh, Mr. Matthew Lee, Mr. Francis Meyof, Mr. Bruce Cox, Mr. Olivier Tayou and Mrs BRADFORD Jann for assisting in solving software problems. I thank the staff of the SIL Library Mr. Jam Paul & Mme Beri Nfor, and the personnel of NACALCO, CABTAL, ALDEC, ABTRALP and the Bum Bible Translation Team for their care.

I am delighted with the Mbuk language technicians: Fon Wango Simon, Mr. Ndicha Nicolas, Rev. Lang George, Mr. Samban B., Mr. Ndicha Angelbert W., Mme Kechua Prisca, Mme Tili Clementine, Mr. Lang Elijah, Mr. Bikem Nestor and all the Njis.

May the grace of God anoint the Rolling Hills Church in Canada for their ongoing assistance, together with Mama Gladys THORMOSET.

More grace to Mr./Mrs Anang Joseph Fuh, Dr./Mrs Aka Aaron, Mr. Ikom Gilbert for providing the research money that was stolen away on my way to the fieldwork. Also, in order to ruin this research as was intended by the instigators of Agro-Communal Injustice in my village aborted by the intervention of Mr. Ikom Christopher, Dr. Pierpaolo Di Carlo and Prof. Jeff C. Good brought peace of mind and time for us to focus on Mbuk Documentary.

Aghem elites and my kin: the Tschonghonge, Njiamang, Zuh, Rev. Dr. J. Aji-Mvo, the Mayor - Njukwe Charles, Mme Abeng Celine, HRH Kangsen Buhmbi R., Mme Jill Martens, Mme Mua Grace N., Hon. Wallang R., Mr/Mrs. Chuo Cyprian A., the Mayor Mr/Mrs Dighambong A., Mr/Mrs Beng Joseph. I owe Mr. Chi Antony, Mabel & Gerald, Mr./Mrs Kum Marius, Mr/Mrs. Alphonsius A., Mme Ama'azee M., Mr./Mrs K. Cornelius Kedze, Mme Dia Quinta S., Mr/Mrs. Mike Birse, Mr/Mrs Foy Andrew, Mme. E. Kangsen B. & Hilda, Mme Gamnje Kiki, Mrs Shelley Kashuba, Mme Ezegha Mercy M, Dr./Mrs C. Bawe, Mr. Philip Nsah, Dr. Paul Kimbi, Mr. Mua E. Ndze, Mr. Keja Roger F., Mr/Mrs Zuh Henry, Mr./Mrs Nyoh Charles Abang, Rev. Abu Touka, Mr./Mrs Amah J. Paul, Mr/Mrs Roland Wallang.

"Ghù kaam n tòm mè'è to ā? Kə lo tsoo miaan zèn?" (Aghem) Haven't you finished writing? When shall it finish? These are seas of questions from my wife whenever she can no longer control the children alone. My son cries, I want to see my *da* "N̄ so ɲ kô' dà". Thank you all for surmounting the challenges of my absence, taking care of mom and the children. "M̄ kàhí lè". (Mbuk) I am done. Special thank to mom for my scholastic care.

I honour my friends who positively with one heart have sustained me in this academic endeavour. We cannot succeed alone. I could not have reached this rung without those of you not been mentioned here.

## ABSTRACT

Nowadays, in civilised communities, most languages strive to play a dual role; to be spoken and to be read. But they cannot be read when they have not been written down, as well as, they cannot be spoken when there are no speakers. By no speakers, we mean that the natives have abandoned the use of their own language for a language they believe to be superior to theirs; with a more prestigious status acquired in terms of its population, war might or simply because it has a written form while the neighbouring one does not. The latter excuse for an inferiority complex is what this research, termed "Mbuk Documentary Grammar" wants to take Mbuk out of. Mbuk should have its own written form of its speech, just as any other speech in the world is striving to be spoken, written, and read.

To attain this goal of having a spoken, a written and a read Mbuk, we used the documentary approach whereby, we collected audio and video recordings from various Mbuk language speakers on varied themes. The data collection was accomplished through research instruments such as observation, documents, interviews, and questionnaires in order to obtain the desired findings here stated.

Our findings shows that the natives can now listen to themselves and other speakers through the audio and video recordings. And through the video film, there is knowledge sharing throughout all the social classes and gender whenever they are watching the projections. Men and women, children and adults hear and see what they have not been exposed to, thus inviting access rights to be implemented. To get Mbuk read, there are some ELAN annotated media files. There is also the hard copy and an electronic copy of the Mbuk documentary grammar. By documentary here we mean that the descriptive corpus has audiovisual backings available for anyone who wishes to listen or watch them. The corpora include events of arts and craft, stories, songs, rites, pictures of some items, most of which are captured in natural settings. Complementary to the natural scenery are some elicited wordlists and some grammatical elicitations.

The documentary approach is regarded as a speech community film that cannot go hitch free and, as a result, requires a policy statement for future research to avoid the pitfalls of this present research. As a challenge, the documentary equipment such as recorders, computers, electricity shortage and backup space were like a pendulous bridge that hindered us from going across quickly. Relaunching such a research, we should have better equipment and more field time to explore more diverse themes, in order to limit elicitation and to find enough of what is needed within the naturally occurring speech acts that suit better documentary processes accredited by an appropriate methodology.

## RÉSUMÉ

De nos jours, dans les communautés civilisées, la plupart des langues s'efforcent de jouer un double rôle; à être parlé et à être lu. Mais elles ne peuvent pas être lues si elles n'ont pas été écrites, ainsi qu'elles ne peuvent pas être parlées s'il n'y a pas de locuteurs. Par aucun orateur, nous voulons dire que les indigènes ont abandonné l'usage de leur propre langue pour une langue qu'ils croient être supérieure à la leur; avec un statut plus prestigieux acquis en termes de population, la guerre pourrait ou simplement parce qu'il a une forme écrite tandis que le voisin n'a pas. La dernière excuse pour le complexe d'infériorité est ce que cette recherche, appelée «Mbuk Documentary Grammar» veut prendre Mbuk hors de. Mbuk doit posséder sa propre forme écrite de sa langue comme toute autre langue dans le monde s'efforce d'être parlée, écrite et lue.

Pour atteindre cet objectif d'avoir un Mbuk parlé, écrit et lu, nous avons utilisé l'approche documentaire par laquelle nous avons recueilli des enregistrements audios et vidéos de différents locuteurs de la langue Mbuk sur des thèmes variés. La collecte des données a été effectuée par des instruments de recherche tels que l'observation, les documents, les entrevues et le questionnaire pour obtenir les résultats souhaités.

Nos résultats montrent que les locuteurs natifs peuvent maintenant écouter eux-mêmes et d'autres orateurs à travers les enregistrements audios et vidéos. Et à travers le film vidéo il y a le partage des connaissances dans toutes les classes sociales et le genre quand ils regardent les projections. Les hommes et les femmes, les enfants et les adultes entendent et voient ce à quoi ils n'ont pas été exposés, invitant ainsi les droits d'accès à être mis en œuvre. Pour obtenir Mbuk lire, il y a quelques ELAN fichiers annotés médias. Il y a aussi la copie papier et une copie électronique de la grammaire documentaire Mbuk. Par documentaire ici nous voulons dire que le corpus descriptif a des supports audiovisuels disponibles pour quiconque souhaite les écouter ou les regarder. Les corpus comprennent des événements d'art et d'artisanat, des histoires, des chants, des rites, des images de certains éléments dont la plupart est capturée dans des environnements naturels. En complément du paysage naturel, il y a quelques listes de mots élicités et quelques éloges grammaticaux.

L'approche documentaire est considérée comme un film de la communauté vocale qui ne peut pas aller sans accroc et, par conséquent, exige une déclaration de politique pour les recherches futures pour combler les écueils de cette recherche actuelle. En tant que défi, les équipements documentaires tels que les enregistreurs, les ordinateurs, la pénurie d'électricité et l'espace de secours avaient été un pont suspendu qui nous empêchait d'aller à travers rapidement. Relancer une telle recherche, nous devrions avoir de meilleurs équipements et plus de temps sur le terrain pour explorer des thèmes plus divers afin de limiter l'élicitation afin de trouver assez de ce qui est nécessaire dans les actes de la parole naturelle qui conviennent mieux processus documentaire accrédité par une méthodologie appropriée.

## List of Tables

|                                                                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 1: Mbuk and Mbu' Comparative lexemes.....                                        | 6   |
| Table 2: The reign of Mbuk Fons.....                                                   | 11  |
| Table 3: Mbuk quarters and quarterheads.....                                           | 15  |
| Table 4: Mbuk Titles.....                                                              | 15  |
| Table 5: Annual Festival Appellations and Periods.....                                 | 18  |
| Table 6: Mbuk, Chung and Bum 8 days week.....                                          | 19  |
| Table 7: Linguistic classification / description of Chungmboko (Chung and Mbuk).....   | 21  |
| Table 8: Data formats in different contexts (Austin 2006:97).....                      | 38  |
| Table 9: Types of communicative events.....                                            | 43  |
| Table 10: Differences between collecting and analysing primary data.....               | 50  |
| Table 11: Lexical comparison of Mbuk with Western (Yemne-Kimbi) and Eastern Beoid..... | 62  |
| Table 12: Mbuk family noun classes compared.....                                       | 78  |
| Table 13: West Ring Analogy of Yemne-Kimbi/Beoid.....                                  | 83  |
| Table 14: Cognates of the ji [boe] group within Yemne-Kimbi.....                       | 90  |
| Table 15: Documentary and non-documentary approach.....                                | 100 |
| Table 16: Documentary Research Report.....                                             | 119 |
| Table 17: Mbuk vowel phone chart.....                                                  | 142 |
| Table 18: The nasal vowels frame.....                                                  | 147 |
| Table 19: Mbuk consonants phone chart.....                                             | 151 |
| Table 20: Mbuk lexical tone contrast.....                                              | 162 |
| Table 21: Noun Class Summary.....                                                      | 182 |
| Table 22: Noun Class Summary.....                                                      | 183 |
| Table 23: Noun class gender pairing.....                                               | 196 |
| Table 24: Noun class 1 concords.....                                                   | 199 |
| Table 25: Noun class 2 concords.....                                                   | 200 |



|                                                                             |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 26: Noun class 3 concords.....                                        | 201 |
| Table 27: Noun class 4 concords.....                                        | 202 |
| Table 28: Noun class 5 concords.....                                        | 203 |
| Table 29: Noun class 6 concords.....                                        | 204 |
| Table 30: Noun class 7 concords.....                                        | 205 |
| Table 31: Noun class 8 concords.....                                        | 206 |
| Table 32: Noun class 8 concords.....                                        | 207 |
| Table 33: Noun class 10 concords.....                                       | 208 |
| Table 34: Noun class 19 concords.....                                       | 209 |
| Table 35: Noun class 6a concords.....                                       | 210 |
| Table 36: Concords summary.....                                             | 212 |
| Table 37: Non-human subject pronouns.....                                   | 226 |
| Table 38: Non-human object pronouns.....                                    | 228 |
| Table 39: Dual pronouns.....                                                | 228 |
| Table 40: Meaning of simple and dual pronouns.....                          | 230 |
| Table 41: Optional reflexive subject (OS).....                              | 236 |
| Table 42: Reflexive noun class gender.....                                  | 237 |
| Table 43: Single verb classes (A and B).....                                | 267 |
| Table 44: Mbuk verbs multiplication.....                                    | 271 |
| Table 45: TAM verb conjugation.....                                         | 273 |
| Table 46: Valency Table.....                                                | 276 |
| Table 47: Past and Future tenses.....                                       | 294 |
| Table 48: Second person singular 2S in past and future tenses.....          | 295 |
| Table 49: Third person singular 3S in past and future tenses.....           | 295 |
| Table 50: First person plural inclusive, 1PI in past and future tenses..... | 296 |
| Table 51: First person plural exclusive, 1PE in past and future tenses..... | 296 |
| Table 52: Second person plural 2P in past and future tenses.....            | 297 |

|                                                                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 53: Third person plural 3P in past and future tenses.....                          | 297 |
| Table 54: Aspect Markers.....                                                            | 299 |
| Table 55: Possessive Adjectives.....                                                     | 329 |
| Table 56: Non-emphatic and Emphatic possessive adjectives.....                           | 330 |
| Table 57: possessive pronouns.....                                                       | 332 |
| Table 58: Plural possessive pronouns.....                                                | 336 |
| Table 59: Numerals 1-5 per noun class.....                                               | 350 |
| Table 60: Colour terms concords.....                                                     | 351 |
| Table 61: Diminutive noun genders.....                                                   | 361 |
| Table 62: Relative pronouns (RL).....                                                    | 363 |
| Table 63: Definite article.....                                                          | 365 |
| Table 64: Mbuk expletive subject; with respect to noun classes in a relative clause..... | 367 |
| Table 65: Mbuk Adverb Types.....                                                         | 387 |
| Table 66: Tapping Primary Data.....                                                      | 444 |
| Table 67: Secondary data analysed.....                                                   | 445 |
| Table 68: Concord summary labels.....                                                    | 448 |
| Table 69: Tense contrast between Mbuk and Chung.....                                     | 456 |

## List of Figures

|                                                                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1: Mbuk 'Kwifon' warns against any evil act during Annual Festival 'Kimfili' ..... | 1   |
| Figure 2: Fon of Mbuk Presides at the opening ceremony of Annual Festival 'Kimfili' ..... | 4   |
| Figure 3: Graduation ceremony Chung language 1st batch (Mbuk).....                        | 8   |
| Figure 4: Location of Mbuk.....                                                           | 9   |
| Figure 5: Map of Mbuk.....                                                                | 10  |
| Figure 6: Hierarchical Mbuk Governance.....                                               | 14  |
| Figure 7: Prefix erosion.....                                                             | 88  |
| Figure 8: Documentary Events.....                                                         | 102 |
| Figure 9: Getting blessings from the Fon's cup.....                                       | 104 |
| Figure 10: Researcher and Consultation Contacts.....                                      | 105 |
| Figure 11: Mbuk parts of a crab.....                                                      | 109 |
| Figure 12: Recording Identification.....                                                  | 113 |
| Figure 13: Consultant buying a sugarcane.....                                             | 121 |
| Figure 14: Mbuk Arts and craft activity.....                                              | 131 |
| Figure 15: Mandzong House.....                                                            | 132 |
| Figure 16: Multiple Noun Classes.....                                                     | 190 |
| Figure 17: Mbuk Tense Crossbars.....                                                      | 289 |
| Figure 18: Schema of Negation and Tense.....                                              | 318 |
| Figure 19: Possession Ladder.....                                                         | 333 |
| Figure 20: Adverb Verb Distribution.....                                                  | 391 |
| Figure 21: Gramaticalistion; Verb, Adverb, Tense, and Directionality.....                 | 409 |
| Figure 22: Linear Adposition.....                                                         | 412 |
| Figure 23: Compound and Complex Sentences.....                                            | 428 |
| Figure 24: Flesh jigger being removed.....                                                | 443 |
| Figure 25: Consonant triangle.....                                                        | 446 |

|                                                                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 26: Fishing basket without a lid.....                                              | 448 |
| Figure 27: Unannotated text.....                                                          | 452 |
| Figure 28: ELAN Multilingual Literacy Component.....                                      | 457 |
| Figure 29: The fon's finger is pointing down to reinforce the deixis "this".....          | 459 |
| Figure 30: The fon's hand is up blessing his subject to stay in peace.....                | 460 |
| Figure 31: Mbuk-Chung separation.....                                                     | 461 |
| Figure 32: Mbuk Language and Culture subtitled.....                                       | 466 |
| Figure 33: A subtitled Bilingual Mbuk Grammar.....                                        | 466 |
| Figure 34: Mbuk grammatical elements in ELAN.....                                         | 467 |
| Figure 35: Aerial view of Mbuk palace and Fonfuka market.....                             | 468 |
| Figure 36: Community Work, construction of palace guest house.....                        | 553 |
| Figure 37: Palm oil production in Mbuk.....                                               | 553 |
| Figure 38: nāŋ bed ( studying numeracy in bed making).....                                | 553 |
| Figure 39: Numeracy in making ceiling boards.....                                         | 554 |
| Figure 40: Honey corn beer for celebrating a newly built house.....                       | 554 |
| Figure 41: Celebrating a newly built house in Mbuk.....                                   | 554 |
| Figure 42: Banks of River Mbuk (Left) and Fonfuka (Right).....                            | 555 |
| Figure 43: Crossing river: Mbuk(right) from Fonfuka (left).....                           | 555 |
| Figure 44: N. W. R. Governor, Abakar Ahamat, visiting Government Primary School Mbuk..... | 566 |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|              |                                       |              |                                         |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1S           | 1 <sup>st</sup> sg subject pronoun    | 1SO          | 1 <sup>st</sup> sg object pronoun       |
| 2S           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> sg subject pronoun    | 2SO          | 2 <sup>nd</sup> sg object pronoun       |
| 3S           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg subject pronoun    | 3SO          | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg object pronoun       |
| 3SL          | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg subject logophoric |              |                                         |
| 1PE          | 1 <sup>st</sup> pl exclusive subject  | 1POE         | 1 <sup>st</sup> plural exclusive object |
| 1PI          | 1 <sup>st</sup> pl inclusive subject  | 1POI         | 1 <sup>st</sup> pl inclusive object     |
| 1PN          | 1 <sup>st</sup> pl neutral subject    | 1PON         | 1 <sup>st</sup> neutral object pronoun  |
| 2P           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> pl subject pronoun    | 2PO          | 2 <sup>nd</sup> pl object pronoun       |
| 3P           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl subject pronoun    | 3PO          | 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl object pronoun       |
|              |                                       |              |                                         |
| 1 (1-/1.)    | NC 1, concord, pronoun                | 2 (2-/3.)    | NC 2, concord, pronoun                  |
| 3 (3-/3.)    | NC 3, concord, pronoun                | 4 (4-/4.)    | NC 4, concord, pronoun                  |
| 5 (5-/5.)    | NC 5, concord, pronoun                | 6 (6-/6.)    | NC 6, concord, pronoun                  |
| 7 (7-/7.)    | NC 7, concord, pronoun                | 8 (8-/8.)    | NC 8, concord, pronoun                  |
| 9 (9-/9.)    | NC 9, concord, pronoun                | 10 (10-/10.) | NC 10, concord, pronoun                 |
| 19 (19-/19.) | NC 19, concord, pronoun               | 6a (6a-/6a.) | NC 6a, concord, pronoun                 |
|              |                                       |              |                                         |
| P0           | neither past nor future               |              |                                         |
| P1           | immediate past                        | F1           | immediate future                        |
| P2           | earlier today's past                  | F2           | later today's future,                   |
| P3           | yesterday's past onward               | F3           | future tense for tomorrow               |
| P4           | remote past tense                     | F4           | future tense for after tomorrow         |
|              |                                       |              |                                         |
| F            | falling tone                          | R            | rising tone                             |
| H            | high tone                             | L            | low tone                                |
| M            | mid tone                              | VT           | (Vertical) central tone                 |
|              |                                       |              |                                         |
| AD           | and, coordinative                     | JX           | juxtaposition                           |

|         |                         |          |                              |
|---------|-------------------------|----------|------------------------------|
|         | connective              |          |                              |
| AF      | avermment mood /focus   | k.o      | kind of                      |
| AG      | agreement, concord      | LC       | locative applicative         |
| AJ      | adjective               | MD       | mood                         |
| AM      | associative marker      | MF       | modifier                     |
| AP      | adposition              | MV       | middle voice                 |
| AT      | attribute               | N        | homorganic nasal, archiphone |
| AV      | adverb                  | NA       | nominal affix                |
| AX      | augmentative marker     | NC       | noun class                   |
| BN      | benefactive applicative | NG       | negation, negator            |
| BT      | contrastive connective  | NM       | numeral, number              |
| c       | concord                 | NP       | noun phrase, noun            |
| C       | consonant               | NS       | near speaker                 |
| CC      | consonant cluster       | NU       | near audience                |
| CD      | conditional mood        | Ø        | zero/empty/absent/null       |
| CJ, CNJ | conjunction             | O, OJ    | object                       |
| CL      | class                   | OP       | optative mood                |
| CM      | complement marker       | OR       | or, alternative connective   |
| CN      | consecutive marker      | OS       | optional reflexive subject   |
| CO      | colour                  | P        | pronoun, concord             |
| CP, COP | copula                  | PD       | predicate                    |
| CS      | causative               | PF       | perfective aspect            |
| CT      | continuative aspect     | PG       | progressive aspect           |
| CX      | circumfix               | PL, pl   | plural                       |
| DA      | definite article        | PN       | someone's name               |
| DD      | definite determiner     | PO       | postposition                 |
| DI      | directional marker      | PP, PREP | preposition                  |
| DL      | dual ponoun             | PS, POSS | possessive                   |

|         |                          |         |                             |
|---------|--------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| DM      | demonstrative            | PT      | past tense                  |
| DN      | deontic mood             | PV      | passive voice               |
| DO      | direct object            | PX      | prefix                      |
| DQ      | definite quantifier      | Q       | interrogative (question)    |
| DS      | dummy subject            | QF, QNT | quantifier                  |
| DT      | determiner               | QP      | question particle           |
| DV      | ditransitive verb        | QT      | question tag                |
| DX      | diminutive marker        | QW      | question word               |
| DY      | differential morpheme    | RA      | recipient applicative       |
| e.g     | ‘exempli gratia’ example | RC      | reciprocal                  |
| EM      | emphasis, emphatic       | RF      | reflexive                   |
| ES      | expletive                | RL, REL | relative pronoun            |
| EV      | evidential               | RM      | remark, comment             |
| FM      | focus marker,            | RP      | repetitive event, iterative |
| FT      | future, free translation | RS      | reported speech             |
| G       | glide                    | S       | sentence                    |
| GE      | grammatical element      | S, SJ   | subject                     |
| GL      | gloss                    | SG, sg  | singular                    |
| HB      | habitual aspect          | SM      | subject agreement           |
| HN      | head noun                | SP      | specifier                   |
| HP      | hypothetical             | SV      | serial verb construction    |
| HT      | hortative                | SX      | suffix                      |
| IA      | indefinite article       | SY      | similarity morpheme         |
| ID      | indefinite determiner    | TM      | temporal adverb             |
| IF      | infinitive               | TR      | transitive verb             |
| IH      | inchoative               | TS      | tense                       |
| IJ, IJT | interjection             | U       | audience                    |
| IM      | imperative               | V       | vowel, verb                 |

|      |                                           |     |                                             |
|------|-------------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------------|
| IN   | inferential                               | VD  | voiced                                      |
| IO   | indirect object                           | VG  | verb group                                  |
| IP   | imperfective                              | VL  | voiceless                                   |
| IQ   | indefinite quantifier                     | VN  | verbal noun, gerund                         |
| IS   | instrument applicative                    | VP  | verb phrase                                 |
| IT   | intransitive verb                         | XC  | exclamation                                 |
| IX   | infix                                     | XG  | exaggeration                                |
|      |                                           |     |                                             |
| AJV  | Adjectival verb                           | ICT | Information and<br>Communication Technology |
| APG  | after verb progressive                    | IPA | International Phonetic<br>Alphabet          |
| APX  | augmentative prefix                       | DSX | diminutive suffix                           |
| ASX  | augmentative suffix                       | LAT | language archiving technology               |
| AFV  | after verb                                | LAV | Locative adverb                             |
| BFV  | before verb                               | MBK | Mbuk language, people, village,<br>culture  |
| BAV  | before and after verb                     | ONP | object noun phrase                          |
| BPG  | before verb progressive                   | ONM | ordinal number                              |
| CDs  | compact discs                             | PRC | process aspect                              |
| DMR  | documentary      metadata                 | SIL | Summer Institute of Linguistics             |
|      | reference                                 |     |                                             |
| DPX  | diminutive prefix                         | SNP | subject noun phrase                         |
| DVDs | digital versatile disc                    | SVO | subject verb object                         |
| etc. | ‘et cetera’                               | TAM | tense, aspect, mood                         |
| FSU  | far from both speaker and<br>audience     | TAV | Temporal adverb                             |
| GAC  | General Alphabet of<br>Cameroon Languages | USC | Audience speaker’s speech<br>complement     |



|           |                                                                                         |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ALORA     | Archives of Languages and Oral Resources of Africa                                      |
| CABTAL    | Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy                                 |
| CERDOTOLA | International Centre for Research and Documentation on African Traditions and Languages |
| ELAN      | Eudico Linguistic Annotator                                                             |
| ELDP      | Endangered Language Documentation Program                                               |
| LOCKSS    | Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe                                                          |
| MKAD      | Mbuk Kimfili Annual Dance                                                               |
| OLAC      | Open Language Archives Community                                                        |
| NACALCO   | National Association for Cameroonian Language Committee                                 |
| PNDVA     | National Community Driven Development Program                                           |

#### Relevant signs or symbols

| Sign  | Name                 | Meaning in the thesis                           |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| *     | asterisk             | ungrammatical or incorrect example              |
| ~     | tilde                | nasalised vowel (above a vowel)                 |
| ~     | tilde                | variant form or alternative use (between words) |
| -     | hyphen               | separates morphemes                             |
| .     | dot                  | two meanings in one gloss (between words)       |
| :     | colon                | lengthened vowel                                |
| ??    | double question sign | to be glossed                                   |
| \$    | dollar sign          | chapter / section                               |
| < < < | Less than sign       | audience participation                          |
| < < < | Less than sign       | Direction of river flow                         |
| /     | slash                | gloss boundary clarification facilitator        |
| /     | slash                | This or the other, alternative                  |
| { }   | brackets             | Code mixing / switching                         |

## Table of Contents

|                                                  |     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|
| CERTIFICATION.....                               | i   |
| DEDICATION.....                                  | ii  |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....                            | iii |
| ABSTRACT.....                                    | v   |
| RÉSUMÉ.....                                      | vi  |
| ABBREVIATIONS.....                               | xii |
| GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....                        | 1   |
| INTRODUCTION.....                                | 1   |
| BACKGROUND.....                                  | 3   |
| MOTIVATION.....                                  | 5   |
| GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION.....                       | 9   |
| THE PEOPLE.....                                  | 11  |
| THE LANGUAGE.....                                | 20  |
| SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH.....                | 22  |
| DOCUMENTARY METADATA REFERENCE.....              | 24  |
| SCOPE AND DELIMITATION.....                      | 25  |
| WORK PLAN.....                                   | 28  |
| CHAPTER ONE                                      |     |
| THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW..... | 29  |
| 1.0 INTRODUCTION.....                            | 29  |
| 1.1 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS.....                  | 29  |
| 1.1.1 Grammar.....                               | 29  |
| 1.1.2 Documentary.....                           | 30  |
| 1.1.3 Language Documentation.....                | 30  |
| 1.1.4 Description.....                           | 33  |

|                                                                   |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1.5 Metadata.....                                               | 34 |
| 1.1.6 Archive.....                                                | 34 |
| 1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....                                    | 35 |
| 1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW.....                                        | 48 |
| 1.3.1 Documentary and descriptive linguistics.....                | 49 |
| 1.3.2 Planning in language documentation.....                     | 53 |
| 1.3.3 A good documentary corpus.....                              | 54 |
| 1.3.4 Portability for language documentation and description..... | 55 |
| 1.3.5 Training native speakers for documentation.....             | 57 |
| 1.3.6 Language of interaction.....                                | 58 |
| 1.4 MBUK LANGUAGE.....                                            | 59 |
| 1.4.1 Families of Mbuk Language.....                              | 61 |
| 1.4.2 Mbuk sister languages.....                                  | 61 |
| 1.4.3 Mbuk and Chung lexical disunity.....                        | 62 |
| 1.4.3.1 Mbuk and Chung vowel disunity.....                        | 63 |
| 1.4.3.2 Vowel harmony.....                                        | 65 |
| 1.4.3.3 Consonantal disunity.....                                 | 65 |
| 1.4.3.4 Disunity in syllabification.....                          | 66 |
| 1.4.3.5 Semantic shift.....                                       | 67 |
| 1.4.3.6 Nasal deletion.....                                       | 67 |
| 1.4.3.7 Nasal insertion.....                                      | 68 |
| 1.4.3.8 Nasal substitution.....                                   | 68 |
| 1.4.3.9 Orthographic Accent.....                                  | 68 |
| 1.4.4 Mbuk and Fang Affinity.....                                 | 70 |
| 1.4.5 Mbuk and Yemne-Kimbi.....                                   | 72 |
| 1.4.5.1 Comparable consonants.....                                | 73 |
| 1.4.5.2 Comparable vowels.....                                    | 74 |

|                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.4.5.3 Comparable tones.....                     | 75 |
| 1.4.5.4 Comparable mutations.....                 | 75 |
| 1.4.5.4.1 Comparable cognates mutation.....       | 76 |
| 1.4.5.5 Comparable personal pronouns.....         | 77 |
| 1.4.5.6 Comparable noun classes.....              | 77 |
| 1.4.5.7 Comparable noun class concord.....        | 79 |
| 1.4.6 Mbuk and Eastern Beboid.....                | 79 |
| 1.4.6.1 Comparable consonants.....                | 80 |
| 1.4.6.2 Comparable cognates mutation.....         | 80 |
| 1.4.6.3 Comparable noun classes.....              | 84 |
| 1.4.6.4 Comparable noun class concord.....        | 85 |
| 1.4.6.4.1 Restricted Areal k- plural concord..... | 87 |
| 1.5 GAPS AND CONTRIBUTIONS.....                   | 91 |
| 1.6 CONCLUSION.....                               | 92 |

## CHAPTER TWO

|                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| MBUK DATA TAPPING AND SPEECH SOUNDS.....            | 94  |
| 2.0 INTRODUCTION.....                               | 94  |
| 2.1 DOCUMENTARY DATA TAPPING.....                   | 94  |
| 2.1.1 Documentary and Non-documentary approach..... | 97  |
| 2.1.2 Documentary security.....                     | 102 |
| 2.1.2.1 Digital Archival.....                       | 102 |
| 2.1.2.2 Acquaintance.....                           | 103 |
| 2.1.2.3 Consultancy.....                            | 104 |
| 2.1.2.4 Recording.....                              | 108 |
| 2.1.2.5 Videoing.....                               | 108 |
| 2.1.2.6 Word-list.....                              | 109 |
| 2.1.2.7 Word-in-use.....                            | 109 |

|                                                          |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.1.2.8 Evaluation.....                                  | 110 |
| 2.1.2.9 Charging.....                                    | 110 |
| 2.1.2.10 Battery.....                                    | 111 |
| 2.1.2.11 Card.....                                       | 112 |
| 2.1.2.12 Identification.....                             | 112 |
| 2.1.2.13 Metadata.....                                   | 114 |
| 2.1.2.13.1 Name.....                                     | 116 |
| 2.1.2.13.2 place.....                                    | 116 |
| 2.1.2.13.3 Circumstances.....                            | 116 |
| 2.1.2.13.4 Time.....                                     | 116 |
| 2.1.2.13.5 Access.....                                   | 116 |
| 2.1.2.13.6 Birth place and Settlement Displacements..... | 117 |
| 2.1.2.13.7 File name.....                                | 117 |
| 2.1.2.13.8 Recorder type.....                            | 118 |
| 2.1.2.13.9 Contacts.....                                 | 118 |
| 2.1.2.14 Spares.....                                     | 118 |
| 2.1.2.15 Reporting.....                                  | 118 |
| 2.1.2.15.1 Finance.....                                  | 118 |
| 2.1.2.15.2 Daily reporting.....                          | 120 |
| 2.1.2.16 Coding.....                                     | 121 |
| 2.1.2.17 Backup.....                                     | 121 |
| 2.1.2.18 Overriding.....                                 | 122 |
| 2.1.2.19 Blurred.....                                    | 122 |
| 2.1.2.20 Corpora.....                                    | 122 |
| 2.1.2.21 Rains.....                                      | 123 |
| 2.1.2.22 Winds.....                                      | 123 |
| 2.1.2.23 Crowing.....                                    | 123 |

|                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.1.2.24 Distractions.....              | 124 |
| 2.1.2.25 Discussions.....               | 124 |
| 2.1.2.26 Cable.....                     | 124 |
| 2.1.2.27 Sensitivity.....               | 124 |
| 2.1.2.28 Hidden.....                    | 125 |
| 2.1.2.29 Politics.....                  | 125 |
| 2.1.2.30 Forgotten.....                 | 125 |
| 2.1.2.31 Caution.....                   | 126 |
| 2.1.2.32 Unrecorded.....                | 126 |
| 2.1.2.33 Maturity.....                  | 126 |
| 2.1.2.34 Cameraman.....                 | 127 |
| 2.1.2.35 Attire.....                    | 127 |
| 2.1.2.36 Rehearsal.....                 | 128 |
| 2.1.3 Documentary techniques.....       | 128 |
| 2.1.3.1 Lexical elicitation.....        | 128 |
| 2.1.3.2 Wordlist translation.....       | 129 |
| 2.1.3.3 Object pointing.....            | 129 |
| 2.1.3.4 Semantic domains.....           | 130 |
| 2.1.3.5 Crafts.....                     | 130 |
| 2.1.3.6 Ritual performances.....        | 131 |
| 2.1.3.7 Songs.....                      | 132 |
| 2.1.3.8 Stories.....                    | 133 |
| 2.1.3.9 Sayings.....                    | 133 |
| 2.1.3.10 Myths.....                     | 133 |
| 2.1.4 Grammatical elicitation.....      | 134 |
| 2.1.4.1 Translation of expressions..... | 134 |
| 2.1.4.2 Object positioning.....         | 135 |

|                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.1.4.3 Events acting.....                  | 136 |
| 2.1.4.4 Free conversation or gossip.....    | 136 |
| 2.1.4.5 Text annotation.....                | 136 |
| 2.1.5 Documentary tools.....                | 136 |
| 2.1.5.1 Audio recorder.....                 | 137 |
| 2.1.5.2 Video recorder.....                 | 137 |
| 2.1.5.3 FLEEx "dictionary".....             | 138 |
| 2.1.5.4 ELAN "text".....                    | 138 |
| 2.1.5.5 EXCEL "metadata".....               | 139 |
| 2.1.5.6 Computer.....                       | 140 |
| 2.1.5.7 Backup external drives.....         | 140 |
| 2.1.6 Documentary self-education.....       | 140 |
| 2.2 MBUK SPEECH SOUNDS.....                 | 142 |
| 2.2.1 Mbuk oral vowels.....                 | 142 |
| 2.2.1.2 Mbuk short vowels.....              | 143 |
| 2.2.1.3 Mbuk long vowels.....               | 144 |
| 2.2.1.4 Short and long vowels contrast..... | 145 |
| 2.2.1.5 Mbuk pseudo diphthongs.....         | 146 |
| 2.2.1.6 Nasal vowels.....                   | 147 |
| 2.2.1.7 Oral and nasal contrast.....        | 149 |
| 2.2.1.8 Vowels distribution.....            | 149 |
| 2.2.2 Mbuk Consonants.....                  | 150 |
| 2.2.2.1 Primary consonants.....             | 150 |
| 2.2.2.1.1 Plosives.....                     | 151 |
| 2.2.2.1.2 Nasals.....                       | 152 |
| 2.2.2.1.3 Fricatives.....                   | 153 |
| 2.2.2.1.4 Affricates.....                   | 153 |

|                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.2.2.1.5 Approximants.....                       | 154 |
| 2.2.2.1.6 Lateral Approximant (liquid) " l "..... | 154 |
| 2.2.2.1.7 Trill (liquid) " r ".....               | 154 |
| 2.2.2.2 Secondary consonants.....                 | 155 |
| 2.2.2.2.1 Labialised consonants.....              | 155 |
| 2.2.2.2.2 Palatalised consonants.....             | 156 |
| 2.2.2.2.3 Prenasalised consonants.....            | 156 |
| 2.2.2.3 Tertiary consonants.....                  | 157 |
| 2.2.2.4 Consonants distribution.....              | 158 |
| 2.2.3 Variations.....                             | 159 |
| 2.2.3.1 Vowel variations.....                     | 160 |
| 2.2.3.2 Consonant variations.....                 | 160 |
| 2.2.4 Tonology.....                               | 161 |
| 2.2.4.1 Lexical tones.....                        | 162 |
| 2.2.4.2 Grammatical tones.....                    | 163 |
| 2.2.5 Syllabicity.....                            | 164 |
| 2.2.5.1 Syllabic structures.....                  | 164 |
| 2.2.5.2 Syllabicity and tonal patterns.....       | 165 |
| 2.2.5.2.1 One syllable.....                       | 165 |
| 2.2.5.2.2 Two syllables.....                      | 165 |
| 2.2.5.2.3 Three syllables.....                    | 166 |
| 2.2.5.2.4 Four syllables.....                     | 166 |
| 2.2.5.3 Syllable segmentation.....                | 166 |
| 2.3 CONCLUSION.....                               | 167 |
| CHAPTER THREE                                     |     |
| MBUK NOUN MORPHOLOGY.....                         | 170 |
| 3.0 INTRODUCTION.....                             | 170 |



|                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.1 MBUK AFFIXATION TYPES.....           | 170 |
| 3.1.1 Prefixes.....                      | 171 |
| 3.1.1.1 Zero prefixes.....               | 172 |
| 3.1.1.2 Alternating prefixes.....        | 172 |
| 3.1.1.3 Double prefixations.....         | 173 |
| 3.1.2 Suffixes.....                      | 173 |
| 3.1.2.1 Double suffixation.....          | 174 |
| 3.1.3 Circumfixes.....                   | 175 |
| 3.1.3.1 Prefix-suffix circumfixes.....   | 175 |
| 3.1.3.2 Prefix-interfix circumfixes..... | 175 |
| 3.1.3.3 Prefix-infix circumfixes.....    | 175 |
| 3.1.3.4 Suffix-infix circumfixes.....    | 176 |
| 3.1.3.5 Double circumfixes.....          | 176 |
| 3.1.4 Suprafix.....                      | 176 |
| 3.1.5 Affixation processes.....          | 177 |
| 3.1.5.1 Affixation hierarchy.....        | 177 |
| 3.1.5.2 Prefix hierarchy.....            | 177 |
| 3.1.5.3 Suffix hierarchy.....            | 178 |
| 3.1.6 Affixational alternation.....      | 178 |
| 3.1.6.1 Prefixational alternation.....   | 178 |
| 3.1.6.2 Suffixational alternation.....   | 179 |
| 3.1.7 Non-affixation.....                | 179 |
| 3.1.7.1 Suppletions.....                 | 180 |
| 3.5.2 Alternations.....                  | 180 |
| 3.5.2.1 Consonant alternations.....      | 180 |
| 3.5.2.2 Vowel alternations.....          | 180 |
| 3.2 MBUK NOUN CLASSES.....               | 181 |

|                                                        |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.2.1 Noun class prefixes.....                         | 181 |
| 3.2.2 Noun class gender 1/2, ø- / bǎ-.....             | 185 |
| 3.2.3 Noun class gender 1a / 2a, ø- / bǎ-.....         | 186 |
| 3.2.4 Noun class gender 3/4, ø- / ø-.....              | 187 |
| 3.2.5 Noun class gender 5/6, ø- / kí-.....             | 187 |
| 3.2.6 Noun class gender 7/8, "kɪ- / bi-.....           | 188 |
| 3.2.7 Noun class gender 9/10, "ø- / ø-.....            | 189 |
| 3.2.8 Multiple noun classes.....                       | 190 |
| 3.2.9 Noun class gender 19/6a, fi- / m-.....           | 191 |
| 3.2.10 Irregular genders.....                          | 192 |
| 3.2.10.1 Irregular gender 5/8, ø- / bi-.....           | 192 |
| 3.2.10.2 Irregular gender 1/6a.....                    | 193 |
| 3.2.11 Single class genders.....                       | 193 |
| 3.2.11.1 Gender 8 with concord of class 8c.....        | 193 |
| 3.2.11.2 Gender 7 with concord of class 7c.....        | 194 |
| 3.2.11.3 Gender 4 with concord of class 4c.....        | 194 |
| 3.2.11.4 Gender 6a with concord of class 6ac.....      | 195 |
| 3.2.11.5 Gender 1 with concord of class 1c.....        | 195 |
| 3.2.11.6 Gender 3, 5 with concord of class 3c, 5c..... | 196 |
| 3.2.12 Gender pairing.....                             | 196 |
| 3.3 MBUK CONCORDS.....                                 | 197 |
| 3.3.1 Noun class 1 concords.....                       | 199 |
| 3.3.2 Noun class 2 concords.....                       | 200 |
| 3.3.3 Noun class 3 concords.....                       | 201 |
| 3.3.4 Noun class 4 concords.....                       | 202 |
| 3.3.5 Noun class 5 concords.....                       | 203 |
| 3.3.6 Noun class 6 concords.....                       | 204 |

|                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.3.7 Noun class 7 concords.....           | 205 |
| 3.3.8 Noun class 8 concords.....           | 206 |
| 3.3.9 Noun class 9 concords.....           | 207 |
| 3.3.10 Noun class 10 concords.....         | 208 |
| 3.3.11 Noun class 19 concords.....         | 209 |
| 3.3.12 Noun class 6a concords.....         | 210 |
| 3.3.13 Concords summary.....               | 211 |
| 3.3.14 Concord prefix.....                 | 213 |
| 3.4 MBUK NOUN DOMAINS.....                 | 214 |
| 3.4.1 Concrete nouns.....                  | 214 |
| 3.4.1.1 Insects.....                       | 214 |
| 3.4.1.2 flies.....                         | 215 |
| 3.4.1.3 birds.....                         | 215 |
| 3.4.1.4 Personal names.....                | 216 |
| 3.4.2 Abstract nouns.....                  | 217 |
| 3.4.3 Compound nouns.....                  | 218 |
| 3.4.4 Nouns reduplication.....             | 218 |
| 3.4.5 Ideophones.....                      | 220 |
| 3.4.6 Onomatopoeic.....                    | 221 |
| 3.4.7 Countable and uncountable nouns..... | 222 |
| 3.4.8 Borrowings.....                      | 222 |
| 3.5 MBUK PRONOUNS.....                     | 224 |
| 3.5.1 Personal pronouns.....               | 224 |
| 3.5.1.1 Subject pronouns.....              | 225 |
| 3.5.1.1.1 Human subject pronouns.....      | 225 |
| 3.5.1.1.2 Non-human subject pronouns.....  | 226 |
| 3.5.1.2 Object pronoun.....                | 226 |

|                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.5.1.2.1 Human object pronouns.....            | 226 |
| 3.5.1.2.2 Non-human object pronouns.....        | 227 |
| 3.5.1.3 Dual pronouns.....                      | 228 |
| 3.5.1.4 Neutral pronoun.....                    | 231 |
| 3.5.1.5 Dummy subject.....                      | 231 |
| 3.5.2 Reciprocal pronoun.....                   | 231 |
| 3.5.3 Reflexive pronoun.....                    | 232 |
| 3.5.3.1 Reflexive emphatic subject pronoun..... | 232 |
| 3.5.3.2 Reflexive body morpheme.....            | 235 |
| 3.5.3.2.1 Reflexive asymmetry.....              | 235 |
| 3.5.3.2.2 Reflexive gender.....                 | 236 |
| 3.5.3.3 Middle voice reflexive morpheme.....    | 237 |
| 3.5.3.4 Zero reflexive morpheme.....            | 238 |
| 3.5.3.5 Reflexives and noun classes.....        | 238 |
| 3.5.4 Subject agreement marker.....             | 241 |
| 3.6 CONCLUSION.....                             | 241 |
| CHAPTER FOUR                                    |     |
| MBUK VERB MORPHOLOGY.....                       | 245 |
| 4.0 INTRODUCTION.....                           | 245 |
| 4.1 MBUK VERB FORMS.....                        | 245 |
| 4.1.1 A verb word.....                          | 245 |
| 4.1.2 The verbal root.....                      | 246 |
| 4.1.3 Verbal affixes.....                       | 250 |
| 4.1.3.1 Verbal prefixes.....                    | 250 |
| 4.1.3.2 Verbal suffixes.....                    | 252 |
| 4.1.3.2.1 Iterative suffixes -yi, -li, -ni..... | 252 |
| 4.1.3.2.2 The suffix -hi ~ -si.....             | 259 |

|                                               |     |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.1.3.2.3 The suffix -mi.....                 | 262 |
| 4.1.3.2.4 The suffix -fi.....                 | 262 |
| 4.1.3.2.5 The suffix -ti.....                 | 263 |
| 4.1.3.2.6 The suffix -wi.....                 | 263 |
| 4.1.3.2.7 The suffix -ʃi.....                 | 263 |
| 4.1.3.2.8 The suffix -bi.....                 | 264 |
| 4.1.3.2.9 The suffix -so.....                 | 264 |
| 4.1.4 Verbs taxonomy.....                     | 265 |
| 4.1.5 Mbuk verbs multiplication.....          | 271 |
| 4.1.6 Mbuk verbs paradigm.....                | 273 |
| 4.2 MBUK VALENCY BEHAVIOUR.....               | 274 |
| 4.2.1 Verb valency.....                       | 276 |
| 4.2.2 Valency of one.....                     | 277 |
| 4.2.3 Valency of two.....                     | 277 |
| 4.2.4 Valency of three.....                   | 277 |
| 4.2.5 Argument and grammatical relations..... | 278 |
| 4.2.6 Transitive verb.....                    | 278 |
| 4.2.7 Ditransitive verbs.....                 | 279 |
| 4.2.8 Intransitive verb.....                  | 279 |
| 4.2.9 Transitivity choice.....                | 279 |
| 4.2.10 Labile verbs.....                      | 280 |
| 4.2.11 Transitivity in colour terms.....      | 281 |
| 4.2.12 Valency effects.....                   | 281 |
| 4.2.12.1 Valency increasing strategies.....   | 282 |
| 4.2.12.1.1 Causative applicative.....         | 282 |
| 4.2.12.1.2 Instrumental applicative.....      | 283 |
| 4.2.12.1.3 Benefactive applicative.....       | 283 |

|                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.2.12.1.4 Locative applicative.....            | 283 |
| 4.2.12.1.5 Recipient applicative (RA).....      | 284 |
| 4.2.12.1.6 Associative applicative.....         | 284 |
| 4.2.12.2 Valency decreasing strategies.....     | 285 |
| 4.2.12.2.1 Middle voice (MV).....               | 285 |
| 4.2.12.2.2 Passive voice (PV).....              | 285 |
| 4.2.12.2.3 Reflexive (RF).....                  | 286 |
| 4.2.12.2.4 Reciprocal (RC).....                 | 286 |
| 4.2.13 Syntactic and Semantic transitivity..... | 286 |
| 4.2.13.1 Syntactic valency.....                 | 286 |
| 4.2.13.2 Semantic valency.....                  | 287 |
| 4.3 TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD.....                    | 288 |
| 4.3.1 Tenses.....                               | 288 |
| 4.3.1.1 Tense Markers; Past and Future.....     | 288 |
| 4.3.1.2 Unspecified tense; past and future..... | 292 |
| 4.3.1.3 Temporal adverbials.....                | 293 |
| 4.3.1.4 Tense and subject.....                  | 294 |
| 4.3.1.5 Tense and Object.....                   | 297 |
| 4.3.2 Aspect.....                               | 298 |
| 4.3.2.1 Aspect Markers.....                     | 299 |
| 4.3.2.2 Perfective aspect.....                  | 299 |
| 4.3.2.2.1 Pluperfect aspect.....                | 300 |
| 4.3.2.2.2 Inchoative.....                       | 301 |
| 4.3.2.3 Imperfective aspect.....                | 302 |
| 4.3.2.3.1 After Verb Progressive "kí".....      | 302 |
| 4.3.2.3.2 Before Verb Progressive "wê".....     | 302 |
| 4.3.2.3.3 Continuative.....                     | 303 |

|                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.3.2.3.4 Process aspect.....          | 304 |
| 4.3.2.3.5 Habitual aspect.....         | 304 |
| 4.3.2.3.6 Iterative aspect.....        | 307 |
| 4.3.3 Mood.....                        | 308 |
| 4.3.3.1 Mood markers.....              | 308 |
| 4.3.3.2 Averment mood.....             | 308 |
| 4.3.3.3 Evidential mood.....           | 309 |
| 4.3.3.4 Inferential mood.....          | 310 |
| 4.3.3.5 Conditional mood.....          | 310 |
| 4.3.3.6 Deontic.....                   | 311 |
| 4.3.3.7 Hypothetical mood.....         | 311 |
| 4.3.3.8 Optative mood.....             | 311 |
| 4.3.4 Declarative mood.....            | 313 |
| 4.3.5 Imperative mood.....             | 313 |
| 4.4 MBUK NEGATION.....                 | 314 |
| 4.4.1 Mbuk Negation.....               | 314 |
| 4.4.2 Types of negation.....           | 314 |
| 4.4.3 Mbuk Negators.....               | 315 |
| 4.4.4 Negation and aspect.....         | 316 |
| 4.4.5 Negation and Tense.....          | 317 |
| 4.4.6 Negation and dominance.....      | 318 |
| 4.4.7 Negation and contrast.....       | 319 |
| 4.4.8 Negation and imperative.....     | 320 |
| 4.4.9 Emphatic negator "tʃâ dâɣé"..... | 322 |
| 4.4.10 Lexical negation.....           | 322 |
| 4.4.11 Negation and refusal.....       | 323 |
| 4.5 CONCLUSION.....                    | 325 |

## CHAPTER FIVE

|                                                |     |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|
| MBUK DETERMINERS.....                          | 327 |
| 5.0 INTRODUCTION.....                          | 327 |
| 5.1 MBUK DETERMINERS.....                      | 327 |
| 5.1.1 Possessives.....                         | 328 |
| 5.1.1.1 Possessive Adjectives.....             | 328 |
| 5.1.1.2 Emphatic possessive Adjectives.....    | 330 |
| 5.1.1.3 Possessive pronouns.....               | 332 |
| 5.1.1.4 Kinship possessive.....                | 333 |
| 5.1.1.4.1 Inalienable and alienable.....       | 334 |
| 5.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns.....              | 336 |
| 5.1.3 Adjectives.....                          | 337 |
| 5.1.3.1 Adjectives per domain.....             | 337 |
| 5.1.3.2 Non-derived Adjectives.....            | 339 |
| 5.1.3.3 Derived Adjectives.....                | 339 |
| 5.1.3.4 Preposed Adjectives.....               | 340 |
| 5.1.3.5 Postposed Adjectives.....              | 341 |
| 5.1.3.6 Postposed and preposed Adjectives..... | 343 |
| 5.1.3.7 Adjectival exclamation.....            | 344 |
| 5.1.3.8 Adjectival causatives.....             | 346 |
| 5.1.3.9 Adjectival verbs.....                  | 347 |
| 5.1.3.10 Mbuk numerals.....                    | 347 |
| 5.1.3.10 Colour terms.....                     | 351 |
| 5.1.3.11 Adjectival comparison.....            | 352 |
| 5.1.3.11.1 Similarity.....                     | 352 |
| 5.1.3.11.2 Differences.....                    | 354 |
| 5.1.3.12 Binary adjectival suffix.....         | 355 |



|                                                  |     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 5.1.3.13 Adjectival constraints.....             | 358 |
| 5.1.4 Diminutives.....                           | 359 |
| 5.1.5 Augmentative.....                          | 362 |
| 5.1.6 Relative pronouns.....                     | 363 |
| 5.1.7 Definite and Indefinite Articles.....      | 365 |
| 5.1.8 Expletive subject.....                     | 366 |
| 5.1.9 Noun phrase rule.....                      | 368 |
| 5.2 MBUK INTERROGATION.....                      | 370 |
| 5.2.1 Interrogative particle.....                | 371 |
| 5.2.2 Tag question.....                          | 373 |
| 5.2.3 Interrogative pronouns.....                | 374 |
| 5.2.3.1 The interrogative who "ndè".....         | 374 |
| 5.2.3.2 The interrogative when "bwìn".....       | 376 |
| 5.2.3.3 The interrogative where "nàɲ ~ fàɲ"..... | 376 |
| 5.2.3.4 The interrogative why "ɲyē".....         | 379 |
| 5.2.3.5 The interrogative what "ɲyē".....        | 379 |
| 5.2.3.6 The interrogative how "dên".....         | 380 |
| 5.2.3.7 The interrogative which "ɲwá".....       | 380 |
| 5.2.3.8 The interrogative how many "māɲ".....    | 381 |
| 5.2.3.9 The interrogative how much "dên".....    | 381 |
| 5.2.3.10 Interrogative mismatch.....             | 382 |
| 5.2.3.11 Interrogative repetition.....           | 382 |
| 5.3 CONCLUSION.....                              | 383 |
| CHAPTER SIX                                      |     |
| ADVERBS, ADPOSITIONS AND CONNECTIVES.....        | 386 |
| 6.0 INTRODUCTION.....                            | 386 |
| 6.1 ADVERBS OF MBUK.....                         | 386 |

|                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.1.1 Adverb Structures.....               | 387 |
| 6.1.2 Adverb Distributions.....            | 391 |
| 6.1.3 Adverb categorisations.....          | 392 |
| 6.1.3.1 Verb-like adverbs.....             | 392 |
| 6.1.3.1.1 Adverbial verbs.....             | 393 |
| 6.1.3.1.2 Non-verb-like adverbs.....       | 393 |
| 6.1.3.2.1 Copulative adverb.....           | 394 |
| 6.1.3.2.2 Nominal adverb.....              | 395 |
| 6.1.3.2.3 Double adverbs.....              | 395 |
| 6.1.3.2.4 Idiomatic adverbs.....           | 396 |
| 6.1.3.2.5 Reduplicated adverb.....         | 396 |
| 6.1.3.2.6 Double Adverb Reduplication..... | 397 |
| 6.1.4 Adverbs and Tenses.....              | 397 |
| 6.1.5 Adverbs and Aspects.....             | 398 |
| 6.1.6 Adverbs and negations.....           | 399 |
| 6.1.7 Imperative Adverbs.....              | 400 |
| 6.1.8 Gerund Adverbs.....                  | 400 |
| 6.1.9 Adverbs symmetry.....                | 401 |
| 6.1.10 Three dimensional adverbs.....      | 401 |
| 6.1.11 Locative adverbs.....               | 402 |
| 6.1.12 Directional adverbs.....            | 402 |
| 6.1.12.1 Upward.....                       | 403 |
| 6.1.12.2 Downward.....                     | 403 |
| 6.1.12.3 Straight.....                     | 404 |
| 6.1.12.4 Haphazard.....                    | 405 |
| 6.1.12.5 Toward.....                       | 405 |
| 6.1.12.6 Away.....                         | 405 |

|                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.1.12.7 Foward / Front.....                    | 406 |
| 6.1.12.8 behind / backward "nídžúm".....        | 406 |
| 6.1.12.9 Left side.....                         | 407 |
| 6.1.12.10 Right side.....                       | 407 |
| 6.1.12.11 Level.....                            | 407 |
| 6.1.12.12 Circular, go-round.....               | 408 |
| 6.1.12.13 Inclination.....                      | 408 |
| 6.1.12.14 Progress.....                         | 408 |
| 6.1.13 Adverb Grammaticalisations.....          | 408 |
| 6.2 ADPOSITIONS OF MBUK.....                    | 412 |
| 6.2.1 Mbuk Adpositions.....                     | 412 |
| 6.2.2 Mbuk prepositions.....                    | 413 |
| 6.2.2.1 The " í " preposition.....              | 413 |
| 6.2.2.2 The " à " preposition.....              | 415 |
| 6.2.2.3 The " hí " preposition.....             | 416 |
| 6.2.2.4 The " bá " presoposition.....           | 417 |
| 6.2.2.5 The "ń" preposition.....                | 417 |
| 6.2.2.6 The " kômhí " preposition.....          | 418 |
| 6.2.2.7 The concord presoposition.....          | 419 |
| 6.2.3 Mbuk postpositions.....                   | 419 |
| 6.2.3.1 The "wā" postposition.....              | 419 |
| 6.2.3.2 The "bēn" postposition.....             | 420 |
| 6.2.3.3 The "kpěŋ" postposition.....            | 421 |
| 6.2.3.4 The " tʃín " postposition.....          | 421 |
| 6.2.3.5 The " mā " postposition.....            | 421 |
| 6.2.3.6 The "mā" postposition.....              | 422 |
| 6.2.3.7 The " kəntô ~ kintô " postposition..... | 423 |

|                                              |     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.2.4 Adpositions.....                       | 423 |
| 6.2.4.1 Extreme Adpositions.....             | 423 |
| 6.2.4.2 Zero adpositions.....                | 424 |
| 6.2.4.3 Nominal adpositions.....             | 425 |
| 6.3 MBUK CONNECTIVES.....                    | 427 |
| 6.3.1 Connectives of Compound Sentences..... | 428 |
| 6.3.1.1 Co-ordinating connectives.....       | 429 |
| 6.3.1.1.1 Connectives of conjunctions.....   | 429 |
| 6.3.1.1.2 Connectives of contrast.....       | 430 |
| 6.3.1.1.3 Connectives of disjunction.....    | 430 |
| 6.3.1.2 Juxtaposition connectives.....       | 431 |
| 6.3.1.3 Consecutive connectives.....         | 432 |
| 6.3.1.4 Serial verbs connectives.....        | 433 |
| 6.3.1.5 Indirect speech connectives.....     | 433 |
| 6.3.2 Connectives of complex sentences.....  | 434 |
| 6.3.2.1 Adverbials connectives.....          | 434 |
| 6.3.2.2 Adjectival connectives.....          | 435 |
| 6.3.2.3 Nominal connectives.....             | 435 |
| 6.3.3 Copula verb.....                       | 437 |
| 6.3.3.1 Predicate nominals.....              | 437 |
| 6.3.3.2 Predicate adjective.....             | 438 |
| 6.3.3.3 Predicate locative.....              | 438 |
| 6.3.3.4 Existential construct.....           | 439 |
| 6.3.3.5 Possessive construct.....            | 439 |
| 6.4 CONCLUSION.....                          | 439 |
| GENERAL CONCLUSION.....                      | 442 |
| INTRODUCTION.....                            | 442 |

|                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| GENERAL FINDINGS.....                                               | 444 |
| DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED.....                                       | 449 |
| RECOMMENDATIONS.....                                                | 454 |
| SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....                               | 458 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY.....                                                   | 469 |
| INDICES.....                                                        | 477 |
| Authors Index.....                                                  | 477 |
| Subject Index.....                                                  | 479 |
| APPENDICES.....                                                     | 488 |
| Appendix 1: 90 Personal Mbuk Names.....                             | 488 |
| Appendix 2: Lexical differences between Mbuk and Chung.....         | 490 |
| Appendix 3: Mbuk verbs structural classification.....               | 493 |
| Appendix 4: Some Mbuk Nouns, according to recording order.....      | 517 |
| Appendix 5: Mbuk Language Consultants.....                          | 529 |
| Appendix 1: Mbuk Literary Tradition.....                            | 533 |
| Appendix 7: Mbuk in Images.....                                     | 552 |
| Appendix 8: Mbuk Sister Languages and villages of Lower Fungom..... | 578 |

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

The description of Mbuk grammar through a documentary lens is the key purpose of this thesis, with one of its goals to overcome the difficulty expressed by Huehnergard (1996:1) "Since there have been no native speakers of Akkadian for some two millennia, it is impossible to determine exactly how the language was pronounced." The application of documentary knowledge in the writing of the Mbuk grammar is not only to preserve and conserve its sounds, that is, how it is pronounced but also to keep in store its lexemes, grammar, craft and tradition in scripts, as well as in audio and video formats. One of the key objectives is to produce a digital electronic grammar as seen in the picture below:

Figure 1: Mbuk 'Kwifon' warns against any evil act during Annual Festival 'Kimfili'



VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestivalKwifan\_00024\_2015-08-08.eaf

In addition, Mbuk communication has largely relied both on oral and to some extent signing which of course has short lifespan with a short distance to cover. Hence, the research on Mbuk will move it from a dual to a triple and quadruple function; oral (speaking), signing, writing and reading as such guaranteeing a longer lifespan and an increase in its distance of usage as well as widening its domain of use. This would have contributed to the documentation of an undocumented language variety. Moreover, with the advent of multilingual education, study materials would be available for the sustainability and enriching of the course as well as adding a spice to the content of polylectal grammars. Furthermore, it will provide corpora for enhancing the elaboration of comparative and historical linguistic materials.

Moreover, the Mbuk language is being impoverished due to its gradual code mixing with the Bum language and English words by the replacement of Mbuk words with foreign ones.

- |    |             |                       |                       |
|----|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) | a. Mbuk,    | <b>dzǔ: yì ntǔ̀</b>   | "House of pot."       |
|    |             | house AM pot          |                       |
|    | b. Bum,     | <b>ndâ: ø ntǔ̀</b>    | "House of pot."       |
|    |             | house AM pot          |                       |
| 2) | a. Mbuk,    | <b>ù kwá:-kí lè</b>   | "He is recording it." |
|    |             | 3S catch-PG AF        |                       |
|    | b. English, | <b>ù record-kí lè</b> | "He is recording it." |
|    |             | 3S record-PG AF       |                       |

In example (1) above, the Mbuk word for pot is "kpéŋə", the ritual house uses but the Bum word for pot "ntǔ̀" to name the house. Then in (2), the Mbuk word for recording "kwá" is often replaced by the word, "record" while preserving the grammatical inflections of Mbuk.

This introduction provides the background to the study, the objectives, the significance, the motivation, the scope and delimitation, the people of Mbuk; geography, history, language, linguistic classification and the entire work plan.

## BACKGROUND

The Mbúk, Mbyúk, Mbòkó; the people, the land, the language and the tradition of a tribe habouring the western and southern banks of river Mbuk (Kimbi River) stretching onto its hills.

Our appeal or motivation, to Mbuk has been its resistance in quitting the sociolinguistic battle field between its rivals: languages of both pidgin and Bum. Unlike Mbamlo, Fio and Saawi which did not revitalise their languages and, as a consequence, theirs are extinct. In the case of Mbuk, Mungong and Faat, both Pidgin and the vehicular Bum language have not yet silenced them to death. Some of the strategies used to extinguish minority languages within the Bum fields of influence will be examined in subsequent pages of this thesis.

There has been an ideology that to each fondom is a land, culture and language, but this is not true in Bum Subdivision as we find fons without a language and some without a full say on land matters. In this research, we will focus on a fondom with a land, a language and a tradition. Chilver and Kaberry (1974:2,40) noted that

*These amateur word-lists were collected by Dr. P.M. Kaberry and myself mainly in 1963 in the course of a survey of traditional political systems....The word-lists were collected primarily to check the broader linguistic boundaries of the Western Grassfields and to verify the statements of informants about the identity of their neighbours....The few words from Mbuk (see p.33) can follow for comparison. The Mbuk say the[sic] were formerly at Kiyaki, a few miles away near Su-Bum that some Mbuk families are now in Ndabile Fungom area), [sic] own term for place is Boka; language is Dzai vən Bōka; chief is mfain vən Boka. Language is not intercomprehensible with Bum, Ngɔŋ, Nkɔm, Ntʃanti or 'njari' (Mbembe).*

Hence, it is from the above quote that Mbuk is considered a sovereign people with an independent tradition, language, demarcated land and a royal political system. Thus, amongst the mentioned themes, our research is on Mbuk language and some aspects of its tradition with a grammar as a by-product of our documentary effort entitled "Mbuk Documentary Grammar".

The corpus is researched and transcribed and the grammatical elements are examined



within the Mbuk text, through its tradition or any other natural speech data as portrayed by the following video:

Figure 2: Fon of Mbuk Presides at the opening ceremony of Annual Festival ‘Kimfili’



VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406.eaf

It is true that life is the survival of the fittest and if the Mbuk were not fit, we would not have gotten a research field and we would not have known of the term forest "kwá" in the Mbuk language and the same forest "kóbí" in the Faat (Chung) language. They would all have been lost, like the term for forest in Fio which is nowhere to be found, even from the eldest speaker.

If not for Mbuk, Chung and Mungong, the Bum area would have been a homogeneous speech community. Nature is not a nature of homogeneity but a nature of diversity, which is why to any genus of a tree, has a variety of species. This applies to languages as well. If you cut down all your trees, you will not have energy and this is true for those who have killed their own language, they no longer have a source of hidden treasure and thus no secret stored energy

reserved in times of chaos for family safety communication. For example, one time in a hunting expedition, a Mbuk hunter was caught by a buffalo and then he shouted for help in the Bum language and no one came forth for assistance from his allied friends but immediately as he shouted in the Mbuk language he was rescued by his blood brothers. So, language is family blood. Therefore, language as blood is life. He who has no language of his own is no longer a genuine living being. Imagine the Mbuk hunter, he would have been eaten up by the leopard if he had to rely on a language foreign to his. So, language is safety. Hence, it is not by any miracle but by this simple reason that the Mbuk language has survived the test of time.

As life is vital, so too is language. In dreadful situations, people have tried to speak a language foreign to theirs to be rescued. In another incidence, a foreigner was drowning in river Mbuk. Since he knew that the Mbuk were around, he shouted in the Mbuk language and the Mbuk rushed out and fished him out. Because he identified himself through the channel of language to the Mbuk people, he was rescued. It was after the rescue operation that they discovered that he was not Mbuk, he just used the Mbuk language to call for their immediate attention that one of their sons was drowning in the river and needed help. If he had cried out in a language other than Mbuk, he would have not been saved.

## **MOTIVATION**

When we arrived Fonfuka to explore endangered languages, we came across the Mbuk language and strikingly with the graphemes of its name similar to another language in Lower Fungom (Mbu') whose speakers claimed to have come from the Bum area. This necessitated a contrastive study in order to verify the claim. Hombert (1980:84) spells Mbu' with a "K" as the coda consonant instead of a glotal Stop, leading to confusion with the Mbuk in Bum Subdivision. In his map, he did not indicate the Mbuk in Bum.

The Mbuk, however, say they do not know about the Mbu' (Ajumbu) of Lower Fungom. In spite of this contrary assertion, we forged ahead to prove it through a comparative study. Furthermore, on investigation, we realised that Mbuk was not known by those from that Sub-division and even the language is different as well. In addition, the name of the village "Mbuk" is a high tone word and its coda consonant is a voiceless velar "k" while the " Mbu' " has only a low tone and its coda consonant is a glottal stop "ʔ(')". Below are Mbuk and Mbu' Comparative lexemes. The Mbù' words are drawn from the Beboid Composite Survey Wordlist (Blench 2005) where Mbu' is part of the Western Beboid languages. It is worth noting that, strangely, though Mbuk is one of the Beboid lects, it is not found amongst the set of languages of the Beboid Composite Survey Wordlist but its variant, Chung, is among the surveyed Eastern Beboid. The lexical contrast Mbuk and Mbu' is shown in the table below:

Table 1: Mbuk and Mbu' Comparative lexemes

| Mbuk [mbók]      | Mbu'[mbùʔ]           | Gloss |  | Mbuk [mbók]       | Mbu'[mbùʔ] | Gloss  |
|------------------|----------------------|-------|--|-------------------|------------|--------|
| f <sup>w</sup> ú | k <sup>h</sup> u     | head  |  | fá                | fīəŋ       | two    |
| kākā             | ʃyēnē                | leg   |  | tī                | gbɛ        | five   |
| dʒíyǎ~dʒəyǎ      | dzizə                | eye   |  | dzí               | za         | eat    |
| kpēn             | kətə                 | tree  |  | dzē               | ta         | come   |
| fīpēnī           | fənyaŋ               | bird  |  | dzǔ:              | əvwɔ       | house  |
| byǎ              | k <sup>w</sup> a     | dog   |  | ŋg <sup>w</sup> í | mgīəŋ      | water  |
| ńkōŋō            | kok <sup>w</sup> avə | bone  |  | mì                | uŋu        | person |

Looking at some parts of the body, human beings, some verbs, numerals and artifacts and nature, we realised that the terms that refer to them are different in both languages. Thus, we conclude that Mbuk and Mbu' are two separate languages.

As for the linguistic world, apart from the 41 words collected by Chilver and Kaberry (1974:40), we would have had nothing written on Mbuk. It is with this absence of earlier works on Mbuk that we decided to document the language for posterity. The pride of a linguist is to venture into a virgin language. Moreover, as observed as well by Chilver and Kaberry (1974:40), the language is not inter-comprehensible with Bum though it is sandwiched within the Bum speech community. But the speakers of Mbuk are pragmatically fluent speakers of Bum, even though it is rare to find a native of Bum speaking Mbuk. In addition, it is not found in maps of world languages or dialects. Thus, I am thrilled to popularise the language for it to be known and be noted in the Ethnologue.

Recently, SIL has undertaken research on a variety of Mbuk called Chung. The Chung people are the emigrants of Mbuk. But because of the distance between them and the time lapse of about 6 decades, the language has changed to the extent that children of about 8 to 12 years from both varieties do not understand the opposite language very well. Those who do understand thoroughly might have learnt it from relatives in Chung. SIL researchers have combined Mbuk and Chung as one language. The resulting name from this composite term is "Chung language" and didactic materials strictly bear only the Chung variety of words while the words that are peculiar to Mbuk are left out from the daily literacy books like primers, story books, transitional manuals, the gospel of Luke as well as the audio parables. But Brye & Brye 2000:27 says "The speech variety called Cung is spoken only in the village of Faat (also called Cung), which has about 2,000 inhabitants." This implies that Mbuk is a separate people.

In this light, since documentary linguistics is to capture and preserve all the variation, we want to capture the relegated Mbuk lexemes and its ethno-art and preserve them, thus enriching our research repertoire. The consolation of the Mbuk is that their own native words can be found in a book, that a computer can recognize and is able to type their characters or

letters of their alphabet and actually produce a grammar for them. We were made aware of various comments meant to exploit the ignorance of the Mbuk and to marginalise "Mbuk Tribal Words", words which are a representative of Mbuk and found only in the Mbuk language within Bebid. One of these was, "Our literacy supervisor said that the machine cannot type the letters of our alphabet because it has not been able to recognize them. And all the stories we wrote in Mbuk, all the Mbuk words were replaced with Chung words. But I was surprised when I went to type one day and I realised that the machine could type Mbuk sounds as well." pc, Ndicha A.

Figure 3: Graduation ceremony Chung language 1st batch (Mbuk)



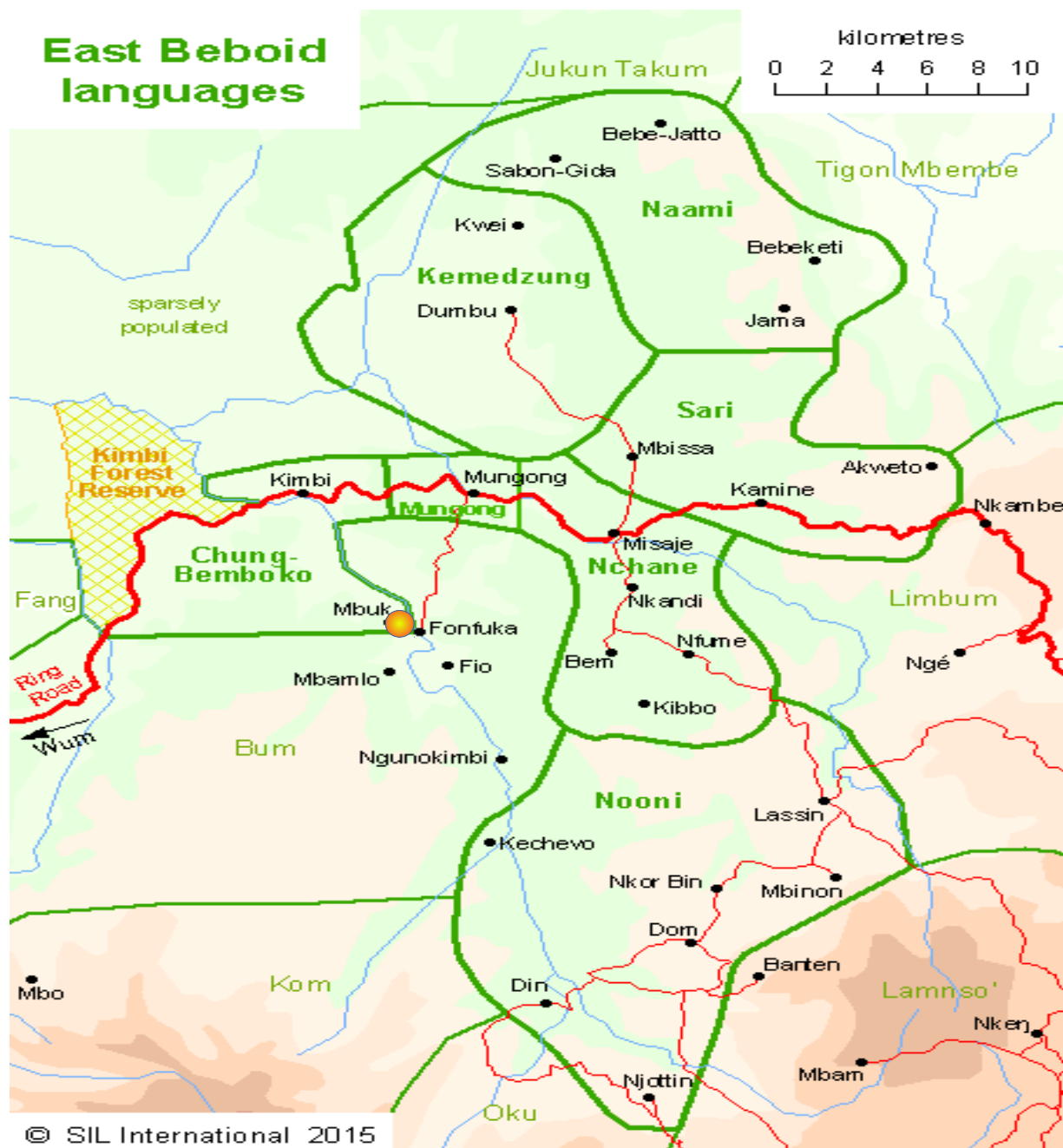
*Above the Fon of Mbuk is the inscription "Welcome to the Graduation Ceremony of the Chung Language First Batch (Mbuk)". "We have been cajoled to learn Chung, when they ask us to come and listen to the parables of Jesus, I did not go there because they spoke but in Chung as if Mbuk is not important. We want to hear our own in Mbuk ". Wabua Rudolf*

Bitjaa (2004:402) "Peu d'études sociolinguistiques ont porté sur le pouvoir discriminatoire de la langue, bien que celui-ci soit évident." Mbuk prejudice is a result of incomplete sociolinguistic study.

## GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The map below shows the geographical location of Mbuk in the shaded area:

Figure 4: Location of Mbuk



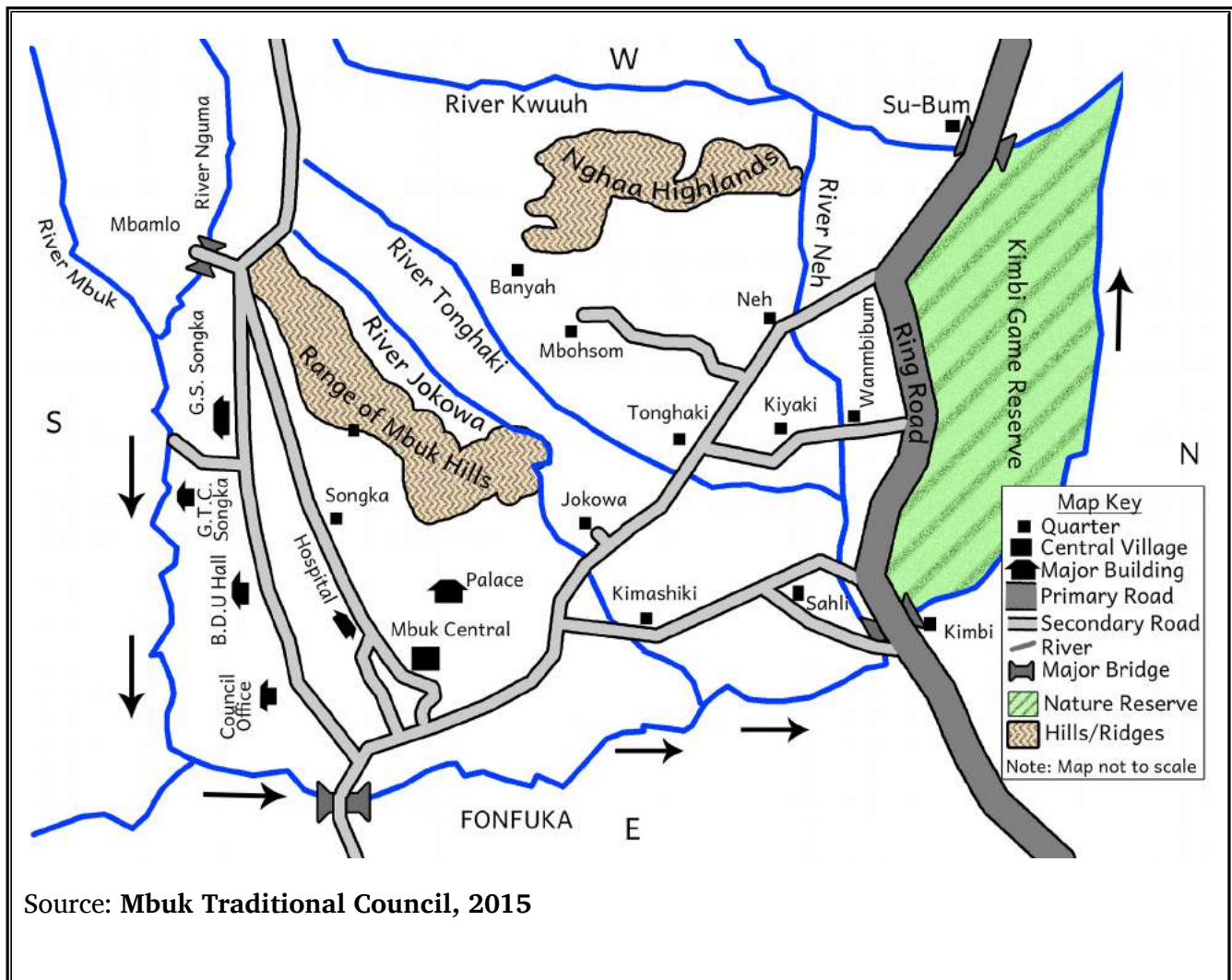
Mbuk (Bemboko), the area below the Ring Road between Mbamlo - Kimbi.

**Mbuk** is the radial red/yellow dot 



The language is located in the Bum Subdivision of the Boyo Division in the North West Region of Cameroon. It is bounded by the following villages: Mbamlo to the South, Fonfuka to the East, Kimbi (Chung, Faat) to the North, Fang to the North West, Lakabum and Buabua to the West. Language wise, the Mbuk language is mostly surround by the Bum language from the East through the South to the West. While to the North, it flanked by Chung and Fang languages as shown by the map above. Below, the figure shows the map of Mbuk alongside the locations of its quarters and some of its physical features.

Figure 5: Map of Mbuk



## THE PEOPLE

The people refer to themselves as "bèmbòkó" meaning the people of Mbuk. The tribe is made up of four patriclans of which one, the "kìmbà:lí" has extinct. The patriclans still existing are; "bwâfóm, bwàbèntú:, and the bèndö: or bwàbèndö:". "Bwà-" literally mean children of X, where X is the patriarch. Talking about the people is talking about the tradition, features and manifestations that define the ethnicity of a group of humans, geographically localised.

They are descents of the tikars and have a constituted local government with a well defined tradition which, as any surviving tradition, is being bleached by non-native tradition within and without the country, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. As the result of this process of cultural bleaching, some of the people are standing on the middle of the bridge wanting either to completely cross to the other end or to return to their root values. Example of one of those values eroded are the tattoos on the faces influenced by health workers of the government hospital at Mbuk.

Mbuk has a constituted and lawful governance led by the Fon "ḡkúḡ" assisted by the "ndḡì" together with the compound head "tìkólí" and the quarter head "fūwídî". The Fons that have reigned in the history of the Mbuk Fondom are here presented in the table below.

Table 2: The reign of Mbuk Fons

|   | <b>Ordinal</b> | <b>Fons' names</b> | <b>Years range</b> | <b>No. Years on the throne</b> |
|---|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 1st            | Fon Nshom          | 1813 – 1838        | 25 years of reign              |
| 2 | 2nd            | Fon Nfuantaka      | 1838 – 1889        | 51 years of reign              |
| 3 | 3rd            | Fon Langnji        | 1889 – 1927        | 38 years of reign              |
| 4 | 4th            | Fon Kofua          | 1927 – 1938        | 11 years of reign              |
| 5 | Throne Vacancy | vacancy            | 1938 – 1968        | 30 years of royal vacuum       |
| 6 | 5th            | Wango Solomon      | 1968 – 2017 +      | 49 years (still reigning)      |



On the side of the women, there is a "yà" who is like the queen mother of the village, though she does not act as expected of the tradition. She somehow ignores her functions and relegates them to the back, perhaps having been influenced by Christianity.

The Fon is the highest authority and is not greeted with the hand. He is not allowed to see a dead person. The Fon seldom makes decision without the involvement of the *Nji*. The spiritual powers of the village lies in the hands of the Fon, the *Njis* and the compound heads.

Mbuk is a patrilineal ethnic group where succession is through the son of the ruler or family head. The eldest son is not necessarily the automatic successor. The selection of a Fon amongst the many sons is a lifelong process based on manners; as the sons of the palace are growing, their characters are being studied. Amongst them, a father-like character is found in a child who can share what he has to others, who is calm in speech, and detests violence. Furthermore, the son who is friendly and does not discriminate is more qualified to succeed the father. In recent times, the issue of a literate person is being considered so that he can read letters sent by the administration before signing.

The fon rules for life, he is not dethroned or voted out. A fon is chosen by a consensus of king-makers. In approaching the Fon, you must not be wearing a cap and you should be barefooted in his palace. You drink with your hands and not directly from his cup. As cultural dynamics, some of the things are being ignored, you find some people putting on shoes and even a cap before the Fon. In normal circumstances, you have to offer a fowl and wine to the palace before you are allowed to put on a cap. In addition, to not drink with your hands from the Fon, you must have given a goat and wine for you to freely drink from your own cup. This also holds true with putting on shoes in the inner palace where the Fon is sitting; you need to

have provided something to gain the right of putting on footwear. Offers for gaining rights to get into the palace with a cap. You offer a goat to the village for the men to the Fon.

Furthermore, by not taking off shoes when entering the palace, you can be banned and if you stubbornly enter the palace, you can be exiled from the village. Women are not involved. Women do not take off their shoes. When not taking off your cap you have to be punished for minimising the Fon. The disrespect of the Fon implies that you are jealous of the Fon and want his throne. Not drinking with the hands from the fon you have to offer some fine which is not specifically known but is taxed by the village *Kwifon* relative to the degree of disregard.

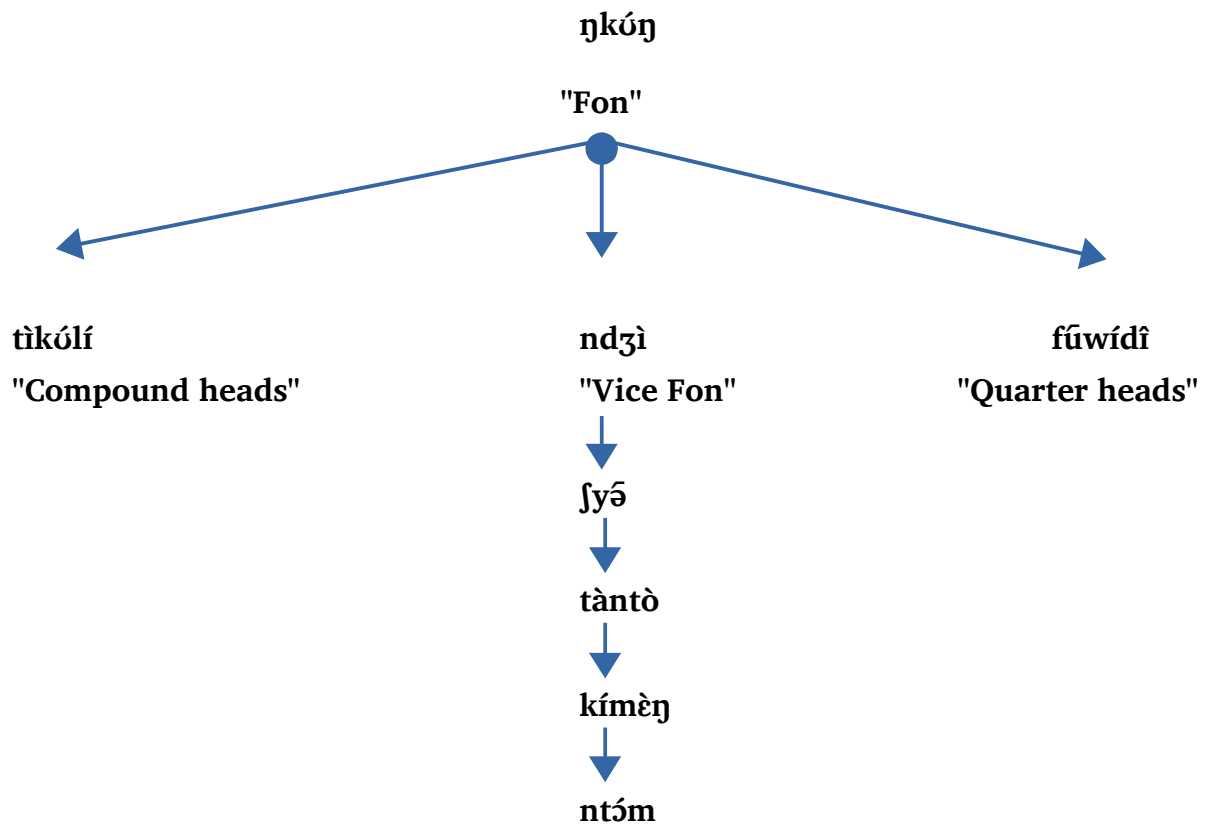
The *Nji* [ndʒi] is the closest assistant of the Fon. There more *Njis* distributed according to their various patriarchs. The *Nji* is the eldest of the family and he is not greeted with the hand. He rules for life and cannot be dethroned. The *Nji*, like the Fon, is not also allowed to see a corpse. He can take a decision in the absence of the Fon. The *Njis* are the advisers of the Fon and they are the ones that guide the Fon in his decisions. Furthermore, the *Njis* ensure the well-being of the village and the Fon. They plan the annual activities of the village and go along with the Fon to other places. The *Nji*, together with the Fon, are the law makers.

The *Tantos* are the ones who execute decisions of the palace or village handed to them by the *Njis* together with the Fon. The *Tantos* are younger and stronger than the *Njis*. They do not have the restriction of greeting with the hands or seeing a corpse as the Fon or the *Njis* do. The *Tantos* are chosen from a rank attained in the tradition of the village. The *Tantos* are mature people, married and with a compound. They are responsible people. The *Tantos* are the gendarmes or police of the palace or village and seek to maintain peace, or forcefully bring any disorder to order. Another wing of the Mbuk government is the compound head who is in charge of his own patriclan. He takes care of his family in communicating to the ancestors. In gatherings where the Fon is absent, he represents the Fon in pouring of wine. There are three

compound heads corresponding to the three patrilineal clans. The elders amongst them all is looked upon as the pure traditional Fon. He performs handed-down, family rituals.

The third wing in the administration of Mbuk is the quarter heads. They assist the Fon in representing him to the Cameroon government administration. In case of any problem in the village, the quarter head brings it to the leader of quarter heads who, together with the quarter head, presents that problem to the Fon and the *Nji* to examine. These administrative wings are in a hierarchical structure as shown below.

Figure 6: Hierarchical Mbuk Governance



The quarterheads are led by the quarterhead who is located at the palace quarter. The table below presents the current quarters and quarterheads of Mbuk:

Table 3: Mbuk quarters and quarterheads

|   | Quarters  | Quarterheads           |    | Quarters  | Quarterheads  |
|---|-----------|------------------------|----|-----------|---------------|
| 1 | Ntō       | Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha | 8  | Tòṇòkí    | Patrick Muchi |
| 2 | Dô:ṇá     | Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha | 9  | Mbófóm    | 0             |
| 3 | Sónká     | Abanda Simon           | 10 | Báṇà      | 0             |
| 4 | Dzókówá   | Tom Gwe                | 11 | Ndánàsí   | Joseph Lengha |
| 5 | Kìmâ:fíkí | Ngong Augustin         | 12 | Né        | Joseph Lengha |
| 6 | Sá:lí     | Genesis Bangchong      | 13 | Wāṇmbìbôm | 0             |
| 7 | Kìyâ:kì   | Emmanuel Ntungmba      | 14 | Mfánbábwú | 0             |

Numerically, there is a single Fon, three *Njis*, three compound heads, and ten quarter heads. The Fon is: Fon Wàngò Solomon Nkambi. There are three Mbuk families and their family heads:- The Bwáfóm family led by Pa. Afrika Chie Nkambi

- The Bwábántú: family led by Pa. Nichodemus Bikem

- The Bwábándô: family led by Pa. Ngong Philemon Foncha

There used to be four of them, but one is extinct. There are other members of Mbuk who do not belong to any of the three recognized families.

For honour, there are nine titles awarded to Mbuk elites, these titles are:

Table 4: Mbuk Titles

|     | Title        | Function                                       | No. of holders |
|-----|--------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1st | ṇkúnj ~ tǐdǐ | Ruler of the village                           | 1              |
| 2nd | ndzì         | Vice fon, and king makers                      | 3              |
| 3rd | tàtò'        | Takes care of spiritual aspects of the village | 2              |
| 4th | ʃyéy         | Assist the tanto                               | 3              |
| 5th | fúwídí       | Take care of their quarters                    | 8 quarterheads |
| 6th | ntómwèṇkúnj  | the messenger of he Fon                        | 1              |
| 7th | kìmèṇ        | Assists the Shyey and Tantoḥ                   | 1              |

|     |         |                                                             |                     |
|-----|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 8th | tìkólí  | Takes care of a particular family                           | 3                   |
| 9th | ndzídžǔ | The successor of the father (responsible son of the father) | As many as possible |

There are three *Nji*'s in Mbuk:

- *Nji* Nyah Augustine who lives in Sónká quarter in Mbuk,
- *Nji* Simon Nchwakasi who lives in Dzòkòwá quarter in Mbuk,
- *Nji* Thomas Lengahacha who lives in Kimbi (Chung).

The community in addition to the *Njis*' are title holders. The titles holders are:

*The tàntò:*

- *Tanto* Nya Sammuel of Dôṅgá (Bwâfóm) leader of Tantos.
- *Tanto* Kimbi Philip of Ntō (Mbuk central or Mbuk palace) (Mbamlo, Kifuma-Ngein)
- *Tanto* Samuel Kintani {late} of Dzòkòwá (Bina-Kimbi of Fonfuka)

*The fyéy:*

- *fyéy* Jeremiah Kangli of Sónká
- *fyéy* Freeboy Ntang of Ntō (Mbuk central or Mbuk palace)
- *fyéy* Samuel Kah of Ntō
- *fyéy* Ngong Sam Bia

*The Ntómwìṅkúṅ* (Tûmtí):

- Ntóm Njiboh Reymond

*The Kìṁàṅ:*

- *Kìṁàṅ* Nkambi David Labaku

Assisting the above bodies following bodies: *kwifon*, the *Njis*, the compound head, and the quarter head in governance is the Mbuk Traditional Council (MTC) which is made up of the

Fon as the head assisted by the *Nji*, the compound head, and the quarter head. The traditional council judges cases and solves other problems plaguing the community.

The village comes together once annually to celebrate their annual festivals in the month of August. This involves initiation, dancing and calling on their deity to bless the land. The ritual societies for men are:

- *mbàṇ*, appears during the day and at night with no xylophones, using the following instruments ("ṛkóṇ, kìm̀bì, nsì, kílóṇ, fwá, ṛgá:ní" used against witchcraft especially when going out of Mbuk etc)

- *màndzòṇ*, (instruments: "góṇ, j'ò, nsì, kìntóm, mbàṇ, kìmgbó'ò")

- *ntfòṇ*, (instruments: "ntfòṇ, kāsì, dẓín, kpālì" (k.o forest rope)) It is seen only by men, members. A non-member become yellowish while women turn infertile or barren.

- *kikò* is seen when a member is dead. It is very dangerous. Men and Women who are not initiated into it cannot see it. It also comes out when a daughter of Mbuk origin above 25 years of age is dead but cannot come out for a men who are dead but not initiated. It comes out for daughters because it was brought by a woman called Mrs Esther Kpachi. She went to fetch wood in the forest then the men seized it. The sons of this woman can be initiated without offering any initiation gift.

Men and women societies:

- *kìmfìlì*: (instruments: "kìṅkwàhì, kìm̀bì, tẓṛṇ, nsèṇ"). It is danced annually in the month of August. It is danced for two days and one night. If they come out on Wednesday morning they dance into Thursday evening and stop about 9pm. It is no longer highly spiritual as it used to be in the past. If someone stepped on your toe and you fail to step on his also, then you will die. The dance is motivated by the believe that it leads to peace, high birth rate for women, soil

fertility for much food and meat and nothing else. An illustrative text of the festival demands is given here:

- 3) a. "m̄ n̄əŋ-kí wāŋ, m̄ n̄əŋ f̄ēn f̄idzíní, m̄ n̄əŋ n̄àm, f̄ēn f̄í d̄óyó t̄jâ: yê".  
*I want-PG child, I want thing food, I want meat, thing of some not else*

- mb̄əŋ using the instruments called nd̄zán (xylophones) during day and night
- nd̄zòk (instruments: "nsì, kāsì") during funeral
- young farmers, made of mostly youths for both sexes, male and female.
- nd̄zàŋ (instruments; "nsì, kimbì, kāsì, kinshwí, dzín, ŋkóŋ wí lê:")
- nt̄f̄óŋ, (instruments: "kimbì, kāsì") danced during day and night.
- m̄ándāndā, (instruments; "gwú, t̄j̄āyik̄ēn") sings outside the house for both sexes and during the death of an aged woman or man, and title holders. They dance holding leaves and sticks. They dance to farms and collect crops like plantain, banana, sugarcane and bring to the funerary compound and share amongst themselves. This can be in Mbuk or out of Mbuk.

The Mbuk annual dance *K̄imf̄l̄i* has different appellations in different villages that perform the same festival. It is danced for one night and two periods of daylight only. The following table gives the timetable of the various cultural festivals.

Table 5: Annual Festival Appellations and Periods

| Order of festival | 1st              | 2nd              | 3rd        | 4th      |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|----------|
| Village           | Mbuk             | Chung            | Fang       | Koshin   |
| Name of festival  | f̄ē: ~ k̄imf̄l̄i | f̄ē:             | k̄əmf̄ən̄ə | n̄əm̄ŋgā |
| Festival Period   | August           | August/September | October    | October  |

This festival is conducted on two special days of an eight-day week. These days are indicated for Mbuk, and Chung. Since they have Bum as their language of wider communication, these days are linked with those of Bum to guide them on the festival days:

Table 6: Mbuk, Chung and Bum 8 days week

| Festival days                 | Mbuk               | Chung            | Bum       |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------|
|                               | túyúbíí            | bìdʒúmbìmbúyúnòṃ | túyúbôṃ   |
|                               | bìmbúyúnòṃ         | bìnòṃṃgá         | yáfíwó    |
|                               | bìnòṃtálí          | bìdʒúmbíkíí      | nsáfíwún  |
|                               | bìnòṃkpí           | bìnòṃkpí         | mìwún     |
| Small country sunday          | bìṃgú (késí ~kèhí) | bìtʃúṃnì         | fúkèhí    |
|                               | yúṃ                | bìlòkólí         | ṃwónkòṃlì |
| Kíṃfílì begins                | yúṃwìbòlì          | bìmbúyúnòṃ       | nyênsá    |
| Kíṃfílì ends (country sunday) | yúṃwìlòkólí        |                  | túyúkà    |

The ritual societies for women are:

*Mbáṃnì wì m̀kpàṃá*, traditional wedding conducted when a new wife is leaving the fasting room. Before getting into the fasting room, the co-wives shave every hair off the new wife, wash her and rub camwood and food is provided. She eats squeezed fufu, pounded palm chaff "mbíéní". She can be in the room for many weeks or a month, depending on the resources of the husband. She performs in public "mbílì ~ mb'ííí m̀kpàṃá" where gifts are given to her. She is taken to the market and, from there, straight to the home of the husband. This is carried out on market days in order to show the new woman to those who are not aware that she is married.

- *mbá'è wì wǎṃ*, immediate celebration as soon as a woman gives birth. The husband gives a fowl "jyē" to other women who prepare a meal for the woman who has just given birth. This last only for an hour or two. The women of the quarter come together and prepare this food to let the community know that someone has given birth to a new baby. If the child happens to die after birth, the fowl will not be taken to the hospital, but be given at home. And it is



considered that any child who dies during birth was passing, he/she was not the child of the compound. If a woman dies with the child during birth, she is buried in a particular way.

- *ndzí wì wǎn*, celebration and naming of the child. This involves the whole village once the family gets what is needed such as, fowls "jyé", groundnut "m̀tʃóŋní", corn "dzáŋ", corn of the child, "dzāŋ yì wǎn,". When these things are ready, the woman leader of "ndzàŋ wǎn or ndzi wɪ wǎn" now informs the rest of the women. This is done on market days "túyúbíŋ" or on country sundays "bínòmkpí".

- *nləwìmi*, the burial of a person varies according to age, sex, and social status.

## THE LANGUAGE

When you arrive the Bum area and say dress up "lāpsí" you will be taken to Mbuk, but when you say dress up "lāfí" you will instead be taken to Chung (Kimbí or Faat). Thus Mbuk and Chung are two neighbouring similar speech varieties spoken in Bum Subdivision. In elderly people, both speech varieties become mutually intelligible to a certain degree.

The Mbuk language shares boundaries with other languages such as the Chung to the North, Fio to the South East, Mbamlo to the South though dead, and without a defined boundary with Bum because Bum is a vehicular language and the Mbuk uses Bum more than they use Mbuk in certain circumstances. But the core of Bum is to the South West of Mbuk where Lakabum is located. Pidgin, which is not localized, is used as well as a language of wider communication. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a language development agency, has combined the two variants; Chung and Mbuk to be a single written language called Chung-Bemboko which predominantly keeps track of the Chung variant in the books produced to be used by both speech communities. But the Mbuk have expressed contempt towards the method because the story books and the translated portions of the Bible do not use the Mbuk

vocabulary. As a result, Mbuk learners are taught Chung rather than Mbuk, causing Mbuk to become even more endangered than when literacy was absent. Mbuk and Chung are separated by the Kimbi river. The Chung (Cung [886] in Breton and Fohtung (2012:141) originated from Mbuk in the early 1960s but the mother speech variety Mbuk has not been mentioned in the atlas. Meanwhile, the Ethnologue classification of world languages, classifies Mbuk and Chung under the combined appellation, Chungmboko (Lewis and al. 2016) gives the table below.

Table 7: Linguistic classification / description of Chungmboko (Chung and Mbuk)

|                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Language:</b>        | Chungmboko                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|                         | A Language of Cameroon                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                         | ISO 639-3 cug                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>Alternate name:</b>  | Chung, Cung                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Population:</b>      | 2.000 (2001 SIL)                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>Location:</b>        | North West Region, [sic] Menchum Division, Bum Subdivision, Chung and Mbuk villages, West of Nkambe, Northeast of Wum                                                                                                        |
| <b>Language Maps:</b>   | Central Cameroon                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>Language Status:</b> | 5 (Developing)                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>Classification:</b>  | Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Beboïd                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>Dialects:</b>        | Chung, Mbuk, Lexical Similarity 83% with Ncane [ncr]                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>Typology:</b>        | SVO; 13 noun classes; clause constituent marked by word order; 21 consonants and 9 vowels phoneme; tonal.                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Language use:</b>    | All ages, positive attitudes, also use Cameroon Pidgin [wes], English [eng], French [fra], Hausa [hau], Kemedzung [dmo], Kom [bkm], Nigeria Fulfulde [fuv]. Use as L2 by Bum [bm̩v], Kemedzung [dmo], Kom [bkm], Ncane [ncr] |
| <b>L. development:</b>  | Literacy rate in L1: 5%. Literacy program started 2011, schooling is in English [eng], Bible portions 2014                                                                                                                   |
| <b>L. Resources:</b>    | OLAC resources in and about Chungmboko                                                                                                                                                                                       |

|                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Writing:</b>       | Latin script [Latn] |
| <b>Other comments</b> | Christian, Muslim   |

In relation to the above table, Chung and Mbuk are two different dialects whereby the writing system takes account of only the Chung lexemes in the published gospel of St. Luke. The location, contrary to what is stated in the table, is Boyo division. Only the alternative names of Chung have been given while those of Mbuk have been left out. The population of Mbuk is 400 speakers according to PNDVA (2010). The 5% literacy rate for Mbuk is questionable because they Mbuk are not willing to learn a different language or variant other than theirs. Yes, literacy might have started in 2011, but all the years we have spent in Mbuk, there were no literacy classes from 2014/2015/2016 and up to now. As far as other comments are concerned, in addition to Christians and Muslims, the community of Mbuk practices African Traditional Religion (ATR). Hence, due to the absence of Mbuk in ALCAM and the combination of Mbuk and Chung in the Ethnologue, we have decided to find out how Mbuk and Chung are related language-wise and on the axis of culture. In the Eastern Beoid language map, Mbuk is not indicated, but we find Chung. Neither is Mbuk mentioned as a dialect.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH**

The product of this research will boost the self-esteem and status of the Mbuk people who, for some time, have been subject to prejudice. This study will develop a positive attitude amongst the Bemboko towards the daily use of their language, causing its domains of usage to widen.

The documentary video will provide a film for the Mbuk. During our research our projected videos were termed Mbuk film. It is the first time for them to have a film made of

Mbuk, in Mbuk, by the Mbuk. As a result of the film, language is learned from elders and from others as people hear some expressions and names of certain things for the first time. What was done indoors like the Mandzong was now outdoors, that is, everyone can watch it as a film including women and children. As they watch, they comment that they have never seen the Mandzong before thanks to the Mbuk film. Ignorance about certain issues in the community are wiped out due to the documentary procedure of the research.

In addition, knowledge that was only transmitted solely by mouth of the speaker can now be transmitted as stored in the videos. The documentary approach has immortalised some aspects or speeches of some figures in the community as the children or younger generation will continue to see their grandparents and hear them speak their language for the next decades.

Furthermore, with the documentary researchers in the field of anthropology, biology, geography, history, sociocultural experts will make use of the data for reference and further analysis. The documentary method provides audio-visual didactic materials for diversified teachings, for basic and functional literacy. Using a computer, ELAN and a projector, an interesting reading and writing class can be implemented within and outside of the community for those willing to be literate in their own mother tongue.

The audio and video recordings will give the right tonal melody of Mbuk speech to those Mbuk who have not got the opportunity to hear how the language is spoken from a Mbuk speaker around their vicinity.

The youths of Mbuk in a few years to come may not be able to call the names of trees and birds, thus, this documentary will be their teacher.

Artefacts such as weaved products and construction knowledge would be transmitted by this research when they are watched like films.

As for the descriptive grammar, the elements of grammar and pronunciations are available in tapes for verification and practice. Thus, the descriptive results are residual or a by-product of the documentary activities.

The lexicon or wordlist bears an audio or visual component for the speakers to check and learn the pronunciation and have the chance to even do continuous research and corrections on what they deem is not perfect or not understood.

A documentary corpus in a computer is the miniature of a speech community. The documentary corpus is a mobile speech community and wherever you want to know what and how it is, then you just have to click on it. Thus, the community language, tradition and artefacts are reduced to the size of the laptops on our tables for easy study within the village, nearby and as well as far off villages and at any moment.

The last but not the least significance of this research is the availability of Mbuk audio and video disseminated online as well as offline in CDs and in other backup formats. The overall description is accompanied by a documentary metadata reference placed at the appendix of the research for easy verification of information about the language in the audio/video. This now leads us to discuss the nature of the documentary metadata reference (MDR) below.

## **DOCUMENTARY METADATA REFERENCE**

Documentary research is a research of evidence with its audios/videos being its first witnesses. A theory of documentation has as its tenets:

- (1) the collection of corpus,
- (2) the stating of corpus background information called metadata,
- (3) the annotation of the corpus by transcribing and translating,

(4) the dissemination of corpus both offline and online (digitised).

Meanwhile, the descriptive research principle is to analyse the disseminated corpus to produce a grammar, lexicon, and other relevant literature from the disseminated corpus.

Thus, for each example or explanation given in this research, there is a corresponding audio/video evidence which can be accessed through the directives of the Documentary Metadata Reference (DMR) presented in the appendix.

Furthermore, the documentary metadata reference also gives locations where the backup audio/video files, the field notes, and the websites of the digitised corpus can be found easily for everyone who is willing to explore it.

## **SCOPE AND DELIMITATION**

The research consists of two major components: the documentary component and the descriptive component. The documentary component comprises of the collection phase: (1) taking of field notes, (2) audio recording, (3) videoing, (4) metadata systemisation: file-naming and, at the same time, deciding on the access rights with the consultants, (5) annotation involving transcription and translation, (6) daily data backup, (7) dissemination: that is making the corpora available to the speech community in CDs and books as well as storing them at an electronic archival centre for online accessibility to outside or global researchers. The descriptive component takes account of the analysis of the language with the aim of arriving at a grammar of the language, a wordlist and other literature in both the printed format and electronic format. The descriptive analyses: (1) the phonetics, (2) phonology, (3) the morphology and (4) the syntax of the language. We have transcribed the sounds alongside the consultants pronunciation, and we have also used the ELAN annotations to gather the sounds of Mbuk. Moreover, we have used the transcribed texts to describe the grammar.

The documentary phase contains the source data for the descriptive phase. The documentary phase is limited in the sense that not all the speech acts can be captured in the stipulated span of the research. The limitation is also brought about by the lack of availability of recording and videoing equipment. And even if there were more than two instruments it would have required training of the consultants on how to manage the tools, but the research had not earmarked any resources for such a field training. Thus, the researcher could not be present at all points where speech acts were taking place.

In addition, some speech acts are not allowed to the outsider and so we cannot force it, this thus limits us in our desire to sufficiently document the diversity of speech acts. Also, some individuals are not friendly with a recorder or a video camera, this makes it difficult to have a clip of natural greeting patterns in the language since the people tended to shy away from recording instruments.

Moreover, nocturnal activities only have an audio recording since the researcher had no headlamp for night events. This meant that gestures, like sign language, did not fit into the research. Even during the day, there is not enough filming space to view the whole body and, as a result, we came out with face-only video which only incorporates facial expressions without any hand, leg or body motion.

As for the research area, the heart of Mbuk has been the core location of the research in order to avoid getting the adulterated version of Mbuk from Cameroon Pidgin English and neighbouring languages. This has been our hope of getting a pure Mbuk version of the language. Unfortunately, multilingualism, intermarriage and mobility of people in and out of the village from the coast as well other family villages with a related speech variety like Fang, Mundabli, Koshin, Chung have led to some blurred purity in the speech of Mbuk. This has also

injected synonyms into the Mbuk set of lexemes which are often disputable as not being part of the real Mbuk speech as distinguished from what is regarded as referential Mbuk.

Another issue that limits the research is the lack of storage space and as well the small sizes of the recording memory cards leading to a corpus that is not enough to fully represent the range of language situations. As for the audio, the WAV format takes up a lot of space but is good for acoustic phonetic analysis. To have more data, however, the MP3 format was used to economise space and get more material for the grammar and the lexicon.

Considering the age-gender parameter, this was not found to be limiting as children were triggering their elders or parents to speak and give us speech acts, which in turn says something about the vitality of the language. Furthermore, women and men were found together in certain occasions that led to the collection of data. Though in some circumstances women were not allowed to participate, like during the *Kwîfàn* for village decision making and the *Mandzong* house; this meant that the behaviours of men and women in certain gatherings, as well their speech acts, could not be registered. We cannot claim to have covered everything in this single research, but we can say we have the tip of an iceberg of what it takes to legitimately say something has been done on the study of Mbuk language. It is, after all, the first linguistic research in the history of Mbuk.

Finally, our effort on Mbuk study has been welcomed by the Mbuk through their collaboration in partaking as readily available consultants. Thus, answering the call for the preservation of an endangered variety of language to rescue the Mbuk lexemes that are unique to them, which have been thrown out of the Chung texts and are not found or conserved in any of the languages of the "Beboid" language family. So, if we fail to document it now, a decade after, it may become like Fio or Mbamlo exterminated without any written evidence.



## WORK PLAN

This thesis documents some aspects of Mbuk grammar. It opens with a general introduction on the Mbuk area, language and culture.

Chapter 1 defines some terms, presents the theoretical framework and carries out a contrastive literature review between Mbuk and related languages.

Chapter 2 addresses the indepth conduct and security of a documentary program and rounds up with the presentation of the sounds: consonants, vowels, tone and variation.

In Chapter 3, some aspects of the nominal morphology are examined. These include, affixation in Mbuk words, the noun classes, concord system, noun domains and pronouns.

Chapter 4 gives an account of the verbal morphology of Mbuk. It discusses the structural taxonomy through varying verbal extensions. It also deals with valency and transitivity, then tense, aspect and mood, as well as describing the negation pattern.

In Chapter 5, noun modifiers are examined alongside their head nouns; possessives, demonstratives, determiners, adjectives, numerals, associativity, relativity, diminutives, augmentative, as well as concords and the interrogative system.

Finally, Chapter 6 gives an overview of Mbuk adverbs, adpositions and connectives.

Then the entire research ends up with a general conclusion which has as content; the introduction, general findings, difficulties encountered, recommendations, suggestions for further research, and conclusion. Following the general conclusion are the References, Bibliography, Indices, and the Appendixes.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter defines the relevant concepts, provides a literature review on language documentation in general, and on Mbuk in particular. Further, it presents the theoretical framework used to investigate the facts in the thesis. The chapter is divided into three sections: 2.1 the definition of concepts, 2.2 theoretical framework, and 2.3 documentary review of literature and 2.4 Mbuk literature in comparison with its linguistic and cultural affiliations with the hope to situate its status and corpus amongst its language family.

### **1.1 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

Some key words are defined to better expose and circumscribe the context of language documentation, thus, circumventing any ambiguity in terminology. These terms are: grammar, documentary, language documentation, description, metadata, archive.

#### **1.1.1 Grammar**

According to Webster's Dictionary, grammar is a branch of linguistic study that deals with the classes of words, their inflections or other means of indicating relation to each other, and their functions and relations in the sentence as employed according to established usage and that is sometimes extended to include related matter such as phonology, prosody, language history, orthography, orthoepy, etymology, or semantics.

Relating to the aforesaid definition, the Mbuk grammar is a by-product of the documentary collection. That is, the analysis of the grammar is contingent on the various documentary processes that supplies what the description describes.

### **1.1.2 Documentary**

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008), defines documentary as giving facts and information about a subject in the form of a film, television or radio programme. It also relates to documentary in the form of documents. With document or documentation being a paper or a set of papers with written or printed information. Drawing from the above definition, language documentation covers as well the key parameters of a documentary. Language documentary produces videos which can be watch like films using a television. There are also audio recording which can be likened to a radio programme. Then the field notes, descriptive grammar and lexicon are considered as documents or documentations. Therefore the documentary of Mbuk language ties with the dictionary definition of a documentary since it covers the three documentary facets: video, audio and analytical notes on the subject. Added to these are photographs, transcriptions, translations, and metadata. The subject in our case here is the various speech acts of the Mbuk language including some aspects of the tradition including arts and crafts of the Mbuk people.

### **1.1.3 Language Documentation**

Language documentation (documentary linguistics) is the collection; annotation: transcription and translation; dissemination and archival of electronic language corpora for offline and online exploration using specialised electronic equipments and computer software adapted for documentation.

Berge (2010) defines language documentation as any record of language usage. He further suggested that documentation is noteworthy if it implies the responsible disposition of the data being collected.

Himmelfmann (1998) considers the act of “Documentation” the collection, preservation and dissemination of primary data and not the linguistic analysis resulting from fieldwork/language collection efforts.

Bowern (2011:481) Language documentation is a record of the language which can be used in various ways.

According to Himmelfmann (2006) A language documentation is a lasting, multi-purpose record of a language and should strive to include as many and as varied records as practically feasible, covering all aspects of the set of interrelated phenomena commonly called a language. It would cover all registers and varieties, social or local; it would contain evidence for language as a social practice as well as a cognitive faculty; it would include specimens of spoken and written language. Language documentation could serve a variety of different uses in, for example, language planning decisions, preparing educational materials, or analysing a set of problems in syntactic theory. The users of such a multi-purpose documentation would include the speech community itself, national and international agencies concerned with education and language planning, as well as researchers in various disciplines (linguistics, anthropology, oral history, etc.). Language documentation in a short term or long run serves as database for exploring issues it was not intended for, by generations known and unknown. The goal of language documentation is to create a record of a language in the sense of a comprehensive corpus of primary data which leaves nothing to be desired by later generations wanting to explore whatever aspect of the language they are interested in with a database that can answer all the questions of current interest.

Speakers and speech communities usually do not have a fully worked-out plan for what to document. Rather, the specifics of documentation are usually established interactively by communities and research teams. But the research team presupposes a theoretically grounded set of basic goals and targets they want to achieve. Language documentation is not a theory free enterprise. Its theoretical concerns pertain to the methods used in recording, processing, and preserving linguistic primary data while ensuring that primary data collections are indeed of use for a broad range of theoretical and applied purposes. Furthermore, documentation theory has to provide guidelines for determining targets in specific documentation projects. It also has to develop principled and inter subjective means for evaluating the quality of a given documentation regardless of the specific circumstances of its compilation. Concerning the interface between primary data and analysis, the appropriate type of data has to be included in a comprehensive documentary. Himmelmann (2006) provides an introduction to basic practical and theoretical issues in language documentation. It presents specific suggestions for the structure and contents of language documentation as well as the methodologies to be used in compiling them. This book gives the following three reasons for the linguistic point of view why language documentation is good for descriptive linguistics, linguistic typology and cognitive linguistics with the consolidation and enlargement of the empirical basis for these disciplines. It is also good for language endangerment, the economy of research resources, and accountability. Himmelmann (1998) The aim of a language documentation, then, is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community. Linguistic practices and traditions are manifested in two ways: (1) the observable linguistic behavior, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community, and (2) the native speakers' metalinguistic knowledge, manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events.

### 1.1.4 Description

The verb, *describe*, according to the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008), means to say or write what someone or something is like. So, description is something that tells you what something or someone is like. Hence, with the exploration of the documentary corpora of Mbuk we are able to write down what the grammar is like.

According to Himmelmann (1998),

*...the aim of a language documentation differs fundamentally from the aim of language descriptions: a language description aims at the record of A LANGUAGE, with "language" being understood as a system of abstract elements, constructions, and rules that constitute the invariant underlying structure of the utterances observable in a speech community. A language documentation, on the other hand, aims at the record of THE LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AND TRADITIONS OF A SPEECH COMMUNITY. Such a record may include a description of the language system to the extent that this notion is found useful for collecting and presenting characteristic documents of linguistic behavior and metalinguistic knowledge. The record of the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community, however, is much more comprehensive than the record of a language system since it includes many aspects commonly not addressed in language descriptions. (1998:166)*

Envisaging grammars based on the documentary model, Good (2011) states that much of the groundwork has already been done to standardize the methods and principles for digitizing language data. He considers the result to have been,

*...successful enough that the field is now in a position to move past "retrofitting" digital solutions on to analog formats and consider how new technologies should actually change linguistic practice. The domain of grammaticography is looked at from this perspective, and a traditional descriptive grammar is reconceptualized as a database of linked data, in principle curated from distinct sources. Among the consequences of such a reconceptualization is the potential loss of two valued features of descriptive grammars, here termed coverage and coherence. The nature of these features is examined in order to determine how they can be integrated into a linked data model of digital descriptive grammars, thereby allowing us to benefit from new technology without losing important features intrinsic to the structure of the traditional version of the resource. (2011:1)*

### 1.1.5 Metadata

Metadata is the stated stage information and the environmental circumstances under which the event pragmatically unfolds. It is complemented with comments about malfunctioning or proper functioning of recording tools or elements of the stage (time, actors, place, topic) or the environment (noisy, windy, rainy, silence). By pragmatic we mean a logical resolution of potential difficulties arising as the result of recording amongst members of the speech community, the weather and the researchers on issues of good speakers and bad speakers, access type and other sensitive paralinguistic issues to be described. In a nut shell, metadata is the key to the corpus gate. In other words, metadata is the data manager. That is a metadata is a data protocol. For Austin (2006:93), metadata is defined as data about data, that is, structured information about events, recordings, and data files. It is usually represented as text (but not always, for example, it could be a spoken introduction track on a video or audio recording). Metadata is needed for proper description of the data and to enable it to be found and used. The choice of metadata format should be made in consultation with the archives facility where the researchers intend to deposit the documentary materials. There are several types of metadata, cataloguing, descriptive, structural, technical and administrative. There are two main competing international standards for linguistic metadata, that is promoted by the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC) and that which is promoted by the ISLE metadata initiative (IMDI), the former being less detailed than the latter.

### 1.1.6 Archive

Webster's Dictionary defines archive as a place in which public or institutional records (as minutes, correspondence, reports, accounts) are systematically preserved. A repository is for any documents or other materials especially of historical value (as daries, photographs, private

correspondence). An archivist is one who is responsible for the collection, cataloguing, and preservation of archives. Thus, a documentary linguist is more of an archivist in that he collects data from the field, then he creates, names and saves files, backing them up in safe, places that can be accessed by all. Austin (2006) says,

*Digital archiving involves the preparation of the recorded/captured data, metadata, and processed analysis so that the information it contains is maximally informative and explicitly expressed, encoded for long-term accessibility and safely stored with a reputable organization that can guarantee long-term curation. Archiving stores data for communities use, other scholars to access, and for preservation for future generations of community members, the general public and researchers. It is essential to seek assistance with planning for archiving from an archivist at the beginning of project conception. Archiving should not be confused with publication. Archiving also checks on intellectual property rights, access and usage rights. It is better to deposit data in an archive with restrictions than not to deposit at all. (2006:100)*

The Mbuk language is being researched with digital and non-digital archival considerations.

## 1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

*The typical grammar of the past few decades makes no reference to the source of its data nor to how to access further data on the language than is included in the grammatical description. For example, was the data all elicited or was it recorded and transcribed? If it was recorded, then who was it recorded with – are the speakers old or young, male or female? If texts are the source of example sentences, then where in the text does the example come from? Where is the data itself stored? Thieberger (2009:390).*

The theoretical framework for language documentation comes into existence to give some answers to some of the questions highlighted within the preceding quote. This will not only state the position of documentary research but will also reshape the analysis to incorporate the value of primary data with all its components such as the availability of audio/visuals,



metadata and archives. This implies that, the two fields of research would be indispensably complementary for a good practice in grammar writing.

A theory of language documentation as expounded by its proponents (Himmelman 1998; Bird and Simons 2003; Woodbury 2003; Austin 2006, 2010; Thieberger 2009; Berge 2010) entails the following systematic and chronological undertakings:

- 1) data collection: audio recording; video recording; photography; field-notes
- 2) metadata: filename; file format:-audio, video, photograph, field-notes; date; time; participants; place; topic; access rights; linguistic/paralinguistic commentary
- 3) annotation: transcription, translation, labelling
- 4) backup: on external drives, computers, e-mail, Internet cloud storage (e.g. Dropbox)
- 5) dissemination: in books, CDs, radios, televisions, libraries, museums, archive digitisation

A theoretical framework is a roadmap for research. Hence, in the domain of documentary linguistics a handful of scholars have come up with some maxims on language documentation. A few of their thoughts are presented below in a bid to respond to the above quote from Thieberger, as we consider how documentation should be conducted with us onboard using modern technology. One of these scholars Austin (2006) describes language documentation in these terms,

*For language documentation then, data collection, representation and diffusion is the main research goal with grammars, dictionaries and text collection as secondary dependent products that annotate and comment on the documentary corpus. The audience for the language documentation is also very wide, encompassing not only linguists and researchers from other areas such as anthropology, musicology or oral history but also members of the speech community whose language is being documented as well as other interested people. A significant concern for documentation is archiving to ensure that materials are in a format for long-term preservation and future use, and that information about intellectual property rights and protocols for access and use are recorded and represented along with the data itself. (2006:87)*

Austin (2006:89) further outlines the language documentation process of data collection, processing and storage which he identifies as follows:

1. Recording of media (audio, video and image) and text;
2. Capture moving analogue material to digital domain;
3. Analysis –transcription, translation, annotation and notation of metadata;
4. Archiving –creating archival objects and assigning access and usage rights;
5. Mobilization –publication and distribution of material in various forms.

Austin reiterates that, when a documentation project is being developed, each of these processes should be considered and relevant procedures included in the project planning. In particular, archiving and mobilization must be considered from the beginning of the project and not left to the end of the project or as an afterthought. Most importantly, a crucial aspect that must be kept in mind at all stages is backups. It is prudent for any project, and especially one involving digital ICT to develop a regular and effective regime of backing up the project data, ideally on range of different media (e.g. DVD, jump drives or USB flash, memory cards and external hard drives). LOCKSS, "Lots of copied keep stuff safe" (see <http://www.lockss.stanford.edu>). See Austin 2006 for proper recording conditions. It is important to test all your equipment, including cables, connectors and adaptors before you leave for fieldworks. Whatever the recording medium, it is important to rigorously label everything, including tapes, CDs, DVDs, containers, field-note books (numbering all pages) immediately, consistently and uniquely (eg using dates and sequence numbers). Different data formats are processed in three different contexts as seen in the table below:

Table 8: Data formats in different contexts (Austin 2006:97)

|       | Working                          | Archiving    | Presentation        |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Text  | Word, XLS, Fmpo, shoebox/Toolbox | XML          | PDF, HTML           |
| Audio | Wav                              | Wav, BWF     | MP3, WMA, RA        |
| Video | MPEG2                            | MPEG2, MPEG4 | QuickTime, AVI, WMV |

The above table is segmented into: Processing different data formats which involves annotation analysis (working), storage and preservation (archiving) and distribution and publication (presentation). So, a theory of documentary linguistics can better be understood when contrasted with the concepts of descriptive linguistics as put forward in Bird and Simons (2003:557), saying, “language documentation provides a record of the linguistic practices of a speech community, such as a collection of recorded and transcribed texts. Language description, on the other hand, presents a systematic account of the observed practices in terms of the linguistic generalisations and abstractions, such as a grammar or analytical lexicon.” Bown (2011:481) states that “documentation is most thorough and comprehensive when combined with analysis.” The documentary component would carry with it the reference evidence.

In the theory of descriptive linguistics, the content of the research is predetermined by the researcher, which is contrary to the documentary tenets as expressed by Bown (2010:898): “Documentary research can be likened to “Emergent research (Dobrin 2010)” a research method in which the content of the research is shaped to a large extent by the research participants rather than being wholly determined by the researcher in advance.”

Himmelman (1998) says that, any format for language documentation will do as long as the documentary activity is kept separate from the analytic activity. Thus, any linguistic research that involves the collection of primary language data may, in principle, contribute to a language documentation, irrespective of the specific goal of the research. The only requirement

is that the primary data be made available to other interested parties, which will always involve some editing in order to make the data accessible to the uninitiated.

He goes on to say, The concept of language documentation as a field of linguistic research and activity in its own right proceeds based on the assumption that the linguistic practices and traditions in a given speech community are worthy of documentation in the same way as material aspects of its culture (arts and crafts) are generally deemed worthy of documentation. The aim of a language documentation, then, is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community. Linguistic practices and traditions are manifest in two ways: (1) the observable linguistic behavior, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community, and (2) the native speakers' metalinguistic knowledge, manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events. This definition of the aim of a language documentation differs fundamentally from the aim of language descriptions: a language description aims at the record of A LANGUAGE, with "language" being understood as a system of abstract elements, constructions, and rules that constitute the invariant underlying structure of the utterances observable in a speech community. A language documentation, on the other hand, aims at the record of THE LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AND TRADITIONS OF A SPEECH COMMUNITY. Such a record may include a description of the language system to the extent that this notion is found useful for collecting and presenting characteristic documents of linguistic behavior and metalinguistic knowledge. The core of a language documentation, then, is constituted by a comprehensive and representative sample of communicative events as natural as possible. Given the holistic view of linguistic behavior, the ideal recording device is video recording. Note, finally, that the task of compiling a language documentation is not an easy one. Ideally, the person in charge of the compilation speaks the language fluently and

knows the cultural and linguistic practices in the speech community very well. This, in general, implies that the compiler has lived in the community for a considerable amount of time. Furthermore, the compiler should be familiar with a broad variety of approaches to language and capable of analysing linguistic practices from a variety of points of view. These demands will only rarely be met by a single individual. Hence, the compilation of a high-quality language documentation generally requires interdisciplinary cooperation as well as close cooperation with members of the speech community.

In order to allow for further analysis and processing of all these kinds of data included in a language documentation, the presentational format has to fulfil certain requirements. There are generally three components to each document (piece of data), viz. the "raw" data in various forms of representation (transcription, tape, and/or video), a translation (word-by-word/interlinear and free), and a commentary providing additional information as to recording circumstances, linguistic and cultural peculiarities associated with the data segment, comments by native speakers cooperating in the transcription and translation of the segment, problems encountered in transcribing and translating, further data elicited in connection with the segment, etc. In short, everything that happened during recording, transcribing, and translating the data (and eliciting, in the case of elicited data). The individual commentary for every data segment is complemented by a general introductory commentary that includes general information on the speech community (social organization, geography, history, etc.) and the language (genetic affiliation, typological characteristics, structural sketch, etc.), the fieldwork, the methods used in gathering and processing the data (including notes on the orthographic representation, interlinear glosses, etc.), and the contents and scope of the documentation.

Note that the difference does not pertain to the fact that a language documentation does not contain analytic information. It does so, but in an unconventional format. For example, a

good and comprehensive documentation will include all the information that may be found in a good and comprehensive descriptive grammar. Note, finally, that the task of compiling a language documentation is not an easy one. Ideally, the person in charge of the compilation speaks the language fluently and knows the cultural and linguistic practices in the speech community very well. This, in general, implies that the compiler has lived in the community for a considerable amount of time. Furthermore, the compiler should be familiar with a broad variety of approaches to language and capable of analyzing linguistic practices from a variety of points of view. These demands will only rarely be met by a single individual. Hence, the compilation of a high-quality language documentation generally requires interdisciplinary cooperation as well as close cooperation with members of the speech community. Compiling a language documentation according to the model sketched in the preceding section involves at least the following four steps: -decisions about which data to collect/include in the documentation; -the actual recording of the data; -transcription, translation, and commentary; -presentation for public consumption/publicly accessible storage (archiving).

On limits to documentation: rights of privacy and language rights, Himmelmann (1998) comments that the interests and rights of contributors and the speech community should take precedence over scientific interests. One major constraint on the inclusion of materials into the documentation is the contributors' right of privacy. That is, contributors have to consent to the publication of the materials provided by them. "Publication" is to be understood here in a very broad sense, that is, making a given piece of data accessible to anyone besides the contributor and the compiler. In addition, the compiler of the documentation has to take care that no data are included that may be harmful to an individual or upset the speech community (bad-mouthing, gossip, etc.), even if this possibility is not foreseen by the contributors themselves. The preference of contributors for "clean" edited data involves not only eliminating false starts,

digressions, etc., but often also eliminating the repetitive structures characteristic for spoken language and applying a somewhat arbitrary punctuation. Such editing precludes further analysis in a variety of frameworks, including discourse and conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics. In some instances, however, a compromise will be possible along the following lines: publication in book form of the edited version of the text and storage of the recording and transcript of the original communicative event in a database accessed only for further scientific inquiry.

Apart from restrictions based on the rights and protection of individual contributors, the speech community as a whole — usually represented by its political and/or cultural leadership — may wish to exert its right to have a say in what kinds of data may be collected and to what extent the collection may be made accessible to interested parties outside the speech community. There are basically two motives for a speech community to restrict the extent and public availability of a documentation of its linguistic practices and traditions. One motive is the fact that its linguistic practices involve secret aspects and taboos. A public documentation of such practices would reveal the secrets or lead to the violation of a taboo, generally affecting many or all members of the speech community in a negative way. The other motive is to prevent the exploitation, ridiculing, or improper portrayal of its (linguistic) culture. To deal with secrecy and prohibitions, Himmelmann (1998) points out that although Pueblo societies may be very unwilling to consent to the recording and publication of communicative events, it may well be possible to write a grammar of a Pueblo language, keeping illustrative examples to the minimum and making sure that they do not contain any objectionable data.

Talking on copyrights issues, Himmelmann(1998) says that every compiler of a language documentation be aware of these issues (secrecy and copyrights) and take precautions in order to avoid violation of rights of privacy and language rights, irrespective of whether or not

conflicts of this kind have arisen before in the geographical and/or cultural area in which the speech community is located. On the other hand, there is a need for further, in-depth empirical and theoretical exploration of these issues in order to evaluate the practical feasibility and applicability of the documentary approach. If it turns out that, in the large majority of little-known speech communities, issues of secrecy and "copyright" rule out the kind of large-scale documentations envisioned here, the whole approach is obviously doomed to failure. Reflecting on what communicative event is enough for language documentation, Himmelmann (1998) thinks that as many and as varied communicative events as one can get hold of and manage to transcribe and translate is advisable. Types of communicative events; according to the parameter of spontaneity. And further explanations. (see Himmelmann 1998:178-181).

Table 9: Types of communicative events

| Parameter                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Mayor types    | Examples                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;">  </div> <div> unplanned </div> </div> |                |                                                     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | exclamative    | ‘ouch!’<br>‘fire!’                                  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | directive      | ‘scalpel’<br>greetings<br>small talk                |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | conversational | chat<br>discussion<br>interview                     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | monological    | narrative<br>description<br>speech<br>formal addres |
| planned                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | ritual         | litany                                              |



It is worth noting that a given communicative event may often not be subsumed unequivocally under a single type but may, instead, contain segments belonging to different types. For example, conversations are often interspersed with monological phases or brief directives. Hence, it is not easy in practice to "measure" the representativeness of a given corpus both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Instead, this parameter may serve as a guideline in the sense that it allows for the evaluation of a given corpus with respect to the variety of linguistic structures that may be expected to be attested in it. Its mayor use is to make the compiler aware of potential gaps in the data collected up to a certain stage in the research. Examples of clear gaps include the total lack of directives (either as relatively isolated communicative events or as part of a more complex communicative event) or the fact that all specimens of the monological type basically belong to one subtype. Ideally, then, a language documentation should contain specimens of communicative events of as many different degrees of spontaneity as possible.

Presenting on modality, Himmelmann (1998) expresses that if in a given speech community some linguistic practices make use of other media, say writing or (hand-)signing, these should, of course, also be documented. That is, the parameter of spontaneity is to be complemented by a second parameter, the parameter of modality. Note that the parameter of spontaneity is applicable to all modalities. Thus, with respect to writing, for example, one may distinguish relatively spontaneous forms, such as notes, personal letters, e-mail exchanges, etc., from more planned varieties such as scientific writing and literature. This concludes the present discussion of a framework for the typology of communicative events from the linguistic structure point of view.

To summarize: linguistic practices in a speech community may make use of different media (signing, speaking, writing). For each medium, various degrees of spontaneity may be

distinguished. From the point of view of these two parameters, the goal of a comprehensive language documentation, then, is to provide specimens from each modality in as many degrees of spontaneity as possible. He also assumes that the parameter of modality is categorial rather than continuous. Also, for each type of communicative event, several examples are required in order to be able to determine what is "regular" and what is ad hoc in a given specimen (recall that any distributional analysis crucially depends on the fact that the unit investigated is repeatedly attested).

Natural, observed and staged communicative events as well as elicitation techniques have been discussed in relation to the quality of data (gathering or collection) with a pessimistic view.

Along with Himmelmann (1998), another researcher, questioned how much of a documentation is enough, that is, how varied are the speech acts that have been collected or recorded within a given documentary research which of course falls within the framework of the theory of documentation. This has been the concern of Berge (2010) discussing the issue of adequacy in language documentation with respect to documentation and description; the need to diversify documentation: such as diversity of linguistic data, consultants, fieldworkers, and products; and the interaction of the different participants in documentation efforts. Berge (2010:54), Adequacy in documentation means at a minimum being responsible for good practices in the collection and preservation of primary data and its associated metadata, and in making the data accessible. In his work, he looked at the following:

- What the term documentation means;
- What role description plays in linguistic documentation;
- What should be documented;
- who the documentation is for;

-Who gets documented;

-Who does the documenting;

-What adequacy in documentation means for the work of linguistic in particular.

-He also address the purpose of documentation and how this affects attempts to obtain adequacy levels.

Berge presents some elements of the theory of documentation:

- collection of data rather than analysis of linguistic data (with the exception of transcription and translation which are included in the collection efforts);
- the collection of as much data as possible;
- the standardisation of the metadata to describe the data (e.g Information about time and place of collection, participants, the topic of the collection session, etc), and
- the standardisation of data storage/database entry.
- adequacy in documentation must include both unique and common construction, word, and so on in the language.
- adequacy in documentation should not be limited to what is considered the purest or most traditional form of the language, nor to a particular speaker population. speakers of all ages socio-economic statuses should be included.
- the more people of different backgrounds, training, and interests can work on a language, the more completely that language likely to be documented. Thus adequacy here requires as many people as to take part in the documentation of a language. These people include community members willing to record language data, students, and established researchers.
- adequacy is when documentation is for community members, future generations, laypeople, and scholars within and outside the community of speakers; in short, it is for anyone interested

in the language and culture in question. And diversity in agenda leads to more complete, accurate, and thoughtful documentation.

- Documentation as per work of a linguist. Secondly, by adequacy in documentation means including concomitant description, enabling further documentation rather than focus on theory. By description here we mean basic transcription and translation of the data. Thirdly, as to what gets documented. Berge (2010:56) this must include a much greater variety of grammatical data, including a variety of textual genres, speech acts, figurative language, intonation patterns, and so forth. Some documentation result from areas such as discourse, semantics, cognitive linguistics, prosody; which are not well understood. Due to lack of fluency in the language being documented results to lack of diversity in what is being document. Easy collection and easy analysed are commonly documented than other textual types which are difficult to document as well as analysed. The lack of basic tools, such as dictionary or grammar would hinder the documenter from collecting more varied documentation. Documenting only traditional stories leaves out newer uses of language.

The task of adequately documenting a language cannot be done by a linguistic alone. As for diversity in linguistic structures, we must also have diversity in sociolinguistic materials, such as records of different dialects, linguistic styles, registers and even speaker.

Bowern (2010:89) comments that a documentary research can be likened to “Emergent research (Dobrin 2010) a research method in which the content of the research is shaped to a large extent by the research participants rather than being wholly determined by the researcher in advance.

This thesis is in line with the documentary framework but digresses with the use of the term data collection. The term collects misleads the researcher. Thus we use the term data

tapping because we use extra wisdom to get the appropriate information from the community. The tapping involves a lot of sensitization and tactful engagements before the recording of the corpus. In addition, the annotation of the text direct into ELAN without first of all having a handwritten version risks the research data. The framework is fully ripe for communities with digital facilities where the natives themselves can explore them easily. Unlike the grammars without digital metadata, digital grammars gives further information about the consultant. Thus, the framework is worth repeating for best documentary practices.

Turning to analysing the work, it dwells on Dik (1989:3) theory of Functional Grammar,

*A language is in the first place conceptualized as an instrument of social interaction among human beings, used with the intention of establishing communicative relationships. Within this paradigm one attempts to reveal the instrumentality of language with respect to what people do and achieve with it in social interactions. A natural language, in order words, is seen as an integrated part of the communicative competence of NLU.... It is structured (rather than random) activity in the sense that it is governed by rules, norms, and conventions. It is cooperative activity in the obvious sense that it needs at least two participants to achieve its goals.... linguistics has to deal with two types of rules both ratified by social convention: (i) the rules which govern the constitution of linguistic expressions (semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological rules); (ii) the rules which govern the patterns of verbal interaction in which these linguistic expressions are used (pragmatics rules).*

With this, we follow the various forms of sounds, and contrast in context and applied same procedure for the words, phrases and clauses in the texts collected.

### 1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Though the concept of language documentary is not as extensively studied as other fields of linguistics, some scholars have delved into its study earlier before today. Here, we look at their worldview towards language documentation. Some of these issues discussed are documentary and descriptive linguistics, planning in language documentation, a good

documentary corpus, portability for language documentation and description, training native speakers for documentation, and language of interaction.

### **1.3.1 Documentary and descriptive linguistics**

Himmelman (1998), exposes on documentary and descriptive linguistics. Language descriptions are, in general, useful only to grammatically oriented and comparative linguists. Collections of primary data have at least the potential of being of use to a larger group of interested parties. These include the speech community itself, which might be interested in a record of its linguistic practices and traditions.

Much of the work that is labeled "descriptive" within linguistics comprises two activities, the collection of primary data and a (low-level) analysis of these data. These are indeed two separate activities as shown by the fact that the methods employed in each activity differ substantially. To date, the field concerned with the first activity — called "documentary linguistics" here — has received very little attention from linguists. It is proposed that documentary linguistics be conceived of as a fairly independent field of linguistic inquiry and practice that is no longer linked exclusively to the descriptive framework. A format for language documentations (in contrast to language descriptions) is presented and various practical and theoretical issues connected with this format are discussed. These include the rights of the individuals and communities contributing to a language documentation, the parameters for the selection of the data to be included in a documentation, and the assessment of the quality of such data. The table below is a distinction between documentary and descriptive linguistics.

Table 10: Differences between collecting and analysing primary data

|                       | Collection                                                                                                            | Analysis                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Result                | Corpus of utterances; notes on observations and comments by speaker and compiler on a particular form or construction | Descriptive statements, illustrated by one or two examples                                                     |
| Procedures            | Participant observation, elicitation, recording; transcription and translation of primary data                        | Phonetic, phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic analyses (instrumental measurings, distributional tests, |
| Methodological issues | Sampling, reliability, naturalness                                                                                    | Definition of terms and levels, justification (adequacy) of analysis                                           |

Because of these interrelations and overlaps, a strong tendency exists within descriptive linguistics to blur the differences between the two activities and to consider them part of a uniform project called "describing a language." There are, however, various reasons to keep the two activities clearly separate or, more generally, to distinguish between the documentation and the description of a language. The mayor reason pertains to the methodological differences between the two activities listed in Table 1. The methodological differences are mirrored by the substantial differences between the products of the two activities, a language documentation and a language description, respectively, which will be highlighted in section 2.1 below. Other reasons include the following three arguments.

(1) - No automatic, infallible procedure exists for deriving descriptive statements from a corpus of primary data; that is, any collection of primary data allows for various kinds of analyses even within the framework of descriptive linguistics. therefore, a data collection and its analysis are not just simply two different ways of presenting the same information. This is obviously nothing new to linguistics but, rather, belongs to the few general assumptions shared

by most, if not all, linguists since the failure of the post-Bloomfieldian discovery procedures project.

(2) - A comprehensive descriptive analysis is not the only kind of analysis possible for a given set of primary data. A set of primary data may be of interest to various other (sub-) disciplines, including sociolinguistics, anthropology, discourse analysis, oral history, etc.

This, of course, presupposes that the data set contains data and information amenable to the research methodologies of these disciplines. The chance that this kind of data and information is found in a language description is practically nil. Language descriptions are, in general, useful only to grammatically oriented and comparative linguists. Collections of primary data have at least the potential of being of use to a larger group of interested parties. These include the speech community itself, which might be interested in a record of its linguistic practices and traditions.

(3) - As long as collection and analysis are considered part of a single, uniform project, the collection activity is likely to be (relatively) neglected. Historically speaking at least, it has been the case that the collection activity has never received the same attention within descriptive linguistics.

Himmelman as the analytic activity. Descriptive theory has almost exclusively been occupied with the procedures for analyzing primary data and presenting this analysis (in the format of a grammar and a lexicon). Methodological issues with respect to obtaining and presenting primary data have never been dealt with in depth within descriptive linguistics.

The presentation (publication) of the primary data has generally been considered a secondary task. In recent decades, hardly any comprehensive collections of primary data have been published. A clear separation between documentation and description will ensure that the collection and presentation of primary data receive the theoretical and practical attention they



deserve. Much more fundamental objections could be raised against the idea that language documentation and language description are part of a single, uniform project. The essence of such objections pertains to the fact that any close link between these two activities has the consequence of the descriptive concept of language determining the kind of data considered relevant in language documentation. Consequently, any objections raised against the descriptive concept of language as a system of units and regularities will also apply to a language documentation done within the descriptive framework. As is well known, the descriptive concept of language has been criticized from various points of view, with a notable increase of criticism in recent times.

Among the targets of such criticism are its abstract and a historic conception of the speech community as a homogeneous body, its neglect truly to confront the complexities of spoken language (rather than reducing spoken language to "language as it may be written down") and the concept of a language as an overall coherent system.

Language documentation are determined and influenced by a broad variety of language related (sub-) disciplines, including the following: -sociological and anthropological approaches to language (variationist sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, linguistic and cognitive anthropology, language contact, etc.); -"hardcore" linguistics (theoretical, comparative, descriptive); -discourse analysis, spoken language research, rhetoric; -language acquisition; -phonetics; -ethics, language rights, and language planning; -field methods; -oral literature and oral history; -corpus linguistics; -educational linguistics. The importance of these analytic frameworks to language documentation certainly differs. The mayor theoretical challenge for documentary linguistics is the task of synthesizing a coherent framework for language documentation from all of these disciplines. This includes the task of determining which

purposes a language documentation may realistically be expected to serve and how they can best be served by a single multi-purpose documentation.

### **1.3.2 Planning in language documentation**

Bowern (2011) says things work better with planning in language documentation, and with training the project participants get better. She states three primary considerations in planning a project:

- What the community (and the linguist) want.
- What the linguist and community are capable of doing.
- What is feasible given the time and money available.

Moreover, she comments that the success of a project also depends not only on the skill of the participants, but also the enthusiasm, commitment and emotional investment of the project staff. In one of the chapters, she lays out a general plan for structuring a documentation project, with examples from different geographical areas and went further to saying that language documentation projects can be very varied, both in scope and out comes. Bowern (2011) lists certain elements which are common to all documentation projects, people money and infrastructure, tasks and outcomes, time-lines, time-frames and work-flows. She also discusses on the project management raising a point it helpful to think of a documentation project as both MODULAR and INCREMENTAL. Modular planning implies that different parts of the project form separate pieces, incremental planning means that different parts of the project build on one another. Modular and incremental planning is important for documentation projects, not only because some parts of the project are contingent on other parts. In addition, incrementally it is good for a documentation project to start with something small and building on it to allow you to capitalize on initial enthusiasm and to realize that enthusiasm.

She also comments on project outcomes as being tangible and intangible end products of the project. The tangible outcomes the things that you can see, like the documentary corpus, archived collection, dictionaries and other similar items. Teaching programmes and teaching materials are also tangible outcomes. While intangible outcomes are the more abstract results that may be just as valuable but are more difficult to describe. For example, there may be an increased value placed on the language within the community. It may have a higher profile in the local area. The acquisition of skills and increased self-esteem are intangible outcomes. Outcomes are as the result of planning and design but some degree of flexibility should be executed since planning is just guide for documentation work and not an end in itself.

### **1.3.3 A good documentary corpus**

Woodbury (2003:46-47) in Austin (2006), argues that a good documentation corpus should be as follows: First, A good corpus is diverse; diverse in situations; in participants - people carrying various social roles: in channels such as speech, writing, e-mail; in speech genres, including conversation, narrative, oratory, verbal art, formal and informal interaction; and perhaps in different dialects or varieties or codes, if the community in question is on the community rather than one particular language or code.

Second, a good corpus is large. Corpora that is large have proven useful even for grammatical and lexical investigation. We add here that is useful to archaeologist, other fields of social scientific studies; archaeology, biology, geography.

Third, a good corpus production is ongoing, distributed, and opportunistic. It continually grows. Many people contribute to its development. And documenters take advantage of any opportunity to record, videotape or otherwise document or otherwise document instances of

language use native users of the language should be trained to make high quality recordings, control the documentation and the means for documentation.

Fourth, material should be transparent. They should be properly annotated. In short they should be usable by anyone interested. If all text cannot be glossed inter-linearly, it should be minimally be transcribed into the language of wider communication following phonetic and phonological tenets. The documentation is considered incomplete when the collected data has not been annotated or translated.

Fifth, material should be preservable, ethical, and portable, Proper metadata information should be given about each data, whether text, audio, video or any other medium. Data should be archived. It should be handled so that it should migrate easily to the new technologies that emerge.

Sixth, a good corpus is ethical. This includes that data ownership be protected, data should not disseminate to those its owners or producers do not want to have or use it. It is better to deposit data in an archive with restrictions than not to deposit at all.

#### **1.3.4 Portability for language documentation and description**

Other documentary linguists, Bird and Simons (2003) present seven dimensions of portability for language documentation and description. The article is concerned with the portability of digital language resources, specifically with their ability to transcend computer environments, scholarly communities, domains of application and the passage of time.

It reviews existing software tools and digital technologies for language documentation and description and analyses portability problems in the seven areas of CONTENT, FORMAT, DISCOVERY, ACCESS, CITATION, PRESERVATION, AND RIGHTS

Furthermore, it articulates the values that underlie our intuitions about good and bad practices and lays out an extensive set of recommendations to serve as a starting point for the envisaged community-wide discussion.

The article bothers about how we can ensure that digital language documentation and description can be reused by others, both now and in the future. It goes further to say, language documentation creates endangered data due to the change of software versions, file formats, with system configurations having a short lifespan of three to five years. When the moribund technologies die, unique heritage is either lost or encrypted.

Fortunately, linguists can follow best practices in digital language documentation and description, greatly increasing the likelihood that their work will survive in the long term.

The article says if digital language documentation and description should transcend time, they should also be reusable in other respects: across different software and hardware platforms, across different scholarly communities (e.g field linguistics, language pedagogy, language technology), and across different purpose (e.g research, teaching, development)

A critical reflection on the 7 points of Bird and Simons (2003), one can conclude that language documentation and description is like carrying water in a basket, a wasteful endeavour. However, one can hope on frequently transferring data from old drives to newer drives every three years span, just as, we buy and replace a new gas tube for a gas bottle to prevent fire catastrophe. See Bird and Simons (2003:574-579) for details on best practices for language documentation and description.

### 1.3.5 Training native speakers for documentation

Bird (2010) questions whether speakers of remote small and unwritten languages can be trained to create an archival record of their oral literature, with only limited external support. His paper describes the model of “Basic Oral Language Documentation (BOLD)”. They collect linguistic performances using digital voice recorders and some careful speech versions of selected items, together with spontaneous oral translations into a language of wider communication, are recorded and curated with a smaller selection transcribed. The paper describes the method, and shows how it is able to address linguistic, technological and sociological obstacles and how it can be used to collect a sizeable corpus. According to this paper, basic oral language documentation is good means for the task of preserving endangered linguistic heritage.

The audio capture has this as metadata: the names of speakers, the date, location, the recorder operator; purpose of recording/topic of recording. To collect audio in the following contexts: home, market, garden, church, village court. Also to collect from elderly speakers and children and in other villages where the language is spoken.

Oral annotation and text selection, an oral translation of the audio capture into the language of wider communication is provided for it to be accessible. The oral translation of the original sources is recorded. This is done by playing back the original recording, pausing it regularly, and recording a translation on a second recorder. The annotation is facilitated by respeaking and translation in a conducive environment at a slower pace. The texts are identified according to the following criteria:

- Cultural and linguistic value: idiomatic use of language, culturally significant content, rich vocabulary, minimal code-switching.

- Diversity: folklore, personal narrative, public address, dialogue (greetings, discussion, instruction parent-child), song
- Recording quality: clear source recording, minimal background noise

Protocol for re-speaking and oral translation. The process requires two native speakers with specialised roles, the operator and the talker. The talker leaves the second recorder running the whole time, and does not touch the controls. This recorder captures playback of the original recording, along with the re-spoken version or the translation. The operator monitors the talker's speech ensuring that it is slow, loud, and accurate while using agreed hand signals to control the talker's speed and volume, and to ask for the phrase to be repeated. Once the work is complete, the logbooks for both recorders are updated.

Logbooks, for each primary text, the language workers note the date, location, participant name, topic, and genre, using the logbook provided with each recorder. As a summary: audio capture, oral annotation, transcription, back up of data.

### **1.3.6 Language of interaction**

On the language of interaction, Boas (1911:60), talking about ethnologist on the question of language of an investigator, he says an investigator would hardly be considered serious if all his knowledge has to be derived from second-hand accounts, that is, through interpreter. That no accurate and authoritative account of a people is expected from an investigator who does not readily speak the language of his research. Thus, nevertheless, we must insist that a command of the language is an indispensable means of obtaining accurate and thorough knowledge because much information can be gained by listening conversations of the natives

and by taking part in their daily life, which, to the observer who has no command of the language, will remain entirely inaccessible.

A general view of ethnographic literature shows clearly how much better is the information obtained by observers who have command of the language and who are on terms of intimate friendship with the natives, than that obtained through the medium of interpreters.

Both ethnography and language documentation goes with the collection of information about people thus, a knowledge of the people's language under investigation is invaluable for qualitative quantity corpus.

## **1.4 MBUK LANGUAGE**

The Mbuk language amongst other languages falls within beboid subgroup and very little has been done on writing it down. A few of the written areas are discussed in the following. The Mbuk language and culture has little or no written documents, audio and even video ones which are stored for use and reuse or are being used. This is because the language development agency SIL some years backed has focused only on developing the sister variant of Mbuk called Chung. It is in Chung that we have some literature such as a sketch grammar, story books and a diary. We also find some audio parables of Jesus in Chung. While in those days of scholarly exploration, little is known about Mbuk. In 1974, Chilver and Kabery exploration of languages of Western-Grassfields documented a wordlist of 41 words. Furthermore they compared the following numerals, 1-10, 15, 20, 40, 60, 100, 1000 of the following three languages; Naki (Bunaki ~ Mekaf), Koshin (Kɔsin) together with those of Mbuk. Then in 2010 Pierpaolo and Tschonghonge collected a wordlist of over 200 words under the auspices of endangered languages comonitored by the University of Yaounde I and Buffalo University at New York.



The Mbuk language is similar to the Chung language with the vitality and viability questionable. The Bum language is like a Language of Wilder Communication in this area. According to Brye & Brye (2000:27);

*They also intermarry with the people of Bum and say that many Cung people can speak Bum. In fact, in the group interview, when asked what language Cung speakers use when talking with someone from Bum, the group replied: 'We can speak Bum. We are mixed.' They also noted that for public announcements and regional council meetings they use Bum, to be general. When asked which languages, apart from their mother tongue, they would choose to learn to read and write, they chose first Bum, then Mbuk, and lastly Mungong, mentioning also English and French.*

The Mbuk language has a sister language Chung, and the possibilities of developing this language effectively by SIL is slim as we see from the following quote, Brye & Brye (2000:28);

*In summary, lexicostatistics would suggest that Chung is definitely a Beboid language, although it is unclear as yet whether it is best classified with the eastern or western cluster. Linguistic and sociolinguistic factors point to a distinct and presently vital language. There are some reasons to doubt, however, that a program to develop and promote literacy in Chung would be viable. The language is spoken in only one village, and the Chung admit that they are mixed with Bum speakers and use the Bum language quite a bit. This may indicate the potential for eventual language shift. The fact that few Chung speakers go beyond primary school and that the community has no committee for development also does not speak promisingly for the success of a mother tongue language development project. We would recommend that the Chung speakers' comprehension of Mungong, Koshin, and Bum be investigated more closely to see if written materials might possibly be shared with any of these groups.*

Whenever Chung is mentioned, this is also referred to Mbuk as well. Since, the project combines Mbuk and Chung as a single language. But in our documentary project the two languages are separated because we want to preserve the linguistic nuances of both variants. Moreover, because of that tendency that Mbuk can shift eventually to Bum and that the Bum written materials be shared with Mbuk, implies by induction that this will hasten the extinction

of Mbuk lexemes more rapidly thus the prime necessity to rescue the remaining lexemes from immediate death by documenting it in various formats: audio, video and written.

### **1.4.1 Families of Mbuk Language**

Since the language of Mbuk is not quite known in the linguistic literature of the Grassfields in this 21st century, it is worth relating it to its families for better understanding.

In this section, we will examine some common grammatical categories per language and some cultural issues where necessary. The Languages in question are randomly selected from the Beoid cluster (Hombert 1980), These languages of the beoid are divided into Western and Eastern beoid. And we will dwell mostly on those of the Western Beoid and a few sample will be examined in the Eastern beoid. The western beoid languages include; Buu, Mundabli, Mumfu; Koshin; Fang; Missong, Abar, Ngun, Biya, Munken; Mashi; Ajumbu; kung of which (Good et al 2010) refers to them as Yemne-Kimbi languages. Hence forth in this thesis we shall stick on to Yemne-Kimbi because the livelihood of the Mbuk people depends on river Kimbi which is referred as the Mbuk river. Furthermore, the lexemes, grammar and tradition of Mbuk is strongly linked to that of the typical Yemne-Kimbi. Thence the Kimbi river (River Mbuk) has been used during war times as an escape exit route for the Mbuk to Fang. The chapter is divided into two sections, 1.1 covers the sister languages of Mbuk and some few insight comparisons are made between Mbuk and Chung to see the degree similarity and differences while 1.2 looks at the sound system of the Mbuk speech variety.

### **1.4.2 Mbuk sister languages**

The Mbuk language is lexically similar to Nooni, Naki, Misong, Buu, Koshin, Mundabli, Fang, Mungong, Ncane and especially Chung (Cung, Cun). Hence, Mbuk language can be

classified alongside these above mentioned languages since Chung has been identified and classified as belonging to this group of languages in the first column of the table below.

Table 11: Lexical comparison of Mbuk with Western (Yemne-Kimbi) and Eastern Beboid

|             | words        |                 |                  |           |             |            |                        | groupings      |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Languages   | tree         | bird            | head             | two       | rain        | eat        | water                  |                |
| Fang        | pun          | binɔnə          | k <sup>h</sup> u | fe        | bualə       | ʒi         | ndziam                 | Western Beboid |
| koshin      | kp̄in        | kiŋwɛn          | k <sup>h</sup> i | fi        | dzaŋ        | ʒi         | ndi                    | Western Beboid |
| Missong     | kite         | kimwa           | ifi              | bifa      | ibu         | ndzənə     | anyɛ                   | Western Beboid |
| Buu         | kpon         | kənyuwənə       | fa               | bəfyɛ     | dzəŋ        | yi         | ŋgin                   | Western Beboid |
| Mundabli    | gban         | ŋwan            | fɔ               | mfiə      | dziŋ        | yi         | ŋgi                    | Western Beboid |
| Mashi       | ati          | uŋyɛnɛ          | fu               | bifə      | dzaŋ        | nyɛə       | ngwɔ                   | Western Beboid |
| Abar        | kəti         | ʃinyuŋ          | ifɛ              | bifin     | ibu         | idʒi       | anya                   | Western Beboid |
| <b>Mbuk</b> | <b>kp̄ɛn</b> | <b>f̄inyéní</b> | <b>fú</b>        | <b>fá</b> | <b>dzàŋ</b> | <b>dzí</b> | <b>ŋg<sup>w</sup>í</b> | <b>?</b>       |
| Mungong     | kátá         | fánē            | kàkfù            | fée       | dʒàŋ        | ndʒê       | dyùù                   | Eastern Beboid |
| Chung       | kwēŋ         | finyiényí       | fúú              | fáá       | dʒàŋ        | dʒē        | múi                    | Eastern Beboid |
| Nooni       | kete         | f̄ɪɲí           | èfá              | fée       | yàŋ         | díyá       | yòò                    | Eastern Beboid |
| Ncane       | kítá         | f̄inyíí         | kékwéɛ           | fée       | dyàŋ        | dyí        | dyɔ̀̀                  | Eastern Beboid |
| Kemezung    | kótú         | f̄inyíní        | fô               | fée       | dʒàŋ        | ndiá       | ngóŋ                   | Eastern Beboid |
| Bebe        | tíé          | f̄inyíní        | kūō              | bìfúé     | dyàŋ        | dí         | ngwí                   | Eastern Beboid |

Examining initial consonants for each of the 7 (tree, bird, head, two, rain, eat, and water) terms we can see that Mbuk is midway Western and Eastern Beboid.

### 1.4.3 Mbuk and Chung lexical disunity

Though Chung is daughter language to Mbuk, lexical differences have occurred as a result of their separation for over 50 years now. This lexical difference has lead to the learning

of both languages as a prerequisite for understanding each other, thus, children as well as adults no longer acquire them but learn them.

The desire for sovereignty is achieved by distancing the nucleus of the initial settlement and acquiring new land and being endowed with power with the creation of a new language deliberately as attempted the settlers of Kumfutu of the Kuk language or undeliberately so as to sound as though they are different and unique people who have no link with their fellow brothers beyond on the other side of the land or river. May be the etymology of the term "Chung" can give us more facts about the relatedness of Mbuk and Chung.

Since language is one of that key uniform that expresses immediate outward differences, many devices are used to induce the difference. History states that the Chung separated from their brothers the Mbuk and crossed over the river Mbuk (Kimbi river). As a result of this break away, the Chung further distant themselves not only territorially but linguistically. Linguistic divergence has been observed with vowels, consonants, syllabicity, point of articulation, manner of articulation, as overall word change. Some of the divergence in sounds and words have been presented in the subsequent section.

#### 1.4.3.1 Mbuk and Chung vowel disunity

Two main movements have been observed, vertical along the same line of articulation and oblique movements, side ward or slanting displacement. Here are some examples of vertical changes that makes the difference between Mbuk and Chung.

Vertical root vowel raising change from back low to back high "ɔ → u" as we see:

|    |    |       | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
|----|----|-------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 4) | a. | ɔ → u | tómí        | túmí         | "country"    |
|    | b. | ɔ → u | bóm         | bùm          | "accept"     |

- |    |       |             |             |         |
|----|-------|-------------|-------------|---------|
| c. | ɔ → u | <b>mbòm</b> | <b>mbùm</b> | "large" |
| d. | ɔ → u | <b>tóm</b>  | <b>túm</b>  | "shoot" |

In b, the tone has also been made different. The Mbuk has a high tone while the Chung has but a low tone added to the vowel change.

Vertical root vowel raising change from low front to high front "ɛ → i"

- |    |    |             |              |              |         |
|----|----|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------|
|    |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |         |
| 5) | a. | ɛ → i       | <b>dé</b>    | <b>dí</b>    | "place" |

Vertical root vowel lowering change from central mid to central low "ə → a"

- |    |    |             |                         |                         |        |
|----|----|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------|
|    |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i>            | <i>gloss</i>            |        |
| 6) | a. | é → á       | <b>dzé<sup>ʰ</sup>é</b> | <b>dzá<sup>ʰ</sup>á</b> | "talk" |

Vertical root vowel lowering change from high back to low back "u → ɔ"

- |    |    |             |              |              |         |
|----|----|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------|
|    |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |         |
| 7) | a. | u → ɔ       | <b>nu</b>    | <b>nɔ</b>    | "sleep" |

Some examples on oblique vowel changes are being presented. Oblique root vowel lowering change from back low to central low "ɔ → a" as seen below:

- |    |    |             |               |               |                   |
|----|----|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
|    |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i>  | <i>gloss</i>  |                   |
| 8) | a. | ɔ → a       | <b>kíŋɔŋɔ</b> | <b>kíŋápá</b> | "white-neck hawk" |

Oblique root vowel raising change from central mid to back high "ə → u" as below:

- |    |    |             |              |              |           |
|----|----|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
|    |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |           |
| 9) | a. | ə → u       | <b>fáké</b>  | <b>fúkú</b>  | "country" |

Oblique root vowel lowering change from central mid to back low "ə → ɔ" seen below:

- |     |    |             |              |              |         |
|-----|----|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------|
|     |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |         |
| 10) | a. | ə → ɔ       | <b>bèŋ</b>   | <b>bóŋ</b>   | "call"  |
|     | b. | ə → ɔ       | <b>béní</b>  | <b>bóní</b>  | "greet" |

There is also a modification of the vowel in (b) demonstrating some harmony whereby the "ə" take "i" and the "ɔ" goes together with "i".

In a., the vowel changes is accompanied by a tone opposition. The Mbuk has a low while the stays different by opting for a high pitch.

Oblique root vowel raising change from central mid to front high "ə → i", "ə → e"

|     |    | <i>Mbuk</i>       | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
|-----|----|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 11) | a. | ə → i      ásə    | ási          | "as"         |
|     | b. | ə → e ~ i      nə | né           | "mother"     |

There is also vowel variation exhibited between the vowel e and i as shown in (b).

### 1.4.3.2 Vowel harmony

Some degree of congruity is being expressed by the vowels in the process of trying to differ from one another. Between Mbuk and Chung, there is vowel lowering where the "ə → a", then the "ə" takes the high vowel "i" for harmony and the "a" take the "ə" for its harmony:

|     |    | <i>Mbuk</i>    | <i>Chung</i>    | <i>gloss</i> |
|-----|----|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 12) | a. | ŋgákí<br>ə / i | ŋgákə<br>a / ə  | "trouble"    |
|     | b. | tʃòkò<br>ɔ / ɔ | tʃwàkà<br>a / a | "iron"       |

### 1.4.3.3 Consonantal disunity

The Chung variety is different at the level of consonants as well. Simple consonant have been replaced in Chung to achieve linguistic sovereignty:

|     |        |             |              |              |
|-----|--------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 13) |        | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
| a.  | dz → g | dzén        | gén          | "corn"       |

|    |                     |             |             |        |
|----|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------|
| b. | <b>y</b> → <b>n</b> | <b>yó</b>   | <b>nó</b>   | "what" |
| c. | <b>h</b> → <b>s</b> | <b>fáhí</b> | <b>fásí</b> | "plan" |

The labialisation feature has contributed for the identity of Mbuk to look different from that of Chung. In some words, where the Mbuk have a low vowel or a high vowel, there is a gliding that leads to labialisation in Chung:

|     |                        |               |                |               |
|-----|------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| 14) |                        | <i>Mbuk</i>   | <i>Chung</i>   | <i>gloss</i>  |
| a.  | <b>tʃ</b> → <b>tʃʷ</b> | <b>tʃòkò</b>  | <b>tʃwàkà</b>  | "iron"        |
| b.  | <b>k</b> → <b>kʷ</b>   | <b>tìkólí</b> | <b>tìkwílí</b> | "family head" |
| c.  | <b>b</b> → <b>bʷ</b>   | <b>bálí</b>   | <b>bwélí</b>   | "waist"       |

Another prosodic difference is palatalisation, one of the styles Chung has used to be different from Mbuk:

|     |                       |             |              |              |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 15) |                       | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
| a.  | <b>ɣ</b> → <b>gʲ</b>  | <b>ɣá</b>   | <b>gyá</b>   | "thing"      |
| b.  | <b>tʃ</b> → <b>kʲ</b> | <b>tʃó</b>  | <b>kyó</b>   | "know"       |
| c.  | <b>b</b> → <b>bʲ</b>  | <b>bí</b>   | <b>byélí</b> | "follow"     |

Examining the data, in (a) the voiceless velar "ɣ" becomes voiced and palatalises "gy". While in the case of (b) the voiceless palato-alveolar "tʃ" becomes voiceless palatalised velar "ky". And for (c) the bilabial stop becomes palatalised with the syllabic structure changing from monosyllabic to disyllabic.

#### 1.4.3.4 Disunity in syllabification

The monosyllabic Mbuk words are converted in to disyllabic words in Chung:

|     |                         |             |              |              |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 16) |                         | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
| a.  | <b>CV</b> → <b>CVCV</b> | <b>wé</b>   | <b>welí</b>  | "open"       |

|    |            |             |              |             |
|----|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| b. | CV → CVCV  | <b>tʃá</b>  | <b>kɔkɔ</b>  | "tilt"      |
| c. | CV → CVCV  | <b>bí</b>   | <b>byǎlí</b> | "follow"    |
| d. | CV → CVCV  | <b>yé</b>   | <b>yélí</b>  | "name"      |
| e. | CV → CVCV  | <b>dā</b>   | <b>dólí</b>  | "vagina"    |
| f. | CVV → CVCV | <b>gbě:</b> | <b>gbēlí</b> | "plant (v)" |

#### 1.4.3.5 Semantic shift

Most often, when words are to have the same form, there is often a semantic shift thus creating a kind of homonym in the language but creating different words for the two dialects.

|     |                         |                                   |
|-----|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 17) | <i>Mbuk</i>             | <i>Chung</i>                      |
| a.  | <b>tóm</b><br>"shoot"   | <b>tóm</b><br>"put"               |
| b.  | <b>dzáʔá</b><br>"mouth" | <b>dzáʔá</b><br>"say/talk, mouth" |
| c.  | <b>gēŋ</b><br>"carry"   | <b>gēŋ</b><br>"corn"              |

#### 1.4.3.6 Nasal deletion

In order to widen the gap of dissimilarity amongst the Mbuk, the Chung variant subtracts some nasals from the words it emigrated with them from Mbuk:

|     |               |               |              |
|-----|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 18) | <i>Mbuk</i>   | <i>Chung</i>  | <i>gloss</i> |
| a.  | <b>fíŋkóm</b> | <b>fíkófí</b> | "knife"      |
| b.  | <b>dzóŋ</b>   | <b>dzó</b>    | "hire"       |
| c.  | <b>méŋní</b>  | <b>mání</b>   | "mání"       |



### 1.4.3.7 Nasal insertion

One other means used by the Chung to gain linguistic sovereignty is by adding a nasal to some Mbuk words to make them different from their parent language:

|     |             |              |              |
|-----|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 19) | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
| a.  | <b>dzǔ:</b> | <b>dʒóŋ</b>  | "house"      |
| b.  | <b>tóm</b>  | <b>mtóm</b>  | "message"    |
| c.  | <b>bá:</b>  | <b>mbyán</b> | "palm nut"   |

### 1.4.3.8 Nasal substitution

Substitution, that is, replacing a sound with another sound in order to form a new language is how Chung has come about to have such lexemes in its language:

|     |               |               |              |
|-----|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 20) | <i>Mbuk</i>   | <i>Chung</i>  | <i>gloss</i> |
| a.  | <b>yó</b>     | <b>nó</b>     | "what"       |
| b.  | <b>fàýí</b>   | <b>nàýí</b>   | "where"      |
| c.  | <b>fálí</b>   | <b>fáŋní</b>  | "tilt"       |
| d.  | <b>mbúŋwí</b> | <b>mbúŋmí</b> | "dove"       |

### 1.4.3.9 Orthographic Accent

Once an orthographic linguists has trespassed a language with its dogma, that language can no longer be articulated purely as when it has not known such a linguists. Orthographic and literacy linguists defies the naturalness of the speech. This introduces a new speech style, accent.

For over 5years, the Mbuk has been studying one of its variant, and both the phonetic realisation and its orthographic (Orth) conventions have been imported into Mbuk, hence,

suppressing and diverting the real phonetic release of some sounds. As a result creating and forcefull dropping of sounds and facilitated assimilation to the exporting language sounds in this case Chung. Thus, undermining the orthoepy of Mbuk as shown below:

|     |     |                        |                           |                             |
|-----|-----|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 21) | a.  | <i>Chung Phonetics</i> | <i>Mbuk Phonetics</i>     | <i>Mbuk Thesis Phonetic</i> |
|     | i   | -si                    | -hi                       | -hi ~ -si ~ h ~ s           |
|     | ii  | -ɣ -                   | - ɣ -                     | - ɣ - ~ - k -               |
|     | iii | ɔ                      | o                         | o ~ ɔ                       |
|     | iv  | ny                     | ɲ                         | ɲ ~ <sup>j</sup> n ~ n      |
|     | b.  | <i>Chung Orth.</i>     | <i>Chung Orth. (Mbuk)</i> |                             |
|     | i   | - si                   | - si                      |                             |
|     | ii  | - k -                  | - k -                     |                             |
|     | iii | ɔ                      | ɔ                         |                             |
|     | iv  | in                     | in                        |                             |

Some sample words with Chung Orthographic influence are presented and these pronunciations have been observed amongst those who have gone through the literacy classes taught using Chung primers while those who have not been in these classes pronounce differently. So, we differentiate between orthographic accent and natural Mbuk pronunciation:

|     |      |                            |                                          |              |
|-----|------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------|
|     |      | <i>Orthographic accent</i> | <i>Natural Mbuk</i>                      | <i>gloss</i> |
| 22) | i.   | <b>h</b> <b>yakasi</b>     | <b>yà<sup>h</sup>àhí</b>                 | "climb"      |
|     |      | <b>tásā</b>                | <b>táhā</b>                              | "bowl"       |
|     | ii.  | <b>ɣ</b> <b>káká</b>       | <b>ká<sup>ɣ</sup>á</b>                   | "leg"        |
|     |      | <b>kōkō</b>                | <b>kō<sup>ɣ</sup>ō</b>                   | "camwood"    |
|     | iii. | <b>o</b> <b>fōkō</b>       | <b>fō<sup>ɣ</sup>ō</b>                   | "axe"        |
|     |      | <b>bōkō</b>                | <b>bō<sup>ɣ</sup>ō ~ bó<sup>ɣ</sup>ō</b> | "stream"     |
|     | iv   | <b>ɲ</b> <b>wáin</b>       | <b>wáp</b>                               | "child"      |

Mbuk is being impoverished of the velar fricative ɣ because it is being replaced with the velar stop k which is found in the Chung orthography which Mbuk is asked to use. And sounds that are present in Mbuk which are not found in Chung and have not been accounted for in the Chung orthography.

#### 1.4.4 Mbuk and Fang Affinity

Fang (the triangle is the location) oral history states that the Fang people originated from Bafang in the West Region of Cameroon. As they set out wandering for a peaceful site they arrived the Menchum river and their mystical leader transformed into a tree and fell over the river forming a bridge which allowed the Fang people to crossover. While crossing, the bridge transformed back into a man while others members of the group were still behind yet to arrive at the bridge. Those that did not cross became "bə́fán" with the prefix "bə-" meaning the Fang who have remained or have been left behind. Hence, the group separated into two; the one that crossed moved to the present site Fang while those who did not cross remained in the present site Befang in Menchum Valley Subdivision. It should be noted that even the Aghems used to cross the Befang Menchum part of the river in war times mystically by causing the river to temporally get dry. Whenever the Aghems arrive, Ngoofoy will use a short staff to beat the waters with it and the water goes down and after crossing he beats the banks and the waters comes up. Thus, the present Befang market area is a recent settlement negotiated by the Cameroon government with the Aghem to allow the Befang to crossover and settle for easy collection of tax and easy access to the road. They have been using a hanging bridge to cross now. Moreover, the Fang and Befang links is good to be substantiated with some linguistic evidence. In Socio-historical terms, the Mbuk and Fang regard themselves as brothers. During war, a Mbuk man seeks refuge in Fang and on his return was given wives, girls of Fang. Thus, the Fang and modern Mbuk have crosspolinated such that Mbuk are Fang and Fang are Mbuk and this gross intermarrying continues till date. At the level of tradition, the Mbuk and the Fang have bypassed intermarriage acts and went further to sharing socio-cultural traditions amongst which is the "kímfflì" annual festival which the Mbuk brought from the Fang which is known as "kəmfənə" in the Fang language. The "kəmfənə" is celebrated by four chiefdoms; the Fang,

Mbuk, Koshin and Chung. The cultural festival was borne mystically in Fang as the origin gives. The "kàmɸənə" originated from an occult realm. A Fang man had a friend at the realm that he used to visit and there was famine in at the occult. The friend at the occult realm had a daughter and because of famine, food was not enough for the family. The friend pleaded the Fang man to take home the daughter and be feeding her. The man brought home the girl and placed her in the woodbin and she was only visible to the man. From this time, the man asked the wife to be giving him more food but never revealed to the wife where the food was used for. The wife just thought the husband now eats a lot meanwhile part of the food was being given to the girl in the woodbin. When the girl got martured, the man took the girl back to the occult to present to the friend. When the friend saw her daughter, he was very happy and decided to offer the "kàmɸənə" as a reward for a job well done. On giving the "kàmɸənə" he gave some prime conditions; (1) that they have to dance once a year and for one day and one night. (2) It has three intruments; 2 to 4 stringed-hand piano, 7 engraved bamboo pieces rattled with an iron bar or ring, and small drum. The instruments are played by men only. (3) And for singers; about 4 solist and unspecified number choristers who are at the same time the dancers both men and women, boys and girls, the youths and the aged. (4) The callabash is brought down from the door, and the herbs are prepared on the eve of the native Sunday, the dancing day. The chaffs of the herbs is taken and throwing in the farms by women because they serve as fertilisers. (5) When water is poured inside the callabash rain has to fall and if the rain fails to fall it means the villagers still bear grudges amonst themselves and also that some are still owing fines of last year. The day of dancing is the celebration of the village native new-year, so they belief that before the new year begins, every heart has to be pure. (6) The festival also helps to indicate the degree of security with neighbouring village. The festival powers can reveal which village will bring trouble or wage war against them and and also dictate he or she

within or out of the village who is out to poison someone during the occasion. When any problem is noticed, the Kwifon members come out and stop the dance and warn he or she who is to harm someone and also inform the village about any future threats. (7) The Fon makes a speech twice or thrice and in the first speech he welcomes the festival and request for three things; (a) child, (b) food, (c) meat. The celebration helps women who have not been able to conceive to get pregnant, fertilise food and provide more animals in traps or hunting. (8) When the days of the celebration are nearer, no one is expected to fight, beat the wife, or a child.

Peace is the order of the period and no one is allowed to speak in a loud voice. (9) And from the eve no drum or any other instrument is allowed to sound in the village untill the period of the observation of the "kàm fənè" is over. (10) Anyone who goes contrary to these rules must pay a fine and plead for forgiveness. The fine varies depending on the type of crime. In Mbuk the rules are a bit laxed, they are not taken very serious as is the case in Fang.

#### **1.4.5 Mbuk and Yemne-Kimbi**

This segment comparably looks at some key elements of linguistics in the languages of Lower Fungom referred under the classification Yemne-Kimbi (Good et al 2011). Which Hombert (1980) refers to them as Western Beoid in direct opposite, he also refers to the other group as Eastern Beoid in the Noni areas. In this work, we will stick to the more recent renamed Western Beoid appellation known as Yemne-Kimbi while we simply refer to Eastern Beoids as Beoid. The comparative analyses begin with languages of Yemne-Kimbi of the Lower Fungom Sub-division of the Menchum Division. The reason for comparing these languages with Mbuk is because of the common trade, intermarriage, cultural affiliation that is , there is phylogenetic relationship existing between them. And the reason for our linguistic

comparison is to see if they are linguistically a unit or not so as to better determine a tentative classification for Mbuk which is absent in the linguistic atlas of Cameroon.

### 1.4.5.1 Comparable consonants

Here we look at consonants that are peculiar to Mbuk and see which of the Yemne-Kimbi languages share all, some or none of the sounds. One prominent characteristic of almost all the Yemne-Kimbi languages is that they all lack a productive "z" and a scarcity in "p". The data is courtesy Good et al (2011:101-164). Mundabli (M'bli)

|     |             |          |          |          |          |          |           |          |          |          |          |
|-----|-------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 23) | <b>Mbuk</b> | <b>p</b> | <b>z</b> | <b>r</b> | <b>ʔ</b> | <b>v</b> | <b>kx</b> | <b>ɣ</b> | <b>h</b> | <b>ʃ</b> | <b>ɥ</b> |
|     | Fang        | ~ p(b)   | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | v        | ∅         | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        |
|     | Koshin      | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅         | ∅        | ∅        | ʃ        | ∅        |
|     | Chung       | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅         | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        |
|     | M'bli       | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅         | ∅        | ∅        | ʃ        | ɥ        |
|     | Naki        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅         | ∅        | ∅        | ʃ        | ∅        |
|     | Munken      | ~ p      | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅        | ∅         | ∅        | ∅        | ʃ        | ɥ        |
|     | Ajumbu      | ∅        | z        | ∅        | ʔ        | v        | ∅         | ɣ        | ∅        | ʃ (ʒ)    | ɥ        |

The submersion of Mbuk within the Central ring could be the reason for the presence of the sounds that are absent in its fellow Lower Fungom languages. Most of the sound put by Mbuk are also shared by the central and west ring languages:

|     |       |        |           |   |       |    |    |   |   |   |   |
|-----|-------|--------|-----------|---|-------|----|----|---|---|---|---|
| 24) | Mbuk  | p      | z ~ r (t) | ʔ | ~v(w) | kx | ɣ  | h | ʃ | ɥ |   |
|     | Bum   |        | r         |   |       |    | ɣ  | h |   |   |   |
|     | Aghem | ~p(kp) | z         | ∅ | ʔ     | v  | kx | ɣ | h | ʃ | ɥ |

### 1.4.5.2 Comparable vowels

Another area that ties the languages together is the vowels, here we will look at lax vowels *ɪ*, *ʊ* as well as nasalised *ĩ* and super-high *ü* vowels since the other cardinal vowels are more universal, while "v:" represents phonemic long vowel, <sup>d</sup>v diphthongs and v<sup>ʕ</sup> pharyngealised vowel.

|     |        |   |   |   |   |    |                |                |
|-----|--------|---|---|---|---|----|----------------|----------------|
| 25) | Mbuk   | ɪ | ʊ | ĩ | ü | v: | <sup>d</sup> v | ∅              |
|     | Fang   | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ü | v: | <sup>d</sup> v | ∅              |
|     | Koshin | ∅ | ∅ | ĩ | ü | ∅  | <sup>d</sup> v | ∅              |
|     | M'bli  | ɪ | ʊ | ∅ | ü | v: | <sup>d</sup> v | v <sup>ʕ</sup> |
|     | Naki   | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | v | ∅  |                |                |
|     | Munken | ∅ | ∅ | ĩ | ü | ∅  | <sup>d</sup> v | ∅              |
|     | Ajumbu | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ü | ∅  | <sup>d</sup> v | ∅              |

The 'super-high' vowels in Koshin by Good et al ( 2001:141) also features in Mbuk where friction or some aspiration noticed between the plosives and the vowel "ü". And very often it tends to surface like a nasal vowel after the alveolar stop "t" while in the word ear "tünr" which has finally been retained as "tunr", the same vowel carries a lot of frication with the velar plosive "k" and in this case giving an impression of labialisation or affricate "kx". If we are to rely on these two vowel qualities; super-high and nasalised vowels that both Mbuk and Koshin share, we can conclude that Mbuk is closest nephew of Mbuk. But we will need more sophisticated instruments to reanalyse some of these relatedness in the future to ground our postulation about family links.

The vowel "ɪ/ʊ" forms a symmetry in most languages, we will consider the pair absent in Naki if we do not rely on the word, mé [mí] "see" and considering that "o/ɔ" are being more lower instead as observed by Good et al (2011:153-154). Thus, we ponder if there is not a

corresponding lowering of "u" to give us "ʊ" for us to get the pair required for our contrastive study. The transcription might have given priority to "u" in the place of "ʊ" if and only if the lowering is not restricted only to the mid vowels.

In Mundabli, rather than opting for nasalised vowel, they went in for direct opposite which is pharyngealized vowel which makes them different from Mbuk.

### 1.4.5.3 Comparable tones

All the Western Beoid languages are tonal. But tones studies have been minimal. If tone is left out many lexemes will become homophones and grammatical ambiguity will become heavier. These languages rely on tone to make a semantic difference at the word, phrase or clause level. The following is our checklist for the tones with Mbuk as the reference: high (H), low (L), mid (M), falling (F), rising (R), high-mid (H-M), super-high (S-H). Where cardinal numerals indicate number of tone levels:

|     |        | H | L | M | F | R | H-M | L-M | S-H | S-L | levels |
|-----|--------|---|---|---|---|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| 26) | Mbuk   | é | è | ē | ê | ě | ē   | ∅   | ∅   | ∅   | 3      |
|     | Fang   | é | è | ē | ê | ě | ∅   | ∅   | ∅   | ∅   | 3      |
|     | Koshin | é | è | ē | ê | ě | ∅   | ∅   | ě   | ∅   | 3      |
|     | Naki   | é | è | ē | ê | e |     |     |     |     | 4      |
|     | Ajumbu | é | è | ē | ê | ∅ | ∅   | ∅   |     |     | 4      |

### 1.4.5.4 Comparable mutations

Consultants alternations have been observed in most of the languages of the Yemne-Kimbi area. With stops becoming voiced stops gb/gv, proximants becoming labialised stops, and



labio-velar stops being reduced to simple velar voiceless stops kp/k. The examples illustrated here are limited to nouns focusing on both consonants and vowels:

- 27) Mbuk            kp/k    gb/gv    w/bw  
       Koshin        kp/k    gb/dz    w/y(dʒ)  
       M'bli        kp/tsw        gb/dz    m/mb        ny/nyw
- 28) a.    kp/k            kpén / kēn    "tree/trees"            (Mbuk)  
       b.    kp/k            kpô / kô       "day/days"            (Koshin)  
       c.    kp/ts          kpīny / tsīny "firewood/firewoods"        (Koshin)  
       d.    kp/tsw        kpān / tswān "wood/woods/"            (Mundabli)
- 29) a.    gb/gv            gbó / gvú       "foot/feet"            (Mbuk)  
       b.    gb/dz            gbīā / dzīā      "house/houses"        (Koshin)  
       c.    gb/dz            gbō / dzō       "house/houses"        (Mundabli)
- 30) a.    w/bw            wáɲ / bwā      "child/children"        (Mbuk)  
       b.    w/y(dʒ)        wín / yín (dʒín) "tooth/teeth"            (Koshin)

#### 1.4.5.4.1 Comparable cognates mutation

These are same words but mutate in different languages to appear different in form, as a result creating different languages or dialects. Some examples of these mutative cognates are presented below across languages or dialects. The mutative cognates are of the two type; mutative consonant cognate and mutative vowel cognate. The corpus on Koshin, Mundabli, Fang, Mashi and Misong are courtesy of Hamm (2002:30-32):

- 31)            Mbuk        Chung        Koshin        Mundabli    Fang    Mashi        Misong
- "water"      ŋgwí        mwí            ndi            ŋgi            ndziam    ŋgwɔ        anyɛ

|         |      |      |      |       |       |      |        |
|---------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|--------|
| "snake" | dzóŋ | dzúŋ | yɔŋ  | dʒwɔ̃ | yua   | dzu  | idzuŋ  |
| "rain"  | dzàŋ | dzàŋ | dzaŋ | dziŋ  | bualə | dzaŋ | ibu    |
| "eat"   | dzí  | dzí  | ʒi   | yi    | ʒi    | nyɛə | ndzənə |
| "one"   | mu   | mu   | mɔ   | mə    | mũ    | amu  | kimu   |

#### 1.4.5.5 Comparable personal pronouns

An overview of the subject pronouns of Mbuk in relation to some languages of the Lower Fungom shows some close relatedness. Ngun represents the Mungbam (Misong, Munken, Abar, Ngun, Biya) in the personal pronouns, it should be noted that the 1P is not stated whether they are inclusive or exclusive:

|          | 1s     | 2S    | 3S      | 1PE       | 1PI        | 2P    | 3P    |
|----------|--------|-------|---------|-----------|------------|-------|-------|
| 32) Mbuk | mì/m   | wò~wə | wì~wù~ù | bə̀yá ~bá | bə̀yân     | bēn   | bó~bá |
| Chung    | mi     | wɔ    | wi      | bughu     | bughubwein | beiŋ  | bɔ    |
| Koshin   | mə̃    | wə̃   | wū      | sī        |            | mbiny | bó/bá |
| Mundabli | ñ̃     | à     | wù      | bī        |            | bēn   | bɔ̃   |
| Fang     | mə́    | wê    | wə́     | tə̀       |            | nə̀   | bá    |
| (Mashi)  | mi     | wə    | lu      | ki        |            | be    | bu    |
| Ngun     | mə̃/ñ̃ | ā     | ù       | sə̃       |            | bēn   | bɔ̃   |

#### 1.4.5.6 Comparable noun classes

Languages are grouped following their similarity in noun classes. The essence of this is to see which of the languages are more related to Mbuk by class per se. Only the 1st twelve classes are compared. The Mungmbang is similar to Mbuk in that they both have a plural class with the "kɪ-/kə-" prefix as seen in the table below.

Table 12: Mbuk family noun classes compared

| nc | Mbuk    | Chung | Koshin         | Mdabli         | Fang           | Naki           | Ngun            |
|----|---------|-------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1  | ø-      |       | ø-             | ø-             | ø-             | ø-             | ù/ø-            |
| 2  | bə-     |       | bə-            | bə-            | bə-            | bu-            | bə-             |
| 3  | ø-      |       | w <sub>-</sub> | w <sub>-</sub> | w <sub>-</sub> | ø-             | ú-              |
| 4  | ø-      |       | y <sub>-</sub> | y <sub>-</sub> | y <sub>-</sub> |                | í- (4a/6)       |
| 5  | ø-      |       | ø-             | ø-             | ø-             |                | ì-              |
| 6  | kí- (7) |       | tɛ-(nc.13)     | ø-(nc 7)       | tə-(nc.13)     | ø/-ŋ           | a-/ (kə...cə,6) |
| 7  | kì-/ø-  |       | kə-            | ø-             | ø/kə-          | a-             | kə-             |
| 8  | bì-     |       | bə-            | ø-             | bə-            | bi-            | bi-             |
| 9  | `       |       | ` <sub>-</sub> | ` <sub>-</sub> | ` <sub>-</sub> | ` <sub>-</sub> | ì               |
| 10 | ´       |       | ´ <sub>-</sub> | ´ <sub>-</sub> | ´ <sub>-</sub> | ´ <sub>-</sub> | ì               |
| 19 | fí-     |       | fə(N)-         | fí-            | fə-            | fí-            | fí-             |
| 6a | mì-/N-  |       | N-             | N-             | N-             | N-             | N-              |

### 1.4.5.7 Comparable noun class concord

We now compare the concord markers generated by the noun classes in the frame below:

| 33) | Concord | Mbuk                             | Chung | Koshin                 | Mundabli              | Fang       | Naki            | Ngun                          |
|-----|---------|----------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1   |         | w <sup>̀</sup> /ù-               |       | w <sup>̀</sup>         | w <sup>̀</sup>        | w-         | w <sup>̀</sup>  | w <sup>̀</sup>                |
| 2   |         | b <sup>́</sup>                   |       | b <sup>́</sup>         | b <sup>́</sup>        | b-         | b <sup>́</sup>  | bq <sup>́</sup>               |
| 3   |         | w <sup>́</sup>                   |       | w <sup>́</sup>         | w <sup>́</sup>        | w-         | w <sup>́</sup>  | q <sup>́</sup>                |
| 4   |         | y <sup>́</sup> (y <sup>́</sup> ) |       | y <sup>́</sup>         | y <sup>́</sup>        | y-         |                 | y <sup>́</sup>                |
| 5   |         | w <sup>̀</sup>                   |       | w <sup>́</sup>         | w <sup>́</sup>        | w-         |                 | y <sup>́</sup>                |
| 6   |         | k <sup>́</sup>                   |       | t <sup>́</sup> (cl.13) | k <sup>́</sup> (cl.7) | t- (cl.13) | n <sup>́</sup>  | k <sup>́</sup>                |
| 7   |         | k <sup>̀</sup>                   |       | k <sup>́</sup>         | k <sup>́</sup>        | k-         | k <sup>́</sup>  | k <sup>́</sup>                |
| 8   |         | b <sup>̀</sup> /by-              |       | b <sup>̀</sup>         | b <sup>́</sup>        | b-         | b <sup>́</sup>  | by <sup>́</sup>               |
| 9   |         | y <sup>̀</sup> (y <sup>̀</sup> ) |       | y <sup>̀</sup>         | y <sup>̀</sup>        | y-         | y <sup>̀</sup>  | y <sup>̀</sup>                |
| 10  |         | y <sup>́</sup> (y <sup>́</sup> ) |       | y <sup>́</sup>         | y <sup>́</sup>        | y-         | y <sup>́</sup>  | y <sup>́</sup>                |
| 19  |         | f <sup>́</sup> /fy-              |       | f <sup>́</sup>         | f <sup>́</sup>        | f-         | fy <sup>́</sup> | f <sup>́</sup>                |
| 6a  |         | m-                               |       | m <sup>́</sup>         | m <sup>́</sup>        | m-         | m <sup>́</sup>  | m <sup>́</sup> q <sup>́</sup> |

### 1.4.6 Mbuk and Eastern Beboïd

The Eastern Beboïd here referred simply as Beboïd languages shares features with the Mbuk language. This section has been attributed to the comparison of some of the features that they share. This comparison will help us to see clearly whether Mbuk leans more to Yemne-Kimbi or to Beboïd. Some of the Beboïd languages include; Nsari (Mbissa), Noone (Nkor), Ncane (Nkanchi), Mungong (Mungong), Kemezong (Dumbo), Bebe (yama), Cung (Faat). The Comparable wordlist used has been provided by Richard Botwel from SIL archives, that is

Beboid Composite Survey Wordlist for the above mentioned languages and Hyman (1981:2) for some data on Noni.

#### 1.4.6.1 Comparable consonants

The Mbuk language is not part of the Beboid, it is considered as the reference from which we are yet to determine its linguistic affiliation. That is why it occurs here in a boldface because it is unclassified but its closest sister language Chung has been classified as a Beboid, that is, Eastern Beboid in the Beboid Blench (2005) as shown below:

|     |             |          |          |          |            |          |           |          |          |          |          |
|-----|-------------|----------|----------|----------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 34) | <b>Mbuk</b> | <b>p</b> | <b>z</b> | <b>r</b> | <b>(?)</b> | <b>v</b> | <b>kx</b> | <b>y</b> | <b>h</b> | <b>ʃ</b> | <b>ɥ</b> |
|     | Nsari       | ø        | ø        | r        | ø          | ø        | ø         | ø        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |
|     | Noone       | ø        | ø        | ø        | (?)        | ø        | ø         | y        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |
|     | Ncane       | ø        | ø        | ø        | ø          | ø        | ø         | ø        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |
|     | Mungong     | ø        | ø        | ø        | ø          | ø        | ø         | ø        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |
|     | Kemezung    | ø        | ø        | r        | ø          | ø        | ø         | ø        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |
|     | Bebe        | ø        | ø        | ø        | ø          | ø        | ø         | ø        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |
|     | Cung        | ø        | ø        | ø        | ø          | ø        | ø         | ø        | ø        | ʃ        | ø        |

#### 1.4.6.2 Comparable cognates mutation

There is a dotted-all-over similarity and differences amongs the eight (8) languages compared. The data reveals that there is a close relationship between all the languages. Mbuk, Bebe, and Chung can be considered a language if we are to look the word for water for sharing a nasal onset and an "i" vowel in the root. The "ui" diphthong in Chung can be glided to a labialisation "wi".

While Nsari, Noone, Ncane, and Mungong can be in their own separate group as a language. Between these two groups is the Kemezung (K'zung) which has the onset nasal which is found in the Mbuk set but shares the "ɔ ~ o ~ u" vowel which is found amongst the Nsari group. Considering snake and water, we see that all the 8 languages can be regrouped into a single language as there is regular fluctuation in the fricative "dz ~ dʒ ~ dy ~ y".

The single verb considered shows the present of a constant "d" in all the languages while the vowel remain the variable, though varies but does not goes out of the unrounded vowel zone, "i ~ ε ~ ə ~ a ~ e" while the diphthong in Kemezung and the CVCV structure in Noone can be palatalised "ndyă, dyê" respectively. On the perspective of the lexeme "one" we can say all the langauages have labial related onset in most cases "m" mutating with "kp and mb" in Nsari, a labio-velar and Mungong, a prenasalised consonant respectively.

Looking at the vowel "u", Mbuk, Bebe and Cung will regroup again as it was for the case of water with "i" vowel. While Kemezung "o" is midway again while at the bottom is the "a" which is distributed over Nsari, Noone, Ncane and Mungong. Hence, insofar as lexemes comparison is concerned there is a lot of ramification between the langauges we can draw from here that Mbuk is not part of this family. The words from Nsari, Noone, Ncane, Mungong, Kemezung (K'zung), Bebe, and Cung are drawn from Blench 2005) the above mentioned languages are grouped as Eastern Beboid languages which we simply refer to them in our literature as Beboid.

The following frame shows cognates compared in the various lects:

| 35)     | Mbuk | Nsari | Noone | Ncane | Mungong | K'zung | Bebe | Cung |
|---------|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------|------|------|
| "water" | ɲgwí | dzɔ̀  | yòò   | dyɔ̀  | dyùù    | ngɔ́ɲ  | ngwí | mui  |
| "snake" | dzúɲ | yò    | yo    | yɔ̄   | yiə     | yiə    | yɔ̄  | dyũ  |
| "rain"  | dzàɲ | dzààɲ | yàɲ   | dyàɲ  | dʒàɲ    | dʒàɲ   | dyàɲ | dʒàɲ |

|       |     |       |      |       |       |      |       |     |
|-------|-----|-------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|-----|
| "eat" | dzí | dyé   | díyè | dyí   | ndzê  | ndiá | dí    | dzē |
| "one" | mu  | kpánj | mānj | mémàà | mbákā | mò   | fímúè | mūū |

But with respect to Mbuk as deictic centre, the divergence in consonant and vowel relationship is more wider in Beboïd than is in Yemne-Kimbi. BB "Beboïd", YK "Yemne-Kimbi". The language Cung ~ Chung is borne by Mbuk, and has already been classified as Beboïd (Eastern Beboïd). From the word for water below, we can conclude that Bebe, Cung, Mbuk, Koshin, Mundabli, Fang, Misong belong to Yemne-Kimbi meanwhile Nsari, Noone, Ncane, Mungong are Beboïd while Kemezong and Mashi are midway Beboïd and Yemne-Kimbi.

|            |             |               |                 |              |                |               |             |             |
|------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| 33)        | <b>Mbuk</b> | <b>Nsari</b>  | <b>Noone</b>    | <b>Ncane</b> | <b>Mungong</b> | <b>K'zung</b> | <b>Bebe</b> | <b>Cung</b> |
| BB "water" | ngwí        | dzòò          | yòò             | dyòò         | dyùù           | ngóŋ          | ngwí        | mui         |
| 34)        | <b>Mbuk</b> | <b>Koshin</b> | <b>Mundabli</b> | <b>Fang</b>  | <b>Mashi</b>   | <b>Misong</b> |             |             |
| YK "water" | ngwí        | ndi           | ŋgi             | ndziam       | ŋgwɔ           | anyɛ          |             |             |

35) Looking at more data closely:

|            |      |       |       |       |       |        |       |
|------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| BB "snake" | dzóŋ | yò    | yo    | yō    | yiə   | yō     | dyŭ   |
| YK "snake" | dzóŋ | yɔŋ   | dʒwɔ̃ | yua   | dzu   | idzuŋ  |       |
| YK "rain"  | dzàŋ | dzaŋ  | dziŋ  | bualə | dzaŋ  | ibu    |       |
| BB "rain"  | dzàŋ | dzààŋ | yàŋ   | dyàŋ  | dʒàŋ  | dʒàŋ   | dyàŋ  |
| YK "eat"   | dzí  | ʒi    | yi    | ʒi    | nyɛə  | ndzənə |       |
| BB "eat"   | dzí  | dyé   | díyè  | dyí   | ndzê  | ndiá   | dí    |
| YK "one"   | mu   | mɔ    | mə    | mũ    | amu   | kimu   |       |
| BB "one"   | mu   | kpánj | mānj  | mémàà | mbákā | mò     | fímúè |
|            |      |       |       |       |       |        | mūū   |

If we were to rely on rain and the verb eat only, we would have said Mbuk is Beboïd, but looking of the percentage of other words, we can to a certain degree say that Mbuk at the lexical level is more of the Yemne-Kimbi. The extend of lexical mixing amongs what is termed Yemne-Kimbi and Beboïd is such that it can lead to just a unique group such as the one seen in

the West Ring with similar interweaving in lexical similarities and differences but treated as separate languages following Grimes 15th Edition of World Ethnologue but considered as single language of dialectal variation Breton and Fohtung (2012). The comparative data is courtesy Thormoset (2012:93-97) with the exception of Kom being a Central Ring as seen in the table.

Table 13: West Ring Analogy of Yemne-Kimbi/Beboid

| vowel | Aghem     | Bu        | Isu                  | Weh       | Zhoa      | Kumfutu   | Kom      | gloss     |
|-------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| /i/   | -dì       | -tì       | -dì                  | -d̥ɛ      | -d̥e      | -t̥ɛ      | -dzì     | 'cry'     |
|       | é-ɥí      | é-wí      | é-wí <sup>x</sup>    | ē-w̥ɛ     | é-w̥e     | ē-wí      | ā-zúe    | 'nose'    |
|       | ká-bî     | é-bî      | ká-bî                | é-b̥ɛ     | kú-b̥e    | ká-b̥ɛ    | a-bî     | 'thigh'   |
| /i/   | -ɲó       | -ɲí       | -ɲí                  | -ɲí-ā     | -ɲī       | -ɲím      | -zí      | 'enter'   |
|       | dzəm      | tsəm      | dz̄m                 | dzəm      | dzəm      | tʃəm      | dʒəm     | 'back'    |
| /ɯ/   | -z̄é.mé   | -z̄ū.mê   | -z̄é.mé              | -z̄á.mé   | -z̄œ.mā   | -z̄é      | dʒú.mí   | 'dry' v   |
|       | t̄é.ndz̄é | t̄ō.ndz̄ó | t̄ē.ndz̄é            | t̄ó.ndz̄ē | t̄é.ndz̄é | ŋ̄.dz̄ē   | ndz̄ā.sí | 'clothes' |
| /u/   | -tóm      | -tóm      | -túm                 | -tum      | -túm      | -tóm      | -túm     | 'send'    |
|       | ē-ɣóm     | é-ɣóm     | ē-ɣóm                | ē-ɣóm     | ē-ɣóm     | ē-ɣóm     | ī-wúm    | 'egg'     |
| /o/   | -d̄ɔ̄.ɔ̄  | -t̄ə̄.ə̄  | -d̄ɔ̄.ɔ̄             | -d̄ɔ̄.ɔ̄  | -d̄ē̄.é̄  | -t̄ə̄.ə̄  | -d̄ū̄.í̄ | 'sit'     |
|       | ndz̄ɔ̄ŋ   | ndz̄ɔ̄ŋ   | ndz̄ɔ̄ŋ              | ndz̄ɔ̄ŋ   | ŋ̄.dz̄ɔ̄ŋ | ŋ̄.dz̄ɔ̄ŋ | ndz̄ɔ̄ŋ  | 'moon'    |
| /ɔ/   | -k̄ɔ̄?    | -k̄ɔ̄?    | -k̄ <sup>w</sup> ɔ̄? | -k̄ɔ̄?    | -k̄ɔ̄?    | -k̄ɔ̄?    | -k̄ɔ̄?   | 'ascend'  |
|       | ē-s̄ɔ̄ŋ   | é-s̄ɔ̄ŋ   | é-s̄ɔ̄ŋ              | e-s̄ɔ̄ŋ   | ē-s̄ɔ̄ŋ   | ē-s̄é̄o   | ī-s̄ɔ̄ŋ  | 'tooth'   |
|       | -m̄ɔ̄?    | -m̄ɔ̄?    | -m̄ɔ̄?               | -m̄ɔ̄?    | -m̄ɔ̄?    | -m̄ɔ̄?    | -m̄ɔ̄?   | 'one'     |
| /a/   | -b̄ē̄e    | -b̄à̄e    | -b̄à̄:               | -b̄à̄:    | -b̄ā̄:    | -b̄à̄ə    | -b̄à̄ɲ   | hate      |
|       | -t̄ē̄e    | -t̄à̄e    | -t̄à̄:               | -t̄à̄:    | -t̄ā̄:    | -t̄à̄ə    | -t̄à̄ɲ   | five      |

In the table above, we can see how similar these languages are but they are considered as a separate entities. From, the same light, Mbuk and Cung can be regarded as separate varieties of the same language. In addition, since Mbuk and Cung are more similar to languages of



Yemne-Kimbi they can be grouped into that family instead of grouping them with the Beboid. The reasons for this lexical similarity with Yemne-Kimbi has been due to the presence of intensive exchange of economic goods, cultural affinity, and genealogy brought about by high rate of intermarrying which is happening less on the Beboid side. The reasons for the high trade, culture and marriage is due to a conducive geographical terrain that link the Mbuk to the Yemne-Kimbi. And one social factor is the presence of the the Su-Bum market in-between Mbuk and some of the Yemne-Kimbi languages.

### 1.4.6.3 Comparable noun classes

The noun classes is also one of the parameters we can use to determine the noun classification of languages. He will explore the noun classes and see in which direction the Mbuk language will be tilted more. The noun classes are courtesy Hombert (1980:88), excluding Mbuk. But we have introduced Mbuk in the frame below for comparison:

| 36) | Class | Mbuk       | Noni             | Nchanti            | Akweto           | Bebe-yatto       |
|-----|-------|------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1   |       | ø-         | ø-               | ø <sup>(w)</sup> - | ø-               | ø-               |
| 2   |       | bə-        | bɔ               | ba-                | bɛ-              | bʌ-              |
| 3   |       | ø-         | ø <sup>w</sup> - | ø <sup>w</sup> -   | ø <sup>w</sup> - | ø <sup>w</sup> - |
| 4   |       | ø-         | ø-               | ø-                 | ø-               | —                |
| 5   |       | ø-         | e-               | ø-                 | ø-               | ø-               |
| 6   |       | kí-        | ɛ-               | a-                 | —                | ø-               |
| 7   |       | kì-/ø-/kə- | ke-              | ki-                | ki-              | kə-              |
| 8   |       | bì-        | bi-              | bi-                | bi-              | bi-              |
| 9   |       | ø-         | ø̀-              | ø̀-                | ø̀-              | ø̀-              |
| 10  |       | ø-         | ǿ-              | ǿ-                | ǿ-              | ǿ-              |
| 19  |       | fî-/fə     | fe-              | fi-                | fi-              | fə-              |
| 6a  |       | N-         | m-...m           | N-                 | N-               | m-               |
| 12  |       | —          | ɛ-               | —                  | —                | ø-               |

|    |   |         |      |          |      |
|----|---|---------|------|----------|------|
| 14 | — | bvu     | bu-  | bu-      | —    |
| 25 | — | mɔn- -m | maN- | mɛ (N) - | —    |
| 26 | — | mun- -m | muN- | mu-      | muN- |
| 27 | — | yi-     | či-  | —        | —    |

Note that classes 12, 14 are singular classes while class 25, 27 are plural classes. Which is the reverse of the tradition of even numbers for plural classes while odd numbers for singular classes. If we are to allign Mbuk classes to Hombert data then our class 6 will be class 27 of the gender (5/27) and the set of nouns in Mbuk that do not have a prefix but take concord in class 7 would have been considered as class 12 of the gender (12/8) like the one in Bebe-Jatto.

#### 1.4.6.4 Comparable noun class concord

The noun classes generates their corresponding concord markers the features with modifiers that modifies the head noun. The concords here are presented, Hombert (1980:88)

| 37) | Class | Mbuk                | Noni            | Nchanti         | Akweto          | Bebe-Jatto       |
|-----|-------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
|     | 1     | ẁ                  | ẁ              | ẁ              | ẁ              | ŋg <sup>ẁ</sup> |
|     | 2     | b́                  | b́              | b́              | b́              | b́               |
|     | 3     | ẃ                  | ẃ              | ẃ              | ẃ              | ẃ               |
|     | 4     | ý                  | ý              | ý              | ý              | —                |
|     | 5     | ẃ                  | d <sup>ý</sup> | č́              | č́              | ĺ               |
|     | 6     | ḱ                  | ɛ <sup>ý</sup> | a <sup>ẃ</sup> | ---             | ŋ́               |
|     | 7     | k̀                  | k̀              | k̀              | k̀              | k̀               |
|     | 8     | b́, b <sup>ý</sup> | b <sup>ý</sup> | b <sup>ý</sup> | b <sup>ý</sup> | b́               |
|     | 9     | ỳ                  | ỳ              | ỳ              | ỳ              | ŋj̀              |
|     | 10    | ý                  | ý              | ý              | ý              | ý               |
|     | 19    | f̂, f <sup>ý</sup> | f <sup>ý</sup> | f̂-             | f <sup>ý</sup> | f́               |
|     | 6a    | Ǹ                  | ḿ              | ḿ              | ḿ              | ḿ               |
|     | 12    | —                   | ḱ              | —               | —               | ḱ               |
|     | 14    | ---                 | b <sup>ẃ</sup> | b <sup>ẃ</sup> | b <sup>ẃ</sup> | —                |

|    |     |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|----|-----|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 25 | --- | m´               | m´               | m´               | —                |
| 26 | --- | m <sup>w</sup> ´ | m <sup>w</sup> ´ | m <sup>w</sup> ´ | m <sup>w</sup> - |
| 27 | —   | d <sup>y</sup> ´ | č´               | —                | —                |

The absence of the following noun classes; singulars: 12, 14, then the plurals: 25, 26 and 27 in Mbuk somehow sieves Mbuk as an extended relative of the Eastern Beboid rather than being a closed nuclear family member. Hence, either its closer relatives are else where or else it is an island or a crossing point from one major family to the next major family, thus, a mid-way family. But, critically looking at the class 12, the following variations in Mbuk;

- 38) a.    ∅-/ki- (5/6), **b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám/ kí<sup>b</sup>b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** "cup/cups" corresponds to  
b.    ∅ / bi- (5/8), **b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám / bí<sup>b</sup>b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** "cup/cups"  
c.    ki-/bi- (7/8) **kí<sup>b</sup>b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám / bí<sup>b</sup>b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** "cup/cups"  
d.    ∅-/∅- (9/10) **b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>y</sup>ām / b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** "cup/cups"

suggest that there is a decision of reassigning noun classes going on with the class 12 disappearing and emerging as (c) or fortifying itself in Mbuk as in (a). Furthermore, either dropping off all the prefix and taking up the forms of gender 9/10 with the concords switching from "k-" to "y-" accompanied by the readjustment of the tones from High to Mid in the singular form of the root. The four free variations from (a, b, c, d) indicates the Mbuk is mid-way within the cluster. The description of Mbuk has taken into consideration its internal speech variation by the use of a tilde diacritic ~ (**b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>y</sup>ām ~ b<sup>w</sup>ām**) each time there are more than one way of saying the same thing. This is in line with Huddleston & Pullum (2005:4),

*Grammar rules must ultimately be based on facts about how people speak and write. If they don't have that basis, they have no basis at all. The rules are supposed to reflect the language the way it is, and the people who know it and use it are the final authority on that. And where the people who speak the language distinguish between formal and informal ways of saying the same thing, the rules must describe that variation too.*

So, wherever there is variation, it has been taken note of in the analysis of Mbuk. The goal is to use the various forms and compare the neighbouring speech varieties so as to get more facts about the Mbuk language.

#### 1.4.6.4.1 Restricted Areal k- plural concord

The K- plural concord has been restricted only to the Yemne-Kimbi and Beboïd languages within grassfields Bantu. Within the circumscribed area, no other language outside this zone has been found using the traditional proto-bantu class 7 concord as a plural concord and moreover employing the *kə-* class as a plural class. We use this peculiarity, we regroup all the languages of both Yemne-Kimbi and Beboïd that makes use of k- plural concord to understand more about the internal taxonomy of languages within area using this areal feature, the k-plural concord.

The k- plural concord has been observed in the following languages by different scholars in different times. These languages are presented under their main groups except for Mbuk (Central Beboïd) which is still midway:

|     |                         |                         |                         |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 39) | <b>Yemne-Kimbi</b>      | <b>Mbuk</b>             | <b>Beboïd</b>           |
|     | <b>(Western Beboïd)</b> | <b>(Central Beboïd)</b> | <b>(Eastern Beboïd)</b> |
|     | Munken                  | Mbuk                    | Noni                    |
|     | Abar                    |                         | Nchanti                 |

The plural prefixes and the plural concords as well as exemplary word is here below. Two Beboïd (Eastern Beboïd) languages; Nchanti and Noni have been included in the set because Hombert (1980) claims that the k- prefix and its k- concord have changed to palatal sounds *č/y* in these languages of Beboïd. In Yemne-Kimbi, from Abar to Missong below the nouns of the k- prefix are circumfixed while Mundabli is not circumfixed and even lacks the K-



| 41) | <u>Language</u> | <b>Singular</b> |               |                |          | <b>Plural</b> |               |                |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|----------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
|     |                 | <u>class</u>    | <u>Prefix</u> | <u>Concord</u> |          | <u>class</u>  | <u>Prefix</u> | <u>Concord</u> |
|     | Abar            | 4a              | í-            | y´             | 6        | kə-... -Cə    |               | ky´            |
|     | Ngun            | 4a              | í-            | y´             | 6        | kə-... -Cə    |               | k´             |
|     | Biya            | 4a              | í-            | y´             | 6        | kə- ... -Cə   |               | k´             |
|     | *Buu            | 3/5             | ø-/ʷ-         | w`             | 6/7b     | kə-.... -Cə   |               | k`             |
|     | Ajumbu          | 5               | ø-            | y´             | 7(a)     | kə- ... (-lə) |               | k´             |
|     | Munken          | 4a              | í-            | y´             | 6        | kí-... -Cə    |               | ky´            |
|     | Missong         | 4a              | í-            | y´             | 6        | kí-... -Cə    |               | k´             |
|     | <b>Mbuk</b>     | <b>5</b>        | <b>ø-</b>     | <b>w´</b>      | <b>6</b> | <b>kí-</b>    |               | <b>k´</b>      |
|     | <u>Mundabli</u> | <u>5</u>        | <u>ø-</u>     | <u>w´</u>      | <u>7</u> | <u>ø-</u>     |               | <u>k´</u>      |
|     | Nchanti         | 5               | ø-            | č´             | 27       | či-           |               | č´             |
|     | Noni            | 5               | -e            | dʸ             | 27       | yi-           |               | dʸ´            |

\*Buu class is low tone, which is the only low tone in the set for both singular and plural.

We observed that of the 9 languages having the k- plural concord, three of the singular classes have a w´ concord and four of the languages have a zero prefix. Looking areally, we can regroup the w´ singular concords that of the Yemne-Kimbi by including Koshin, and Fang. The frame below presents the w- singular concord of the k- /t- plural concords of the Yemne-Kimbi:

| 42) | <u>Language</u> | <b>Singular</b> |               |                |  | <b>Plural</b> |               |                |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|--|---------------|---------------|----------------|
|     |                 | <u>class</u>    | <u>Prefix</u> | <u>Concord</u> |  | <u>class</u>  | <u>Prefix</u> | <u>Concord</u> |
|     | Koshin          | 5               | ø-            | w´             |  | 13            | tɛ-           | t´             |
|     | Fang            | 5               | ø-            | w-             |  | 13            | tə-           | t-             |
|     | Buu             | 3/5             | ø-/ʷ-         | w`             |  | 6/7b          | kə-.... -Cə   | k`             |
|     | <b>Mbuk</b>     | <b>5</b>        | <b>ø-</b>     | <b>w´</b>      |  | <b>6</b>      | <b>kí-</b>    | <b>k´</b>      |
|     | <u>Mundabli</u> | <u>5</u>        | <u>ø-</u>     | <u>w´</u>      |  | <u>7</u>      | <u>ø-</u>     | <u>k´</u>      |

Having arrived with the sieving out of less related languages, we now closely contrast the lexemes and the verb forms for some few words to ground our justification. The above table following the three k- concord plurals reveals that the Mbuk language belongs to the Ji [boe] group which comprises Mundabli, Mufu and Buu within the Yemne-Kimbi languages of the Lower Fungom. The table below shows the cognates for the Ji [boe] group.

Table 14: Cognates of the ji [boe] group within Yemne-Kimbi

| <b>Buu</b> | <b>Mundabli</b> | <b>Mbuk</b>        | <b>Koshin</b> | <b>Fang</b>      | <b><i>gloss</i></b> |
|------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------------|
| yi         | yi              | dzi                | zi            | zi               | eat                 |
| tyeə       | tʃiə            | tʃyə               | tsi           | k <sup>h</sup> i | know                |
| pi         | pi              | kpi                | kpi           | kfu              | die                 |
| nduhe      | dze             | dza <sup>ʋ</sup> a | dzama         | gɛnə             | say                 |
| ŋkɔŋə      | nəŋ             | nəŋ                | niŋi          | muŋkɔŋwə         | want                |
| mō         | mu              | mu                 | mu            | mu               | drink               |
| wɔ         | wə              | wo <sup>ʋ</sup> o  | wɔ            | su               | Wash                |
| tɛlə       | guʃu            | gu <sup>ʋ</sup> u  | gu            | gwɔfə            | pull                |

Looking at the onset consonants across the rolls above, there is a great degree of similarity such that Mbuk can easily be paired up into this family of languages. Apart from the similarity of the consonants and vowels, the syllabicity as well reveals some togetherness.

The matrilineal heritage of the Mbuk people stems first and foremost from Fang, then Mundabli or Koshin, and Dumbu. That is, the Fon who returned from Fang was given Fang women as wives because the Mbuk were brothers to the Fang. And subsequently, the son's of the Fon got wives from most of the Lower Fungom villages due to intercomprehension. Mbuk was one of the peripheral hamlets of the great Saawi kingdom of Bum just as the Koshin. That is why the Mbuk claim that they originated from the present site, Mbuk. Thus, the Saawi

language is not completely dead, for Mbuk and Koshin are speaking the Saawi language or its dialect. These cultural lineage, language similarities and differences give a possible linguistic classification for Mbuk as follows (See map of Yemne-Kimbi villages in appendix 8):

|                   |                                 |                |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Phylum</i>     | Niger Kordofanian (Niger-Congo) |                |
| <i>Sub-phylum</i> | Niger-Congo                     |                |
| <i>Family</i>     | Atlantic-Congo                  |                |
| <i>Sub-family</i> | Volta-Congo                     |                |
| <i>Branch</i>     | Benue-Congo                     |                |
| <i>Sub-branch</i> | Bantoid                         |                |
| <i>Group</i>      | Southern                        |                |
| <i>Sub-group</i>  | Beboid                          |                |
|                   | Yemne-Kimbi                     | Eastern Beboid |
| <i>Languages</i>  | Mungbam [mij]                   | noni[875]      |
|                   | Mufu-Mundabli [boe]             | ncane[873]     |
|                   | Buu [877]                       | munggong[885]  |
|                   | Fang [fak]                      | kemezong[872]  |
|                   | Ajumbu [muc]                    | naki [876]     |
|                   | Koshin [879]                    | Bebe [871]     |
|                   | Mbuk [no code]                  | Chung [886]    |

## 1.5 GAPS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This overview reveals that the language of Mbuk has not received any elaborous research from linguist. And with the theory of a reference dialect, the Mbuk are forced to learn the writing system of its sister language called Chung which has experienced more attention from linguist and some sketch work on its grammar has been done. The Chung research is carried out with the aim of providing a Bible in the Chung language that will be used by both the Mbuk



and the Chung. So, from this worldview, the Mbuk lexemes and culture will suffer attrition and be relegated to extinction. From now henceforth, this research would valorise the language.

Thus, to rescue the situation, this research on Mbuk then opted for both a documentary and a descriptive approach so as to overcome the pitfall in which Mbuk is subjected to. This research has retrieved a lost value and rekindled and boosted the morals and status of Mbuk people towards the use of their language, and as a result, guarantees an intergenerational transmission for existence of its language and its culture into the hands of its descendants.

Contrary to the descriptive analysis that has been carried in the sister language of Mbuk, the Chung, the Mbuk has been researched with the notion of an endangered language. That is why we have tried to be documentary enough and descriptive as well in order to capture and store both on paper and electronic archives of its audio and video files. This is something that has not been done for most languages that are regarded as reference dialects, which themselves are more endangered than the ones we purport to be more endangered. The documentary approach does not consider a speech unit as reference to another standard referent. The documentary is indispensable for those languages that have been considered reference standards as well if not so, at the end only those we thought were non-standard would have been documented for existence, being archived and being disseminated.

## 1.6 CONCLUSION

This segment of the book has defined some key terminologies, and review some earlier works relevant to our context of research. Moreover, though documentary research is a recent innovation in language study, it has a theoretical framework which we are being guided by it and it has been reviewed in this chapter.

So, the new trend is the goal of our work, to have natives and non-natives have access to language without age, distance and technology being the barrier. Our wish is that children born two centuries after their greatgrand parents would be able to see their grandparents and share in the wisdom they transmitted, with this our grandparents would always be with us. In this wise, our brothers in the diaspora would be able to hear their language through the internet websites. Meaning that modern technology is also a tool for safeguarding our endangered standard reference and non-standard reference dialects.

The essence of this area of comparison has been to better discover the family lineage of Mbuk. From the tradition, we realised that Mbuk is more inclined to Yemne-Kimbi languages. Language wise and specifically the noun classes we deduced that they are linked closer to those of Yemne-Kimbi. Thus, basing on these two factors we can assume that Mbuk can be classified alongside Yemne-Kimbi languages. We now turn to the sound system of Mbuk in the following section for the documentation of Mbuk grammar.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **MBUK DATA TAPPING AND SPEECH SOUNDS**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter explains the methodology of Mbuk documentary research by exposing on its procedures and the management of instruments for a good result. It then uses the various documentary activities to get the speech sounds of Mbuk which are presented at the end of this chapter. The chapter is divided into two sections: 2.1 documentary data tapping, and 2.2 gives the speech sounds of Mbuk tapped through the documentary approach.

#### **2.1 DOCUMENTARY DATA TAPPING**

Many languages have disappeared on the face of the earth both in sounds and in signs. Some have got a reduced vitality; sphere of usage, and innumerable are toing the line. Many have gone out of sight that were documented but were not stored properly or had limited storage system. The documentary data tapping method applied in this work today calls for an overcoming of what hinders the lives of languages from being lifelong, that is, not existing alongside the living natives such that the language is dead while the natives who spoke that language are still alive.

The metaphor tapping used here correlates with the wisdom and effort used by the wine-tapper to tap the wine. Before collecting the wine that collects in the bow, he uses a lot of tactics (Tactics, (military) the branch of military science dealing with detailed manoeuvres to achieve objectives set by strategy). Thus, documentary is not just a simple collection of ready-

made data, extra wisdom, effort and ethics are employed to draw the right natural speech data needed. So, a wine-tapper collects the wine he has tapped and in the same wise a documentary linguist collects what he taps. So, you only collect what you tap. That is why the theme of this chapter is focused on, tapping of data and not simply collecting data. Meaning that there is no genuine data available on the field just for collection without the documentary researcher tapping it by himself following his hypothesis, objectives models and methods. Tapping documentary data requires; familiarisation, permission to record, logic in transactions and vigilance to keep peaceful interactions. Thence collection being the switching on the recorder after being admitted to record in a calm and peaceful agreement.

With the advent of technology of digital and electronic storage, some languages have as of now some areas of the language documented partially since they often lack metadata and poor recording quality. Very often, such documentations have been conducted for pleasure. This includes, unconscious partial documentation of ritual performances as well as recording of songs in to telephones. These are done by people who have no idea on documentary tenets though we are often satisfied with the bit they have managed with their own means to capture with a virtual preservation which can if still in existence can attract a better documentary effort. Within, the Aghem community, many dances have risen and fall, they got revamped several times due to the motivation they get in listening to what their ancient people did and was recorded or they see in photos. So, a documentation immortalises events.

In this age of wide spread electronic recordings together with videoing, the proper handling and use of electronic equipments need a lot of literacy activity to be able to manage them effectively and efficiently.

Documentation is a social phenomenon that has the influence of the society we are working with. Most documentation is done in a strange front. That is, the documentary

researcher is strange to the community in which he is to conduct his research as well as the community are afraid of the researcher. Hence, the opposing parties need a lot of control and understanding to achieve the goals of the research.

In documentation, pragmatics and intelligence are two parallel ways of using wisdom which do not agree in a strange land. The conflict on pragmatics and knowledge can only be reduced by cultural distance. The further apart the two cultures, the greater the pragmatic conflict. And the closer the cultures the lesser the pragmatic conflict. Cultural distances have their insightful advantages and disadvantages on the quality and quantity of the documented matter. When cultures are far apart, there is a more microscopic view, more questioning and more facts are documented. But when the cultures are closer, there is a tendency of documentary blindness caused by assumptions or what you are used to such that the researcher tends to ignore some aspect or is not fully conscious of some aspects before him. In this light, a blended team of documentation is better where you find someone whose culture is closer and another one whose culture is further apart so that they can capture an optimum portion of the culture.

In addition, we need a native of the language to play the role of a documentary commentator who gives a commentary on the ongoing event of activity in the mother tongue. We have noticed some lapses in our research because we tried to have the craftsman comment as he is working on but that has not been possible. Two major hindrances have been noticed; the craftsman halts to give comments and at times he is tired to talk or he is in a situation where he cannot talk, thus, we need someone who is versed with the domain of the craftsman to be observing and giving commentaries on what the craftsman is doing.

The documentation approach has been opted for this research so as to have an audio and if possible a visual representation of our grammar text with the use of natural and unnatural constructs in order to tap the data we need. Mindful of the subjectivity of perception, that the

recordings are available to researchers to transcribe in away that will seem objective to whoever is exploring the recorded data.

The natives and non-natives can hear how the language is spoken in given circumstances. Such as in the poem, 'eat the wasp eat' "dzí kɛ̀kwà'n kɛ̀ dzí:". In normal grammar, this expression is wrong in Mbuk, but poetically it has no problem.

### **2.1.1 Documentary and Non-documentary approach**

Nowadays, language description is supported with documentary evidence. By documentary proves, we mean that the analyses are anchored with photos, videos, audios and metadata records. Unlike in the past, where language description was an affair of a few standard consultants who spoke the supposed standard language, today it has deviated from that direction to a communal affair involving those who are not considered to be speaking the standard language. The concept of standard or classical speakers is ideological or more of a myth. Be it in a monolingual or in a multilingual setting there is no ideal speaker of a language. That is why the documentary takes into consideration every speaker as the full representation of a language with supported commentaries for any variations.

Language description with the documentary approach is multidisciplinary webbing up specialists from different fields such as the wider community, anthropologists, educators, medical practitioners, thus, it is an interdisciplinary discipline depending on how diversified it is and how meticulous it has been carried out. This gives chance for further analysis of the recordings through the internet by other experts interested in the data who are not necessarily linguists as in the past with non-documentary approach where the data was mostly exploited by linguist.

What is there in the documentary approach that it supercedes the non-documentary approach to language discription if the object of this subsection. A question format has been adopted to better project the vantages of a documentary approach:

- Are the expressions of a certain ideas different from context to context? That is, is negation in the slaughtering of a pig different from the one in the context of palm oil production. This calls on the examination of speech style and speech register as well.

- A grammatical structure or word order in non-documentary approach how is it different from the pattern seen in a documentary approach? What are the indicators? To verify this, we have to use the traditional approach of fixed sentences and that of documentary ones to check the nuances. When analysing recorded text, the pronoun he sounds "ù" but when you give a sentence to translate into the mother tongue the pronoun he is pronounce as "wì".

- What advantage / disadvantage of the non-documentary approach over the documentary one? And vice versa. In the documentary approach, expressions are contextualised while in non-documentary they pose ambiguity. Furthermore, documentary gives natural word order while non-documentary gives room for unnatural clauses. The methodology for verification is as such, we extract some documentary text or phrases and then translate them into English and ask them to retranslate into the mother-tongue. We notice that the English to Mbuk text is no longer the same as the documentary text.

Documentary makes it easier for diachronic studies to progressively check the changes in articulation of speech sounds as the aging of the consultant takes place to better understand how language changes. In addition, the degree of vitality is checked through longitudinal comparative studies by revisiting the videos and audio recordings to see the various domains in which the language has been in use for the past and present times.

Documentary corpus is a living witness to researchers and the community in question. With a proper storage of the videos, they are a monument for the history and development of the people. It makes archives of the landscape, images of the people and pictures of their craft.

The documentary approach though lively as they term it a "village film" it scares away consultants from participating in providing data:

- some are shy,
- they are afraid to die, they feel that the researcher wants to use their images for rituals.
- they do not want to be seen in videos

Thus making the collection of data a hideous task . In addition, even the researcher is at risk of being attacked in case of any misfortune.

Though with these hitches and discomfort, the comfort in documentary overrides all other odds. So, with the outstanding advantages in documentary approach, we have opted to examine the grammar of Mbuk language through the documentary lense termed "Mbuk Documentary Grammar". This involves a grammatical description based on the pragmatics of language use, and not on fabricated artificial non-contextualised ill-translated sounds, words, phrases, clause and sentences. But on sounds, lexemes and expressions tapped ecologically (within the speech community, non-foreign to the context of usage).

In documentary, the question of a sample population is not a strict issue. For we get information from every speaker we come accross. Meanwhile in the non-documentary approach we deal with selected persons who are a reference for the standard language.

With the prevailing phenomenon of language death, it will not be meaningful to conduct this research without a thinking of system of the conservation of speech acts; an audio or video recording of the sounds and ritual acts. A contrastive summary for both a documentary and non-documentary approach is presented in a tabular form:



Table 15: Documentary and non-documentary approach

**Documentary approach**

- Translation into English leaves loopholes in the gloss because not all what is in the mother tongue can be rendered with a direct English equivalent.
- Repetition not necessary.
- The consultant is more active since he says freely what is in his mind without being conditioned to think in a particular way.
- The recordings captures every detail and even those that the consultant is not aware of them while uttering.
- Easy making of reference through metadata.
- It saves time.
- Deals with natural and pragmatic expressions.
- Gives room for sign language analyses.
- Public audience.
- Community film.
- Wider use of data collected.
- noise not permitted as it damages sounds.
- Recording tools or equipments may fail.
- Electricity needed for charging and backups.

**Non-documentary approach**

- Translation into the mother tongue leaves gaps on the glossing line because not all English words can find direct equivalent meaning in the mother tongue.
- Demands repetition of expressions.
- The consultants get tired easily and is bored due to since he has to strain reasoning in a foreign language. repetition for better understanding.
- Every detail should be written down which of course is impossible.
- Cannot easily trace files due to the absence of metadata.
- It is time consuming.
- deals with unnatural and unpragmatic expressions.
- Since they seldom rely on recordings, sign language study is virtually impossible.
- Private audience.
- no film.
- Restricted exploration of data collected.
- Noise from fowls permitted since recording is absent or is not taken seriously.
- Tools not needed thus less chance for disappointment.
- Electricity not very necessary.

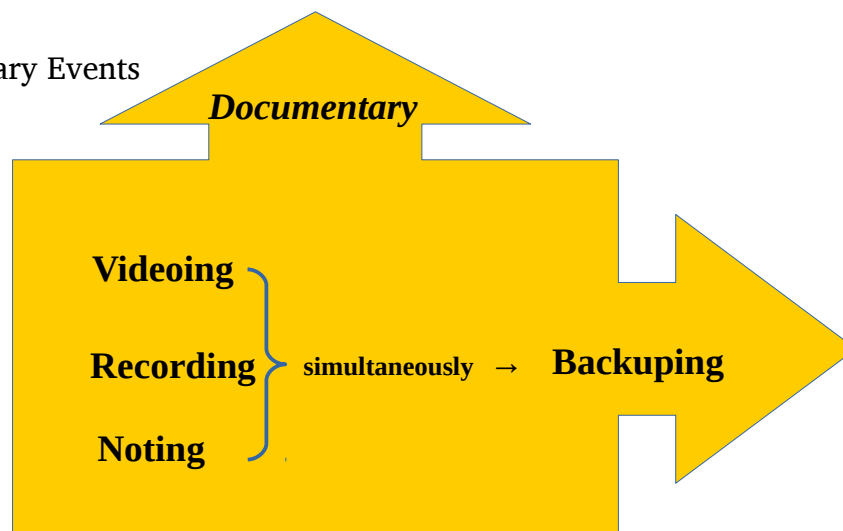
- |                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| - Expensive.                                                                                              | - Cheap.                                                                                                                                  |
| - Verification easier by going over the recorded audio or videos. Without necessarily going to the field. | - Verification difficult, the consultant might have died. You must also go back to the field.                                             |
| - You must go to the field and versed with it.                                                            | - You must not go to the field. Example, the Aghem Grammatical Structure was written in California while linguist do not know Aghem land. |
| - Permission always needed for the use of videos                                                          | - Do not talk about permission.                                                                                                           |
| - Need a computational mind                                                                               | - Does not need a lot of thinking for the arrangement of data.                                                                            |
| - Need a lot of computer skills                                                                           | - Need limited computer skills                                                                                                            |
| - Takes longer time to gain skills                                                                        | - Take a shorter time to gain skills                                                                                                      |
| - Requires frequent backup of data                                                                        | - Less frequents backup of data                                                                                                           |

In those days, what they presented as grammar on a hardcopy is today a by-product of a softwear, ELAN, a documentary grammar. Today, the consultants (informants) accompanies the researcher in the defense room hall and you hear and see them speaking the language, thus, giving access to the through the horses own mouth. What is more, nowadays, we are able to have multiple analyst focusing on analysing a single primary, raw and pure corpus of a language unlike in the non-documentary corpus where multiple analysts are exposed only to a secondary corpus, non-raw and non-pure, not from the horses mouth. Once an orthographic linguists has trespassed as language with its dogma, that language can no longer be articulated purely as when it has not known such a linguists. Orthographic and literacy linguists defies the naturalness of the speech. This introduces a new speech style, accent.

## 2.1.2 Documentary security

Documentary linguistics is a quartet event involving: videoing, recording and writing of notes instantly with backing-up being its indispensable complement. Documentary is live event.

Figure 8: Documentary Events



### 2.1.2.1 Digital Archival

Nowadays, at the digital age, it is uncalled for our research to be stored only in hard drives of libraries and bookshelves. The first thing a genuine researcher should do is to find out where his research can be archived digitally and the conditions pertaining to archiving such as the format and codec needed for each recorded file or video to be properly and easily be archived. The format and codec are features of a video camera or audio recorder that the archiving program will recognise and allow the data to be uploaded into the archive server.

The sole archiving system is ALORA at the CERDOTOLA in Yaounde which uses ARBIL and LAMUS to archive files into the Language Archiving Technology "LAT". ARBIL is an Offline corpus-session metadata building tool while LAMUS is an Online uploading program.

The codec acceptable by the archiving system of ALORA are MPEG 4 and MPEG 2 and probably file of lower case wav or lower case mp4. Meanwhile the system is incompatible with files of MP3, MP4 and WAV, such files are rejected automatically by the mediafiles within

ARBIL session and cannot be uploaded into the archive. The ARBIL Session mediafiles contains four slots which appears red when a mediafile has not yet been imported into it. When a media file is brought in which is appropriate, the four red slots changes to blue and if there cannot be uploaded on about 2 of the four slots will change to blue signalling that it cannot be upload.

### **2.1.2.2 Acquaintance**

Upon arriving the research field it is a prerequisite for you to meet the Fon or traditional ruler of the village first. Then, meet the Mayor of the municipality, thence the Divisional Officer of the jurisdiction and present yourself to the forces of law and order as well. State clearly your purpose to them and present any relevant document from your university to prove to them that you have been sent by an institution.

If your informants are curious, present the documents to them as well. This is to keep you secured from any harassment. Such that they should not treat you as a child trafficker, a spy or "a Nyongo (famla)" person who has come to take their images and kill them in certain mystical places. During your introductory day, do not move along with your camera and recorder so that you may not be tempted to use them. Explain to those you meet that the prime element of your research is recording and videoing. If they refuse recording and videoing, then no research will be done, so you simply have stop the research and return safely. After meeting with the administrators of the community, visit social groups of both genders, and all social strata and ages. Let them know the importance of your research and convince them of its outcome and its benefit to both of you.

Another challenging area of acquaintance is honour, respect and humility. Do what the people do with precaution while diplomatically taking a decision on what can be inappropriate

for health. The people can take wine with their hands not washed but a researcher may need to wash his hands before taking the wine as is the case in the image below.

Figure 9: Getting blessings from the Fon's cup



*KPAAMCAMS\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407*

Drinking from the Fon's cup means you do respect and honour him. You are not jealous of his position as the ruler of the village. No other person should go against him because it is his birth right to reign as Fon for the well-being of his subjects.

### 2.1.2.3 Consultancy

By consultants we refer to those who supply the researcher with the knowledge of the language in question. They are referred to in other literatures as informants. No one consultant is the best, thus, we cannot get all quality information from one consultant. Consultants are domain specific, it is rare to find a consultant who is verse in all aspects of the culture or language. Hence, a consultant who consults others for more or quality information is preferable

than one claims to know everything and is reluctant to find out from others who might know more than him. But with the help of metadata, you can easily identify some with whom you will frequently work with. There is no one good informant who can give you all what you need. Try to involve many people as possible in the research. Use gatherings as well. Get informed by the all the age groups and social classes. Do not forget that your eyes and ears are your vital informants, be alert. Do not wait for information or for informants to come to you, rather go to where they are while taking precaution. Do not relegate an informants. In a nutshell, ask the Fon to get you people who are verse with the language whom you will work with while you keep on looking for others by yourself. Note, that in documentary, every person is useful to a certain degree. Incentives should be given according to output not as stipulated by time used lest you run short of finances. During each working session, note the names or metadata of each of the consultants. Six mayor consultants can be identified in relation to their availability to the researcher:

- Regular consultants,                      - Accidental consultants,
- Irregular consultants,                      - Peripheral consultants,
- Occasional consultants,                      - Crowd/group/gathering/meeting

Figure 10: Researcher and Consultation Contacts

| Researcher/Consultant Contacts |                               |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>Researcher</b>              | <b>Regular consultants</b>    | <b>Peripheral consultants</b> |
|                                | <b>Irregular consultants</b>  | <b>Peripheral consultants</b> |
|                                | <b>Occasional consultants</b> | <b>Peripheral consultants</b> |
|                                | <b>Accidental consultants</b> |                               |
|                                | <b>-----</b>                  | <b>Peripheral consultants</b> |
|                                | <b>Crowd / group</b>          | <b>Peripheral consultants</b> |

The regular consultants are the most active and have a frequent direct contact with the researcher on scheduled. They can act like community researchers who go out and meet other members of the community for information they are not sure of or do not know. The people they meet who are not known to the researcher are called the peripheral consultants. The researcher can only have access to the peripheral consultant through the permission or directives of the regular consultant.

The irregular consultant is one of the consultants whose presence is unpredictable or unreliable. But the researcher is reAdj to work with him whenever he/she is available.

The occasional consultants are those around who are partially included on the consultant list but are often consulted for the verification of some facts. And also for urgent questions especially in the absence of the key or regular consultant.

The accidental consultant is one that is not in the mind of the researcher but have sudden encounter with the researcher. This can happen once in the life of the project. The output of the accidental consultant can cause him to become a regular consultant if the researcher realises that he/she is knowledgeable. We come across them unplanned. They often answered on planned questions, mostly circumstantial questions that arise according to the situation in which you both finds yourselves at moment.

Peripheral or background consultants are private consultants used very often by regular and irregular consultants to gather data or verify facts and very often without the knowledge of the researcher. At one moment, the regular consultant can expose his peripheral consultant to the researcher. The peripheral consultant may not be very usefull to the researcher due to language barrier or due to other issues known only to him. The peripheral may feel more free to converse with the native or brother who is the regular consultant.

One last consultant is group or crowd consultation. This can embody the five set of consultants mentioned above. The crowd may be used to get things that need no further verification since we believe that most of the intellectuals of the village are there or all the knowledge of the village is present in the crowd. When question is asked to a group, some members of the group can consultant some people privately for verification or to findout the answer, these private consultant are the peripheral or background consultants.

Recording sessions mostly covered the regular and irregular consultants. While the occasional, accidental, peripheral and the crowd are often sudden encounters and most often informal, that is standing up without formal seating. But the peripheral and the regular consultant can have formal seatings and most often without a recorder. Therefore, there is need to be conscious to get a recording of these impromptu interventions.

Renumeration of the various consultants is a perplexing issue because some do not cover upto a minutes of conervation. Thus, how much do we give for an information that did not take upto a minutes. Who compensates the peripheral consultants that the researcher is not aware of them and how much do they need to be given for work that has not been recorded to a tape. How do we then calculate the hours of work. Very often, the peripheral consultants withheld informantion from the regular consultants expecting that they get a share of the pay. In some cases the regular consultants have motivated the peripheral consultants out of what the researcher gives to the regular consultant. Which means, the regular consultant ends up not getting what he is supposed to earn.

Our thesis is that the various consultants; regular, irregular, occasional, accidental, peripheral and crowd be consciously renumerated to avoid conflict, hatred or selfishness of information. See Appendix 5 for some of the consultants.



### **2.1.2.4 Recording**

Adjust the date of the recorder before you start recording. Keep your eye on the recording indicator light to be sure that the information is being recorded. When you put on the recorder, check if the screen does not read "invalid system" if it does, format it before recording. This will require that you back up the recorded data before formatting each time. When you record the first message, check if it can play in the recorder. If not it means the memory card might have been corrupted by viruses. Try a virus free memory card if formatting is not the solution. Let the environ is noise free, the recorder closer the speakers, let them speak louder.

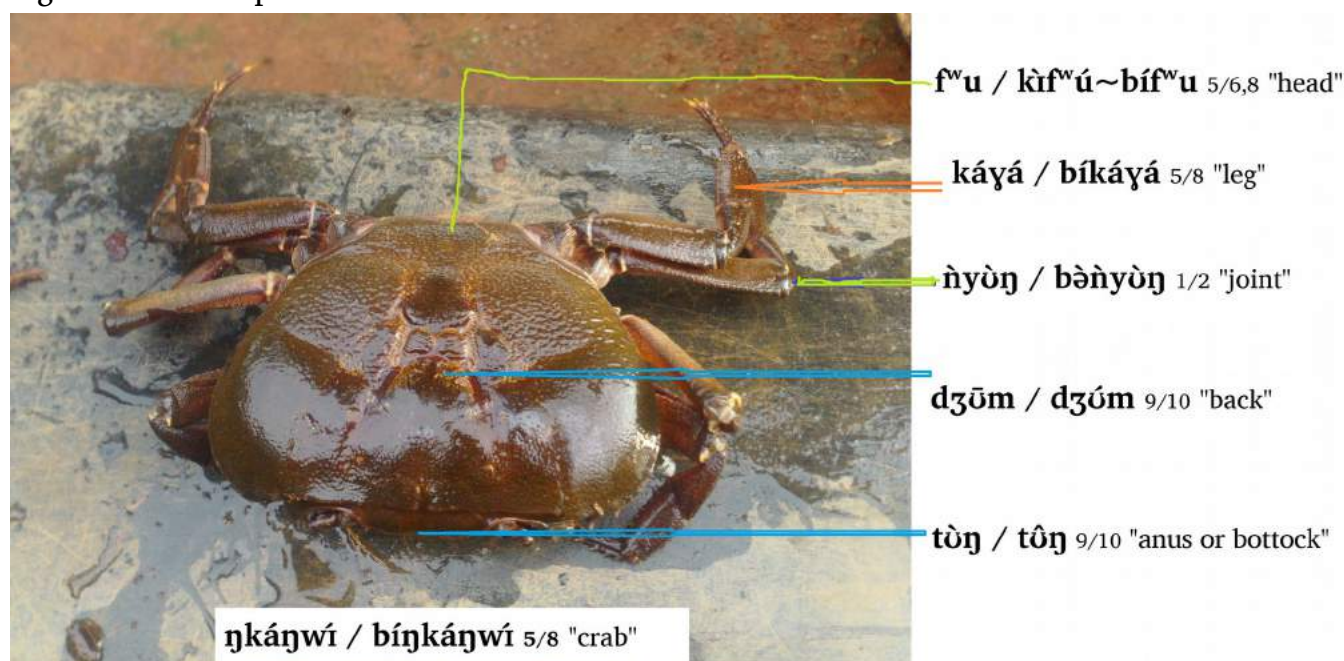
### **2.1.2.5 Videoing**

The video has two components: the audio and image. Let your range be one in which you can get both a clear voice and a good image simultaneously. Adjust the date before you begin to record any data. When you get the first video check if it can play. If not then the card might have been corrupted. Format the memory card before recording again. Verify if it can play, if not then replace the card. All things socially may be fine as you begin recording but on the long run during recording, the people might have become drunk or they might not want some people to make speeches in the video. If there seems to be a fight or division in the unity, it is better to stop videoing and go away from the spot or withdraw to your room so that the fighting may not damage the camera or spoil your stay and cordial relations that you have built. Some members of the community may also intoxicate the elders and villagers not to allow you to video so that they might be the sole proprietors of the event and make money by selling the burnt videos. Let the community know that yours is to video and hand the burnt videos to them for free and that you are not out to make money but to simply preserve and study it.

### 2.1.2.6 Word-list

The word-list a list of premediated words. This is only helpfull when your consultants are literate. The wordlist is not ideal for documentary linguistics. But you can use documentary methods for example, when you see the word "hat" you can ask the natives to list the names of the kinds of caps that they have in their village. You can take a photo of the various caps in the community and how they are called. You not just stick to having the word for "hat". They might not have a word for hats but do have names for other kinds of caps. This holds true for the names of animals, insects, birds, fish, grass, trees. Ask the people to list the names of animals that exist in their environment and get the pictures if possible. A wordlist is sometimes abstract, i.e, full of foreign ideas not known by the speakers.

Figure 11: Mbuk parts of a crab



### 2.1.2.7 Word-in-use

Contrary to the elicitation of a wordlist, it is the word-in-use system which cuts accross all consultants be them literate or not. It is the most pragmatic way of data collection. This

involves asking for the names of things you find in the environment by pointing at them or touching them while the informant tells you more about it. Watch and video event and ask questions about them to get verbs and other words. Go along with them to the sites of their daily activities and video them.

### 2.1.2.8 Evaluation

These are comments made by a fellow consultant (A) assessing the linguistic competence of another fellow consultant (B):

- 43) Fio Language: a. [bègʸó] "money" Consultant (A)  
 b. [kʷá] "money" Consultant (B)

In the recordings, consultant B says "bègʸó" is Nchane word for "money". It is because consultant (A) is used to Nchane and he is married from Nchane. He has forgotten the Fio word for money which "kʷá". So, the correct word for money in Fio is "kʷá"

With such comments, we cannot allow video or recording for public listening because they can cause problems. B evaluated A's competence in his absence, so it is safer to keep this confidential. Because A hears it or the children or relatives of A, it can cause a lot of problems. So, mind the kind of data you expose to the public.

### 2.1.2.9 Charging

Replenish the power of your camera or computer from a doubtful source of electrical power is dangerous. We have lost several chargers due to that where the generator suddenly changes its voltage level and blows off all charges and even went further damaging laptops. If you can have your own generator which you can trust, fine. If not it is not advisable to charge.

Check whether there is a solar energy system installed anywhere in the village, you can use it for charging your equipments. If there is no power source, depending on the kind of camera you can use the solar lamp in charging it. If your labtop cannot hold power for several days to allow you back-up on daily bases then make provision for more spare memory cards.

Then it will be advisable to go to a near-by village once in a while to get current and back-up your corpora. To sustain the recorder, it will be good to get at least five packets of the non-recharchable duracel battery. The recharchable are good where there is electricity, you can have two packets while you are using one packet the other should be on charge.

#### **2.1.2.10 Battery**

Make sure you test the life span of your battery in each of your recorder. Some recorders run downs the battery even when there is no recording going on. So, each time you insert a battery it can not take more than two hours of recording in some recorders. It is good to be aware of this in order to make a good estimate of the number of batteries you will need to go through on the field.

Brand new recharchable battery often have no power in them. Make sure you verify this before moving to the field so that you can charge them on leaving.

Duracel bateries can be gotten in photo shops in Regional Capitals (Awah and Sons Commercial Avenue Bamenda). So, do not wait till you reach the village before you begin moving from store to store asking for duracel battery.

### 2.1.2.11 Card

Some memory cards (micro SD card) are dead. They can not carry any data. Some are corrupted by virus that enters them through charging. For instance, when you are to charge your camera, remove the memory card before charging especially when using the solar lamp.

Also do a test recording or video to make sure that your memory cards are good, i.e they can play both in the camera or recorder and in your laptop. If not you will waste a full day collecting inaccessible data. In both the recorder and the camera you can format your card. But each time you charge your camera with the card inside, it will get corrupted.

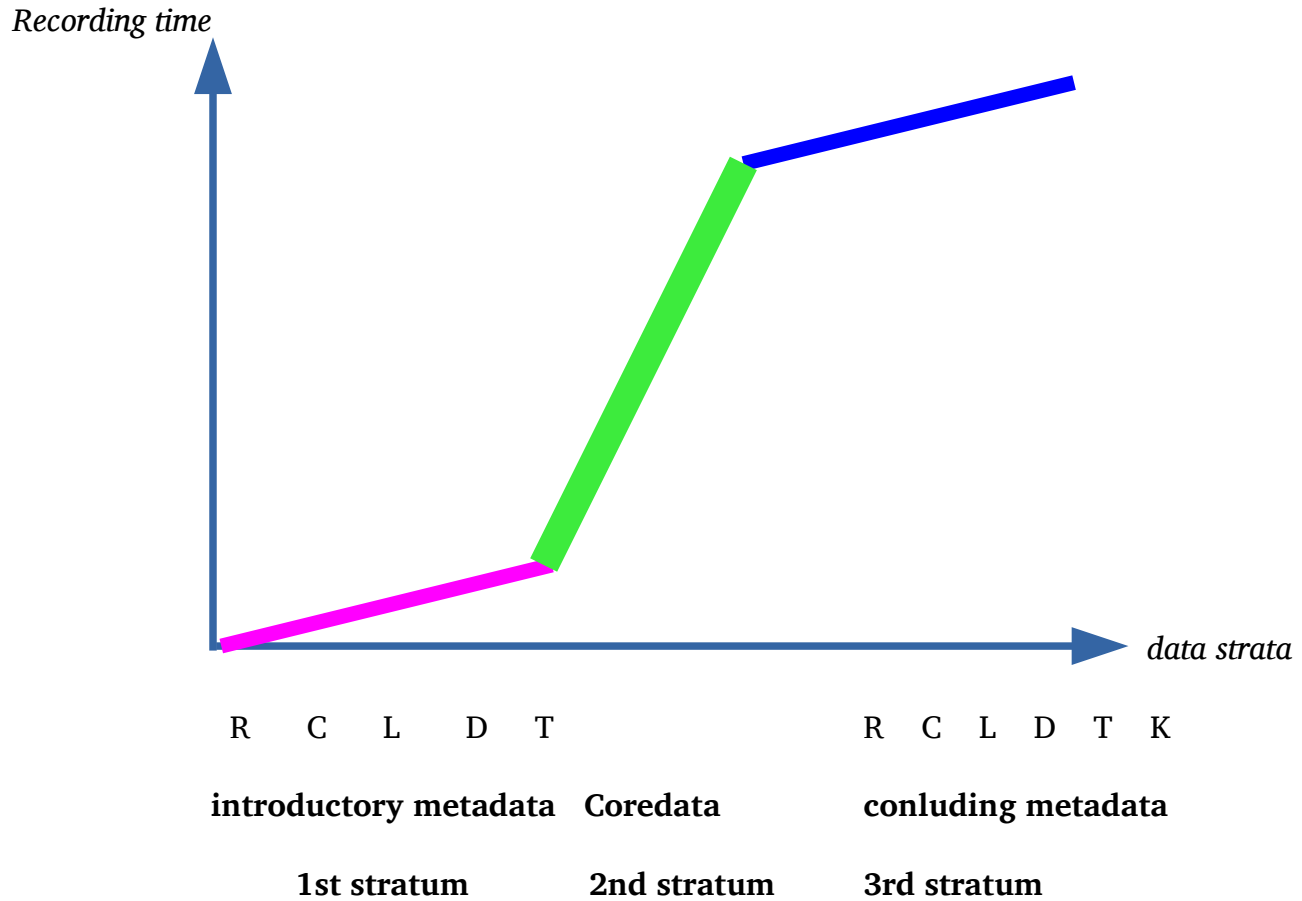
### 2.1.2.12 Identification

Identification of files is with the metadata information that is given before the recording of the topic or the information in question. Identification requires the name of the researcher, the name of the consultant and other participants taking part in the discussion, the location, the date and topic of discussion.

|                       |                           |     |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----|
| These parameters are; | - researcher's name       | (R) |
|                       | - consultants name        | (C) |
|                       | - name of location        | (L) |
|                       | - date of recording and   | (D) |
|                       | - topic of discussion     | (T) |
|                       | - summary of key findings | (K) |

They can be regarded as a remote metadata which is the first stratum of a data strata or a data directory. Identification can occur both at the beginning and at the end of the recording as shown in the graph below.

Figure 12: Recording Identification



The first metadata is the introductory metadata while the 2nd metadata is the concluding metadata which includes a summary note of key or striking remarks about some elements found during recording. The concluding metadata is a backup metadata if in case due to some circumstances the introductory metadata happens to be absent or not taken.

The date is vital in tracing the data for a proper analyses. Make sure you write the date of each day in your notebook. It is good to say morning session, afternoon session and evening session so that you can know exactly when you got the information. Make sure the recorder and camera dates do correspond with the notebook date.

### 2.1.2.13 Metadata

Metadata is background information about the recorded information; narrator/consultant/informant, the place of recording, the atmosphere of recording, the time of recording, the date of recording. Meta data is detail information about any data record. Meta data is the history of your information (when, who, why, where, how; of the event or aspect you record). A KPAAM-CAM Metadata Template usually on excel sheet is provided here below:

#### A. Field Trips

- |                                                                                    |                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 – Field trip reference (1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ...) | 5 – Number of video files |
| 2 – Field trip timeframe (1 month, 2 months )                                      | 6 – Number of audio files |
| 3 – Field trip goal                                                                | 7 – Number of photos      |
| 4 – Total number of files                                                          | 8 – Number of ELAN files  |

#### B. Actors

- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 – Code number          | 8 - Education             |
| 2 – Name                 | 9 – Anonymize (real name) |
| 3 – Full name            | 10 – Contact name         |
| 4 – Code name            | 11 – Contact address      |
| 5 – Language description | 12 – Contact email        |
| 6 – Year of birth        | 13 – Contact organisation |
| 7 – Sex (male/female)    |                           |

#### C. Metadata Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

- |                            |                                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 - Consultant             | 18 – Consultant's mother's languages |
| 2 – Code name              | 19 – Maternal affiliation            |
| 3 – Date of interview      | 20 – Spouse provenance               |
| 4 – Consultant's languages | 21 – Spouse languages                |
| 5 – Place of interview     | 22 – children's languages            |

- |                                                  |                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 6 – Audio file name                              | 23 – Father of spouse provenance       |
| 7 - Questionnaire type (Sociolinguistic profile) | 24 – Father of spouse languages        |
| 8 – Paternal name                                | 25 – Mother of spouse provenance       |
| 9 – Maternal name                                | 26 – Mother of spouse languages        |
| 10 – Other names                                 | 27 – Number of lects                   |
| 11 – Residence                                   | 28 – Number speaks                     |
| 12 – Main linguistic identity                    | 29 – Degree of competence (5,4,3,2,1)  |
| 13 – Year of birth                               | 30 – where did you learn it?           |
| 14 – Gender                                      | 31 – When do you use it?               |
| 15 – Occupation                                  | 32 – Advantages of knowing it?         |
| 16 – Paternal affiliation                        | 33 – Performance in special occasions? |
| 17 – Consultant father's languages               |                                        |

#### **D. Session**

- |                                          |                                              |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1 – Field trip reference                 | 13 – Communication context (Social context)  |
| 2 – Session name                         | 14 - Communication context (Event structure) |
| 3 – Session title                        | 15 – Language description                    |
| 4 – Session date                         | 16 – Video file      17 – Audio file         |
| 5 – Session description                  | 18 – Other files                             |
| 6 – Country of location                  | 19 – Other resources                         |
| 7 – Region of location                   | 20 - Duration                                |
| 8 – Address of location                  | 21 – Recording devices                       |
| 9 – Content, genre                       | 22 - Notes                                   |
| 10 – Subgenre                            | 22 – Actor 1, Role                           |
| 11 – subjects                            | 23 – Actor 2, Role (participant)             |
| 12 – Communication context (Involvement) |                                              |



### **2.1.2.13.1 Name**

The name of the narrator or consultant, age, sex, quarter within Fang village, the list of languages he can speak other than Fang, the name of his paternal family or maternal family (patrilineal/matrilineal or patriclan/matriclan), matrimonial status, if married; village of the wife or husband. Does narrator has any speech impairment proper so that we can understand why he pronounce certain words somehow.

### **2.1.2.13.2 place**

The place where the recording takes. The name of the host as well as the name of the quarter and village, town or city as well as the region or province and the country.

### **2.1.2.13.3 Circumstances**

The situation under which the recording took place; was the environment noisy, what disturbed the quality of the recording, who where those present during the recoding, was the rain falling, or the birds were making noise around.

### **2.1.2.13.4 Time**

The time frame of recording, the duration; when it started and when it ended.

### **2.1.2.13.5 Access**

Who should have access to the story or who can listen to the story. Is the story having secret information like one consultant blackmailing another (gossip), or are there comments with the narration such "the chief is speaking but Mmen and not Kuk even though he is the chief of Kumfutu. He grew up in Mmen then he was brought to be the chief here. He does not

know the language." With such statements within the recording we would not want to even annotated such so that the family members or friends should not hear it and take the bad news to the chief or any other consultant who is being abused. So, indicate whether any person can listen to the story or not.

### **2.1.2.13.6 Birth place and Settlement Displacements**

Find out where the consultant has spent all of his life. He was born in Fang and stayed only in Fang till date. He was born in Fang went out of the village at a certain age (What age) then stayed outside of the village for how many years before returning to the village. Or the consultant was born in the Buea or Douala or any neighbouring villages before coming home.

So, find out long term and short term displacement of the consultant outside the village. If the consultant has gone out for business, marriage, schooling or to work else where before coming back and settling in the village. Mention this about the consultant. If he have never gone out of the village, then he is good for some data and if he has been in and out of the village frequently then he may not be a good consultant for a certain type of data. This would help us explain some aspects we find (idiolect due to the socio-linguistic influence of the various places in which he has lived in) in the language he speaks

### **2.1.2.13.7 File name**

Give a new name to the file which you have copied from the original backup file whose original name looks like ZOOM0003.MP3. After you have copied, remain it as KPAAM-CAM-NT-Kuk1-Prisca\_Song1-2016-02-30-.MP3. The name Prisca can be given a code in the metadata excel sheet: PKN-3. Where 3 means the 3rd name on the sheet while PKN are the abbreviations of her full names.

### **2.1.2.13.8 Recorder type**

Give the name of the type of recorder or camera used. This will help the archival if in case he has difficulty in archiving your file. That would help him know immediately that the problem comes from the nature of the recorder and from from the INTERNET connections.

### **2.1.2.13.9 Contacts**

Phone number or Email, in case you want to verify a certain line of the story how do you get to narrator. The phone technology has become one of the background need to get to our consultant.

### **2.1.2.14 Spares**

Each vehicle has spare tire. Make sure you have spare memory cards, recorders, and batteries with you.

### **2.1.2.15 Reporting**

Keeping of daily records of activities of all types for accountability and tracking of research plan.

#### **2.1.2.15.1 Finance**

Keep track of minute by minute expences in your notebook. So that you can give a vivid account of your spending at the end of each phase of the research.

Table 16: Documentary Research Report

| Researcher / Level: Nelson C. Tschonghongi / PhD, University of Yaounde 1, Linguistics        |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------|----------|---------|-------------|----------------------------|
| Topic / Area: Mbuk Documentary Grammar / NWR, Boyo Division, Bum Sub-Division                 |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
| Funding:<br>KPAAM-CAM (Key Pluridisciplinary Advances on African Multilingualism in Cameroon) |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
| Mbuk3 Field Period: 14Feb.2015 – 18Mar.2015                                                   |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
| Field Purpose: Analysing Nouns and Noun Phrases                                               |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
| Total Amount: Consultants, 60.000frs                                                          |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
| Recording type: Audio                                                                         |          |      |          |         |             |                            |
| No.                                                                                           | Date     | file | h:m:s    | Amount  | Consultant  | Activity                   |
| 1                                                                                             | 12/01/15 | 0001 | 31:53    | 500frs  | B           | Verbs morphology           |
| 5                                                                                             | 13/01/15 | 0005 | 17:50    | 300frs  | C           | Verbs -yi                  |
| 10                                                                                            | 14/01/15 | 0011 | 02:00:24 | 2000frs | D           | Adjectives                 |
| 12                                                                                            | 17/02/15 | 0013 | 44:03    | 1000    | E           | Culture/Queen mother       |
| 13                                                                                            | 17/02/15 | 0014 | 02:03:46 | 2000    | D           | Personal names             |
| 21                                                                                            | 02/03/15 | 0022 | 20:12    | 200     | C           | subject Pronouns / Noun    |
| 24                                                                                            | 03/03/15 | 0025 | 02:35    | 200     | C           | Noun class                 |
| 26                                                                                            | 04/03/15 | 0027 | 02:15:01 | 2000    | A           | Noun class (kitɔŋ ~ bítɔŋ) |
| 40                                                                                            | 13/03/15 | 0041 | 02:18:24 | 2000    | D           | Numeral/Money              |
| 41                                                                                            |          | 0070 | 08:03    | 200     | y           | Song                       |
| 42                                                                                            | 16/03/15 | 0071 | 35:27    | 500     | D           | Interrogatives             |
|                                                                                               |          |      |          |         | K           | glossing                   |
|                                                                                               |          |      |          | 60.000  | Consultants |                            |
|                                                                                               |          |      |          | 10.000  | D           |                            |
|                                                                                               |          |      |          | 10.000  | K           |                            |
|                                                                                               |          |      |          | 1900    | C           |                            |
|                                                                                               |          |      |          | 500     | B           |                            |

### **Other Areas of Expenditures: L, M, N**

- Motivations for videoing
- Motivation for pictures snapped
- Occassional meals assistance
- Health assistance
- Birth assistance
- Community work assistance
- Bereaved assistance
- Consultants/Villagers in their leisure drinking spots
- Telephone credit assistance
- Transport assistance
- schooling assistance in terms of (pen, pencil, others)
- Diplomacy; advice from some consultants to give finance to non-consultants for the sake of peace

#### **2.1.2.15.2 Daily reporting**

Make a daily report immediately you return to your inn on the field. Do not postponed the reporting for the next day or else you will become more confused.

In reporting, write the date, the consultants with whom you worked, the metadata, a literature of what you have done for that day. In your report note any special event or curiosity that you came accross. Note how much you have spent that day and on what you have spent. Comment on those who supported you in cash or kind on the field that day.

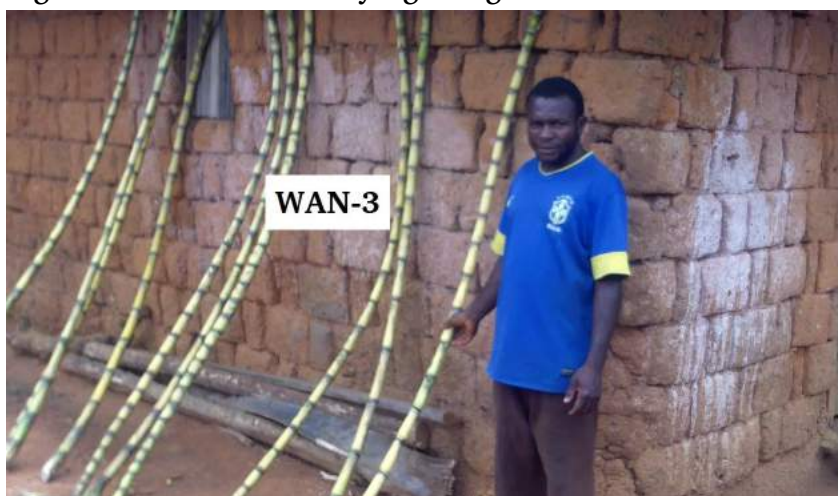
### 2.1.2.16 Coding

Each evening as you return to your inn from the field make sure you name your files before going to bed. This will ease your referencing when writing your report for that day. So, you do the coding, before you write the narrative report of the day then you back-up the recording, videoing and the narrative report. When naming, remember not to override files of the same name. You can change the name of one of them.

In writing the report, you include the code and the recording section so that anyone can play the file easily and listen to it without having to waste a lot of time looking for the file or the section in the recordings.

In coding, use the language name, date, acronym of your name separated with hyphens or dashes: Fio-11-12-14-NT.Wav This helps you to trace files and events with ease.

Figure 13: Consultant buying a sugarcane



Actor: **Wabua Angelbert Ndicha**  
 Codenam: **WAN**  
 Codenum: **3**  
 Birth Year: **1990**  
 Sex: **M**  
 Record Date: **12Nov2014**  
 Marital status: **Married**  
 Role: **Consultant**  
 Action: **buying a sugarcane**

### 2.1.2.17 Backup

Any data that has not been backed-up is lost data. If you have to recollect it, it will never have the all the flavour of the first one. So, make sure you do a daily back-up unfailingly. Keep

a security copy of all your data else where so that thieves, fire, and water cannot get access to damage them.

### **2.1.2.18 Overriding**

Deleting data is not the norm in documentary linguistics. But very often two different data may have the same name and as a result of tiredness or confusion or distraction you may answer to the dialogue box command to override and unconsciously delete a vital data. Thus you should seldom delete data. So, remember to rename a file.

### **2.1.2.19 Blurred**

Very often the best opportunity to get the most important data is when the environment is not friendly. But you can still manage to get evidence of what you needed though with a poor image or recording. It is still good to preserve them alongside good images. Very often clear videos are not rich in information as the unclear ones. But if you happen to get very clear recordings or video images, you have a prize.

### **2.1.2.20 Corpora**

Data unanalysed is considered data uncollected. It is good to note daily some key observations about the corpus. When you have to wait for some days you may not remember vital details. If possible classify the data for easy analyses. It is also tedious, and boring if you have to listen to all the recordings over and over again to tap out what is there. If you do your analyses immediately you are back from the field, you will go back to the recordings and videos merely for verification of some few facts because the stories are still fresh in your mind.

### **2.1.2.21 Rains**

One uncontrollable noise that can only be avoided is the rain. Most of the homes in our fields do not have ceilings so the noise from the roof is often very high such that it overshadows the recordings. At times we are deep in the elicitation such that we cannot notice the falling of the rain and we only realise that there was rain when we are listening to the recordings later.

Thus, nothing is heard other than the noise of the rain. Research time is not maximise during rainy seasons because the rains takes longer hours of falling. And we cannot record anything during this time. The critical raining period is between August and October. Thus is good to avoid recordings during this time. In addition, during raining, places are very slippery it good to carry your camera and recorder in a cushion bag rather than holding them with your hands, for you may fall and get them destroyed. Moreover, when rain gets into the equipment it can damage them as well. So, be sensitive to notice and avoid the drops of the rain.

### **2.1.2.22 Winds**

One has be sensitive to breeze and wind that distorts that quality of the sound. One should use a dead-cat and also a wind free environment like a closed room. Reflections and reverberations generated by the walls should be taken care of to make minimise these effects.

### **2.1.2.23 Crowing**

The village setting is full of animals; fowls, birds, goats and pigs. During recording the sounds made by these animals overshadow the deserved recordings voice. As a result we get poor data. Try as much as you can to thing that a cock can crow around your recordings and try to avoid such sites when choosing for a recording environ.



### **2.1.2.24 Distractions**

"Not part of my agenda. I have not yet cover what I am to do. I need to meet those who can help me go through what I am here for." When you reach the field, you get new friends, they keep inviting you in their occasions; conferences and meetings. Watch out for such actions for they will eat up your time and your will may return from the field without doing what you were assigned to do. This can be done only as part of your leisure time.

### **2.1.2.25 Discussions**

During recording, divergence and interference can occur. This is noise at moment. The consultants and other non-consultants begin to talk about things that are not concerned with the research. This causes some consultants to stop work because others are making noise. This make waste of time and battery because useless information is being recorded. You should stop recording and continue when order is restored or when the interferers are gone.

### **2.1.2.26 Cable**

It seems that linking cables do harbour viruses. It is hard to get rid of them even after scanning. Hence, be vigilant to see where the virus that affects your machine is coming from. The linking cable that is used for charging the camera carries viruses.

### **2.1.2.27 Sensitivity**

Insensitivity in data collection may disrupt the research. At certain points you need to be philosophical in all you do on the field. When you notice contradictory responses on a certain issue know that it is a sensitive issue. It is one of those things the natives will not want a foreigner to be aware of them. You can discontinue the interview wisely and continue next time

using a different format. And if possible with different consultants and if possible using a different approach. Be tactful. Example. Two contradictory consultants:

A: The law house is prepared with assistance from village X.

B: The law house is prepared solely by us.

### **2.1.2.28 Hidden**

Communities will always preserve their dignity, thus, they will not tell you that part of history that makes them inferior. Those who will wilfully hide it from you are mostly the literate persons of that community. So, interview the illiterates as well about the issues of their tribes. Ask them about the origin of some of the jujus or cultural acts. Further more, ask non-natives about the history where they live. Also, seek information from the neighbouring villages concerning the people you are researching. You will get information that you would have never gotten from the natives about themselves. The real history of a people are not told by the people themselves, especially the literates ones.

### **2.1.2.29 Politics**

Here, you have consultants who are not versed with the language, but you work with them to make a balance in the family distribution. Our communities are segmented into families, so make sure that all the families are actively involved in what you are doing.

In terms of gender, get data from both men and women, boys and girls. In addition, do not ignore children. Social groups, work with both men and women groups as well as youths.

### **2.1.2.30 Forgotten**

There is nothing unavoidable as forgetfulness. About to backup data, I could not find the linking cable. Try to own a field-bag where you store all field stuff in it. Have a list of field

items in the bag and verify on daily bases one week before going to the field to see if everything is all right.

### **2.1.2.31 Caution**

Explain the importance of what you are doing to them. Beg them to guide your tools against harm and even if it is a juju let it not try to joke with recording equipment for the juju shall be held responsible. Let them know that jujus do go to the police, gendarmes and to the court. During the Presidential visit to Bamenda, some jujus could not participate because they had no identity cards.

### **2.1.2.32 Unrecorded**

The unrecorded or video data is often the key data that you have been looking for. It often occurs as a side comment or informal conversation which takes place after you have shut down recording or videoing. It often occurs on the street while you are busy doing something else. Immediately you return to your resting inn, make a write up on what you heard or saw. Then formulate research questions, and administer them and record the conversation.

### **2.1.2.33 Maturity**

Natural barriers to language documentation. In most traditional societies, you can only be initiated to when you have a given birth. Some require that you should be having children of both sexes; a male and a female. Some do not care about the sex. This applies to those who do documentary linguistics, you cannot have access to video data when you do not have a child. In addition, very often you need to be initiated before you can sit together with the members and get the data you need. If you happen to see what you are forbidden to see when you have no child yet, you can become barren for life.

### 2.1.2.34 Cameraman

In videoing, the needs a documentary linguists are different from those of the professional cameraman. If the cameraman is not guided by the linguists, the videos may be empty:

(1) without the native language grammar because everything will be said in English, Pidgin or French without the use of the mother tongue whose grammar you are out to investigate. In this light, the cameraman should be hinted to make sure the natives say a lot in their mother tongue which you will later annotate to tap grammatical elements and usage.

(2) the names of musical instruments in the mother tongue are needed by the linguist which the professional cameraman may not see it necessary, so the linguist needs to be beside the cameraman assisting him on what we need to have in the video.

(3) the names of the ritual herbs are also something we need to write down how they are pronounced and whether they belong to the a certain noun class or not, the linguist should check if the cameraman has taken an inventory of the mother tongue names and images of the plants or herbs.

(4) collect the raw data immediately from the cameraman so that he should not do editing, because linguists do not need edited video which of course is the priority of the professional cameraman. If you collect the videos after editing has been done they will be useless to the documentary linguists.

### 2.1.2.35 Attire

One must be conscious of the field attire. The dressing code must be in accordance with that of the research community. Certain dressing styles can prevents consultants from getting

closed to the researcher while some dressing habits can instil unwanted behaviours of the villagers towards the researcher.

### **2.1.2.36 Rehearsal**

The core of documentary is recording, videoing and writing notes simultaneously. Perform this act while you are still at home before moving to the fields. This will help you to notice that something is not OK. Thence, try to backup what you have recorded and videoed to see if it can function well. This will remind you of a need or lacking that you will Adjust before taking a long trip to a place where you cannot get a solution if you had failed to rehearse.

### **2.1.3 Documentary techniques**

Documentary linguistics preserves what people do with their language. The things they produce as a result of their language being the medium of instruction and of knowledge transmission. Because of this functionality of language we have design some techniques through which we can systemantically extract the various components of language such as; words, phrases, clauses and sentences.

#### **2.1.3.1 Lexical elicitation**

One thing the documentary linguist is searching is words or lexemes of a language. In most communities, the literacy rate is low and it is hard to find literate people in English. Thus, to apply one method to collect words can not be sufficient. So, multidimensional model is applied to get many words as possible and to overcome the barriers of imposed by English or French.

### 2.1.3.2 Wordlist translation

A wordlist is a reAdj made list of words in a foreign language which demands translation into the target language. The wordlist is not sufficient on its own to give words because it is void of pragmatic considerations, it is created with a background of a different culture.

In addition, homophones often give the native speaker the nearest or the word he is used to such that he gives a wrong equivalent of a word in the mother tongue. Thus, the wordlist needs a lot of keenness on the part of the elicitor to make sure that the consultant do not misunderstand the word you want to translate.

Documentary is ecological, certain features are found in certain areas which you cannot get from the prescribed fixed wordlist, but when you move around you get words from the environment in question. Example, moving to a river bank, we got the word for a cliff "kám". We got this term because I approached the area and was warned not to move closer to it for it can crack off and I can fall into the river. But during our words elicitation at home the word did not come to the mind of my consultants. They remembered but a near homophone "kàm" meaning fore juju which they frequently see than the cliff.

### 2.1.3.3 Object pointing

Certain terms do not occur in the languages we are working in as well as the languages we are working with do have words that are not found in the foreign terms wordlist. Hence, we have to go by pointing to get what is lacking in the wordlist. This system also overcomes the huddles of illiteracy that usually impedes the collection of words.

One pragmatic system for collecting words is moving around with the consultant as he name things round the village. Go to the hills and names plants and insects and animals that

you come accross. The naming is accompanied by a video image and photo of the element with supporting explanations or helpful comments about the element.

#### **2.1.3.4 Semantic domains**

The specific exploration of one item for words is preferable because the native speakers has the names. The speaker just have to list the words used for the concepts. For instance, the domain of palm tree has several words that we cannot get them without looking at the palm tree and what is done on it or with it. This system safes time and more words are documented within a short time. Words are contextualised and something like a thesaurus can develop if several domains are treated. In addition, synonyms are easily remembered.

#### **2.1.3.5 Crafts**

In the process of expressing skills in the production of something like a fishing baskets, words that could not be recalled in the process of naming items could not come to mind. But during the fabrication of items, names of the part of the items are remembered. In our first trip kinds of fishing instruments where names and some where not recalled. In our second trip, we asked them to fabricate a fishing basket and one intermediary basket was produce whose name was not in the first trip wordlist. Hence, the documentation of arts and craft helps us to collect practical and contextual corpora.

The pictures below presents some artistic activities of the village from which words and literature is tapped. The portioning of a pig parts in the palace are different from that made to be sold. The pig has a part that goes to the Fon and his Njis and quarterheads have their own portions in a pig. This is true for a fowl. Certain parts are given to the Fon while the others are

given to notables and to the one who roast the fowl, the legs. In a dance group, each member has a particular part to eat depending on his rank.

Figure 14: Mbuk Arts and craft activity



*plaited pig intestine*



*pig dissection*

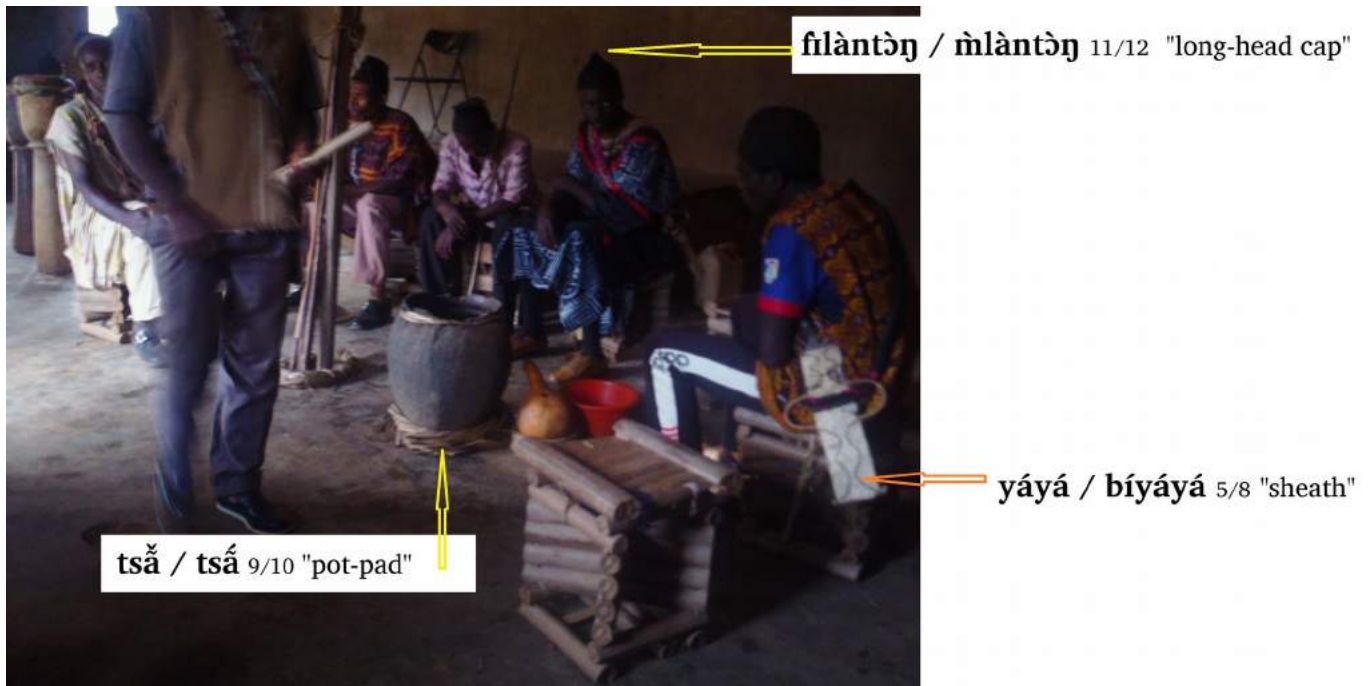
### 2.1.3.6 Ritual performances

Very often ritual performances carry with them periodical vocabulary. That is, only on certain periods of the year that you can hear of certain words. When the period is over, you may not hear them again. Moreover, certain rituals have terms that pertain to them, speech registers. Though some may mean something else in some context outside rituals, but very often there are certain words that are used only in certain ritual performances. As for the grammar of



ritual performances, it is somehow truncated in order to conceal some facts which are reserved to the members of the group. So, we tried to record those we are allowed to record and get the vocabulary and grammar off them.

Figure 15: Mandzong House



### 2.1.3.7 Songs

The strong connection between songs and the human mind is mystical. And even the link between the songs and the spirit world is fascinating. The magic here is that a mere song causes tears to flow, and cause the development of goose flesh as well as instill fear or bravery. That is the power of a song. Not all songs have these mysteries in them. This is because the message, context, the singer, vocabulary as well as the period of singing is not always the same. Hence, this heart-touching vocabulary can only come from songs. Therefore, if we avoid songs from our elicitation of words, these special words may bypass our lexicon. Songs in Mbuk are very much rhetorical and can only be interpreted by the composer. So, a lot of coded meaning which

mean the songs are poetical and thus their meanings are not taken literally thus involving the semantic study rather than just a grammatical reflection.

### **2.1.3.8 Stories**

Another avenue to tap words is through stories. Stories carry natural and pragmatic expression of language. In the elicitation of wordlist for Adject. The regular expression for Adjectives is given and another system of Adjective is left out. This system is highlighted in stories. For instance, the pragmatic Adjective for very large is "father of". So when we use father of nose we mean a very big nose. In Aghem, it is but the word for mother that is used to refer to very large as well. So, we see that stories exposes certain semantic aspects that could not be gotten if we failed to take into account stories for the collection of our wordlist and study of grammar and semantics. Unlike in songs, the emotional effect of stories is mostly humorous.

### **2.1.3.9 Sayings**

The expression of ideas in proverbs and idiomatic expressions bring to highlight some words that cannot be gotten easily without passing through such rhetorical speeches. This style has helped to enrich our lexicon and the understanding how the semantics of Mbuk works.

### **2.1.3.10 Myths**

These are a system of beliefs attached to certain aspects of social life. Their lives are controlled by these beliefs. All what they do, they first of all reflect on them before acting.

The influence of christianity has endangered some of the hygienic myths concerning the production of palm oil. For instance, sex is normally forbidden on the eve of the production of palm oil. The myth is that, more palm oil will be extracted from the palm. But recently, many have thrown this myth away but have clinked more strongly to one that has nothing to do

with hygiene such as forbidding some one to crack the a palm nut whose oil is still on the process of making in order to get more oil. These myths are beneficial to lexicographers and grammarians as we tap lexemes and grammatical expressions from them.

These myths also help us to be informed about the universality of culture. In Aghem, there are several myths binding the product of corn beer, local calcium carbonate and including activities like hunting and fighting. A woman is forbidden for sex on the eve of producing corn beer. If she fails to obey this, the corn beer will not be sweet or will be "sweet on one side of jaws" that is partially sweet and watery, not thick.

## **2.1.4 Grammatical elicitation**

To tap the grammar of a language two main partains are employed; (1) natural and (2) unnatural methods. The natural deals with natural utterances like conversations, stories, songs, myths, sayings. While unnatural text is tapped through translation of some themematic words, phrases, clauses or sentences with the goal to supply data for the analysis. The two approches complement each other for a thorough grammar writing in a documentary perspective.

### **2.1.4.1 Translation of expressions**

Translation is passing through English to get what you are looking for in the mother tongue. Very often the correct translations is hard to come by due to illiteracy and due to homopnes in the phrases. If the consultant is not literate enough his translation may mislead the researcher. Second, even if the consultant is literate, words that sound the same always lead the consultant to translate a word that is not the one intended may be because the context was not well understood or the word was not well pronounced.

For example, words like 'son' and 'sun' are often not understood at first pronunciation in the elicitation of word list. You have to say 'the sun shining' or 'the son my child'. And very often the other words that helps the consultant to differentiate the word 'son' from 'sun' often makes it difficult to get the actual word of the element let say 'son' or 'sun' in question due to assimilations and something like 'it is sun' instead of just saying 'sun'. It is difficult in some languages just to say a word without attaching somethings to it like 'it is ...'. In the elicitation of translated corpus, it is inappropriate to get possessives expressions with the word 'sun' because the people believe that no one owns a son, and so you cannot say 'my sun' in that language.

This holds true for animals like 'cameleon' that cannot be own by anyone and it is even rare to see. So, if you ask someone to say 'my cameleon' he refuses to say it because it has been long since he lastly saw a cameleon and more to that no one owns it. So, you can only elicit the natural and pragmatic expressions. What might seems correct in another language will be incorrrect in another language. Though documentary uses both the translation and untranslation method it lays priority on natural and untranslated text.

#### 2.1.4.2 Object positioning



In the study of some grammatical issues like tense and aspect, one can use someone in three positions to demonstrate it in order to tap a natural expression. In the first position he is about to cross a bridge and you resquest for this information and when he is on the bridge crossing now he says what is going on and when he finishes crossing the bridge then he says it. With this acting, grammar is studied naturally. Using the various positions to tap adpositions.

### **2.1.4.3 Events acting**

Event acting and object position is similar. But acting is more story-like on a theme conditioned in search of a grammatical element.

### **2.1.4.4 Free conversation or gossip**

During elicitation, keep the recorder on while an excuse is taken to ease oneself or to collect something he forgot somewhere. Also, during elicitation the researcher keeps on the recorder when there is digression. He suspends questioning while allow the consultants to keep talk on their personal issues. When there are visitors or members of the house conversing, the recorder is kept on in order to record natural text. Phone call conversations recording is in Mbuk is also a source of natural data with permission to record and analyse from the speakers.

### **2.1.4.5 Text annotation**

The text or expressions collected are annotated, that is, they are transcribed and interlinearised. And the elements of grammar needed are now extracted and exemplified:

## **2.1.5 Documentary tools**

Documentary tools refers to the various instruments used in the documentary processes such as audio recorders, video cameras, computational dictionary program known as FLEEx, and a text analysing computational program for called ELAN, the computer and backup external drives and other writing materials like books, pens, pencils and rulers.

### **2.1.5.1 Audio recorder**

A quality recorder which is trust worthy and easier to operate is preferable for a smooth documentary. In order to maximise memory card space the recorder can be set not to show waves but easy and better scientific use the waves are necessary. Using the waves requires much space. There should always be a standby audio recorder while in the field to prevent being returned from the field without any recorded data. It is also adviceable to use to recorders at once to ensure that no failure is obtained.

Audio recordings are later used to verify someone information and to remind the consultant of his errors or of what he has said so that he should not dispute what he has. Very often, consultants say something and later deny that they did not say it in the ways we are telling them, but when we replay the audios it helps to advance the researching with constructive and verifiable justifications.

### **2.1.5.2 Video recorder**

Certain gestures are signed to complete the verbal communication. The camera needs to cover this or else you may not know the age or size of something which is demonstrated with the hands without saying the age or Adjective for size. Thus, a good documentary must be accompanied by a video which is a living judge of the past in the presence.

It is ideal to have a backup video for each event such that if one happens to malfunction, we can rescue the data from the backup video. One day I decided to the go up to the highest point in Mbuk and before I arrived there my memory in the main camera got full and the power also off. There was no way for me to prove that I had reached there were people seldom researched. Suddenly and luckily I thought of my phone, then tied it on a try and put on video then went before it and got myself videod and the striking point which people will know that I

had been at the highest hill top of the village. So, this was just to illustrate the advantage of having access to many recording devices that can capture a desparate event which you may missed if if you had to rely on your main camera.

### **2.1.5.3 FLEx "dictionary"**

FieldWorks Language Explorer "FLEx" is a dictionary making softwear. When raw data is collected it is typed into the program. FLEx also contains a text and grammar analysing compactments. In FLEx, editing is easily done using bulk edit and other applications to easily get quality data accessible to the public.

### **2.1.5.4 ELAN "text"**

ELAN is a language text analysing softwear for interlinearisation of audio or video corpus. The data is arranged into TYPES and TIERS. The text is annotated segmentally on each TIER. TIERS are horizontal layers of line on the ELAN windows or screen. Highlighted annotated ELAN data:

Tiers: MBK, mbuk text

MP, morphemes

GC, grammatical category

GL, gloss

OT, orthography

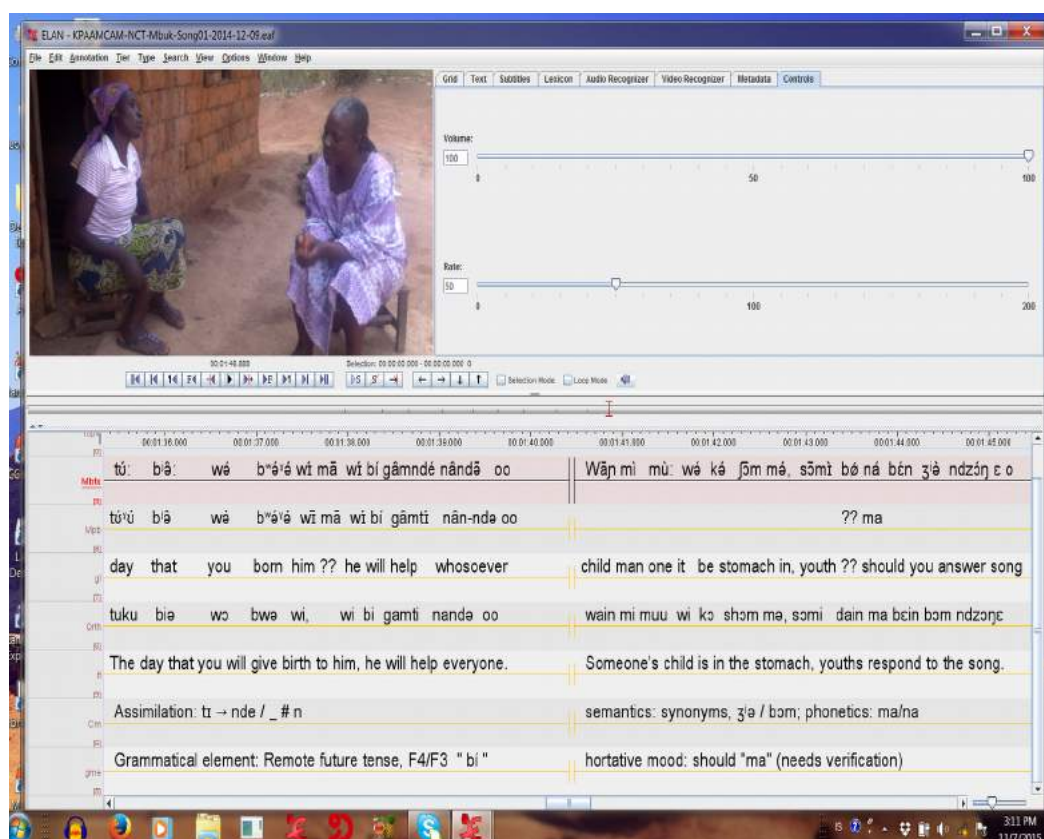
FT, free translation

CM, comments

GE, highlighted grammatical elements (topic in study)

A text such as story, song, ritual performances can be annotated in ELAN and even an ELAN wordlist or ELAN-Lexicon can be designed as the one in Mbuk.

Word-spacing bar, by default is 100 on a font size of 12. But when the font size is Adjusted to 24 the word-spacing bar has be shifted to 150. This helps all the annotation to fit with the increased font size and to allow enough spacing for glossing. The ratio of 24/150 prevents the words and sounds from overlapping. The word-spacing bar is a 2cm bar on the down right hand corner of the screen of the ELAN windows.



### 2.1.5.5 EXCEL "metadata"

EXCEL is an arithmetic square sheet softwear in which data about data is entered for easier reference. It is a kind of dictionary for the corpus collected. The names of participnats or consultants are entered into it together with naming or tittles of the data and short comments



about the environment with which the data was collection done. The audio or video codes of the recorded information is preserved in the excel sheet.

#### **2.1.5.6 Computer**

The computer is the central nervous system for documentary linguistics. Thus, an upto date functional computer is needed before any successful documentary work can be carried out.

#### **2.1.5.7 Backup external drives**

Documentary is synonymous to secured storage, so we cannot document if we are not storing the information in a manner that can easily be accessible as a well as easily retrivable. So, documentary is that a corpus is collected and stored for consultation when and where necessary with respect to open access obligations. When data is in the external drives to ensure that data has been stored in multiple places to avoid data loss. While in these drives control is ensured so that data that is not to go on public anyhow should be checked for security and moral reasons in order preserve the dignity and intergrity of the consultants or language owners in pohibited matters in relation to the access to the language.

#### **2.1.6 Documentary self-education**

Documentary research is on the one hand a self-vocational training where researcher is trained on new aspects of life. During this time, one is exposed to new and sometimes better and easier ways of doing things. For instance, with the help of documentary research we are able to fabricate a beehive from a palm tree stem which is more easier and cheaper than the one made of plank or bamboo from my own area.

So, documentary research exports know-how and shares skills. Documentary exposes one to inherit traditional technologies of other communities that consume less time in the

production of the artifacts. Such as their roasting of the hide of an animal such as cow. It also exposes one to new pragmatic knowledge and way of thinking.

Documentary is mystery and wonder on dietary differences. Some people eat certain insects that are forbidden to be eaten in other areas. From this, we learn to accept them as they are. This enlightens us on the diversity of human nature.

Documentary shows the interrelatedness of customs. With areal documentation we can observe that some people who historically claim to be very different from others share the same nucleus of culture. For instance, the Mbuk, in spite of lexical sameness with Fio, they claim to have no relations with the Fio and even the Aghems. But they all share the same burial patterns, the Fio and Mbuk bury their Fons with the hand of a goat, cut off from a live goat while the Aghems used to bury any corpse using the head of a goat cut off from a live goat.

Documenting other cultures helps you to understand clearly what you could not understand in your language or in other languages. For example, the concept of red "bàŋ" used when the juju of the highest authority is dancing is ascribed to the burning of wood and the mystic behind it that if a non-initiated someone sees it his body become red like that of a whiteman. So, we have been wondering in Aghem why "red" instead of to say "playing (of instruments)". This is because before this happens a lot of word is fetch and the word is fresh, not dried word. But in this event, the wood burns as if it is dried. That too is the mystery of burning undried wood. When the wood is burning, the fire is red and when people see from afar, they say the kwifoy is red meaning the kwifoy is on dancing.

Finally, the researcher through filming, photography, observation and questioning learns a skill without necessarily having to sit in a classroom. Therefore, documentary linguistics is an informal self-education.

## 2.2 MBUK SPEECH SOUNDS

The section presents the speech sounds of Mbuk. The segmental and the supra-segmental features of the Language. Furthermore, we looked at some vowel variations, alternation, the phone charts and concludes with the analysis of the syllabicity.

According to the manner of articulation, Mbuk has oral and nasal vowels. The former further splinters into; short, long and diphthong while the later, nasals, are in two sets: the short and the long nasal vowels. In addition to vowels are consonants and tones and their syllable boundaries. The internal variation of Mbuk sounds are treated as well.

### 2.2.1 Mbuk oral vowels

The vowel sounds produced through the oral cavity without obstructing the flow of the airstream. These vowels have been attested in Mbuk; (1a) short, (1b) long and (1c.) diphthongs presented in that order using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Here is the Mbuk non-nasal vowel phone chart:

Table 17: Mbuk vowel phone chart

|            | Front     |          | Central   |         | Back      |          |
|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|----------|
|            | unrounded | rounded  | unrounded | rounded | unrounded | rounded  |
| Close      | <b>i</b>  | <b>ü</b> | <b>ɨ</b>  |         | <b>ɯ</b>  | <b>u</b> |
| Near-close | <b>ɪ</b>  |          |           |         |           | <b>ʊ</b> |
| Close-mid  | <b>e</b>  |          |           |         |           | <b>o</b> |
| Mid        |           |          | <b>ə</b>  |         |           |          |
| Open-mid   | <b>ɛ</b>  |          |           |         |           | <b>ɔ</b> |
| Near-open  |           |          |           |         |           |          |
| Open       |           |          | <b>a</b>  |         |           |          |

The front and back vowels exhibit some symmetry. The (ü), u diaeresis will be used instead of the y of the IPA.

### 2.2.1.2 Mbuk short vowels

Here are a set of 13 Mbuk short vowels with examples:

i, ɪ, e, ɛ, ü, ɨ, ə, a, ʊ, u, ʊ, o, ɔ

|     |    |   |                      |                           |
|-----|----|---|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 44) | a. | i | dʒín                 | "tooth",                  |
|     |    |   | bì <sup>n</sup> bǎ:ŋ | "yaws"                    |
|     |    |   | ʃí                   | "face"                    |
|     |    | ɪ | íkōŋ                 | "to love",                |
|     |    |   | nì                   | "in, at, on"              |
|     |    |   | ɲìʸì                 | "slimy strands"           |
|     |    | e | <sup>n</sup> ténì    | "boundary between ridges" |
|     |    |   | <sup>n</sup> féli    | "cricket"                 |
|     |    |   | féŋkī                | "wing termite"            |
|     |    | ɛ | <sup>n</sup> génì    | "worm"                    |
|     |    |   | tsèŋ                 | "arm"                     |
|     |    |   | bìyé                 | "dog"                     |
|     |    | ü | kíɲú                 | "knee"                    |
|     |    |   | tsú                  | "spit"                    |
|     |    |   | túní                 | "ear"                     |
|     |    | ɨ | dzín                 | "doing, corn"             |
|     |    |   | dzíʸə                | "eye"                     |
|     |    | ə | b'əká                | "wound, sore"             |

|          |                   |                            |
|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
|          | <b>tʃóŋ</b>       | "fat"                      |
|          | <b>dzā</b>        | "road"                     |
| <b>a</b> | <b>dʒʷáp</b>      | "illness",                 |
|          | <b>tsā</b>        | "medicine"                 |
|          | <b>ˀdàŋ</b>       | "k.o tree, male name"      |
| <b>u</b> | <b>ɣúfí</b>       | "a yawn"                   |
|          | <b>tʃũŋwìgfʷú</b> | "heel"                     |
| <b>u</b> | <b>fú</b>         | "head, mbambara groundnut" |
|          | <b>gfʷú</b>       | "foot"                     |
|          | <b>mū</b>         | "one"                      |
| <b>u</b> | <b>dzōm</b>       | "back"                     |
|          | <b>dzó</b>        | "houses"                   |
|          | <b>ˀbók</b>       | "Mbuk village"             |
| <b>o</b> | <b>kìfó</b>       | "cap"                      |
|          | <b>ŋʲòkʰì</b>     | "sweat"                    |
|          | <b>wòlì</b>       | "raffia nut shell"         |
| <b>ɔ</b> | <b>kìmò</b>       | "swelling"                 |
|          | <b>nóm</b>        | "birth pains"              |
|          | <b>góŋ</b>        | "spear, cartridge"         |

### 2.2.1.3 Mbuk long vowels

Below is a set of 10 illustrated long vowels:

- 45)        **i:**        **mbì:**        "palm wine"
- ɪ:**        **bʲálí:sōm**        "palm frond"

|           |               |                         |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <b>ɛ:</b> | <b>mě:</b>    | "lick"                  |
| <b>ɪ:</b> | <b>dzĩ:ŋ</b>  | "thigh"                 |
| <b>ə:</b> | <b>dǎ:</b>    | "trample (with foot)"   |
| <b>a:</b> | <b>lâ:</b>    | "intestine"             |
| <b>u:</b> | <b>fɪˈbú:</b> | "gall bladder"          |
| <b>ʊ:</b> | <b>dzǔ:</b>   | "house"                 |
| <b>o:</b> | <b>tsò:</b>   | "palm kernel, palm nut" |
| <b>ɔ:</b> | <b>kìṃṓ:ŋ</b> | "brain"                 |

Exceptionally, *e:* and *ü:* have not featured amongst the lengthened vowels. Both vowels are very rare in the language. This is because the *e* ~ *ɪ* are in free variation and the *ɪ* has a higher frequency. For the *ü*, it is in free variation in some speakers with the *ũ*, which is however more frequent.

#### 2.2.1.4 Short and long vowels contrast

The long vowels in the language serve two distinctive roles; a number marking gender pair for singular/plural (*a*, *b*) as well as a lexical distinction:

- 46) a. **ʊ:** / **ʊ dzǔ:** / **dzó** "house / houses"
- b. **ɪ:** / **ɪ bí:** / **bí** "goat / goats"
- c. **a** / **a: kà** / **kà:** "basket / baskets"

In (a, b), the singular is marked by a long vowel with a rising tone while the plural are marked by a short vowel with a high tone. And vice versa for (c). While in (d) below the duration with which the vowels are articulated result to distinct words:

- 47) d. **u** **kfù** "rope"
- e. **u:** **kfù:** "kfù:"

- |    |           |              |            |
|----|-----------|--------------|------------|
| f. | <b>a</b>  | <b>tālī</b>  | "ladder"   |
| g. | <b>a:</b> | <b>tā:lí</b> | "go round" |

### 2.2.1.5 Mbuk pseudo diphthongs

A diphthong, a vowel sound that starts near the articulatory position for one vowel and moves toward the position for another. The last set of vowels in this section of oral vowels is what we can sometimes analyse as diphthongs which are about 4 of them:

- |     |    |           |             |               |
|-----|----|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| 48) | a. | <b>aɪ</b> | <b>wáɪn</b> | "child"       |
|     | b. | <b>ɛɪ</b> | <b>téɪn</b> | "cut"         |
|     | c. | <b>ʊa</b> | <b>dʒúá</b> | "soup"        |
|     | d. | <b>ai</b> | <b>kʷái</b> | "pretend (v)" |

The presence of diphthongs is due to the influence of multilingualism on the Mbuk sound system. Natives who have not been exposed to schooling and with neighbouring languages do not get the alveolar nasal in their speech. But, they rather articulate the palatal nasal "ɲ". It should be noted as well that the front vowels have the tendency of gliding (a<sup>i</sup>) to a high vowel anticipated by the regressive assimilatory influence of ɲ. That combination with non-multilingual effect will render the first two (d) as:

- |    |           |            |         |
|----|-----------|------------|---------|
| e. | <b>aɲ</b> | <b>wáɲ</b> | "child" |
| f. | <b>ɛɲ</b> | <b>téɲ</b> | "cut"   |

In addition, the word, soup in (c) above is sometimes labialised giving rise to "dʒʷá". While the nominal form for - pretend - witnesses the following pronunciation "ɲkʷáyì". So, considering diphthongs in this language will be a misinterpretation of corpora. Therefore, henceforth our transcriptions will avoid diphthongs by making use of onset "-ɲ" (areal phenomenon observed in Ajumbu', Kom, Mmen), labialisation and an intervening "-y-".

### 2.2.1.6 Nasal vowels

It is a vowel produced with the airstream passing through the nasal cavity. They are two types: the short and the long. The following table shows the nasal vowels of Mbuk.

Table 18: The nasal vowels frame

|            | Front     |         | Central   |         | Back      |         |
|------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
|            | unrounded | rounded | unrounded | rounded | unrounded | rounded |
| Close      |           |         |           |         |           |         |
| Near-close | ĩ         |         |           |         |           | ũ       |
| Close-mid  |           |         |           |         |           | õ       |
| Mid        |           |         | ẽ         |         |           |         |
| Open-mid   | ẽ         |         |           |         |           | õ       |
| Near-open  |           |         |           |         |           |         |
| Open       |           |         | ã         |         |           |         |

Below are the 7 short nasal ones (49a), and the 6 long counterpart (49b):

|      |   |         |                                       |
|------|---|---------|---------------------------------------|
| 49a) | ĩ | kĩkĩ    | "bamboo chair"                        |
|      |   | kəmfi   | "gun cotton"                          |
|      | ẽ | byékílè | "hitting"                             |
|      |   | mkpẽ:   | "elbow"                               |
|      |   | byé:    | "bundle"                              |
|      | õ | ɲʃ'õ    | "palm cord"                           |
|      |   | sê:     | "thin"                                |
|      |   | dê:     | "tall, long distance"                 |
|      | ã | bá      | "palm nut"                            |
|      |   | mbá     | "fufu biscuit at the bottom of a pot" |



|          |                         |                                   |
|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|          | <b>kpà:</b>             | "hand"                            |
| <b>ũ</b> | <b>dzũ</b>              | "skin"                            |
|          | <b>bũ:</b>              | "small black fly that suck blood" |
|          | <b>fũ:</b>              | "insect k.o."                     |
| <b>õ</b> | <b>bõ: (bǎ:)</b>        | "call"                            |
|          | <b>fwõ</b>              | "bake (in hot ash)"               |
| <b>ĩ</b> | <b>ńkǎ:ńí</b>           | "palm front cotton"               |
|          | <b>kǎ:</b>              | "beehive"                         |
| 49b)     | <b>ǎ:</b> <b>tsǎ:</b>   | "navel"                           |
|          | <b>ẽ:</b> <b>"kpẽ:</b>  | "elbow"                           |
|          | <b>ã:</b> <b>kpà:</b>   | "hand"                            |
|          | <b>ũ:</b> <b>bũ:</b>    | "blood sucking fly"               |
|          | <b>õ:</b> <b>"dʒwõ:</b> | "sweet"                           |
|          | <b>ĩ:</b> <b>kǎ:</b>    | "beehive"                         |

There do exist a contrast between the short and long nasal as minimal pairs:

|      |           |             |             |
|------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 49c) | <b>ã</b>  | <b>bǎ</b>   | "palm nuts" |
|      | <b>ã:</b> | <b>bǎ:</b>  | "palm nut"  |
|      | <b>ǎ</b>  | <b>tsǎ</b>  | "navels"    |
|      | <b>ǎ:</b> | <b>tsǎ:</b> | "navel"     |

All nasal vowels occur in open CV syllables.

### 2.2.1.7 Oral and nasal contrast

The contrast between the oral and nasal vowels is expressed in:

- 50) a.     **a**       **tsā**           "baboon"  
               **ã**       **tsã**           "monkey"  
       b.     **a**       **<sup>n</sup>fà**           "slave"  
               **ã:**     **<sup>n</sup>fá:**          "cowpea"

### 2.2.1.8 Vowels distribution

Not all the 12 vowels are nasal vowels. The exceptions are "i, e, i, ü". All nasal vowels both short and long occur in open syllables. Occasionally, they can be preceded by a glide "y or w" as seen in (49) above. Excluding nasal stops, the liquid and the trill, which do not go with the nasal vowels. While the oral plosives, fricatives, affricates and the approximants functioning as glides do take them.

In addition, nasal vowels do not happen as a compensation for the lack of a coda nasal. That is the absence of a coda nasal does not imply the presence of a nasal vowel for we find them in minimal pairs:

- 51) a.     **báj**           "cover (v)"  
               **bá**           "nail (v)"  
       b.     **búj**           "clothes"  
               **bú**           "woodash"  
       c.     **kàm**          "cliff river side"  
               **ká**           "hands"

A single vowel is vocalic. That is, the "ɪ", it can begin a word as the only vowel prefix. The "ɪ" is both an infinitive verb prefix and also an nominal prefix: All the vowels do occur in open syllables. The intervocalic velar excludes the following vowels "i, u, ɪ, ɛ, e". In this environment, kind of echoing of vowels take place, "dzáʔá, bóʔú". The "ɣ" sound intervocalically is very weak that is why it superscribed between the vowels. With the native intuition, they use "k" for the weak "ɣ". When they pronounce, the word for the first time, gives a weak "ɣ". The "k" is only heard when you ask them to repeat the word. They have been writing "k" in this position. As for closed syllables, all the vowels do appear except for "i, u, ü, o". But "i" is not really grounded in this language. As for root vowels, they have restricted onset consonants as well as selected coda ones. Not all vowels are found in closed syllables. Closed syllable vowels:

|     |    |     |      |                 |
|-----|----|-----|------|-----------------|
| 52) | a. | -ú- | kúm  | "python",       |
|     |    | -ú- | dʒúŋ | "snake"         |
|     |    | -ə- | mbəŋ | "walking stick" |
|     |    | -á- | kám  | "squeeze"       |

## 2.2.2 Mbuk Consonants

The Mbuk language has simple, complex and modified consonants. Speech sounds produced with the obstruction of the flow of the airstream through the mouth or nose.

### 2.2.2.1 Primary consonants

This section presents opposing consonants in relation to their point and manner of articulation. To see the degree of distinctiveness of the sounds in initial, median and final position. The simple consonants found in Mbuk include the (a) plosives and (b) nasal stops, (c) fricatives and (d) affricates, (e) liquids, (f) approximants and (g) trill "r".

Here is the chain of Mbuk consonants: p, b, t, d, k, g, kp, gb, kf, gv, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, f, s, ʃ, ʒ, ɣ, ʔ, h, ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ, kx, gɣ, w, y, l, r.

The manner and point of articulation for each sound is given in the table below for easy comprehension.

Table 19: Mbuk consonants phone chart

| point<br>manner        |    | bilabial | labio-<br>dental | alveolar | post-<br>alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal | labio-<br>velar | labio-dental<br>velars |
|------------------------|----|----------|------------------|----------|-------------------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|------------------------|
| Plosive                | vl | p        |                  | t        |                   |         | k     | ʔ       | kp              |                        |
|                        | vd | b        |                  | d        |                   |         | g     |         | gb              |                        |
| Nasal                  | vd | m        | n                |          |                   | ɲ       | ŋ     |         |                 |                        |
| Fricative              | vl |          | f                | s        | ʃ                 |         |       | h       |                 |                        |
|                        | vd | (β)      | (v)              | (z)      | ʒ                 |         | ɣ     |         |                 | ɣf                     |
| Affricate              | vl |          |                  | ts       | tʃ                |         | kx    |         |                 | kf                     |
|                        | vd |          |                  | dz       | dʒ                |         | gɣ    |         |                 | gv                     |
| Approximant            | vd |          |                  |          |                   | j       |       |         | w               |                        |
| Lateral<br>Approximant | vd |          |                  | l        |                   |         |       |         |                 |                        |
| Trill                  | vd |          |                  | (r)      |                   |         |       |         |                 |                        |

Where (v), (r): Individual free variation. In the thesis, [j] is written as /y/

A contrastive exemplification of the 35 consonant phones are exemplified here below:

### 2.2.2.1.1 Plosives

- 53)            **p**      **lāpsí**            "dress up someone"
- séptí ~ séptí ~ sōptī**      "sharpen bamboo splint"
- tʃəpsí**            "maltreat"
- b**      **bálí**            "waist"
- bō**            "tired"

|    |        |                      |
|----|--------|----------------------|
| t  | tálí   | "ladder"             |
| d  | dólí   | "chin"               |
| k  | kóʋólī | "elder"              |
| g  | gáŋwì  | "wall shelf"         |
| ʔ  | nàʔ    | "female cattle"      |
|    | "bóʔ   | "premature palm nut" |
|    | "gòʔ   | "gun trigger"        |
| h  | "gòhò  | "seedlings"          |
|    | híkī   | "nape (of neck)"     |
| kp | kpà:   | "day"                |
|    | kpí    | "die"                |
| gb | gbò    | "fall"               |
|    | gbáná  | "young female goat"  |
|    | gbóʋó  | "gun"                |

### 2.2.2.1.2 Nasals

|     |   |       |             |
|-----|---|-------|-------------|
| 54) | m | mí    | "myself"    |
|     | n | něn   | "forbid"    |
|     |   | bíní  | "a dance"   |
|     | ɲ | kìɲá  | "gift"      |
|     |   | ɲà:ní | "sojourn"   |
|     |   | "fɪɲ  | "blindness" |
|     | ŋ | nán   | "bed"       |
|     |   | ŋàŋlí | "crawling"  |

### 2.2.2.1.3 Fricatives

|     |   |       |                             |
|-----|---|-------|-----------------------------|
| 55) | f | ífú   | "fetish priest"             |
|     |   | tʃǎfí | "anger"                     |
|     |   | sǎfí  | "carry"                     |
|     |   | lǎfí  | "self dressing"             |
|     | v | vwô   | "screech owl" ( ~ wúô )     |
|     |   | vwô   | "slowly, peeling" ( ~ wúò ) |
|     | s | sô    | "six (6)"                   |
|     | z | zátô  | "female name" ( ~ dzátô )   |
|     | ʃ | ʃəʔ   | "wingless termite"          |
|     | ʒ | ʒóŋ   | "k.o. song"                 |
|     | ɣ | ɣǎfí  | "yawn"                      |
|     |   | káʔá  | "leg"                       |
|     |   | íɣǎʔ  | "glowing (fire)"            |

### 2.2.2.1.4 Affricates

|     |      |        |                      |
|-----|------|--------|----------------------|
| 56) | (kf) | kùf    | "rope"               |
|     |      | kúf    | "bowing (greetings)" |
|     | (gv) | gúf    | "feet"               |
|     | gɣ   | ŋgɣǎ   | "calabash"           |
|     | (ɣf) | ɣúf    | "blue berry tree"    |
|     | ts   | tsǐ    | "sorcerer"           |
|     | dz   | dzǎŋ   | "hunger"             |
|     | tʃ   | tʃóní  | "k.o owl,            |
|     |      | kìtʃòm | "story, history"     |

**dʒ**    **dʒóʋó**    "eye"

**kx**    **kxó**    "farm"

The alveolar affricate "dz" is of two phones; a stronger "dz" with more friction written as "dzz" and the other with lesser friction "dz" accompanied by a short duration in pronunciation:

57) a.    **dzzə**    "road" such that we are tempted to write "dzzə"

b.    **dzə**    "go"

### 2.2.2.1.5 Approximants

58)    **y (j)**    **yètè**    "k.o. snake"

**w**    **wóní**    "tail"

### 2.2.2.1.6 Lateral Approximant (liquid) "l"

59)    **l**    **kìlú**    "gong (of 1m height)"

### 2.2.2.1.7 Trill (liquid) "r"

60)    **r**    **ntórò ~ ntótò**    "pepper"

**r**    **kìlérí ~ kílétí**    "calabash"

**r**    **yèrì ~ yètì**    "viper"

**r**    **môrè ~ mètì**    "rest"

What is strange in this language is the absence of the voiced alveolar fricative "z". Hyman 1979:11 "Historically, e become the glide y. Aghem, however, is in the geographic area where \*y become "z." Is Mbuk in a geographical area where "z" is absent? And what has the "z" become? In Mbuk, the "y" is interchangeable with "ʒ", a voiced palatal fricative which differs from "z" with respect to the point of articulation. This happens in gender distinction as seen in the following examples:

- 61) a.    **ʒá:ní ~ yání**        "island"  
              **bìyá:ní**                "islands "
- b.    **ʒʲé**                        "name"  
              **kíyʲé ~ kíʒʲé**        "names"

In Aghem, z is both an alphabet and a concord. The concord is derived from the e-prefix and ø-prefix nouns". In the same line, the Mbuk concord "yi" is derived from the ø-prefix nouns. This means that, the "z" of Mbuk is surfaces as a y through "ʒ". In addition, the "y" in the concord "yi" is often silent giving rise to the "i" sound. The "i ~ ɪ" are in free variation. Which in fact, the historical "e" is phonetically "ɪ ~ i" in the areal of Aghem right down to the Bantu Borderline not leaving out Mbuk. The "ɪ" concord is used for specification in Aghem and derived as well from both the e-prefix and zero prefix nouns, which is same for zero-prefix Mbuk nouns were in recorded text you get "i" all the times, but when you are writing, they repronounce it this time with a "y → yi".

## 2.2.2.2 Secondary consonants

These are simple or complex (double articulated) consonants which have been (a) labialised, (b) palatalise, or (c) prenasalised. Here, we begin with (a) labialisation:

### 2.2.2.2.1 Labialised consonants

Fricatives and stops get labialised in the Mbuk language. Both open and closed syllable words before four kinds of vowels "i, a, ɔ, ɪ":

- 62) a.    **ʃ<sup>w</sup>**    **ʃ<sup>w</sup>àyí**        "loosen"  
              **v<sup>w</sup>**    **v<sup>w</sup>ḑ**                "screech owl"  
              **m<sup>w</sup>**    **m<sup>w</sup>á**                "blood"



|                |                    |                |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| g <sup>w</sup> | g <sup>w</sup> áɲ  | "bamboo (pl.)" |
| ʃ <sup>w</sup> | ʃ <sup>w</sup> ǎɲ  | "sheep"        |
| ɲ <sup>w</sup> | ɲ <sup>w</sup> ɔ̃  | "cutlass"      |
| ŋ <sup>w</sup> | gáŋ <sup>w</sup> î | "wallshelf"    |

#### 2.2.2.2.2 Palatalised consonants

|     |                 |                               |             |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 63) | b <sup>j</sup>  | b <sup>j</sup> àlí            | "rib"       |
|     | d <sup>j</sup>  | d <sup>j</sup> ǎ <sup>v</sup> | "cook"      |
|     | f <sup>j</sup>  | f <sup>j</sup> à              | "ankle"     |
|     | m <sup>j</sup>  | m <sup>j</sup> è              | "palm oil"  |
|     | ʒ <sup>j</sup>  | ʒ <sup>j</sup> ó              | "planting"  |
|     | dʒ <sup>j</sup> | dʒ <sup>j</sup> ǎ             | "put"       |
|     | ɲ <sup>j</sup>  | ɲ <sup>j</sup> ó              | "corn fufu" |
|     |                 | téɲ <sup>j</sup> í            | "cut"       |
|     | ʃ <sup>j</sup>  | ʃ <sup>j</sup> ǎ              | "fowl"      |
|     | t <sup>j</sup>  | t <sup>j</sup> ǎ              | "horn, cup" |
|     | l <sup>j</sup>  | l <sup>j</sup> óní            | "laziness"  |
|     |                 | l <sup>j</sup> ókò            | "cassava"   |

#### 2.2.2.2.3 Prenasalised consonants

|     |                 |                       |              |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 64) | <sup>n</sup> b  | <sup>n</sup> bàɲ      | "walk-stick" |
|     | <sup>n</sup> d  | kì <sup>n</sup> dòɲ   | "throat"     |
|     | <sup>n</sup> dz | fí <sup>n</sup> dzàɲə | "clitoris"   |
|     | <sup>n</sup> g  | <sup>n</sup> gáɲ      | "vein, root" |

|                 |                                |                                     |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <sup>n</sup> k  | <sup>n</sup> káŋní             | "hard skin of palm nut"             |
| <sup>n</sup> t  | <sup>n</sup> tá <sup>ʋ</sup> ā | "shin"                              |
| <sup>n</sup> tʃ | <sup>n</sup> tʃáni             | "raffia frond (with fibre removed)" |
| <sup>n</sup> ʃ  | <sup>n</sup> ʃáŋá              | "palm oil chaff"                    |

One feature with the prenasalised is that they are verb nominals where <sup>n</sup>- is the nominal marker for singular nouns derived from verbs. But this nasal has lost its syllabicity (2b). That is why you find the regular plural marker <sup>bə</sup>- being prefixed to give the plural (2c). While the singular turns to have a <sup>ə</sup>- a zero prefix when the nasal has glued with following consonant to give a prenasalised one.

- 65) a. <sup>í</sup>-<sup>tsá</sup> "to pray"  
 b. <sup>ə</sup>-<sup>tsá</sup> "a prayer"  
 c. <sup>bə</sup>-<sup>tsá</sup> "prayers"

Henceforth, <sup>n</sup>b → mb, <sup>b<sup>w</sup></sup> → bw, and <sup>b<sup>j</sup></sup> → by, in this work.

### 2.2.2.3 Tertiary consonants

By complex we mean two simultaneous modifications. Here, we find consonants that have added on another modification to the previous modified form. Such complex modified consonants are; prenasalisation plus labialisation, prenasalisation plus palatalisation, as well as prenasalisation and velarisation. (3a) a prenasalised being labialised in the examples below:

- 66) a. <sup>ŋw</sup> <sup>ŋwí</sup> "water"  
<sup>ŋwəŋwətʃákəm</sup> "second juju (behind the first)"

Or prenasalisation being palatalised:

- b. <sup>mby</sup> <sup>mbyéní</sup> "smallish palm nuts"

And prenasalised being velarised as seen in the examples below:

|    |            |               |                                    |
|----|------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| c. | <b>ŋkx</b> | <b>ŋkxùŋ</b>  | "curve, bend, crook"               |
| d. | <b>ŋgy</b> | <b>ŋgyákī</b> | "suffer, danger, trouble, problem" |
|    |            | <b>kìŋgyè</b> | "wine calabash"                    |
|    |            | <b>ŋgyè</b>   | "wine calabash"                    |

In addition, the complex modified; prenasalised and labialised can also be of a nasal vowel:

|     |    |             |               |                         |
|-----|----|-------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 67) | a. | <b>nfɰw</b> | <b>kìnɰwá</b> | "nasal mucus (catarrh)" |
|-----|----|-------------|---------------|-------------------------|

As well as, the case of prenasalised and palatalised with a nasal vowel:

|    |             |              |             |
|----|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| b. | <b>nfɰy</b> | <b>nfɰyê</b> | "palm cord" |
|----|-------------|--------------|-------------|

In some cases, palatalisation denasalises the vowels in young speakers:

|     |    |            |                    |                |
|-----|----|------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 68) | a. | <b>ndy</b> | <b>ndyê ~ ndyè</b> | "rhizom fruit" |
|-----|----|------------|--------------------|----------------|

#### 2.2.2.4 Consonants distribution

The coda consonants are the four nasals; m, n, ɲ, ŋ, and a glottal stop ʔ. A case of a questionable p has been seen and also an s. The s is in a borrowed word. The consonant kf and gf seems to have a inserted between them in slow pronouciations. Thus were can rewrite them as kuf and guf, that will make f as one of the coda consonants. Almost all consonants are found at the onset of a root word except the glottal stop that is neither at the onset nor intervocalic.

The variant of the language "Chung" do have an existing orthography developed by SIL/CABTAL of the Mesaye language cluster which is also used in writing Mbuk. Thus, we give the orthography and IPA correspondence. This is to link the native use of the book and linguistic scholars.

(Mbuk) in bracket because in didactic materials like diary, primers, story books and the Bible only Chung words are used.

And not all consononants can pair up as onset and coda to form a closed syllable. Closed syllable consonants are as exemplified in the following pages:

|     |    |       |                |            |
|-----|----|-------|----------------|------------|
| 69) | a. | k-m   | <b>bìkóm</b>   | "lion"     |
|     | b. | t-ŋ   | <b>kìtàn</b>   | "hut"      |
|     | c. | dz-ŋ  | <b>dzóŋ</b>    | "antelope" |
|     | d. | dʒ-m  | <b>dʒúm</b>    | "tiger"    |
|     | e. | nt-m  | <b>fíntám</b>  | "fruit"    |
|     | f. | mb-ŋ  | <b>mbèŋ</b>    | "k.o juju" |
|     | g. | ts-n  | <b>tsèn</b>    | "arm"      |
|     | h. | ts-ŋ  | <b>tsán</b>    | "tyre"     |
|     | i. | l-ŋ   | <b>filán</b>   | "clay pot" |
|     | j. | ŋkw-ŋ | <b>fíŋkwán</b> | "deer"     |

As languages changes form after some time, a diachronic study can be conducted to see how far the above patterns have been endangered or have changed to other forms. Either the vowels have been nasalised by dropping the nasal coda or the vowels shift. As a prefixes, we find only "k, f" which are the onset of a CV- prefix and "n-" the nucleus of a nasal prefix.

### 2.2.3 Variations

Optional uses of some sounds by speakers. At times other evaluate the uses as incorrect. And they tend to give the standard form. The question of the standard is raised just when we are about to write or when they are to teach someone. And very often, what is claimed the standard form is rarely used. But our research is to document what is used unconsciously and even what is consciously used. Variation is sometime tied to some families who used particular form while other families use others. And within the same family we find members using what is generally regarded as members of the family as not correct. All about variation here is that it

bore with it the assessment of proper and improper use of the language. Documentary approach is not to assess the standard use but to preserve what audio and video recorders captured.

### 2.2.3.1 Vowel variations

The variation in Mbuk vowels can be described in free variation. The same speaker uses "ə ~ ɪ". The "ə" is the default pronunciation, while "ɪ" is marked in the sense that whenever they are stressing, they use the latter vowel especially when they are asked to repeat or say it slowly.

- 70) a.     ə ~ ɪ  
           kə- ~ kɪ-  
           kə̀lə̀rí ~ kɪlərí     "calabash"
- b.     ɪ ~ i  
           tɪ ~ ti  
           kə̀lé́tí ~ kɪlé́tí     "calabash"
- c.     o ~ u  
           gbó ~ gbú     "foot"
- d.     bǎ ~ bǓ     "call"

Further investigation is needed to see whether there is a clan variation (bwâʃóm, bwàbèntú:, bëndǒ:).

### 2.2.3.2 Consonant variations

Consonants of Mbuk do undergo variations as well:

- 71) a.     r ~ t  
           r̀ ~ t̀  
           ntó́r̀ ~ ntót̀     "pepper"
- ntôt             "pepper" ( apocopated form )

Some times, the speakers contract the word pepper as "ntôt". The last vowel is deleted, apocope. But the tone now falls on the penultimate syllable giving rise to a root of high tone becoming a falling tone. The motivation to this contraction is when they are tired or they want

to pass the message faster. And the preference for t to r is consonant identity or assimilation precipitated by the onset.

- b.     y ~ ʒ  
           yání ~ ʒá:ní       "island, river deposits"

This case is more of an individual free variation than a uniform speech alternation amongst all the natives. Some speakers consistently used "y" while some uses "ʒ".

- c.     h ~ s  
           hɪ ~ sɪ  
           fáhí ~ fásí   "threaten"

These are dialectal variations. The "h" is predominant in Mbuk while "s" is dominant in Chung. But speakers of Mbuk uses both "h" and "s" freely.

- d.     l ~ ly  
           lákà ~ lyákà       "female name"

McDermott (2005:VIII) *An 'Academy' has existed for many years for the sole purpose of keeping the written form of the language 'pure'. It has, for many years, brought out a style and spelling handbook at regular intervals. But whereas, earlier, the Academy's task was to prevent language change in terms of 'standard' Afrikaans, known as AB Afrikaans (Algemeen Beskaafd Afrikaans literally, 'generally civilized' Afrikaans, i.e. White Afrikaans!), it has, in recent years, been compelled by Afrikaans speakers (of all colours) to rewrite the 'rules' of Afrikaans to reflect the patterns of the speakers' common language practice.*

Thus, in this research following the documentary rules, we consider all speech variations as valid in this work no matter the patrician speech background within Mbuk:

- 72) a.     bághên ~ bəŋə     1PI, we

## 2.2.4 Tonology

The language is tonal. It uses tones lexically and grammatically. The tone do not remain unchanged. That is they do become modified in phrases and clauses.

### 2.2.4.1 Lexical tones

Six distinctive tones are heard in the language: The high, mid, low, falling, rising and high-mid. Thus, there are three level tones and three contour tones stated in the table below:

Table 20: Mbuk lexical tone contrast

|    | High, H <sup>´</sup> | Mid, M <sup>ˉ</sup>   | Low, L <sup>`</sup> | Falling, F <sup>ˆ</sup> | Rising, R <sup>ˇ</sup> | Highmid, HM <sup>˘</sup> |
|----|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | dá                   | dā                    |                     | dâ:                     | dă:                    | kígā:                    |
|    | <i>testicles</i>     | <i>vagina</i>         |                     | <i>bridge</i>           | <i>crossing</i>        | <i>mat</i>               |
| b. | mbén                 |                       |                     | mbên                    |                        |                          |
|    | <i>sky</i>           |                       |                     | <i>breast</i>           |                        |                          |
| c. | kó <sup>v</sup> ó    |                       | kó <sup>v</sup> ò   |                         |                        |                          |
|    | <i>camwood</i>       |                       | <i>rooster</i>      |                         |                        |                          |
| d. |                      | dzō <sup>v</sup> ō    | dzò <sup>v</sup> ò  |                         |                        |                          |
|    |                      | <i>penis</i>          | <i>nt. yam</i>      |                         |                        |                          |
| e. | kxé                  | kxē                   |                     | kxê                     |                        |                          |
|    | <i>shave</i>         | <i>farm</i>           |                     | <i>female name</i>      |                        |                          |
| f. | ɲkxé                 |                       | ɲkxè                |                         |                        |                          |
|    | <i>guide</i>         |                       | <i>shield</i>       |                         |                        |                          |
| g. | kfú:                 |                       | kfû:                |                         | ɲkfû                   |                          |
|    | <i>raffia fruit</i>  |                       | <i>hill</i>         |                         | <i>of late (die)</i>   |                          |
| h. | kfú                  | kfû                   |                     |                         |                        |                          |
|    | <i>abode (dead)</i>  | <i>playing (drum)</i> |                     |                         |                        |                          |
| i. |                      |                       |                     |                         |                        | mfyɔ̃ɲ                   |
|    |                      |                       |                     |                         |                        | <i>silence</i>           |
| y. | yí                   |                       | yì                  |                         |                        |                          |
|    | concord (pl)         |                       | concord (sg)        |                         |                        |                          |

### 2.2.4.2 Grammatical tones

- 73) a. **Bó dzí-kí-lè** "They are eating"  
3P eat.PG.AF
- b. **Bó dzí-kì-lè** "They are going to eat"  
3P eat.PG.AF

In (a.) the progressive aspect "kí" carries a high tone while in (b) it is low "kì".

If we relate this to Aghem focus marker "nò", (Watters 1979:166) we can say that, "-lè" is a focus marker in Mbuk.

- c. **Ntǝ̀kǝ̀ tǝ̀â: dzú** "Nchoko (male name) is not at home"  
Nchoko NG houses
- d. **Ntǝ̀kǝ̀ tǝ̀â: dzǝ̀:** "Nchoko is not a house"  
Nchoko NG house

In (c), when home (house) is negated, it takes the plural form for house, dzǝ̀:/dzú "house/houses". In addition, (c) home (house) is a location. But in (d) the tonal distinction as well as the lengthening of the word house, is rhetorical in negating the metaphor.

- 74) a. **M tǎ̀ŋ yì** "I have bought it "  
1s buy it
- b. **M tá̀ŋ yí** "I am bargaining"  
1s buy it
- c. **M tá̀ŋ yí** "I have bought many things (them)" iterative  
1s buy them

The "m" is not homorganic because its vowel has been deleted, "mí".

- 75) a. **bǝ̀bíkǝ̀m bǝ̀ ŋkú̀ŋ** "(The) lion of (the) Fon"  
2.lion AM Fon
- b. **bǝ̀bíkǝ̀m bó ŋkú̀ŋ** "(The) lion and (the) Fon."  
2.lion CJ Fon



The concord tone for class 2 nouns is by default a high tone. But a construent occurs in semantics if the tone of the genitive expression has to remain high, but it changes to a mid tone giving priority to the conjunction (CJ) "and" which is a stable lexeme to maintain its tone rather than he, the concord. Thus, language is logically patterned and before we utter the final expression the mind has preexamined it and made the necessary Adjustments to extenuate the ambiguity it may pose.

## 2.2.5 Syllabicity

Two levels of syllabicity to be examined here are that of affixes and of the root word. We have both mono and disyllabic roots.

### 2.2.5.1 Syllabic structures

The syllable structure of affixes of Mbuk ranges from V, CV, and C:

- 76)
- |    |    |            |                   |                                                       |
|----|----|------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | V  | <b>ɪ-</b>  | <b>í-fú</b>       | "fetish priest" indicates infinitive verb and (nouns) |
| b. | CV | <b>kɪ-</b> | <b>kì-ntʃə̀ə̀</b> | "marshy farm" noun class 7 prefix                     |
| c. | CV | <b>-hi</b> | <b>"yà̀à-hi</b>   | "send up" causatives suffix                           |
| d. | C  | <b>n-</b>  | <b>ɲ-gòm</b>      | "payment" nominal prefix                              |

As, for the root word, the syllable structures are; V, C, CV, CGV, CVC, CGVC, CVV,

- 77)
- |    |     |             |                                    |
|----|-----|-------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | V   | <b>i</b>    | "at" preposition                   |
| b. | C   | <b>m</b>    | "I" contracted speech form of "mì" |
| c. | VC  | <b>an</b>   | "more" small                       |
| c. | CV  | <b>na</b>   | "more" big                         |
| d. | CGV | <b>mbwǎ</b> | "thorn"                            |
| e. | CVC | <b>bóɲ</b>  | "clothes"                          |

|    |      |      |           |
|----|------|------|-----------|
| f. | CGVC | ʃwǎŋ | "sheep"   |
| g. | CVV  | gǎ:  | "sharing" |

### 2.2.5.2 Syllabicity and tonal patterns

Furthermore, these syllabic structures can combine with each other to give multiple syllables. Hence, apart from monosyllabic stems (zero affix + root), we can have multi-syllabic stems (affix + root). Illustration from a single syllabic word to words with many syllables:

#### 2.2.5.2.1 One syllable

|     |    |       |                                                       |
|-----|----|-------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 78) | H  | tsá   | "baboon"                                              |
|     | L  | dzà   | "porcupine"                                           |
|     | M  | ʃyē   | "fowl"                                                |
|     | F  | ɲâm   | "animals"                                             |
|     | R  | ɲʃyǎ: | "squirrel"                                            |
|     | HM | fũ:   | "beetle (soft white body, strong brown head, edible)" |

In open monosyllabic words, long vowels are mostly associated with contour tones.

Though we do find some register tones on long vowels:

|   |     |         |
|---|-----|---------|
| L | kǎ: | "hands" |
|---|-----|---------|

#### 2.2.5.2.2 Two syllables

|     |     |        |             |
|-----|-----|--------|-------------|
| 79) | H H | fɪŋkwá | "hare"      |
|     | H L | dzəʋə  | "elephants" |
|     | L H | kɪɲóŋ  | "buffalo"   |
|     | L L | dzəʋə  | "elephant"  |
|     | L M | tàlī   | "ladder"    |

M M   **byēkē**        "cane rat"

L F    **kìkôm**        "horse"

H HM **kígā:**        "mat"

We find long vowels also taking register and contour tones in bisyllabic words:

80)        L L    **kìntò:**        "chisel"

L L    **kìbà:**        "pocket, bag"

L R    **mìnfyǎ:**       "squirrels"

### 2.2.5.2.3 Three syllables

81)        L H M        **kìbábā**        "leopard"

L H F        **kìbábâ**        "hyena"

L H H        **kìŋkókó**       "bat"

L L H        **kìtfù<sup>ʋ</sup>ù**        "granary"

### 2.2.5.2.4 Four syllables

82)        L L L H        **kìntfàkòlí**    "young cow (heifer)"

H L H H        **bé<sup>ʋ</sup>àbésyó**    "chicken"

### 2.2.5.3 Syllable segmentation

For some words, it is difficult to determine the syllable boundaries. Such words are:

83) a.        **bwá<sup>ʋ</sup>ám**        "cup"

b.        **bwá.ám**        CGV.CVC

c.        **bwá<sup>ʋ</sup>.ám**       CGVC.VC

d.        **bwám**        CGVC

The intervening "y" is very weak such that you do not get it from some speakers. In some speakers as well the weak "y" is heard as a coda: cry " ~ dâ<sup>y</sup>". Some examples are given below:

- 84) a. **finjámbú** "sand"  
 b. **fi.nja.mbu** CV.CV.CV  
 c. **fin.ja.mbu** CVC.CV.CV  
 d. **fin.jam.bu** CVC.CVC.CV  
 e. **fi.njam.bu** CV.CVC.CV  
 f. **fi.n.ja.m.bu** CV.C.CV.C.CV

The derivational morphology of affixation system (§3) can help us discern the appropriate syllabic boundary.

## 2.3 CONCLUSION

Languages or dialects came to serve the communicative needs of their respective speech communities, and just like people, due to social injustice, catastrophe and calamities, they die without a record of their lives. So, with the advent of documentary linguistics and a non-bias world view on language development policy, a digital record would safeguard the sounds of the earth for millennial if a lifelong control of the degree of obsolescence of language storage equipment such as hard-drives and digital web-severs are assured by ensuring a long-term compatibility amongst the ancient and innovated technological recording/storage instruments.

In documentary grammar, the native speaker is substituted by the audio / video in the absence of the native when articulatory needs arises. Through this the native speaker himself is the one pronouncing the grammatical elements of his language through songs, stories and ritual performances. Unlike in the non-documentary counterpart, the researcher is the one struggling

to articulate the grammatical elements of which he cannot do better than the natives themselves and there is no concrete evidence backing that it is actually the language in study.

In this section, we looked in-depth to contrast documentary and non-documentary elements. But both methods are complementary in eliciting good data.

We also examined ways of successfully gathering data using documentary rules. One just need to be conscious and very gently in getting data, naming and saving them securely.

Then we examined ways of getting lexical and grammatical information using the documentary approach by extensive recording of what is seen, heard, touched, scented and tasted with findout how they are called , prepared, where they are from, what they are used for and why they are used. With this, we get a enough text natural and unnatural from which we analyse the grammar. All these converations are going on with our tools recording them.

Thence, we concluded by listing and discussing about the main tools used in documentary grammar beginning with the exploration of the sound system. All this effort is to have information about a language with ample evidence especially audio-video facts.

The audio and video documentary of Mbuk have captured both vowels and consonants of Mbuk. As for vowels, there are both oral and nasal vowels. The oral vowels numerically are: 13 short oral vowels, 10 lengthened vowels, and 4 diphthongs. And for the nasal vowels, there are 7 short nasal vowels, 6 long nasals, and without any nasal diphthong. Distribution wise, some vowels are occur in all three positions; initial, median and final. With some being resticted to the intial and median while some permutate for median and final as certain ones appear strickly at the final position.

Then for the consonants, three sets of consonants have been noticed and taxonomised as: primary, secondary and tertiary consonants. Distributionally, some tripartite sounds exist appearing in all three positions; intitial, median and final. Some are retricted to the initial,

others in the median and certain ones only in the final position. Some permute as initial /median, initial/final, median/initial. These sounds locate themselves in specific point(place)/manner articulatory characterisation.

This section also exposes on the variation noticed namely; vowels and consonant variation which for some part stems from patriclan differences which might be due to the linguistic migration background of their wives who somehow transmit these to their children. But this assertion ascribed to the source of variation needs to be investigated further.

The tones of the language distinguishes lexemes as well as grammatical expressions. The tones are both level: high, mid, low and contour: rising, falling and high-mid. The tonal processes have not been discussed, which calls for a deep study of the tonology.

In this section still, the syllabicity: is monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and above trisyllabic words are also presented. The distinction has been separated in two levels: the affix; the prefix, suffix, and the root. The Mbuk language has 4 sets of affix syllables, while the root has 8 sets of root syllables together with their tonal melodies.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **MBUK NOUN MORPHOLOGY**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

The chapter presents the nominal morphology of Mbuk. It examines how words are formed through the combination of morphemes thus giving a clue on the word limit. It examines the classification of nouns into groups based on the singular/plural alternation of the Bantu tradition. Nouns are also grouped according to domains. Having paired the nouns in classes, the chapter examines the affixation processes used to determine concord between a noun and related constituents. The chapter is divided into five sections: 3.1 presents the general affixation in Mbuk, 3.2 after having known the affixes, we present the noun classes according to their similarities and differences in affixes, 3.3 to concretise our noun classification, we use the concord systems. While in 3.4 discusses the semantic domains of nouns in a bit to see which domain bears which noun class or classes and the last section, 3.5 looks at the pronouns. Though this chapter is entitled noun morphology, we shall present affixation in verbs and adjectives as well in section 3.1.

#### **3.1 MBUK AFFIXATION TYPES**

This section discusses various affixes that surround a Mbuk word. These affixes through the derivational morphology gives rise to the nouns, verbs and adjectives distinction in Mbuk, as a result, clarifying the word boundaries. The segmental and the supra-segmental aspect of affixation is being examined. Segmentally, the root word in Mbuk often hangs on several affixes

to form a stem word. The stem word has two kinds of basic affixes: the prefix and the suffix. In some words, both the prefix and the suffix are present and we term this a circumfix. While some have repeated prefixes or suffixes that we term double affixes. Several kinds of affixes do exist in the Mbuk language. These affixes range from the form V, CV and C.

### 3.1.1 Prefixes

A prefix is an affix that is added in front of a word. A word to modify the meaning of the word as a verb or a noun.

|        | <i>prefix</i> | <i>root</i>         | <i>stem (word)</i>   | <i>gloss</i>              |
|--------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 85) a. | í-            | -tsó                | ítsó                 | "to go (together)"        |
|        | ī-            | -táŋnī              | ītáŋnī               | "to sell"                 |
|        | î-            | -wá <sup>ʋ</sup> á  | îwà <sup>ʋ</sup> á   | "to rest"                 |
| b.     | n-            | -dzí                | ńdzí                 | "food"                    |
|        | ŋ-            | -ko                 | ŋkō                  | "harvest (general term)"  |
| c.     | kə-           | -fó                 | kəfó                 | "cap"                     |
|        | bì-           | -fó                 | bìfó                 | "caps"                    |
|        | kì-           | -kàŋkán             | kìkàŋkán             | "armpit"                  |
|        | bì-           | -kàŋkán             | kìkàŋkán             | "armpits"                 |
| d.     | kə-           | -dʒó <sup>ʋ</sup> ú | kədʒó <sup>ʋ</sup> ú | "gauze (bamboo dry meat)" |
|        | bí-           | -dʒó <sup>ʋ</sup> ú | bídʒó <sup>ʋ</sup> ú | "gauze (bamboo dry meat)" |
|        | kí-           | -mbín               | kímbín               | "faeces (sg)"             |
|        | bí-           | -mbín               | bímbín               | "faeces (pl)"             |
| e.     | fí-           | -ndzōŋō             | fíndzōŋō             | "pimple"                  |
|        | ń-            | -ndzōŋō             | ńndzōŋō              | "pimples"                 |



|            |              |               |              |
|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>fí-</b> | <b>-ndóm</b> | <b>fíndóm</b> | "tears (sg)" |
| <b>ń-</b>  | <b>-ndóm</b> | <b>ńndóm</b>  | "tears (pl)" |
| <b>f̃-</b> | <b>-ndēŋ</b> | <b>f̃ndēŋ</b> | "fig tree"   |
| <b>m̃-</b> | <b>-ndēŋ</b> | <b>m̃ndēŋ</b> | "fig trees"  |

### 3.1.1.1 Zero prefixes

In this case, the segmental form that marks the singular is absent. But that which marks the plural is present and portrays variation "bi- ~ bə-" and the tones alternates within high, low and mid:

|        | <i>prefix</i> | <i>root</i>               | <i>stem (word)</i>         | <i>gloss</i>               |
|--------|---------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 86) a. | <b>∅-</b>     | <b>-bálí</b>              | <b>bálí</b>                | "waist"                    |
|        | <b>bī-</b>    | <b>-bálí</b>              | <b>bībálí</b>              | "waists"                   |
| b.     | <b>∅-</b>     | <b>-dzéŋé</b>             | <b>dzéŋé</b>               | "trench(foundation), hole" |
|        | <b>bí-</b>    | <b>-dzéŋé</b>             | <b>bídzéŋé</b>             | "trench, hole"             |
| c.     | <b>∅-</b>     | <b>-mkpà<sup>ʋ</sup>à</b> | <b>mkpà<sup>ʋ</sup>à</b>   | "scabies (sg)"             |
|        | <b>bè-</b>    | <b>-mkpà<sup>ʋ</sup>à</b> | <b>bèmkpà<sup>ʋ</sup>à</b> | "scabies (pl)"             |

### 3.1.1.2 Alternating prefixes

At the level of plurals, some words can take two forms of the plural prefix:

|        | <i>prefix</i> | <i>root</i> | <i>stem (word)</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
|--------|---------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 87) a. | <b>∅-</b>     | <b>-dâ:</b> | <b>dâ:</b>         | "bridge"     |
| b.     | <b>kɪ-</b>    | <b>-dâ:</b> | <b>kídâ:</b>       | "bridges"    |
| c.     | <b>bi-</b>    | <b>-dâ:</b> | <b>bídâ:</b>       | "bridges"    |

When asking a question like "Where is the bridge?" The plural form of the word is used with its concord: The some speakers use "bə- ~ bi-".

- 88) a. **bə-dā: bə wó náy** "Where is the bridge"  
PX-bridge AG DA QW
- b. **bí-dā: bí wó náy** "Where is / are the bridge / bridges"  
PX-bridge AG DA QW

The concord of the supposed plural marker is used within the singular clause:

- c. **dā: bí wó náy** "Where is the bridge"  
bridge AG DA QW

### 3.1.1.3 Double prefixations

The root word is preceded by two distinct prefixes (prefix-infix); prefix 1 and prefix 2. With prefix 2 being a kind of infix which occurs between a prefix and the root. In normal infixation, the infix appears within the root of the word. Tschonghongi (2012:59) illustrating infixation: bà'tūm/bà'-á-tūm "chief/chiefs". In Mbuk prefix 2 is mostly a homorganic nasal and it transforms the following consonant into a prenasalised consonant thus, in the process, it loses its syllabic nature. While prefix 1 remains syllabic and varies from a vowel to the various CV structures of a prefix: The examples for the two prefixes are given below:

|        | <i>prefix 1</i> | <i>prefix 2</i> | <i>root</i>   | <i>stem (word)</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
|--------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 89) a. | <b>ɪ-</b>       | <b>-m-</b>      | <b>bin</b>    | <b>ímbín</b>       | "a dance"    |
| b.     | <b>kì- ~ kə</b> | <b>-n-</b>      | <b>sə̀və̀</b> | <b>kìnsə̀və̀</b>   | "a sieve"    |

### 3.1.2 Suffixes

Suffixation is the adding of an affix at the end of a word. The suffixes we find in Mbuk are mostly of the CV syllabic form. Some link to nouns (a) and some link to verbs as we are

going to see the processes of affixation. The tones are mostly high for we find cases of low or mid in the circumfix suffixes:

|        | <i>root</i>  | <i>suffix</i>    | <i>stem (word)</i>   | <i>gloss</i>   |
|--------|--------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 90) a. | <b>kpó-</b>  | <b>-yo</b>       | <b>kpóyó</b>         | "price"        |
| c.     | <b>dzí-</b>  | <b>-ni</b>       | <b>dzíní</b>         | "food"         |
| d.     | <b>fú-</b>   | <b>-ni</b>       | <b>fúní</b>          | "clearing"     |
| e.     | <b>yan-</b>  | <b>-ni</b>       | <b>zánní ~ yánní</b> | "vomit matter" |
| f.     | <b>yùŋ-</b>  | <b>-fi</b>       | <b>yùŋfí</b>         | "madness"      |
| g.     | <b>yùŋ-</b>  | <b>-hi</b>       | <b>yùŋhí</b>         | "make mad"     |
| h.     | <b>dʒì-</b>  | <b>-si ~ -hi</b> | <b>dʒìsí</b>         | "blacken"      |
| i.     | <b>dʒí:-</b> | <b>-li</b>       | <b>dʒí:lí</b>        | "heavy"        |
| j.     | <b>ʃyā-</b>  | <b>-yi</b>       | <b>ʃyāyí</b>         | "slicing"      |
| k.     | <b>gam-</b>  | <b>-tí</b>       | <b>gàmtí</b>         | "help"         |

### 3.1.2.1 Double suffixation

Here, the language takes distinct suffixes. But the final suffix is -ni, suffix 2 is invariant while suffix 1 varies as seen below. In this context (a, b), the -ni is probably not a suffix. It seems it is deictic "like-this", demonstrating with action accompanying it:

|        | <i>stem (word)</i> | <i>root</i> | <i>suffix 1</i> | <i>suffix 2</i> | <i>gloss</i>   |
|--------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 91) a. | <b>yâŋhíní</b>     | <b>yaŋ-</b> | <b>-hi</b>      | <b>-ni</b>      | "light (load)" |
| b.     | <b>yûŋfíní</b>     | <b>yuŋ-</b> | <b>-fi</b>      | <b>-ni</b>      | "mad people"   |

Tamanji and Mba (2003:25) "Unlike in other Bantu languages with verbal extensions, Bafut does not combine two extensions on the same verb." Contrary to Bafut, the Mbuk language allows two extensions on the same verb as seen above.

### 3.1.3 Circumfixes

The total or partial encircling of a root word by affixes. This process is used for both inflectional and derivational reasons. To create more words; from verbs to nouns or Adjectives to nouns, and the grammatical status of certain words as for the case of making gender in nouns.

#### 3.1.3.1 Prefix-suffix circumfixes

The root is flanked on both sides by unidentical prefix and suffix:

|        | <i>prefix</i> | <i>root</i> | <i>suffix</i> | <i>stem (word)</i> | <i>gloss</i>      |
|--------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 92) a. | ɪ-            | -nu-        | -hɪ           | ínûhì              | "inherit wife"    |
| b.     | ɪ-            | -dza-       | -hɪ           | ídzáhí             | "wake-up a child" |
| c.     | kɪ-           | -nu-        | -ma           | kìnúmā             | "sleepiness"      |

#### 3.1.3.2 Prefix-interfix circumfixes

If we are to ignore the prefix, we will have a complete interfix, an infix within a reduplicated root. But in this case, the interfix occurs with the word having its head concord prefix. Thus the two can be described as intermediate circumfix:

|        | <i>prefix</i> | <i>root</i> | <i>interfix</i> | <i>root</i> | <i>stem (word)</i> | <i>gloss</i>    |
|--------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 93) a. | fə-           | -ndè-       | -lɪ-            | -ndē        | fəndəlíndē         | "wall cricket"  |
|        | mə-           | -ndè-       | -lɪ-            | -ndē        | məndəlíndē         | "wall crickets" |

#### 3.1.3.3 Prefix-infix circumfixes

The verbs of this language do not have prenasalised onsets. Thus, the presence of the nasal as an infix can be a case of double prefixation in circumfixation as illustrated in the following examples below.

|        | prefix | infix | root  | suffix | stem     | gloss     |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|----------|-----------|
| 94) a. | kì-    | -m-   | -kpɪ- | -lɪ    | kìmkpílí | "corpse"  |
| b.     | ɪ-     | -n-   | -dɔm- | -hɪ    | índómhì  | "warning" |

### 3.1.3.4 Suffix-infix circumfixes

|        | prefix | root  | infix | suffix | stem     | gloss    |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|----------|----------|
| 95) a. | í-     | -kpɛ- | -nɪ-  | -nɪ    | íkpeníní | "medium" |

### 3.1.3.5 Double circumfixes

|        | prefix | infix | root  | infix | suffix | stem (word) | gloss      |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------------|------------|
| 96) b. | ɪ-     | -n-   | -dɔm- | -hɪ-  | -ma    | ìndómhìmā   | "dreaming" |

The -mā suffix goes with stative verbs. They express the meaning "you are or I am in the state of or process of", in the case of sleeping, dreaming.

### 3.1.4 Suprafix

Here, no segmental element like the prefix or suffix is used in gender distinction. These words use only the suprasegmental element, tone, to change their word form and meaning:

|        | tone | mark | root   | stem   | gloss                     |
|--------|------|------|--------|--------|---------------------------|
| 97) a. | R    | ˘    | bũ:    | bǔ:    | "k.o fly (sucks blood)"   |
|        | H    | ˊ    | bũ:    | bú:    | "k.o flies (sucks blood)" |
| b.     | R    | ˘    | dzu:   | džǔ:   | "houses"                  |
|        | H    | ˊ    | dzu    | džú    | "houses"                  |
| c.     | L H  | ˘ ˊ  | dzu:lɪ | džù:lí | "mushroom"                |
|        | H H  | ˊ ˊ  | dzu:lɪ | džú:lí | "mushrooms"               |
| d.     | M    | ˉ    | kwa    | kwā    | "forest"                  |

|    |     |     |                         |                         |               |
|----|-----|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
|    | H   | ´   | <b>kwa</b>              | <b>kwá</b>              | "forests"     |
|    | M   | -   | <b>ʃyə</b>              | <b>ʃyā</b>              | "fowl"        |
|    | H   | ´   | <b>ʃyə</b>              | <b>ʃyá</b>              | "fowls"       |
| e. | M M | - - | <b>dzo<sup>yo</sup></b> | <b>dzō<sup>yo</sup></b> | "penis"       |
|    | H H | ´ ´ | <b>dzo<sup>yo</sup></b> | <b>dzó<sup>yo</sup></b> | "penes"       |
| f. | L L | ` ` | <b>dzo<sup>yo</sup></b> | <b>dzò<sup>yo</sup></b> | "native yam"  |
|    | H L | ´ ` | <b>dzo<sup>yo</sup></b> | <b>dzó<sup>yo</sup></b> | "native yams" |

### 3.1.5 Affixation processes

The left most or outer most prefix "kɪ-" from the root is of the inflectional quality while the "n-" which is closer to the root is more of the derivational characteristics. But "kɪ-" is also derivational in some cases.

#### 3.1.5.1 Affixation hierarchy

The appearance of more than one affixes at the prefix or suffix position with one other affixes having more roles to play than the other; that is, projecting its meaning more than the its fellow affix. This is observed in prefixes and suffixes.

#### 3.1.5.2 Prefix hierarchy

At the prefix level which amongst the prefixes appears as concord of the head noun is said to be dominant one. In the case of the prefix, the further the prefix from the root, the more stable and universal the prefix. The derivational affixes are more closer to the root than inflectional affixes and non-universal, that is, not all roots can form a new meaning using the affixes in the following example:

98) a. **kə-ŋ-gəm-hí** → **kəŋgəmhí** "caricature (like a man to frighten birds in a farm)"

### 3.1.5.3 Suffix hierarchy

While at the suffix level that which is more closer to the root is said to be of higher ranking. In the example below, the "-yi" suffix is higher importance than the "-kɪ". Thus the information provided by "-yi" is of more value since "-kɪ" has been displaced from that position. The "-kɪ" is an inflectional morpheme and the "-yi" is a derivational morphemes. Hence, derivational suffix has a higher strength than the inflectional suffix:

- 99) a.      í-fwǎ́ǎ́-yì-kí      "to be picking"  
       b.      í-tòm-yì-kí      "to be shooting"

### 3.1.6 Affixational alternation

Some roots of words changes with the attaching of an affix. These words seem to be in partial suppletive form with the alternation of consonants or vowels of the citation singular form.

#### 3.1.6.1 Prefixational alternation

Alternation induced by the presence of a prefix:

|         | alternates | prefixes | root                                | stem                                 | gloss             |
|---------|------------|----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 100) a. | m / n      | ∅- / bə- | -mì / -nì                           | mì / b́énî                           | "person / people" |
| b.      | ɲ / n      | ∅- / bə- | -ɲù <sup>ʋ</sup> / -nù <sup>ʋ</sup> | ɲù <sup>ʋ</sup> / b́énú <sup>ʋ</sup> | "man"             |
| c.      | kɸ / k     | ∅- / bə- | -kpàŋà / -kàŋà                      | kpàŋá / b́ókàŋà                      | "woman"           |

Semantically, these words belong to the domain of human. Apart from the segmental change, the high tone of the plural prefix spreads to the right raising the citation low tone of the root (a) to falling while the initial root vowel (b, c) goes to high. Furthermore, (b, c) both in the singular and plural root exhibits tonal dissimilarity (polarisation of tone). When the root is

singular, the tonal melody is L H and when it plural the tonal melody becomes H L, thus a switch in tone melody of the root with the gender 1/2.

101) a.      **o / ɔ í- / ɲ- -ko / -kɔ**      **íkó / ñkɔ**      "to harvest / harvest (n)"

In derivation, the infinitive vowel of the verb is lowered from "o" to "ɔ" at the presence of a nominal nasal to form a noun. A situation that can be regarded as some sort of vowel / nasal harmony. This implies that the vowel prefix ɪ- raises the root vowel to "o". But the underlying root vowel for this verb is "o" thus, i-prefix has no raising effect in this context (b).

b.      **gwàgwá kó-kí-lè**      **dzéɲ.**      "A duck is harvesting corn."  
          duck      harvest-PG-AF      corn

### 3.1.6.2 Suffixational alternation

Alternation of "i" and "ɛ" induced by the presence of a suffix:

|         | <i>root</i> | <i>suffix</i>  | <i>alternates</i> | <i>stem</i> |
|---------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 102) a. | <b>dzí-</b> | <b>-n</b>      | <b>-i- / -ɛ-</b>  | <b>dzén</b> |
|         | "eat"       | alveolar nasal | close / open mid  | "food"      |

The "i" vowel becomes "ɛ" in a closed syllable and being lowered from a "front unrounded close vowel" to "front unrounded open mid vowel". This a derivational process, thus, it is not applicable to all words. When the word is a noun, it takes "ɛ" and when it is a verb it takes "i", thus, alternating between "ɛ" and "i". In other words, when the nominal suffix "n" disappears, the "ɛ" of the noun becomes an "i".

### 3.1.7 Non-affixation

Here, we cite words that are formed without using affixes. Suppletion and alternation has been noted.



### 3.1.7.1 Suppletions

The use of an unrelated word to supply inflected forms otherwise lacking. The *w* changes to *bw* and the coda nasal deletes in the case where the singular is the citation form (a). But if the citation form is the plural, the *b* deletes and a coda palatal nasal is being suffixed (b), since the citation form is usually the one with lesser morphophonological complications:

- 103) a.     **wáɲ** / **bwá** "child / children"  
           b.     **bwá** / **wáɲ** "children / child"

### 3.5.2 Alternations

In Mbuk, alternation or mutation of sounds have been noticed. It is not a free variation. The sounds changes regularly amongst speakers. Both consonants and vowels alternate.

#### 3.5.2.1 Consonant alternations

With the plural, a different sound is used other than the one used in the singular form:

- 104) a.     **gb** / **gv**       **gbó** / **gvú**       "foot / feet"  
           b.     **h** / **k**       **híkī** / **kíkī**       "nape (of neck)"  
           c.     **kp** / **k**       **kpɛn** / **kɛn**       "tree / trees"

#### 3.5.2.2 Vowel alternations

In (a) the "b" in *gb* has a lowering effect on vowels while the "v" in "gv" has a vowel raising effect. But in (b) when the infinitive prefix "i-" is present, it raises the vowel "ɛ" to "e":

- 105) a.     **o** / **u**       **gbó** / **gvú**       "foot / feet"  
           b.     **e** / **ɛ**       **ílé** / **lě**       "to run (v) / run! (imperative)"  
           c.     **e** / **ɛ**       **íbwéhí** / **bwéhí**   "to resemble / resemble!"

## 3.2 MBUK NOUN CLASSES

In relation to prefix, tone prefix, tone root word, number of syllables, semantic and structural groupings. The countable and uncountable nouns (mass nouns). Single and double class gender. Alternates classes.

### 3.2.1 Noun class prefixes

There is no vowel-prefix class in Mbuk. There exist only the CV- and the  $\emptyset$ -prefix classes. The N-prefix is actually a contracted form of CV- (Nə-, Nɪ-). The suffixes on noun have nothing to do with classes. The problematic group for classification is the those without class prefix (5 and 7b) whose plurals ranges from "kɪ, bə-, bi-" and there is a lot of inconsistency as which word from which speaker will take a "kɪ ~ bɪ". The concords are also varying.

The only nasal class and concord is class 6a. All the odd numbers are singular classes while their corresponding even numbers are plural classes. Classes 5/6 are not the traditional Bantu classes but we have retained the numbering to ease comparison of the each of our classes. Note that class 6 is a plural class with a class 7 prefix and concord. The gender 5/6 alternates with gender 5/8.

Some speakers use only the plural forms of class 6 while others only use the plural form of class 8. Some use both classes 5/6, 5/8 without any prefixes for the singular but only differentiate them at the concord level. Additionally, classes 7/8 have words with zero prefix that only surface when concurring (7/8, ntō:ní / ntó:ní "ear/ears"). From elicitation of numeral one and two concord, the tendency is to delete both the prefixes: "kɪ-" and "bi-" which implies that these three genders 5/6, 5/8, 7/8 may merge to a single class.

Hombert (1980:87-87) classified the plural "kɪ-" as class 27 in Misong and Buu while Good et al (2011:120-122) classify the plural "kɪ-" in classes 7a in the following languages Abar, Biya, Misong, Munken, Ngun of the Mungbam varieties.

Furthermore, classes 3/4 and 9/10 do have words that do not show up any tonal difference for singular and plural but this distinction occurs at the level of the concords (3/4, mbên/mbên "breast/breasts"). Hence, the noun taxonomy is not as clean as it seems to be as presented in the upcoming tables.

Table 21: Noun Class Summary

| nc. | Prefix   |         | Concord |      | Examples |         |          | Gloss                 |
|-----|----------|---------|---------|------|----------|---------|----------|-----------------------|
|     | segment  | tone    | segment | tone |          |         |          |                       |
| 1   | ø-       |         | wì      | L, M | mì       | ɲkúŋ    | bìkám    | person, chief, lion   |
| 2   | bə-      | H, L    | bé      | H    | bónî:    | bèŋkúŋ  | bèbìkám  | People, chiefs, lions |
| 3   | ø-       |         | wí      | H    | kpâ:     |         |          | hand                  |
| 4   | ø-       |         | yí      | H    | kâ:      |         |          | hands                 |
| 6   | kɪ- ~ ø  | H, L    | kɪ      | H    |          | kígbâ   |          | ceilings              |
| 7   | kɪ- ~ ø- | H, L    | kí      | H    |          | kè-kpê  | ø-ntú:ní | lizard, ear           |
| 8   | bɪ- ~ ø- | H, L    | bí      | H    |          | bì-kpê  | ø-ntú:ní | lizards, ears,        |
| 9   | ø-       |         | yì      | L    |          | ʃwǎŋ    |          | sheep                 |
| 10  | ø-       |         | yí      | H    |          | ʃwánŋ   |          | Sheep (s)             |
| 19  | fɪ-      | H, L    | fí-     |      |          | fɪnyéní |          | bird                  |
| 6a  | N-       | H, L, M | N-      |      |          | mìnyéní |          | birds                 |

The possibility of further splitting the noun classes is presented in the table below with focus on gender 1/2 , 5/6, and 7/8.

Table 22: Noun Class Summary

| nc. | Prefix |            | Concord |      | Examples |         |        | Gloss                  |
|-----|--------|------------|---------|------|----------|---------|--------|------------------------|
|     | segmt  | tone       | segmt   | tone |          |         |        |                        |
| 1   | ∅-     |            | wì      | L    | mì       | ηkúη    | wāη    | person, fon, child     |
| 2   | bə-    | H          | bə      | H    | bənî:    | bəηkúη  | bwā    | people, fon, children  |
| 1a  | ∅-     |            | wì      | L    | ∅-mbúη   | ∅-bìkém | ∅-səη  | cloth, lion, bangle    |
| 2a  | bə-    | L          | bə      | L    | bə-mbúη  | bəbìkém | bə-səη | cloths, lions, bangles |
| 3   | ∅-     | -M         | wí      | H    | kpà      |         |        | hand                   |
| 4   | ∅-     | -H         | yí      | H    | kà       |         |        | hands                  |
| 5   | ∅-     | H, LH      | wí      | L    | bwám     |         |        | cup                    |
| 6   | kə~kɪ  |            | kɪ      | H    | kəbwám   |         |        | cups,                  |
| 5   | ∅-     |            | wí      | H    | gbâ:     |         |        | ceiling                |
| 8   | bí-    |            | bi      | H    | bigbâ:   |         |        | ceiling                |
| 8b  | ∅-     |            | bi~bə   | H    | dâ:      |         |        | bridge                 |
| 8b  | bi-    | H          | bi      | H    | bídâ:    |         |        | bridges                |
| 6   | ∅-     |            | kɪ      |      | bá:      |         |        | palm nut               |
| 8a  | ∅-     |            | bi      |      | bá:      |         |        | palm nut               |
| 7   | kɪ-    | L          | kì      | L    | kìfí     |         |        | pig                    |
| 8   | bi-    | L          | bì      | L    | bìfí     |         |        | pigs                   |
| 9   | ∅-     | -L, -M, -R | yì      | L    | fyē      |         |        | fowl                   |
| 10  | ∅-     | -H, -F     | yí      | H    | fyé      |         |        | fowls                  |
| 19  | fɪ-    | H, L       | fɪ-     | L    | fɪpéní   |         |        | bird                   |
| 6a  | N-     | H, L,      | N-      | L    | mpéní    |         |        | birds                  |

06) When 5b uses kɪ as concord, there is affixation of the kɪ-prefix:

- a. **dâ:** "bridge"
- b. **kídâ:** **kí wó này** "where is the bridge."
- 6.bridge 6c DA QW

107) When it uses "bi" as the concord, no affixation of the concord:

- a. **dâ:** "bridge"  
 b. **dâ: bí wó nà̀y** "where is the bridge."  
 bridge AG the where

Hence, this restriction of "bi" shows that it is not actually its place. It shows from "ki" affixation that there has been a lexical prefix deletion which can be reaffixed. An example of a single lexeme with three plural forms and three corresponding concords type below:

|         | <i>sg/pl</i>     | <i>concord</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
|---------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 108) a. | <b>ø-s̄m</b>     | wí             | "palm tree"  |
|         | <b>ø-s̄óm</b>    | kí ~ bí        | "palm trees" |
| b.      | <b>ø-s̄m</b>     | wí             | "palm tree"  |
|         | <b>kí-s̄m</b>    | kí             | "palm trees" |
| c.      | <b>ø-s̄m</b>     | wí             | "palm tree"  |
|         | <b>bí-s̄óm</b>   | bí             | "palm trees" |
| 109) a. | <b>ø-ntú:ní</b>  | kí             | "ear"        |
|         | <b>ø-ntú:ní</b>  | bi             | "ears"       |
| b.      | <b>ø-ntú:ní</b>  | kɪ             | "ear"        |
|         | <b>bì-ntú:ní</b> | bi             | "ears"       |
| c.      | <b>kì-ntú:ní</b> | kɪ             | "ear"        |
|         | <b>bì-ntú:ní</b> | bi             | "ears"       |
| 110) a. | <b>ø-bá:</b>     | kí             | "palm nut"   |
|         | <b>ø-bá:</b>     | bí             | "palm nuts"  |

Concords of gender 7/8 with zero-prefixes for both singular and plural forms. In spite of all these chaotic polymorphous classes we have attempted a grouping that we will use for our discussion of noun classes in the noun phrases. The classes have the following words:

### 3.2.2 Noun class gender 1/2, ø- / b́-

Class 1 has a low tone zero prefix and class 2 morpheme has a high tone CV- "b́-" form. The high tone right spreads to the low tone root of -nì and causes it to become falling after the high tone docks on the root. The numeral concord (1c, 2c) for gender 1/2 is shown below:

| gender | NC | PX  | root | stem | NM, 1c/2c | gloss  |
|--------|----|-----|------|------|-----------|--------|
| 1 / 2  | 1  | ø-  | -mì  | mì   | wì        | person |
|        | 2  | b́- | -nì  | b́nî | b́        | people |

111) human gender 1/2, ø- / b́-

|    |                      |               |                   |              |
|----|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| a. | mì / b́nî            | "person"      | wāp / bwā         | "child"      |
| b. | nê / b́nê            | "mother"      | bâ / b́bâ         | "father"     |
| c. | kpê ~ kpàṇá / b́káṇà | "wife"        | mìṇòʸú / b́nóʸù   | "male"       |
| d. | ṅgàmì / b́ṅgámì      | "elder"       | ṅkùsàʸ / b́ṅkùsàʸ | "ancestor"   |
| e. | tìbà / b́tìbà        | "grandfather" | ṅkún / b́ṅkún     | "fon, chief" |
| f. | mfà / b́mfà ~ mfâ:   | "slave"       | dʒí / b́dʒí       | "thief"      |
| g. | ṅkòmsì / b́ṅkómsì    | "neighbour"   | tsí / b́tsí       | "sorcerer"   |
| h. | ṇúm ~ ṇòʸú / b́nóʸù  | "husband"     | mìkpàṇá / b́káṇà  | "female"     |
| i. | ṇsàʸà / b́ṇsáʸà      | "judge"       | ṇdzòdì / b́ṇdzódì | "mediator"   |

With a glance on gender 1/ 2, semantically, is composed of both human and non-human referent. Structurally, at the singlur form, they do not have prefixes. There do exist a prefix for the plural form of the CV syllabic structure. On the contrary, there is single word child "wāp / bwā" which is suppletive and lacks the prefix for both the singular and plural form. Tonally, the plural prefix can be high or low in tone: "b́-" or "b̀-".



|    |                        |           |                            |            |
|----|------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|------------|
| c. | <b>ɲwô / bɛɲwô</b>     | "cutlass" | <b>ntáɲnì / bɛntáɲnì</b>   | "traitor"  |
| d. | <b>bìkém / bɛbìkém</b> | "lion"    | <b>nsɛɲ / bɛnsɛɲ</b>       | "bracelet" |
| e. | <b>mbɛɲ / bɛmbɛɲ</b>   | "stick"   | <b>sɛɲó / bɛnsɛɲɔ</b>      | "whip"     |
| f. | <b>ɲwò / bɛɲwò</b>     | "god"     | <b>m̀kpàʔà / bɛm̀kpàʔà</b> | "scabies"  |
| g. | <b>mbàɲ / bɛmbàɲ</b>   | "fence"   | <b>ɲkəmní / bɛɲkəmní</b>   | "wrist"    |
| h. | <b>ntáʔá / bɛntáʔá</b> | "shin"    | <b>ɲʒóɲ / bɛɲʒóɲ</b>       | "knuckle"  |

### 3.2.4 Noun class gender 3/4, ø- / ø-

| gender | nc | PX | root  | stem | NM 3c/4c | gloss |
|--------|----|----|-------|------|----------|-------|
| 3/4    | 3  | ø- | -kpɛn | kpɛn | wí       | tree  |
|        | 4  | ø- | -kɛn  | kɛn  | yí       | trees |

114) gender 3 / 4, ø- / ø-

|    |                     |                   |                        |                 |
|----|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <b>d̥zĩ / d̥zĩ́</b> | "tooth"           | <b>dzĩɲ / dzĩ́ɲ</b>    | "corn cob"      |
| b. | <b>gwāɲ / gwáɲ</b>  | "bamboo"          | <b>ɲgə̄sĩ / ɲgəsĩ́</b> | "cowries"       |
| c. | <b>mbɛn / mbɛn</b>  | "breast"          | <b>kpà / kà</b>        | "hand"          |
| d. | <b>gwūf / gwúf</b>  | "foot"            | <b>ɲgāɲ / ɲgáɲ</b>     | "root, vein"    |
| e. | <b>nsɛn / nsɛn</b>  | "friend"          | <b>kpáʔá / káʔá</b>    | "fellow-wife"   |
| f. | <b>ɲgə̄ / ɲgə́</b>  | "egg"             | <b>gɔɲ / gɔ́ɲ</b>      | "cartridge"     |
| g. | <b>fwāɲ / fwáɲ</b>  | "redfeather bird" | <b>dzĩʔə / dzĩʔə́</b>  | "kernel (corn)" |

### 3.2.5 Noun class gender 5/6, ø- / kí-

| gender | nc | PX  | root    | stem     | Num 5c/6c | gloss |
|--------|----|-----|---------|----------|-----------|-------|
| 5/6    | 5  | ø-  | -bwáʔám | bwáʔám   | wí        | cup   |
|        | 6  | kí- | -bwáʔám | kíbwáʔám | kí        | cups  |



115) gender 5 / 6, ø- / kɪ ~ kə, (kɪ ~ bi)

|    |                 |                   |                   |               |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | nóʔə / kínóʔə   | "grinding stone"  | zyó / kízzyó      | "name"        |
| b. | gbà: / kìgbà:   | "native ceiling"  | ʃɪ / kífí         | "week"        |
| c. | sōm / kísóm     | "palm tree"       | fyé / kífyé       | "month, moon" |
| d. | kpéŋə / kíkpeŋə | "pot"             | tʃwén / kítʃwén   | "bitter leaf" |
| e. | tē / kītē       | "battery"         | nìŋ / kìnìŋ       | "nyamanyama"  |
| f. | gój / kígój     | "spear"           | mù: / kìmù:       | "razor blade" |
| g. | ndzú / kìndzu   | "nose"            | dʒwà / kìdʒwà     | "soup"        |
| h. | tʃəŋ / kìtʃəŋ   | "guitar"          | dʒiŋni / kídʒiŋni | "belt"        |
| i. | kpún / kíkúpún  | "handle (hoe)"    | tój / kítój       | "fireside"    |
| j. | gbóʔ / kígboʔ   | "pestle (mortar)" | byáná / kíbyáná   | "flatstone"   |

The plural form "kɪ-" for all of the above can still be "bi-". But some will be more appropriate with "kɪ-" than "bi-" and vice versa. Some speakers will not use "bi-" as it is not appropriate while others will not use "kɪ-" as well as not being upto standard. We keep the situation as such since all are used in the community.

### 3.2.6 Noun class gender 7/8, "kɪ- / bi-"

| gender | nc | PX  | root  | stem   | stem tone | NM 7c/8c | gloss       |
|--------|----|-----|-------|--------|-----------|----------|-------------|
| 7/8    | 7  | kí- | -mój  | kímój  | H H       | kí       | marrow (sg) |
|        | 8  | bí- | -mój  | bímój  | H H       | bí       | marrow (pl) |
| 7/8    | 7  | kì- | -dʒòm | kìdʒòm | L L       | kí       | chest       |
|        | 8  | bì- | -dʒòm | bìdʒòm | L L       | bí       | chests      |

116) gender 7 / 8, kɪ- ~ kə- / bi- with concord (kɪ / bi)

|    |                   |         |                   |       |
|----|-------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|
| a. | kínú / bīnú       | "knee"  | kəŋkólì / bìŋkólì | "rat" |
| b. | kégá:lé / bígá:lé | "broom" | kìmbǎ:ŋ / bìmbǎ:ŋ | "yaw" |

|    |                         |                         |                   |           |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| c. | kìndòŋ / bìndòŋ         | "throat, goiter"        | kìfí / bìfí       | "pig"     |
| e. | kímgbá / bìmgbá         | "giant"                 | kìntómì / bìntómì | "pillar"  |
| f. | kéndzəŋ / bìndzəŋ       | "stupid person"         | kəkpə / bìkpə     | "lizard"  |
| g. | kəmbúŋú / bímbúŋú       | "hailstone"             | kìŋkòmì / bìŋkòmì | "leprosy" |
| h. | kəmgbê:lí / bímgbê:lí   | "native carrot"         | kìmfín / bìmfín   | "cocoyam" |
| i. | kəntʃəʋəní / bíntʃəʋəní | "fruitless palm flower" | kìmbín / bìmbín   | "faeces"  |

117) gender 7 / 8, ø- / ø- with concord (kɪ / bi)

ntō:ní / ntōní ~ túní / bítú:ní "ear"

### 3.2.7 Noun class gender 9/10, "ø- / ø-"

| gender | nc | PX  | root  | stem | stem tone | NM 9c/10c | gloss   |
|--------|----|-----|-------|------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| 9/10   | 9  | ø-  | -ʃi   | ʃi   | M         | yì        | market  |
|        | 10 | ø-  | -ʃi   | ʃí   | H         | yí        | markets |
| 9/10   | 9  | ø-  | -dzu  | dzù  | L         | yì        | skin    |
|        | 10 | ø-´ | -dzu  | dzû  | F         | yí        | skins   |
| 9/10   | 9  | ø-` | -dzu: | dzǔ: | R         | yì        | house   |
|        | 10 | ø-´ | -dzu  | dzú  | H         | yí        | houses  |

118) gender 9 / 10, ø- / ø-

|    |             |        |               |                   |
|----|-------------|--------|---------------|-------------------|
| a. | bəʋə / bəʋə | "fish" | ʃwāŋ / ʃwán   | "sheep"           |
| b. | gvù / gvû   | "body" | tsō / tsó     | "palm kernel"     |
| c. | bí: / bí    | "goat" | bá: / bá      | "palm nut"        |
| d. | ʃyā / ʃyá   | "fowl" | fǔ: / fǔ:     | "palm beetle"     |
| e. | tsèn / tsên | "arm"  | byě / byé     | "dog"             |
| f. | dʒōm / dʒóm | "back" | fyānī / fyání | "native pin/nail" |

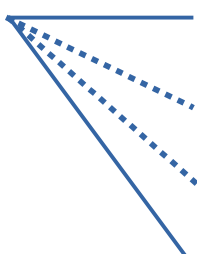
|    |                      |            |                    |                        |
|----|----------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| g. | <b>bᵑᵑ / bᵑᵑ</b>     | "stream"   | <b>dzᵑᵑ / dzᵑᵑ</b> | "hair (of body)"       |
| h. | <b>ʃàᵑᵑ / ʃáᵑᵑ</b>   | "liver"    | <b>byᵑᵑ / byᵑᵑ</b> | "rib"                  |
| i. | <b>mbyᵑᵑ / mbyᵑᵑ</b> | "kidney"   | <b>ʃᵑᵑ / ʃᵑᵑ</b>   | "heart"                |
| j. | <b>dzᵑᵑ / dzᵑᵑ</b>   | "elephant" | <b>dzᵑᵑ / dzᵑᵑ</b> | "antelope"             |
| k. | <b>"tsᵑᵑ / tsᵑᵑ</b>  | "navel"    | <b>gbᵑᵑ / gbᵑᵑ</b> | "partridge (bushfowl)" |

### 3.2.8 Multiple noun classes

One feature common to Mbuk nouns is the ability of pertaining to more than one class especially for plurals. A word like week "ʃí" which probably can be assigned to gender 9/10 but still happens to have its plural forms with the prefixes and concords of other classes such as class 6 and 8:

Figure 16: Multiple Noun Classes

|      | <i>gloss</i> | <i>nc</i> | <i>PX</i> | <i>stem</i> |  | <i>AG</i> | <i>phrase example</i> |             |
|------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|--|-----------|-----------------------|-------------|
| 119) | "week"       | 9         | ∅-        | ʃí          |  | yì-       | ʃí yì mù              | "one week"  |
|      | "weeks"      | 6         | kɪ-       | kíʃí        |  | kɪ-       | kᵑʃí kɪ fá            | "two weeks" |
|      | "weeks"      | 8         | bi-       | bíʃí        |  | bi-       | bíʃí bí fá            | "two weeks" |
|      | "weeks"      | 10        | ∅-        | ʃī          |  | yí        | ʃī yí fá              | "two weeks" |



The solid lines is the double class pair which should be. While the dotted are the plural forms of the derived plural variants from the actual gender 9/10. There can be some homonymes that could be the cause of this confusion. It is not simply a question of free variation. This phenomenon is not only found in this class. We have the singular class 5 with the w- concord that takes double plural concords for both class 6 and 8 (kɪ- and bi-). But here, is a matter of free variation. Other interpretations render the plural uses meaning that "two weeks has passed" and not "two weeks". The plural is used for bi- on to say that two weeks have

passed. Furthermore, in Mbuk some nouns portray three forms and all are acceptable in the community. The plural form in (a) below also occurs in Mundabli and some of the ancestress of Mbuk are from Mundabli. In addition, the concord for example (a) and (c) are both  $w' / k' \sim b'$  singular and plural respectively:

- 120) a.  $\emptyset$ -s $\bar{o}m$  /  $\emptyset$ -s $\bar{o}m$  "palm tree / palm trees"  
 b.  $\emptyset$ -s $\bar{o}m$  /  $\emptyset$ -s $\acute{o}m$  "palm tree / palm trees"  
 c. k $\acute{i}$ -s $\acute{o}m$  / b $\acute{i}$ -s $\acute{o}m$  "palm tree / palm trees"  
 d.  $\emptyset$ -s $\acute{o}m$  / k $\acute{i}$ -s $\acute{o}m$  "palm tree / palm trees"  
 e.  $\emptyset$ -s $\acute{o}m$  / b $\acute{i}$ -s $\acute{o}m$  "palm tree / palm trees"

### 3.2.9 Noun class gender 19/6a, fi- / m-

| gender | NC | PX  | root  | stem                      | stem tone | NM 19c/6ac | gloss          |
|--------|----|-----|-------|---------------------------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| 19/6a  | 19 | fi- | -kuni | fik $\acute{u}n\acute{i}$ | L H H     | fi         | k.o calabash   |
|        | 6a | N-  | -kuni | mk $\acute{u}n\acute{i}$  | H H H     | N          | k.o calabashes |

121) gender 19 / 6a, fi-  $\sim$  f $\acute{o}$  / N-  $\sim$  N $\acute{i}$ -  $\sim$  N $\acute{o}$ -

- |    |                                                                                          |                |                                                                                  |                  |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| a. | f $\acute{i}l\acute{a}ŋ$ / m $\acute{l}aŋ$                                               | "k.o clay pot" | f $\acute{i}nd\acute{i}ŋ$ / m $\acute{i}nd\acute{i}ŋ$                            | "fig tree"       |
| b. | f $\acute{i}nt\acute{a}m$ / m $\acute{t}a\acute{m}$                                      | "fruit"        | f $\acute{i}ŋk\grave{a}ŋ$ / mk $\grave{a}ŋ$                                      | "oath, k.o tree" |
| c. | f $\acute{i}ŋkw\acute{a}ŋ$ / m $\acute{n}kw\acute{a}ŋ$                                   | "deer"         | f $\acute{i}k\acute{o}m$ / m $\acute{k}\acute{o}m$                               | "knife"          |
| d. | f $\acute{i}n\acute{j}\acute{a}mb\acute{u}$ / m $\acute{n}\acute{j}\acute{a}mb\acute{u}$ | "sand"         | f $\acute{i}mb\acute{i}$ / m $\acute{m}b\acute{i}$                               | "colanut"        |
| e. | f $\acute{i}mb\grave{a}ŋ$ / m $\acute{b}\grave{a}ŋ$                                      | "nail"         | f $\acute{i}k\acute{o}^{\vee}\acute{o}$ / m $\acute{k}\acute{o}^{\vee}\acute{o}$ | "ankle"          |
| f. | f $\acute{i}p\acute{e}n\acute{i}$ / m $\acute{n}p\acute{e}n\acute{i}$                    | "bird"         | f $\acute{i}nd\acute{o}ŋ\acute{o}$ / m $\acute{m}nd\acute{o}ŋ\acute{o}$          | "pimple"         |
| g. | f $\acute{i}m\acute{u}s$ / m $\acute{m}\acute{u}s$                                       | "cat"          | f $\acute{i}mb\acute{u}$ / m $\acute{m}b\acute{u}$                               | "bile"           |
| h. | f $\acute{i}nt\acute{e}n\acute{i}$ / m $\acute{n}t\acute{e}n\acute{i}$                   | "palm rat"     | f $\acute{i}mby\acute{e}ŋ\acute{e}$ / m $\acute{m}by\acute{e}ŋ\acute{e}$         | "black wasp"     |
| i. | f $\acute{i}ntaŋ$ / m $\acute{t}aŋ$                                                      | "kite"         | f $\acute{i}ŋkw\acute{a}ŋ$ / mk $\acute{w}\acute{a}ŋ$                            | "forest goat"    |

### 3.2.10 Irregular genders

In noun classes, some genders contain majority of the words found in the language. Hence, these classes are regarded as the standard reference classes for others. While some contain only a few words where by the singular appears with features of one reference class and the plural belongs a different reference class. These two classes now form an irregular gender whose individual classes are drawn from the individual referential classes. The standard sequential reference classes are: 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 19/6a. The irregular classes now combine haphazardly with each class of the regular standard in compositions as: 5/8, 1/6a:

#### 3.2.10.1 Irregular gender 5/8, ø- / bi-

| gender | nc | PX  | root | stem | stem tone | NM 5c/8c | gloss   |
|--------|----|-----|------|------|-----------|----------|---------|
| 5/8    | 5  | ø-  | -dâ: | dâ:  | L H H     | kɪ~bi    | bridge  |
|        | 8  | bi- | -dâ: | bídâ | H H H     | bi       | bridges |

122) gender 5 / 8, ø- / bi

|    |                     |                   |                     |              |
|----|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| a. | ɲgɛ̀nì / bíɲgɛ̀nì   | "earth worm"      | káʔá / bīkáʔá       | "leg"        |
| b. | ɲkɔ́ɲɔ́ / bíɲkɔ́ɲɔ́ | "bone"            | tʃɔ́kɔ́ / bítʃɔ́kɔ́ | "zinc"       |
| c. | bá: / bíbá:         | "palm nut"        | gá:lì / bígá:lì     | "pen"        |
| d. | ɲʃɛ́ɲɛ́ / bíɲʃɛ́ɲɛ́ | "long mouth rat"  | nánɲ / bínánɲ       | "bed"        |
| e. | kɔ́ʔɔ́ / bíkɔ́ʔɔ́   | "camwood"         | ʃí / bíʃí           | "face"       |
| f. | túní / bítú:ní      | "ear"             | dzáʔá / bídzáʔá     | "mouth"      |
| g. | máʔə / bímáʔə       | "neck"            | bálí / bíbálí       | "waist"      |
| h. | dálí / bídálí       | "cheek"           | sɔ̃m / bīsɔ̃m (5/6) | "palm tree"  |
| i. | dzɛ́ɲɛ́ / bídɛ́ɲɛ́  | "hole, trench"    | gbâ: / bígbâ (5/6)  | "ceiling"    |
| y. | fúɲ / bífúɲ         | "gutter, pothole" | kpâ / bíkpâ         | "river bank" |

### 3.2.10.2 Irregular gender 1/6a

123) a. dzadza / ndzadza 1/6a "k.o cricket (not eaten)"

### 3.2.11 Single class genders

They can be used only in the singular or plural form and not in both ways. For even number classes, they are the plural forms while the odds are the ones used in the singular. Four single gender classes; 8, 7, 4, 6a,

#### 3.2.11.1 Gender 8 with concord of class 8c

|      | class | prefix | root    | stem          | concord | gloss          |
|------|-------|--------|---------|---------------|---------|----------------|
| 124) | 8     | bi-    | -fufu   | <b>bìfùfú</b> | b-      | "oil foams"    |
|      | 8     | bi-    | -dzaŋ   | <b>bìdzâŋ</b> | b-      | "rainy season" |
|      | 8     | bi-    | -luŋ    | <b>bílúŋ</b>  | b-      | "hardship"     |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -ŋkuŋu  | <b>ŋkúŋú</b>  | b-      | "dust"         |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -ntʃaŋa | <b>ntʃáŋá</b> | b-      | "mud"          |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -bũ:    | <b>bũ:</b>    | b-      | "woodash"      |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -ŋga    | <b>ŋgá</b>    | b-      | "powder"       |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -mfã:   | <b>mfã:</b>   | b-      | "cowpea"       |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -lɥunɪ  | <b>lɥúní</b>  | b-      | "laziness"     |
|      | 8     | ∅-     | -baɲnɪ  | <b>bàɲní</b>  | b-      | "shining"      |

### 3.2.11.2 Gender 7 with concord of class 7c

|      | class | prefix | root    | stem      | concord | gloss            |
|------|-------|--------|---------|-----------|---------|------------------|
| 125) | 7     | kɪ-    | -fɰwǎ   | kínfɰwǎ́  | k-      | "phlegm"         |
|      | 7     | kɪ-    | -mgbɪyɪ | kímgɪbɪyí | k-      | "pus"            |
|      | 7     | kɪ-    | -ɲgəmnɪ | kíɲgəmnì  | k-      | "shame"          |
|      | 7     | kɪ-    | -nsaɲlɪ | kínsáɲlí  | k-      | "happiness, yoy" |
|      | 7 (6) | ∅-     | -fə̀bì  | fə̀bì     | k-      | "soup"           |
|      | 7 (6) | ∅-     | -dzáʸá  | dzáʸá     | k-      | "noise"          |

### 3.2.11.3 Gender 4 with concord of class 4c

|      | class | prefix | root   | stem   | concord | gloss        |
|------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------------|
| 126) | 4     | ∅-     | -fyəʸə | fyəʸə́ | y-      | "wind, air"  |
|      | 4     | ∅-     | -tʃwa  | tʃwá   | y-      | "dirt"       |
|      | 4     | ∅-     | -ɲu    | ɲù     | y-      | "honey"      |
|      | 4     | ∅-     | -ɲɔm   | ɲòɲ    | y-      | "dry season" |
|      | 4     | ∅-     | -ɲkaʸa | ɲkàʸà  | y-      | "salt"       |
|      | 4     | ∅-     | -dzàɲ  | dzàɲ   | y-      | "rain"       |
|      | 4     | ∅-     | -ndé   | ndé    | y-      | "cry"        |





### 3.2.11.6 Gender 3, 5 with concord of class 3c, 5c

|      |    |                    |    |                   |
|------|----|--------------------|----|-------------------|
| 129) | ∅- | fyé                | w- | "whitewash"       |
|      | ∅- | fú                 | w- | "mbambara nut"    |
|      | ∅- | ɲó <sup>y</sup> ú  | w- | "catalyst (beer)" |
|      | ∅- | gbó <sup>y</sup> ú | w- | "tobacco"         |

### 3.2.12 Gender pairing

The mapping of the singular with its plural counterparts:

**Table 23: Noun class gender pairing**

|         |  | prefixes   |            | concords |        |
|---------|--|------------|------------|----------|--------|
| genders |  | singular   | plural     | singular | plural |
| 1 / 2   |  | ∅-         | bə-        | w`       | b´     |
| 3 / 4   |  | ∅-         | ∅-         | w´       | y´     |
| 5 / 6   |  | ∅-         | kɪ-        | w´       | k´     |
| 7 / 8   |  | kɪ-,<br>∅- | bɪ-,<br>∅- | k´       | b´     |
| 9 / 10  |  | ∅-         | ∅-         | y`       | y´     |
| 19 / 6a |  | fɪ-        | N-         | f´       | N´     |

The concords have been determined from numerals.

- 130) a. **dzádzá / ndzádzá**      1/6a "k.o cricket (not eaten)" or  
 b. **dzádzá / bódzádzá**      1/2 "k.o cricket (not eaten)"

This section concludes with the following summary; nouns in African languages are classified into noun classes, when the forms are similar as in class 1, 3, 4, 5, (7), (8), 9, 10 in

Mbuk, the segmental and the supra-segmental noun class agreement markers on modifiers are employed to determine the classes of the various nouns. Hence, in Mbuk, nouns with identical noun class agreement marker have been grouped together as a unique class. Agreement markers are also called concord markers in this research. These terms refer to noun class agreements for singular and plural nouns. They are different from French female/male agreement marking.

### 3.3 MBUK CONCORDS

A concord is the remote form of a pronoun that coreferences the head noun with its modifiers. In other words, it's a bridge linking a modifier to its head noun or subject. Nurse and Philippson (2003:112), "concord plays an important role in separating noun classes. Seemingly identical classes are separable if their singular/plural classes pairings and their concords differ".

Each noun has a nominal affix (X) called the noun class affix attached to the noun which in turn generates a pronominal concord (X.AG) in the presence of a noun modifier. Where X is any noun class figure and a class or concord marker (AG). The pronominal concord can be a bound affix on the modifier or a separate particle.

The pronominal concords would be examined with the following modifiers; possessives, demonstratives, Adjectives (qualifiers, quantifiers, numerals, colours), associatives, relatives, determiners, interrogatives, and with a non-modifier such as subject agreement marker which links the noun and its predicate.

Distributively, these pronominal concords (agreements) can occur before or after the head noun as well as they can equally appear before or after a modifier. Some of the forms of the pronominal concord remain identical in form to its nominal concord (nominal prefix) while some differ from their nominal concord forms. While functionally, they express; genitive 'of' or 'pronoun' or complements some kind of sense to render the expression

comprehensible. The pronominal concord can function as an associative marker (w-ì/1c-AM) within the following expressions: Adjectival phrase, second persons possessive Adjectives (our, your, their respectively in Mbuk as (wì bǎŋə, wì bǎn, wì bó) and in definite expressions or as a subject marker (w-ì/1c-SM) in relative clauses. To ease our understanding and description, we will annotate both pronominals as w-/wì (1c), b-/bə (2c) k-/kɪ (7c) and so forth. But where necessary, it would be presented alternatively as (wì/1c-AM) as for example:

- 131) Associative construction, **ŋkúŋ wì mbòm** "a big chief"  
 1.chief 1c-AM big

The concord markers of approximants (w, y) can be absorbed or delete leaving only the associative marker. When the "w" and "ɪ" are combined, the "w" assimilates the "ɪ" and then deglides to become a vocalic vowel "ʊ". This vocalic mid-high rounded back vowel "ʊ" is the mirror image of the mid-high unrounded front vowel "ɪ". The intermediate process is first of all the rounding of "ɪ" to "ʊ", "wì → wʊ", then followed by the final stage which is the degliding of "w" to become "∅". Thus, the route of the assimilation process is in the order below for the "w-" concord of classes 1, 3, 5:

- 132) degliding: "wɪ → wʊ → ∅" and "y → ɪ"
- a. **ŋkúŋ wì mù → ŋkúŋ wʊ mù → ŋkúŋ ∅ mù** "one chief"  
 1.chief 1c-AM one
- b. **ʃyè yì mù → ʃyè ɪ mù** "one fowl"  
 9.fowl 9c-AM one

As shown in (b) above, the "y" assimilates to "ɪ".

While for the non-approximants, the concord marker does not elide:

- c. **kìfí kí mū** "one pig"  
 7.pig 7c-AM one

### 3.3.1 Noun class 1 concords

The table shows the forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 24: Noun class 1 concords**

| Modifiers                 | Concord<br>(1c) w-     | Class<br>(1) ø-   | Concord<br>(1c) w-     | modifiers         | Example sentences                             |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive<br>PS       |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | w-<br>1c               | -əη<br>PS         | ηκύη wəη<br><i>my chief</i>                   |
| 2. Demonstrative<br>DM    |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | w-<br>1c               | -ələ<br>DM        | ηκύη wələ<br><i>this chief</i>                |
| 3. Adjective (AJ)         |                        |                   |                        |                   |                                               |
| 3.1 attribute<br>AT       |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | w-I ~ w-U ~ U<br>1c-AM | mbəm<br>AT        | ηκύη wì mbəm<br><i>big chief</i>              |
| 3.2 quantifier<br>QF      |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | w-I ~ w-U ~ U<br>1c-AM | doyo<br>QF        | ηκύη wì dóyó<br><i>a certain chief</i>        |
| 3.3 numeral<br>NM         |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | w-I ~ U<br>1c-AM       | mu<br>NM          | ηκύη wì mù<br><i>one chief</i>                |
| 3.4 colour<br>CO          |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | wI<br>1c-AM            | bəyɔli<br>CO      | ηκύη wì bəyɔli<br><i>red chief</i>            |
| 4. Associative<br>AM      |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | wì<br>1c-AM            | ø-kòlí<br>5-N     | ηκύη wì kòlí<br><i>chief of the village</i>   |
| 5. Relative<br>REL        |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | w-ə wì<br>1c-Rel 1c.SM | gbô<br>V          | ηκύη wə wì gbô.<br><i>the chief who fell</i>  |
| 6. Interrogative<br>Q     | ká η w-ə<br>CP ES 1c-Q | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief |                        |                   | ká η wə ηκύη<br><i>which chief?</i>           |
| 7. Definite article<br>DA |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | wì<br>1c-AM            | gwû<br>DA         | ηκύη wì gwû<br><i>the chief</i>               |
| 8. subject marker<br>SM   |                        | ø-ηκύη<br>1-chief | Ø<br>1c.SM             | kwá ø-bĩ<br>V 9-N | ηκύη kwa bĩ<br><i>the chief caught a goat</i> |

### 3.3.2 Noun class 2 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 25: Noun class 2 concords**

| Modifiers                 | Concord<br>(2c) b-      | Class<br>(2) bə-    | Concord<br>(2c) b-  | modifiers         | Example sentences                                     |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive<br>PS       |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | b-<br>2c            | -əŋ<br>PS         | <b>bəŋkúŋ bəŋ</b><br><i>my chiefs</i>                 |
| 2. Demonstrative<br>DM    |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | b-<br>2c            | -ələ<br>DM        | <b>bəŋkúŋ bələ</b><br><i>these chiefs</i>             |
| 3. Adjective (AJ)         |                         |                     |                     |                   |                                                       |
| 3.1 attribute<br>AT       |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | bə<br>2c.           | mbòm<br>AT        | <b>bəŋkúŋ bá mbòm</b><br><i>big chiefs</i>            |
| 3.2 quantifier<br>QF      |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | bə<br>2c            | doyo<br>QF        | <b>bəŋkúŋ bá dóyó</b><br><i>certain chiefs</i>        |
| 3.3 numeral<br>NM         |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | bə<br>2c            | fa<br>NM          | <b>bəŋkúŋ bá fá</b><br><i>two chiefs</i>              |
| 3.4 colour<br>CO          |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | bə<br>2c            | bəyɔlɪ<br>CO      | <b>bəŋkúŋ bá bəyɔlɪ</b><br><i>red chiefs</i>          |
| 4. Associative<br>AM      |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | bə<br>2c            | ø-kùlí<br>5-N     | <b>bəŋkúŋ bə kùlí</b><br><i>chiefs of the village</i> |
| 5. Relative<br>REL        |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | b-ə bə<br>2c-Rel 2c | gbô<br>V          | <b>bəŋkúŋ bə bô gbô</b><br><i>the chiefs who fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative<br>Q     | ká m̩ b-ə<br>CP ES 2c-Q | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs |                     |                   | <b>ká m̩ bə bəŋkúŋ</b><br><i>which chiefs?</i>        |
| 7. Definite article<br>DA |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | bə<br>2c            | gwû<br>DA         | <b>bəŋkúŋ bá gwû</b><br><i>the chiefs</i>             |
| 8. subject marker<br>SM   |                         | bə-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | Ø<br>2c.SM          | kwá ø-bĩ<br>V 9-N | <b>bəŋkúŋ kwá bĩ</b><br><i>chiefs caught a goat</i>   |

### 3.3.3 Noun class 3 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 26: Noun class 3 concords**

| Modifiers                 | Concord<br>(3c) w-     | Class<br>(3) ø- | Concord<br>(3c) w-  | modifiers         | Example sentences                                  |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive<br>PS       |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | w-<br>3c            | -əŋ<br>PS         | <b>kpà wəŋ</b><br><i>my hand</i>                   |
| 2. Demonstrative<br>DM    |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | w-<br>3c            | -ələ<br>DM        | <b>kpà wələ</b><br><i>this hand</i>                |
| 3. Adjective              |                        |                 |                     |                   |                                                    |
| 3.1 attribute<br>AT       |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | wi~wu~u<br>3c       | mbɔm<br>AT        | <b>kpà wə mbɔm</b><br><i>big hand</i>              |
| 3.2 quantifier<br>QF      |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | wi<br>3c            | doyo<br>QF        | <b>kpà wì dòyó</b><br><i>certain hand</i>          |
| 3.3 numeral<br>NM         |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | wi<br>3c            | mu<br>NM          | <b>kpà wí mū</b><br><i>one hand</i>                |
| 3.4 colour<br>CO          |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | wi<br>3c            | bɔɔɔɔ<br>CO       | <b>kpà wì bɔɔɔɔ</b><br><i>red hand</i>             |
| 4. Associative<br>AM      |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | wi<br>3c            | ø-ŋkɔŋ<br>1-N     | <b>kpà wí ŋkɔŋ</b><br><i>hand of chief</i>         |
| 5. Relative<br>REL        |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | w-ə wi<br>3c-Rel 3c | gbô<br>V          | <b>kpà wə wí gbô</b><br><i>the hand which fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative<br>Q     | kə ŋ w-ə<br>CP ES 3c-Q | ø-kpà<br>3-hand |                     |                   | <b>kə ŋ wə kpà</b><br><i>which hand?</i>           |
| 7. Definite article<br>DA |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | wi~wu~u<br>3c       | gwû<br>DA         | <b>kpà ú gwû</b><br><i>the hand</i>                |
| 8. subject marker<br>SM   |                        | ø-kpà<br>3-hand | Ø<br>3c.SM          | kwá ø-bí<br>V 9-N | <b>kpà kwá bí</b><br><i>a hand caught a goat</i>   |

### 3.3.4 Noun class 4 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 27: Noun class 4 concords**

| Modifiers           | Concord<br>(4c) w-     | Class<br>(4) ø- | Concord<br>(4c) w-  | modifiers         | Example sentences                           |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | y-<br>4c            | -əŋ<br>PS         | kâ yǎŋ<br><i>my hands</i>                   |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | y-<br>4c            | -ələ<br>DM        | kâ yələ<br><i>these hands</i>               |
| 3. Adjective        |                        |                 |                     |                   |                                             |
| 3.1 attribute       |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | yɪ<br>4c            | mbɔm<br>AT        | kâ yɪ mbɔm<br><i>big hands</i>              |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | yɪ<br>4c            | doyo<br>QF        | kâ yɪ dóyó<br><i>certain hands</i>          |
| 3.3 numeral         |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | yɪ<br>4c            | fa<br>NM          | kâ yɪ fá<br><i>two hands</i>                |
| 3.4 colour          |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | yɪ<br>4c            | bɔɔɔɪ<br>CO       | kâ yɪ bɔɔɔɪ<br><i>red hands</i>             |
| 4. Associative      |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | yɪ<br>4c            | ø-ŋkúŋ<br>1-N     | kâ yɪ ŋkúŋ<br><i>hand of chief</i>          |
| 5. Relative         |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | y-ǝ yɪ<br>4c-Rel 4c | gbô<br>V          | kâ yǝ yɪ gbô<br><i>the hands which fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | ká ñ y-ǝ<br>CP ES 4c-Q | ø-kâ<br>4-hands |                     |                   | ká ñ yǝ kâ<br><i>which hands?</i>           |
| 7. Definite article |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | yɪ<br>4c            | gwû<br>DA         | kâ yɪ gwû<br><i>the hands</i>               |
| 8. subject marker   |                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands | Ø<br>4c.SM          | kwá ø-bĩ<br>V 9-N | kâ kwá bĩ<br><i>the hands caught a goat</i> |

### 3.3.5 Noun class 5 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 28: Noun class 5 concords**

| Modifiers           | Concord<br>(5c) w-     | Class<br>(5) ø-  | Concord<br>(5c) w-  | modifiers               | Example sentences                                      |
|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | w-<br>5c            | -əŋ<br>PS               | <b>gbâ wǎŋ</b><br><i>my barn</i>                       |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | w-<br>5c            | -ələ<br>DM              | <b>gbâ wələ</b><br><i>this barn</i>                    |
| 3. Adjective        |                        |                  |                     |                         |                                                        |
| 3.1 attribute       |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | wI<br>5c            | mbɔm<br>AT              | <b>gbâ: wí mbòm</b><br><i>big barn</i>                 |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | wI<br>5c            | doyo<br>QF              | <b>gbâ: wí dóyó</b><br><i>certain barn</i>             |
| 3.3 numeral         |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | wI<br>5c            | mu<br>NM                | <b>gbâ: wí mū</b><br><i>two barn</i>                   |
| 3.4 colour          |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | wI<br>5c            | bɔɔɔlɪ<br>CO            | <b>gbâ: wí bɔɔɔlɪ</b><br><i>red barn</i>               |
| 4. Associative      |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | wI<br>5c            | ø-kùlí<br>5-N           | <b>gbâ: wí kùlí</b><br><i>barn of the village</i>      |
| 5. Relative         |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | w-ǎ wI<br>5c-Rel 5c | gbô<br>V                | <b>gbâ: wǎ wí gbô</b><br><i>the barn which fell</i>    |
| 6. Interrogative    | ká ñ w-ǎ<br>CP ES 5c-Q | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn |                     |                         | <b>ká ñ wǎ gbâ:</b><br><i>which barn?</i>              |
| 7. Definite article |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | wI<br>5c            | gwû<br>DA               | <b>gbâ: wí gwû</b><br><i>the barn</i>                  |
| 8. subject marker   |                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn | Ø<br>5c.SM          | ká bá dzéŋ<br>CP CJ 4-N | <b>gbâ: ká bá dzéŋ</b><br><i>the barn is with corn</i> |



### 3.3.6 Noun class 6 concords

Most of the concords are rightward concords, that is, anaphoric concords, except for the emphatic interrogative which has a left concord system, that is, a cataphoric concordance.

**Table 29: Noun class 6 concords**

| Modifiers           | Concord<br>(6c) k-     | Class<br>(6) ø-    | Concord<br>(6c) k-  | modifiers               | Example sentences                                          |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | k-<br>6c            | -əŋ<br>PS               | <b>kígbâ: kəŋ</b><br><i>my barns</i>                       |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | k-<br>6c            | -ələ<br>DM              | <b>kígbâ: kələ</b><br><i>these barns</i>                   |
| 3. Adjective        |                        |                    |                     |                         |                                                            |
| 3.1 attribute       |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | kɪ ~ bi<br>6c       | mbɔm<br>AT              | <b>kígbâ: bí mbòm</b><br><i>big barns</i>                  |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | kɪ ~ bi<br>6c       | doyo<br>QF              | <b>kígbâ: bì dòyó</b><br><i>certain barns</i>              |
| 3.3 numeral         |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | kɪ ~ bi<br>6c       | fa<br>NM                | <b>gbâ: bí fá</b><br><i>two barns</i>                      |
| 3.4 colour          |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | kɪ<br>6c            | bəɣɔlɪ<br>CO            | <b>kígbâ: bí bəɣólí</b><br><i>red barns</i>                |
| 4. Associative      |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | kɪ<br>6c            | ø-kùlí<br>5-N           | <b>kígbâ: kì kùlí</b><br><i>barn of the village</i>        |
| 5. Relative         |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | k-ə kɪ<br>6c-Rel 6c | gbô<br>V                | <b>kígbâ: kə kɪ gbô</b><br><i>the barns which fell</i>     |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə ñ k-ə<br>CP ES 6c-Q | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns |                     |                         | <b>kə ñ kə kígâ:</b><br><i>which barns?</i>                |
| 7. Definite article |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | kɪ<br>6c            | gu<br>DA                | <b>kígbâ: kɪ gwú</b><br><i>the barns</i>                   |
| 8. subject marker   |                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns | Ø<br>6c.SM          | kə bə dzəŋ<br>CP CJ 4-N | <b>kígbâ: kə bə dzəŋ</b><br><i>the barns are with corn</i> |

### 3.3.7 Noun class 7 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 30: Noun class 7 concords**

| Modifier            | Concord (7c)           | Class (7)      | Concord (7c)            | modifier           | Example sentence                            |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | k-<br>7c                | -əŋ<br>PS          | kìfí kǎŋ<br><i>My pig.</i>                  |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | k-<br>7c                | -ələ<br>DM         | Kìfí kálə<br><i>This pig.</i>               |
| 3.1 Adjective       |                        |                |                         |                    |                                             |
| 3.1 attribute       |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | kí ~ kì<br>7c           | mbòm<br>AT         | kìfí kì mbòm<br><i>Large pig.</i>           |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | kì<br>7c                | doyo<br>QF         | kìfí kì bòyólí<br><i>A certain pig.</i>     |
| 3.3 numeral         |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | kí<br>7c.               | mu<br>NM           | kìfí kí mū<br><i>One pig.</i>               |
| 3.4 colour          |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | kí ~ kì<br>7c.          | bəyɔlɪ<br>CO       | kìfí kì bòyólí<br><i>Red pig.</i>           |
| 4. Associative      |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | kɪ<br>7c                | ø-kulɪ<br>5-N      | kìfí kì kùlí<br><i>Village pig.</i>         |
| 5. Relative         |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | k-ə kɪ<br>7c-Rel. 7c.SM | gbo<br>V           | kìfí kǎ kí gbō<br><i>The pig that fall.</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə ŋ k-ə<br>CP ES 7c-Q | kì-fí<br>7-pig |                         |                    | kǎ ŋ kǎ kífí<br><i>which pig?</i>           |
| 7. Definite article |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | kɪ<br>7c                | gu<br>DA           | kìfí kí gwú<br><i>the pig</i>               |
| 8. subject marker   |                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig | Ø<br>7c.SM              | kwa ø-fyə<br>V 9-N | kìfí kwá fyə<br><i>A pig caught a fowl.</i> |

### 3.3.8 Noun class 8 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 31: Noun class 8 concords**

| Modifier            | Concord (8c)            | Class (8)      | Concord (8c)         | modifier           | Example sentence                                    |
|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | b-<br>8c             | -əŋ<br>PS          | <b>bìfí bǎŋ</b><br><i>my pigs</i>                   |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | b-<br>8c             | -ələ<br>DM         | <b>bìfí bálə</b><br><i>these pigs</i>               |
| 3. Adjective        |                         |                |                      |                    |                                                     |
| 3.1 attribute       |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | bi<br>8c             | mbòm<br>AT         | <b>bìfí bí mbòm</b><br><i>large pigs</i>            |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | bi<br>8c             | doyo<br>QF         | <b>bìfí bí dóyó</b><br><i>certain pigs</i>          |
| 3.3 numeral         |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | bi<br>8c             | fa<br>NM           | <b>bìfí bí fá</b><br><i>two pigs</i>                |
| 3.4 colour          |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | bi<br>8c             | bəyɔli<br>CO       | <b>bìfí bì bəyólí</b><br><i>red pigs</i>            |
| 4. Associative      |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | bi<br>8c             | ø-kuli<br>5-N      | <b>bìfí bí kúlí</b><br><i>village pigs</i>          |
| 5. Relative         |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | b-ə bi<br>8c-Rel. 8c | gbo<br>V           | <b>bìfí byē bí gbō</b><br><i>the pigs that fall</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə m by-ə<br>CP ES 8c-Q | bì-fí<br>8-pig |                      |                    | <b>kə m byē bìfí</b><br><i>which pigs?</i>          |
| 7. Definite article |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | bi<br>8c             | gu<br>DA           | <b>bìfí bí gwû</b><br><i>the pigs</i>               |
| 8. subject marker   |                         | bì-fí<br>8-pig | Ø<br>8c.SM           | kwa ø-ŋyə<br>V 9-N | <b>bìfí kwá ŋyē</b><br><i>pigs caught a fowl.</i>   |

### 3.3.9 Noun class 9 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 32: Noun class 8 concords**

| Modifier            | Concord<br>(9c)        | Class<br>(9)    | Concord<br>(9c)      | modifier            | Example sentence                           |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | y-<br>9c             | -əŋ<br>PS           | ſyā yǎŋ<br><i>my fowl</i>                  |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | y-<br>9c             | -ələ<br>DM          | ſyā yálə<br><i>this fowl</i>               |
| 3. Adjective        |                        |                 |                      |                     |                                            |
| 3.1 attribute       |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | yi<br>9c             | mbòm<br>AT          | Syā yì mbòm<br><i>large fowl</i>           |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | yi<br>9c             | doyo<br>QF          | Syā yì dóyó<br><i>a certain fowl</i>       |
| 3.3 numeral         |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | yi<br>9c             | mu<br>NM            | Syā yì mù<br><i>one fowl</i>               |
| 3.4 colour          |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | yi<br>9c             | bəyɔlɪ<br>CO        | Syā yì bəyɔlɪ<br><i>red fowl</i>           |
| 4. Associative      |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | yi<br>9c             | ø-kulɪ<br>5-N       | Syā yì kùlɪ<br><i>village fowl</i>         |
| 5. Relative         |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | y-ə yi<br>9c-Rel. 9c | gbo<br>V            | Syā yā yì gbó<br><i>the fowl that fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə ŋ y-ə<br>CP ES 9c-Q | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl |                      |                     | ká ŋ yā ſyā<br><i>which fowl?</i>          |
| 7. Definite article |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | yi<br>9c             | gu<br>DA            | ſyā yì gwú<br><i>the fowl</i>              |
| 8. subject marker   |                        | ø-ſyā<br>9-fowl | Ø<br>9c.SM           | dzi ø-dzəŋ<br>V 4-N | ſyǎ dzɪ: dzəŋ<br><i>fowl eats corn</i>     |

### 3.3.10 Noun class 10 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 33: Noun class 10 concords**

| Modifier            | Concord (10c)           | Class (10)        | Concord (10c)          | modifier            | Example sentence                        |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | y-<br>10c              | -əŋ<br>PS           | ŷyá yǎŋ<br><i>my fowls</i>              |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | y-<br>10c              | -ələ<br>DM          | ŷyá yələ<br><i>these fowls</i>          |
| 3. Adjective        |                         |                   |                        |                     |                                         |
| 3.1 attribute       |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | yí<br>10c              | mbɔm<br>AT          | ŷyá yí mbɔm<br><i>large fowls</i>       |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | yí<br>10c              | doyo<br>QF          | ŷyá yí dòyó<br><i>a certain fowls</i>   |
| 3.3 numeral         |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | yí<br>10c              | fa<br>NM            | ŷyá yí fá<br><i>two fowls</i>           |
| 3.4 colour          |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | yí<br>10c              | bɔɔɔli<br>CO        | ŷyá yí bɔɔɔlī<br><i>red fowls</i>       |
| 4. Associative      |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | yí<br>10c              | ø-kuli<br>5-N       | ŷyá yí kúlí<br><i>village fowls</i>     |
| 5. Relative         |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | y-ə yí<br>10c-Rel. 10c | gbo<br>V            | ŷyá yǎ yí gbō<br><i>fowls that fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə ŋ y-ə<br>CP ES 10c-Q | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls |                        |                     | kə ŋ yǎ ŷyá<br><i>which fowls?</i>      |
| 7. Definite article |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | yí<br>10c              | gu<br>DA            | ŷyá yí gwû<br><i>the fowls</i>          |
| 8. subject marker   |                         | ø-ŷyá<br>10-fowls | Ø<br>10c.SM            | dzi ø-dzín<br>V 4-N | ŷyá dzí: dzín<br><i>fowls eat corn</i>  |

### 3.3.11 Noun class 19 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 34: Noun class 19 concords**

| Modifiers           | Concord<br>(19c)         | Class<br>(19)      | Concord<br>(19c)        | modifiers             | Example sentences                                     |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fy-<br>19c              | -ɪŋ<br>PS             | <b>fíńéní fyŋ</b><br><i>my bird</i>                   |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fy-<br>19c              | -ələ<br>DM            | <b>fíńéní fyələ</b><br><i>this bird</i>               |
| 3. Adjective        |                          |                    |                         |                       |                                                       |
| 3.1 attribute       |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fi<br>19c               | mbɔm<br>AT            | <b>fíńéní fí mbɔm</b><br><i>big bird</i>              |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fi<br>19c               | doyo<br>QF            | <b>fíńéní fí dɔyó</b><br><i>a certain bird</i>        |
| 3.3 numeral         |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fi<br>19c               | mu<br>NM              | <b>fíńéní fí mū</b><br><i>one bird</i>                |
| 3.4 colour          |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fi<br>19c               | bɔɣɔlɪ<br>CO          | <b>fíńéní fí bɔɣɔlɪ</b><br><i>red bird</i>            |
| 4. Associative      |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fi<br>19c               | ø-kpɛn<br>3-N         | <b>fíńéní fí kpɛn</b><br><i>bird of tree</i>          |
| 5. Relative         |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fy-ə fi<br>19c-Rel. 19c | gbo<br>V              | <b>fíńéní fyə fí gbō</b><br><i>the bird that fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə m fy-ə<br>CP ES 19c-Q | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird |                         |                       | <b>kə m fyə fíńéní</b><br><i>which bird?</i>          |
| 7. Definite article |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | fi<br>19c               | gu<br>DA              | <b>fíńéní fí gwû</b><br><i>the bird</i>               |
| 8. subject marker   |                          | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird | Ø<br>19c.SM             | gwâŋ-kə lə<br>V-PG AF | <b>fíńéní gwâŋ-kə-lə</b><br><i>A bird is sick</i>     |

### 3.3.12 Noun class 6a concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

**Table 35: Noun class 6a concords**

| Modifiers           | Concord<br>(6ac)        | Class<br>(6a)       | Concord<br>(6ac)            | modifiers             | Example sentences                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Possessive       |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | m-<br>6ac                   | -əṇ<br>PS             | <b>míṛéní mǎṇ</b><br><i>my birds</i>                  |
| 2. Demonstrative    |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | m-<br>6ac                   | -ələ<br>DM            | <b>míṛéní málə</b><br><i>these birds</i>              |
| 3. Adjective        |                         |                     |                             |                       |                                                       |
| 3.1 attribute       |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | mí-<br>6ac                  | mbɔm<br>AT            | <b>míṛéní mî mbɔm</b><br><i>big birds</i>             |
| 3.2 quantifier      |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | mí-<br>6ac                  | doyo<br>QF            | <b>míṛéní mí dɔyó</b><br><i>certain birds</i>         |
| 3.3 numeral         |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | mí-<br>6ac                  | fa<br>NM              | <b>míṛéní mí fá</b><br><i>two birds</i>               |
| 3.4 colour          |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | mí-<br>6ac                  | bɔɔlɪ<br>CO           | <b>ṛéní mí bɔɔlɪ</b><br><i>red birds</i>              |
| 4. Associative      |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | mí-<br>6ac                  | ø-kpen<br>5-N         | <b>míṛéní mî kpɛn</b><br><i>birds of tree</i>         |
| 5. Relative         |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | m-ə      mo<br>6ac-Rel. 6ac | gbo<br>V              | <b>míṛéní mǎ mó gbɔ</b><br><i>the birds that fell</i> |
| 6. Interrogative    | kə m m-ə<br>CP ES 6ac-Q | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds |                             |                       | <b>kə m mǎ míṛéní</b><br><i>which birds?</i>          |
| 7. Definite article |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | mí<br>6ac                   | gu<br>DA              | <b>ṛéní mí gwû</b><br><i>the birds</i>                |
| 8. subject marker   |                         | mí-ṛéní<br>6a-birds | Ø<br>6ac.SM                 | gwâṇ-kə lə<br>V-PG AF | <b>ṛéní gwâṇ-kə-lə</b><br><i>birds are sick</i>       |

The plural has been contracted from "mɪ-" to "m-". The „mɪ-" is predominant in the variety of Chung while the "m-" is of the Mbuk variety. But some speakers who closer to Chung often use the non-contracted form "mɪ-". Whenever there is a modifier in a phrase, the modifier takes the concord marker of its head noun:

- 133) a.     ʃyā    yî mbòm yì bánní yí fá                    "Two big white fowls."  
               9.fowl 9c big       9c white 9c two
- b.     ʃyā    yálā ká yî mbòm yí bánní yí fá        "These are two big white fowls."  
               9.fowl 9c.this CP 9c big    9c white 9c two
- c.     ʃyā    yálā yî mbòm yí fá                    "These two large fowls"  
               9.fowls 9c.this 9c big       9c two

### 3.3.13 Concords summary

The agreement with the head nouns is predominantly anaphora. The concord (AG) can be exactly in form as the prefix or is suppletively a different form. Structurally and segmentally.

"wɪ (u)"; classes 1, 3, 5. Class 1 has low tone while 3 and 5 have high tone each.

"bə (bə)"; for class 2 with a high tone that can be mid

"yi (i)"; for classes 4, 9, 10. Class 9 has low tone that can be mid or contoured, with 4 and 10 having high tones.

"kɪ (kɪ)"; for classes 6 (plural class) and class 7 (singular class) with identical tone, high.

"bi (by)"; for class 8 which can be glided with a palatal glide (by).

"fi (fi)"; for class 19 with high tone. It glides palatally (fy).

For class 6a, there are four concords types as seen below. Where N is an archiphone.

"N (m, n, ŋ, mɪ, mo, mi)"; for classes 6a which a single nasal class. The concords in the table below are determined from numerals. Hence, the 12 noun classes share 7 different types of concords, ignoring any tonal differences and glidings:



Table 36: Concords summary

| concords | classes  | singulars or plurals      |
|----------|----------|---------------------------|
| wɪ       | 1, 3, 5  | all singular              |
| bə       | 2        | plural                    |
| yi       | 4, 9, 10 | 4, 10; plural, 9 singular |
| kɪ       | 6, 7     | 6; plural, 7 singular     |
| bi       | 8        | plural                    |
| fi       | 19       | singular                  |
| N        | 6a       | plural                    |

In details, the concords and variants are given in relation to their respective noun classes:

| noun class | prefix | concord 1      | concord 2 | speech concord |
|------------|--------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| 1          | ∅-     | w̃ ~ wī ~ ∅ w̃ |           | ù              |
| 2          | bə-    | b̃ ~ b̄        | b̃        | b̃             |
| 3          | ∅-     | w̃             | w̃        | ú              |
| 4          | ∅-     | ỹ             | ỹ        | í              |
| 5          | ∅-     | w̃             | w̃        | ú              |
| 6          | kɪ-    | k̃             | k̃        | k̃             |
| 7          | kɪ-    | k̃             | k̃        | k̃             |
| 8          | bi-    | b̃             | bỹ       | b̃             |
| 9          | ∅-     | ỹ             | ỹ        | ì              |
| 10         | ∅-     | ỹ             | ỹ        | í              |
| 19         | fi-    | f̃             | fỹ       | f̃             |
| 6a         | N-     | Ñ             | Ñ        | N-             |

### 3.3.14 Concord prefix

The term refers to a situation where either a prefix or a concord marker deletes or is assimilated in an association of a noun plus a noun or an association of a noun plus a nominal adjective or during the bridging of a nominal adjective to a noun. If the linking occurs when the concord form is similar to the form of the prefix one of them elides.

Now, under this circumstances, which of the two deletes: the concord or the prefix. In this case we assume that the concord is more stable and that it is rather the prefix that deletes for the following reasons:

- there is a higher tendency for the nouns of Mbuk language to go without a prefix.
- the tone of prefixes easily succumbs to the tones of the concord, which are is an indication that the prefix and tonal prefix are not steadfast or rigid in their position.
- the ratio of nouns with prefixes is lower than the ratio of nouns without prefixes.
- for any association between nouns and nouns, nouns and determiners (DT), determiners and nouns, in that chronology, there is always a compulsory agreement marker (concord) that even surfaces for nouns that do not portray a prefix (zero prefix nouns):

- 134) a. N1 + N2
- b. N1 + DT
- c. DT + N1
- d. **kè-mgbán** "very large"
- e. **kì-fó** "cap"
- f. [**kè-mgbán**  $\emptyset$  **kì-fó**] ~
- g. [**kè-mgbán** **ké**  $\emptyset$ -fó] /kèmgba ké kì-fó/ "A very big cap"
- 7-very.lager 7c-AM 7-cap

In the prefix of the cap is present in isolation but absent when used in a phrase where the concord agreement is similar to that of the prefix.

Some of the noun classes have a nominal concord or prefix of the form CV which bears a pronominal concord CV identical in form to its nominal prefix. But when the modifier begins with a vowel, there is elision or assimilation of one of the vowels.

### 3.4 MBUK NOUN DOMAINS

The Mbuk language has nouns of the following types: concrete and abstract nouns, compound and reduplicated as well as ideophones together with some onomatopoeic nouns. All these nouns group into classes depending on the nature of affixes they share.

#### 3.4.1 Concrete nouns

These concrete nouns are names of places, rivers, trees, animals, birds, personal names, insects, natural features and man made artifacts. They range from monosyllabic to bisyllabic words. The affixes in the preceding chapter are found in almost all the domains of nouns.

##### 3.4.1.1 Insects

The insect set reveals that they belong to at least four different genders: 7/8, 1/2, 9/10, 19/6a

- |      |    |                                      |       |                                        |
|------|----|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------------|
| 135) | a. | <b>ø-ntá:ní / bì-ntá:ní</b>          | 7/8   | "k.o. insects"                         |
|      | b. | <b>kə-ndzə̀̀ə̀lĩ / bì-ndzə̀̀ə̀lĩ</b> | 7/8   | "k.o insect"                           |
|      | c. | <b>kə-ndzá: / bì-ndzá:</b>           | 7/8   | "k.o grasshopper (for baby fluency)"   |
|      | d. | <b>kə-mbúŋú / bí-mbúŋú</b>           | 7/8   | "k.o insect"                           |
|      | e. | <b>ø-mfyéli / bə-mfyéli</b>          | 1/2   | "k.o insect"                           |
|      | f. | <b>fə-mfintʃóŋ / mə-ndʒyə̀ntʃóŋ</b>  | 19/6a | "k.o insect"                           |
|      | g. | <b>ø-ŋkə̀ŋkə̀ŋ / bə-ŋkə̀ŋkə̀ŋ</b>    | 1/2   | "k.o cockroach ( hitting/singing)"     |
|      | h. | <b>ø-fũ: / ø-fũ:</b>                 | 9/10  | "margot under soil in farms (eatable)" |

### 3.4.1.2 flies

The flies set reveals that they belong to at least three different genders: 5/6, 7/8, 9/10

|      |    |                                             |      |                               |
|------|----|---------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| 136) | a. | bwén ~ bwé <sup>y</sup> én / ká~kíbwén      | 5/6  | "mosquito"                    |
|      | b. | ndzíní / bíndzíní                           | 7/8  | "housefly"                    |
|      | c. | ø-fyēŋkī / ø-fyéŋkí                         | 9/10 | "wing termite"                |
|      | d. | βú: / βú                                    | 9/10 | "blood sucking fly"           |
|      | e. | ø-dzù <sup>y</sup> ú / ø-dzú <sup>y</sup> ú | 9/10 | "fire fly (light at abdomen)" |

### 3.4.1.3 birds

The semantic domain of birds belong to at least four different genders: 1/2, 7/8, 9/10, 19/6a

|      |    |                                                       |       |                                  |
|------|----|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| 137) | a. | fínyéní ~ fínyéní / m̃nyéní                           | 19/6a | "bird"                           |
|      | b. | njànì / nǰánī                                         | 9/10  | "k.o bird"                       |
|      | c. | fəmgbàkì / m̃mgbàkì                                   | 19/6a | "swallow"                        |
|      | d. | búŋwí / bíbúŋwí                                       | 7/8   | "k.o bird,                       |
|      | e. | fəndzúŋú / m̃ndzúŋú                                   | 19/6a | "k.o bird, eats guinea corn"     |
|      | f. | bùŋ / bə̀bùŋ                                          | 1/2   | "k.o bird"                       |
|      | g. | fəntán / m̃ntán                                       | 19/6a | "k.o bird"                       |
|      | h. | tʃwǐnní / bìtʃwǐnní                                   | 7/8   | "witchbird (owl)"                |
|      | i. | wú <sup>ù</sup> ~ vw <sup>ù</sup> / bíwú <sup>ù</sup> | 7/8   | "owl or screech owl (witchbird)" |
|      | y. | gbə / gbá                                             | 9/10  | "partridge (bushfowl)"           |

It is common to find prefix and suffix germinate nasals in this language. This is due to the contraction of the mə or mɪ forms in to m. As a result of this contraction, homorganic agreement is often blocked thus resulting to patterns like mn instead of germinates like mm.

Moreover, at the suffix corner, it is common to find germinates when the root ends with a nasal *n* and happens to take up a diminutive suffix and the outcome is the germinate *nn*.

### 3.4.1.4 Personal names

We dedicate this section to the structure and classes of Mbuk personal names. As of now, 90 personal typical Mbuk names (46 male and 44 female names) have been collected and here is just a summary of the structures. There is no Mbuk name registered that can go for both sexes, and the meanings of some of the names are not known. The names belong to noun classes 1 and can be used in the plural form with prefix "bə-" for class 2 nouns. Hence, their concords are those of gender 1/2. The names carry all the six (6) tonal patterns found in the Mbuk language: high, low, mid, falling, rising and high-mid tone:

|      | tone | male     | female | Noun class |
|------|------|----------|--------|------------|
| 138) | H    | ŋká:     | mbé    | 1          |
|      | L    | làŋ      | dzòŋ   | 1          |
|      | M    | nʃɔ̃m    | kĩsánŋ | 1          |
|      | F    | bwôm     | bê     | 1          |
|      | R    | byǎ:     | lǎ:    | 1          |
|      | HM   | làŋndʒí: | ntí:   | 1          |

Mbuk male names make use of seven (7) vowels of its language: "a, ə, i, ɪ, u, ʊ, ɔ, ɛ" as well as some long ones. Here is the syllabic structure of male names:

|      | syllable | male       | male                         |
|------|----------|------------|------------------------------|
| 139) | CV       | ɲà         | CVCV mbòkó                   |
|      | CCVV     | ŋká:, òsə: | CCVCV ŋkàmbî:, òkèmbò:       |
|      | CGV      | tʃyà, byǎ  | CVCVC bìkám, sàmbàŋ, fíndónŋ |

|      |                 |         |               |
|------|-----------------|---------|---------------|
| CVC  | làŋ, ndàŋ, nɔ̃m | CVCCGV  | ntùŋbá, ɟɪŋwò |
| CGVC | ŋgwán           | CVCVCGV | lèŋètɟyá      |

### 3.4.2 Abstract nouns

These set of nouns are mostly derived from verbs. They have simplified word structure and the syllables are fewer. They all belong to classes where the value of a singular prefix is almost devalued. The singular prefix that shows up in "i, y" for 7/8 are in the language optional. It is not compelled to used the prefix. Thus, abstract nouns are characterised by the absence a prefix that marks singular. In some cases, the plural prefix have been proven invalid as the concord is the semantic nucleus of singular and plural disambiguation. Most of these nouns are borne by verbs with the prefixation of a "n-" for the singular which later prenasalised and relegates its syllabic properties to the central root vowel. The mitigated "ɣ" in (a, b) is orthographically written in its sister language as "k" and speakers' instinct gives a "k" which is not articulated until after an argument or repetition:

- 140) a.    **ŋkàʔà / bəŋkàʔà**                    1/2    "promise"
- b.    **ntəfi / bəntəfi**                    1/2    "advice, teach"
- c.    **nlání / bənlání**                    1/2    "learn"
- d.    **mbíkí / bəmbíkí**                   1/2    "ask, request"
- e.    **ŋgúkúlí / bəŋgúkúlí**           1/2    "argue"
- f.    **mbónsí / bəmbónsí**               1/2    "bless"
- g.    **mkàŋ / bəmkàŋ**                   1/2    "swear"
- h.    **nyàʔásí / bənyàʔásí**            1/2    "praise"
- i.    **kìyòŋnì / bìyòŋnì**                7/8    "thank, congratulation"
- y.    **kìmbíkè / bìmbíkè**                7/8    "question"

### 3.4.3 Compound nouns

- 141) a. **fú-wì-nôn / bì-fú-bí-nôŋ → fúwìnôŋ / bìfúbìnôŋ** 5/8 "luck"  
1.head-AG-good / 2-head-AG-good
- b. **mì-wì-ntóm / bá-nî-bá-ntóm → mìwìntóm / bènîbèntóm** 1/2 "messenger"  
1.person-AG-send / 2-people-AG-send
- c. **kpè-ŋkwù / bákáŋàbèŋkwù → kpèŋkwù / bákáŋàbèŋkwù** 1/2 "widow"  
1.wife-dead / 2-wife-AG-dead
- d. **ɲòm-ŋkwù / bá-ɲòm-ŋkwù → ɲòmŋkwù / báɲòmŋkwù** 1/2 "widower"  
1.husband-dead / 2-husband-Ø-ŋkwu

### 3.4.4 Nouns reduplication

Word formed by doubling the initial root syllable in Mbuk. Reduplication is used in building lexical units with the semantic component quite different but related to the root from which it is derived. *"Dérivation par redoublement partiel ou total du radical verbal pour former de nouveaux substantifs"* (Sadembouo and Chumbow 1990:58). There is a lot of total segmental reduplication of the root word in Mbuk but our effort has been futile in getting the base word and only two cases of partial reduplication if found in this corpus (example h. and m.):

|         | stem tone   | stem                               | noun class | gloss           |
|---------|-------------|------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 142) a. | (L) L L (H) | <b>kìmgbàmgbàlí / bìmgbàmgbàlí</b> | 7/8        | "millipede"     |
| b.      | (L) L H     | <b>kìŋgèŋgáŋ / bìŋgèŋgáŋ</b>       | 7/8        | "sugar cane"    |
| c.      | (L) L H     | <b>gwàgwá / bègwàgwá</b>           | 1/2        | "duck"          |
| d.      | (L) H H     | <b>kìmámá / bìmámá</b>             | 7/8        | "caterpillar"   |
| e.      | (L) L H     | <b>kìntòmtóŋ / bìntòmtóŋ</b>       | 7/8        | "indian bamboo" |
| f.      | (L) H H     | <b>kìntáptáŋ / bìntáptáŋ</b>       | 7/8        | "box"           |

|    |             |                                    |       |                   |
|----|-------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| g. | (L) L H     | <b>kìṅkàṅkán / bìṅkàṅkán</b>       | 7/8   | "armpit"          |
| h. | (L) L L (H) | <b>kìkàkàlì / bìkàkàlì</b>         | 7/8   | "ringworm"        |
| i. | (L) H H     | <b>kìṅwáṅwáṅ / bìṅwáṅwáṅ</b>       | 7/8   | "pumpkin"         |
| y. | (L) H H L L | <b>kpálákpàlà / bèkpálákpàlà</b>   | 1/2   | "bamboo mat"      |
| k. | (L) L H H H | <b>kàmbèlémbélé / bìmbèlémbélé</b> | 7/8   | "butterfly"       |
| l. | (L) H H H H | <b>fìyókóyókó / òyókóyókó</b>      | 19/6a | "k.o fruit flies" |
| m. | (L) L (H) M | <b>fìndèlìndē / òndèlìndē</b>      | 19/6a | "house cricket"   |

All the -lɪ suffix or -lɪ- infix are high tone. The bisyllabic roots have the following tonal patterns: H H, L L, L H, L M. There is no H L root. There is no trisyllabic root but there are four syllables with the following tonal design: H H L L, L H H H and H H H H in the Mbuk language. They are all totally reduplicated with no case of partial reduplication. Prenasalised "mb, nd", labialised "ɟw, gw" onsets are found with aspect of a palatalised onset reduplicated. Apart from simple primary consonants "k, y, m" being reduplicated, there are also primary complex "gb, kp" consonants with reduplication of the root. A limited number of vowels participate in reduplication; "a, ɛ, ɔ, ə" and perhaps is because of their easy and most frequent articulation in the language. All of these are a set of lax vowels. Nasal and long vowels are not characterised in this process of word formation.

As for the noun classes, one strange observation is that of the six noun class genders of Mbuk, only three genders take reduplicated roots; 1/2, 7/8, 19/6a with none of the gender 3/4, 5/6, 9/10. To account for this absence, first and foremost, these genders are zero prefix genders. Though 6 has a prefix, it is not very productive in the language, the prefix occurs a lot of times from the lips of the speakers. This prefix is about disappearing or being invented and it is often in free variation with zero and bi-prefixes. Secondly, reduplication seldom goes without a prefix in this language. Thirdly, reduplications are linked to events or action of animate and



inanimates beings. In this light, classes 1/2, 7/8, 19/6a have more of human, animal and non-human acts that as a result of onomatopoeie and ideophones, these classes can easily be extended with the use of their prefixes in the formation of these event nouns.

Moreover, one curiosity is that all the prefixes are low toned, this could be because of the distance to cover in producing the lengthy word. This can be likened to a phenomenon observed in eliciting the noun class concord, the consultant gets tired and produces all low tone concords even in areas where he had previously used high. Thus, the length of the word may influence the decision on the nature of tone on the prefix. So, to produce these words, the buccal system is very relaxed to go through the long word. The tone in brackets (L) are of prefixes that can be there or absent in the singular form. With the zero prefix (Ø-gwagwa/bè-gwàgwá "duck"). It is worth noting that the various tones of the varying affixes have no influence on the tone of the root word and vice versa, the root tone has not affected affix tones.

### 3.4.5 Ideophones

Ideophones are words that evoke an idea in sound, often a vivid impression of certain sensations or sensory perceptions, e.g. sound, movement, color, shape, or action. Ideophones are found in many of the world's languages, though they are claimed to be relatively uncommon in Western languages. (Wikipedia 20/02/2017). Schachter (1985:21) "An ideophone is a member of a set of words that are phonologically distinguishable from other words in a language and are often onomatopoeic, and form one or more syntactic classes or subclasses, most typically adverbial".

- 143) a.     **ɲkà:ɲ**                   "very red"  
           b.     **bʷú**                   "very white"  
           c.     **ti:yk**                   "very black"

- d. **lú:s** "smooth"
- e. **mgbàm** "sound of someone falling"
- f. **ɲkà:ɲ** "sound of something falling"
- g. **wá:ɲ** "sound of something falling into a valley or a very high place"
- h. **fyá:ɲ** "sound of something moving with a high velocity"
- i. **ká:ɲ** "sound of cutting something"
- j. **ɲwá:ɲ** "sound from a slap"
- k. **ɲg<sup>w</sup>ímbóyō** "many" (of people, houses, vehicles)
- l. **ɲwà:ɲ** "light of light beam"
- m. **ɲwàɲɲwàɲ** "light of lightning"
- n. **ɲʃɔ:ɲ/ mfyɔ:ɲ** "describes a quiet scene"
- o. **lyè:m** "describes the overflow of a river"

Most of the ideophones occur in clause final position:

- 144) a. **kíḃā:ɲ kálē kólē lú:s** "This table is very smooth"  
 7.table 7.this be very.smooth
- b. **bíḃā:ɲ byálē kólē lú:s** "these tables are very smooth"  
 8.table 8.these be very.smooth
- c. **bǔ:ɲ wálē bóyòkí lē ɲkà:ɲ** "this dress is very red"  
 1.cloth 1.this red.PG AF very.red
- d. **m ká:kí bǔ:ɲ wí bòyò (lā) ɲkà:ɲ** "I have a very red cloth"  
 1s have cloth 1.AM red (AF) very.red

### 3.4.6 Onomatopoeic

These words are formed from the imitation of the sound the animals produce:

- 145) a. **sélékúkû: / bəsélékúkû:** 1/2 "cuckoo bird"

- b. **kə́ḡḡḡ / bḡḡḡḡ**                      7/8    "whiteneck hawk"  
 c. **kə́kwô: / bḡkwô:**                      7/8    "toad"

This domain of nouns have two genders of nouns, 1/2 and 7/8.

### 3.4.7 Countable and uncountable nouns

The dichotomy, countable and uncountable nouns do exist in the language. The latter within the noun class section is described as single class gender because they cannot be counted. In other books, they are referred to as mass nouns.

### 3.4.8 Borrowings

Foreign terms have totally picked of the phonology of the language such that they sound and look like non-foreign. Most of the words are borrowed from English and a single one from French "ananas". It is difficult to talk about borrowing from neighbouring national languages because it is difficult to know who is really the author of the word. Though a few words can be identified as Bum words while others as Chung used alongside Mbuk words within the Mbuk language. Most of the loaned national language words do keep their phonology intact in the borrowed language especially those taken from Chung are more of synonyms. But those loaned by Bum are a bit modified or they are the Bum that Borrowed from Mbuk is not easy to discern. In this language, the following phonological Adjustments are possible for words taken from foreign languages:

- 146) a.  $p \rightarrow N- / \# \_ , p \rightarrow mb,$                       potato  $\rightarrow$  **mbwūdàm**  
 b.  $g \rightarrow N- / \# \_ , g \rightarrow mgb,$                       guava  $\rightarrow$  **fímgbábàṅ**  
 c.  $\emptyset \rightarrow PX- / \# \_ , \emptyset \rightarrow b\grave{a}-,$                       lamps  $\rightarrow$  **bèlám**  
 d.  $\# \_ C \# \rightarrow \# \_ \emptyset \# ,$                       plank  $\rightarrow$  **plan**

- e. CC → CVC, pl → mbəl, plank → **mbèlân**
- f. # \_ n # → # \_ŋ# plan → **mbèlân**
- g. + fricative → + plosive, v → b, guava → **fíngbábàn**
- h. CV → CVC, va → bân, guava → **fíngbábàn**

The consonant "p" is very rare in the language and occurs only in the median position or somehow at the coda of the root followed by a suffix. So, when a term is borrowed, the loaned "p" plosive changes into a prenasalised consonant as in (c, d, h) below. But the prenasalisation rule has not applied for (j.) In addition, the prenasalisation do occur with "g" as in the case. In nominal class, the morphology picks up gender 1/2, 7/8 and 19/6a:

|         |                             |       |                   |         |
|---------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------|---------|
| 147) a. | <b>fíngbábàn / òmgbábàn</b> | 19/6a | "guava"           | English |
| b.      | <b>tāsā / bètāsā</b>        | 1/2   | "alluminium dish" | ??      |
| c.      | <b>mbèlân / bèmmbèlân</b>   | 1/2   | "plank"           | English |
| d.      | <b>mbwūdàm / bèmmbwūdàm</b> | 1/2   | "potato"          | Mbouda  |
| e.      | <b>lâm / bèlâm</b>          | 1/2   | "lamp"            | English |
| f.      | <b>kòfí / bèkòfí</b>        | 1/2   | "coffee"          | English |
| g.      | <b>mángú / bèmángú</b>      | 1/2   | "mango"           | English |
| h.      | <b>mfóm / bémfóm</b>        | 1/2   | "phone"           | English |
| i.      | <b>lôk / bèlôk</b>          | 1/2   | "lock"            | English |
| j.      | <b>pèlôm / bèpèlôm</b>      | 1/2   | "plum"            | English |
| k.      | <b>kínánâs / bínánâs</b>    | 7/8   | "pineapple"       | French  |

It is not easy to justify which language is the native custodian of some words, thus, making it difficult to know who has loaned and who has borrowed. So, the phonological adjustments possible for words taken from neighbouring national languages has not been

considered. For example, the word for palm tree "sōm", we do not know whether it was loaned to the Bum language by the Mbuk or the Mbuk borrowed it from the Bum.

This sub-section reveals that there is no single class of nouns that comes from a particular domain. Thus, the semantic properties of nouns transcend morphological boundaries being delimited by class prefixes and concord markers. Moreover, they also bypass typological or biological species characteristic groupings. This section has been used in validating our noun classes by showing the partitioning of each domain into various noun classes. Having concretised our know-how on nouns, we now look at what can represent a full noun phrase in its absence called a pronoun.

### **3.5 MBUK PRONOUNS**

This section looks at the reduced form of nouns called pronouns used to make reference to nouns. There are two forms of making reference to nouns. One way and the most common is the use of a pronoun to refer to an earlier mentioned noun called anaphoric reference. Another system of reference is the use of a pronoun to refer to a noun that has not yet been mentioned and such a system of reference is known as cataphoric reference which is common in discourse emphasis where the pronoun is mentioned before the noun is explicitly stated. The pronouns treated in this chapter range from subject pronouns to object pronouns.

#### **3.5.1 Personal pronouns**

In Mbuk, they refer to a person or thing and agree with the known or unknown subject in person; 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, number; singular, plural including the noun classes. The subject pronouns can also be neutral, not in agreement with person, number or noun class. There are three types; the subject, object and the neutral pronouns.

### 3.5.1.1 Subject pronouns

These pronouns act as the subject of a phrase, clause or sentence. These are the human and non-human subject pronouns.

#### 3.5.1.1.1 Human subject pronouns

These pronouns take the place of a human noun. There exist contracted forms which occur with 1S and 1PI meanwhile 2S and 3P has individual free variants:

| Person | Subject         | Gloss     | Definition                                    |
|--------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1S     | mì ~ m̀         | "I"       | first person singular subject pronoun         |
| 2S     | wè ~ wò         | "you"(sg) | second person singular subject pronoun        |
| 3S     | wì              | "he/she"  | third person singular subject pronoun         |
| 1PI    | bàṽṽn ~ bàṽṽbēn | "we"      | first person plural inclusive subject pronoun |
| 1PE    | bàṽṽ            | "we"      | first person plural exclusive subject pronoun |
| 2P     | bēn             | "you"(pl) | second person plural subject pronoun          |
| 3P     | bó ~ bá         | "they"    | third person plural subject pronoun           |

148) The following text exemplify the use of the 2P "bēn" human subject pronoun in Mbuk:

00:00:51.000 00:00:52.000 00:00:53.000 00:00:54.000 00:00:55.000 00:00:56.000

**topic** [1]

**MbK\_NKP-87** [9]

**GL\_NKP-87** [8]

**FT\_NKP-87** [8]

Second person plural subject pronoun, you (pl.), 2P "bēn"

bēn dúṅ, bēn dúṅ f́óṽò. ṇā ṇkĩ, ṇā ṇkĩ.

2P stand, 2P stand there. Give chorus, give chours.

You should stand there and give the choruses.

VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_NT<sub>s</sub>\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00389.jpg

### 3.5.1.1.2 Non-human subject pronouns

These pronouns take the place of non-human nouns. The pronouns have the forms of noun class prefixes for classes with prefixes and takes other forms for nouns without prefixes.

The table below gives Non-human subject pronouns.

Table 37: Non-human subject pronouns

| Non-human subject pronouns |             |              |          |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| Singular                   |             | Plural       |          |
| Noun classes               | Pronouns    | Noun classes | Pronouns |
| 1                          | wĩ ~ wù ~ ù | 2            | bé ~ bó  |
| 3                          | wí          | 4            | yí       |
| 5                          | wí          | 6            | kí       |
| 7                          | kí          | 8            | bí       |
| 9                          | yì          | 10           | yí       |
| 19                         | fí          | 6a           | mé ~ mó  |

They are mostly used as anaphoric pronouns, making a back reference to an earlier mentioned noun in the discourse, and seldom used as cataphoric pronouns.

### 3.5.1.2 Object pronoun

The object by default occurs after the verb and it is that constituent which is acted upon, that is, it suffers the effect of the subject. These are human and non-human object pronouns:

#### 3.5.1.2.1 Human object pronouns

The human object pronouns pertains to human nouns. The word forms (segmental and supra-segmental) change according to person (first, second, third) and in number (singular, plural):

| Person | Object  | Gloss     | Definition                                   |
|--------|---------|-----------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1SO    | mī      | "me"      | first person singular object pronoun         |
| 2SO    | wè      | "you"(sg) | second person singular object pronoun        |
| 3SO    | wì      | "him"     | third person singular object pronoun         |
| 1POI   | bə̀ʋən  | "us"      | first person plural inclusive object pronoun |
| 1POE   | bə̀ʋə   | "us"      | first person plural exclusive object pronoun |
| 2PO    | bən     | "you"(pl) | second person plural object pronoun          |
| 3PO    | bó ~ bá | "them"    | third person plural object pronoun           |

149) An example sentence for the first person singular object pronoun, 1SO below:

|           |     |                            |         |         |     |     |
|-----------|-----|----------------------------|---------|---------|-----|-----|
|           | [0] | Óo                         | kì-nú   | kwé     | bá  | mī  |
| MBK_NNN-9 | [3] |                            |         |         |     |     |
| GL_NNN-9  | [3] | IJT                        | 7-sleep | go.home | CNJ | 1SO |
| FT_NNN-9  | [3] | Oh sleep! Go home with me. |         |         |     |     |

VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00399

### 3.5.1.2.2 Non-human object pronouns

The non-human objects are of the form CV. Some take the form of the class prefix and some with zero prefix nouns takes any concords. The non-human subjects and human subject pronouns are the same. Not all the verbs do take the non-human object pronouns. Non-human object pronouns:



**Table 38: Non-human object pronouns**

| Non-human object pronouns |          |              |              |
|---------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| Singular                  |          | Plural       |              |
| Noun classes              | Pronouns | Noun classes | Pronouns     |
| 1                         | wì       | 2            | bó ~ bó      |
| 3                         | wí       | 4            | yí           |
| 5                         | wí       | 6            | kí           |
| 7                         | kí       | 8            | bí           |
| 9                         | yì       | 10           | yí           |
| 19                        | fí       | 6a           | mó ~ mé ~ mí |

### 3.5.1.3 Dual pronouns

Dual pronouns (DL) are compound pronouns. The combination of two or more pronouns.

Here are examples of Mbuk dual pronouns:

**Table 39: Dual pronouns**

|          | you  | Him/her | You (pl) | they/them |
|----------|------|---------|----------|-----------|
| I        | bōyō | bāyā    | bāyā bēn | bāyā bó   |
| you      | bēn  | bāyā wì | bēn      | bēn       |
| him      | bōyō | bó      | bēn bó   | bó        |
| we inc   | báŋə | báŋə    | báŋə     | bíyí bó   |
| we exc   | bāyā | bāyā    | bāyā     | bāyā      |
| you (pl) | bēn  | bēn     | bēn      | bēn       |
| they     | bēn  | bó      | bó       | bó        |

The table above is expressed in the follows examples below:

- 149) a. **b̄ȳ** "you and I"  
 b. **b̄ȳ** "you and me"  
 c. **b̄ȳ** "him and I"  
 d. **bó** "you and him"  
 e. **b̄ȳ** "him and you"  
 f. **b̄ȳ bó** "they and us"  
 g. **b̄ȳ wì** "him and we"

Structurally, they are fused, some are juxtapose, some uses the coordinating conjunction "and" while some are without a conjunction. Some dual pronouns in Mbuk are:

- 150) The fused is for example: a. **b̄ȳ.ø** "you and I"  
 1S.2S.CJ
- The juxtaposed is: b. **b̄ȳ ø wì** "him and we"  
 1PE CJ 3S
- Use of a conjunction: c. **wì b̄ b̄ȳ** "him and we"  
 3S CJ 1PE

The use of a conjunction is influenced by the contact of Mbuk with English. When Mbuk used to be an isolated language without contact, it had only two traditional forms: the fusion and the juxtaposed. Furthermore, a full noun phrase in the singular form plus a pronoun can be used also:

- 151) a. **b̄ȳ wān** "the child and me"  
 1PE 1.child
- b. **b̄n wān** "the child and you"  
 2P 1.child
- c. **bó wān** "the child and him/her"  
 3P 1.child

In the three examples above (a, b, c) the plural form of the pronoun semantically acquires the meaning of a singular pronoun. There is a semantic shift with the same form as seen in the table below:

Table 40: Meaning of simple and dual pronouns

| Number | Simple subject pronouns | Dual or compound pronouns |
|--------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1PE    | <b>bə̀yá</b> "we/us"    | <b>bə̀yá</b> "I/me"       |
| 2P     | <b>bēn</b> "you (pl.)"  | <b>bēn</b> "you (sg.)"    |
| 3P     | <b>bó</b> "they/them"   | <b>bó</b> "he/him"        |

- d1. **wāṇ bə́ bə̀yā** "the child and us"  
1.child CJ 1PE
- d2. **wāṇ bə́ bə́ṇə̀** "the child and us"  
1.child CJ 1PI
- e. **bēn wāṇ** "the child and you"  
2P 1.child
- f. **wāṇ bə́ bó** "the child and them"  
1.child CJ 3P

In addition, a full noun phrase in the plural form plus a pronoun can be used as well:

- 152) a. **bwāyā bə́ mī** "the children and me"  
2.children CJ 1SO
- bìyí bwāyā** "the children and us"  
1PE 2.children
- wò bə́ bwāyā** "the children and you"  
2S CJ 2.children
- wì bə́ bwāyā** "the children and him"  
3S CJ 2.children

The tones need more time to understand their contribution to meaning in this section.

### 3.5.1.4 Neutral pronoun

The Mbuk language has neutral pronouns such a "b́á" meaning "we". Apart from the two inclusive (b́əŋə̀) and exclusive (b́əȳə̀) ~ (b́əȳə̀) subject pronouns there is also a neutral one which stands in either the inclusive or the exclusive pronoun.

- 153) a.     **b́əŋə̀** "we" 1PI,           inclusive  
           b.     **b́əȳə̀** "we" 1PE,           exclusive  
           c.     **b́á**     "we" 1PN,           Neutral

Moreover, for the non-human, the word "ḱá" can stand in for any non-human noun as a pronoun. It can be used across all the noun classes if the specific noun is not known. It is also used for clarification or for the request of more information if not well understood. It can as well be treated as a dummy subject for non-human nouns:

- 154)       **ḱá nýə̀ l̄ə̀**     "what is that?" or "how is it"  
               it what XC

### 3.5.1.5 Dummy subject

A dummy subject (DS) occurs mostly in question expressions and for emphasis. The DS has a low tone and often followed by a copula as seen in the example:

- 155) a.     **À ko ndə̀**           "who is it?"  
               DS CP QW  
               it be who

### 3.5.2 Reciprocal pronoun

A reciprocal action is the mutual interaction between things that act for each other. The reciprocal (RC) element in Mbuk is "ḱí-gwû" which literally means body (itself). The word body is "gwù" and it acquires a nominal prefix "ḱí-" an invariable subject marker used to form the

reciprocal. Normally, the word "gwù" has been assigned to noun class nine due to the absence of a prefix. But in reciprocity, the "gwu" is realised as a class 6 noun as it is the tradition for nouns in the language to manifest features of other noun classes. That is why we say, there is a reassigning of the lost prefix during reciprocism:

- 156) a. **bó ndzáŋ-ké-lè** "they are quarreling"  
 3P quarrel-PG-AF
- b. **bó ndzáŋ-kí í kí-gú:** "they are quarreling with each other"  
 3P quarrel-PG CJ RC
- 157) a. **bó dʒúò-ké-lè** "They are fighting"  
 3P fight-PG-AF
- b. **bó dʒúò-ké-lè kí-gwû (kí bó)** "They are fighting each other"  
 3P fight-PG-AF RC (RC they)

The reciprocal expression can be emphatic, thus, necessitating the optional expression in paranthesis as in (157b). The reciprocal has a fixed form, which is not influence by the head noun agreement constraints.

There is a semantic merge between reciprocals and reflexives as shown below. The marker for reciprocal has been used to mark a reflexive as illustrated below:

- 158) a. **Bó dʒuo-kí kí-gwû kí bó** "They are fighting themselves."  
 3P fight-PG RC AM 3PO  
 3P fighting RF/RC

### 3.5.3 Reflexive pronoun

Four systems have been used to express reflexive; for emphasis, body parts, for inanimates and for humans.

#### 3.5.3.1 Reflexive emphatic subject pronoun

Reflexivity is achieved by the emphatic use of the human subject pronoun:

|      |    |                   |                             |
|------|----|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 159) | 1S | <b>mí</b>         | "myself"                    |
|      | 2S | <b>wò</b>         | "yourself"                  |
|      | 3S | <b>wì</b>         | "himself/herself"           |
|      | 3S | <b>kì, fí, wì</b> | "itself (non-human nouns)"  |
|      | 1P | <b>bəŋə</b>       | "ourselves"                 |
|      | 2P | <b>bēn</b>        | "yourselves"                |
|      | 3P | <b>bó</b>         | "themselves"                |
|      | 3P | <b>bì, mì, yí</b> | "itselfs" (non-human nouns) |

In addition to express the reflexivity, treating the entire subject pronouns, the core reflexive pronoun remains unchanged except for its tone and its possessive object marker:

|      |     |                              |                        |
|------|-----|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 160) | 1S  | <b>mí wóyó gwù-yǎŋ</b>       | "I wash myself"        |
|      | 1S  | wash body-my(RF)             |                        |
|      | 2S  | <b>wò wóyó gwù-yá</b>        | "You wash yourself"    |
|      | 2S  | wash body-your(RF)           |                        |
|      | 3S  | <b>wì wóyó gwù-yí</b>        | "He washes himself"    |
|      | 3S  | wash body-his(RF)            |                        |
|      | 1P  | <b>bəŋə wóyó gwù-yí-bəŋə</b> | "We wash ourselves"    |
|      | 1PE | wash body-our-us             |                        |
|      | 2P  | <b>bēn wóyó gwù-yí-bēn</b>   | "You wash yourselves"  |
|      | 2P  | wash body-yours-your         |                        |
|      | 3P  | <b>bō wóyó gwù yí bó</b>     | "They wash themselves" |
|      | 3P  | wash body-their-them         |                        |

Looking at the above reflexive expressions, we can see that a symmetry is lacking in two dimensions between the 1, 2, 3 singulars and the 1, 2, 3 plurals. All the plurals take the "yi" plus their object markers. But the singulars take only their object markers without the "yi". This implies that, at the singular level, once the key reflexive word "body" is stated, it no longer

needs the "yi". This is not true, it is because of the constraints of two like terms that the language does not permit two adjacent "y" sounds as is the case for "yi yəŋ, yi ya, yi yi-" for 1s, 2S and 3S respectively. Which means, there should be an elision of "yi" (yi → i → ∅) somehow if this has to be an acceptable speech form in the language:

- 161) 1S    \***mí wóyó gwù-yi-yəŋ**                      "I wash myself"  
              1S wash body-me-my(RF)
- 2S    \***wò wóyó gwù-yi-yá**                      "You wash yourself"  
              2S wash body-you-your(RF)
- 3S    \***wì wóyó gwù-yí-yi**                      "He washes himself"  
              3S wash body-him-his(RF)

On the contrary, the plural forms cannot be grammatical without the "yi"

- 162) 1P    \***bəyó wóyó gwû-bəyó**                      "We wash ourselves"  
              1PE wash body-us
- 2P    \***bēn wóyó gwû-bēn**                      "You wash yourselves"  
              2P wash body-your
- 3P    \***bō wóyó gwû-bō**                      "They wash themselves"  
              3P wash body-them

but the plural forms would remain grammatical in the absence of the objects as mentioned in the subsequent pages:

- 163) 3P    **bō wóyó gwû-yi**                      "They wash themselves"  
              3P wash body-their

Some times, 1S pronoun is doubled to express reflexivity as seen in the text below:

- 164) a.      *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406*

030 FSW-1    **sə mĩ:mĩ    tə bɔŋkí tʃyákí kó á,**  
              RF    as 1S.myself also also know is that  
                  "As I myself is also aware of, is that "

### 3.5.3.2 Reflexive body morpheme

Semantically, the word "gwù" in its primary sense refers to body. Then through semantic extension, "gwù" bears a reflexive meaning "self" in the singular. But when in its plural, it undergoes a prefixal lexical derivation to form "kí-gwû" as exhibited by the sentences below:

- 165) a. **Bìkám kôŋ-ká-là Kxê** "Bikem loves Khe."  
 Bikem love-PG-AF Khe
- b. **Bìkám kôŋ-ká-là ø-gwù yí** "Bìkám loves himself."  
 Bikem love-PG-AF 9-body his
- c. **wì dʒúò-kí ø-gwù yī** "He is fighting himself"  
 3S fight-PG 9-body his

In example (165b, c) above, both sentences are in the singular form and uses the singular form of the word body "gwù" of noun class 9 with its possessive form "yí".

Meanwhile in (166d, e) below, the word body is now in the plural form and takes the marked features of noun class 6 instead of its default characteristics of noun class 10.

- 166) d. **Bìkám bó Kxê kôŋ-ká-là kí-gwû** "Bikám and Khe love themselves."  
 Bikem and Khe love-PG-AF 6-bodies
- e. **Bāyā dʒúò-kí kí-gwû** "We are fighting ourselves"  
 1PE fight-PG 6-bodies

These examples are further broken down in the subsequent pages under the headings reflexive asymmetry and reflexive genders.

#### 3.5.3.2.1 Reflexive asymmetry

Reflexive asymmetry is the bi-class existence of the reflexive or reciprocal expressive forms in Mbuk. This asymmetrical behaviour manifests in three axes: the noun class and the head noun agreement, and the presence and absence of the repeated subject pronoun at the



end of a reflexive clause. By default, the word body belongs to gender 9/10. But during reflexive expression, only the singular form of class 9 maintains its position while the plural form drifts to class 6, a plural class of the gender 5/6.

The three dimensional representation of the reflexive attitude is represented. The example (167b) is emphatic though speakers say it is an optional form:

**Table 41: Optional reflexive subject (OS)**

|         | subject                                 | Verb     | Class-Noun | concord | Reflexive subject | Number   |
|---------|-----------------------------------------|----------|------------|---------|-------------------|----------|
| 167) a. | wì                                      | dʒúò-kí  | ø-gwù      | yī      | ø                 | singular |
|         | 3S                                      | Fight-PG | 9-body     | his     |                   |          |
|         | He is fighting himself                  |          |            |         |                   |          |
| b.      | Bó                                      | Dʒúò-kí  | kí-gwù     | kí      | bó                | Plural   |
|         | 3P                                      | Fight-PG | 9-body     | their   | they              |          |
|         | They themselves are fighting themselves |          |            |         |                   |          |
| c.      | Bó                                      | Dʒúò-kí  | kí-gwù     |         |                   | Plural   |
|         | 3P                                      | Fight-PG | 9-body     |         |                   |          |
|         | They are fighting themselves            |          |            |         |                   |          |

### 3.5.3.2.2 Reflexive gender

Re-examining the noun classes involved in the reflexive, we can deduce that there are three pairs of classes, whereby two of them are nominal classes and the third pair is a reflexive gender class borne by the two nominal classes as expressed in the upcoming table.

**Table 42: Reflexive noun class gender**

| Three Genders           | Three noun classes    | concord      | Number               |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Nominal gender<br>5/6   | (ø-gwù) /<br>(kí-gwû) | ẁ-/<br>k̀-  | singular /<br>plural |
| Nominal gender<br>9/10  | ø-gwù /<br>ø-gwú      | ỳ- /<br>ỳ- | singular /<br>plural |
| Reflexive gender<br>9/6 | ø-gwù /<br>kí-gwû     | ỳ- /<br>k̀- | singular /<br>plural |

The parenthesis means that the word body does not belongs to gender 5/6, but because the reflexive gender picks up one of its feature there, it is then worth to draw by induction a relationship which might have been historically that classes 9/10 might have once had prefixes or that the word body once had a prefix.

### 3.5.3.3 Middle voice reflexive morpheme

When inanimates and body parts are carrying out reflexive actions, a separate word "tʃyǎ" meaning self is used. For inanimates we have the following examples:

- 168) a. **gbâ: í bwíyín tʃyǎ** "The barn has broken itself or by itself"  
           5.barn PF break      self
- b. **kígbâ: í bwíyín tʃyǎ** "The barns have broken themselves"  
           6.barns PF break      self
- c. **mbúŋ wóyó tʃyǎ** "The dress has washed itself"  
           1.dress wash self

Two variations feature here; break "bwíyín ~ bwín", dress/cloth "mbúŋ ~ búŋ".

Thence for the body part, we have as an example:

- 169) a. **kpâ wóyó-kí tʃyǎ-kí kpâ** "The hands washed itself"  
           3.hand wash-PG RF-PG 3.hand

The reflexive marker accords with the imperfective progressive marker. And contrary to both the body parts and inanimates presumptions about the use of the "tʃyə", we find the humans actions using the morpheme as well:

- 170) a.     **bó lání-ká là**                                 "they are studying"  
               3P study-PG AF
- b.     **bó lání-kí tʃyā-ká là**                         "they are studying by themselves"  
               3P study-PG RF/MV-PG AF

The reflexive morpheme, "tʃyā" has a middle voice property, thus because it takes the imperfective progressive aspect, it can be ascribed as a middle voice verb; a verb that does an action by itself without the influence of an agent or where the patient is the agent of the actions as seen in (170b) above. One curious undertaking is what happens to the reflexive marker through the various noun classes of the Mbuk language.

### 3.5.3.4 Zero reflexive morpheme

In certain reflexive constructions are expressed without a reflexive morpheme:

- 171) a.     **kpá wóyó kpà**                                 "the hand washed itself"  
               3.hand wash 3.hand
- or    b.     **Kpà wóyó-kí kpà**                                 "the hand is washing the hand"  
               3.hand wash-PG 3.hand

### 3.5.3.5 Reflexives and noun classes

The reflexive pronouns as expressed with the various noun classes do not carry any head noun agreement marker and certain nouns would pair up with only a certain reflexive form. There are four elements that contribute to reflexives comprehension within the Mbuk noun class system; the tones, the body morpheme "gwù", the middle voice morpheme "tʃyà", and the third person plural marker for plural nouns as seen in the following examples:

|           |                                                                |                                    |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 172) nc 1 | <b>wāŋ wóyó gwù-yī</b><br>1.child wash body-his                | "The child washed himself"         |
| nc 2      | <b>bwáyá wóyó gwù-yī-bó</b><br>2.children wash body-thier-they | "The children washed themselves"   |
| nc 3      | <b>kpà wóyó ø-kpà</b><br>3.hand wash body-3.hand               | "The hand washed itself"           |
| or        | <b>kpà wóyó tɕyê-kí kpà</b><br>3.hand wash RF-PG 3.hand        | "The hand is washing itself"       |
| nc 4      | <b>kǎ wóyò gwû-yí-bó</b><br>4.hands wash body-their-they       | "The hands washed themselves"      |
| nc 5      | <b>gbâ: (í) gbō tɕyē</b><br>5.barn PF fall self                | "The barn fell itself (by itself)" |
| nc 6      | <b>kígbâ: (i) gbō tɕyē</b><br>6.barns PF fall self             | "The barns fell themselves"        |
| nc 7      | <b>kìfí wóyó gwù-yí</b><br>7.pig wash body-his                 | "The pig washed itself"            |
| nc 8      | <b>bìfí wóyó gwû-yí-bó</b><br>8.pigs wash body-their-they      | "The pigs washed themselves"       |
| nc 9      | <b>ɕyě wóyó gwù-yī</b><br>9.fowl wash body-his                 | "The fowl washed itself"           |
| nc 10     | <b>ɕyē wóyó gwû-yí-bō</b><br>10.fowls wash body-their-they     | "The fowls washed themselves"      |
| nc 19     | <b>fíjéní wóyó gwù-yí</b><br>19.bird wash body-his             | "The bird washed itself"           |
| nc 6a     | <b>míjéní wóyó gwû-yí-bó</b><br>6a.bird wash body-their-they   | "The bird washed themselves"       |

For tones, gender 9/10 is only distinguishable by tone, while gender 3/4 is distinguished by mutation. Thus, only the tonal difference on the reflexive marker would tell the difference

between singular and plural, meaning paying attention to tone here is an indispensable requirement for the object marker "bó" is often left implicitly stated. When this happens, both the singular and the plural form becomes identical:

- 173) nc 7            **kìfí wóyó gwù-yí**            "A pig washed itself"  
                          7.pig wash.PF body-his(RF)
- nc 8                **bìfí wóyó gwû-yí**            "Pigs washed themselves"  
                          8.pigs wash.PF body-their(RF)
- nc 9                **ŷyě wóyó gwù-yī**            "A fowl washed itself"  
                          9.fowl wash.PF body-his(RF)
- nc 10               **ŷyē wóyó gwû-yí**            "Fowls washed themselves"  
                          10.fowls wash.PF body-their(RF)

Other than the tones, another minute particle "i" with the source of it not well known, further investigation is needed to better understand the semantic nature of it and its proper distribution. Here below are some example expressions of the particle:

- 174) a.            **kpà í wóyó-kí kpà**            "The hand been washing itself"  
                          3.hand PF wash-PG 3.hand
- b.                **ŷyē í wóyó gwû-yí-bó**            "The fowls washed themselves"  
                          10.fowl PF wash body-their-they(RF)
- c.                **kpà wóyó-kí í-kpà**            "The hand is washing itself"  
                          3.hand wash-PG ID-hand
- d.                **míjéní wóyó í-gwû-yí-bó**            "Birds are washing themselves"  
                          6a.birds wash ID-body-their-they
- e.                **mí hí wóyó í-gwù-yěŋ**            "I had washed myself"  
                          1s P2 wash IA-body-my
- d.                **mí wóyó í-gwù-yěŋ**            "I washed myself"  
                          1s wash IA-body-my

But before the investigations, we suspect that the "i" before a verb is a perfective aspect or a contracted form of the "hi" past tense marker. If it is a perfective, then the verb is also marked for the progressive aspect at the same time, simultaneously, meaning the event was ongoing in the past. While the "i" after the verb could be the reassigned lost noun class prefix of class 9 or the neutral indefinite marker whose meaning is equivalent to the English indefinite marker "a". Somehow, the "i" can be treated as an optional universal reflexive prefix in this work. Neutral indefinite in the sense that it does not take the concord of its preceding head noun. It considered optional and universal in thought that it can be left out or fitted after each verb and takes both singular and plural nouns. Moreover, reflexives are intrinsically emphatic, this implies that "i" can be considered as inherent reflexive focus marker.

It is worth noting that, both the transitive and intransitive verbs take all forms of the reflexives as direct object and thus, the intransitive verb in this case now becomes transitive. Hence, reflexivity calls for ambitransitivity in verbs.

#### **3.5.4 Subject agreement marker**

A subject pronoun represents the subject, the head noun of a noun phrase (NP) within a verb phrase (VP). This pronoun is referred to as the subject agreement marker (SM).

In Mbuk, there is no direct subject marker that exist between the noun and the verb. The subject marker only appears after a modifier has appeared between the noun and the verb. For example, in relative clauses, a subject marker occurs after the relative pronoun:

### **3.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has examined the bound nominal and verbal morphemes called affixes; prefix, infix, suffix and circumfix. For the nouns, these affixes mark number; singular/plural,

inflectionally within the same part of speech and also derivational nominalisation; agentivisation and gerundisation, changing the grammatical category. While for the verbs as well, the affixes can be playing an inflectional or derivational role when generating verbal extensions. The derivational role changes the verb from intransitive to transitive for causatives or changes the verb from a punctual action to an iterative event thus marking an iterative imperfective aspect. Meanwhile the progressive imperfective aspect is marked inflectionally. Apart from affixation, there has also been other morphological processes such as suppletion and alternations characterising the Mbuk morphology have been treated here. In the list of morphological processes, compounding and reduplication have been treating in the chapter 3.

The morphology of the various noun prefixes of Mbuk and their corresponding concordial order have been utilised to splinter the Mbuk nouns into twelve noun classes with a flux in some ambivalent classes observed with some words. Ambivalent in the sense that the same word occurs in more than one class. The noun classes portray two categories of prefixes, zero prefixes ( $\emptyset$ -) and the consonant-vowel prefixes (CV-). Most of the zero prefix nouns have monosyllabic roots while those of the consonant-vowel prefix ranges from monosyllabic to over trisyllable roots.

The head nouns of the are bridged to the modifiers through an agreement marker called the concord marker. Those nouns with a consonantal-vowel prefix (CV-) generates a consonantal-concord which is same as the consonant of the consonantal-vowel prefix of the corresponding class. Then nouns of zero prefix generate a concord of the approximant manner of articulation which can be w for classes 1,3, 5 or y (y) for classes 4, 9/10. The exceptional case of the CV consonantal-prefix for some modifiers palatalises the consonantal concord for classes 8 and 19 (by- and fy-) respectively. Regarding the concord tonality, more research is

required for a better insight and in-depth presentation of the tones. A bit of Mbuk tonal knowledge has contributed significantly for classification of nouns through the concord fabric.

This chapter has taken the census of the various types of noun in Mbuk. The census shows that the Mbuk language has all categories of nouns: concrete and abstract nouns, common and proper nouns as well as countable and uncountable nouns. Through this chapter, we have seen that Mbuk like any other world language is not an island reason being that it has also borrowed from other languages within and without its vicinity. And their borrowed terms have been molded into the phonological, morphological and tonal system of the Mbuk language. We also see that each category of the words belong to various noun classes. Some of the categories belongs to at least four different noun class; that is two pairs of genders.

The various pronouns revealed in Mbuk range from human and non-human pronouns. The human pronouns represent a full noun phrase of a person while the non-human pronouns represent the names of inanimate things. The pronouns are used when the name of a person is not mentioned or inanimate thing like tree. The human pronouns vary according person and number 1S, *mí*; 2S, *wè*; 3S, *wì*; 1p, *bèyá*; 2P, *bēn*; 3P, *bó* while those of non-human will vary according to the noun classes class 1, *wì*; class 2, *bó*; class 3, *wí*; class 4, *yí*; class 5, *wí*; class 6, *kí*; class 7, *kí*; class 8, *bí*; class 9, *yì*; class 10, *yí*; class 19, *fí*; class 6a, *mì*.

The human personal pronouns are two types: the subject and object pronouns. The subject pronouns have three forms of the first person plural (1p): the inclusive, "*béyábēn*"; the exclusive, "*bèyá*" and the neutral, "*bé*". The tones of these pronouns vary in relation to the semantics of the sentence, a study tone is needed to come out with contexts of variation.

The topic covered dual pronouns, dummy subjects, neutral pronouns, reciprocal and reflexive pronouns as well as subject agreement markers. The subject marker is zero for human



proper names and non-human objects when linked directly to a verb without a modifier in-between the the NP and the VP.

A clause is composed of a noun phrase and verb phrase, thus, here is a point of transition to verbs as the default clause structure is SVO where S/O are the subject/object which can either be a noun or a pronoun and V is the verb which is the following topic we are being ushered into after the nominal morphology has been examined in §3. Then we proceed to verbal morphology in §4.

The picture summarises the amorphous nature of Mbuk noun classes; some nouns do not have a well defined noun class.



*Mbuk amorphous noun classes*

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **MBUK VERB MORPHOLOGY**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the verb morphology of Mbuk by presenting varied verbal structures and how they interact with their arguments. It also discusses the inflection of time referencing called tense, and the beginning, duration, completion or repetition of the action of a verb termed aspect together with the manner in which the speaker speaks, the mood. It concludes by showing how positive and negative verbal expressions are made. It covers four areas: where 4.1 treats verb forms and its extensions; 4.2 deals with valency and transitivity; 4.3 examines tense, aspect, mood; and 4.4 describes the negation pattern.

#### **4.1 MBUK VERB FORMS**

This section unfolds with the verb word or stem, verb root, verbal extensions, and verbs taxonomy. The various forms of the verbs together with their affixes and the meaning they are endowed with is stated.

##### **4.1.1 A verb word**

A verb is a word class that serves as the predicate of a sentence. Furthermore, it is a content word that denotes an action, occurrence, or state of existence. A content word is a word to which an independent meaning can be assigned. A verb is one of the open-class words amongst the grammatical categories. A Mbuk verb has three main parts of which two of them are optional:

|      |                   |                 |   |             |   |                 |                          |
|------|-------------------|-----------------|---|-------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 175) | <b>verb word:</b> | <b>(prefix)</b> | + | <b>root</b> | + | <b>(suffix)</b> |                          |
|      |                   | <b>i</b>        | - | <b>ma</b>   | - | <b>hi</b>       | /ímāhí/ "to breast feed" |
|      |                   | prefix          |   | root        |   | suffix          |                          |
|      |                   | infinitive      |   | breastfeed  |   | causative       |                          |

The verbal extensions are the affixes; the prefix and the suffix which are optionally glued to an obligatory root. Both the affix and the root compose a verbal stem:

$$\text{affix} + \text{root} = \text{stem}$$

The prefix expresses the nominal infinitive form of the verb while the suffix generates other verbs and also provides verbal grammatical elements.

#### 4.1.2 The verbal root

The verb root is that part of a verb stem excluding the affixes. The root of a verb is the bearer of the core meaning of a verb. Adding affixes to it can only modify the meaning or the grammar. The meaning of affixes can change verb classes from a punctual to an iterative class of verbs, or from a middle voice verb to a causative. Meanwhile the grammatical affixes would influence the aspect of the verb from perfective to imperfective.

Structurally, the verb has basically two forms, the open and the closed syllabic, both being monosyllabic; CV and CVC forms. To have some consistency on the morphology and tonology of the root, the infinitive root has been chosen to describe the syllabicity. This is done with the intent to dodge the ambiguity brought about by the perfective / imperfective aspects and mood markings on the verb root.

The open syllabic root is presented in (176) with a few vowels in open syllable:

##### CV form

- 176)
- a. **fú** "ich"
  - b. **lā** "go to work/farm"

- c.     **tsó**     "go"
- d.     **dō**     "cry"
- e.     **kā̃**     "to hold (with hand)"

The closed syllabic root is presented with m, ŋ as the coda consonant:

#### CVC form

- 177)
- a.     **tóm**     "shoot"
  - b.     **kāŋ**     "choose"
  - c.     **táŋ**     "buy"
  - d.     **wóm**     "dry"
  - e.     **bín**     "dance"

Furthermore, the open syllable has been subdivided into there forms comprising two syllabic subdivisions; the monosyllabic and disyllabic. The monosyllabic open syllable has been illustrated above in (176, 177). Thence, the disyllabic are of the form CVV and CVCV.

The phonemic value of length is still has a questionable analysis of whether length is actually distinctive as to contrast with non-long vowels:

#### CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> form

- 178)
- a.     **íwě:**         "open"
  - b.     **fā:**         "read"
  - c.     **tō:**         "hang"
  - d.     **ǰĩ:**         "descend"
  - e.     **ká:**         "have"

Below, in diphthongs, CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>, two tonal melodies have been noted, the high and the mid.

The diphthongs have a single direction where a high vowel moves to the low position. Two lower directions have been vertical and oblique. The "uo" from high "u" to low "o" at the same

point of articulation and an oblique one for the "ua" pattern going from high "u" back to low central "a" is here exemplified as follows:

**CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> form**

- 179) a. **dʒũō** "fight"  
 b. **wúó** "kill"  
 c. **lúá** "fear"  
 d. **wũō** "crack"  
 e. **tʃúó** "steal"

A bulk of the Mbuk verbs falls in the CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub> category. Most of the CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub> verb roots have a weak intervening voiceless velar fricative "ɣ" which is sometimes articulated as velar stop "k" by younger speakers or it has been recently been influenced by the orthography of Chung which uses "k" in this position. Apart from the weak "ɣ" there is also the velar nasal "ŋ" that occurs intervocalically. Looking at the CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub> in (180), the echo vowel exhibits some vowel harmony. It is seldom different from the root vowel:

**CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub> form**

- 180) a. **dzǎʸǎ** "say, speak, talk"  
 b. **wǎʸǎ** "wash"  
 c. **sàŋà** "weed"  
 d. **ndzàŋá** "urinate"  
 e. **míʸì** "blink"

But in CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>CV<sub>3</sub> structure both the root and echo vowel are different as seen the "-lɪ"

verb class: **CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>CV<sub>3</sub> form**

- 181) a. **lōyālí** "miss target"  
 b. **bíyèlí** "quarrel"

In Mbuk, verb roots do have the "w" and the "y" glide for labialisation and palatalisation respectively noted as CGW where G is the glide. The example with glide in an open syllables:

**CGV form**

- 182) a. **mwā** "beg"  
 b. **kwó** "sew with hand"  
 c. **bwǎ** "catch"  
 d. **byé** "done, cook"  
 e. **lyā** "enter"  
 f. **tʃyā** "know"

The example with glide in a closed syllable:

**CGVM form**

- 183) a. **twáŋ** "beat"  
 b. **bwĩn** "break"  
 c. **kwāŋ** "carve"  
 d. **dʒwóm** "rub excess oil"  
 e. **byōŋ** "smelt"

Tonally, the language demonstrates two patterns on the monosyllabic root of the infinite form; high (184) and mid (185) below:

- 184) **high**, a. **tsé** "go"  
 b. **ná** "ride"  
 c. **fó** "rot"  
 d. **fá** "count"  
 e. **mú** "drink"

- 185) **mid,**
- a. **dzə** "come"
  - b. **lō** "ban from people"
  - c. **lō** "be better"
  - d. **kū** "clap"
  - e. **fũ** "clear grass"

Below are rising contour tone verbs with open syllables:

- 186) **rising,**
- a. **nũ:** "sleep"
  - b. **wě:** "open"
  - c. **dě:** "smash"
  - d. **mě:** "lick"
  - e. **ĩ:** "descend"

The rising tone induces the lengthening on the verb. All other verb syllabic stems exhibit any of the following tone combinations mentioned above.

### 4.1.3 Verbal affixes

A verb in its infinitive has an obligatory prefix and root with probably an optional suffix for certain classes of verbs. Both the prefix and suffix make up what is termed the verbal affix. This section is slated for the examination of affixes attached to a verb root.

#### 4.1.3.1 Verbal prefixes

The verbal prefix of Mbuk is a near-close unrounded front IPA vowel "ɪ". The prefix "ɪ" is of the V syllabic structure and it is the only vowel amongst all other vowels in this language that functions as a prefix. It is worth recalling that in certain nouns, "ɪ" has been functioning as a nominal prefix. This ɪ-prefix marks the infinitive form of verb as exposed in these examples:

- 187) i-prefix,
- |    |         |                         |
|----|---------|-------------------------|
| a. | í-tsó   | "to go"                 |
| b. | í-tán   | "to buy"                |
| c. | í-nômí  | "to wake up from sleep" |
| d. | í-nsàṅà | "to weed"               |
| e. | í-ŷyéyí | "to be slicing"         |

Tonally, the prefix "i-" portrays three forms of the following surface tonal melodies: the high, mid and falling but underlyingly they appear high as presented in the appendix. The three tonal prefixes are:

- 188) **High,**
- |    |         |            |
|----|---------|------------|
| a. | í-fə́ʔ  | "to tell"  |
| b. | í-tén   | "to cut"   |
| c. | í-dzə́ʔ | "to speak" |
| d. | í-dzǐ́  | "to jump"  |
| e. | í-wɔ́ʔ  | "to wash"  |
- 189) **Mid,**
- |    |             |               |
|----|-------------|---------------|
| a. | ĩtánĩ       | "to sell"     |
| b. | ĩtǔ: ~ ĩtũ: | "to hang"     |
| c. | ĩkōm        | "to ring"     |
| d. | ĩpĩ         | "to deficate" |
- 190) **Falling,**
- |    |               |            |
|----|---------------|------------|
| a. | ĩnàʔá ~ ĩnàká | "to write" |
| b. | ĩlě ~ ĩlě     | "to run"   |
| c. | ĩwàʔá         | "to rest"  |
| d. | ĩwě:          | "to open"  |
| e. | ĩnǔ:          | "to sleep" |



### 4.1.3.2 Verbal suffixes

These are verbal extensions that lead to a new verb or meaning. Some of the extensions are; "-hɪ / -sɪ, -lɪ, -yɪ, -nɪ, -mɪ, -tɪ, -ʃɪ, -bɪ" etc. The verbal extensions are suffixes that carry certain meanings with them. The meaning of some of the suffix can no longer be determined with precision, that is, they have become dead morphemes. Some of these morphemes occur in nouns and adjectives. Some classes of the verbs share some semantic relatedness expressed by the suffix. In some of the groups such as the "-ti" suffix which is found with verbs of emotion, we still find words with the "-ti" suffix that have nothing to do with emotions. Structurally, the morphemes have a CV structure and the V is dominated by the "ɪ" vowel while the onset consonant "CV" is made up of stops, fricatives and liquids such as: "n, m, t, ʃ, b, h, s, y, f, w, l".

#### 4.1.3.2.1 Iterative suffixes -yɪ, -lɪ, -nɪ

The suffix "-yɪ" is one allomorph amongst the three allomorphs "-yɪ, -lɪ, -nɪ" that exhibits iterativity in the language. The iterative allomorphs to a certain extent are conditioned by the following manner properties of the consonant such as voiced versus voiceless and nasality. The voiced consonant takes the "-lɪ", while the voiceless takes the "-yɪ" and the nasals take "-nɪ".

Here is an examples of the voiceless consonants taking the iterative "-yɪ" suffix:

- 191) a.      **táyáyɪ**      "drip several times"
- b.      **kāyɪ**      "select, fix vegetables"
- c.      **tsəyāyɪ**      "scarify"
- d.      **ʃyēyɪ**      "cut into slices"
- e.      **tōyɪ**      "abuse"
- f.      **kōyɪ**      "harvest" pears
- g.      **tʃūyūyɪ**      "knock"

Examples of the voiced consonants taking the iterative -lī suffix:

- 192) a. **gūyūlī** "drag, by two or more people"  
 b. **bāyālī** "spoil, many times or by many people"  
 c. **dālī** "forget"  
 d. **dʒāyālī** "massage"  
 e. **lōyōlī** "collect, rain water in a pot or show cup to get something"

Examples of the nasal consonants taking the iterative "-nī" suffix:

- 193) a. **nāḡnī** "search"  
 b. **tāḡnī** "sell"  
 c. **míní** "sink"  
 d. **nēnnī** "play"  
 e. **nāyānī** "shake"

In every claim, there is often a leakage leading to an overlap or creating exceptions such that we find voiceless consonants taking the "-lī" suffix as well as the voiced with the "-yī" suffix.

Eventhough "-yī" is associated with voiceless consonants there are still words with voiced and nasal consonants carrying the "-yī" suffix:

- 194) a. **bā:yī** "be calling"  
 b. **bāyāyī** "transport corn"  
 c. **ḡwāyī** "pinching"

Though "-lī" is associated more with words with voiced consonants we can still get some words with voiceless consonants taking on the "-lī" suffix:

- d. **kēlī** "embrace"  
 e. **kūlī** "exchange"  
 f. **tālī** "swim"

Furthermore, though the "-nī" suffix is predominantly reserved for words with root nasals, there are yet some words harbouring the "-nī" suffix without a nasal in the root as portrayed here:

- g.     **tʃīnī**        "push in, send in"
- h.     **bō:nī**        "heal, well"
- i.     **kūnī**        "crawl"

More insight on the phonetics and word boundary need to be studied to see if these words do not have a root of coda nasal which could result to a geminate nasal; coda nasal plus suffix nasal which will lead to a retranscription as depicted below:

- j.     **tʃīnnī**        "push in, send in"
- k.     **bō:nnī**        "heal, well"
- l.     **kūnnī**        "crawl"

A word with nasal sounds is not restricted to "-nī" suffix, we find some nasal root words having the "-lī" suffix as outlined here:

- 195) a.     **ṇōmlī**        "smile"
- b.     **sāṇlī**        "be happy"
- c.     **yōmlī**        "not truthful"

The iterative suffix is attached to both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. The monosyllabic root taking the three iterative suffixes "-yi, -lī, -nī" are:

- 196) a.     **wāyī**        "peel ripe banana"
- b.     **tʃwālī**        "mix raw corn beer during preparation"
- c.     **lānī**        "advise"

The disyllabic root taking the three iterative suffixes are "-yi, -li, -ni" are:

- d. **fāyāyī** "remove palm nuts"
- e. **tṣūyūlī** "respond"
- f. **tòṇòṇī** "bring-up a child, nurse up"

Iterativity means repeated action, but in Mbuk it goes beyond repetition of event to include the number of participants and as well as differentiating diminution (bit by bit, a little bit at a time) in action. In repeated event, the same person does it several times:

- 197) a. **wōyī** "knock several times"
- b. **māyī** "pastering a house, event is done over and over again."
- c. **tṣūyūlī** "respond several times"
- d. **bwīlī** "remove several times"
- e. **fū:nī** "mix fish in oil, stir"
- f. **kwānī** "scratch again and again"

In multiple participants, many people do it once or several times:

- g. **gūyūlī** "drag by several people at once" or  
"drag by one person repeatedly"
- h. **bāyālī** "spoil by several people at once" or  
"spoil by one person repeatedly"
- i. **mbāyī** "pluck by many people at once" or  
"pluck by one person many times"

In diminution, insufficiency is expressed with the use of the suffixes, hence the suffixes bears with them an attributive mode, that is they are Adjectival in nature:

- 198) a. **bōṇyī** "harvest not enough as expected"
- b. **bōṇyī** "pick up several times"

This verb has two senses, the first sense (b) is pick up something many times while the second sense (a) is harvest something that is not much as expected maybe the crops have been destroyed by wind or floods and you have to gather just a little by picking them one by one or randomly and not really harvesting as you expected. The "-yi" expresses the scantiness or fewness of the thing in harvest. In addition, the verb eat "dzí" takes the "-yi" suffix to express both the eating by several persons and the eating of something not enough as is shown in the examples below:

- 199) a. **dzīyī** "eat several times a bit of food which is not enough"  
 b. **dzīyī** "eat by many people at once"  
 c. **dzīnī** "eat several times enough"

The suffix "-yi" and "-ni" expresses some nuances in iterativity. The "-yi" indicates that the food is insufficient or the eating while "-ni" is a normal eating which is sufficient.

Most of the verbs are derived from a basic verb by the suffixation of the iterative suffix.

The iterative suffix "-yi" has the following pairing with its corresponding basic verbs:

|         | <i>Basic, once</i>     | <i>Iterative -yi, several times</i> |
|---------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 200) a. | <b>bōŋ</b><br>"pick"   | <b>bōŋyī</b><br>"pick"              |
| b.      | <b>kō</b><br>"harvest" | <b>kōyī</b><br>"harvest"            |
| c.      | <b>tōyō</b><br>"drip"  | <b>tōyōyī</b><br>"drip"             |
| d.      | <b>gbō</b><br>"fall"   | <b>gbōyī</b><br>"fall"              |
| e.      | <b>kwā</b><br>"catch"  | <b>kwāyī</b><br>"catch"             |

Furthermore, the iterative root has no corresponding meaning with that of the basic word:

|         | <i>Basic, once</i>       | <i>Iterative -yi</i>              |
|---------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 201) a. | <b>wāyā</b><br>"rest"    | <b>wāyāyī</b><br>"harvest (corn)" |
| b.      | <b>tō</b><br>"cut grass" | <b>tōyī</b><br>"abuse"            |

Remember that in (b) the -yi suffix changes the "o" sound into "ɔ" sound.

In addition, not all the basic verbs can be made iterative verbs as exemplified here:

|         | <i>Basic</i>             | <i>Iterative -yi</i> |
|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 202) a. | <b>kēn</b><br>"live"     | * <b>kēnyi</b>       |
| b.      | <b>wām</b><br>"talk lie" | * <b>wāmyī</b>       |
| c.      | <b>kōŋ</b><br>"love"     | * <b>kōŋyī</b>       |

The suffixation of -yi to a basic word reverses the meaning of the word:

|         | <i>Basic</i>        | <i>Iterative reversal -yi</i> |
|---------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 203) a. | <b>tāŋ</b><br>"buy" | <b>tāŋyī</b><br>"sell"        |

In other basic words, the suffixation of -yi gives a diminutive repetitive meaning:

|         | <i>Basic</i>         | <i>Iterative diminutive -yi</i>                          |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 204) a. | <b>yēŋ</b><br>"sing" | <b>yēŋyī</b><br>"sing a bit (several times)"             |
| b.      | <b>ŋyē</b><br>"cut"  | <b>ŋyēyī</b><br>"cut into bits / slices (several times)" |

The iterative suffix "-lɪ" has the following pairing with its corresponding basic verbs as illustrated in the following examples:

|      |                                     |                                               |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 205) | <i>Basic, once</i>                  | <i>Iterative -lī, several times/by people</i> |
| a.   | <b>kāṇ</b><br>"fry once"            | <b>kāṇlī</b><br>"fry several times"           |
| b.   | <b>gūyū</b><br>"drag by one person" | <b>gūyūlī</b><br>"drag by many people"        |
| c.   | <b>bāyā</b><br>"tear"               | <b>bāyālī</b><br>"tear across into parts"     |

Some of the iterative words do have a root whose meaning does not correspond to the meaning of the basic word as delineated by the following examples below:

|         |                              |                                      |
|---------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|         | <i>Basic</i>                 | <i>Iterative -lī</i>                 |
| 206) a. | <b>ḍṣāyā</b><br>"talk"       | <b>ḍṣāyālī</b><br>"join"             |
| b.      | <b>ṭṣūyū</b><br>"knock head" | <b>ṭṣūyūlī</b><br>"response / reply" |

Some of the iterative words do not have a basic root from which they are derived. They seem to be words of their own virtue, that is, not derived as seen in these examples below:

|         |                 |                                                 |
|---------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------|
|         | <i>basic</i>    | <i>Iterative -lī</i>                            |
| 207) a. | <b>∅</b><br>"∅" | <b>ṭṣūyūlī</b><br>"response / reply"            |
| b.      | <b>∅</b><br>"∅" | <b>tāyālī</b><br>"surprise"                     |
| c.      | <b>∅</b><br>"∅" | <b>sākālī</b><br>"abandon"                      |
| d.      | <b>∅</b><br>"∅" | <b>kūlī</b><br>"change side"                    |
| e.      | <b>∅</b><br>"∅" | <b>tāyālī</b><br>"make a baby sit between legs" |

The iterative is derived from the basic vorm with the suffixation of "-nī:"

|         | <i>Basic, once</i>           | <i>Iterative, repetition -nī</i> |
|---------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 208) a. | <b>bāṇ</b><br>"embrace"      | <b>bāṇnī</b><br>"embrace"        |
| b.      | <b>yūṇ</b><br>"gather, join" | <b>yūṇnī</b><br>"gather, join"   |
| c.      | <b>tēṇ</b><br>"cut"          | <b>tēṇnī</b><br>"cut"            |
| d.      | <b>fāṇ</b><br>"measure"      | <b>fāṇnī</b><br>"measure"        |
| e.      | <b>mām</b><br>"taste"        | <b>māmnī</b><br>"touch"          |

#### 4.1.3.2.2 The suffix -hī ~ -sī

The suffix "-hī ~ -sī" attached on the basic verbs signifies that the action of the argument has been assisted by someone or something, that is the event has been caused to happening with the motivation of something else and not by itself. Verbs of this category are called causatives verbs. Some of these verbs are:

|         | <i>Basic, by self</i>   | <i>Causative -hī, by someone else</i> |
|---------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 209) a. | <b>dūṇ</b><br>"sit"     | <b>dūṇhī</b><br>"put someone on seat" |
| b.      | <b>dāṇ</b><br>"cross"   | <b>dāṇhī</b><br>"help someone cross"  |
| c.      | <b>tsā</b><br>"pass"    | <b>tsāhī</b><br>"give way"            |
| d.      | <b>ṭfāṇ</b><br>"polish" | <b>ṭfāṇhī</b><br>"wipe, erase"        |



- |    |                           |                                               |
|----|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| e. | <b>sǎ:</b><br>"feed self" | <b>sǎhī</b><br>"feed someone"                 |
| f. | <b>gbō</b><br>"fail"      | <b>gbōhī</b><br>"influence someone's failure" |

Not every root will take a causative suffix and generate the direct derived meaning. The basic word has a meaning quite different from that of the causative (cause-effect (CS)) form:

- |         | <i>Basic</i>             | <i>Causative -hī (CS)</i>     |
|---------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 210) a. | <b>wāyā</b><br>"breathe" | <b>wāyā-hī</b><br>"misuse-CS" |

The basic root is often an empty morph such that the meaning of the morph is not known except that of the causative. Below are some of the causative samples whose basic word meaning is not known. The root can be said to be a zero-morph but has meaning only it has the causative suffix attached to it:

- |         | <i>Basic</i>       | <i>Causative -hī</i>                   |
|---------|--------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 211) a. | <b>*kɔk</b><br>"∅" | <b>kɔkhī</b><br>"worship, respect"     |
| b.      | <b>*gɔk</b><br>"∅" | <b>gɔkhī</b><br>"end"                  |
| c.      | <b>*ta</b><br>"∅"  | <b>tāhī</b><br>"disturb"               |
| d.      | <b>bōyō</b><br>"∅" | <b>bōyōhī</b><br>"pretend not to hear" |

There two dimensions of causative in Mbuk; 1) Physically assisting something to do something and (2) Verbally or psychologically assisting something to carryout out the event by itself - Causative adverbial the following examples below gives the root and derived causative form:

|         | <i>Basic</i>                  | <i>Causative -hɪ</i>                           | <i>Causative adverbial -hɪ</i>                     |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 212) a. | <b>yāyā</b><br>"climb alone"  | <b>yāyāhī</b><br>"cause to climb"              | <b>yāyāhī</b><br>"really climb by yourself, alone" |
| b.      | <b>mōm</b><br>"try"           | <b>mōmhī</b><br>"cause to try"                 | <b>mōmhī</b><br>"really or actually try alone"     |
| c.      | <b>gòyó</b><br>"press pepper" | <b>gòyóhí</b><br>"press pepper<br>for someone" | <b>gòyóhí</b><br>"really press pepper by yourself" |

Below, not all the verbs can be expressed at the level of causative adverbial:

|         | <i>Basic</i>          | <i>Causative -hɪ</i>                      | <i>Causative adverbial -hɪ</i> |
|---------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 213) a. | <b>nũ:</b><br>"sleep" | <b>nùhí</b><br>"cause baby to sleep"      | <b>*nùhí</b>                   |
| b.      | <b>gēn</b><br>"scape" | <b>gēnhī</b><br>"cause someone to escape" | <b>*gēnhī</b>                  |
| c.      | <b>mě</b><br>"lick"   | <b>mèhí</b><br>"feed someone with pap"    | <b>*mèhí</b>                   |

The "-hɪ" suffix has a reversal effect on some words, that is it creates antonyms as is illustrated in the examples below but the causative impact is still endowed in it:

|         | <i>Basic</i>                 | <i>Causative -hɪ</i>           |
|---------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 214) a. | <b>fwă</b><br>"borrow, take" | <b>fwàhí</b><br>"loan, give"   |
| b.      | <b>lúá</b><br>"fear"         | <b>lúàhí</b><br>"fighten"      |
| c.      | <b>fyəyə</b><br>"pregnant"   | <b>fyəyəhī</b><br>"impregnate" |

The reversing occurs for transitive (a), labile - transitive/intransitive (b), and intransitive verbs (c) above.

Directional Causative verbs use the causative suffix "-hí" extension below. The causative suffix leads to polarisation of the tones. The causative high tone causes dissimilarisation of the tone of the final root high tone of the bare verb to become opposite to the causative tone:

- 215) a. L H **yàǵá** "go up by yourself"  
       a1. L L H **yàǵàhí** "help someone or something to get to the top"
- b. L H **bèǵó** "carry by yourself, carry alone"  
       b1. L L H **bèǵèhí** "help someone to put load on his head"
- c. L H **ǰèǵó** "putting down load by yourself"  
       c1. L L H **ǰèǵèhí** "help someone to put down his load"

#### 4.1.3.2.3 The suffix -mĩ

The meaning of the -mĩ suffix expresses reflexiveness in action even though there might be some that do not tie semantically to the group. The suffix functions as middle voice marker:

- 216) a. **nāmmĩ** "self stretch"  
       b. **ɲōmmĩ** "self wake up"  
       c. **nōmmĩ** "self hide"  
       d. **kōmmĩ** "self hold head indicating bad news"  
       e. **tʃōmmĩ** "be thick, thicken self"

Above, the double "m" is seen as a geminate due to the duration of "m" articulation.

#### 4.1.3.2.4 The suffix -fĩ

The -fĩ suffix can be imagined to express "give away or let go" something:

- 217) a. **tāfĩ** "teach, giving out knowledge"  
       b. **ǰūfĩ** "beat betterly, sending out energy and transferring pains"  
       d. **wāfĩ** "hang, release something from your hand to keep somewhere"

- c. **yīfī** "yawn, relaxing and releasing air"
- e. **yōŋfī** "mad, let go conscience"

#### 4.1.3.2.5 The suffix -ti

Most of the -ti suffix words relates to the choice determined by the state of the mind:

- |      |    |                |                |
|------|----|----------------|----------------|
| 218) | a. | <b>tfəṽəṭī</b> | "think"        |
|      | b. | <b>gāmtī</b>   | "help"         |
|      | c. | <b>lōptī</b>   | "pate (child)" |
|      | d. | <b>mōtī</b>    | "rest"         |
|      | e. | <b>yəṇṭī</b>   | "remember"     |

Though there are some exceptions that do not relate to the state of the mind:

- f.     **sāptī**            "sharpen stick"

#### 4.1.3.2.6 The suffix -wi

The suffix -wi has been found only in a single word, hungting, thus its semantics can not be determined with just one example:

- 219) a. **byəṇwī** "hunt"

#### 4.1.3.2.7 The suffix -ſ<sub>I</sub>

The suffix "-ji" has been noticed in two words that share the same word and expresses partial event for something. This expresses a part-whole event as given here below:

- 220) a. **wāṣī** "half-heat"
- b. **wāṣī** "break-huge part of fufu"

#### 4.1.3.2.8 The suffix -bɪ

The "-bɪ" suffix is limited to words and the aspectual function is not known, maybe by looking at related language, its meaning can be discovered. Two verbs bear the "-bɪ" suffix:

- 221) a.     **tābī**           "clot, coagulate"  
           b.     **sābī**           "fix nyamanyama"

#### 4.1.3.2.9 The suffix -so

The suffix "-so" is artificial or is a separate particle in the language because the progressive aspect marker comes in-between the root and the suffix. A single case is:

- 222) a.     **mōmsò**       "westle"

Concluding, there are 9 verb suffixes of Mbuk: "-yɪ, -lɪ, -nɪ, -hɪ, -tɪ, -fɪ, -mɪ, -bɪ, and -wɪ", most of them with known functions. At the infinitive level, the suffix all bear a high tone. The suffix marker of Mbuk is of the form "-ɪ" which takes the following consonants y, l, n, h, t, f, m, b, w, giving a suffix of the -CV form.

The language has two basic verb roots: the monosyllabic and disyllabic. Both of these verb roots take the suffixes but with some discrepancy. The suffix "-wɪ, -mɪ, -ɟɪ, -bɪ, -fɪ" only attach to monosyllabic roots, while "-yɪ, -lɪ, nɪ, -tɪ, -hɪ" takes both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. Example of suffixes that take only monosyllabic roots:

|         | <i>root</i> | <i>suffix</i> | <i>stem</i>   | <i>gloss</i> |
|---------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 223) a. | dʒâ-        | -fɪ           | <b>dʒâfɪ</b>  | "mismanage"  |
| b.      | nôm-        | -mɪ           | <b>nômmɪ</b>  | "hide"       |
| c.      | ta-         | -bɪ           | <b>tābɪ</b>   | "clot"       |
| d.      | wâ-         | -ɟɪ           | <b>wâɟɪ</b>   | "half-heat"  |
| e.      | byēŋ-       | -wɪ           | <b>byēŋwɪ</b> | "hunt"       |

It should be noted that these roots seldom have any meaning of their own in the absence of the suffix. Example of suffixes that take both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots:

|         | <i>roots</i> | <i>suffix</i> | <i>stems</i> | <i>gloss</i>              |
|---------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 224) a. | kā-          | -yi           | kāyī         | "select (fix vegetables)" |
| b.      | bəyə-        | -yi           | bəyēyī       | "transport (corn)"        |
| a.      | tā           | -li           | tālī         | "swim"                    |
| b.      | wōyō-        | -li           | wōyōlī       | "wait"                    |
| a.      | dʒəŋ-        | -hi           | dʒəŋhī       | "swing"                   |
| b.      | lāyā-        | -hi           | lāyāhī       | "announce"                |
| a.      | kī-          | -ni           | kīnī         | "shift"                   |
| b.      | tōyō         | -ni           | tōyōnī       | "guide"                   |
| a.      | lōp-         | -ti           | lōptī        | "pate (child)"            |
| b.      | bāyā-        | -tī           | bāyātī       | "pack"                    |

Example (a) above is monosyllabic while (b) is disyllabic of the suffix concerned.

#### 4.1.4 Verbs taxonomy

The classification of Mbuk is structural based primarily on two opposing axes which are the absence (A) and the presence (B) of a suffix. These two basic axes are further sub-divided based on the phonological changes for group A and morphological modification for group B. A third axis (C) which deals with compound verbs has presented. The chronological presentation:

- A – Absence of suffix;
- 1, simple open syllable
  - 2, diphthongues
  - 3, labialisation
  - 4, palatalisation
  - 5, velarisation
  - 6, simple closed

|                         |     |                     |                               |
|-------------------------|-----|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| B – Presence of suffix; | 7,  | suffix -yi          | iterative                     |
|                         | 8,  | suffix -li          | iterative                     |
|                         | 9,  | suffix -ni          | iterative                     |
|                         | 10, | suffix -hi          | causative                     |
|                         | 11, | suffix -fi          | give up / send away / release |
|                         | 12, | suffix -ti          | state of mind                 |
|                         | 13, | suffix -mi          | bound empty morpheme          |
|                         | 14, | suffix -bi          | bound empty morpheme          |
|                         | 15, | suffix -ʃi          | partial / part (incomplete)   |
|                         | 16, | suffix -wi          | bound empty morpheme          |
|                         | 17, | suffix -sò          | free empty morpheme           |
| C – Compound verb;      | 18, | Verb + (Verb)(Noun) |                               |

The classification is further grouped according to the imperative tonal melody with the absence of a direct object. The table presents tone patterns for the first 17 classes which are single verbs. The case for compound verbs is complex and needs separate observation. The 17 single verb classes have approximately 9 tonal patterns. Tonal examples for the verbs in the various classes or groups are illustrated in the coming page:

|    |          |     |     |               |       |
|----|----------|-----|-----|---------------|-------|
| H  | high     | ˊ   | FH  | falling high  | ˆ ˊ   |
| M  | mid      | ˋ   | FL  | falling low   | ˆ ˋ   |
| R  | rising   | ˋˊ  | HMH | high mid high | ˆ ˋ ˊ |
| HM | high mid | ˊˋ  | LMH | low mid high  | ˋˋ ˊ  |
| MH | mid high | - ˊ |     |               |       |

Table 43: Single verb classes (A and B)

|      |       |                  | Tonal patterns |   |   |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|------|-------|------------------|----------------|---|---|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| Axes | group | type             | H              | M | R | HM | MH | FH | FL | HMH | LMH |
| A    | 1     | Simple open      | H              | M | R |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|      | 2     | Diphthongisation | H              | M |   |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|      | 3     | Labialisation    | H              |   | R |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|      | 4     | Palatalisation   | H              |   | R |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|      | 5     | Velarisation     | H              | M | R |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|      | 6     | Simple close     | H              | M | R | HM |    |    |    |     |     |
| B    | 7     | Suffix -yi       | H              |   | R |    | MH | FH |    |     |     |
|      | 8     | Suffix -lɪ       | H              |   | R |    | MH | FH |    | HMH | LMH |
|      | 9     | Suffix -nɪ       | H              |   | R |    | MH | FH | FL |     |     |
|      | 10    | Suffix -hɪ       | H              | M | R |    | MH | FH |    |     |     |
|      | 11    | Suffix -fɪ       |                |   |   |    | MH | FH |    |     |     |
|      | 12    | Suffix -tɪ       | H              |   |   |    | MH | FH |    |     |     |
|      | 13    | Suffix -mɪ       | H              |   |   |    | MH | FH |    |     |     |
|      | 14    | Suffix -bɪ       |                |   |   |    | MH |    |    |     |     |
|      | 15    | Suffix -ʃɪ       |                |   | R |    |    |    |    |     |     |
|      | 16    | Suffix -wɪ       |                |   |   |    | MH |    |    |     |     |
|      | 17    | Suffix -sò       |                |   |   |    |    |    | FL |     |     |

The first 10 classes and classes 12 to 13 takes a high tone. While 11, 14 to 17 do not have a high tone. The mid tone features in 5 of the 17 classes. Classes 1, 2, 5, 6 and 10. As for the rising tone, we see 10 classes; 1, 3-10 and 15 having rising tone while the rest of the seven have non. The high mid (HM) tone only occurs in class 6. With the MH, it occurs in 9 classes; 7 to 14 and 16. The falling low appears in two classes; 9 and 17. Class 8 is the only class that



exhibits the HMH and LMH. We observe some tonal subjectivity amongst the speaker indicating that a mid can be realised as a low. And a confrontation between the high and mid amongst speakers. The social class has also influenced the tone, such that what we have is just simple sample of tone patterns on verbs. Exemplification of the verb classes:

|                                  |                    |                    |                     |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Group 1, simple open</b>      | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b> |
|                                  | H                  | fá                 | "count"             |
|                                  | M                  | gbō                | "fall"              |
|                                  | R                  | bǎ:                | "call"              |
| <b>Group 2, Diphthongisation</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b> |
|                                  | H                  | dʒúó               | "fight"             |
|                                  | M                  | wūō                | "crack, burst"      |
| <b>Group 3, Labialisation</b>    | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b> |
|                                  | H                  | mwá                | "beg"               |
|                                  | R                  | ɟwǎ                | "loosen"            |
| <b>Group 4, Palatalisation</b>   | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b> |
|                                  | H                  | byé                | "done (cook)"       |
|                                  | R                  | ɲyǎ:               | "go / leave"        |
| <b>Group 5, Velarisation</b>     | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b> |
|                                  | H                  | káyó               | "appoint"           |
|                                  | M                  | kāyō               | "harvest (herbs)"   |
|                                  | R                  | làyá               | "announce"          |
| <b>Group 6, Simple close</b>     | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b> |
|                                  | H                  | tánɲ               | "buy"               |
|                                  | M                  | gāɲ                | "lift up, yerk"     |

|                             |                    |                    |                                |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
|                             | R                  | dǒŋ                | "sit"                          |
|                             | H M                | dā:ŋ               | "protect farm with medicine"   |
| <b>Group 7, Suffix -yi</b>  | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | H                  | fáyéyí             | "fan"                          |
|                             | R                  | b̀̀yí              | "be weak"                      |
|                             | M H                | t̄yí               | "abuse"                        |
|                             | F H                | d̄yí               | "cry"                          |
| <b>Group 8, Suffix -li</b>  | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | H                  | báyǎlí             | "argue"                        |
|                             | R                  | g̀̀ỳ̀lí           | "drag"                         |
|                             | M H                | ɲōmlí              | "smile"                        |
|                             | F H                | gâ:lí              | "divide"                       |
|                             | H M H              | báyǎlí             | "miscarriage"                  |
|                             | L M H              | ẁ̀ỳ̀lí           | "wait"                         |
| <b>Group 9, Suffix -ni</b>  | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | H                  | zyǎní              | "fill"                         |
|                             | R                  | k̀̀ní              | "shift"                        |
|                             | M H                | lāní               | "advise"                       |
|                             | F H                | ỳ̀ŋní             | "gather"                       |
|                             | F L                | tóỳ̀nì            | "guige"                        |
| <b>Group 10, Suffix -hi</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | H                  | ká:hí              | "finish"                       |
|                             | M                  | ʃ̄ȳǎhī            | "bring down something from up" |
|                             | R                  | k̀̀nhí             | "fix"                          |

|                             |                    |                    |                                |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
|                             | M H                | <b>fyāŋhí</b>      | "anooint"                      |
|                             | F H                | <b>fwâhí</b>       | "loan"                         |
| <b>Group 11, Suffix -fi</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | M H                | <b>sǎfí</b>        | "carry (cup)"                  |
|                             | F H                | <b>lâfí</b>        | "dress self"                   |
| <b>Group 12, Suffix -ti</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | H                  | <b>kwátí</b>       | "get"                          |
|                             | M H                | <b>bāyātí</b>      | "transfer"                     |
|                             | F H                | <b>yêŋtí</b>       | "remember"                     |
| <b>Group 13, Suffix -mi</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | H H                | <b>kómmí</b>       | "hold head (sign of bad news)" |
|                             | M H                | <b>nōmmí</b>       | "hide"                         |
|                             | F H                | <b>ɲōmmí</b>       | "wake up (sleep)"              |
| <b>Group 14, Suffix -bi</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | M H                | <b>tābí</b>        | "clot"                         |
| <b>Group 15, Suffix -fi</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | R                  | <b>wàfí</b>        | "half-heat"                    |
| <b>Group 16, Suffix -wi</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | M H                | <b>byēŋwí</b>      | "hunt"                         |
| <b>Group 17, Suffix -sò</b> | <b><i>Tone</i></b> | <b><i>Verb</i></b> | <b><i>Gloss</i></b>            |
|                             | F L                | <b>mōmsò</b>       | "wrestle"                      |

### 4.1.5 Mbuk verbs multiplication

Mbuk verbs multiplication refers to the ability of the root to take a derivational suffix, -X; where X can either be: "yi, li, ni, hi, mi, mo, ma, ti, fi, wi, so, ki", creating a word family for each of the root or lexeme that takes a combination of suffixes.

225) Derivational suffixes that can go with the verb, to eat "ídzi":

**dzí** "eat"

**dzíní** "eating several times", "food", "feast", also a verbal noun form (gerund)

**dzíyí** "eating several times (a bit of food each time) / several people eating at once"

**dzímò** "initiation eating"

**dzímā** "inside the process of eating"

**Table 44: Mbuk verbs multiplication**

|    | ø       | yi | li | ni | hi | mi | mo | ma | ti | fi | wi | so,ki | gloss    |
|----|---------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|----------|
| 1  | íbōm    | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | mi | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | accept   |
| 2  | íyàtōyō | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | allow    |
| 3  | íbíyó   | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | ask      |
| 4  | íké/dúŋ | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | be       |
| 5  | ítwán   | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | beat     |
| 6  | mbòm    | ø  | ø  | ni | hi | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | be big   |
| 7  | dzí     | ø  | li | ni | hi | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | be black |
| 8  | íbwán   | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | break    |
| 9  | ídzo    | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | bring    |
| 10 | ítán    | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | buy      |
| 11 | íbǎ     | yi | ø  | ni | ø  | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | call     |
| 12 | ítóyóní | ø  | li | ni | hi | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | care     |
| 13 | ígéŋ    | yi | ø  | ni | hi | ø  | ø  | ma | ø  | ø  | ø  | ø     | carry    |



- c.      **sî bîntí** →              **sî bînlí**              →              **sî bînsí**  
             "to roll a bit"              "to roll"              "to cause to roll"

We have addressed the structural idea of mbuk verbs in this sub-section, where, we see that the structural change influenced by its affixes results into a new verb different from the base verb root for those that do have a base form. For instance, in the multiplication of verbs, we see that a single root can accept upto 6 different suffixes for 6 different meanings that lead the verb into several grammatical categories (part of speech). In the subsequent sub-section, we would be discussing the semantic interplay of verbs and its arguments under the heading valency behaviour.

#### 4.1.6 Mbuk verbs paradigm

Unlike in the verb multiplication or the variation in verb form caused by derivational affixation, here is a summary of the verb forms influenced by its grammatical inflections in relation to tense, aspect and mood (TAM 1 – 6), except for the gerund form which is a derivation of nominalisation of the verb into a verbal noun. More of the data of verb conjugation is found in appendix 4. Here some examples in the table below:

Table 45: TAM verb conjugation

| Gloss | Infinitive (IF) | Gerund (VN) | Past (PT) | On-going (PG) | Future (FT) | IM $\pm$ O |
|-------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| Verb  | TAM 1           | TAM 2       | TAM 3     | TAM 4         | TAM 5       | TAM 6      |
| fold  | flō:            | ñlò         | lō        | lô:kí là      | lô: là      | lō:        |
| bury  | fló             | ñlè         | lè        | lê:kí là      | lê: là      | ló         |
| count | ífā             | ñfā         | fā        | fâ:kí là      | fâ: là      | fá         |

The infinitive prefix is í-, then the gerund which is the verbal noun bears a low tone syllabic nasal prefix whose tone spreads into the root vowel and makes it as low as the nominal

prefix. The perfective form (TAM 3) is a bare root while the imperfective experiences a lengthening in the root vowel with the progressive suffix (TAM 4) and the future form (TAM 5). The imperfective is always accompanied by the imperfective particle "lə" which is sometimes written as a verb suffix when we fail to strictly keep the word boundary rules. The imperative (TAM 6) is as naked as the perfective (TAM 3) but differ in tone in some verb groups.

## 4.2 MBUK VALENCY BEHAVIOUR

The preceding section has structurally segmented the verb word into 18 classes. But this structuration is often distributed in a sentence by the abstract semantic features born within the verb that is not seen with our naked eyes as we easily see the affixes. We are not going to present the semantic criteria but we will exemplify its inherent influence in the construction of sentences involving the various grammatical relations.

The semantic properties of verbs account for its syntactic behaviours with regard to the number of arguments the verb can anchor onto itself. This chapter explains certain constraints that control the structure of clauses that involves a noun plus a verb or an argument and its predicate. This section covers the following key terms: valency; semantic role (recipient, benefactive, instrument); arguments with grammatical relations such as subjects, direct object, indirect object; transitivity; ditransitivity; intransitivity: labile; and valency effect (valency increasing and valency decreasing) strategies in Mbuk.

The essence of this section of the research is to attempt an explanation for the nuances noticed in the morphosyntax of some sentences such as the following ones below:

- 227) a.     **gbâ   wǎ   wí   kǎ   mā   wí   gbō**             "the barn which has fallen"  
               5.barn 5.RL 5.SM CP SP 5.SM fall
- b.     **\*gbâ   wǎ   wí   kǎ   bǎ   ø   gbō**         "the barn which has fallen"  
               5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM CP CJ 5c.SM fall

- 228) a.    **gbâ**    **wḥ**    **wí**    **kó**    **bó**    **tʃʷǎ**    "the barn which is dirty"  
           5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM CP CJ    dirty
- b.    **\*gbâ**    **wḥ**    **wí**    **kó**    **mā**    **tʃʷǎ**    "the barn which is dirty"  
           5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM CP SP    dirty
- c.    **gbâ**    **wḥ**    **mā**    **wí**    **kó**    **bó**    **tʃʷǎ**    "the barn that is dirty"  
           5.barn 5c.REL SP 5c.SM CP CJ    dirty

The verb fall "gbō" can only take the particle "ma" and not "bó" while the verb dirty "tʃʷǎ" can as well only take the particle "bó". Any combination of "mā" and "tʃʷǎ" is ungrammatical and this applies to "bó" and "gbō". While in example c, the "mā" specifier can occur away from the verb phrase and rather appears in the noun phrase immediately after the relative pronoun "wḥ". Furthermore there is a distinction between the use of "that" and "which". The "that" is more specific that is why it takes the "mā" while "which" is more general. The "mā" can be regarded as an emphatic relativiser or an emphatic demonstrative. It is a relativiser (REL) in that in the absence of a relative pronoun its form remains sovereign without the influence of the noun classes with the relative sense being retained. The verb "dirty" is a stative verb while the verb "fall" is an involuntary process verb (Payne 1997:55).

This brings us to the semantic classes of verbs. Verb have some inherent properties which restrict their combination with other elements in order to remain grammatical as the language structure requires. Payne (1997:54-55) "Semantically defined verb classes might evoke distinct morphosyntactic treatment [...] to describe any distinctive morphosyntactic properties of any of these classes, e.g unexpected case-marking patterns, restrictions on tense, aspect, or mode marking".

As a result of these differences in the semantic features of verbs, they also control the number of grammatical elements they can take as we have seen above, the subject agreement



marker "wì" can only appear with the verb fall "gbō" and not with the verb dirty "tʃwǎ". These semantic constraints of verbs now lead us to nominal restrictions around a verb called valency.

#### 4.2.1 Verb valency

The term valency in its primary sense as applied to chemistry, is the number of elements that can combine with an atom. In the same wise, in grammar, valency is the semantic scalar determination of how many arguments can combine with the predicate to characterise a clause as transitive or intransitive. Bearth (2003:122) verb valency is considered as, "the number of nominal phrases (called 'arguments') which are required or allowed to occur in combination with a given verb or class of verbs". Kroeger (2005:57, 59) "One indicator of the special status of subjects and objects in English is that all oblique arguments are marked with prepositions, whereas subjects and objects are expressed by bare noun phrases. [...] Many transitive verbs allow an optional beneficiary argument [...], and most transitive verbs of the agent–patient type allow an optional instrument argument [...]. The crucial fact is that adjuncts are always optional." These verbs, due to their inherent semantic differences anchor arguments in different categories of transitivity; intransitive, transitive and ditransitive as seen in the table.

Table 46: Valency Table

|    | Valency          | Argument        | subject             | Verb | Object (N)           |    |                      | Transitivity       |
|----|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------|----------------------|----|----------------------|--------------------|
|    | VAL              | ARG             | S (N <sub>1</sub> ) | V    | DO (N <sub>2</sub> ) | PP | IO (N <sub>3</sub> ) | TSV                |
| 1a | Valency of one   | One argument    | subject             | verb | Ø                    | Ø  | Ø                    | intransitive       |
| 2a | Valency of two   | Two arguments   | subject             | verb | DO                   | Ø  | Ø                    | (mono)transitive   |
| 2b | Valency of two   | Two arguments   | subject             | verb | Ø                    | PP | IO                   | Intransitive       |
| 2c | Valency of two   | Two arguments   | subject             | verb | Ø                    | PP | IO                   | transitive         |
| 3a | Valency of three | Three arguments | subject             | verb | DO                   | Ø  | IO                   | bi-/di- transitive |
| 3b | Valency of three | Three arguments | subject             | verb | DO                   | PP | IO                   | bi-/di- transitive |

### 4.2.2 Valency of one

The verbs in Mbuk can have only one subject argument beign controlled by a verb without any direct object argument. The action verb fall "gbō" take a past tense for a perfective aspect while the stative verb dry agrees with head noun with a zero tense marker.

- 229) a.     **kpēn ní gbō**        "Tree has fallen"  
              3.tree P2 fall
- b.     **kpēn í        wóm** "tree has dried"  
              3.tree 3.AM dry

### 4.2.3 Valency of two

The valency of two can be either intransitive or transitive. The verb is intransitive when it takes a subject argument and an indirect object argument (230a) and it is transitive with a subject argument and a direct object argument (230b):

- 230) a.     **kpēn í gbō    í dzǔ:    bēn**        "The tree has fallen on the house"  
              S            IT        IO            PO  
              3.tree PF fall    PP 9.house PO
- b.     **wì nî dzí: kìnwàní**                "He has eaten banana"  
              S            TR    DO  
              3S P2 eat    7.banana

### 4.2.4 Valency of three

The verb that takes three arguments have two ways of expressing ditransitivity. The two objects direct and indirect can be linked directly without a preposition separating both objects. While in another type, the preposition separates the direct object from the indirect object.

- 231) a.     **bó ná mímbî: í    ñkún**        "They have given wine to the chief."  
              S    DV    DO        PP IO  
              3P give 6a.wine to 1.chief



### 4.2.7 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive (DV) verb takes both a direct object and an indirect object (e.g., in the sentence *Robin gave Pat a book*, *gave* is a ditransitive verb that takes the direct object *a book* and the indirect object *Pat* (Tserdanelis and Wong (eds), 2004:522).

Hence, in the Mbuk example below, some verbs take more than two objects; both direct and indirect, such verbs are called ditransitive or bitransitive verbs as illustrated:

- 233) a.   **bô ná mímbî: î ñkúŋ**        "They have given wine to the chief."  
           S   DV   DO        PP IO  
           3P give 6a.wine to 1.chief
- b.   **bô ná ñkúŋ bó mîmbî:**        "They have given wine to the chief."  
           S   DV IO        CJ DO

So, the verb give and take are ditransitive verbs in Mbuk since they both take the direct and indirect object. It is often not clear whether to gloss "î, bé" as prepositions or conjunctions.

### 4.2.8 Intransitive verb

Intransitive (IT) verbs take only subject noun phrases and no object noun phrases (e.g., fall, die, exist) (Tserdanelis and Wong (eds), 2004:525).

Some verb intrinsically can only take a single argument depending on the context of the speech. Such verbs are called intransitive verbs. (see example 234, valency of one).

### 4.2.9 Transitivity choice

Some verbs can be deliberately be rendered both transitive and intransitive. The verbs such as eat and dance can be transitive or intransitive. This implies that transitivity is a choice for such verbs conditioned by the speech context. In one circumstance the object can be suppressed. In (a) the object is suppressed and in (b) it has been explicitly stated below:

- 234) a. **wì nî dzí** "he has eaten"  
 S TNS IT  
 1s P3 eat.PF
- b. **wì nî dzí: kìnwàní** "he has eaten banana"  
 S TNS TR DO  
 1s P3 eat.PF 7.banana
- 235) a. **bāyē bîn-ké là** "we are dancing"  
 S IT-PG AF  
 3PEX dance-IP AF
- b. **bāyē bîn-kí kìmfilì** "we are dancing the Mbuk annual dance"  
 S TR-PG DO  
 1PE dance-IP 7.annual.dance

#### 4.2.10 Labile verbs

A labile verb can be an intransitive and a transitive construction. Such verbs are said to be ambitransitive. In the example below, (a) is intransitive and becomes transitive in (b):

- 236) a. **bāyē hî dzí í kólí mē** "We ate in the compound"  
 S IT IO  
 1PE P2 eat PP 5.compound PO
- b. **bāyē nî dzí kólí** "We inherited the compound" (Lit. ate compound)  
 S TR DO  
 1PE P4 eat 5.compound
- c. **bāyē hî dzí híbī** "We ate at the compound"  
 1PE P2 eat compound

Moreover, an intransitive can also become transitive by acquiring a causative suffix "-hr". In (237a) the verb is intransitive while in (237b) it has become transitive. In (237a) the action is done by the agent itself and the agent is also the beneficiary. While in (237b) the agent is not the beneficiary but rather assist the benefactor to suck. An example is here below:



#### 4.2.12.1 Valency increasing strategies

This is a situation whereby certain verbs can add more arguments to increase the number of argument they carry. This is achieved by the use of verbal applicative affixes that add a participant to the set of core arguments of the verb. Verbs often increase their arguments through applicative constructions as expressed by Mithun (2002):

*Prototypical applicatives are derivational processes within the verbal morphology that add a participant to the set of core arguments. The added argument usually represents a semantic recipient, beneficiary, instrument, associate, direction, or location, though others occasionally occur as well. This argument assumes the grammatical role of object, absolutive, or grammatical patient....When applicatives are attached to verbs that are already transitive, they may either add an argument, increasing the valency of the clause from transitive to ditransitive, or replace the original object/absolutive/patient, so that the verb remains transitive. The replaced argument may be expressed as an oblique.*

In Mbuk, we will examine the following applicative constructions, instrument applicative, benefactive application and locative application are all linked to a verb by a preposition while the causative applicative verb has a derived verbal suffix stem.

##### 4.2.12.1.1 Causative applicative

The Mbuk basic verb root meaning suck "-ma-" yields an applicative verb stem meaning make suck (suckle) "ma-hi". The added argument is the recipient child "wāŋ" in example (b):

- 239) a.     **ŋ má mbên**                    "I have sucked breast"  
               1s suck breast
- b.     **ŋ má-hí         wāŋ**         "I have suckled the child"  
               1s suckle-CS 1child

#### 4.2.12.1.2 Instrumental applicative

The instrumental applicative (IS) prepositional element is, with "bé" that links the instrument with which the verb acts upon. The instrument is the new argument that causes transitive verb "shave" to become ditransitive in example (b):

- 240) a.     **ń kxě fú**                                 "I have shaved"  
               1s shave head
- b.     **ń kxě fú bó mû**                     "I have shaved with a razor blade"  
               1s shave head with razor-blade

#### 4.2.12.1.3 Benefactive applicative

The benefactive applicative (BN) prepositional element is, for "í" that connects the instrument with which the verb acts upon. The beneficiary is the new argument that causes transitive verb to become ditransitive in example (b):

- 241) a.     **nsēn wǎŋ ná ɲyě**                     "My friend has cooked fufu"  
               friend my cook fufu
- b.     **nsēn wǎŋ nā ɲyě í bəyě**         "My friend has cooked fufu for us"  
               friend my cook fufu for us

#### 4.2.12.1.4 Locative applicative

The locative applicative (LC) points at the position, place or the location of something.

- 242) **bó nómì-kí gwû yí bó í gbâ m̄**  
       3P hide-PG body their 3P LC(PP) barn LC(PO)  
       "They are hiding themselves in the barn"





### 4.2.12.2 Valency decreasing strategies

The default construction for the middle and passive voices is the active voice. The active voice has an agent that does the action which is absent in the middle voice as seen below:

#### 4.2.12.2.1 Middle voice (MV)

- 245) a. **bə̀yá hí ʃwáyí kwù** "We have cut the rope"  
 1PE P2 loosen rope
- b. **bə̀yá hí ʃwāyí tʃyā** "We have cut ourselves"  
 1PE P2 loosen self.MV
- 246) a. **bó lání-ká-lə̀**  
 3P learn-PG-AF  
 "They are learning"
- b. **bó lání-kí tʃyā-ká-lə̀** "They are learning for/by themselves"  
 3P learn-PG self-PG-AF
- c. **bó n̂:m-kí tʃyā-ká lə̀** "They are working for/by themselves"  
 3P work-PG self-PG AF

#### 4.2.12.2.2 Passive voice (PV)

- 247) a. **bə̀yá hí ʃwáyí kwù** "We have loosen the rope"  
 1PE P2 loosen rope
- b. **kwǔ ʃwāyí tʃyā** "The rope has loosen itself"  
 rope loosen self
- c. **kwǔ ʃwāyí tʃyā gwù yí** "The rope has loosen itself"  
 rope loosen self body it
- 248) a. **bó tǎn kwù** "They have cut the rope"  
 3P cut rope
- b. **kwù ní tǎn** "The rope has cut"  
 rope P3 cut

#### 4.2.12.2.3 Reflexive (RF)

Part of the reflexive pronoun in Mbuk has the singular form of the term "gwù" meaning "body" for auto-reference or autobeneficiary where the agent (subject) benefits from or is affected by its own action. Reflexive pronoun is a compound with two morphemes: the body and the possessive as illustrated below:

- 249) a. **Bikém kôŋ-ká-lè Kxê** "Bikem loves Khe"  
 PN love-PG-AF PN
- b. **Bikém kôŋ-ká-lè gwù yí** "Bikem loves himself"  
 PN love-PG-AF body his

When the reflexives involves more than one person, it generates a reciprocal interaction.

#### 4.2.12.2.4 Reciprocal (RC)

Mutual beneficiares from each other action participating in the event. The reciprocity is expressed by the plural form of the term bodies "kígwû".

- 250) a. **bó dʒúò-ká-lè** "They are fighting"  
 3P fight-PG-AF
- b. **bó dʒúò-kí kí-gwû** "They are fighting each other"  
 3P fight-PG PX-body

### 4.2.13 Syntactic and Semantic transitivity

The syntactic and semantic transitivity occurs when a clause can be viewed as having more than one possible way of determining how many arguments the verb has.

#### 4.2.13.1 Syntactic valency

Syntactic valency is simply deducing the number of arguments from the number of nouns we can see in the transitive clause. In the ditransitive clause below there are two object in an

associative noun phrase. One of the nouns ( $N_1$ ) is considered the direct object while the second noun ( $N_2$ ) is taken to be the indirect object. Thus, the sentences are below are ditransitive:

- 251) a. **Bìkém dzō kìnwàní kī wáp** "Bikem has taken the child's banana"  
 S DV DO AM IO  
 3S take.PF 7.banana 7c.AM 1.child
- b. **Bìkém dzō bìnwàní bī wáp** "Bikem has taken the child's banana"  
 S DV DO AM IO  
 3S take.PF 8.banana 8c.AM 1.child

#### 4.2.13.2 Semantic valency

The semantic valency regards not the number of arguments but rather it looks at the semantic and somehow pragmatic considerations of the arguments involved in the clause. The two object within an associative noun phrase are considered to a single entity, that is a single noun or a single direct object. Thus both  $N_1$  and  $N_2$  are treated as if they are a single noun (N) that are considered as the direct object. In this case, both nouns are understood as direct objects, giving rise to a monotransitive situation:

- 252) a. **Bìkém dzō kìnwàní kī wáp** "Bikem has taken the child's banana"  
 S DV DO AM DO  
 3S take.PF 7.banana 7c.AM 1.child
- b. **Bìkém dzō bìnwàní bī wáp** "Bikem has taken the child's banana"  
 S DV DO AM DO  
 3S take.PF 8.banana 8c.AM 1.child

In both (a, b), there are two arguments, a subject and direct object. The direct object is an associative noun phrase having two nouns ( $N_1$  and  $N_2$ ) of the same grammatical relation. Considering that one of the objects can be dropped, we will still end up with a direct object.

## **4.3 TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD**

This section looks at some elements of the Mbuk verb phrase in relation to tense, aspect, mood. The tense looks the period the event occurred, the aspect tells how the action unfolds, and the mood expresses the attitude of the speaker. There are three main sub-sections in this section. The first sub-section 4.3.1 provides the morphology of tense markers and the a location various timeframes. This also outlines time adverbials of Mbuk.

### **4.3.1 Tenses**

Tense is the representation of events along an imaginary timeline from past through ongoing into future. This implies that there are three major tense segments: the past, ongoing, and future. The past implies that the action occurred and ended. Ongoing, says the action started and it has not yet ended while the future is a projection of an event yet to happen. Hence, the Mbuk language makes reference to these three dimensions of events in relation to the time of manifestation of the event in question.

#### **4.3.1.1 Tense Markers; Past and Future**

Mbuk has grammatical elements for marking tense which are both segmental and supra-segmental. The diagram below is an overview of the systematic placement of the tense makers of Mbuk on a timeline.

Figure 17: Mbuk Tense Crossbars

| PAST ( P ) |                      |               |                  |                  | now           | Imme<br>diate | sooner                 | Later<br>today  | Tomo<br>rrow     | Next<br>year |              |
|------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|
|            |                      |               |                  | ∅                | ∅             | kī            | nă                     | bí              | bí               |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  | F0               | F1            | F1.1          | F2                     | F3              | F4               |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
|            |                      |               |                  |                  |               |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
| P4         | P3                   | P2            | P1.1             | P1               | P0            |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
| nì         | nî                   | Hî, hí        | ∅                | ∅                | ∅             |               |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
| last year  | yest'day             | ear'today     | early            | Imme'te          | now           | FUTURE ( F )  |                        |                 |                  |              |              |
| Markers    | nì                   | nî            | hî               | ∅                | ∅             | ∅             | ∅                      | kī              | nă               | bí           | bí           |
| Labels     | P4                   | P3            | P2               | P1.1             | P1            | P0            | F1                     | F1.1            | F2               | F3           | F4           |
| Adverbs    | last<br>year         | yester<br>day | morning<br>today | earlier<br>today | imme<br>diate | ongoing       | imme<br>diate          | sooner<br>today | evening<br>today | tomo<br>rrow | next<br>year |
| P/F        | P "unspecified past" |               |                  |                  |               |               | F "unspecified future" |                 |                  |              |              |

Labeling correspondence with the adverbials is being ensured by trying to keep the past and future same labeling number:

P1 / F1                      immediate, Past / Future

P1.1 / F1.1                  today, earlier / sooner

P2 / F2                      morning / evening

P3 / F3                      yesterday / tomorrow

P4 / F4                      year, last / next

## Exemplification of Mbuk Tense:

|      |                  |      |    |                |                              |
|------|------------------|------|----|----------------|------------------------------|
| 253) | Last year        | P4   | nì | wì nì dzí      | "He ate." (before yesterday) |
|      | Yesterday        | P3   | nî | wì nî dzí      | "He ate."                    |
|      | Morning          | P2   | hî | wì hî dzí      | "He ate."                    |
|      | Earlier today    | P1.1 | ø  | wì dzí         | "He ate."                    |
|      | Immediat past    | P1   | ø  | wì dzí         | "He ate."                    |
| 254) | Ongoing, now     | P0   | ø  | wì dzí:kí lè   | "He is eating."              |
| 255) | Immediate future | F1   | ø  | wì dzí:kì lè   | "He will eat."               |
|      | Sooner today     | F1.1 | kī | wì kī dzí: lè  | "He will eat."               |
|      | Now till evening | F    | nī | wì nī dzí: lè  | "He will eat."               |
|      | Evening          | F2   | nă | wì nă: dzí: lè | "He will eat."               |
|      | Tomorrow         | F3   | bí | wì bí dzí: lè  | "He will eat."               |
|      | Next year        | F4   | bí | wì bí dzí: lè  | "He will eat."               |

Looking at the past tense, grammatically there are four past tense markers; nì, nî, hî, ø while adverbially there are five past tense distinctions; last year, yesterday, morning, earlier today, immediate past. With the grammatical tense marker is zero ø representing two adverbial space; the ealier today and immediate past.

In addition, the P4 and P3 only differ by tonal change with the same segmental morpheme with P4 have a low tone while P3 has a falling:

|      |    |    |           |                       |
|------|----|----|-----------|-----------------------|
| 256) | a. | P4 | Wì nì dzí | "He ate " (last year) |
|      |    |    | 3S P4 eat |                       |
|      | b. | P3 | Wì nî dzí | "He ate" (yesterday)  |
|      |    |    | 3S P3 eat |                       |

For, what can be regarded as presence is the ongoing event whose grammatical tense marker is zero ø. What makes it different from the immediate past tense (a) is the present

participle (PP) marker *kí* having a high tone plus a progressive imperfective aspect (PG) marker which is the lengthening of the root vowel of the verb coupled with the general imperfective aspect (IP) marker *lè* which bears a low tone (b). Similar in form to the presence is immediate future which only differs from the presence by the tonal contrast on the present participle. The present participle *kí* takes a high tone while the immediate future participle (FP) embedded with mitigated imperative mood "*kì*" takes a low tone (c) below:

- 257) a. P1 **Wì dzí.** "He has eaten"  
3S eat.
- b. P0 **Wì dzí:kí là** "He is eating"  
3S eat.PG AF
- c. F1 **Wì dzí:kì là** "He will eat"  
3S eat.PG AF

Moving on to the future tense,

- 258) Immediate future F1  $\emptyset$  **Wì dzí:kìlè.** "He will eat."
- Sooner today F1.1 *kī* **Wì kī dzí:kìlè.** "He will eat."
- Evening F2 *nă:* **Wì nă: dzí:lè.** "He will eat."
- Tomorrow F3 *bí* **Wì bí dzí:lè.** "He will eat."
- Next year F4 *bí* **Wì bí dzí:lè.** "He will eat."

We observe that the rest of the Future markers labeled, F2, F3, F4 are void of the the immediate future F1, F1.1 participle *kì*. But all five future expressions carries with them the low tone imperfective aspect marker *lè* and the progressive imperfective aspect marked by the lengthening of the root vowel.

Moreover, F3 and F4 share the same tense marker and differ at the level of the time adverbials where you need to specify the distance in future by overtly stating tomorrow F3 or stating next year which is labeled F4. Some artificial distinctions have been established but



without any strong phonetic base to support it. That is F3 can differ from F4 by the strength with which F4 is pronounced such that one may think that it is stress or the F4 vowel needs to be lengthened to establish a standard nuance. This of course can be an orthographic issue to invent a perceptive subjective difference. For the case of F1.1 and F2 which is *kī* and *nă*: it differentiates actions that are to happen on the same day at varying times. The F1.1 is any time in same day but not as late in the same day as that of F2 which covers the last event of the day. In terms of word boundary, the tense markers are separate morpheme. There are not suffixes.

#### 4.3.1.2 Unspecified tense; past and future

Furthermore, a vague time presentation has been noticed with a change on the subject tone for past events and an absence of a tense marker for a vague future:

- 259) a. P1/P1.1      **Wî dzí**                      "He ate"  
       b. P2              **Wî hî dzí**                      "He ate"  
       c. P                **Wí dzí**                      "He ate" Unspecified past time

The unspecified does not says when it happen. It could have happened last year, yesterday, or earlier today before the reference point. The (c) above gives an example of the unspecified tense. The future can also be expressed vaguely without specifying it whether it is later today, tomorrow, or next year. These markers are in the following examples:

- 260) a. F1      **Wî dzí:kìlè**                      "He will eat" immediately  
       b. F1.1    **Wî hî dzí:lè**                      "He will eat" later today  
       c. F        **Wî dzí:lè**                      "He will eat" Any time in future

Other particles that expresses unspecified future and limits it just for today. This does not include tomorrow onward. These particles can roughly be translated as later or after "*nà / nī* " which can take place immediately, soon, later at any time in the future of the day as illustrated:

- 261) a. F **Wî nà dzí:lè** "He will eat (later today)"  
He F eat.PG.IP
- b. F **Wî nī dzī** "He will eat (later today)"  
He F eat

The (a) has an imperfective aspect marker *lè* and the lengthening of the verb root for progressive aspect. While (b) lacks both imperfective markers: the durative and the *lè*. The unspecified tense has two levels: that which has no limit which goes beyond today and that which has a limit, that does not go beyond today.

#### 4.3.1.3 Temporal adverbials

These are lexical elements that talks about tense by stating when an event occurred or will occur. Mbuk temporal (time) adverbials include:

|      |                    |                          |                    |             |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 262) | <b>íyúó ~ ízúó</b> | "now"                    | <b>kèntúŋùtúŋú</b> | "morning"   |
|      | <b>íyúóyúó</b>     | "immediately, very soon" | <b>njí</b>         | "afternoon" |
|      | <b>késáyá</b>      | "soon"                   | <b>wédzwábí</b>    | "evening"   |
|      | <b>mgbù</b>        | "yesterday"              | <b>kèdzyéí</b>     | "tomorrow"  |
|      | <b>dân</b>         | "today"                  | <b>dzăyáyá</b>     | "next year" |
|      | <b>dzăítsénní</b>  | "last year"              |                    |             |

Distributively, the time adverbials occurs at the end of the clause and can be direct and as oblique that is indirect object depending upon the presence of a preceding preposition. In the example, the adjuncts functions like direct objects in that they are attached to the verb directly.

- 263) a. **Bəyè bí dzí: lè** "We will eat (tomorrow/next year)"  
We.exc F3 eat.IP AF
- b. **Bəyè bí dzí: kèdzyéí** "We will eat tomorrow"  
We.exc F3 eat.IP tomorrow

In (a) the sentence is ambiguous in future reference, it can mean tomorrow or next year. This clause expresses both progressive (PG) and imperfective (IP) aspect marking. While clause (b) lacks the imperfective marking because it will look redundant to express both since "tomorrow" the future time adverbial is by itself an aspect of imperfective. Thus the imperfective / Focus "lè" has been substituted with the adverbial "tomorrow".

#### 4.3.1.4 Tense and subject

Segmentally no observable change occurs with the subject, object or tense markers. But tonally, all three undergo changes at different occasions.

Table 47: Past and Future tenses

| subject; 1s I, in future tense |             |               | subject; 1s I, in future tense |                |              |
|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| P0                             | Ṁ dzí:kí lè | "I am eating" |                                |                |              |
| P1                             | Ṁ dzí       | "I ate"       | F1                             | Ṁ dzí:kì lè    | "I will eat" |
| P1.1                           | Ṁ dzí       | "I ate"       | F1.1                           | Ṁ kī dzí:kì lè | "I will eat" |
| P2                             | Ṁ hī dzí    | "I ate"       | F2                             | Ṁ nă: dzí: lè  | "I will eat" |
| P3                             | Ṁ nī dzí    | "I ate"       | F3                             | Ṁ bí dzí: lè   | "I will eat" |
| P4                             | Ṁ nì dzí    | "I ate"       | F4                             | Ṁ bí dzí: lè   | "I will eat" |

In the table above, tonal changes occur in past tense and the future tense. All the subjects do change such as "we exclusive" for the future. Consider the subject I "1S" in both the past and the future. We see some tonal changes on subject while the tense remain fix with no tonal change.

Looking at the subject you "2S" in both past and future. We observe that there is change on the subject of P1 from low to rising tone:

Table 48: Second person singular 2S in past and future tenses

| subject; 2S you, in past tense |              |                  | subject; 2S you, in future tense |                 |                |
|--------------------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| P0                             | Wò dzí:kí lè | "You are eating" |                                  |                 |                |
| P1                             | Wǒ dzí       | "You ate"        | F1                               | Wò dzí:kì lè    | "You will eat" |
| P1.1                           | Wò dzí       | "You ate"        | F1.1                             | Wò kī dzí:kì lè | "You will eat" |
| P2                             | Wò hī dzí    | "You ate"        | F2                               | Wò nǎ: dzí: lè  | "You will eat" |
| P3                             | Wò nī dzí    | "You ate"        | F3                               | Wò bí dzí: lè   | "You will eat" |
| P4                             | Wò nì dzí    | "You ate"        | F4                               | Wò bí dzí: lè   | "You will eat" |

Examining, he "3S" in both past and future, the tabling reveals that the subject he "Wī" remains unchanged while the tone of the tense of F1.1 and F2 changes. The F2 is not fixed:

Table 49: Third person singular 3S in past and future tenses

| subject; 3S he, in past tense |              |                | subject; 3S you, in future tense |                     |               |
|-------------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| P0                            | Wī dzí:kí lè | "He is eating" |                                  |                     |               |
| P1                            | Wī dzí       | "He ate"       | F1                               | Wī dzí:kì lè        | "He will eat" |
| P1.1                          | Wī dzí       | "He ate"       | F1.1                             | Wī kī dzí:kì lè     | "He will eat" |
| P2                            | Wī hī dzí    | "He ate"       | F2                               | Wī nà ~ nǎ: dzí: lè | "He will eat" |
| P3                            | Wī nī dzí    | "He ate"       | F3                               | Wī bí dzí: lè       | "He will eat" |
| P4                            | Wī nì dzí    | "He ate"       | F4                               | Wī bí dzí: lè       | "He will eat" |

The table below presents the subject of inclusive we 1p "bàyên" with respect to past and future tense. The sole change is F2 which is traditionally rising but appears low in the presence of the inclusive first person we, bàyên (1p). While the both the past tense markers and subject remain unaffected.

Table 50: First person plural inclusive, 1PI in past and future tenses

| subject; 1PI "báyên" in past tense |                 |                 | subject; 1PI "báyên" in future tense |                   |               |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| P0                                 | Bàyên dzí:kí là | "We are eating" |                                      |                   |               |
| P1                                 | Bàyên dzí       | "We ate"        | F1                                   | Bàyên dzí:kìlè    | "We will eat" |
| P1.1                               | Bàyên dzí       | "We ate"        | F1.1                                 | Bàyên kì dzí:kìlè | "We will eat" |
| P2                                 | Bàyên hí dzí    | "We ate"        | F2                                   | Bàyên nà dzí:lè   | "We will eat" |
| P3                                 | Bàyên ní dzí    | "We ate"        | F3                                   | Bàyên bí dzí:lè   | "We will eat" |
| P4                                 | Bàyên nì dzí    | "We ate"        | F4                                   | Bàyên bí dzí:lè   | "We will eat" |

We now examine the subject of exclusive we 1p "báyó" in relation to tense. We see that P0 subject takes a mid tone from high, then P1 subject takes a rising tone while P1.1 to P4 takes low. While all the future from F1 to F4 takes a low tone. In addition, the tense of future F1.1 and F2 changes from from mid to low and from rising to low respectively:

Table 51: First person plural exclusive, 1PE in past and future tenses

| subject; 1PE "báyó" in past tense |                |                 | subject; 1PE "báyó" in future tense |                   |               |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| P0                                | Báyó dzí:kí là | "We are eating" |                                     |                   |               |
| P1                                | Báyó dzí       | "We ate"        | F1                                  | Báyó dzí:kì là    | "We will eat" |
| P1.1                              | Báyó dzí       | "We ate"        | F1.1                                | Báyó kì dzí:kì là | "We will eat" |
| P2                                | Báyó hí dzí    | "We ate"        | F2                                  | Báyó nà dzí: là   | "We will eat" |
| P3                                | Báyó ní dzí    | "We ate"        | F3                                  | Báyó bí dzí: là   | "We will eat" |
| P4                                | Báyó nì dzí    | "We ate"        | F4                                  | Báyó bí dzí: là   | "We will eat" |

After the study of 1P, we now move on to examine 2P, you plural "bēn" in the context of both past and future tense. This context reveals that the subject of P1 moves from mid to rising tone, and that of p4 drops from mid to low with the tense markers unaffected. As for the future, F1.1 and F2 turns to low from mid and rising ton respectively:

Table 52: Second person plural 2P in past and future tenses

| subject; 2P You pl. "bēn" in past tense |                      |                  | subject; 2P You pl. "bēn" in future tense |                         |                |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| P0                                      | <b>Bēn dzí:kí lè</b> | "You are eating" |                                           |                         |                |
| P1                                      | <b>Bēn dzí</b>       | "You ate"        | F1                                        | <b>Bēn dzí:kì lè</b>    | "You will eat" |
| P1.1                                    | <b>Bēn dzí</b>       | "You ate"        | F1.1                                      | <b>Bēn kì dzí:kì lè</b> | "You will eat" |
| P2                                      | <b>Bēn hī dzí</b>    | "You ate"        | F2                                        | <b>Bēn nà dzí: lè</b>   | "You will eat" |
| P3                                      | <b>Bēn nī dzí</b>    | "You ate"        | F3                                        | <b>Bēn bí dzí: lè</b>   | "You will eat" |
| P4                                      | <b>Bēn nì dzí</b>    | "You ate"        | F4                                        | <b>Bēn bí dzí: lè</b>   | "You will eat" |

Lastly, we examine the 3P subject they "bó" as it functions with tense; past and future. This study x-rays that there is a tonal change on the subject of P1 which converts from high to falling. Then the tone mark for F2 goes from rising to low in the presence of 3P subject:

Table 53: Third person plural 3P in past and future tenses

| subject; 3P They "bó" in past tense |                     |                   | subject; 3P They "bó" in future tense |                        |                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| P0                                  | <b>Bó dzí:kí lè</b> | "They are eating" |                                       |                        |                 |
| P1                                  | <b>Bô dzí</b>       | "They ate"        | F1                                    | <b>Bó dzí:kì lè</b>    | "They will eat" |
| P1.1                                | <b>Bó dzí</b>       | "They ate"        | F1.1                                  | <b>Bó kì dzí:kì lè</b> | "They will eat" |
| P2                                  | <b>Bó hī dzí</b>    | "They ate"        | F2                                    | <b>Bó nà dzí: lè</b>   | "They will eat" |
| P3                                  | <b>Bó nī dzí</b>    | "They ate"        | F3                                    | <b>Bó bí dzí: lè</b>   | "They will eat" |
| P4                                  | <b>Bó nì dzí</b>    | "They ate"        | F4                                    | <b>Bó bí dzí: lè</b>   | "They will eat" |

#### 4.3.1.5 Tense and Object

This section deals with tense inconjunction with the object both direct and indirect. Concluding, Payne (1997:233-234, 237) tense is associated with the sequence of events in real time. just within English, tense can be expressed lexically, morphologically, or analytically in the following example:

- 264) a. is > was                      past: lexical (suppletion)  
       b. walk > walked              past: morphological  
       c. see > will see              future: analytic

With regard to Mbuk, tense for both past and future is expressed analytically with special grammatical markers as seen above. And originally the tense markers do not seem to have been grammaticalised from any verb, but they emerged as independent particles. Mbuk notion of time is tripartite; past, ongoing, future. Adverbially, Mbuk has symmetrical tense distinction with five (5) past and five (5) future.

Tense is the representation of events along an imaginary timeline from past through ongoing into future. The past implies that the action occurred and ended. Ongoing, says the action started and it has not yet ended while the future is a projection of an event yet to happen. Hence, the Mbuk language makes reference to these three dimensions of events in relation to the time of manifestation of the event in question.

### 4.3.2 Aspect

Aspect is the temporal experience of a verbal action at any one moment; the beginning, duration, continuity, completion, repetition and regular occurrence of an action. The event of a verb can be categorised into two major areas; perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect describes an action either completed in the past or to be completed in the future. Conversely the imperfective is an event which is yet to occur in the future or is ongoing and has been happening on the past. The following aspect types have been observed in Mbuk; perfective, imperfective; progressive, continuity, locative, habitual and iterative.

### 4.3.2.1 Aspect Markers

Mbuk expresses various semantics of aspect making use of several linguistic forms as presented in the table below:

Table 54: Aspect Markers

| Aspect types |                   |                |                          |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Main types   | Sub types         | Aspect markers | Example Sentence         |
| Perfective   | Simple perfective | ∅              | complete                 |
|              | pluperfect        | lô             | complete                 |
| Perfect      |                   |                |                          |
| Imperfective | imperfective      | -lâ            | not yet over or complete |
|              | progressive       | -kɪ            | progressive              |
|              | continuity        | -nɪ            | continuous               |
|              | Locative          | ma             | In action                |
|              | habitual          | ʃɪ             | always                   |
|              | habitual          | lánhí          | always                   |
|              | iterative         | -yi            |                          |
| Others       | repetition        | túyú           | again                    |
|              | punctual          | Lexical verb   | instantaneous            |
|              | inceptive         | yəyá           | start                    |
|              | completive        | kā:hí          | finish                   |

### 4.3.2.2 Perfective aspect

The perfective (PF) is the description of a completed action. The Mbuk has two aspects of this set; the simple perfective and pluperfect. The simple perfective is just the regular



expression of past event. This is expressed alongside past tense markers. This is just a general statement of an action that is over as seen in this example:

- 265) a.     **Wî ø dzí**     "He has eaten"  
               3S P1 eat

#### 4.3.2.2.1 Pluperfect aspect

The pluperfect is a deeper expression for the completion of an event with some sort of emphasis. This made possible with the pluperfect particle "lô" which can be written as a suffix or a separate particle. In this work we write it as a separate particle because it is optionally glued to the verb. Though it seems the root vowel though not represented here seems to get lengthened as is the case in the imperative. Further study needed to justify lengthening of pluperfect root vowel of the verb:

- 266) a.     **Wî ø dzí: lô**         "He has eaten"  
               3S P1 eat PF
- b.     **Wî hí dzí: lô**         "He has eaten"  
               3S P2 eat PF
- c.     **Wî nî dzí: lô**         "He has eaten"  
               3S P3 eat PF
- d.     **Wî nî dzí: lô**         "He has eaten"  
               3S P4 eat PF

All the four/five past tenses take the pluperfect particle lô. This particle is absent in the presence of an object or time adverbial. In the same way the imperative particle is often absent at the presence of the time adverbial. The pluperfect particle lô contrast in the same position with the imperfective particle lè which of course is also optional.

- 267) a.     **Wî hí dzí:   lô**             "He has already eaten"  
               3S P2 eat.PF PF/AV

- b. **Wî nǎ dzí: -lè** "He will eat"  
3S F2 eat.IP AF

This particle can be equivalent to the English adverb meaning *already* "lê" which is more lexical as an adverb than a suffix. The imperfective particle is more analytic in form than the pluperfect. The "lè" has meaning only when linked to a verb (c):

- c. **Wî nì dzí lô.** "He had already eaten"  
He P4 eat already

#### 4.3.2.2.2 Inchoative

Inchoative (IH) aspect indicates the beginning of the action of a verb. Comrie (1976:19) "the perfective forms of some verbs, in particular of some stative verbs, can in fact be used to indicate the beginning of a situation (ingressive meaning)..., i.e. can in general refer either to the state or to entry into that state," The verb "ká" semantically means begin and when it is followed by a core verb, it modifies the core verb with the aspect of initiating of an event. In Mbuk, in the example below, the aspectual marker "ká" precedes the core verb, dance "bín":

268) *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00412.txt*

- 01 FSW-1 **wò sì tʃyě, wò sì tʃyě-kí á kí kó Dʒòyòwá,**  
2S PF V 2S PF V-PG CM 7c CP N  
you PF know you PF know that it is Jokowa,  
  
**wó ká bē bín-kí fā ndʒʷò nyě.**  
2S IH PP V-PG AV CJ QW  
you start to dance here because what

"You knew that it was in Jokowa, why did you begin to dance it here?"

### 4.3.2.3 Imperfective aspect

Imperfective expresses an ongoing event or a recurrent event or an event yet to happen. A series of imperfective actions includes: action to be begin and to be completed, progressive, habitual, continuous, and iterative.

#### 4.3.2.3.1 After Verb Progressive "kí"

The progressive imperfective aspect (PG) indicates that the action is ongoing. The phonological form is CV "kí" and it is often accompanied by the lengthening of the root vowels of some verbs most especially verbs of group 1. It is suffixed to the preceding verb and cannot be separated from the verb because the grammar does not allow the insertion of any element in-between the verb and the progressive aspect. The progressive aspect bears a high tone. Illustrated by a verb of group 6, Simple closed. The after verb progressive (APG)

- 269) a.     **Wí nōm kxā wī**                      "He has worked his farm"  
              3S work farm his
- b.     **Wî nôm-kí kxā**                      "He is working farm."  
              3S work-APG farm
- c.     **Wî nôm-kí lə kxā**                      "He is working farm"  
              3S work-APG AF farm

Example (c) indicates that both the progressive and the general imperfective can co-occur with the progressive preceding the general imperfective marker.

#### 4.3.2.3.2 Before Verb Progressive "wê"

There is another progressive marker in Mbuk that occurs before verbs. It roughly give the meaning that, "on the way or on the process of being realised (it is)". The form is CV "wê" with a falling tone. The before verb progressive (BPG) examples below:

- 270) a. **m̃ wê-dzē** "I am coming"  
1s PG-come
- b. **m̃ dzê-kí lè** "I am coming"  
1s come-PG AF
- c. **wì wê-dzē** "he is coming"  
he BPG-come

The particle "wê" contrasts with the definite marker that "kê":

- 271) a. **kìkpè wê-dzē túyú** "(the) lizard is coming again"  
lizard BPG-come again
- b. **kìkpè kê dzē túyú** "that lizard has come again"  
7.lizard 7.that come again

Both wê and kí are syntactically mutually exclusive.

#### 4.3.2.3.3 Continuative

The continuative aspect (CT) is ensured by a discontinuous structure of the form "hâ ... -ní" or "hâ ... n-". The nominal affix (NA), here a suffix whose structure is CV "ní" suffixed on the repeated verb. The particle "hâ" is lexically glossed "go" which has been grammaticalised from the verb, go "há". The core sense of continuity is bored by the grammaticalised go "hâ". The core verb in the clause must be repeated for continuity to happen just as shown below:

- 272) a. **Wò dyē hâ dyê-ní** "Keep on cooking."  
2S cook CT cook-NA  
(Lit. You should go on with your cooking)
- b. **Wò nû: hâ nû:-ní** "Keep on sleeping."  
2S sleep CT sleep-NA  
(Lit. You should just continue your sleep).
- c. **Wò bin hâ bín-ní** "Keep dancing."  
2S dance CT dance-NA  
(Lit. just be dancing and dancing).

Sometimes, continuative is expressed without repeating the verb, but using a different one. The verb that is normally repeated is instead prefix nominalised and the tone of the verb changes from mid to low as shown in the subsequent example:

- 273) a      **Wò tsā hā b́ n-dyè**            "Continue cooking"  
              2S   go   CT   with NA-cook  
              (Lit. You should just be going on with your cooking)

The suffixation or prefixation converts the verbs into a verbal noun, gerund.

#### 4.3.2.3.4 Process aspect

The process aspect (NA-Verb(Gerund)-PO) marker uses a postposition(PO) immediately after a gerund to convey the meaning that the action of the verb is in process. Or in the action of, that is, still in the event. This is achieved by using a postposition "má" which by intuition can be treated as a suffix of the gerund but in this case it is a separate free morpheme. "má". The postposition transforms the verb into a gerund giving us a process predicate nominal construct (PRC). So to get the process aspect, you ask this question: What are you doing now? Response: I am in the process of (cooking).

- 274) a.      **Ì kē n-dyè      má.**            "I am in (the process of) cooking"  
              1S be NA-cook PO.LC
- b.      **Ì dyê:kí-lè**                    "I am cooking"  
              1S cook-PG-AF

#### 4.3.2.3.5 Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect (HB) asserts that something takes place regularly. It most not be in a regular time interval. It is that he always or often does it. It can be that something usually happens in the past and it can still be happening regularly in the future. Three particles have been observed marking habitual imperfective aspect. The particle "ǝ ... à" is a discontinuous,

and another habitual marker "lánhí" both precede the verb while "lè" comes after a verb. At times the habitual is marked by a combination of makers such as the unspecified future maker "nà" plus a the progressive "kí" and the averment mood "lè"

The habitual "ǰí" has a discontinuous vowel "a" which occurs after verb stems. The habitual follows both the past (b) and future (c) tense markers:

- 275) a.    **ù ǰí tǰámí-à lē**                "He is always sneezing"  
              3S HB sneeze-HB AF
- b.    **ù nī ǰí tǰámí-à lē**                "He is always sneezing"  
              3S P3 HB sneeze-HB AF
- c.    **ù bí ǰí tǰámí-à lē**                "He is always sneezing"  
              3S F3 HB sneeze-HB AF

Moreover, another habitual particle is "lánhí" which behaves a bit differently from the others:

- 276) a.    **ǰí lánhí nòm lē**                        "I am always working."  
              1s HB work AF
- b.    **ǰí lánhí nóm má nòm-ní**                "I am always in work working."  
              1s HB work LC work-NA
- c.    **\*ǰí lánhí nóm lē má nòm-ní.**                "I am always working."  
              1s HB work AF LC work-NA

Example (c) does not take the lē particle. In this case the verb has to be repeated as in (b) in order to keep away the "lè". The particle "lè" has been regarded as a habitual in the absence of other habitual markers like: "ǰí and lánhí".

- 277) a.    **ǰí tǰyē lē**                        "I always know."  
              1s know HB
- b.    **ǰí tǰyē-kí lē**                "I know."  
              1s know-PG AF
- c.    **ǰí tǰyē-kí kē**                "I do not know."  
              1s know-PG NG

The presence of "lè" and the absence of "lè" have been contrasted to express the idea of habitual and non-habitual. The *lè* gives emphasis in (b):

- 278) a.     **Wî dzí: kí ɲᵱ**                    "he is eating fufu."  
               3S eat PG fufu
- b.     **Wî dzí: kí lè ɲᵱ**                "He does eat fufu"  
               3S eat. PG AF eat
- c.     **Wî dzí: lè ɲᵱ**                    "He always eats fufu."  
               3S eat HB fufu

In (a) the *lè* is absent and the clause expresses a progressive aspect with the presence *kí* and the vowel lengthening of the root vowel. In (b) the *lè* together with *kí* is like a focus marker emphasising that he ate fufu. So, *lè* in certain expressions can be regarded as a focus marker "Averment Mood." which sometimes it is regarded as a habitual aspect and at one time it treated as a mood. This area makes it difficult to separate mood and aspect.

Very often in Mbuk the habitual aspect is being marked by the unspecified future tense plus the pregressive and the averment mood "*lè*". Thus, the habitual is sometimes marked by a combination of markers as in (b). This is not limited to the unspecified future but any past tense with a high tone taking the progressive plus the "*lè*" can render the expression as past habitual as is the case with (c):

- 279) a.     **wî dzí:-kí lè**                    "He is eating"  
               3S eat-PG AF
- b.     **wî nà dzí:-kí lè**                "He will be eating" (as long as he lives.)  
               3S F eat-PG AF
- c.     **Mí ní dzáyé-kí lè**                "I was always talking"  
               1s P4 talk-PG-AF

#### 4.3.2.3.6 Iterative aspect

Expressing an event taking place in succession over time. The iterative aspect is a repetitive event (RP) denoted by derivational suffixes; "-yi, li, -ni" being attached to some verbs:

- 280) a.     **ɲwá**           "pinch once"
- b.     **ɲwáyí**       "pinch several times"
- a1.    **kú**           "change once"
- b2.    **kúlí**       "change several times"
- aa.    **báɲ**         "cover once"
- bb.    **báɲní**       "cover several times"

The question of aspect is still early for us to conclude on what distinctions and ramifications are there. But what is clear is that aspect is marked by a combination of markers as discussed above. In addition to the *kɪ* there is external lengthening of the root vowel for open syllable roots and internal lengthening for closed syllable roots.

Moreover it is still of confusion is that speakers or the language is inconsistency or our studies are still insufficient to see how this lengthening exceptions actually functions. We should bear in mind that there is lengthening that contributes to both perfective and imperfective aspect.

It looks like *kɪ* should have a focus colouring in certain expressions which make it an avalanche of focus plus aspect that we need not bother to separate these two for there is not enough resources; time and pages to do this.

More amazing is the struggle to identify the role played by "lè" in the grammar of Mbuk. For now, in order to go ahead we can ascribe it to multiple functions; identified and unidentified. It behaves like an aspect, it behaves like a mood and it also behaves like something not well known.



### 4.3.3 Mood

Mood expresses the manner and the intonation with which the speaker addresses the audience. Several strategies are being employed to read the speaker's mind through his style or way or choice of words.

#### 4.3.3.1 Mood markers

Most of the mood (MD) marking is spread throughout the whole clause. It is just ideal to say we can single out a particle that is really responsible for a particular mood. Though we can have outstanding particles but they do so with complemented meaning for less outstanding particles. For example; the conditional mood is marked overtly by "ká" but in other sentences the "ká" is absent but the sense of conditional mood is still expressed.

#### 4.3.3.2 Averment mood

An averment mood marker (AF) is a positive mood of assertion. The positive mood is the opposite of a negative mood. Where the statement is being negated while the averment reverses it asserting the certainty of the event occurring. Thus an averment marker indicates a high probability of the event in question to occur and its presence makes the grammar complete in cases where it can be treated as optional. The particle of the form CV "lè" is often substituted by a negator or any other object. Distributively, it always occurs after a verb in the absence of a progressive aspect marker. The examples illustrate the paradigmatic substitution exhibited by the averment mood (AF) and the negative mood (NG):

- 281) a.     **mī nôm-kí lè**     "I am working."  
               1S work-PG AF
- b.     **mī nôm-kí kē**     "I am not working."  
               1S work-PG NG

The averment mood can be followed by time adverbial:

- c.     **Wì tǎ́      dzí: là íyúó**            "He is already eating by now."  
           3S   already eat   AF now

Both the averment mood (d) and the negative mood (e) below can be followed by a time adverbial. And we further observe that the progressive aspect has disappeared in both constructions:

- d.     **̀̀m bí n̄m là k̀̀dzéí**            "I will work tomorrow."  
           1s F3 work AF tomorrow
- e.     **̀̀m bí n̄m k̄ k̀̀dzéí**            "I will not work tomorrow."  
           1s F3 work NG tomorrow

In addition, both mood constructions; averment (f) and negative (g) can take a direct object. Contrary to (d) and (e) above where the progressive is absent, the progressive appears here with an object:

- f.     **̀̀m k̄́:-kí-l̄      ɲȳ**            "I have fufu."  
           1s have-PG-AF fufu
- g.     **̀̀m k̄́:-kí      k̄   ɲȳ**            "I do not have fufu."  
           1s have-PG NG fufu

#### 4.3.3.3 Evidential mood

The degree to which you are certain about something. The evidential mood (EV):

- 282) a.     **yí k̄ ko dz̄̀ dz̄̀-ká-l̄**            "it seems rain is coming."  
           It is as rain come-PG-AF
- b.     **̀̀ntǎ̀ntǎ̀ dz̄̀ b̄́ b̄́**            "trulytruly rain blocked them."  
           truly.truly rain cover 3S

#### 4.3.3.4 Inferential mood

An assumption or a probability basing on certain fact about something to happen. The inference mood (IN) is a guess about something:

- 283) a.     **yùdòyó bó nyě íyúó**     "maybe they have gone by now"  
               maybe 3P go now
- b.     **dǔwàbí údòyó bó dzǐ**     "sometime they have eaten"  
                   time     some 3P eat

#### 4.3.3.5 Conditional mood

An event that is possible but determined by whether the following conditions are fulfilled. The event of the second clause is contingent on the occurrence of the event of the first clause which is the conditional clause. Which means the order of events is as follows: If the first event is fulfilled then the second will take place.

Another observation is that the subject is explicitly stated in the two clauses; the conditional clause and the non-conditional one. In addition, the verb forms are same for both clauses. They as well bear the same tense as in (a) or differ in tense as in (b). One key observation is that in (a) the conditional mood marker "ká" is explicitly stated while in (b) it left out but through the negation of both the conditional and the non-conditional clause the idea of conditional mood (CD) is expressed:

- 284) a.     **wò ká bē ká: ɲgā, wò lǎ: kxē.**  
               2S CD with have power 2S go farm  
               "if you have power, you should go to farm."
- b.     **wò nā jǎ mí bē gá:lī, m bí nà: tsē dzǔ í kēm̀wàktì**  
                   2S NG give me with pen, 1S F3 NG go house AM book  
                   "if you do not give me a pen, I will not go to school."

### 4.3.3.6 Deontic

The deontic mood (DN) is a way of speaking which expresses a strong command in Mbuk. The marker is lexically the verb have "kã:" together with the particle "kí":

- 285) a.     **ń kǎ: kí dzí**     "I must eat"  
               1s have DN eat

### 4.3.3.7 Hypothetical mood

A modal expression based on surmise rather than adequate evidence. In all three clauses the complementiser that "á" is found. The verbs are a special class of verbs, verbs of pleading, that goes together with the conjunction or complementiser 'that' to express the hypothetical mood (HP). There is a perturbation of tones on the various verbs. The subject we "bā" is not the usual subject for we "báyó" or "bèyên". The subject can be optional as shown in (c). The tense marker for both verbs across the complementiser are of the same tense, the past in (a, b). While that of (c) differ in tense and aspect. The first verb take is past and perfective while the verb have is in the progressive aspect in what we can consider as present tense:

- 286) a.     **bā bǎm á ń dzí.**                     "let us agree that I have eaten"  
               1p agree that 1s eat
- b.     **bā dzó á ń dzí**                     "let us consider that I have eaten"  
               1p take that 1s eat
- c.     **dzō á ń kǎ́ kí là kílérí**     "assume that I am having a calabash"  
               take that 1s have PG AF calabash

### 4.3.3.8 Optative mood

A mood indicating an option or wish. The optative marker (OP) of the form CV "mà" with a low tone can roughly be equated to the English could or would. The clause is opened by a past tense marker hí which changes from normal mid tone to a high tone. The Optative in Mbuk

can be regarded as a conditional mood expressing a past event. The verb *be* wavers between "ko ~ kə" and *kə* is more Chung avariant of Mbuk. Another change observed is the first person subject 1s "mí" comes out in the contracted form "m".

Within the optative clause, the tense marker can be repeated as in (b) and can occur only once as is the case in (a) and (b). Turning to the subject, we see that the subject is repeated twice in all three examples. The verbs that occur in (a) have different marking in the first clause with respect to that in the second clause. This is same for (c) where the first verb has a progressive aspect marker "kí" and this does not occur in the second clause. In (b), both clauses have the same conjugation. Verb root lengthening in Mbuk does not necessarily mean it is imperfective aspect for some verbs are lengthened with the presence of a perfective marker. All three examples below take a that "a" which introduces the clause for optative:

- 287) a. **hí kó á m ká: kí mbə̀ŋ, má m wúó dzǔ.**  
 P2 is that 1S have PG stick OP 1S kill snake  
 "Had it been I had a stick, I would have killed a snake. Or  
 If I had a stick I would have killed a snake."
- b. **nì kó á ndómhì nǔ: wì, mà wì nì yén yì.**  
 P3 is that dream sleep him OP he P3 see it  
 "Had it been he had a dream, he would have seen it. Or  
 If he had had a dream, he would have seen it."
- c. **hí ko á m ká kí kimbǎ, má dzàŋ tǝ kwā mī.**  
 P2 is that 1S have PG umbrella, OP rain NG catch me  
 "Had it been I had an umbrella, the rain wouldn't have caught me. Or  
 If I had had an umbrella, the rain wouldn't have caught me."

Concluding, the lengthening feature on verb roots is not restricted to imperfectives.

This also happens to perfective actions. Lengthening on verb roots is just prosodic without any heavy phonemic implication it. The lengthening is part of focus as seen in the example that follows:

- 288) a. **Wî dzí: lô.** "He has eaten"  
 3S eat FM

#### 4.3.4 Declarative mood

A mood, grammatically unmarked, that represents the act or state as an objective fact. Grammatically unmarked refers to less marking or no marking for tense, aspect and more assertive in nature. Aspect wise, it can be both perfective and imperfect. The two examples shows simple expression with no verbal inflection and they simply state or declare the meaning:

- 289) a. **ŋkún kó dzú** "chief is at home"  
 chief be home
- b. **ŋkún kó dzǔ:** "chief is a house"  
 chief be house

The length of the vowel, the level and contour tone makes the meaning of home and house to be realised.

#### 4.3.5 Imperative mood

A mood, grammatically marked for command, that represents the expectation of the speaker to be fulfilled by the audience or hearer. In terms of aspect, it can be both perfective and imperfect. This mood urges that a certain interaction be carried out by the hearer through a special marking on the verb forms. For example we noticed that in declarative the verb go "tsé / hé" takes a shwa but when in the imperative (IM) the shwa changes to an "a" go "tsá / há". In addition, the imperative owns a special negator "mà" which is different from that used in declarative clauses. The text extract below exemplifies the imperative:

290) KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406

FSW-1      mǐ      mǎ      dǎ      g<sup>w</sup>ú wí wǎpní,      mǐ      mǎ      nóŋ dzáyá í  
IM      person do.not smash foot of his.brother/sister, person do.not find problem to

wǎpní,      bēn dúŋkí {ìn pî:s}  
his.brother/sister, 2P stay in peace

*No one should smash his or her brother or sister's foot, and no one should look for trouble to one another but you people should stay in peace.*

## 4.4 MBUK NEGATION

Within the Mbuk verb phrase, we find other particles marking negation. Negation here can be referred to as disapproving an affirmation with the use of special morphemes. These morphemes that render a positive statement to a negative statement are called negators. This section looks at the structure, meaning and function, and the distribution of negators in Mbuk.

### 4.4.1 Mbuk Negation

Negation (NG) can simply be said to be a "no or refusal". That is the opposite of a yes. This section presents negative assertions of Mbuk. Negation can be clausal or constituent. A clausal negation negates a whole clause while a constituent negation negates only a constituent within a clause. Negation can occur in both a matrix and a subordinate clause.

### 4.4.2 Types of negation

The illustration of the two major types of negations begins with the clausal or predicate negation where a whole sentence or a verb phrase is negated. The negator "tǎ:" is followed by the verb then the noun. The prepositions are seldom heard. But postpositions are common:

291) a.      m̃ nî tǎ: tsə́ í ǰ̃      bēn      "I did not go to the market."  
1s P3 NG go to market in

- b.     **wì nì tʃâ: tsə ʃī**                                 "he did not go to the market."  
           3S P4 NG go market

The second type of negation is the constituent negation which negates only a constituent within the clause. The "kə" negates the object food "dzēn" (a). While in (b) the verb is negated:

- 292 a.     **wì ká kí kə dzēn**                         "He has no food."  
           3S have PG NG food
- b.     **wì nà dzí: kə**                                 "He will eat later."  
           3S later eat NG

### 4.4.3 Mbuk Negators

The Mbuk language is endowed with a handful of negators with various forms as presented bellow:

- 293) a.     **tʃâ:**                         "is not"             verb-like negator
- b.     **kə**                                 "not"             non-verb-like negator
- c.     **kə ... kə**                         "not"
- c.     **mà**                                 "do not"             imperative negator
- d.     **tʃâ dèyó**                         "not"             emphatic negator
- e.     **tʃâ ... dèyó**                         "not"             emphatic negator (discontinuous)

We can justify the position of tʃâ: as a verb-like negator by employing the following predicate nominals:

- aa.     + ve   **bâ: kó ŋkúŋ**                         "my father is a chief"  
                   my.father is chief
- bb.     -ve   **bâ: tʃâ: ŋkúŋ**                         "my father is not a chief"  
                   my.father NG chief



#### 4.4.4 Negation and aspect

In Mbuk there is a distinction in negator of perfective aspect and that of the imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect "tʃâ:" with the CV form and a falling and sometimes the vowel is often lengthened deals with actions that have been acted and ended. This negator is sandwiched between the past tense and the verb, with the verb following it and the tense preceding it. The example below presents both a positive +ve (a) and a negative -ve (b) statements. Example (c) is without a direct object:

- 294) a. +ve **mí nî dzí: mgbù** "I did eat yesterday"  
           1s P3 eat yesterday
- b. -ve **mí nî tʃâ: dzí: mgbù** "I did not eat yesterday"  
           1s P3 NG eat yesterday
- c. -ve **mí nî tʃâ: dzí** "I did not eat"  
           1s P3 NG eat

As for the imperfective aspect, it is of the form CV "kā" with a mid tone and it always comes after a verb as illustrated by the following sentences:

- 295) a. +ve **ń bí dzí: lè kèdʒyèlí** "I will eat tomorrow"  
           1s F3 eat AF tomorrow
- b. -ve **ń bí dzí: kā kèdʒyèlí** "I will not eat tomorrow"  
           1s F3 eat NG tomorrow

It will end a sentence or clause in the absence of an object:

- c. -ve **ń bí dzí: kā** "I will not eat"  
       1s F3 eat NG

With regard to aspect still; perfective and imperfective includes the progressive, some differences do exist around a verb. When the progressive aspect is absent, you cannot use the negator without employing the future tense marker as seen in (c), when this restriction is not obeyed, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as the (d) example below:

- 296) a. perfective: **mì hí tʃâ: dzí** "I did not eat"  
1s P2 NG eat
- b. progressive: **m̃ dzí:-kí kē** "I am not eating"  
1s eat-PG NG
- c. imperfective: **m̃ nà dzí: kē** "I will not eat"  
1s F eat NG
- d. **\*m̃ dzí: kē** "I will not eat" (ungrammatical)

#### 4.4.5 Negation and Tense

It is dawn that the past tense uses "tʃâ" unless in the case of past imperfective situation where the negator of a future tense "kē" can intervene and displaced that of the past tense: The past tense use of the negator "tʃâ:" and "tʃâ dèyá" is exemplified. The negator is preceded by the past tense marker while the negator is followed by a verb:

- 297) a. **wì hí tʃâ: tsē fī bēn** b. **wì ní tʃâ: tsē fī bēn**  
3S P2 NG go market in 3S P3 NG go market in  
"he did not go to the market" "he did not go to the market"

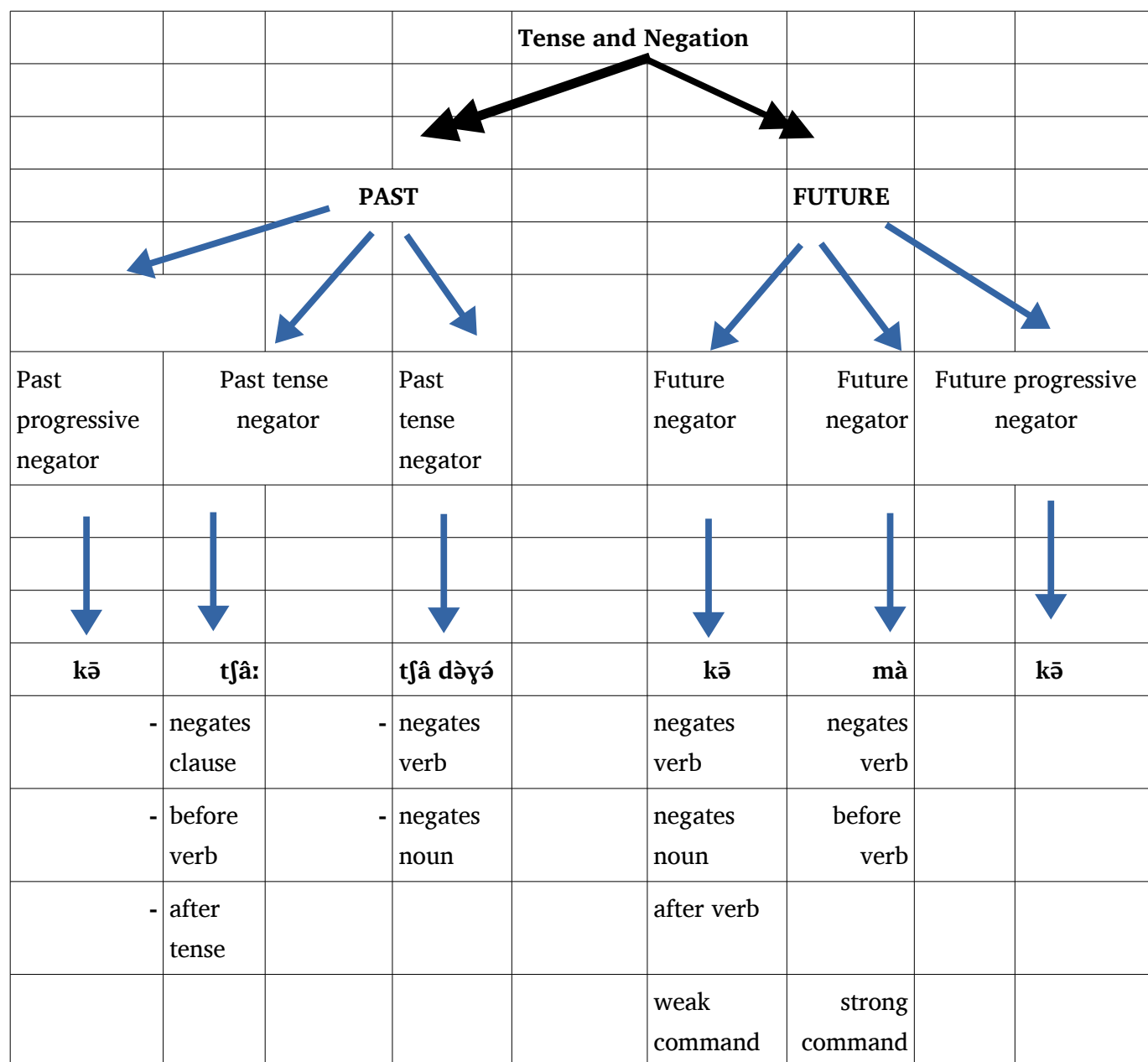
The future tense, uses the "kē" negator (298a) as well as and imperative negator "mà".

- 298) a. **wì bí tsē kē fī** "he will not go to the market (tomorrow).  
3S F3 go NG market

299) The negator **kè ... kē** (NEG/NEG) is doubled to strengthen the refusal with a tonal change:

|      |                                                                 |              |              |              |              |       |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|------|------|-----|------|----|---------|----|-----|
| [4]  | 00.00.05.000                                                    | 00.00.06.000 | 00.00.07.000 | 00.00.08.000 | 00.00.09.000 | 00    |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |
| mbk  | tʷá                                                             | wī           | wē           | ná           | lé           | dzúá  | kè    | tʷá  | kê   | wè  | ná:  | sé | bí      | ē  |     |
| [12] |                                                                 |              |              |              |              |       |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |
| mp   | tʷán                                                            | wì           | wè           | ná           | lyé          | dzú   | á     | kè   | tʷán | kē  | wè   | ná | tsé     | bí | ē   |
| [8]  |                                                                 |              |              |              |              |       |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |
| gc   | N                                                               | 3SO          | 2S           | V            | V            | N     | IJT   | NEG  | V    | NEG | 2S   | V  | V       | N  | IJT |
| [5]  |                                                                 |              |              |              |              |       |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |
| gl   | beat                                                            | him          | you          | give         | go.in        | house | don't | beat | not  | you | give | go | outside |    |     |
| [5]  |                                                                 |              |              |              |              |       |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |
|      | Beat a child and send him into the house, do not send him away. |              |              |              |              |       |       |      |      |     |      |    |         |    |     |

Figure 18: Schema of Negation and Tense



#### 4.4.6 Negation and dominance

The overriding of one negator over another is when they are brought together by the blending of the perfective and an imperfective expression. In Mbuk example (c), the imperfective negator "kā" plus the progressive aspect "kí" dominates the perfective negator "tʃâ:" in a sentence with a past tense marker P2 "hí". Hence, an event happening in a progressive aspect in the past will take but an imperfective negator and not the perfective negator though

with a past tense. In (a) where the tense is past, the negator is "tʃâ:" while in (b) with present tense and progressive the negator is "kē":

- 300) a.     **wò hī tʃâ: dzí**                    "you did not eat"  
               2S P2 NG eat
- b.     **wò dzí: kí kē**                    "you are not eating"  
               2S eat PG NG
- c.     **wò hí dzí: kí kē**                    "you were not eating"  
               2S P2 eat PG NG

In Aghem, a West Ring Grassfields Bantu below, it is also the negator of the imperfective that is used instead of that of the perfective aspect in the presence of a past tense:

- 301) a.     **wò kà mò zē**                    "you did not eat"  
               2S NG P2 eat
- b.     **wò zǎa yō**                    "you are eating"  
               2S eat.PG NG
- c.     **wò mò zǎa yō**                    "you were not eating"  
               2S P2 eat.PG NG

#### 4.4.7 Negation and contrast

In Mbuk, a negator is used together with a noun to mark contrast by the change of word order. The negator "tʃâ:" is used together with nouns to say it is not or it was there but is finished as illustrated in (b). While (c) negates that the action has not been carried out. But with the case of (d), it says that it is something else and not what we thought, thus countering our expectations:

- 302) a.     + ve   **nèŋ kó lè** "There is njamanjama (huckleberry soup)"  
                       soup be AF
- ve   **nèŋ tʃâ:** "There is no nyamanyama (soup) or it is finished"  
                       soup NG

- b.     + ve   **mí dzí**        "I have eaten"  
               1s eat
- ve   **mí tʃâ: dzí**   "I have not eaten"  
               1s NG eat

In this case (d) the with the negator moving to the front gives the negator the status of a counterfactual mood thus contradicting our prediction or presupposition:

- c.           **tʃâ: nèn**        "Not nyamanyama (but something else)"  
               NG soup

Another way to maintain the syntax in (c) above is to use the emphatic negator "tʃâ dèyó". The "dèyó ~ dèké" is an empty morpheme and cannot be used alone to articulate negation:

- d.     à **tʃâ dèyó nèn**     "it is not huckleberry" (meaning it is something else).  
        It NG NG   soup
- e.     **mì   tʃâ dèyó**     "it is not a person"  
        person NG NG

#### 4.4.8 Negation and imperative

The Mbuk language has reserved a special negator for commands. The imperative negator of the form CV "mà" bearing a low is used in to ways for both strong and mitigated commands. The command negative can have a preceding subject or the subject position can stay empty. The command negator is always followed by a verb.

The command negator without a subject has two formulations; a strong (a) and a weak (b). When a contracted elicitation is used, the imperative expression is given without "do" which makes it strong. Meanwhile, when the expression in English is not contracted the expression in Mbuk then takes do "nī" rendering it a weak command. From this point, reflecting on Mbuk past tense P3 "nī " and P4 "nì " we can predict a historical origin from the verb "do" which has been bleached to an auxiliary and a tense by forces of evolution. In natural text, the

weak form is rare. The verb "do" in (b) is more of an auxiliary for it does undertake full verb conjugation. It is worthwhile stating that the command negator is more often intrinsically addressed to a second person singular "2S" and sometimes it includes the 2P without explicitly stating the subject pronoun:

- 303) a.     **mà dzí**                    "don't eat"  
               NG eat
- b.     **mă ní dzí**                "do not eat"  
               NG do eat

The verb takes a direct object, the tone of auxiliary "do" (b) moves from high to mid tone (d):

- c.     **mà dzí: p̄**                    "don't eat fufu"  
               NG eat fufu
- d.     **mă nī dzí: p̄**                "do not eat fufu"  
               NG do eat fufu
- e.     **mà tsē jī**                    "do not go to market"  
               NG go market
- f.     **mà lá        kxē**                "do not go to farm"  
               NG go.work farm

In (e and f) above " nī " is not used which means it is restricted to transitive verbs.

In (304) below, the subject pronouns are used alongside the command negator:

- 304) e.     **mì mà dzí**                    "let no one eat"
- d.     **bē mà dzí**                    "we should not eat" (many people)
- f.     **bēyēn mà dzí**                "we should not eat" (inclusive)
- g.     **béyē mà dzí**                    "we should not eat" (exclusive)
- h.     **bóyē mà dzí**                    "we should not eat"(Mbuk–Kiyààkì (orig. settlement))
- i.     **bēn mà dzí**                    "you should not eat" (2P)
- y.     **bó mà dzí**                    "they should not eat" (3P)

The word "nɪ" used in (b) comes from the verb to "ínī" meaning to do in the future, or yet to be done. The most frequently and full verb of to do "íḿ" in Mbuk which carry on most of the conjugations. This the use of nī is like verb that has been transformed into a tense. The verb drink below just like eat above are both transitive verbs and they go along with "nɪ". Tonally in the presence of "nɪ" the tone on the imperative negator moves from low to rising:

- 305) a.      **mǎ ní mú**                                      b.      **mà mú**  
                  NG do drink                                      NG drink  
                  "do not drink (any time in the future)"      "don't drink"

#### 4.4.9 Emphatic negator "tʃâ dèyó"

Two forms of emphatic negator have been; "tʃâ dèyó" without discontinuity which is seen with nouns (a) and is more contrastive in nature with a dummy subject "à" in a cleft construction. But when a full noun as subject in (b) is used it simply means negates the assertion of having fufu that there is no fufu without in contrastivity intention. Then with "tʃâ .. dèyó" with discontinuity which happens with verbs which is just a simple negation (c). We remark that the negator "tʃâ:" is no longer lengthened when it becomes emphatic "tʃâ dèyó:

- 306) a.      **à tʃâ dèyó nɛŋ**                                      "it is not nyamanyama (vegetable soup)"  
                  it NG NG    soup  
                  b.      **ɲyē tʃâ dèyó dzú**                                      "there is no fufu in the house"  
                  fufu NG NG    house  
                  c.      **wì tʃâ ɲá: dèyó**                                      "he did not give."  
                  3S NG give NG

#### 4.4.10 Lexical negation

Lexical negation is the use of antonyms to downplay on the use of negators. Hence, the use of negators is not the only way to deny something. So instead of using a negator to negate a

verb, the opposite of the verb is used to express to counteract the positive statement. For example, the verb "have" has a direct opposite lack which means "not have", instead of saying "not have" a verb is used "lack":

- 307) a. +ve      **ń kǎ: kǐ lè ɲǎ**      "I have fufu"  
                                          1s have PG AF fufu
- b. -ve      **ń dzá: kǐ lè ɲǎ**      "I lack fufu"  
                                          1s lack PG AF fufu
- c. -ve      **ń kǎ: kǐ kǎ ɲǎ**      "I do not have fufu"  
                                          1s have PG NG fufu

Looking above, we see that the positive statement (a) can be negated in two ways; without a negator as in (b) and with a negator as in (c). Hence for some positive statements, they can have two negating options; lexically or by a negator.

Another lexical example is between tall and short:

- 308) a. +ve      **kpén wǎlè kó wí dǎ:**      "this tree is a tall one."  
                                          tree this is of tall
- b. -ve      **kpén wǎlè kó wí dǎlǐ**      "this tree is a short one."  
                                          tree this is of short

The preceding case of "tall/short" as lexical examples is given using a negator below:

- 309) a. +ve      **kpén wǎlǎ dǎɲè kǐ lè**      "this tree is tall"  
                                          tree this tall PG AF
- b. -ve      **kpén wǎlǎ dǎɲè kǐ kǎ**      "this tree is not tall"  
                                          tree this tall PG NG

#### 4.4.11 Negation and refusal

Is the denial of an affirmation by the use of various strategies. In Mbuk, a negator can be used or some special maker meaning "no" or they can accept using "yes". We dedicate this piece of section on ways to response; deny or say yes:



- 310) a. **Wò kǎ:-kí-lə dʒúá yí dɔ̀yô ?** "Do you have any / some soup?  
 2S have-PG-AF soup AM some.QP

The above statement has several ways of responding to it negatively or positively:

- b. **Ǻ kǎ:-kí kə** "I do not have"  
 1S have-PG NG
- c. **ŋǎŋ, Ǻ kǎ:-kí kə** "no, I do not have"  
 no, 1s have-PG NG
- d. **ŋǎŋ** "no"
- e. **ǎí** "no"
- f. **ǎ:ŋ** "yes"

- 311) a. **bâ wà kó ŋkû:ŋ?** "Is your father a chief?"  
 father your is chief.QP

- Responses: b. **ǎí bâ wǎŋ tʃâ ŋkún** "no, my father is not a chief"  
 no, father my NG chief
- c. **ŋgāŋ** "no"
- d. **ǎ:ŋ** "yes"

Above, the "ŋgáŋ" can take any tone depending on the situation. Apart from the refusal or acceptance, one part of the question clause can be repeated with a negative marker as in (c). In Mbuk as a norm, when "bâ" is used the possessive pronoun is not used. The use of possessive pronoun is the effect of language contact. Note that length of "tʃâ:" becomes short "tʃâ" in a response clause.

## 4.5 CONCLUSION

This section has examined the structure and functions of Mbuk verbs and their verbal extensions. The classification of Mbuk verbs has been presented into two main groups: the single verbs and the compound verbs. The single verbs are further divided into two sets: minus suffix and plus suffix. The minus suffix is grouped according to phonological nuances and the plus suffix is grouped with respect to morpheme changes. Each of these sub-groupings of phonological differences and morpheme differentiation is further splintered into their tonal contrasts. There are six forms with zero suffix and 11 forms with 11 different varieties of verbal extension suffixes that mostly play the role of a derivational suffix morpheme. This is primarily the study of the structural components of the verb word which now leads us into the syntax of the verb word in relation to its intrinsic semantic proponents in determining the various constituents of a sentence of a particular type of verb.

The effect of diversified semantic properties of verbs are discussed. These effects are expressed by the valency and transitivity of the various verbs of the Mbuk language. The valency can anchor about three arguments while transitivity covers: intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. Ambitransitive verbs also exist which are either transitive or intransitive. The valency increasing and decreasing strategies have also been examined and described. All these phenomena are borne by semantic inherent differences that verbs are endowed with. These semantic behaviours of verbs contrast with those characteristics that are posed by the structural diversity of verbs. The semantic and structural features have an impact on the way tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are expressed in relation to the nature of the verb as we notice in the subsequent discussion on TAM.

Here we have examined the three overlapping components: tense, aspect, mood of a verb that interplay in the description of the internal conduction of an event.

These components have been the time (tense), state (aspect) and manner (mood/mode) with which the event unfolds.

The time is expressed in structure, role and displacement by the use of tense markers and temporal lexemes such as Adjuncts of time: now, today, yesterday, before, after and so on and so forth.

The state of the event stages that the event has occurred and is over, or it is ongoing, or it is yet to happen. This state is mostly expressed by inflectional and derivational morphemes.

Thence, the manner of the event, explaining how attitude of the speaker influences the way in which the event occurs.

Due to the ramifications of grammar in the execution of an event, the verb behaviour cannot be treated in a single chapter, thus the continuity of the tense, aspect and mood below in relation to negation

Concluding on negations, we have seen four main negators used for both perfective and imperfective and correspondingly for past and future tense. The negations can have tonal changes but attention has not been paid to that in this under negation. The division on clausal and constituent negation is not quite grounded as further research is needed. This section is yet to look at negation across main and subordinate clauses since the topic on clauses is yet to be covered in subsequent research.

A summary of tense and negation has been put into a form of a schema in the pages above to vividly illustrate how negation tense and aspect works in the language. The goal of this chapter has been to explore the possible ways in which interrogatives are used in Mbuk and to document its forms and distributions.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MBUK DETERMINERS

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to present the morpho-syntax of Mbuk determiners. In some literature, the term determiner refers to modifiers (Hyman 1979:27). In this study, the term determiner is synonymous to modifier, thus, interchangeably used. The form and distribution of the determiners are treated in section 5.1 alongside their concord or noun class agreement markers while that of the interrogatives follows in 5.2, highlighted in a separate section due its permeability in nouns and verb phrases.

#### 5.1 MBUK DETERMINERS

This section looks at nouns and its determiners. A determiner is a content word that qualifies the meaning of a noun. Swan and Walter (2011:167) say,

*determiners are words that come at the beginning of noun phrases, before Adjectives. Determiners help to show which or how many people/things we are talking about. Determiners include, this, that, these, those, some, any, no, enough, all, each, every, both, either, neither, much, many, a little, a few, more, most, a lot, lots, a/an, the, my, your, his, our, your, their, mine, yours, somebody, anything, nowhere.*

While Mutaka and Tamanji (2000:193) consider a determiner as a word used with a noun, and which specifies the noun or limits the meaning of the noun. These determiners include: interrogatives, demonstratives, definite and indefinite articles, numerals, possessives. In this wise, we present the Mbuk determiners in the subsequent pages.

### 5.1.1 Possessives

The act of belonging to or having ownership over something can be expressed in various forms in the Mbuk language. These possessions can be of two types; alienable and inalienable that are documented under the headings; Adjectives, pronouns and kinship possession. Though child "wāp" is classified as a kinship term, it has no special morphophonological markings like other kinship words "my father, my mother, my uncle or my aunt" (§5.1.14).

#### 5.1.1.1 Possessive Adjectives

Ownership is expressed using CVC and CV syllable patterns in Mbuk. This is illustrated with noun class gender 7/8:

| 312) | <b>NC 7</b>           |                     | <b>NC 8</b>           |                      |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1S   | <b>kəkpə kǎŋ</b>      | <i>my lizard</i>    | <b>bìkpə byĩŋ</b>     | <i>my lizards</i>    |
| 2S   | <b>kəkpə ká</b>       | <i>your lizard</i>  | <b>bìkpə byá</b>      | <i>your lizards</i>  |
| 3S   | <b>kəkpə wí</b>       | <i>his lizard</i>   | <b>bìkpə bí</b>       | <i>his lizards</i>   |
| 1PI  | <b>kəkpə kə bəyən</b> | <i>our lizard</i>   | <b>bìkpə bì bəyən</b> | <i>our lizards</i>   |
| 1PE  | <b>kəkpə kə bəyá</b>  | <i>our lizard</i>   | <b>bìkpə bí bəyá</b>  | <i>our lizards</i>   |
| 2P   | <b>kəkpə kə bən</b>   | <i>your lizard</i>  | <b>bìkpə bí bən</b>   | <i>your lizards</i>  |
| 3P   | <b>kəkpə kì bó</b>    | <i>their lizard</i> | <b>bìkpə bì bó</b>    | <i>their lizards</i> |

The patriclan variant form of 1P inclusive (1PI) "bəyən" ~ "bəyábən".

The natural word order in Mbuk is that the possessed precedes the possessor, that is, the possessed is the head noun or head word: NP + PS as seen above. Particular classes are characterised by a particular tonal pattern with some exceptions. There are contour tones on 1S, 1PI, 2P while the rest of the persons have either high, mid or low. In morphology, the possessive morpheme is not same for all the classes, it varies. Classes 2 and 6a have same morpheme "-um" for 3S. It is a puzzle why 6a for 2S lacks the coda "-m" which is in class 2 for 2S. In the plural, they all combine the singular plus the plural marker to mark 1p, 2P and 3P.

There do exist inclusiveness and exclusiveness with 1p: our inclusive is different from our exclusive. The table below gives possessive adjectives (PS) for each noun class.

**Table 55: Possessive Adjectives**

| person |     | 1S                       | 2S                        | 3S                               | 1PI                         | 1PE                          | 2P              | 3P              |
|--------|-----|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| NC     | PX  | my<br>" -əŋ "<br>" -ɪŋ " | your<br>" -a "<br>" -am " | his/her/its<br>" -ɪ "<br>" -um " | our<br>inclusive<br>"bəʋən" | our<br>exclusive<br>" bəʋə " | your<br>" bən " | their<br>" bo " |
| 1      | ø-  | wǎŋ                      | wā                        | wī                               | ù bəʋən                     | ù bəʋə                       | ù bən           | wì bó           |
| 2      | bə- | bǎŋ                      | bām                       | búm                              | bá bəʋən                    | bê bəʋə                      | bá bən          | bī bó           |
| 3      | ø-  | wǎŋ                      | wá                        | wí                               | ù bəʋən                     | wí bəʋə                      | wù bən          | wì bó           |
| 4      | ø-  | yǎŋ                      | yá                        | yí                               | yì bəʋən                    | yí bəʋə                      | yí bən          | kì bó           |
| 5      | ø-  | wǎŋ                      | wá                        | wí                               | ù bəʋən                     | wú bəʋə                      | wí bən          | wì bó           |
| 6      | kɪ- | kǎŋ                      | ká                        | kí                               | kə bəʋən                    | ká bəʋə                      | ká bən          | kì bó           |
| 7      | kɪ- | kǎŋ                      | ká                        | kí                               | kə bəʋən                    | ká bəʋə                      | ká bən          | kì bó           |
| 8      | bi- | byĩŋ                     | byá                       | bí                               | bì bəʋən                    | bí bəʋə                      | bí bən          | kì bó           |
| 9      | ø-  | yǎŋ                      | yā                        | yì                               | yì bəʋən                    | yì bəʋə                      | yì bən          | ỳ bó            |
| 10     | ø-  | yǎŋ                      | yá                        | yí                               | yí bəʋən                    | yí bəʋə                      | yí bən          | yí bó           |
| 19     | fɪ- | fyĩŋ                     | fyá                       | fí                               | fì bəʋən                    | fá bəʋə                      | fá bən          | fí bó           |
| 6a     | N-  | mǎŋ                      | má                        | múm                              | mə bəʋən                    | má bəʋə                      | mə bən          | mí bó           |

313) a. 1S kə-kpə k-ǎŋ "my lizard"

7-NP 7c.AM-PS

7.lizard 7.my

b. 1S bì-kpə by-ĩŋ "my lizards"

8-NP 8c.AM-PS

8.lizards 8.my

Above, possessive pronoun vowel harmony occurs: ə → ɪ / bʲ\_ and ɪ → ə / k\_



- b. nc. 2 1S non-emphatic: **bìbìkém bǎŋ** "my lions" (pl.)  
 2.lions 2.my  
 nc. 2 1S emphatic: **m̐bǎŋ bìbìkém** "my own lions" (pl.)  
 2.my.own 2.lions

The word order for non-emphatic and the emphatic form compared:

- 316) a. 1S **ø-bìkém w-ǎŋ** **ŋ-w-ǎŋ ø-bìkém**  
 1-lion 1c-my EM-1c-my 1-lion  
 b. 1S **bì-bìkém b-ǎŋ** **m̐-b-ǎŋ bì-bìkém**  
 2-lions 2c-my EM-2c-my 2c-lions

The nasal prefixation do not prefix for second person (1p, 2P, 3P) emphatic possessive Adjectives but their word order is reversed from final to initial position. Example (b) Illustrates the emphatic form:

- 317) a. **ø-bìkém w-ì bǎn** "your (pl.) lion"  
 1-lion 1c-AM your  
 b. **w-ì bǎn ø-bìkém** "your (pl.) own lion"  
 1c-AM your 1-lion  
 318) a. **bìkém w-ì bǎŋǎbēn** "our lion" (inclusive non-emphatic)  
 1.lion 1c-AM our.inc  
 b. **w-ì bǎŋǎbēn bìkém** "our own lion" (inclusive emphatic)  
 1c-AM our.inc 1.lion

Instead of a nasal prefix, the plural forms takes but the associative concord of the displaced head noun. The concord now functions as a cataphoric pronoun making a forward reference to the noun that has been shifted to the front at the phrase final position. The emphatic possessive Adjective takes the possessor, while the possessive pronouns below (8.1.3) do not takes a possessor.



### 5.1.1.3 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns here refers to; mine, yours, his, our, yours and theirs as in the following table:

**Table 57: possessive pronouns**

| person |     | 1S     | 2S    | 3S          | 1PI         | 1PE        | 2P     | 3P     |
|--------|-----|--------|-------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------|--------|
| NC     | PX  | mine   | yours | his/her/its | ours        | ours       | yours  | theirs |
| 1      | ø-  | ḡwǎḡ   | ḡwā   | ḡwī         | ù bə̌ʋə̌n   | ù bə̌ʋə̌   | ù bǎn  | wì bó  |
| 2      | bə- | m̄bǎḡ  | m̄bá  | m̄bóm       | bá bə̌ʋə̌n  | bə̌ bə̌ʋə̌ | bá bǎn | bī bó  |
| 3      | ø-  | ḡwǎḡ   | ḡwá   | ḡwí         | ù bə̌ʋə̌n   | wí bə̌ʋə̌  | wù bǎn | wì bó  |
| 4      | ø-  | ḡyǎḡ   | ḡyá   | ḡyí         | yì bə̌ʋə̌n  | yí bə̌ʋə̌  | yí bǎn | kì bó  |
| 5      | ø-  | ḡwǎḡ   | ḡwá   | ḡwí         | ù bə̌ʋə̌n   | wú bə̌ʋə̌  | wí bǎn | wì bó  |
| 6      | kɪ- | ḡkǎḡ   | ḡká   | ḡkí         | kə̌ bə̌ʋə̌n | ká bə̌ʋə̌  | ká bǎn | kì bó  |
| 7      | kɪ- | ḡkǎḡ   | ḡká   | ḡkí         | kə̌ bə̌ʋə̌n | ká bə̌ʋə̌  | ká bǎn | kì bó  |
| 8      | bi- | m̄byǐḡ | m̄byá | m̄bí        | bì bə̌ʋə̌n  | bí bə̌ʋə̌  | bí bǎn | kì bó  |
| 9      | ø-  | ḡyǎḡ   | ḡyā   | ḡyī         | yì bə̌ʋə̌n  | yì bə̌ʋə̌  | yì bǎn | ỳ bó   |
| 10     | ø-  | ḡyǎḡ   | ḡyá   | ḡyí ~ ḡzí   | yí bə̌ʋə̌n  | yí bə̌ʋə̌  | yí bǎn | yí bó  |
| 19     | fɪ- | m̄fyǐḡ | m̄fyá | m̄fí        | fì bə̌ʋə̌n  | fá bə̌ʋə̌  | fá bǎn | fí bó  |
| 6a     | N-  | m̄mǎḡ  | m̄má  | m̄móm       | m̄ bə̌ʋə̌n  | m̄ bə̌ʋə̌  | m̄ bǎn | m̄ bó  |

Note that "ḡy" is different from "ḡ". The "n" is a syllabic nasal.

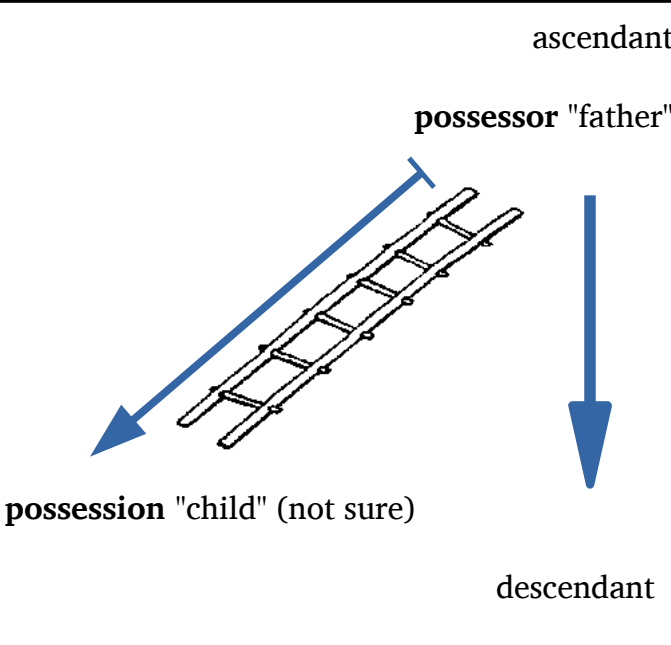
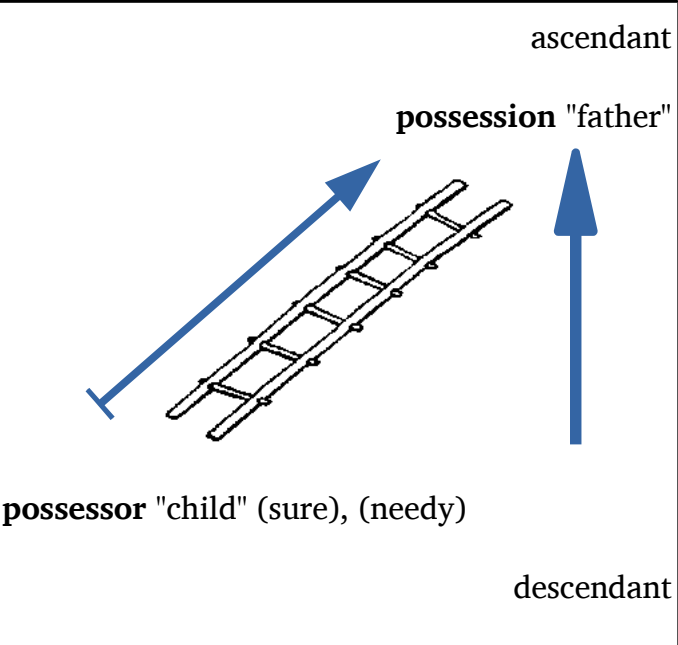
These are different from possessive Adjectives in that the noun, the possession is no longer overtly stated. But in certain expressions the possessive pronoun precedes the noun when it is overtly stated for extra emphases and disambiguation. It takes the form of a cleft sentences in the expression "it is mine "À kə̌ m̄mǎḡ". Where "à" is the dummy subject, "kə̌" is the corpula is, and "N" is a homorganic nasal referring to "I" while "mǎ" is the possessive Adjective. Hence, a possessive pronoun is a subject pronoun N + a possessive Adjective:

#### 5.1.1.4 Kinship possessive

The possessive relationship "my child" is expressed with inalienability because one is never sure especially the father that the child is his in some cultures. That is, the child's ownership is not a hundred percent certain between the father and mother. The certainty is leaned to the mother which is only a 50% sure while the percentage of the father is lacking.

Here below is a summary ladder of possession; alienable and inalienable:

Figure 19: Possession Ladder

| alienable                                                                                                                                                                            | inalienable                                                                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Can be repudiated or transferred to another                                                                                                                                          | Cannot be repudiated or transferred to another                                                                                                                                             |
| my child                                                                                                                                                                             | my father                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|  <p>ascendant</p> <p>possessor "father"</p> <p>possession "child" (not sure)</p> <p>descendant</p> |  <p>ascendant</p> <p>possession "father"</p> <p>possessor "child" (sure), (needy)</p> <p>descendant</p> |
| When the possessor is on the ceiling up, the relationship is alienable.                                                                                                              | When the possessor is on the floor down, the relationship is inalienable. Needing help, security.                                                                                          |

Furthermore, order of inalienability is child to mother while that of alienability is mother to child. In the inalienable one, the mother is the possession and the child the possessor. But in the case of the alienability the situation reverses, the child is the possession and the mother the

possessor. In this case, the mother needs nothing from the child so its affiliation to the child is inherently weak. But since as a child, you are desperate, you need security, shelter and food, the relation to mother is very strong by nature.

#### 5.1.1.4.1 Inalienable and alienable

The inalienable expression shows more intimacy between the possessor and possession than in the case of the alienable possessive as seen in the following examples:

| 319) | inalienable  |                  | form for alienable possessive                     |
|------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1S   | <b>bâ</b>    | "my father" ~    | 1S <b>bâ wǎŋ</b>                                  |
| 2S   | <b>tyǎ</b>   | "your father" ~  | 2S <b>bâ wā</b>                                   |
| 3S   | <b>tǐ:</b>   | "his father" ~   | 3S <b>bâ wī</b>                                   |
| 1PI  |              | ~                | 1p <b>bâ ù bə̌ʔn</b> "our father (inc)"           |
| 1PE  |              | ~                | 1p <b>bá ù bə̌ʔ</b> "our father (exc)"            |
| 2P   | <b>bə̌ná</b> | "your father" ~  | 2P <b>bə̌bâ wā</b> "your father"                  |
| 3P   | <b>bə̌ní</b> | "their father" ~ | 3P <b>bə̌bâ wī ~ tǐ: ~ bâ ù bó</b> "thier father" |

320) KPAAMCAMEnts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00388.jpg{00:00:17.920-00:00:23.470}

|              |                                               |              |              |              |              |              |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|              | 18.000                                        | 00:00:19.000 | 00:00:20.000 | 00:00:21.000 | 00:00:22.000 | 00:00:23.000 |
| <b>topic</b> | kinship possessive, inalienable "bábâ:"       |              |              |              |              |              |
| [1]          |                                               |              |              |              |              |              |
| Mbk_WBS-16   | Óó                                            | kpí          | bábâ:        |              | dzō          | mí           |
| [1]          |                                               |              |              |              |              |              |
| GL_WBS-16    | IJT death 2.my.fore.fathers take 1SO          |              |              |              |              |              |
| [1]          |                                               |              |              |              |              |              |
| FT_WBS-16    | Oh, death, my ancestors should take me along. |              |              |              |              |              |

In the preceding ELAN text above, The lexical tonal melody "bèbâ, mī" changes into a song tonal melody as seen in "bábâ, mí". Above, the inalienable possessive examples are shown with the possessor and possessed fused into a single word.

The following corpus below are inalienable terms referring to mother and uncle:

|      |    |             |               |    |                     |                    |
|------|----|-------------|---------------|----|---------------------|--------------------|
| 321) | 1S | <b>nê:</b>  | "my mother"   | 1p | <b>ní ù bə̌ʔn</b>   | "our mother (inc)" |
|      |    |             |               | 1p | <b>ní ù bə̌ʔ</b>    | "our mother (exc)" |
|      | 2S | <b>ná:</b>  | "your mother" | 2P | <b>ní ù bən</b>     | "your mother"      |
|      | 3S | <b>ní:</b>  | "his mother"  | 3P | <b>nî ù bó</b>      | "their mother"     |
| 322) | 1S | <b>wónê</b> | "my uncle"    | 1p | <b>wonê ù bə̌ʔn</b> | "our uncle (inc)"  |
|      |    |             |               | 1p | <b>wonê ù bə̌ʔ</b>  | "our uncle (exc)"  |
|      | 2S | <b>wóná</b> | "your uncle"  | 2P | <b>wóná ù bən</b>   | "your uncle (pl.)" |
|      | 3S | <b>wóní</b> | "his uncle"   | 3P | <b>wóní ù bó</b>    | "their uncle"      |

There is an inalienable term for paternal aunt and non for maternal aunt in the language as seen in the following examples:

|      |     |                             |                                                    |
|------|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 323) | 1S  | <b>dʒəmífb̃:</b>            | "my aunt (paternal)"                               |
|      | 2S  | <b>dʒəmìtyǎ</b>             | "your aunt"                                        |
|      | 3S  | <b>dʒəmìtĩ:</b>             | "his/her aunt"                                     |
|      | 1PI | <b>dʒəmì yì tĩ: ù bə̌ʔn</b> | "our aunt (inc)" ~ <b>dʒəmìb̃ə̌ʔn</b> "our sister" |
|      | 1PE | <b>dʒəmì yì tĩ: ù bə̌ʔ</b>  | "our aunt (exc)"                                   |
|      | 2P  | <b>dʒəmì tĩ ù bən</b>       | "your aunt"                                        |
|      | 3P  | <b>dʒəmì tĩ ù bó</b>        | "their aunt"                                       |

### 5.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives (DM) agree with the concord of the head noun they are modifying;

This, near speaker (NS) "-ələ",

That, near audience (NU) "-fɔ̃ɔ̃"

That, away from speaker and audience "-ya<sup>ʋ</sup>a", remember (/y/ = [j])

It is common for "wɪ" to sound "wo ~ wə" in class 1 of that near the audience.

Additionally, in class 8 and 19 it is usual for i to change to "e ~ ə" after being palatalised.

**Table 58: Plural possessive pronouns**

| NC | PX  | AG | stem    | This, near speaker (NS) |                               | Near (NU)  | FSU                   |
|----|-----|----|---------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
|    |     |    |         | this/these              | Example                       | that/those | that/those            |
| 1  | ø-  | w` | mì      | w-əl̄ə                  | mì wəl̄ə "this person"        | wó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | wə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 2  | bá- | b´ | bónî:   | b-əl̄ə                  | bónî: bəl̄ə "these people"    | bó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | bə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 3  | ø-  | w´ | kpâ:    | w-əl̄ə                  | kpâ: wəl̄ə "this hand"        | wó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | wə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 4  | ø-  | y´ | kâ:     | y-əl̄ə                  | kâ: yəl̄ə "these hands"       | yó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | yə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 5  | ø-  | w´ | gbâ:    | w-əl̄ə                  | gbâ: wəl̄ə "this ceiling"     | wó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | wə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 6  | kɪ- | k´ | kígbâ:  | k-əl̄ə                  | kígbâ: kəl̄ə "these ceilings" | kó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | kə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 7  | kɪ- | k´ | kìkpâ:  | k-əl̄ə                  | kìkpâ: kəl̄ə "this lizard"    | kó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | kə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 8  | bi- | b´ | bìkpâ:  | by-əl̄ə                 | bìkpâ: byəl̄ə "these lizards" | byó fɔ̃ɔ̃  | byə yà <sup>ʋ</sup> à |
| 9  | ø-  | y` | ʃwǎŋ    | y-əl̄ə                  | ʃwǎŋ yəl̄ə "this sheep"       | yə fɔ̃ɔ̃   | yə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 10 | ø-  | y´ | ʃwán    | y-əl̄ə                  | ʃwán yəl̄ə "these sheeps"     | yó fɔ̃ɔ̃   | yə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |
| 19 | fɪ- | f´ | fīnyéní | fy-əl̄ə                 | fīnyéní fyəl̄ə "this bird"    | fyé fɔ̃ɔ̃  | fyə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à |
| 6a | N-  | N´ | m̄nyéní | m-əl̄ə                  | m̄nyéní məl̄ə "these birds"   | mə fɔ̃ɔ̃   | mə yá <sup>ʋ</sup> à  |

We prefer audience (U) to hearer because the audience participate in the discourse. The mid tone in class 1 could be due to the influence of the low tone on the preceding "mì".

### 5.1.3 Adjectives

An Adjective is an attribute that describes a noun. Mbuk has some of them derived from verbs while some are pure qualifying terms by themselves. Some of them can appear on both postposed and preposed positions while others can only occur on either one of the positions. Some Adjectives have more than one term, that is, they do have synonyms. These Adjectives take concord of the head noun. Adjectives like small are often just said with the class 19 prefix *fi-* which indicates small while those of big take the prefix of class 7 as their default prefix. When you say big, without linking it to any noun the Adjective takes a class 7 concord.

#### 5.1.3.1 Adjectives per domain

These Adjectives include, attributes, quantifiers, numerals, and colour terms.

|              |              |                                                                       |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 324) Size,   | "big"        | <b>mbòm, tʃóŋ, tʃóŋní,<br/>kìmgbáŋ ~ kèmgbáŋ,<br/>kìmfáŋ ~ kèmfáŋ</b> |
|              | "small"      | <b>fílé:, tʃwèsì, fíntʃí, tʃwày</b>                                   |
|              | "medium"     | <b>ìkpéníní</b>                                                       |
|              | "thick"      | <b>tʃómí (kílè)</b>                                                   |
|              | "thin"       | <b>yàŋhì (kílè)</b>                                                   |
| 325) Length, | "tall, long" | <b>dê, dèŋè ~ ndèŋè</b>                                               |
|              | "short"      | <b>ndzúlì ~ ndzùlì</b>                                                |
|              | "width"      | <b>yămnī, mbòm</b>                                                    |
|              | "depth"      | <b>lyá (kálè), dzǔ (kálè)</b>                                         |
| 326) Age,    | "new"        | <b>fífyá</b>                                                          |
|              | "old"        | <b>fíkpó, ndzųnnī, kpó (non-living things)</b>                        |

|                |             |                                   |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
|                | "old"       | <b>dʒún</b> (for living things)   |
|                | "aged"      | <b>tʃóʔ</b>                       |
|                | "elder"     | <b>ɲgámì</b>                      |
|                | "young"     | <b>sómì</b>                       |
|                | "fade"      | <b>múhī</b>                       |
| 327) Weight,   | "light"     | <b>yàŋhì</b>                      |
|                | "heavy"     | <b>ndʒì, dʒĩ:lī</b>               |
| 328) Manner,   | "good"      | <b>nôŋ, ndzón, ndzŋnī, índzón</b> |
|                | "bad"       | <b>chù, bə̀yə̀</b>                |
|                | wickedess   | <b>m̩bə̀yə̀</b>                   |
|                | "nice"      | <b>ndzón</b>                      |
|                | "terrible"  | <b>gómì</b>                       |
| 329) Colour,   | "black"     | <b>ndʒĩ, dʒĩ:lī</b>               |
|                | "white"     | <b>mbáɲ, báɲnī</b>                |
|                | "red"       | <b>mbòʋò ~ mbə̀ʋə̀, bə̀ʋəlī</b>   |
|                | "reddden"   | <b>bóʋóhí ~ bóʋòsí</b>            |
| 330) Strength, | "strong"    | <b>nlə̀ʋə̀</b>                    |
|                | "hard"      | <b>nlə̀ʋə̀</b>                    |
|                | "power"     | <b>ɲgǎ:</b>                       |
|                | "weak"      | <b>bó:, kimpə̀ŋ, yólí, kpêhí</b>  |
|                | "tiredness" | <b>mbó</b>                        |
|                | "lazy"      | <b>kpềsì</b>                     |
|                | "laziness"  | <b>mgbềnì, mkpềsì, lqíní</b>    |
|                | "soft"      | <b>mbó</b>                        |

|              |             |                                     |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 331) State   | "rich"      | <b>nàtóm, mbòm</b>                  |
|              | "worthy"    | <b>mkpénnì</b>                      |
|              | "poverty"   | <b>kìfû:</b>                        |
|              | "blund"     | <b>ntòhì</b>                        |
| 332) Taste   | "sweet"     | <b>mfǎm, ndǎwó,</b>                 |
|              | "tasteless" | <b>tùsì, ntùsì</b>                  |
|              | "bitter"    | <b>lò:, nlò: (bitterleaf, salt)</b> |
|              | "sour"      | <b>mgbáñnì</b>                      |
|              | "rawness"   | <b>ṛkfú ~ ṛkwú (unripe)</b>         |
| 333) shapes, | "round"     | <b>lyǎṇ</b>                         |
|              | "flat"      | <b>sāṇlī</b>                        |

### 5.1.3.2 Non-derived Adjectives

There are lexemes that are descriptive in their nature, pure Adjectives. They tell your about the quality/quantity of the noun when used. Some of these are:

|         |                             |                      |
|---------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 334) a. | <b>mbòm, kìmǎṇ, kìmgbáṇ</b> | "large, big,         |
| b.      | <b>fintʃí, lê, fintʃwà</b>  | "small, little,      |
| c.      | <b>dǎùlī</b>                | "short"              |
| d.      | <b>chǎṇ</b>                 | "fat"                |
| e.      | <b>chù</b>                  | "bad, wicked"        |
| f.      | <b>m̀kpénnì</b>             | "medium/normal size" |

### 5.1.3.3 Derived Adjectives

There are a set of nominalised Adjectives. This gives Adjectival nouns.



|         | Verb infinitive      | verb root     | affixation                      | derived Adjective                   |
|---------|----------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 335) a. | ígbáŋ<br>empty morph | -gbáŋ<br>ø    | kì-m-gbáŋ<br>double prefixation | kìmgbáŋ<br>largeness                |
| b.      | faŋ<br>ø             | -faŋ<br>ø     | kə-m-faŋ<br>double prefixation  | kəmfáŋ<br>largeness                 |
| c.      | íkprí<br>"to die"    | -kpí<br>"die" | kɪ-m-kpɪ-lɪ<br>circumfixation   | kìmkpɪ:lī<br>"corpse (dead person)" |

Some sets of adjectival nouns are borne by adjectival verbs that pick up the nasal prefix of gerunds. This phenomenon has been exemplified below:

|         |        |      |   |         |                       |
|---------|--------|------|---|---------|-----------------------|
| 336) a. | black  | dʒĩ  | → | ̀n-dʒĩ  | "blackness"           |
| b.      | red    | bòyó | → | ̀m-bòyò | "redness"             |
| c.      | large  | tʃóŋ | → | ̀n-tʃóŋ | "largeness"           |
| d.      | tire   | bó   | → | ̀m-bó   | "tireness"            |
| e.      | strong | lìyí | → | ̀n-lìyì | "strongness/hardness" |
| e.      | heavy  | dʒì  | → | ̀n-dʒì  | "heaviness"           |

Illustrative phrase. The "wì" associative marker generated by the gerund, verbal noun vocalises to "ù". The nominalised adjectives becomes members of class noun class 1:

|         |                                        |                                        |
|---------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 337) a. | ndʒĩ:      ù kɪfó kálē ndzóká là       | "The blackness of this cap is good"    |
|         | blackness of cap   this   good.PG AF   |                                        |
| b.      | mbòyò ù kɪfó kálē gómàkà là            | "The redness of this cap is frightful" |
|         | redness of cap   this   frightening AF |                                        |

#### 5.1.3.4 Preposed Adjectives

These are ajectives that occur before the head noun (HN). These adjectives are often nominalised adjectives (N.AJ) because they behave like nouns and do have a noun prefix and

radiates concord markers in the same way as nouns. Most often, this syntactic placement bears with it the semantic implication of focus and like wise comparative or superlative sense:

- 338) a. **kəm fáŋ ká dzǔ:** "A very large house"  
 7-N.AJ 7c-AM 9.HN  
 very.large of house
- b. **ɲfóm (wì) kìm wàní gómíkílè** "The sweetness of the banana is wonderful"  
 1-N.AJ 1c-AM 7.HN AJ  
 sweetness of banana terrible/wonderful

c.



KPAAMCAMPNTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00393.jpg\_AJ

### 5.1.3.5 Postposed Adjectives

The postposed position is the default location of adjectives. This position appears after the head noun and being syntactically the natural word order for the Mbuk language. Most of these adjectives falls in this categories. The adjective in (b) is an adjectival verb:

- 339) a. **dzǔ yì mbòm** "big house"  
 9.HN 9.AM AJ  
 house of big
- b. **dzǔ yì wó tʃéŋ-ké-lè** "the house is big"  
 9.HN 9.AM DA AJ-PG-AF  
 9.house of the big-PG-AF
- c. **dzǔ yì lè y-élē** "this small house"  
 9.HN 9.AM AJ 9c-DM  
 9.house of small this

Moreover, when the adjective is endowed with a diminutive prefix "fí-", it generates a cataphoric pronoun that diminutivised the head noun by prefixing the cataphora. The adjective considered here is, small/little "fíntʃí" which is also embedded with the sense of minimising the head noun and is often regarded as abusive:

- 340) a.    **fí-dzú**        **fí-ntʃí**            "little house"  
                  19.DX-HN 19.DX-AJ  
                  house        little
- b.    **fí-dzú**        **fí-ntʃí**        **fj-əlǎ**        "this little house"  
                  19.DX-HN 19.DX-AJ 19c-DM  
                  house        little        this
- c.    **fí-dzú**        **fí-ntʃí**        **fj-əlǎ**        **fí-ndzón-kí-lǎ**  
                  19.DX-HN 19.DX-AJ 19c-DM 19.DX-AJ-PG-AF  
                  house        little        this        good  
                  "This little good house"

The example (c) shows that the attribute "good" is an adjectival verb in Mbuk since it takes the imperfective progressive aspect marker plus the averment marker (AF). The position of little and good can only be interchangeable for emphasis layed on "good".

Some adjectives are preceded by the head noun, with the quantifier agreeing with the concord prefix of the noun as seen with the word, all "tʃí" in the ELAN illustration:

341)

topic [2]  
 Mbuk Quantifier, all, whole "tʃí"

Mbk\_NKP-87 [9]  
 tʃā túyú {lǎin} yáyà lǎ. Bēn bán dzzē yì tʃí.

GL\_NKP-87 [8]  
 NEG still line like.that so. 2P cover 9.road 9c QNT

FT\_NKP-87  
 That is not yet a line again. You should cover all the road.

### 5.1.3.6 Postposed and preposed Adjectives

Distributively, the Adjective large is one such example that occurs both before (marked order) and after (default order) a head noun. The default order appear after a noun. But when they become nominal adjectives they precede the head noun. Examples are given below:

- 342) a.     **kpēn wí     mbòm**     "A big tree"  
              3.tree 3c.AM big
- b.     **dzǔ     yì     mbòm**     "A big house"  
              9.house 3c.AM big
- c.     **kèmgbòyò kè     dʒùlí**     "A short chair"  
              7.chair     7c.AM short

While below are preposed descriptive terms preceding the head noun. When the adjective occurs in phrase initial it grammatical class changes from adjective to an adjectival noun. This account for the presence of the associative marker linking the both the adjectival noun and the noun as seen in (a, b). When in (c) the a causative verb has been derived from the adjective, though the causative is not explicitly stated as the -hɪ causative suffix is absent:

- 343) a.     **mbòm bì     nǎŋ**     "Width of the bed"  
              large 8c.AM bed
- b.     **dê bì     nǎŋ**     "length of the bed"  
              long 8c.AM bed
- c.     **dʒùlí     dzzē**     "shorten the road"  
              shorten road

Both nominal adjectives falls in the same noun class as revealed by their concord system and the probable noun class is 8. At the same time we can say that the concord is an anticipation of the class 8 since bed belongs to class 8. The is the concord is generated regressively such that the concord precedes the head noun. This implies that the concord is not

from the nominal adjective (mbòm) but from the word bed (beds „bi-naŋ). If on the contrary, then we can reanalyse it as such:

- 344) a.     **mbòm bì-nǎŋ**         "Width of the bed"  
               large 8-bed
- b.     **dê bì-nǎŋ**         "length of the bed"  
               long 8-bed

The claim of the associative concord is also due to the low tone presence contrary to the high tone and a rising tone root as opposed to a mid or high tone. The singular noun surfaces as a plural noun as the adjective position is reversed.

### 5.1.3.7 Adjectival exclamation

Another peculiar area of grammar where adjectives get preposed is in exclamations. When an exclamative expression contains an adjective, the adjective precedes the head noun. The exclamation is exaggerated with the presence of an adjective. The exaggeration marker (XG) is illustrated in the following sentences:

- 345) a.     **dʒùlí bó nsì:**                 "what a short drum!"  
               short XG drum
- b.     **ŋgòmì bó nsì:**                 "what a drum/what a frightfull drum! (size or design)"  
               frightful XG 1.drum
- c.     **à dèŋé bó mì:**                 "what tall man!"  
               EI! tall XG 1.person
- d.     **à dʒùlí bó mì:**                 "what a short man!"  
               EI! short XG 1.person
- e.     **à sě bó mì**                     "what a small man!"  
               EI! small XG 1.person
- f.     **à tʃĩŋ bó mì:**                 "what a fat man!"  
               EI! fat XG 1.person

- g.    **à tǃǃ:ŋ bó kpēn**            "what a big tree!"  
       EI! fat    XG 3.tree
- h.    **à tǃǃ:ŋ bó bwám**            "what a big cup!"  
       EI! fat XG 5.cup

The word "bó" and "bó" are free variations. The adjective is connected to the head noun though an exaggerator marker (XG) which is regarded as a binary interjection of magnifying or demagnifying (demeaning) something. The exclamation is introduced by a low tone "à" which is absent in (a,b) above. The absence of the exclamation introducer (EI!) "à" mitigates the degree of exclamation. It has the form of a dummy subject (DS) but its role and context differs from that of a DS. The exaggerator marker (XG) is immune to noun class effect.

Beyond the use of syntax alone to express exclamation, an exclamative morpheme (XC) do exist that makes up an exclamative adjectival construction. This same morpheme also adds the sense of comparable differences between clauses (a and b):

- 346) a.    **dzǔ      yì mbòm**            "big house"  
           9.house 9c big
- b.    **ná: dzǔ      yì mbòm**        "bigger/biggest house" or "what a bigger house!"  
           XC 9.house 9c big

When the exclamation meaning is stronger than the comparative meaning, the "ná: ~ ná ~ nâ" precedes the noun but in the case where the comparative sense is more important the "ná:" is then preceded by the head noun and is linked to the adjective through a concord marker as shown in section (8.3.11, comparative adjectives) below. The form of the exclamation morpheme is not influenced by the noun class gender:

- 347) a.    **nâ kǐfó kǐ bǝyólǐ**            "a very red cap!"  
           XC 7.cap 7c red
- b.    **nâ bǐfó bǐ bǝyólǐ**            "very red caps!"  
           XC 8.caps 8c red



- 351) a. **Mí dʒí-sí-kí**      **kì-fó**      "I am blackening the cap (now)"  
 1S black-CS-PG 7-cap
- b. **Mí dʒí-sì-kì-lè**      **kì-fó**      "I am going to blacken the cap (sooner)"  
 1S black-CS-PG-AF 7-cap
- c. **Mí dʒí-sí-kí-lè**      **kì-fó**      "I am going to blaken the cap (soon)"  
 1S black-CS-PG-AF 7-cap

Another observation is that the cuasative attribute precedes the noun it describes.

The causative suffix "-hr" has prominence over adjectival suffix "-lɪ/-nr" in (b). Though the causative suffix has been inserted between the root word and the adjectival suffix, the effect of the nasal coda of the root word is still being felt by the adjectival suffix or else it would have been "-lɪ" instead of "-nr" since it is no longer apposed to the root:

- 352) a. **tó**      **wí**      **dʒɪː-lī**      "heavy stone"  
 5.stone 5c.AM heavy-SX
- b. **tó**      **wí**      **yâŋ-hí-nī**      "light stone (weigh)"  
 5.stone 5c.AM light-CS-SX

### 5.1.3.9 Adjectival verbs

Some adjectives are verbs in Mbuk. They are easily identified with the presence of the -kɪ suffix of the imperfective progressive aspect. The example is given below:

- 353) a. **kìnsà**    **ndzón-kí kō.**  
 Nyongo good-PG NG  
 "Nyongo is not good."

*VideoRef:KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00391{00:00:54.000-00:00:57.000}*

### 5.1.3.10 Mbuk numerals

The language has a base ten counting system, and after ten the counting repeat in the pattern 10 plus 1. During counting, they use a vowel "ɪ" such that it looks like a prefix. But it is



not a prefix, it rather a particle "i" meaning "it is". The numeral particle "i" is illustrated in the third and fourth column.

The first numeration had more of the particles while the second numeration had it featured on a single number, thus there is no actual solid rule governing its usage. They frequently occur mostly with the 1<sup>st</sup> five numbers. In addition, the number ten is being left unpronounced for the number "eleven 11" sometimes. This is like taking a shortcut:

#### 354) Mbuk numerals and enumeration particle

| <b>figure</b> | <b>word</b>      | <b>numerating (1<sup>st</sup>)</b> | <b>numerating (2<sup>nd</sup>)</b> |
|---------------|------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1             | mú               | í mú "it is one (1)"               | mū                                 |
| 2             | fá               | í fá "it is two"                   | fá:                                |
| 3             | tālī             | tālī                               | tālī                               |
| 4             | nā               | nā                                 | í nā                               |
| 5             | tī               | í tī:                              | tī:                                |
| 6             | sō:              | sō:                                | sō:                                |
| 7             | nānītā           | nānītā                             | nānītā                             |
| 8             | ɲáj              | ɲáj                                | ɲáj                                |
| 9             | bù:kâ            | bù:kâ                              | bù:kâ                              |
| 10            | dʒó:fí           | dʒó:fí                             | dʒó:fí                             |
| 11            | (dʒó:fí) ntʃòmù  | ntʃòmù                             | ntʃòmù                             |
| 100           | gbí              |                                    |                                    |
| 200           | gí yí fá [gí:fá] |                                    |                                    |
| 1000          | ntʃòʸò           |                                    |                                    |

For Mbuk numeral concords (AG), below, when relating to nouns, the numbers bear a concord of its head noun. For nouns with a prefix, the same prefix is realised as a concord while

for those without prefixes (zero-prefix nouns) the concord is a glide from "u (wɪ)" or "i (yi)". The word order is "HN + AG + NM" the headnoun precedes the numeral concord thence the numeral itself. Two genders have been used to illustrate the numeral concords and the concord limits where "∅" refers to zero concord. Concord 4 and 5 have falling tones. The concord wí can be heard as "wú ~ ú" and yi and be heard as "i". Below are numeral with concords of gender 7/8 and 3/4 expressed in the following examples.

355) Mbuk numeral concords and concord limits

| NM | Noun class 7/8                         | Noun class 3/4             |
|----|----------------------------------------|----------------------------|
|    | kìndzá: / bìndzá: "grasshopper"        | ngě / ngě "egg"            |
| 1  | kìndzá: kó mū "one grasshopper"        | ngě wí mū "one egg"        |
| 2  | bìndzá: bí fá "two grasshoppers"       | ngě yí fá "two eggs"       |
| 3  | bìndzá: bí tālī "three grasshoppers"   | ngě yí tālī "three eggs"   |
| 4  | bìndzá: bì nǎ: "four grasshoppers"     | ngě yí nǎ: "four eggs"     |
| 5  | bìndzá: bì tī: "five grasshoppers"     | ngě yí tī: "five eggs"     |
| 6  | bìndzá: bí sō: "six grasshoppers"      | ngě yí sō: "six eggs"      |
| 7  | bìndzá: ∅ nánità "seven grasshoppers"  | ngě ∅ nánità "seven eggs"  |
| 8  | bìndzá: ∅ ɲán "eight grasshoppers"     | ngě ∅ ɲán "eight eggs"     |
| 9  | bìndzá: ∅ bù:kâ "nine grasshoppers"    | ngě ∅ bù:kâ "nine eggs"    |
| 10 | bìndzá: ∅ ndʒó:fí "ten grasshoppers"   | ngě ∅ ndʒó:fí "ten eggs"   |
| 11 | bìndzá: ∅ ntʃòmù "eleven grasshoppers" | ngě ∅ ntʃòmù "eleven eggs" |

It is worth noting that number 10 takes a nasal prefix in the above example. Typologically, Mbuk numeral concord limit differs from those of other beoid languages (See Tschonghongi 2018).

The table below presents the numbers 1 to 5 with their respective noun classes and concords:

**Table 59: Numerals 1-5 per noun class**

|    |         | 1             | 2                          | 3               | 4             | 5             |
|----|---------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1  | mì      | mì ò mù:      |                            |                 |               |               |
| 2  | bónî:   |               | bónî bó fá:                | bónî bó tālī    | bónî bó ná:   | bónî bó tī:   |
| 3  | dzéŋ    | dzéŋ ú mū     |                            |                 |               |               |
| 4  | dzéŋ    |               | dzéŋ yí fá:                | dzéŋ yī tālī    | dzéŋ yí nǎ:   | dzéŋ yí tī:   |
| 5  | bwám    | bwám ú mū     |                            |                 |               |               |
| 6  | kóbwám  |               | bwám bí fá:<br>bwám ké fá: | bwám bí tālī    | bwám bí nǎ:   | bwám bí tī:   |
| 7  | kìkpílí | kìkpílí kí mū |                            |                 |               |               |
| 8  | bìkpílí |               | bìkpílí bí fá:             | bìkpílí bī tālī | bìkpílí bī nǎ | bìkpílí bí tī |
| 9  | fyéŋkī  | fyéŋkī yì mù  |                            |                 |               |               |
| 10 | fyéŋkí  |               | fyéŋkí yí fá               | fyéŋkí yí tālī  | fyéŋkí yí nǎ  | fyéŋkí yí tī  |
| 19 | fīntāŋ  | fīntāŋ fī mū  |                            |                 |               |               |
| 6a | ṁtāŋ    |               | ṁtāŋ ṁ fá                  | ṁtāŋ ṁ tālī     | ṁtāŋ ṁ nǎ     | ṁtāŋ ṁ tī     |

Syntactically, the numeral (NM) is clause final as illustrated below in the ELAN texts:

356) a. *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_FSW-1\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406.MP4*

hí tʃâ: á bó nɔŋ-kí yá yólɔ̃, má ṁ dzáyà yá yí fā.

if NG CM 1P want-PG 10.thing 10.DM as 1S say 10.thing 10.AM NM

"If not that we want this thing, I should have only said two things."

b. *KPAAMCAM\_NT\_Song06\_2014-12-29\_HDV2779.MP4.txt*

dyé kì-yòŋ-nì dzàì yì mù wɔ́:, fì-jéní ndzɔŋ-kí ké wáp-nɔŋ o

V 7.N 9.N 9.AM NM IJ 19.N AJV-PG NG 1.N IJ

put join voice of one melody bird good-being not brother

"Be in unity, for gossip is not good my brother/sister."

### 5.1.3.10 Colour terms

Mbuk has three basic colour terms; black "dʒí:lī", white "bǎpnī" and red "bòʔólī". The term red is used to refer to white in the case of a whiteman "mì ù bòʔólī" Literally "man of red". The suffixal morphemes "-nī" and "-lī" are both Adjectival and adverbial allomorphs of the Mbuk language. In nasal medium, the "-lī" appears "-nī" and elsewhere it remains "-lī". The suffix is underlyingly a mid tone. A summary of colour concords is presented in the table. These concords vary with the noun classes.

Table 60: Colour terms concords

| nc | nouns    | black " dʒí:lī " | red " bòʔólī "        | white " bǎpnī " | gloss              |
|----|----------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1  | wāŋ      | ù dʒí:lī         | ù bòʔólī              | ù bǎpnī         | <i>child</i>       |
| 2  | bwā      | bó dʒí:lī        | bó bòʔólī             | bē bǎpnī        | <i>children</i>    |
| 3  | kpā      | wù dʒí:lī        | wí bòʔólī             | wú bǎpnī        | <i>hand</i>        |
| 4  | kā       | yí dʒí:lī        | yí bòʔólī             | yí bǎpnī        | <i>hands</i>       |
| 5  | gbā:     | wú dʒí:lī        | ù bòʔólī              | wù bǎpnī        | <i>ceiling</i>     |
| 6  | kígbā:   | kí dʒí:lī        | kí bòʔólī ~ bí bòʔólī | kí bǎpnī        | <i>ceilings</i>    |
| 7  | kìkpê    | kí dʒí:lī        | ká bòʔólī             | ká bǎpnī        | <i>lizard</i>      |
| 8  | bìkpê    | bì dʒí:lī        | bì bòʔólī             | bí bǎpnī        | <i>lizards</i>     |
| 9  | ʃwǎŋ     | yì dʒí:lī        | yì bòʔólī             | yì bǎpnī        | <i>sheep</i>       |
| 10 | ʃwánŋ    | yí dʒí:lī        | yí bòʔólī             | yí bǎpnī        | <i>sheep (pl.)</i> |
| 19 | fəmgbàkì | fí dʒí:lī        | fè bòʔólī             | fí bǎpnī        | <i>swallow</i>     |
| 6a | m̩mgbàkì | m̩ dʒí:lī        | m̩ bòʔólī             | m̩ bǎpnī        | <i>swallows</i>    |

The root of the colours are monosyllabic for black and while while red is bisyllabic.

Tonally all the roots have a rising contour tone. When induced by concords of the various noun classes, the tones alter to suit the influence of the concord tone for the black and white due to

their monosyllabic nature. While the bisyllabic structure of red blocks the tonal influence of the concord tone of the headnoun. The concord structure is same as headnoun prefixes for nouns with them. While "wɪ" and "yi" surfaces for nouns without concord to bridge the link. These  $\emptyset$ -prefix concords are heard with the following forms: "wɪ ~ wʊ ~ ʊ, yi ~ i".

In Mbuk, the word "dʒí:lī" is homonymous in that has two different meanings; black and heavy. Though, the speakers claim to differentiate them tonally. For the sake of the documentary approach, we will assume that the tones are same and they vary in context:

- 357) a.     **dʒí:lī ~ dʒí:lī**     "heavy"  
           b.     **dʒí:lī ~ dʒí:lī**     "black"

### 5.1.3.11 Adjectival comparison

Comparison expresses relativity in the attributes of the objects as well as the relative actions of events. The relativity of description has two axes; that of similarity and that of differences. The similarity and contrast of comparison is constructed with unique morphemes; the morpheme of similarity, and two morphemes of differences.

#### 5.1.3.11.1 Similarity

To say both objects or events are almost the same, the Mbuk language uses the word, like "lǎ" of the form CV with a rising tone. The similarity morpheme (SY) "lǎ" is preceded by the copula, be "ká ~ kó". Some consultants interpret it as "just or same", this interpretation can be influenced by pidgin or Ring languages such as Bum which the Mbuk speakers are proficient in by having both competence and performance. But because the form "kə ~ ko" is similar to that of the copula be and some consultants translate it as "is or be", so, the meaning of the copula "be" is retained in this work. The example below illustrate the marker of similarity:

- 358) a. **dzũ yǎŋ tʃóŋ kó lǎ yì Ntsòkò**  
 9.house 9c.my big be SY 9c.AM PN  
 "My house is big like that of Nchoko"
- b. **dzũ yǎŋ yì mbòm kó lǎ yì Ntsòkò**  
 9.house 9c.my 9c.AM big be SY 9c.AM PN  
 "My house is big like that of Nchoko"

In Ring languages, as in Aghem, a West Ring Grassfields, both "be" and "just" are used in phrase (c, d). The adjective, big "dû:" and referential demonstrative (RD) are absent in (e). When a full NP is stated after the similarity morpheme, the RD is no longer used as in (c, e):

- c. **Kâ? fən fə dû: kó tò kâ? fə Ntʃyà**  
 19.tree 19.this 19.SM big just SY (19.tree) 19.AM PN  
 "The tree is big like that of Nchia's own"
- d. **Kâ? fən fə dû: kó tò fə Ntʃyà fò**  
 19.tree 19.this 19.SM big just SY 19.AM PN RD  
 "The tree is big like that of Nchia's own"
- e. **Kâ? fən ló kó tò kâ? fə Ntʃyà**  
 19.tree 19.this be just SY 19.tree 19.AM PN  
 "The tree is like that of Nchia's own"

Comparing the syntax of (b, f), we see that the full noun phrase "house" can be repeated after the similarity morpheme "lǎ" which at the same time can be left out and only the anaphoric concord pronoun "yì" stays. For that optionality of presence we place the full noun phrase, house "dzũ" in brackets:

- f. **dzũ yǎŋ tʃóŋ kó lǎ (dzũ) yì Ntsòkò**  
 9.house 9c.my big be/just SY 9.house 9c.AM PN  
 "My house is big like that of Nchoko"

### 5.1.3.11.2 Differences

Three lexical forms are used for the apportioning of the differences in attribute or events. The morpheme for little "án" is of the syllabic form VC having a high tone. The morpheme for more "ná:" with the syllabic form CV with an underlying high tone. Thence the morpheme for more than "tséṅé". The different lexemes can be considered as adverbs of adjectives. The "án" and "ná:" comparative adverbs precedes the adjective they modify while the "tséṅé" is preceded by the adjective it is describing. The three differential morphemes (DY) are "án, ná, tséṅé":

- 359) a. **tɕwàì** "small"
- b. **án tɕwàì** "more or very small" or "smaller/smallest"
- c. **kǎŋ kìmwàní ko an tɕwàì** "mine plantain is smaller"  
mine 7.plantain is DY small
- 360) a. **mbòm** "big"
- b. **ná: XC mbòm** "more or very big" or "bigger/biggest"
- c1. **kǎŋ kìmwàní kó ná: kì mbòm** "mine plantain is bigger"  
mine 7.plantain is DY 7c big
- c2. **byĩŋ bìmwàní kó ná: bì mbòm** "Mine plantains are bigger"  
mine 8.plantain is DY 8c big

Hence, "án" and "ná:" plays the role of both decrease and an increase respectively for either a comparative or a superlative. The third way for articulating comparative is the use of more than "tséṅé" for the within a clause:

- 361) a. **Kìfó kǎŋ tɕéŋ-kí tséṅé-kí-lə̀ kì Ntsòkó**  
7.cap 7c.my big-PG DY-PG-AF 7c PN  
"My cap is bigger than Nchoko's cap"
- b. **Dzũ yǎŋ tɕéŋ-kí tséṅé-kí-lə̀ dzũ yì Ntsòkó**  
9.house 9c.my big-PG DY-kí-lə̀ 9.house 9c PN  
"My house is bigger than Nchoko's house"

### 5.1.3.12 Binary adjectival suffix

The concept of binary is retained here to describe the restriction of plus (+) and minus (–) adjectival suffix in certain constructs of Mbuk adjectives. The precise meaning of the suffix is not known to this research and we hope in subsequent ones, the meaning would be glaring.

From the inception, we thought that all the adjectives are having the suffix "-lɪ" or "-nɪ" but along the line of research we realised that sometimes these suffixes apocopates. The suffix "-lɪ" and "-nɪ" from data (a) and (b) are allophones for in the environ of a nasal coda, the "-lɪ → -nɪ". The presence of the suffix seems to nominalise the adjectival verb:

- 362) a.    **báɲ** /    **m̩-báɲ** /    **báɲ-nĩ**    "white"  
       b.    **bóyò** /    **m̩-bòyò** /    **bòyó-lĩ**    "red"  
       c.    **dʒí** /    **n̩-dʒí** /    **dʒĩ-lĩ**    "black"  
       d.    **líghì** /    **n̩-lìyì** /    **lìyí-lĩ**    "strong"  
       e.    **bó** /    **m̩-bó** /    **bó-lĩ**    "tire"  
       f.    **dʒon** /    **n̩dʒòn** /    **dʒũn-nĩ**    "old"
- 363) a1.    **dzũ    yì    bǎɲní yélē ndzónkǎ lè**  
               9.house 9c.AM white 9.this good.PG AF  
               "this white house is good"
- 364) f1.    **mĩ dʒũn**    "I am old"  
       f2.    **mì wì dʒũn-nĩ**    "an old man"  
       f3.    **wĩ dʒũn**    "he is old"  
       f4.    **wí lánhí dʒũn**    "he is very old"

The verb-like adjective uses the "-lɪ" suffix to become a pure adjective (d1) while it remains a verb (d2) as indicated by the presence of the imperfective aspect marker when the "-lɪ" suffix deletes as is the case below:



- d1.    **mì ò lìyí-lí**                      "a strong man"  
 d2.    **mì wóló líyì-kí-lè**              "this man is strong"

In the example below, the word for young, tire and soft are the same in Mbuk. When it is nominalised, it takes the -lí suffix. But when it is in its stative verb form, the suffix elides.

- e1.    **bə̀yá bō :**                              "we are tire"  
 e2.    **m̀bó      ndōŋ-kí kē**              "tiredness is not good"  
          tiredness good-PG NG  
 e3.    **bǐ      yì      bǒ:lī**                      "tired goats"  
          9.goat 9.AM N.AJ  
 e4.    **bǐ      yì      bó:lī**                      "the young goats"  
          HN      AM      N.AJ  
          9.goat 9c.AM young

In the example below, adjectival verbs (verb-like adjectives) do takes an adverb:

- 365) a.    **mǐ lāhī bó**                              "I am very tired"  
          1S   AV AJ.V

We round up the binary concept of the presence and the absence of the "-lí" suffix:

- 366) a.    **m̀tótò      wì      bə̀yá-lī**              "a red pepper"  
          1.pepper 1.AM red-SX  
       b.    **m̀tótò      wì      bə̀yá**                      "the pepper is red"  
          1.pepper 1.AM red

The adjectives do not take any affixal agreement marker with the subject noun phrase with respect to number; singular/plural. Hence, the "-lí" is not induced by the head noun being singular or plural. Consider the clause in its negation mood:

- 367) a.    **kì-fó k-ólē      b́yá-kí kē**              "this cap is not red"  
          7-HN 7c-DM AJ-PG NG  
          cap    this      red-IP not

- b.     **bì-fó bj-əlā báyà-kí kē**            "these caps are not red"  
           8-HN 8c-DM AJ-PG NG  
           caps these red-IP not

Neither is the imperfective and the negator sensitive to the singular plural effect.

It is worth remarking that not every adjective takes the -lɪ suffix. And especially the pure adjectives like the ones below which cannot be suffixed the imperfective aspect (c):

- 368) a.     **mbòm**                                "big, large, huge"  
       b.     **tfù~tfû**                            "bad, ugly, wicked"  
       c.     **\*lànhí tfú-kí-lə**                "very bad"  
       d.     **lànhí ká-kí-lə    tfû**        "have a very bad fashion (bad manners)"  
               very have-PG-AF bad

Hence, in order to have "very bad" we have to use it with, have "ká".

As opposed to the preceding observations, some of the "-lɪ ~ -nɪ" suffix is inherent with some adjectives. That is, we cannot detach the root from the suffix, if we do so, the segmental root units becomes an empty morph. Here is are some examples:

- 369) a.     **lqín-nī**            →    **lqíní**            "lazy"  
       b.     **mbáj-nī**            →    **mbàɲnì**        "sour"  
       c.     **yăm-nī**            →    **yămnī**        "width"

The tonal system for (a) and (b) fails to comply to the suffix mid tone. And the root "lqín, mbáj, yăm" is void of a meaning in the absence of their suffixes. Meaning that the suffix is an intrinsic part of these set of words or the root has lost meaning due to endangerment of the language, and so, an early symptom of semantic deficiency noticed in the present 21<sup>st</sup> century generation of Mbuk speakers. As the suffixation system is not clear for the above examples we also contemplate on the onset nasal consonant for probably resulting from "n → ndʒ" here:

- 370) a.     **nôɲ / ndzôɲ / ndzôɲ-nī**    "good"

The verb "good" is under a puzzle as to the phonological process. Because "nóŋ" and "ndzóní" paradigmatically substitutes for each other for the same sense. The examples are:

- 371) a.      **mì wì nóŋ**              "A good man"  
          b.      **mì wì ndzóní**      "A good man"

### 5.1.3.13 Adjectival constraints

The term large "mbòm" can modify every noun. Its modification tendency is not limited to certain categories of nouns. While 'mbòm" is a general term for large, its synonymous term large "kìmfán, kimgbán" is restricted to modify only certain semantic domains. This is true for most of the Adjectives. They do have an inherent selection for which noun they can modify and forbidding others. Illustratively, "kìmfán" cannot be used to describe the largeness of a stream or a hill. Perhaps, it is ungrammatical using it with natural features since these Adjectives themselves seems to be ideophones. They are more of exclamations in meaning unlike "mbòm" which is not derived and it is not an ideophone, this gives it a universal qualifying quality.

There exist pure Adjectives in the language such as "mbòm, kìmfán", because it can not take the imperfective marker "-kílá". In addition, a pure Adjective cannot also be prefixed to the gerund nasal prefix archiphone to form an Adjectival noun.

Contrary, adjectives derived from verbs such as "tʃóŋ", the root of the verb can be suffixed with an imperfective aspect maker "-kílá". Furthermore, it can be expressed as an infinitive of a verb. It can also be derived to generate a gerund; an Adjectival noun or verbal noun with attributive features as shown below:

- 372) a.      **tʃóŋ-kílá**      "being large"  
          b.      **ñ-tʃóŋ**      "largeness"

Distributively, "mbòm" can occur both after the head noun which is however the default order and the Adjective also occurs before the head noun, thus, the marked word order. The default is more frequent and also involves majority of the nouns.

Comparatively, the "mbòm" can be used to express comparative and superlatives. Thus illustrating that one or a set of things have varying sizes are distinguished. We remark generally on Adjectives that reduplication of Adjectives is not allowed in Mbuk. Which of course is a morphological source for creating comparatives and superlatives or adverbs in other languages. An example of comparative reduplication in Aghem:

- 373) a. "big"            **dù → dùdù**            "bigger"  
       b. "real"        **kòm → kòm kòm**        "really"  
       c. "darkness" **kálóm → lóm kàlóm**        "secretly (dark dark)"

#### 5.1.4 Diminutives

A word that is formed with a circumfix such as "fí-...-nî" for the singular form and "m-...-nî" as the plural to indicate smallness or become small. When the base word becomes diminutivised, it changes its noun class to 19/6a. All diminutive (DX) terms have unique gender of noun class 19/6a. The circumfix prefix has a high tone while the circumfix suffix is endowed with a falling tone. A diminutive root word becomes lengthened in some cases as for the word for "small person". In some words, the base tone gets modified in the diminutive as in the word "small child" in the corpora below. Diminutives are Adjectival in nature, expressing or describing the object as small in quantity and even of reduced value in quality.

The circumfix appears to those nouns that already have a prefix especially non-human terms as depicted below:

|         | base word |            | Diminutive word      |                     |
|---------|-----------|------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 374) a. | kì-kwô    | 7 "toad"   | fí-kwô-nî / m-kwô-nî | 19/6a "small toad"  |
| b.      | fyɛ:n     | 19 "thing" | finnáké / mnnáké     | 19/6a "small thing" |

For suppletive human terms, the circumfix do not show up, but a different form is used incorporated with diminutivity:

|         |     |   |          |                  |                         |
|---------|-----|---|----------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 375) a. | wǎɲ | 1 | "child"  | fyǎɲ / mwǎɲ      | 19/6a "little children" |
| b.      | bâ: | 1 | "father" | fibânî / mbânî   | 19/6a "little father"   |
| c.      | nê: | 1 | "mother" | finê:nî / mnê:nî | 19/6a "little mother"   |
| d.      | mì: | 1 | "person" | finî:nî / mnî:nî | 19/6a "little person"   |

This term now becomes labialised, wǎɲ → mwǎɲ

The root word of the plural form of the base word is the one that under goes diminution:

|         |      |   |                             |                      |
|---------|------|---|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 376) a. | mì   | 1 | "person"                    |                      |
| b.      | bónî | 2 | "people" → finî:nî / mnî:nî | 19/6a "small person" |

Diminutiveness is ridicule, humiliation and abusive especially to human terms:

|         |                  |       |                                       |
|---------|------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| 377) a. | finî:nî / mnî:nî | 19/6a | "worthless person / worthless people" |
|---------|------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|

In this language, it can even spark up a fight and enmity when used to address someone. Hence, diminutives are not only used to express the concept of small in size but they are also used as an attribute to give a worthless quality.

All the elements of the 12 noun classes can be rendered into the the diminutive form. The diminutive suffix sometimes seems optional. But the optional environment is yet to be known since both closed and open syllables do take the suffix "- nî". On the other hand, the diminutive prefix can be prefixed to the prefix of the base word or the prefix of the base word can be substituted with that of a diminutive prefix. The prefixing of a diminutive prefix onto the base word prefix is prohibited in some words.

**Table 61: Dininutive noun genders**

| cl | gloss    | base noun  | diminutive noun       | Diminutive class | gloss           |
|----|----------|------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1  | child    | wāɲ        | fyǎn                  | 19               | little child    |
| 2  | children | bwā        | mwǎn                  | 6a               | little children |
| 3  | tree     | kpēn       | fīkpēnnî              | 19               | little tree     |
| 4  | trees    | kēn        | m̄kēnnî               | 6a               | little trees    |
| 5  | cup      | bwám       | fábwámnî ~ fábwám     | 19               | little cup      |
| 6  | cups     | kíbwám     | mbwámnî ~ mbwám       | 6a               | little cups     |
| 7  | lizard   | kìkpê      | fīkìkpènnî ~ fīkpènnî | 19               | little lizard   |
| 8  | lizards  | bìkpê      | m̄kìkpènnî ~ mkpè:nnî | 6a               | little lizards  |
| 9  | dog      | byě        | fíbyénî               | 19               | little dog      |
| 10 | dogs     | byé        | m̄byénî               | 6a               | little dogs     |
| 19 | swallow  | fəmgbə̀və̀ | fəmgbə̀və̀nnî         | 19               | little swallows |
| 6a | swallows | m̄mgbə̀və̀ | m̄mgbə̀və̀nnî         | 6a               | little swallows |

The noun below has as based form the double prefixation, thus, it can no longer take a prefix. The word already has two "fī-" diminutive prefixes:

378) a. 19 **fīm̄fint̄sɔ̄ŋ** "k.o insects found below the earth with wingg edible by Mbuk"

6a **m̄mfint̄sɔ̄ŋ** "k.o insects found below the earth with wingg edible by Mbuk"

Normally, there do exist an independent term for small "lê" in the language but when the idea of small is so fused with hatred or abuse, they prefer using the circumfix "fī-...-nî" (diminutive prefix DPX and diminutive suffix DSX) rather than the word "lê" small

379) a. **nāŋ** → **náŋ kí lê** "little bed"  
bed bed of small

b. **nāŋ** → **fí-nāŋ-nî** "little bed"  
bed DPX-bed-DSX

Above, the tone of bed changes from mid to high for (a), while is falling in (b).

### 5.1.5 Augmentative

Increasing or having the power to increase especially in size or amount or degree. This effect is realized with the prefixation of the root of a noun with *kə-~kɪ-* an augmentative prefix (APX) followed by a an augmentative suffix *-lɪ* (ASX). Thus, affixation is a circumfix "*kì-...-lɪ*" Augments just like diminutives are abusive in nature especially when used for human terms. Mutaka & Tamanji (2000:152) says augmentatives and dimunitives belong to noun class 20 while augmentatives and pejoratives are in noun class 21. In Mbuk the augmentatives have been classified under gender 7/8 because the prefix is similar to that of gender 7/8 for normal nouns. Considering the pejorative is still expressed by the same augmentative, this implies that the augmentatives belongs to classes 20 and 21:

|         | base term                    | augment process                               | augmented term                            |
|---------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 380) a. | <b>ɲgwí</b> →<br>water       | <b>kə-ɲgwí-lí</b><br>APX-water-ASX            | "watery soup (soup with excess water)"    |
| b.      | <b>dʒúá</b> →<br>soup        | <b>kì-dʒúá-lí</b><br>APX-soup-ASX             | "much soup"                               |
| c.      | <b>nāŋ</b> →<br>bed          | <b>kí-nāŋ-lí</b><br>APX-bed-ASX               | "many beds"                               |
| d.      | <b>byáná</b> →<br>flat stone | <b>kí-byáná-lí</b><br>APX-flats.tone-ASX      | "many flatstones (for sunning things)"    |
| e.      | <b>kpēn</b> →<br>tree        | <b>kì-kēn-lí ~ bì-kēn-lí</b><br>APX-trees-ASX | "many trees, sticks, much wood, big tree" |
| f.      | <b>ndzú</b> →<br>nose        | <b>bì-ndzú-lí ~ kìndzú-lí</b><br>APX-nose-ASX | "large nose, large noses or many noses"   |

There are three kinds of augments in Mbuk;

(i) the increase in the size of object (a) above, and

(ii) the multiplicity of the number of objects with the same size (b, c) above.

(iii) the twin augment combining both (i) and (ii) as in (e.) above

The augment (f) is very irritating in the community when used. This directly is an abuse to say someone has a large nose.

### 5.1.6 Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun morpheme has the following syllabic structure, V, "-ə" which appears together with the concord markers of the head noun it is modifying in the order: relative concord + relative pronoun giving the resulting morpheme to be of the syllabic form CV. The changes according to its noun classes. Even when the noun class prefix is zero as in classes 1, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10, the relative pronoun is still of the form CV. The relative pronouns for each noun class are provided in the tabular form in the subsequent page.

**Table 62: Relative pronouns (RL)**

| Noun class | prefix | relative pronoun "-ə" (RL) | gloss     |
|------------|--------|----------------------------|-----------|
| 1          | ∅-     | w̄ə                        | who/which |
| 2          | bə-    | bə                         | who/which |
| 3          | ∅-     | wə                         | which     |
| 4          | ∅-     | yə                         | which     |
| 5          | ∅-     | wə                         | which     |
| 6          | kɪ-    | kə                         | which     |
| 7          | kɪ-    | kə                         | which     |
| 8          | bi-    | byə                        | which     |
| 9          | ∅-     | yə                         | which     |
| 10         | ∅-     | yə                         | which     |
| 19         | fi-    | fyə                        | which     |
| 6a         | N-     | mə                         | which     |



The tones are influenced by the preceding headnoun. In addition, depending on the distance which the thing is found, *ya<sup>ʋ</sup>a* or *(m)fɔ<sup>ʋ</sup>ɔ̃* is used to after the relative pronoun. The following examples shows relative pronouns in relation to other grammatical elements below:

- 381) a.     **ɲā: mī bá mì     wā wì kó dzú**  
           give me with 1.person RL 1c CP 9.house  
           "Give me the person who is in the house"
- b.     **ɲā: mī bá   bənî   bê   bá   kó dzú**  
           give me with 2.people 2c.RL 2c.SM CP 9.house  
           "give me the people who are in the house"

A tonal patriclan variation of the relative pronoun is noticed from noun classes 2 to noun class 12 between consultants. Some uses *bê ~ bā*.

- 382) a.     **ɲkúŋ wā wì   gbô** "The chief who fell"  
           1.chief 1c.RL 1c.SM fall
- b.     **bəŋkúŋ bā   bó   gbō**       "The chefs who fell"  
           2.chiefs 2c.RL 2c.SM fall

The relative pronoun (RL) of class 2 has a high-mid tone and also the copula is absent. The example below gives relative pronoun for class 19 agrees with the noun class as in (b):

383) *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407*

- a.     **fā       byəlā bí   kó dāŋ fā,**  
       8.festival 8.DM 8.SM is TAV LAV  
       *These instruments that are here present today,*
- b.     **m kwù kīmfilì, fyēn   fyā   m nōŋ-kí,**  
       1S pour 7.kimfili 19.thing 19.RL 1S want-PG  
       *As I am performing this rite of Kimfili, what I want,*
- c.     **m nōŋ-kí wāŋ, bá ɲàm, fyēn   fí   dzí-ní.**  
       1S want-PG child, CJ meat, 19.thing 19.AM eat-NA  
       *I want a child, meat and food.*

### 5.1.7 Definite and Indefinite Articles

The table below presents the definite articles per noun classes:

**Table 63: Definite article**

| NC/ prefixes | Nouns               | Concord       | Definite determiner | Example sentences                         |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|
|              |                     |               |                     |                                           |
| ∅-<br>1      | ∅-ḡkúḡ<br>1-chief   | wì<br>1c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>ḡkúḡ wì gwû</b><br><i>the chief</i>    |
| bə-<br>2     | bə-ḡkúḡ<br>2-chiefs | bə-<br>2c     | gwû<br>the          | <b>bəḡkúḡ bá gwû</b><br><i>the chiefs</i> |
| ∅-<br>3      | ∅-kpā<br>3-hand     | wi~wú~u<br>3c | gwû<br>the          | <b>kpā́ ú gwû</b><br><i>the hand</i>      |
| ∅-<br>4      | ∅-kâ<br>4-hands     | yí<br>4c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>kấ yí gwû</b><br><i>the hands</i>     |
| 5            | ∅-gbâ:<br>5-barn    | wí<br>5c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>gbâ: wí gwû</b><br><i>the barn</i>     |
| 6            | kí-gbâ:<br>6-ba     | kí<br>6c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>kígbâ: kí gwû</b><br><i>the barns</i>  |
| 7            | kì-fí<br>7-pig      | kí<br>7c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>kìfí kí gwû</b><br><i>the pig</i>      |
| 8            | bì-fí<br>8-pig      | bí<br>8c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>bìfí bí gwû</b><br><i>the pigs</i>     |
| 9            | ∅-jyā<br>9-fowl     | yí<br>9c      | gwû<br>the          | <b>jyā́ yí gwû</b><br><i>the fowl</i>     |
| 10           | ∅-jyá<br>10-fowls   | yí<br>10c     | gwû<br>the          | <b>jyá́ yí gwû</b><br><i>the fowls</i>    |
| 19           | fí-ḡéní<br>19-bird  | fí<br>19c     | gwû<br>the          | <b>fíḡéní́ fí gwû</b><br><i>the bird</i>  |
| 6a           | mí-ḡéní<br>6a-birds | mí<br>6ac     | gwû<br>the          | <b>míḡéní́ mí gwû</b><br><i>the birds</i> |

The definite articles in Mbuk is an invariable morpheme that relay to the head noun through a variable concord marker that reflects the prefix features of the head noun. The definiteness is expressed by the word, "gwû" meaning "the" referring to something or an idea where both parties are aware, and already familiar with. While the indefiniteness, express unawareness in the conversation.

As for the indefinite (IA) article "i", it rather precedes the head noun and is independent of the concord influence of the head noun. It goes with singular nouns as illustrated below:

|                    |    |                 |           |
|--------------------|----|-----------------|-----------|
| 384) Noun class 1: | a. | í <b>ŋkúŋ</b>   | "a chief" |
|                    |    | IA 1.chief      |           |
| Noun class 3       | b. | í <b>kpâ</b>    | "a hand"  |
|                    |    | IA 3.hand       |           |
| Noun class 5       | c. | í <b>gbâ:</b>   | "a barn"  |
|                    |    | IA 5.barn       |           |
| Noun class 7       | d. | í <b>kífi</b>   | "a pig"   |
|                    |    | IA 7.pig        |           |
| Noun class 9       | e. | í <b>ŋyă</b>    | "a fowl"  |
|                    |    | IA 9.fowl       |           |
| Noun class 19      | f. | í <b>fíjéní</b> | "a bird"  |
|                    |    | IA 19.bird      |           |

This form is seldom used, the bare word, a bird or bird "fíjéní " is often used without "i".

### 5.1.8 Expletive subject

The Websters dictionary defines an expletive as a syllable, a word, or phrase inserted to fill a vacancy (as in a sentence or ...) without adding to the sense. An expletive word (as it in "it is easy to say so"). In Mbuk, the expletive subject (ES) just as the determiners belongs to the

noun phrase constituent. The expletive subject is invariable in form (N; m, n, ŋ,) with a homorganic nasal nature. The following table depicts the expletive to the various noun classes:

Table 64: Mbuk expletive subject; with respect to noun classes in a relative clause

| Optional Copula (CP) | Expletive subject (ES) | Concord ( AG ) / Interrogative (Q) | Noun Classes        | Example sentence                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | w-ê<br>1c-Q                        | ø-ŋkúŋ<br>1-chief   | kó ŋ w-ê ŋkúŋ<br><i>which chief</i>     |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | m̃<br>ES               | b-ê<br>2c-Q                        | bè-ŋkúŋ<br>2-chiefs | kó m̃ bê bèŋkúŋ<br><i>which chiefs?</i> |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | W-ê<br>3c-Q                        | ø-kpã<br>3-hand     | kó ŋ wê kpã<br><i>which hand?</i>       |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | y-ê<br>4c-Q                        | ø-kâ<br>4-hands     | kó ŋ yê kâ<br><i>which hands?</i>       |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | w-ê<br>5c-Q                        | ø-gbâ:<br>5-barn    | kó ŋ wê gbâ:<br><i>which barn?</i>      |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | k-ê<br>6c-Q                        | kí-gbâ:<br>6-barns  | kó ŋ kê kígbâ:<br><i>which barns?</i>   |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | k-ê<br>7c-Q                        | kì-fí<br>7-pig      | kó ŋ kê kífí<br><i>which pig?</i>       |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | m<br>ES                | by-ə<br>8c-Q                       | bì-fí<br>8-pig      | kó m̃ byê bìfí<br><i>which pigs?</i>    |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | y-ə<br>9c-Q                        | ø-ŷyē<br>9-fowl     | kó ŋ yê ŷyē<br><i>which fowl?</i>       |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | ŋ<br>ES                | y-ə<br>10c-Q                       | ø-ŷyó<br>10-fowls   | kó ŋ yê ŷyó<br><i>which fowls?</i>      |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | m<br>ES                | fy-ə<br>19c-Q                      | fí-ńéní<br>19-bird  | kó m̃ fyê fíńéní<br><i>which bird?</i>  |
| ( kó )<br>CP         | m<br>ES                | m-ə<br>6ac-Q                       | mí-ńéní<br>6a-birds | kó m̃ mê míńéní<br><i>which birds?</i>  |

Hyman (2010:9, says, 'it is the subject that moves to IAV, leaving behind the expletive subject (ES). Aghem, West Ring Grassfields, a case of expletive subject:

- 385) Aghem, WH-S → IAV  
 à m̀ zì ndúghó 'bé 'kɔ né à  
 ES P<sub>1</sub> eat who fufu D today QM  
 "who ate fufu today?"

In some literature, it can be denoted as dummy subject. It can be roughly literally be glossed as the English "it". It occurs before an interrogative pronoun to emphatically express definiteness or specification.

For the interrogative (Q), this is marked position for interrogatives by default it is preceded by a head noun. But with the presence of the expletive, the head noun displaces, a left dislocation which can be considered as a cleft construction with its goal to place certain idea in focus. The "kə" that precedes the expletive is an optional copula element in any of the constructs meaning in English "is". The head noun which by default is head initial is becomes head final in expletive interrogative clauses:

- 386) Mbuk, a. kə ñ w-ə ø-ŋkúŋ "which chief?"  
 CP ES 1c-Q 1-chief  
 b. kə m̀ b-ə bə-ŋkúŋ "which chiefs?"  
 CP ES 2c-Q 2-chief

The interrogative (Q) marker here is the question word (QW).

### 5.1.9 Noun phrase rule

The noun phrase rule gives the syntactic position of each modifier relative to another modifier. The rule gives the word order of modifiers in relation to the head noun (HN) or the noun phrase (NP) they modifier or describe or specify or identify.

By default, all the modifiers appear after the head noun and in a hierarchical order if they are more than one modifying the head noun. By hierarchical here we are referring to how closed the modifier is closer to the head noun. Illustrative presentation:

- 387) a. **kpēn** "tree"  
HN/NP
- b. **kpēn wǎŋ** "my tree"  
HN PS
- c. **kpēn wǎŋ wí mbòm** "my big tree"  
HN PS AM AT
- d. **kpēn wǎŋ wì mbòm wálē** "this my big tree"  
HN PS AM AT DM
- e1. **kēn yǎŋ yì mbòm yí fá yálē** "these my two big trees"  
HN PS AM AT AM NM DM
- e2. **kēn yǎŋ yì mbòm yálē yí fá** "these my two big trees"  
HN PS AM big DM AM NM

Considering the above four modifiers (possessive, attribute, demonstrative and numeral) we can state the following observations in relation to the hierarchy:

- 388) a. HN or b. HN
- |                 |    |                 |    |
|-----------------|----|-----------------|----|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | PS | 1 <sup>st</sup> | PS |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | AT | 2 <sup>nd</sup> | AT |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | NM | 3 <sup>rd</sup> | DM |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> | DM | 4 <sup>th</sup> | NM |

Thus, the possessive element is the highest in the hierarchy since it is the closest to the head noun while the demonstrative and the numeral are in a free variation competing on which to be the lowest in rank to the head noun. Hence we summarise with the following word order or Noun Phrase Rule pertaining to the four modifiers observed are:







- |    |           |                                                    |                         |
|----|-----------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| b. | Assertion | <b>bə̀yó wòyó bwám</b><br>1p.ex wash cup           | "we have washed a cup"  |
|    | Question  | <b>bə̀yó wòyó bwâ:m</b><br>1p.ex wash cup.QP       | "we have washed a cup?" |
| c. | Assertion | <b>wò kǎ: ké là dzéŋ</b><br>2S have PG AF corn     | "you do have corn"      |
|    | Question  | <b>wò kǎ: ké là dzê:ŋ</b><br>2S have PG AF corn.QP | "do you have corn?"     |

When the noun is an open syllable, the root vowel assimilates the interrogative particle and it becomes alike with the root vowel. In (b) the interrogative particle causes preceding vowel lengthening. As for the tone as we see the root vowel changes from a rising tone to a mid. In addition, the alternative conjunction or "má" changes from a high tone to a mid when we compare (b) to (a) where fowl is not in contact with the interrogative particle. Examples are:

- 394) a. **dzín bó ŋyě** "corn and fowl"  
corn and fowl
- b. **dzín mā ŋyē** "corn or fowl?"  
corn or fowl.QP

Below, the lengthening is obvious and the tone moves from high to falling:

- 395) a. **kólè ko kìmwaní ~ kìnwaní** "this is banana."  
this is banana
- b. **kólè ko kìmwanî:?** "this is banana a?"  
this is banana.QP

With a progressive aspect, the interrogative particle comes before the averment:

- 396) a. Assertion **ín kōmhī-kī fê-kí-lè** "I am doing it faster"  
1S fast-PG do-PG-AF
- b. Question **wò kōmhī-kī fê-kí-à-lè** "are you doing it faster?"  
2S fast-PG do-PG-QP-AF

### 5.2.2 Tag question

In English, Green (2002:43), Tag questions (QT) are formed by copying the auxiliary in a declarative sentence in the position at the end of the sentence, making it negative if its original occurrence is positive and positive if its original occurrence is negative. In Mbuk, has a declarative statement, the question (a cleft/question particle) and the response (affirmative).

Mbuk tag questions have varying forms as seen in the examples below.

TAG QUESTION = STATEMENT + QUESTION + AFFIRMATION

397) a. KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406

FSW-1 **bē bē mū mkǎɲ í dʒyà ló yì mù, sē ɲùò ɲá býēn bí dzíní í**  
 we we drink corn.beer in voice so of one, as God give things of eating to  
**bəyóɓɛn í dzǎ: yólō wə**  
 1POI PP year DM PO

*We should drink corn beer in unity as God has given us food in this year (STATEMENT)*

Crowd **wə** **yì mù**  
 USC IJ of one (*in unity*)

FSW-1 **à tʃā sē ɲ tʃyákí lè** **má bēn tʃyák á ɲyē tó**  
 it.is not as 1S know so OR 2P know that what also  
*Is it not what I know? (QUESTION) Or What do you people think also? (QUESTION)*

Crowd **mbè: kó yáyà mbè:**  
 yes Fon is.it so Fon  
*Fon, it is. That is it, Fon (AFFIRMATION)*

398) a. **Ntùmbá dzí-kì lè. À kó àyáyá? À kó àyáyà.**

PN eat-PG.F1 AF it is so? It is so.  
 "Ntumba will eat. Is he?" He is.

b. **Ntùmbá dzí-kì lè. À kó àyáyá? À tʃā: àyáyà.**

PN eat-PG.F1 AF it is so it not so  
 "Ntumba will eat. Is he?" No, he will not eat.

### 5.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

One of the ways in which the language inquires information is by asking questions using interrogative pronouns (QW). Payne (1997:299-300), highlights the purpose of interrogative pronouns and how they are referred to in various linguistic literature, "Questions that expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation are called question-word questions, content questions, information questions, or wh-questions. [...] Question words accomplish two tasks: (1) they mark the clause as a question; and (2) they indicate what information is being requested." There are nine interrogative pronouns in Mbuk which agree with the head noun by taking the concord. But when asking about who or something that has not been specified a cleft sentence structure can be used with the dummy subject "à" for who or "wì" for he with the interrogative appearing at the end of the interrogative clause as illustrated:

|      |    |                 |         |    |                |            |    |              |            |
|------|----|-----------------|---------|----|----------------|------------|----|--------------|------------|
| 400) | a. | <b>ndè</b>      | "who"   | e. | <b>nyē</b>     | "why"      | i. | <b>dǔ:lī</b> | "how much" |
|      | b. | <b>bwìn</b>     | "when"  | f. | <b>ɲwē</b>     | "which"    |    |              |            |
|      | c. | <b>nàɲ, fàɲ</b> | "where" | g. | <b>dên</b>     | "how"      |    |              |            |
|      | d. | <b>nyē</b>      | "what"  | h. | <b>mān~māɲ</b> | "how many" |    |              |            |

#### 5.2.3.1 The interrogative who "ndè"

The interrogative who "ndè" of the form CV carrying a low tone seeks information about a person. The free morpheme is not restricted to the end of an interrogative clause; it can also occur within the clause. The interrogative clause who can have as subject; a full noun phrase as well as a pronoun or a dummy subject (DS). But the most frequently occurrence is that without the dummy subject (DS) since it is hardly known who the person is. This example presents the case of a dummy subject which is also cleft The dummy subject lowers the tone of the verb from mid to low as shown in the examples below:

- 401) a. **à dzê kí ndè** "who is coming?"  
DS come PG who

The interrogative pronoun who can also take a pronoun as its subject: (a) personal second person subject pronoun and (b) proximal demonstrative pronoun for noun class 1:

- 402) a. **wò kó ndè** "who are you?"  
2S be who
- b. **wèlè kó ndè** "who is this?"  
this be who

Another phenomenon of the interrogative pronoun is distributive. The pronoun can be displaced from its default position to the front and be followed by the location in question for the sake of focus. We notice that there is constant bonding between the auxiliary "be" which is being followed by the interrogative pronoun no matter the direction to which this pronoun is being displaced by grammatical constraints. It important to note that any other verb can take the position of the auxiliary verb "be" as seen above with the verb come "dzē":

- 403) a. **à dzú kó ndè** "who is at home?"  
DS home be who
- b. **à kó ndè dzú** "who is at home?"  
DS be who home
- c. *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00409*

WBS-16 **èè, à kôm-kí b́é ndè dzáyá yáyà nǒ:**  
IJ, DS make-PG 3P QW mouth like.that IJ.EM.QP  
"heah! who are those making noise like that?"

In the above example, the question word appears in the middle of the sentence to express focus with the sentence ending with a question particle.

### 5.2.3.2 The interrogative when "bwìn"

The interrogative, when "bwìn" of the form CGVC with a low tone demands to know the period or the time something occurred or is to happen. It comes at the end of the clause. In (c) the future marker is general though it looks the same like the future for later in the evening. And the mid tone verb come "dzē" becomes a falling tone: as it is in the example below:

- 404) a.     **wì dzê kí bwìn**                "when is he coming?"  
               3S come PG when
- b.     **ù bí jyê bwìn**                "when will he go?"  
               3S F3 go when
- c.     **wê nă: dzê bwìn**            "when will you come"  
               2S will come when

### 5.2.3.3 The interrogative where "nàŋ ~ fàŋ"

There are forms and one of them has a variants, "where"; "nàŋ ~ nây ~ nân" and "fàŋ":

- 405) a.     **nàŋ**                "where"
- b.     **fàŋ**                "where"

The context of usage varies. The definite particle "wó" is optionally used with "nàŋ":

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 406) a. <b>dzǔ: nâŋ</b> | b. <b>dzǔ: yì wó nâŋ</b> |
| 9.house QW              | 9.house 9.c DA QW        |
| "where is (the) house?" | "where is the house?"    |

Below, the interrogative "fàŋ" can only be used with the corpula, is "ko":

- |                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 407) a. <b>*dzǔ: fàŋ</b> | b. <b>dzǔ: kó fàŋ</b> |
| house where              | house is where        |
| "*where is the house?"   | "where is the house?" |

"Fàŋ" can work together with "wo" and "ko" in restricted order. The definite particle "wo" can only be used with fàŋ when followed by a compulsory corpola is "ko" as illustrated below:

- c. **dzǔ: yì wo ko fàŋ** "where is the house?"  
 9.house 9.c the is where

But "wo" cannot be used with fàŋ in the absence of "ko". in (f, g):

- d. **\*dzǔ: fàŋ** "where is the house?"  
 e. **\*dzǔ: yì wó fàŋ** "where is the house?"  
 f. **dzǔ: kó fàŋ** "where is the house?"  
 house is where  
 g. **dzǔ: yì wó kó fàŋ.** "where is the house?"  
 house it the is where

The corpula is "kó" can be used with "fàŋ" in the absence of "wó" but "wó" cannot be used in the absence of "kó". As for "nàŋ" the corpula is "ko" is used optionally, except for "wo" which has a discriminative application to "nàŋ". Another optional definite article that goes with the interrogative pronoun is "gwú". The "wo" and "gwú" are used for what is specific and is known. To find out what one knew was there and he/she no longer finds it, we can use "gwú" or "wó":

- 408) a. **dzǔ: gwú nàŋ** "where is the house" (The house that was here before)  
 house the where  
 b. **dzǔ: wó nàŋ** "where is the house" (The house that was here before)  
 house the where

Below, in relation to the noun class, it occurs optionally. The concord is absent in (a, b):

- 409) a. **dzǎŋ nàŋ** b. **dzǎŋ wó nàŋ**  
 corn where corn the where  
 "where is corn" "where is the corn"

The following example illustrates the use of a concord for the singular (c, d):

- c. **dzǎŋ wí nàŋ** d. **dzǎŋ wí wó nàŋ.**  
 corn it where corn it the where  
 "Where is (the) corn" "where is the corn"

The use of concord for the plural is shown below in the following examples:

- |    |                           |    |                       |
|----|---------------------------|----|-----------------------|
| e. | <b>dzəŋ yí nâŋ</b>        | f. | <b>dzəŋ yí wó nâŋ</b> |
|    | corn it where             |    | corn it the where     |
|    | "where are (the) corn(s)" |    | where are the corn(s) |

In the case of gender 3/4 only the concord can help us know that the word is plural or singular. Hence, three particles can be inserted between the noun and the interrogative in this order (g): the concord, the definite article (DA) "wo" or "gu" and the copular "is" as well as all of them can be left out as shown in example (h):

- |    |                           |    |                          |
|----|---------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| g. | <b>kìkpè kí wó kó nâŋ</b> | h. | <b>kìkpè nâŋ</b>         |
|    | lizard it the is where    |    | lizard where             |
|    | "where is the lizard?"    |    | "where is (the) lizard?" |

When modifiers like demonstratives, numeral possessive and Adjectives of the headnoun are present, the interrogative is always at the end of the sentence. Consider these examples:

- |         |                                 |                          |
|---------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 410) a. | <b>Bê kîfí kǎŋ kó mbòm nâŋ.</b> | "Where is my big pig?"   |
|         | FM 7.pig 7.my 7.c big where     |                          |
| b.      | <b>Bé bìfí byĩŋ bí fá nâŋ.</b>  | "Where are my two pigs?" |
|         | FM 8.pig 8.my 8.c two where     |                          |

The meaning of the particle labelled focus (FM) above is not clear. It could be a dummy subject (DS). It is invariable irrespective of the noun class. It could be "that/those". For example, "where is that my big pig". It is often optional as is the case in (c, d) below:

- |    |                              |                          |
|----|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| c. | <b>kîfí kǎŋ kó mbòm nâŋ.</b> | "Where is my big pig?"   |
|    | 7.pig 7.my 7.c big where     |                          |
| d. | <b>bìfí byĩŋ bí fá nâŋ.</b>  | "Where are my two pigs?" |
|    | 8.pig 8.my 8.c two where     |                          |

### 5.2.3.4 The interrogative why "ɲyǎ"

The interrogative why "ɲyǎ" of the form CGV with mid tone questions the reason or purpose for which something happened or is to take place. When in a clause the tone undergoes modification in (a) but not in (b). Remember that the second person singular pronoun "wò" has a variant pronunciation "wə": The interrogative example for why "ɲyǎ" is given below:

- 411) a.      **wə dâ kí ɲyǎ**                      "why are you crying?"  
                  2S cry PG why
- b.      **wə dzí kí ɲyǎ**                      "why are you eating?"  
                  2S eat PG why

### 5.2.3.5 The interrogative what "ɲyǎ"

The questioning word, what "ɲyǎ" finds information relating to a noun (what is your name?) or a verb (what are you doing?). The interrogative of form CGV "ɲyǎ" is the same form with the interrogative why "ɲyǎ". But there is a difference as we are going to present below. In Expression (b) it reveals that the interrogative pronoun is not the foremost grammatical element to the right, meaning that other elements such as locative adverbs still go further than any question word. In (c) a cleft construction occurs while displacing the interrogative pronoun from the far right to be followed by the second person singular objection pronoun 2S "wò" while the interrogative now gains a mid tone instead of a high mid. The examples are given below:

- 412) a.      **wì dzâ kí dzá fá ɲyǎ**                      "what is he coming to do?"  
                  3S come PG come do what
- b.      **wì dzá ká fá ɲyǎ mfá**                      "what is he coming to do here?"  
                  3S come PG do what here
- c.      **à lô kí ɲyǎ wò**                      "what is paining you?"  
                  DS pain PG what 2S



### 5.2.3.6 The interrogative how "dên"

The word how talks about the manner of something. When investigating a know-how, a means and probably a method or procedure the interrogative, how "dên" is used. The word how "dên" is of the family of closed syllable word of the fabric CVC accompanied by a falling tone as is the case here:

- 413) a.     **wò nǔ dên**                      "how did you sleep?"  
              2S sleep how
- b.     **wì ko dên**                      "how is he?"  
              3S be how
- c.     **kén kí dǔúá dên**                "how is the soup made?"  
              make PG soup how
- d.     **kì tǔǔǔé kí dên**                "how does the thing looks like?"  
              it look PG how

### 5.2.3.7 The interrogative which "ɲwá"

The interrogative, which "ɲwá" seeks to identify or differentiate one thing from the other.

The example here shows its use and position in a clause:

- 414) a.     **ká ɲwá kpēn wì nǔǔ**        "which good tree is it"  
              it which tree of good
- b.     **báyá kí ɲwá kpén**                "which tree is bad"  
              bad PG tree kpén
- c.     **ká ɲwā kpēn báyǔní là** "which bad tree is it"  
              it which tree bad.NA AF
- d.     **ká ɲwā kpēn wú tsû:lā** "which bad tree is this"  
              it which tree of bad

### 5.2.3.8 The interrogative how many "māp"

Here, information is requested about countable nouns and thus the pronoun is often referred to as qualifying interrogative. Whenever the particle "māp" is used, it is asking for account or number of objects or things. The word "which" varies "māp ~ mǎn". The tone is actually something like a central tone ( ' ) which is a vertical mark, but a mid tone represents this due to the difficulty in marking it. The qualifying interrogative is link to the headnoun through a concord marker of the noun class of the head noun. The examples that follow are:

- 415) a.     **ʃyē     yí   māp**           "how many fowls"  
               10.fowl 10c how.many
- b.     **bìmwàní   bí   māp**           "how many plantain"  
               8.plantain 8c how.many
- c.     **kígbâ:   kí   mǎn**           "how many ceilings"  
               6.ceiling c6 how.many
- d.     **bwā       bó   mǎn**           "how many children"  
               2.children 2c   how.many

### 5.2.3.9 The interrogative how much "dên"

The Mbuk language uses the same morpheme that is used for how much "dên" to express 'how much' question the price for goods. The word "dên" can appear at the end of the clause preceded by the verb be "ko" as in (a) while the interrogative morpheme "dên" occurs before the noun "corn" in the clause. It is also certain from both examples that the question morpheme "dên" follow verbs:

- 416) a.     **dzéŋ ko dên**                           "how much is corn?"  
               corn is how.much
- b.     **wè tǎŋní kí dên       dzéŋ**       "how much are you selling corn?"  
               2S sell   PG how.much corn

### 5.2.3.10 Interrogative mismatch

A cue to translation to be more alert and not trying to assume or rushly equate words without looking what is beneath the crest. Knowing that words will change meaning where they find themselves. A semantic nicety occurs between English and Mbuk on the use of "who / what" in some clauses. Where the English refers to a Mbuk "who" as a "what" in the context below we see that example (b) is grammatical but semantically unacceptable:

- 417) a.     **zyé wá kó ndè**  
           name 2S be who  
           "what is your name?"(lit. your name is who?)
- b.     **\*zyé wá kó nyé**  
           name 2S is what  
           "what is is your name" (lit. your is what?)

It is a pitfall to always match words of two different languages without properly looking into the meaning and context. The word, what "nyé" also mean, how "dên" as a semantic what "dên" in English. Here are illustrative examples:

- 418) d.     **zwàbí kó dên**  
           time is how  
           "what time is it?" (lit. time is how)
- e.     **\*zwàbí kó nyé**  
           time is what  
           "what time is it?" (lit. time is how)

### 5.2.3.11 Interrogative repetition

Interrogative repetition is the request of information that was not understood or properly heard to be repeated. At times, it used in a quarrel, to make sure that what the speaker meant is serious about it. It can also be that the audience can remark the particular information.

Here, the hearer says the interrogative pronoun and the speaker repeats what the speaker said as we see in the following examples:

- 419) B: **wò kó òàm.** "You are an animal"  
 2S be animl
- A: **nyē! or kó!** "Pardon me!"  
 that or that
- B: **nyē wò kó òàm.** "That you are an animal"  
 that 2S be animal
- A: **Ndè ko òàm.** "Who is an animal?"  
 who be animal

### 5.3 CONCLUSION

The function of description, specification, identification and circumscribing the sphere of meaning of nouns is done by a special closed class of functors called modifiers or elsewhere referred to as determiners: possessives; demonstratives; Adjectives – attributes, quantifiers, colour terms, numerals; diminutives, augmentatives; associatives; relative pronouns and definite and indefinite article; and the expletive have been examined. Apart from their fixed form, and function, they have a specific meaning. But for their syntactic distribution we saw that some can appear before the head noun to mark special emphasis or focus while the default order is that modifiers normally occur after the head noun in Mbuk.

Thence, we deduced the following noun phrase rule: HN PS AT NM DM for the following modifiers: possessive (PS), attribute (AT), numeral (NM) and the demonstrative (DM) pronoun. The possessive occupying the closest position to the HN, therefore, Mbuk is a head initial language. Meanwhile to express emphasis or focus, a marked word order is realised with the modifier preceding the head noun.

In the area of meaning, adjectives have several senses pertaining to one linguistic form. The term, "red" in Mbuk is used with semantic ambiguity relating to redness of pepper, ripe of banana/pepper, shine, and colour of skin. And so is the term for soft, weak, tired as well as strong, hard and difficult. Just as the word for big, rich and greatness. All these combined cannot fit into a single directional syntax; thus we have a two ways directions syntactic appose for our modifiers: before and after the head noun:

A Mbuk General Noun Phrase Rule: (MODIFIER) + HEAD NOUN + (MODIFIER)

We remain mindful that the modifiers before the head noun accounts for emphasis, reiteration, comparison contrary to the default position after the head noun which merely communicates without extra pragmatic considerations.

As regard to restricted semantic domains, the attribute "mbòm" has no restriction as to the head noun it can modify. Rather, unlike "kìmfán/kìngbáŋ" which cannot be used to describe the largeness of a stream (river) or a hill. This implies that certain adjectives can only modify certain nouns while some adjectives are universal modifiers. Some lexemes of attributive bias are; "old" for animate "d̥z̥ũn" (a,b) and inanimate "kp̥ũ" (c,d) in the examples:

- 420) a.    **bĩ:    yálē    í   d̥z̥ũn**    "this goat is old"  
              9.goat 9c.this 9c old
- b.    **kp̥ē    wǎŋ    wì d̥z̥ũn-nī** "my old wife"  
              1.wife 1c.my 1c old-AdjSX
- c.    **kìfó   kálē   kō kí kp̥ũ**    "this cap is an old cap"  
              7.cap 7c.this is   7c old
- d.    **d̥z̥ũ    yī kp̥ũ**                "an old house"  
              9.house 9c old

There is also associativity of human versus non-human for the child of a human "waj̥" and the child of an animal "f̥j̥ǎŋ" in the upcoming example (b) cannot be said for an animal other than a human as illustrated below:

- 421) a. **fjǎp fí kóyó** "child of fowl / a young cock"  
 child AM cock
- b1. **fjǎp fí bǐ:** "child of a goat / a young goat"  
 child AM goat
- \*b2. **wàp bǐ:** "child of a goat"  
 child goat

We have looked at how questions are asked in Mbuk in this chapter. We have found three typological categories of questioning. These three main categories of interrogations are: the use a question particle (à), the question tag and the use of the question word (who, when, what, how, where, which). The question particle and the question word appears after the verb in a clause. While the question tag is a whole expression on its own composing of a declarative plus a yes-no question. The tag syntactic formula has varying forms, and at times, certain chunks or constituents are not fully expressed or are left implicit.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **ADVERBS, ADPOSITIONS AND CONNECTIVES**

#### **6.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the morpho-syntax of adverbs, adpositions and connectives. The chapter is split into three sections: the first section (6.1) describes the kinds of adverbs: temporal (time), manner, locational adverbs and their distribution. The second section talks on form and syntax of adposition which is composed of preposition and postposition in (6.2). Then the final section, (6.3) addresses the combination strategy amongst words, phrases and clauses.

#### **6.1 ADVERBS OF MBUK**

An adverb adds some more meaning to a verb, adjective and adverb. The meaning added can be about time, place, manner, purpose, reason. This chapter presents the structure of Mbuk adverbs in relation to tense, aspect, mood marking in which reduplicated adverbs do not take TAM. This chapter covers grammaticalisation borne by verbs.

The grammatical elements that are being generated by the verb are; adverbs, tense and directional markers. At the level of distribution, some adverbs can occur only on the left side (BFV) of the verb while some can only occur on the right side (AFV) of the verb and some can find themselves both on the left and right side of the verb. A table of adverbs and their types has been placed in a table in the subsequent pages.

### 6.1.1 Adverb Structures

Structurally, Mbuk adverbs (AV) have the following syllabic types; monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic for reduplicated adverbs. These are further grouped into open and closed syllables with which we find some with labialised or palatalised onsets.

- 422) a. Monosyllabic: CV hí "already"  
 CGV fyē "month"  
 CVC kén "still"  
 CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> wúó "slowly"
- b. Disyllabic: CVCV láhí "really"  
 CVCVC ká:fōm "patiently"  
 CVCCV fōblí "hastily"
- c. Trisyllabic: CVCVCCV kíyáŋhí "very important"  
 CVCVCV wàyàhí "less important"

The table below presents temporal (TEMP) adverbs, continuity, manner, connectives, value, quantity, restrictive, evaluative and locative adverbs in Mbuk.

Table 65: Mbuk Adverb Types

| No. | Mbuk Adverbs            | gloss                        | type            |
|-----|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1   | mgbù                    | yesterday                    | temporal (T.AV) |
| 2   | hí                      | since, alreAdj               | temporal        |
| 3   | kōmhí ~ kāmí            | early                        | temporal        |
| 4   | kāmí                    | early                        | temporal        |
| 5   | d̥ʒwàbí                 | time                         | temporal        |
| 6   | mbyəŋkəŋ                | o'clock (according to clock) | temporal        |
| 7   | ʃísə                    | next                         | temporal        |
| 8   | bwə̀tūyū, ʃísəʃísə bwə̀ | after yesterday              | temporal        |
| 9   | dză:                    | year                         | temporal        |
| 10  | ʃī                      | week                         | temporal        |



|    |                                 |                   |            |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 11 | <b>bwêṭūyū bí dzêní, wìnìṇì</b> | after tomorrow    | temporal   |
| 12 | <b>ḡísḡísḡ bwê, bwêṭūyū,</b>    | third day before  | temporal   |
| 13 | <b>wìnìṇì,</b>                  | third day after   | temporal   |
| 14 | <b>kómfi</b>                    | early             | temporal   |
| 15 | <b>fyē</b>                      | month             | temporal   |
| 16 | <b>ntónútónú</b>                | early morning     | temporal   |
| 17 | <b>ḍẁwābí tsē</b>              | late              | temporal   |
| 18 | <b>dzá: ṭḡḡḡḡ</b>              | since             | temporal   |
| 19 | <b>ṭḡú</b>                     | already           | temporal   |
| 20 | <b>ṭḡú ḍōḡ</b>                | just              | temporal   |
| 21 | <b>hē</b>                       | before            | temporal   |
| 22 | <b>tí ḍōḡ</b>                  | about to, just    | temporal   |
| 23 | <b>ḡḡí ṭḡḡḡ</b>                | day time          | temporal   |
| 24 | <b>yùbìḍòyó</b>                | sometime          | temporal   |
| 25 | <b>ḡḡí</b>                      | afternoon         | temporal   |
| 26 | <b>dzăyìdzêní ~ dzăyìdzèní</b>  | next year         | temporal   |
| 27 | <b>nī</b>                       | later, after      | temporal   |
| 28 | <b>nà</b>                       | later, after      | temporal   |
| 29 | <b>ḡí</b>                       | always            | temporal   |
| 30 | <b>hē</b>                       | before, when      | temporal   |
| 31 | <b>lă</b>                       | before            | temporal   |
| 32 | <b>ḡísḡ</b>                     | after             | temporal   |
| 33 | <b>lô</b>                       | since             | temporal   |
| 34 | <b>bó</b>                       | before            | temporal   |
| 35 | <b>kén</b>                      | still, throughout | continuity |
| 36 | <b>kpénhí</b>                   | again             | continuity |
| 37 | <b>tóyú</b>                     | again             | continuity |
| 38 | <b>há</b>                       | go, continue      | continuity |

|    |                       |                           |               |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 39 | ha                    | go, continue              | continuity    |
|    |                       |                           |               |
| 40 | kómhí ~ kàmhì         | quickly, fast             | manner (M.AV) |
| 41 | ηγά                   | power                     | manner        |
| 42 | nâ                    | very                      | manner        |
| 43 | bìnôη                 | well                      | manner        |
| 44 | tâhè                  | slowly                    | manner        |
| 45 | wúó                   | slowly                    | manner        |
| 46 | fóblí                 | hastily                   | manner        |
| 47 | ηgònlì                | haphazard                 | manner        |
| 48 | ghá yí mú             | together (lit. one thing) | manner        |
| 49 | bèηgǎbèηgǎ            | roughly, any how          | manner        |
| 50 | à tʃwêhìtʃwêhì        | bit-by-bit, gently        | manner        |
| 51 | à tēsètēsè ~ tēsètēsè | gently,                   | manner        |
| 52 | nèyènínnèyèní         | quickly                   | manner        |
| 53 | láhí                  | realy                     | manner        |
| 54 | yáyí mú               | together                  | manner        |
| 55 | ká: ʃɔm               | patiently                 | manner        |
| 56 | nú:ní                 | manners                   | manner        |
| 57 | yâηhí                 | smartly                   | manner        |
| 58 | kwáhhí kínʃēn         | look sad                  | manner        |
| 59 | tâhètâhè / tēsètēsè   | gently                    | manner        |
| 60 | tsâ:                  | just, however             | manner        |
| 61 | bóη                   | even                      | manner        |
|    |                       |                           |               |
| 62 | à tʃwêhì              | little, abit, small       | quantity      |
| 63 | lánhí                 | too much, over            | quantity      |
| 64 | tséhhí ~ tséké        | too much, over, a lot     | quantity      |

|    |                     |                |                        |
|----|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|
|    |                     |                |                        |
| 65 | tê                  | also, too      | connective             |
| 66 | bón, lānhí          | even, also,    | connective contrastive |
| 67 | lānhī               | ever, always   | habitual               |
| 68 | sěŋ                 | only           | restrictive (R.AV)     |
| 69 | à                   | just, on       | restrictive            |
| 70 | kíyáŋhí kə          | very important | evaluative             |
| 71 | wàyaŋhí             | less important | evaluative             |
| 72 | m̄fā (emphatic), fā | here           | locative (L.AV)        |
| 73 | m̄fī (emphatic), fī | there          | locative               |
| 74 | m̄fóyò              | there          | locative               |

423) VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_FSW-1\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406

- a. **ε:                    ñkʷù      wì   kìmfilì   kí   bèmbòyó,   à   tʃā:   kí   dǎn,**  
 IJ (thinking) 1.libation 1.AM 7.kimfili 7.AM Mbuk.people, DS NG 7.AM TAV  
*The rites of the Kimfili of the Mbuk people has not started today,*
- b. **à   kó   kìmfilì   mā   bó   dzē   yén   à   kí   fá̃.**  
 it is   7.Kimfili while we   come see   just 7.it LAV  
*it is something we grew up and saw here.*
- c. **má   m̄   tʃyáki   là   yá   yê   m̄   kó   í   dzáyé   ʃí   à   yúó,   í   ñkʷù**  
 as 1S know.PG AF thing   that 1S can to say   on just TAV, for 1.libation  
*I should have known what to say now, on these things(instruments)*
- d. **wì   kìmfilì   wē   ndzúó   kó   fyēn                    má   m̄   dzē   yén   à   fí   fá̃**  
 of kimfili   this   because it.is 19.something that 1S come see   just 19.it LAV  
*of Kimifili ritual because it is something which I just came and saw it here already existing.*





- b.    ò lánhí-kí dzí:-kí lè dzín                    "he is really eating corn"  
       S AV-PG V-PG AF O  
       3S really-PG eat-PG AF corn
- c.    tʃùò lánhí-kí fúlí-kí-lè                    "the toilet is actually smelling"  
       toilet actually-PG smell-PG-AF

### 6.1.3.1.1 Adverbial verbs

In Mbuk, adverbial verbs or Adjectival verbs are found with inherent descriptive qualities which means the adverb and the verb are integrated. We presume that since the adverb is inside the verb and the verb is expressing TAM then the adverb in it should certainly be in grammatical harmony with its carrier, verb:

- 428) a.    Wàbùà fóbí-kí-lè                    "Wabua is in a haste"  
       S AV.V-PG-AF  
       Wabua haste-PG-AF
- b.    Wàbùà ɲgònlì-kí                    "Wabua is haphazard"  
       S AV.V-PG  
       Wabua bend-bend-PG

### 6.1.3.1.2 Non-verb-like adverbs

These are adverbs that do not take any tense aspect mood marking associated with the verb. In the example below, time adverbials do not concord with the concords of TAM. Other adverbs that are less like adverbs or verbs such that the adverb alreAdj "hí" do not carry the grammatical markers imposed on verbs. Many of the adverbs falls in this category as shown:

- 429) a.    mì ní dzí: mgbù                    "I ate yesterday"  
       1S P3 eat yesterday
- b.    mì hí dzí                    "I have already eaten"  
       1S already eat

- c.     **Wàbùà kǒ:     kpénhí dzéŋ**     "Wàbùà has harvested corn again"  
           Wàbùà harvest still         corn
- d.     **Wàbùà kǒ:     túyú dzéŋ**     "Wàbùà has harvested corn again"  
           Wàbùà harvest again corn
- e.     **bó nī     dzí**                         "they will eat later/after"  
           3P later eat

### 6.1.3.2.1 Copulative adverb

This is an adverb that needs a linking element or copula (CP) to glue it to the substance whose meaning it is to modify. In the case below we have the copula be "kǎ" that plays the role of bridging the adverb still "kén" to the verb alive "wǎm". In English, the word alive is an Adjective but in Mbuk it is a verb because the structure and meaning is more of a verb than an Adjective. It is a stative verb in Mbuk:

- 430) a.     **ù kén kǎ wǎm** "he is still alive"  
           S   AV   CP   V  
           3S still   be   alive

The linking element below is expressed by a subject pronoun he "ù" which connects the adverb to the verb. In this case the adverb is before the verb (BFV) and it the same adverb carrying the tense aspect marking which is different from that of the core verb:

- b     **Wàbùà á kén-kí     ù dzì dzín yá**     "Wabua is still eating your corn"  
       S         IJ AV-PG   S   V   O     PS  
       Wabua       still-PG 3S eat corn your
- c.     **Wàbùà á     kén-kí     ù dzì dzín yê**     "Wabua is still eating that corn"  
       S         IJ   AV-PG   S   V   O     DM  
       Wabua       still-PG 3S eat corn that

### 6.1.3.2.2 Nominal adverb

The adverb is nominal in the sense that it is a noun that is acting like an adverb in the clause. Furthermore, in the case below (b) is another type of copulative adverb. But in this example the linker is a conjunction (CJ) and not a copula verb. Some nouns can act like adverbs. In Mbuk the word, power "ŋgá" can take the sense of the adverb "rapidly" when they one to say the speed was very high. They will say 'run with power' which mean 'run faster or rapidly excessively. This construction is special in that the verb and the noun are connected by a conjunction unlike other default adverb - verbs constructions where no particle separates the verb and the adverb: The examples are given here:

- 431) b.      **lé    b̃    ŋgá**      "run with power"  
                  V   CJ   O.AV  
                  run with power

### 6.1.3.2.3 Double adverbs

Adverb can modify adverbs/adjectives in Mbuk. The Adjective well "ñŋ" takes the plural prefix "bi-" and the adverb very "nâ" modifying the adjective adding more strength. The word "bìñŋ" is an adverb though it takes a nominal prefix. The word "bìñŋ" modifies the verb eat though it is directly attached to the verb due to the presence of the noun corn "dzín" while the adverb very "nâ" in turn modifies the adverb "bìñŋ". The delinking of the verb from its adverb by the noun can still be regarded as another kind of copulative style where the copula here is rather a noun. While in (b), the verb is surrounded by two adverbs as in these examples:

- 432) a.      **Wàbùá   dzí-kí   dzín   nâ   bìñŋ**      "Wabua eats corn very well"  
                  S                   V-PG   N   AV   AJ  
                  Wabua   eat   corn   very   well



- b.    **ù kên-kí dzí: há: dzíní**            "he is still continuously eating"  
       S AV-PG V    AV       O  
       3S still-PG eat continue eat.NA
- c      **̀̀̀n tí ḍôŋ á ɲyè má**                    "I am just about to going"  
       S AV AV PP V    PO

#### 6.1.3.2.4 Idiomatic adverbs

In Mbuk we have idiomatic constructions which is adverbial in meaning. The word 'thing one' mean 'together' which in Mbuk is an adverb. This construction give an after verb modification AFV of the verb. Since it is a noun and numeral Adjective, it does the progressive aspect marking of the verb:

- 433) a.    **Tíli bô Kìtʃúá ɲánì kí ɣayi mú**    "Tili and Kechua are walking together"  
       S    CJ S            V       PG O       NM  
       Tili and Kechua walk PG thing one

The adverb, just "à" modifies the object by saying it is simply made up of bones.

- b.    **̀̀̀bê ká à ɲkóŋó**    "the man is just bony" (the man is bone-bone).  
       S       CP AV    O.AV  
       fellow be just boney

#### 6.1.3.2.5 Reduplicated adverb

Adverbs that reduplicate the root totally occur after a verb. Some of the reduplicated adverbs are linked to a verb by a bridge vowel "a" whose grammatical status is yet to be fully understood. It seems as if tense aspect mood agreement occur only for adverbs that appear before the verb. As a result, in the case of the reduplication which occur after the verb there is no TAM agreement. The adverb is an AFV reduplicated:

- 434) a.    **ù ɲánì kí ḅəŋgǎḅəŋgǎ**                    "he walks roughly (any how)"  
       S    V       PG AV  
       3S walk PG roughly

- b. ù dzí kǐ dzǎŋ à t̃sə̀t̃sə̀ "he is eating corn gently"  
 S V PG O CJ AV  
 3S eat PG corn with gently.gently
- c. ù dzí kǐ dzǎŋ à t̃fwêhìt̃fwêhì "he is eating corn bit-by-bit"  
 S V PG O CJ AV  
 3S eat PG corn with bit-by-bit

### 6.1.3.2.6 Double Adverb Reduplication

Here, a reduplicated adverb is bridged to the preceding verb by another adverb which is intermediary between the adverb and the core verb that is being modified. Both adverbs are AFV adverbs and they do not show any TAM backward agreement with the verb:

- 435) a. á mú h̃ə̀ ñə̀ỹə̀níñə̀ỹə̀ní "that you should drink up quickly"  
 CM V AV AV  
 that drink go quickly
- b. á ù mù h̃ə̀ t̃ə̀h̃ə̀t̃ə̀h̃ə̀ "that he should drink up gently"  
 CM S V AV AV  
 that 3S drink go gently
- c. á ù mù h̃ə̀ t̃sə̀t̃sə̀ "that he should drink up gently"  
 CM S V AV AV  
 that 3S drink go gently

### 6.1.4 Adverbs and Tenses

It is not all BFV that do take the TAM. In addition, all adverbs especially of the BFV nature follow the tense be it future or past. The adverb, "lānhī" has a discontinuous "a" morpheme as seen in the example (b):

- 436) a. mì bí kómhì jánì là "I will walk rapidly (tomorrow)"  
 S F3 AV V AF  
 1S F3 quickly walk AF

- b      **mì hí lānhī dzí: à dzín**      "I always eat corn"  
          S P2 AV    V    AV O  
          1S P2 always eat    always corn

For adverbs of AFV, the tense marker is blocked by the verb, hence, they have no contact with the adverb as seen in the example (c, d) below:

- c.      **mì ní dzí: sǎŋ à dzón mgbù**      "I ate only corn yesterday"  
          S P3 V AV AV O    AV  
          1S P3 eat only just corn yesterday
- d.      **m bí dzí: sǎŋ à bìfí**      "I will eat only pigs (tomorrow)"  
          S F3 V AV AV O  
          1S F3 eat only just pigs

### 6.1.5 Adverbs and Aspects

In these examples most of the adverbs are BFV and agree with the imperfective form of the verbs from example (a – c). In like manner, the perfective aspect which it self doubles as an adverb comes after the verbs triggers no extra marking on itself and the the verb root as seen in (e-f). Looking at these two cases; imperfective and perfective a kind of correspondence can be drawn where the adverb, apart from being an aspect marker is also a factor of adverb that signals imperfective events while the "lô" is also an adverb and also an indicator of perfective events. Some examples are given here:

- 437) a.      **ù kómhí jánì kí là**      "he is walking quickly"  
          S AV    V PG AF  
          3S quickly walk PG AF
- b.      **wì hí dzí: là**      "he is already eating"  
          3S already eat AF
- c.      **wì tǫ́ dzí: là**      "he is already eating"  
          3S already eat AF

- |    |                     |                                         |
|----|---------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| e. | <b>wì nì bí: lô</b> | "it has since allow it (long time ago)" |
|    | S P4 V AV           |                                         |
|    | 3S P4 stop since    |                                         |
| f  | <b>wì nì dzē lô</b> | "he has since come (long time ago)"     |
|    | S P4 V AV           |                                         |
|    | 3S P4 come since    |                                         |

### 6.1.6 Adverbs and negations

Negation as mood goes with perfective and imperfective aspect not leaving out tense. But here we will focus on the mutual presence of a negator and an adverb in terms of their distribution. In (a) below, the negator precedes the perfective aspect negator "tʃâ:" and the same is position holds true for the imperative imperfective negator "mà" in example (b):

- 438) a. **mí hí tǎ́ bǒŋ dzí: tǎ́** "I did not even eat as well"  
 S P1 NG AV V AV  
 1S P1 NG even eat also
- b. **Bà:lǐ, mà tǎ́ mǎm, wǎ nǒŋ kǐ dzí wǎ dzí, hǎ ká bó ʒyě**  
 S NG AV V S V PG V S V CT CD AV V  
 Baalih NG again try 2S want PG eat 2S eat go if before sing  
 "Baalih, don't try again, if you want to eat, eat before you continue to sing"

The negators for the imperfective aspect do follow the verb as seen in (b) eventhough the adverb "tá" is acting on the preceding verb. With respect to BFV adverbs they are in opposite direct with the imperfective aspect negator as shown in (c, d):

- c.      **m̐ nà bɔŋ lānhí dzí: kə tɛ**                      "I will not even eat as well"  
          S AV AV AV V NG AV  
          I will even even eat not also/too
- d.      **m̐ nà túyú mú: kə**                                      "I will not drink again"  
          S AV AV V NG  
          1S will again drink not

### 6.1.7 Imperative Adverbs

There are two levels of imperative adverbs; those that come before the verb and those that come after the verb. Those BFV are more stronger in command than those of AFV. When a clause begins with an adverb, the clause becomes more imperative in nature. The adverb is induced with command or imperative qualities. The example (439) BFV adverbs:

- 439) a.     **kòmhí dzí**                                 "eat faster"  
           AV    V  
           fast   eat
- b.     **kómhí kō     dzín**                         "harvest corn faster"  
           AV    V        O  
           rapidly harvest corn
- c.     **tsâ: tsēní**                                 "just be going / however keep on going"  
           just go.NA

In certain constructions, the term "kómhí" means "early" as given below in (d):

- d.     **mì hí   kòmhí fyéní**                         "I had earlier returned"  
       1S   F1.1 early   return

In addition, the imperative adverbs that features after the verb AFV are illustrated.

Though the case of (f) carries two adverbs:

- e.     **dzē kísáyá**                                 "come immediately/promptly"  
       come immediately
- f.     **dǔŋ à     fén**                                 "remain only there"  
       sit    only there

### 6.1.8 Gerund Adverbs

Within the set of vocabulary that take the -ní suffix are verbal nouns, gerunds (GR). When the verbal noun occurs simultaneously with its verb counterpart, the verbal noun acts like an adverb to the verb. The verbal portion of the verbal noun is the replica of the core verb in the example below:

- 440) a. **bè nì dzí: kí dzíní hā wò gbò**  
 we P4 eat PG eat.NA before/when 2S fall  
 "we are just eating before you fall"

It is also a consecutive action, "while the people were on eating, he fell".

### 6.1.9 Adverbs symmetry

Time adverbs portrays a symmetry in lexemes, after/before, yesterday/today, next/last.

In the set below both (a) and (b) display the symmetry in distribution. Both are AFV and is followed by the time adverb tomorrow:

- 441) a. **ù bí bî: lè ísē kèdzyēlí** "he will stop after tomorrow"  
 S F3 V AF AV AV  
 3S F3 allow AF after tomorrow
- b. **ù bí bî: lè lă kèdzyēlí** "he will stop before tomorrow"  
 S F3 V AF AV AV  
 3S F3 allow AF before tomorrow

### 6.1.10 Three dimensional adverbs

Some adverb occupy three different positions. This adverb again/still "túyú" has a high degree of distribution; it appears after verbs, before verbs and after time adverbials:

- 442) a. **wì bí túyú dzí: lè kèdzyēlí** "he will eat again tomorrow"  
 S F3 AV V AF O.AV  
 3S F3 again eat AF tomorrow
- b. **wì bí dzí: lè túyú kèdzyēlí** "he will eat again tomorrow"  
 S F3 V AF AV O.AV  
 3S F3 eat AF again tomorrow
- c. **wì bí dzí: lè kèdzyēlí túyú** "he will eat again tomorrow"  
 S F3 V AF O.AV AV  
 S F3 eat AF tomorrow again

### 6.1.11 Locative adverbs

The locative forms and indicating directions as well:

- 443) a. **dzəgwǔ** "up" c. **mfi:** "there"  
 b. **dzəfyǐn** "down" d. **tà:lì** "level"

Here are some illustrative examples of locative adverbs:

- 444) a. **ù ké dzəgwǔ** "he is up there"  
 he is up  
 b. **ù ké dzəfyǐn** "he is down there"  
 he is down  
 c. **ù ké mfi: n-tà:lì** "he is there at the level place"  
 he is there NA-leve

### 6.1.12 Directional adverbs

Directional or compass adverbs are lexemes that function as indicators of direction: north, up, top; south, down, under; west, east, randomly, and level or straight. Some times, the displacement is in the mind and not an actual physical motion to a kind of direction on land, sea or air. In other literature they are referred to as directional adverb but we are more comfortable using them as compass to bring out their function vividly.

Ten basic directions are described by Mbuk verbs or compass adverbs; the upward, the downward, the straight, the haphazard, toward and away, front, behind, left and right:

- 445) a. **yàyá** "upward" i. **dzə** "toward"  
 b. **ʃəyá, ʃi:** "downward" y. **nídʒúm** "backward"  
 c. **tʃəŋ** "straight" k. **kìmiyá** "left"  
 d. **nâ dên** "disorderly" l. **tā:lí** "level"  
 e. **ŋgònlí** "haphazard, not straight" m. **fyē:lī** "go-round"

- |    |                     |                                           |    |                 |         |
|----|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|----|-----------------|---------|
| f. | <b>tsə ~ sə</b>     | "away"                                    | n. | <b>dzi:ni</b>   | "right" |
| g. | <b>nĩnfĩ:n, hə</b>  | "forward, hither"                         | o. | <b>nă, kəbə</b> | "side"  |
| h. | <b>ĩməyá, íbílí</b> | "outward, remove from inside a container" |    |                 |         |

### 6.1.12.1 Upward

To indicate an upward direction of motion, the Mbuk language uses the verb, up or climb "yàyá" whose tone is not actually fixed. It changes with respect to the environ. Furthermore, the verb can equally take a causative suffix if the upward motion is caused by someone or something:

- 446) a. **gúyú bili yáyáhí dzə**  
 drag remove climb.up-CS toward  
 "to pull out from a hole (toward puller)"
- b. **gùyú bílí yáyá** "remove by pulling up"  
 drag remove up
- c. **gùyú yáyáhí** "pull upward"  
 pull go.up-CS
- d. **ɲā yāyāhī** "give go-up"  
 give go.up-CS
- e. **ù yáyá kí lə** "he is going up"  
 3S go.up PG AF

### 6.1.12.2 Downward

A downward direction is pointed by the adverb down "fəyə". It also takes a causative suffix "-hí" when the downward motion is supported by someone or something. The tone as well is not fixed:

- 447) a. **ɲà fəyəhí** "give downward"  
 give go.down-CS



- b. **gùyú fáyèhí** "pull down"  
pull come.down-CS (go down)

In Mbuk, directional verbs are incorporated with movement plus direction. The verb exemplify below is, go plus a downward direction (descend) "fĩ". The verb itself acts as an adverb of itself as seen in the following example:

- c. *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00409 {00:00:19.00 – 00:00:22.000}*

WBS-16 **m̃ dzáyá bēn fí,** **ŋkúŋ dzáyá-kí**  
1S say 2P go.down, Fon talk-PG  
"I have said that you people should go down, the Fon is talking"

Meanwhile in (d) below, the directional marker is somehow directing a position or location for something to be placed or for it to go to:

- d. *KPAAMCAM\_NṬs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407*

01 KEN-92 **m̃, kó yáyà lə, dzyě lə mó tsə kúyò. à:**  
**DI** IJ CP AV AF, V AF 6ac V **DI** IJ  
Yes is so AF, put AF 6a.it go down IJ  
"Yes, put it (corn-beer) in a way that it would overflow the cup. Yes."

### 6.1.12.3 Straight

The opposite of the not-straight, haphazard directions is expressed in Mbuk by the verb straight "tʃəŋ". The verb straight is acting as an adverb in specifying that the motion is horizontal with no upward and downward movement and also without any right or left displacement. But straight can be forward or backward or left or right from start off point without any deviation:

- 448) a. **gùyú tsā: tʃəŋ** "pull along straight"  
pull go straight

#### 6.1.12.4 Haphazard

The haphazard motion is an unspecified direction. This is marked in Mbuk by an idiomatic expression meaning haphazard, that is, in any manner "nâ dên" modifying the serial verb "pull go" as in this example:

- 449) a.     **gù:yò hē nâ dên**             "drag any-how/in any manner (haphazard)"  
               drag   go any how
- b.     **gù:yó fí:ní hē nâ dên**       "pull and turn anyhow"  
               pull   turn go any how

Another expression word that expresses a haphazard direction is stated here, haphazard "ngònlí" which can literally go as 'bend – bend', that is, not straight:

- c.     **ngònlí**             "haphazard"  
               bend-RP

#### 6.1.12.5 Toward

This shows a direction toward the speaker. The speaker is the deictic centre attracting the motion towards him or her. The word come "dzē" has with it direction which is embedded in the verb. So the verb has two semantic components; (1) the component of movement and (2) the component of direction toward the actor:

- 450) a.     **gù:yó bílí       dzē** "pull and remove toward"  
               pull   remove come

#### 6.1.12.6 Away

The action is leaving from a reference point for instance the actor or speaker to the hearer. This does not specify the direction to which the movement is done. The verb that

accomplishes this act is go "tsə" which carries motion and direction. This can be expressed also as going away:

- 451) a.      **gùyú bílí      sǎ**                      "pull it away"  
                  drag   remove away

### 6.1.12.7 Foward / Front

The directional adverb "nínjî:n" gives a leading direction meaning "foward or ahead or in front". It occurs frequently after verbs of motion describing the position of something. Thus, it can be considered as a locative adverb:

- 452) a.      **tsə hǎ nínjî:n**                      "move forward"  
                  go go PR.forward
- 453) a.      **dǔŋ nínjî**                      "stand in front"  
                  stand PP.front
- b.      **dzə nínjî**                      "come in front"  
                  come PP.front
- c.      **dzə dǎ í nínjî**                      "come to the front"  
                  come come PP PP.front

In (c) the verb come has three forms; "dzə, rǎ and dǎ". The dǎ or rǎ are the grammaticalised forms of dzə. They are often used as a twin serial, same verb is used twice. The word front has an intrinsic preposition (PP) "nín-" attached to the root word "-jî ~ jî".

### 6.1.12.8 behind / backward "nídžúm"

The position before the point of reference "nídžúm":

- 454) a.      **tsə nídžúm**                      "go behind"  
                  go PR.behind

- b. **dǔŋ nìdʒúm** "stay behind"  
stay PR.behind
- c. **dzǔ ké nídʒúm** "the house is behind"  
house be PR.behind

### 6.1.12.9 Left side

The sideward position or direction defined by the word "kèbè kí kìmìyǎ" describes the position or direction at the left hand side with person at the deictic centre:

- 455) a. **tsǎ í kìbè: kí tsēn yǎŋ yì kìmìŋǎ** "Pass by my left hand side"  
go PR side PR hand my AM left.hand

There is a patrician variation in speech with; kèbè ~ kìbè, kìmìyǎ ~ kìmìŋǎ.

### 6.1.12.10 Right side

The sideward direction or position of the right is defined by the word "kèbè kí dzí:ní" meaning right side describing the position at the right hand side with man at the deictic centre:

- 456) a. **tsǎ í tsēn yǎŋ yì dzí:nī** "Pass by my right hand side"  
go PR hand my AM right-hand

### 6.1.12.11 Level

A horizontal spatial or surface reference that is perceived as straight, not undulating or bending. The term "tā:lī" is referred to as "level":

- 457) a. **gùyú tā:lī** "pull go level" (no climbing or descending)  
pull go-level
- b. **gùyú tā:lī dzē** "drag go.level come"  
drag go.level come
- c. **gùyú tā:lí yáyá dzē** "drag on level and come up"  
drag level up come

### 6.1.12.12 Circular, go-round

The action the goes in the circular or round. This opposes to the an action that moves traight. It is possible for both verbs of compass to co-occur in a phrase with the word for round being followed by the word for down and followed by the verb move on "hê":

- 458) a.      **gòyú fyē:lī      ʃi:      hê** "drag go-round then downward"  
                  drag   go-round down go

### 6.1.12.13 Inclination

The term "nèhí" meaning "lean or incline" is use to described the position of something.

- 459) a.      **Mă      lô      kúyù nèhí í kimbùyù kí dzǔ      mē**  
                  Do.not throw ground lean to wall              of house on  
                  "Do not throw soil to lie onto the wall of the house."

### 6.1.12.14 Progress

This is mental displacement with no actual direction. But is shows advancement. The particle that act this role is a grammaticalised verb go "hê". The grammaticalised and the ungrammaticalised form of the verb is the same, that is, there is no change in syllabicity and no suppletion as well has happened:

- 460) a.      **wò dzî hê** "be eating" (no physical mortion)  
                  2S eat go

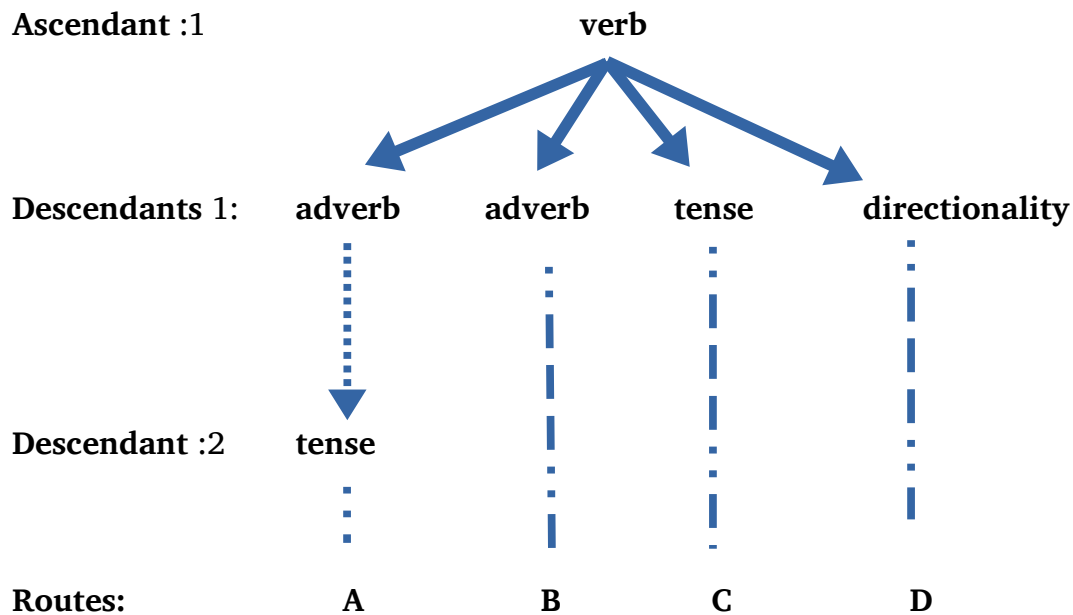
### 6.1.13 Adverb Grammaticalisations

On the axis of grammaticalisation and diachronic perspective, the study of adverbs reveals that there is a relationship between tense markers and adverbs with both probably owing verbs their origin. The adverb that signifies already "hí" is the same that singnifies a past action "hî" which is sometimes heard as "hí".

Thence with the future, the same realisation surfaces with adverb of later "nà" which is same as the future tense marker "nă", which very often, is also realised with a low tone "nà". For the two cases cited for past and future tense, of over 600 verbs there is a single verb ride "nàyí" which has a "nà" root while future marker "hi" has no verb related to its root, which means that these roots existed as verbs before and they have been simply been reduced to adverbs, these have been reduced intun to tense markers. We posit that grammaticalisation has gone through three routes: A, verb through adverb to tense; B, from verb to adverb; C, from verb to tense.

The diagram below shows the routes of grammaticalisation.

Figure 21: Gramaticalistion; Verb, Adverb, Tense, and Directionality



#### Route A example:

From an unknown verb to adverb and thence to tense:

- 461) a.    hí            "already"  
           hî ~ hí        P2 "past tense"
- b.    nà            "later, after"  
           nă ~ nà        F2 "future tense"

### Route B example:

From a verb to adverb. The verb *hā* is more of an auxiliary because it does not take full verb markings. While the verb *tsə go* is sometimes being pronounced as "sə" and also the verb come "dzə" is sometimes heard with an "r" as "rə". Most of these reduced forms occur as directional markers or when modifying another verb where they function as adverbs as in these examples:

|         | <b>verb</b>        | <b>adverb</b>                                    |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 462) a. | <b>hā</b><br>"go"  | <b>hā ~ hā</b><br>"continue, go on, keep going"  |
| b.1     | <b>tsə</b><br>"go" | <b>tsə ~ sə ~ tsā:</b><br>"away, go on, go away" |

The word "go" can be used now as an adverb or a directional marker after deaffrication giving rise to a sibilant (b2) or a "rhotacised" consonant (c). These spirants are illustrated here:

|    |                  |                |                           |
|----|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| b2 | <b>guyu bílí</b> | <b>sə</b>      | "drag and remove it away" |
|    | drag             | remove away/go |                           |
| c. | <b>dzə</b>       | →              | <b>rə</b>                 |
|    | "come"           |                | "come"                    |

When some verbs are adjacent to each other, they become manner adverbs:

|          | <b>verb</b>                                                   | <b>adverb</b>               |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|          | <b>kàhí</b>                                                   | → <b>kàhí</b> "finish, end" |
| 463) a.  | <i>KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00411.txt</i> |                             |
| 13 FSW-1 | <b>gəŋ kàhí dzə m̀ d̀òyó m̃ f́ỳ̀</b>                         |                             |
|          | carry finish come 6a.c some that there                        |                             |
|          | <i>Carry all the other one there and bring it.</i>            |                             |

### Route C example:

From verb to tense: The verb "be" which itself has been reduced from a full verb to an auxiliary has further been reduced to give a tense for an action that will soon take place or

happen. The verb "be" is incorporated with it the idea or event of "happen or occur". This dimension of meaning within the verb "be" has been used to represent tense for a future event:

|         | <i>verb</i>  | <i>tense</i>                         |
|---------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| 464) a. | ká ~ kó ~ kí | kí                                   |
|         | "be / is"    | F1.1 future tense of later or sooner |

This section on adverbs has uncovered three distributive properties of Mbuk adverbs. Some of the adverbs had verb-like portraits by taking tense, aspect, and mood markings. It has also examined the diachronic / synchronic dichotomy of its adverbs under grammaticalisation, thus, nourishing our understanding of the form and origin of some of the tense markers.



## 6.2 ADPOSITIONS OF MBUK

This section treats adpositions: prepositions and postpositions. These are both function words that precede or follow a noun, pronoun, adjective or adverbial words. They express location, possession, and to state that an action was done with an instrument or was accompanied by something or someone. Since they belong to the closed-class vocabulary, they are only a handful of them in Mbuk.

Figure 22: Linear Adposition



### 6.2.1 Mbuk Adpositions

Defaultly, a Mbuk noun at the object position is sandwiched between two elements; a preposition and a postposition. The preposition is followed by the noun while the noun is in turn followed by the postposition as shown in the above diagram.

## 6.2.2 Mbuk prepositions

The following prepositional elements are seen; í, à, hí, yí, bá, ɲ, kòmhí. They have the following syllabic structures; V, C, CV and CVCCV, thus composed of both monosyllabic and disyllabic morphemes. They have three tonal melodies; the high, low and rising tone melodies. There can be rendered in English as:

### 465) Syllabicity    Tone    Preposition    Gloss

|        |   |       |                                                    |
|--------|---|-------|----------------------------------------------------|
| V      | H | í     | "in, on, into, to, from"                           |
| V      | L | à     | "in the"                                           |
| C      | H | ɲ     | "used together with locative adverbs; there, here" |
| CV     | H | hí    | "at"                                               |
| CV     | H | bá    | "with"                                             |
| CV     | H | yí    | "of" all noun class concords                       |
| CVC.CV | R | kòmhí | "near"                                             |

### 6.2.2.1 The " í " preposition

The preposition is a vowel with a high tone. It occurs before nouns, verbs and adverbs. When present before a noun, it blocks the noun from generating its concord markers as seen in the two examples from two different noun classes. Where CS (cause-effect) is causative:

- 466) a.    **yàyàhí    dzín    í    gbâ:**                    "send up corn into the ceiling (barn)"  
               send.CS   4.corn   into 5.barn
- b.    **yàyàhí    bimfín    í    gbâ:**                    "send up cocoyam into the ceiling (barn)"  
               send.CS 8.cocoyam into 5.barn

The example below poses problems in the interpretation of the semantic value of "í" in the construction because when the word house "dzǔ" with a rising tone is now having a high

tone it interpreted as home "dzú". Thus, "i" is no longer translated as "in" in English but being translated as "at". In addition, the preposition is now being preceded by an adverb and concord or associative markers are halted from probagation within the vicinity of a preposition:

- c.     **mí ká: kí bĩ: yì kpèsinì í dzú**     "I am having a lazy goat at home"  
          1S have PG goat AM lazy     in home
- d.     **mí ká kí kíkôm kì kpêsiní í dzú**     "I am having a lazy horse at home"  
          1S have PG horse AM lazy     in home

The tonal changes that occur with the word house does not apply to all nouns. For instance the word hall "sàŋ" has not change in tone, perhaps because it a low:

- e.     **tjēn wí í sàŋ**     "look for it in the hall"  
          look 3.it in hall
- f.     **tjēn kífí í sàŋ**     "look for the pig in the hall"  
          look 7.pig in hall

The preposition is an inherent part of the the verbs. Thus most verbs at the infinitive uses it. We have opted writing the preposition together with the verb and it seems we are committing a word boundry crime here but we will remain faithful and consistent with it. Hence, each time the verb is following the preposition "i" they will be written as a single word which means the preposition is regarded as verbal prefix:

- g.     **tó wálá dʒĩ: gáyá mí íbèyó**     "this stone is havier than I can carry"  
          stone this heavy above me to.carry

Below, the "i" preposition comes between the gerund and the Object (h):

- h.     **m lâ: kí ŋ-kxó í kxē**     "I am going to the farm to be guiding it"  
          1S go PG NA-guide to farm

In some situations, the "i" means "from" as shown below:

- i.     **m wóyó í bĩ:**     "I heard from outside"  
          1S hear from outside

### 6.2.2.2 The "à" preposition

Another vowel which also functions as a preposition (PRP) is "à" with a low tone. In other examples, it occurs before time adverbials with the imperfective aspect or future event:

- 467) a.     **ù dyê kə à ntʃɪtʃɔŋ** "he cooks during the day period"  
               3S cook PG in day-time
- b.     **wì kɪ dzɪ: kɪ à wədʒwábɪ**     "he will be eating in the evening"  
               3S F1.1 eat PG in evening
- c.     **wì bí dzɪ: à kɪdʒyéɪ**                 "he will eat tomorrow"  
               3S F3 eat in tomorrow

Very often the preposition is very weak or is not heard at all or is progressively assimilated by the preceding vowel. In these two like examples, at one moment the "a" is heard and at one moment the "a" is not heard at all as in (b) where the "a" is zero (ø). Another explanation for the optional presence of "a" is that when they are referring to the far future, the "a" is almost obligatorily used to emphasised the time space: So, evening is very near and will not necessarily need the "a" while next year is further and will need a compulsory "a" as in (d), meanwhile even tomorrow is still considered such that the "a" can as well be left out (d):

- 468) a.     **wì nà dzɪ: à wədʒwābɪ**                 "he will eat in the evening"  
               3S will eat in evening
- b.     **wì nà dzɪ: ø wədʒwābɪ**                 "he will eat in the evening"  
               3S will eat ø evening
- c.     **bəyè bí dzɪ: à dzǎ-yê-yáyà**     "I will eat next year"  
               we.ex F4 eat in year-AM-that
- d.     **bəyè bí dzɪ: kədʒyéɪ**                 "I will eat tomorrow"  
               we.ex F3 eat tomorrow

Moreover, in cases of serial verbs or verbs linking to adverbs we observed that the "à" appears as emphatic when there no spacing of the time or when it is just over. In some observations, the "à" translated as "just, immediate" but for now we treat it as a preposition "in":

- e. **Bàyè dzí káhí à yúó** "we have just finished eating"  
 we eat finish in now

In addition, when the averment marker "lè" is present in the clause, the preposition "à" no longer appears, thus, they are mutually exclusive, thus, "à" exhibits a restrictive distribution:

- 469) a. **wì dzí:-kì-lè íyúó** "he will be eating now"  
 3S eat-PG-AF now
- c. **wì kì dzí:-kì-lè kósóyó** "he will be eating soon"  
 3S F1.1 eat-PG-AF soon
- b. **wò bí dzí:-lè dză-yó-yáyà** "will you eat next year"  
 2S F4 eat-AF year-AM-that

Contrary to the attitude portrayed with the future tense, the past tense do not take the "a" preposition for perfective expressions:

- 470) a. **wì nî dzí mgbù** "he ate yesterday"  
 3S F3 eat yesterday

### 6.2.2.3 The " hí " preposition

The preposition "hí" is scarce and has only been found with these two cases. Further research need to see into the various context of occurrence. The particle CV "hí" has a high tone and be glossed as "at". It points to location:

- 471) a. **á wì ká hí bí** "that he is at the compound"  
 that he is at compound
- b. **á bó ká hí bī** "that they are at the compound"  
 that 3P are at compound

- c. **mí kǎ: kǐ bǐ: yì kpèsìní hí bī** "I am having a lazy goat outside"  
 1s have PG goat AM lazy at compound

#### 6.2.2.4 The "bó" presoposition

The particle **bó** ~ **bó** is linked to noun. The tone can be modified from high to falling. It expresses the state of being:

- 472) a. **wì lánhí kō là bó kífú:** "he is very poor"  
 3S very be PG with poor
- b. **wò yúmlí bē ndzáyó.** "you are a liar"  
 2S bend-bend with talk
- c. **wò tsē wò kómhí bó ndzé** "when you return earlier"  
 2S go 2S early with NA.come

Furthermore, in expressions that expresses habitual events which means "always / just be going on", the "à" is a feature though not with a time adverbial as an object but linked to its object by a connective, with "bó" which itself is also a preposition. Thus, the prepositional value of "à" has been displaced to a habitual function. Though a habitual, there is a semantic connection between "in" and "always" because once "in" it means it is always on going:

- 473) a. **bèyá jí kǐ à bó ndm.** "we are always working"  
 1p.ex HB PG HB with work
- b. **wò kē à bē ndóm.** "you are always with tears"  
 2S be HB with tears

#### 6.2.2.5 The "ń" preposition

The labio-dental nasal "ń" is used alongside the locative marker such that it can be considered as a single word. But in this work we keep them separate. The nasal carries a high tone and it homorganic in nature and because all the locative have the same onset it is difficult

to assess the homorganicity of the nasal if not just relying on the empirical phonetic utterance.

Where EM, emphatic. Here are the examples:

- 474) a. **dũŋ lày** "sit down"  
sit EM
- b. **dũŋ lày ń fā:** "sit down here"  
sit EM on here
- c. **dũŋ ʃĩ: ń fā lā** "sit down here like this"  
sit down on here like.this
- c. **bóyú lày ń fā lā** "go out of here like this", "go away from here"  
exit EM on here like.this
- e. **bóyú dzē ń fā** "come out here"  
exit come on here
- f. **ù ké à ń fā** "he is here"  
3S be just on here

In (h) below, it should be noted that the verb go "tsē" is sometimes realised as "sē". Secondly the locative adverb has changed from here "fā" to there "fĩ: with a falling tone and a long vowel as seen in the upcoming examples:

- h. **bóyú sē ń fĩ:** "go out there"  
exit go on there

Another locative adverb that moves along with the nasal is fóyò "there":

- i. **bá bí ń fóyò** "there they are"  
they 8c on there

### 6.2.2.6 The "kômhí" preposition

The preposition, near "kômhí" is used before an object:

- 475) a. **jàní kômhí mí** "walk nearby me ( closer to me )"  
walk near me





- c. **dzín kō kà: wó** "corn is in a basket"  
corn be basket in
- d. **dzyě lúlà kíbà: wó** "place a ruler in a bag"  
place ruler bag in
- e. **láyó kâ kíbà: wó** "send in hand in a bag"  
send.in.side hand bag in
- f. **kēn yǎŋ yí mbòm yí fá: yóló kúlí wō**  
4.tree my 4c big 4c two 4c.these compound in  
"These my two big trees at the compound."

In the presence of an interrogative particle "a", the coda nasal of the postposition "bēn" changes into an "l" phonetically and a bilabial nasal is inserted to link the velar nasal and the bilabial plosive. In addition, the "a" of the question is assimilated by the root vowel of the postposition and sounds lengthened as is the case in the example that follows:

- g. **wì kó nāŋ bēn ā** [ùkónāŋmbélē:]  
3S be bed on QP  
"Is he on the bed?"

### 6.2.3.2 The "bēn" postposition

The posposition appears at the end of the object and it is a mid or high tone:

- 479) a. **dzín kō kìmgbòyò bēn** "corn is on the chair"  
corn be chair on/top
- b. **wì kó kpén bēn** "he is on top of a tree"  
3S be tree top/on
- c. **yí kó kēn bēn** "they (monkeys) are on the trees"  
it.10c be tree on
- d. **tsá: kó kpén bēn** "Monkeys are on the trees"  
monkeys be tree on
- e. **nùsí ~ nùhí wāŋ nāŋ bēn** "place the baby on the bed"  
place child bed on

### 6.2.3.3 The "kpěŋ" postposition

The postposition kpěŋ with a CVC structure and a high tone. It comes after an object be it a noun or an adverb:

- 480) a.      **bé bí m fóyò kpěŋ**                      "there they are beside you"  
                  3P 8c at there beside

### 6.2.3.4 The "tʃín" postposition

The postposition of CVC "tʃín" with a high tone can be defined as 'under' or 'below' and it flanks the clause after a direct object:

- 481) a.      **wì kó kìngbòyò tʃín**                      "he is under a chair"  
                  3S be chair          under

### 6.2.3.5 The "mā" postposition

The postposition "mā ~ má" is aspectual in nature under the imperfective. It expresses an ongoing actions especially with stative verbs like dream, sleep. For this verb to take the "ma" preposition it has to be derived into a verbal noun, gerund. Thus, "mā" takes verbal nouns:

- 482) a.1      **índómhì**                      "to dream"  
                  a.2      **índómhì má**                      "in dream / in dreaming"  
                  b.1      **m̃ kē ndyè      má**                      "I am inside cooking"  
                                       1S be NA.cook inside  
                  b.2      **m̃ dyê: kí lè**                      "I am cooking"  
                                       1S cook PG AF
- 483) a.      **m̃ lyē à ñtwáp mā**                      "I have just entered into beatings"  
                                       1S enter in    beating in  
                  b.      **wì dzē lyé à ñtwáp mā**                      "I have just come and entered into beatings"  
                                       3S come enter in beating in

In a negative clause, it remains postposed to the lone noun in the sentence:

- 484) a. **mà túyú kám mí kèndòŋ má** "do not press my neck"  
 NG still squeeze me neck on

The verb in the case below is not nominalised and the appropriate status for the "á" is still questionable because it seems to be a verbal connective in this context:

- 485) a. **ń tí-dũŋ á nyè má** "I am just about to be going"  
 1S about to go in
- b. **ń ńfú dũŋ á nyè má** "I am just to be going"  
 1S just stay to go in
- c. **ń ńí nōm ma** "I am always at work / I am always inside work"  
 1S always work inside

It is possible to find "mā" after time adverbials. And instead of "a" we find an "i" before the time adverbial:

- 486) a. **ù bí: dzí: là í dză:yáyà mā** "he will eat next year"  
 3S F4 eat AF in year.next in
- b. **ù bí dzí: à dză:yáyà kxē wì wê mā** "he will eat next year in that his farm"  
 3S F4 eat in year.next farm his that in

### 6.2.3.6 The "mā" postposition

The postposition "mā" appears after nouns to identify location:

- 487) a. **ńjyă kó kîfí mā** "there is fat in the pig"  
 fat be pig inside

- b. *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00412.txt*

NCB-89 **wàŋ bōlí bókí là fyēn (kɪŋkʷahɪ) mā, wì nà kôŋ-kí ńā wâŋní**  
 PO N AJ V.PG AF N PO 3S NG V-PG V N  
 child small tire thing (bamboo-rattle) in, he not like give his.brother  
 "When a child is tired in plying, he does not want to give his brother."

### 6.2.3.7 The " kèntê ~ kintê " postposition

The postposition, inside "kintê" can occur after a noun or a pronoun.

- 488) a.      **tsē tō:li      bə̀yè kintê**      "pass between us"  
                  pass in-between 1PE    inside

### 6.2.4 Adpositions

Adpositions (AP) can be regarded as a kind of circumfixation around an object where the prefix is always "í" and the suffix can be any of the attested postpositions:

- 489) a.      **tʃèn kɪfí í bóyò kèntê**      "search the pig inside the river/water"  
                  look pig in river inside
- b.      **tʃèn kɪfí í sàŋ kpěŋ**      "look for the pig near the hall"  
                  look pig in hall near
- c.      **tʃèn kɪfí í sàŋ dʒóm**      "look at the pig in and behind the hall"  
                  look pig in hall behind
- d.      **mí ká    kí kíkôm kɪ kpêsiní í kpén bén** "I am having a lazy horse on a tree"  
                  1S have PG horse    AM lazy    on tree    on
- e.      **nyē í kpə́ŋə mē**      "fufu inside pot"  
                  fufu in pot    inside
- f.      *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00411.txt*

FSW-1      **m̄ dōyó kó lè    í    tébìlì tʃɪn**

AP              6ac some is    AF    PP    table    PO

(PP/PO)      "There is some under the table."

#### 6.2.4.1 Extreme Adpositions

In some adpositional phrases, the preposition and postposition occur at the extreme ends of the clause with the preposition at the extreme left and the postposition at the extreme right of the adpositional noun. In the example below, (c) exemplifies extreme adposition for the

phrase is flanked on both ends by an adposition. In order words, an adpostion is an inherent discontinuous preposition and postposition as shown by this link "í . . . mē":

- 490) a.     **kpā̀: wì wǎŋ**                                 "a hand of a child"  
                  3.hand 9.AM 1.child
- b.     **kpā wī wāŋ wì wō**                                 "the hand of the child"  
                  3.hand 3.AM 1.child 1.c the
- c.     **í kpā̀: wī wāŋ wī wō mē**                                 "in the hand of the child"  
                  in 3.hand 3.AM 1.child 3.c the in

In another noun class, class 9, the same principle applies with the adpositions surrounding the clause as in example (c). The definite article the "wō" precedes adposition. The concord of the first headnoun (house) cannot cross over the second headnoun (child):

- 491) a.     **dzǔ: yì wǎŋ**                                         "a house of a child"  
                  house 9.AM 1.child
- b.     **dzǔ: yì wāŋ wì wō**                                         "the house of the child"  
                  9.house 9.AM 1.child 1.c the
- c.     **í 9.dzǔ: yì wāŋ wì wō mē**                                         "in the house of the child"  
                  in house 9.AM 1.child 1.c the in

#### 6.2.4.2 Zero adpositions

These equative clauses of location do not need an overt or explicit marking of the preposition. Almost no speaker is heard using the preposition in these case. Thus, one is tempted to say there are prepositons in the language is we are to concentrate just on such a corpus. Tense and aspect marking is very minimal, the presence and imperfective because the action is not yet over; it ongoing:

- 492) a.     **wè kó kxē**                                 "you are in the farm"  
                  2S be farm

- b. **wì kó dzú** "he is in the house"  
3S be home
- c. **bèyá kó bóyò** "we are at the river"  
1p.ex be river
- d. **bén kó ntō** "you (pl.) are at the palace"  
2P be palace
- e. **bó kó Ndánàsi** "they are at Ndagasi (quarter of Mbuk)"  
3P be Ndagasi

In the examples below, the marker for the progressive aspect has been introduced, yet there is no adposition showing up in any of the clauses. Adpositions are sometimes used only when there is need to lay emphasis. just a plane speaking will seldom make use of adpositions:

- 493) a. **wè tsē kí kxā** "you are going to the farm"  
2S go PG farm
- b. **wì lâ: kí kxā** "he is going to the farm"  
3S go.work PG farm
- c. **wì tsē kí dzú** "he is going to the house"  
3S go PG home
- d. **bèyá tsē kí bóyò** "we are going to the stream"  
1p go PG river
- e. **bén tsē kí ntō** "you are going to the palace"  
2P go PG palace
- f. **bó tsé kí Ndánàsi** "they are going to Ndánàsi"  
3P go PG Ndagasi

#### 6.2.4.3 Nominal adpositions

Nominal adposition, this is a noun plus location that functions as an adposition. The place, under the bed "kìgà:hî". Here the word for bed and under is fused such that you cannot

separate the two lexemes as is the case in (a). But in (b) which is not a nominal adposition because both noun and postposition are clearly distinct separate lexemes:

- 494) a.     **ń t̃hī gbõ kīgà:hī**        "I slide and fall under the bed"  
               1S slide fall under.bed
- b.     **ń t̃hī gbõ nāŋ t̃jīn**        "I slide and fall under the bed"  
               1S slide fall bed under

Associative markers are considered a preposition "of" phrases

- 495) a.     **kəfú kəŋ kə bĩ:**                    c.     **dzáyá kəŋ kə mú kə mbòm**  
               head my AM goat                    mouth my AM one AM large  
               "my heads of goat"                    "my one large mouth"
- b.     **dzáyá kəŋ kə mbòm**                    d.     **dzáyá byĩŋ bí fá bì mbòm**  
               mouth my AM large                    mouth my AM two AM large  
               "my large mouth"                    "my two large mouth"

### 6.3 MBUK CONNECTIVES

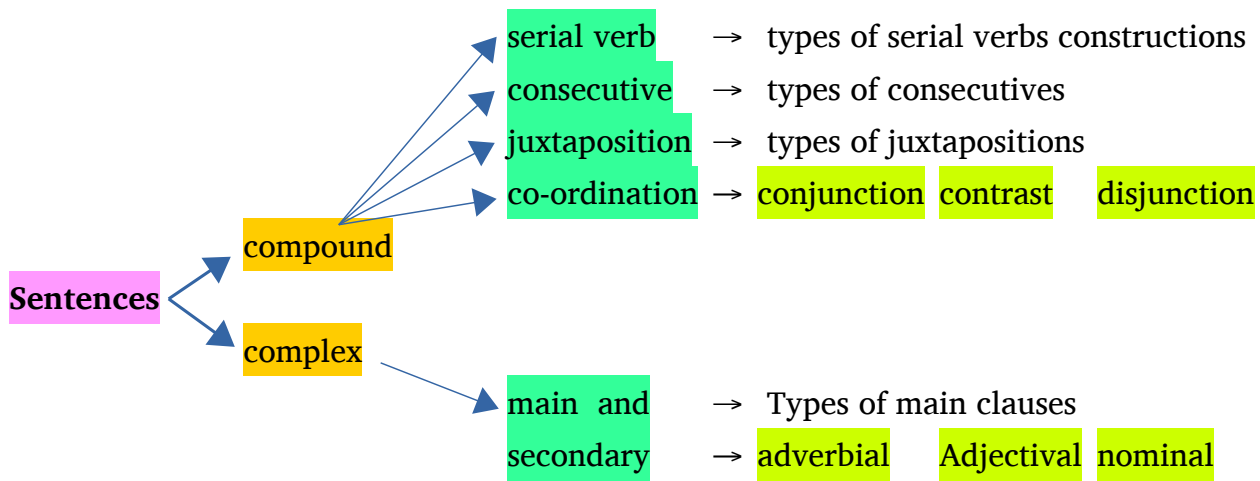
This segment presents some words used in linking single words such as noun plus noun, verb plus verb, phrases, clauses, sentences and logical connection of paragraphs within the Mbuk language. The concept of connectivity generates sentential structures such as compound and complex sentences as explained by Heine and Nurse (2000:217, 221-222),

*To form compound sentences, African languages use various strategies: co-ordination, juxtaposition, consecutive constructions and ‘serial verbs’ construction. Some languages use more than one of these strategies [...]. Languages that use co-ordination are those that formally indicate the linkage between the two clauses by using a co-ordinating word such as ‘and’ for conjunction, ‘but’ for contrast, and ‘or’ for disjunction. [...] complex sentences involve the linking of two or more clauses in which one clause is the main or matrix clause and the other is the secondary (i.e. ‘subordinate’, ‘dependent’, or ‘embedded’ clause. The secondary clause may clarify the time, place or manner of the main clause (‘adverbial’ clause). It may specify the identity of one of the noun phrases in the main clause (‘adjectival’ or ‘relative’ clauses). It may also be embedded as one of the noun phrases in the main clause or the verbal complement (‘nominal’ or ‘complement’ clause).*

We diagramtise the above quote to easily explore its content in the figure below. A sentence is can be a compound sentence or complex sentence. The compound sentence is subdivided into four clauses: the co-ordiantion clause, juxtaposition, consecutive and serial verbs. Meanwhile, the complex can be a main clause or a subordinate clause which can be made up of an adverbial clause or an adjectival clause or a nominal clause. Mbuk sentences has been found with all these typolgies as epitomised in the diagram below.



Figure 23: Compound and Complex Sentences



The Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary defines a sentence as "A group of words, usually containing a verb, which expresses a thought in the form of a statement, question, instruction or exclamation and starts with a capital letter when written."

These groups of words differ in their combining ability thus giving rise to four kinds of sentences; simple, compound, complex, and compound complex. The compound and complex uses all sorts of connectives to link the two constituents of the sentence together but for the simple sentence that has nothing to conjoin it is without a connecting morpheme. Thus, our goal here is to point out the various lexical items used in linking constituents in the Mbuk language.

### 6.3.1 Connectives of Compound Sentences

Our discussion on compound sentences covers connectives within the following constructions; co-ordination, juxtaposition, consecutive, serial verbs and indirect speech.

### 6.3.1.1 Co-ordinating connectives

The co-ordinating connectives connects two concepts such as nouns, verbs and phrases, clauses. In Mbuk, the following co-ordinating connectives have been observed; conjunction co-ordinator, contrast co-ordinator, and disjunction or alternating co-ordinator.

#### 6.3.1.1.1 Connectives of conjunctions

The connective of co-ordinating conjunction (AD) is "b́́ ~ b́́" with a nonrigid high tone and CV syllabic segmental unit, translated into English as "and". The words they connect vary in semantic domains. In the semantic domain of food, "b́́ ~ b́́" is used as in (a) to link two food stuff; corn and cocoyam elaborated under the category of non-human specifically plants:

- 496) a.     **dzín b́́ b́́ḿ́**     "corn and cocoyam"  
               corn AD cocoyam

In (b) the domain of plants and animal (of the class of birds) the connective is same:

- b.     **dzín b́́ jýě**         "corn and fowl"  
               corn AD fowl

In (c) a person and a fowl (bird) is combined with the same connector:

- c.     **ngwán b́́ t́́yě**     "Ngwang and fowl"  
           PN         AD fowl

While in (d) a person and a pig (animal) are combined through the same conjunction:

- d.     **ngwán b́́ ḱ́fí**     "Ngwang and pig"  
           PN         AD pig

Then (e) money or currency used the conjunction to add up:

- e.     **gbí b́́ b́́njí**                 "one hundred and fifty"  
           100 AD 50

The example below is linking a human being with a non-living thing in a relative clause:

f. *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407*

31 FSW-1    **à kó ndə, m̀ wə wì kó bá kimb̀**

**AD**            DS CP QW, 1.N    1.RL 3S CP **AD** 7.N

it is who, person that he is with drum

"Who is the person who has the drum?"

### 6.3.1.1.2 Connectives of contrast

The English connective contrast (BT) "but, rather, instead" are rendered in Mbuk by the CVC lexeme "dôŋ". The contrast marker, but "dôŋ" is used for contradicting a message:

497) a.    **m nà dzí: kə dzíŋ, m̀ nà dzí: dôŋ kímfin**  
           1S will eat NG corn, 1S will eat    BT cocoyam  
           "I will not eat corn, I will eat but cocoyam"

### 6.3.1.1.3 Connectives of disjunction

The connective that indicates a choice is termed disjunction (alternation) (OR). It is of the form CV "ma" and is toneless, it assimilates the proceeding tone: Translated in English as "or" equivalent to "ma" in Mbuk. The alternative co-ordinator is semantically embedded with an interrogative particle (QP) that is absorbed by the root vowel of an open syllable word:

498) a.    **dzíŋ mā jyə**                    "Corn or fowl?"  
           corn OR fowl.QP

b.    **jyə má dzíŋ ā**                    "fowl or corn?"  
           fowl OR corn QP

But a following low tone on a prefix has no effect on the disjunctive co-ordinator. The tone of the root is the determining force, thus, should not be mistaken for a polar tone:

c.    **dzíŋ má k̀-mfin ā**                    "corn or cocoyam"  
           corn OR cocoyam QP

A detail tonology beyond this research shall consider other tonal contexts such as low, rising and falling tone roots before and after the disjunctive or alternative connective (OR). The disjunctive connective in (d) below links verb phrases and there is the repetition of the marker "má" for focus about the truth value of the statement as seen in the following example:

d. *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407*

FSW-1      **mí wám là má, má kó àyáyà sè bə̀yá bēn sí      tʃyā á**  
 OR      1S lie AF OR, OR is so as 1PI used.to know QP  
 "Have I lied or is it just as we used to do it?"

### 6.3.1.2 Juxtaposition connectives

The English connective "while, but" is absent in Mbuk. But the concept is expressed in a juxtaposition(JX) when either contrasting or listing consecutive events:

499) a.      **mí dzí:-kí wí mû**      "I am eating while he is drinking"  
          1S eat-PG 3S drink

b.      **mì ní mú:-kí wí dzî**      "I was eating but he was drinking"  
          1S P3 dring-PG 3S eat

c.      *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00413.txt*

NCB-89      **wò bó, wò já wáná      tʃádèkə fyēn fí      dōyó mfā,**  
 JX      2S V 2S V 1.N NG 19.N 19.AM ID AV  
          you tire, you give your.brother, not thing of some here

**bó dzáyá kó {kóntràkt} wì mì**  
 3P V CP N AM N  
 they say is contract of person

"When you are tired, you should give the instrument to your brother. It is not something they have said here that it is a contract."

In example (c) above, the various connectives that could link up the different clauses are absent as seen in the sentence, thus, giving rise to a juxtaposed construction.

### 6.3.1.3 Consecutive connectives

With the use of serial verbs, it is a feat to deduce consecutive constructions in Mbuk clauses. So, more indeph research and time is required to sought out consecutives and differentiate them from serials. The Mbuk consecutive connective sequentially link verbs through a time adverbial, then "ká". It is present for clauses with and without an object. Contrary to the conjunction co-ordinator which occurs syntactically before the subject, the consecutive co-ordiantor occurs after the subject and is it different in form as well to the conjunction co-ordinator. The consecutive marker is illustrated in the examples below:

- 500) a.     **wì fá**                                 "he count,"  
              he count
- b.     **wì ká nyá**                         "he then give,"  
              he then give
- c.     **bó ká dzō kpó wē** "they then take the money,"  
              they then take money the
- d.     **bé ká láé**                         "they then bury."  
              they then bury

Meanwhile, Anderson (1979:92) on Aghem views the consecutive connective as a tense marker, "The consecutive tense in Aghem (labeled CNS) is used to show consecutive action in the past where the action in one clause follows closely the action in the preceding clause. It is probably best translated into English by adding the time adverbial "then" to a past tense gloss."

- 501) a.     **ò mē bó** 'he then hit (it)'  
              he CNS hit
- b.     **ghé mē bó** 'they then hit (it)'  
              they CNS hit

#### 6.3.1.4 Serial verbs connectives

The Mbuk language can have a set of verbs in series with or without an intervening grammatical co-ordinator. Watters (2000:220-221) points out the following on this issue,

*These sequence of verbs share the same subject noun phrase and may have an intervening object between the verbs. Often one of the verbs serves more as an auxiliary verb with meaning different from its core meaning. They differ from co-ordinated and juxtaposed clauses in that the verb agree in the tense and aspect, and they allow only one negative.*

- 502) a.      **bó ní búyú dzə gəmtí wə**                      "They will come out and help you"  
                  they will out   come help   you

#### 6.3.1.5 Indirect speech connectives

The indirect speech in Mbuk is introduced by a connector which doubles in function as complementiser. The indirect speech is a system of reporting or retelling what someone else has said. An example is here below is a single reflexive reporting :

- 503) a.      Speech maker, direct speech made by Wabua:  
                  **Mí tsə-kə-lə í ʃi bən.**                      "I am going to the market"  
                  1S go-PG-AF to market in
- b.      Speech reporter, indirect speech is made by Bikem:  
                  **Wábúá dzəyá á wì tsə í ʃi bən**  
                  Wabua said   that 3S go.PF to market in  
                  "Wabua said that he(Wabua) has gone to the market"

Bikem is reporting what Wabua said about Wabua himself.

In the indirect speech the subject has changed from singular 1<sup>st</sup> person to 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular. The aspect of the verb has changed from progressive imperfective aspect to the perfective aspect. The perfective verb form has a rising tone. And the tense has changed from

presence to the past. The vocative "said" introduces a report clause through a connective "a" termed in grammar a complementiser.

In the case of double reporting, only the tense changes to show that it is not the same person talking. Normally, if the subject could change we would have talked of a logophoric pronoun(3SL), but this is not the case here. Here Bikem is reporting what Wabua said about Ngwang and the 3S pronoun "wì" remains the same. To show that it is not Wabua who has gone to the market, they have to use the tenses P2 and P3, the perfective verb form now gets a high tone and the preposition "í" deletes:

- 504) a.      **Wábúá hí dzáyó á wì ní tsó jì bén**  
                  Wabua P2 said    that he P3 go.PF market in  
                  *"Wabua said he(Ngwang) has gone to the market"*

### 6.3.2 Connectives of complex sentences

Complex sentences go beyond simple compounding of phrases and clauses to include logical connectivity amongst a series of phrases, clauses and sentences. The linking of adverbial clauses, adjectival clauses, nominal clauses to the main clause adds additional information about the main clause. Here we will be looking at those morphemes that come in-between the adverbial, adjectival and nominal clauses and the main clauses.

#### 6.3.2.1 Adverbials connectives

These connectives join time, location, manner, purpose and reason clauses to the main clause. The temporal adverbial connective, when "má" implicitly also expresses manner:

- 505) a.      **o kì gàmí kē má wì kpí o**    *"Oh do not help when he is dead"*  
                  IJ NG help    NG when he dead IJ

This same form of the temporal/manner connective is used as a complementiser in nominal clauses with the sense of "that" ( 6.3.2.3) below.

### 6.3.2.2 Adjectival connectives

The connective links the main clause and its subordinate clause. The subordinate or embedded clause contains more information about the matrix clause. The matrix clause can be described by an adjectival or a relative clause through the intervening of an adjectival connective or a relative pronoun. The example below is a relative clause with "ye" translated "that" as the relative connective. The connective overlaps as an adverbial manner linker as it is in the following subsequent case:

- 506) a.     **kpó   ndzón-kí-lə, à báyá-kí dzzē yē   bá   dzó tsó níŋ wì yén-a.**  
              money good-PG-AF, it bad-PG   road   that they take go   look it   in-EM  
              *"money is good what is bad is the way it is taken to get it"*

In addition, the above case also illustrates a compound complex sentence which involves juxtaposition, contrast, relativity and serialisation. There is juxtaposition of contrastive clauses of good and bad, that is, a contrastive connective marker is not used. In addition, the relative clause is a serial verb construction with three verbs in a row "take go look" without a co-ordinator in between. While the verb "look" being the core verb of the verb phrase with "take" and "go" acting as auxiliaries or adverbs.

### 6.3.2.3 Nominal connectives

The nominal connective adds complementary information about the main or matrix clause. The nominal co-ordinator is also known as a complementiser. The complementary clarifications can be in the form of an argument of a predicate be it a subject noun phrase or an object noun phrase. The argument can be an answer to the predicate content.





### 6.3.3 Copula verb

WordWeb(2017) defines a copula verb as an equating verb (such as 'be' or 'become') that links the subject with the complement of a sentence. While the Advanced Learners' dictionary (3rd Ed.) says it is a type of verb, of which the most common is 'be', which joins the subject of the verb with a complement (= word that describes the subject).

The absence of a full verb in such a sentence gives rise to the following constructions called, predicate nominals, meaning the predicate that describes the subject is verbless. Examples of such verbless predicates in Mbuk are: Predicate nominal, predicate adjective, predicate locative and existential expressions. A copula converts noun phrases into predicates.

#### 6.3.3.1 Predicate nominals

The complement of the copula is a noun with two forms identified, proper inclusion and the equative. In the case of proper inclusion, the subject belongs to or is a member of the professions as exemplified here:

- 509) a.    **wì ko mì      ù   fūŋnī**                    "he is a fisherman"  
              3S be person AM fishing
- b.    **ù   kə mì      ù   byíŋwĩ**                    "he is a hunter"  
              3S be person AM hunting
- c.    **wì nì kó mì      ù   kxă**                    "he is a farmer"  
              3S ANT be person AM farming
- d.    **wì ko bâ              ~ wì ko bâ              wăŋ**                    "he is my father"  
              3S be my.father ~ 3S be my.father my

The equative construction (d) equates the subject to an inherent relation.

The strategy of linking is syntactically; NP CP NP

### 6.3.3.2 Predicate adjective

An adjectival phrase is turned to a predicate and gives an attribute to the subject:

- 510) a.     **wì dǎŋə kɪ lə**                      "he is tall"  
              3S tall    PG AF
- b.     **wì ndzɔŋ kə lə**                      "he is good"  
              3S good PG AF

Example (a, b) strategy use an adjectival verb as a copula; NP CP.

In (c) below, the copula verb is nominalised by the adjectival suffix -nr:

- c.     **kə ù dǎní ~ kə wì dǎní**    "It is a tall one"  
          be 3S tall    ~ be 3S tall

### 6.3.3.3 Predicate locative

The locative construction has two forms, one with a preposition as in example (a) and another with a copula verb in example (b):

- 511) a.     **ɲyǎ í kǎŋə mǎ**                      "fufu is in the pot"  
              fufu in pot    inside
- b.     **ɲɟyǎ ko kɪfɪ mǎ**                      "The pig has fat"  
              fat    be pig inside

There exist an ambiguity between predicate nominal and predicate locative :

- c.     **ù kó dzú**                      "he is a house or he is in the house"  
          3S be house

### 6.3.3.4 Existential construct

The existential uses a copula verb in its predicate. Predicate locatives and existentials overlap in sense:

- 512) a.     **fĩmús kó nāŋ tʃín**                    "There is a cat under the bed."  
              cat     be bed under
- b.     **fúyú kó dʒúá kìnṭê:**                    "There are ants in the soup."  
                      ants be soup inside
- c.     **í wáŋ kó mí ʃɔm**                    "A child is mine"  
                      A child be me stomach

### 6.3.3.5 Possessive construct

The possessor and the possessed are linked through a copula verb:

- 513) a.     **wáŋ kó~kó í mĩ**                    "The child is with me"  
              child be        with me
- b.     **wáŋ ko ñwǎŋ**                    "The child is mine"  
                      child be mine

## 6.4 CONCLUSION

Adverbs of Mbuk modify the meaning of event specifying the manner, the time, location. This has been the focus of this chapter, presenting how the various close class of adverb functors that add information to an event for clarification. These adverbs are also referred to as Adjuncts.

The various forms, meaning and restrictive and non-restrictive distributions of the adverbs have been given. The distribution shows three set adverbs, those that are restricted to

occur before the verb and those that only have to appear after the verb. Then third class is ambilocative, that the same adverb appears before and after the verb.

Apart from the form, meaning and distribution, the grammatical interrelations of adverbs with tense, aspect, mood have been discussed. In addition, the grammaticalisation process has also been explained.

The nomenclature adopted for the description of the Mbuk adverb is to make its structural and grammatical behaviour easily perceivable.

One pertinent areal trait of beoid languages is the possession of adpositions. In Mbuk, these adpositions are positioned as such: preposition, before the noun; postposition, after the noun and adposition, a noun is surrounded by both a preposition and postposition simultaneously. The adpositions (prepositions and postposition) do not only appear around noun, but also around adjuncts and Adjectives.

This chapter has example words, phrases and sentences bridging devices. We have endeavoured to show which types are used where and for what purpose. Given the limitation of this work, we could not exhaust examples for all the varieties of word, phrase, clause and sentence combinations.

We have been curious on what form of the connective goes with what type of clause combination and this has been without ambiguity as to form and meaning for the categories examined such as the "má" for "when/that" and the "bá ~ bó" form variation. Thence the "á" in conjoining both animates and inanimates that is unlike terms as well like terms.

It is with this means that sentences talk of length; long and short: simple sentence without making use of connectives, then comes the compound, the complex and the compound complex sentences that heavily rely on the connective mechanism for their existence giving rise syntactic and semantic complexity in communication.

The predicate constructions vary with a lot of ambiguity in meaning. Thus, attention must be paid on pragmatics to understand clearly. They predominantly uses the copula "be". Meanwhile, the predicate adjectives uses adjectival verbs as their copula verb. Hence, in predicate nominals and related constructions there is no core verb though the copula can be preceded by a tense marker. While the predicate adjective can be inflected with the imperfective progressive aspect (PG) and a focus marker (AF). The predicate constructs can mark mood be it declarative (affirmative), interrogative, imperative and exclamation.

# GENERAL CONCLUSION

## INTRODUCTION

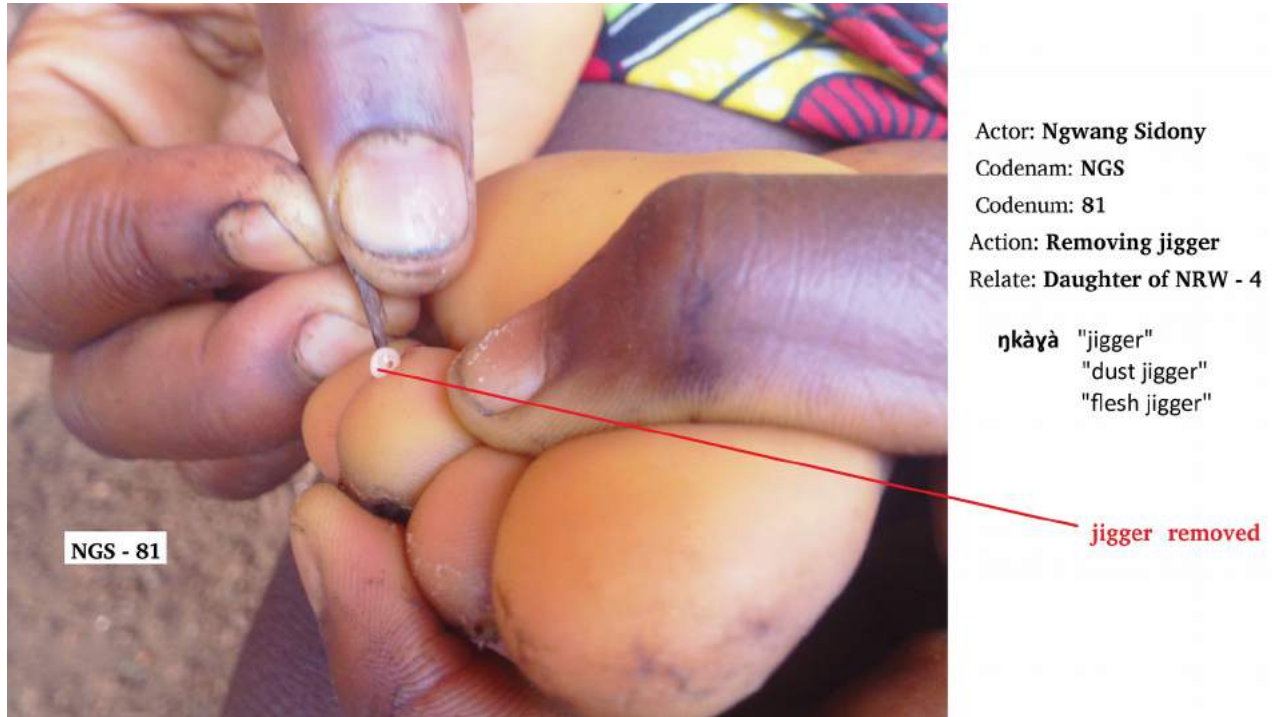
Our prime objectives were data collection and data analysis. The collection phase included audio recording, video recordings of the Mbuk language as well as taking pictures. These collected data has then been used to analyse some pertinent grammatical categories or part of speeches of the Mbuk language.

The reasons for these set goals were innumerable as we state a few here:

- The language is facing a general attrition in all its domains of usage. That is why Brye (2001) talks of language shift and the possibility of the Mbuk's to used literature in a different language other than theirs. So, we have to document this language before it shifts, Haspelmath (2002:1), "Sumerian was the traditional literary language of Mesopotamia, but by the second millennium BCE, it was no longer spoken as a medium of everyday communication (having been replaced by the Semitic language Akkadian), so it needed to be recorded in grammatical texts." Hence, before Mbuk gets completely replaced, this researched has recorded some of its language and cultural aspects that would be a monument for the Mbuk people. For instance, in a few years to come, todays jiggers in Mbuk would not be found just as we cannot find jiggers nowadays in Aghem. So this research would remain a monument or a digital electronic museum for the Mbuk people. There are two kinds of jiggers in Mbuk: the dust and flesh jigger. The dust jigger lives in dust while the flesh jigger is the dust jigger that had pricked into animal flesh and lives there. When matured, it produces more dust jiggers. Documentary linguistics helps to

preserve outside the natural ecology images of the land as seen in the picture below showing flesh jigger that has been removed from the human flesh:

Figure 24: Flesh jigger being removed



- It is sandwiched amongst languages that had an alphabet, so, this is a prejudice to them. In that light, they needed someone to help dispel spell, thus, we had to give them a grammar of thiers to move them out of the stigmatisation then uplifting their spirit toward speaking, reading and learning their own inate language rather than do so in a foreign one which they are forcefully engaged in it. Compelled to learn, read and write the words of Chung at the detriment and endangerment of the Mbuk lexemes and discourse features.

Thus, from this flashback, in order to reverse the state of affairs, we embarked on the documentary approach in double undertaking; primary data collection and data analysis to conserve one of the endangered language specie of human lanuagages put into the risk of lost by its unfortunate geographical location that eroded completely the Fio language, the Mbamlo Language, the Saawi language, the Saaf language from the lips of its speakers the Fio people,



Mbamlo people and Saawi people which are already dead such that we now referred to the Fio people as Bum speakers instead of Fio speakers as it follow suit. While Mbuk, Mungong and Chung are still under going abrasion in their culture, language and land. When language get lost, it also losses its territorial integrity and the land demarcations also weakens and now belongs the land of the new language. And the fon and its governance become more subordinate to the powers of the new language since the subordiante has lost its own inherent lingual refuge embedded in its sacred culture of secrecy and self-difence is now absolutely neutralised.

## GENERAL FINDINGS

The results of this Mbuk Documentary Grammer are in two folds: primary data collection and data analysis.

### Table 66: Tapping Primary Data

The metadata and each field report has details of what has been researched given in the appendix of this thesis.

|  | <b>Audio</b>                    | <b>Video</b>    | <b>Pictures</b>      | <b>Fieldnotes</b>           |
|--|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
|  | Sociolinguistic Interview Guide | Songs           | Consultants          | Hand written notes          |
|  | Consultants                     | Stories         | Village scenery      |                             |
|  | The 1700 wordlist               | Arts and Crafts | Arts and Craft Items |                             |
|  | Other wordlists                 | Rites           | rites                | Each field narrative report |
|  | Noun phrases                    | Trees           | trees                |                             |
|  | Verb phrases                    | Plants          | plants               |                             |
|  | Clauses                         |                 | insects              | Field quarterly reports     |
|  | Songs, stories                  |                 |                      |                             |
|  | Mbuk annual cultural festival   |                 |                      |                             |

**Table 67: Secondary data analysed**

The thesis contain the analysis of the Mbuk documentary grammar

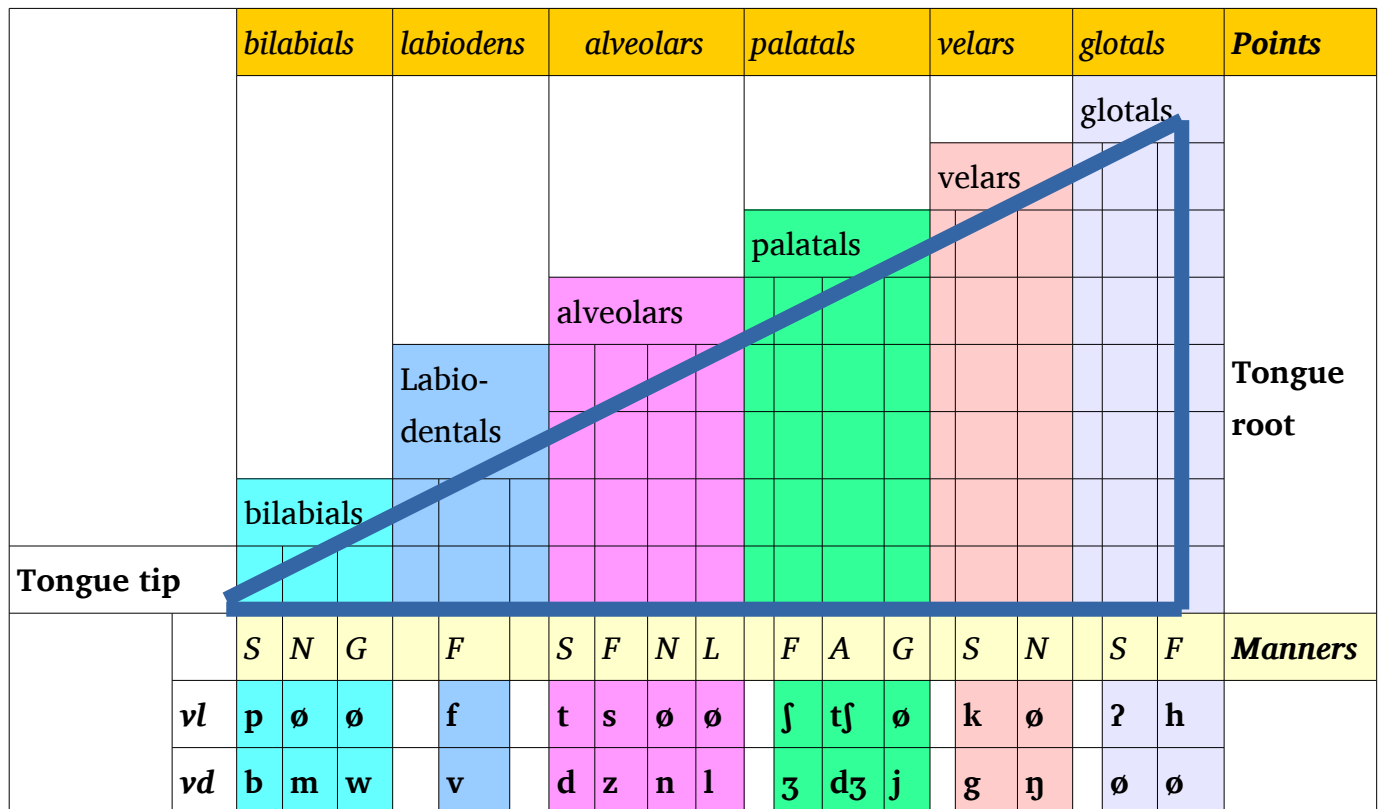
|  | <b>Audio</b>                                                           | <b>Video</b>                                                                                                           | <b>Pictures</b>                                         | <b>Fieldnotes</b>                     |
|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|  | wordlists                                                              | ELAN video expressing the various grammatical categories expressed found in songs, stories, rites and arts and crafts. | Pictures of items illustrating various sounds and tones | yottings of explanations and insights |
|  | Nouns                                                                  |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Nouns classes                                                          |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Modifiers                                                              |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Verbs                                                                  |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Verb conjugation                                                       |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Verb classes                                                           |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Verbal extensions                                                      |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Tense, aspect, mood                                                    |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Adverbs                                                                |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | adpositions                                                            |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | connectives                                                            |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |
|  | Some audios<br>anotated to illustrate<br>the grammatical<br>categories |                                                                                                                        |                                                         |                                       |

The sounds of Mbuk make up the language of Mbuk people. So saying we are studying a language means we are first of all studying the sounds the people make that drive a corresponding action carried out by whom the sound was designated. So, the sound is the window to grammar, with grammar being bundles of segmented sounds that can be big or small; a single sound grammatical elements as well of a string of sounds of grammatical elements of Mbuk have been discussed. This shows that Mbuk has all the components of

universal grammar, in this wise, it is a full status language with all the required prestige of a classical or standard language.

In the world's bank of human sounds, the following have been sounded by Mbuk people as summarised in the diagram below:

Figure 25: Consonant triangle



| Key            |          |          |                   |           |                |           |           |           |
|----------------|----------|----------|-------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Manners</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>G</i>          | <i>F</i>  | <i>L</i>       | <i>A</i>  | <i>vl</i> | <i>vd</i> |
|                | stop     | nasal    | glide/approximant | fricative | Lateral/liquid | affricate | voiceless | voiced    |

Within the scope of this research, no special chapter has been mandated for the study of tones. However, some evidence have been provided backing Mbuk as a tonal language. Some lexemes and clauses with similar segmental units have been differentiated in meaning with the change of tone. Hence, tone has been found to play a key semantic role at the lexical and

grammatical level. The partial tone study has come up with seven tone systems: four level and three contour tones. The four level tones illustrated on the [o] sound are: (H) high [ó], (M) mid [ō], (C) central [ò], and (L) low [ò̃]. While the three contour tones exemplify on the [o] sound are: (F) falling [ô], (R) rising [ǒ] and the (HM) high-mid [ỗ] tones.

In this study, we have seen that the bulk of Mbuk words are formed through affixation: prefixes, infixes, suffixes, circumfixes while a lesser variety of the words formed employes compounding, reduplication, alternation and suppletion. Thus, of the five morphological types of language: analytic (isolating), synthetic, agglutinating, fusional, polysynthetic, Mbuk is of a synthetic agglutinating morphological type of language; using affixes which can easily be separated from the stem to compose words, that is, with morpheme boundaries which are easily identifiable.

Generally, noun classes seems to pattern into two dichotomies: morphologically on the one hand and semantically on the other. The taxonomy of Mbuk noun classes have been based largely on the formal, that is on morphological background of affixes and on the most part, prefixes. The classification relied on the two main types of prefixes found: zero prefixes (∅- for classes 1, 3/4, 5, 9/10), and the consonantal-vowel prefix (CV- for classes 2, 6, 7/8, 19/6a). We recall here that the consonantal-vowel prefix for class 6a undergoes contraction giving rise to a nasal homorganic nasal which is some times in this work represented as an upper case nasal archiphoneme (N-). The gerunds derived from the verbs belong to the nasal prefix class 6a because the gerundive prefix is a nasal. It is worth noting that these prefixes alone have not been sufficient for us to draw genuine categorisation without taking into consideration their corresponding concordial characterisation borne by their affiliation with the modifiers within a noun phrase.

Nouns, noun classes, and noun phrases are uniformly grouped by the bonds of the concords tied to their corresponding prefixes. The concord labels are 1c, 2c etc:

**Table 68: Concord summary labels**

| classes  | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   | 10  | 19  | 6a  |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| prefixes | ∅-  | bə- | ∅-  | ∅-  | ∅-  | kɪ- | kɪ- | bi- | ∅-  | ∅-  | fɪ- | mɪ- |
| concords | ẁ- | b̀- | ẁ- | ỳ- | ẁ- | k̀- | k̀- | b̀- | ỳ- | ỳ- | f̀- | Ǹ- |
| labels   | 1c  | 2c  | 3c  | 4c  | 5c  | 6c  | 7c  | 8c  | 9c  | 10c | 19c | 6ac |

During the research, objects whose names have been forgotten were retrieved such as the one below called sṹ, KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk2\_FishingBasket\_2014-12-30\_HDV\_2788.MP4

Figure 26: Fishing basket without a lid



sṹ: "fishing basket with no lid"

Apart from studying the grammar, we have done some comparative studies between Mbuk and Chung. We have pointed out some lexical differences relating to these features: consonants, vowels, tonal, syllabicity and whole word nuances.

We have found that the Mbuk language is highly endangered and this is due to its geographical position, off the ring road and its ascribed status as a non-standard reference dialect. Thus, only the traditional values to which the natives hold fast to have contributed to its speech maintenance. Some of the contributing factors to its stepwise extinction are similar to those observed in Di Carlo (2010:143) affecting Kalashmon,

*We have to consider several different possibilities in order to understand why Kalashamon has been the only language of the area suffering from this significant contraction. Usually one is tempted to ascribe such processes to ethnic movements or to political repression, but in the case of Kalashamon, none of these can be regarded as a major factor. Religion, instead, seems to be closely related to these diachronic phenomena.*

## **DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED**

Three tributaries of problems flowed into the research; the problem of data collection, the problem of equipments and the problem of analysis.

At the data collection, from the onset, the consultants were not available and those that were available did assist timidly since they were not used to the researcher, and thus impeded the rapid data collection phase. This, was also during the time when warnings were alarming about the presence of Boko Haram and so my reception by the Fon was not easy. The Fon expressed fear when he received and asked the daughter to remain beside him to guide him until the elders of the village return from their farms. That in case of any reaction, she can shout or go out and call for rescue. After I had gone there for the third phase, then the suspicions

of the first phase were now narrated to others and to me as fun time by the little daughter who ushered me to that Fon on my arrival.

The first phase of data collection was almost gender and age bias due to the fact that they were afraid that I might take their wives or daughters for love amusement, and I was keenly monitored without my knowledge and luckily, they watched in vain and became friendly later when they saw me with no girl or someone's wife.

The collection phase was limited because there was only one recorder and one camera and one cameraman (the researcher) so could not be at the same time everywhere in case of several diversified events taking place at the same moment in the village.

There was also the need to have a native speaker to carryout the interview or questioning in the mother tongue in order that the natives would respond in the mother tongue, but this was not always the case because when I ask the question and wanted answer in the Mbuk language, I had to always say, say it in the mother tongue and they find it difficult saying it in the mother tongue they knew I would not understand.

Then, we were almost allowed to audio record every aspect of speech acts but we were not allowed to video every bit of thing and also not allowed to be present everywhere and not to see everything as well as not allowed to ask questions on all that I see or hear especially during funerary and festival rites. There was also time to be asked to record or video and time to be asked not to record or video.

Another interdit was, who to talk/interview and who not to be interviewed. For the reason that he/she does not speak the correct Mbuk or is not a pure native of Mbuk or not staying in Mbuk. A fight almost destroyed our camera on the annual festival because a non-native was interviewed and the cameraman aborted videoing to prevent the camera from being destroyed. The documentary protocol was beyond control.

One uncontrollable behaviour that hindered quality recording is that one of the dancers or interviewee want to be seen alone by getting so closed to the camera lense such he/she blocks the rest of the event by blocking the lense. They believe that camera sees them when their faces are touching the camera which is correct. During the rainy season, some activities could not be filmed due to rains.

The second problem was that of equipments. The SD card and micro SD cards sometimes disappoint us when they fail to record or when the hard drive cannot read it. The recorder breaks down, refusing to record. There was also the absence of electricity in our village of research so no power to sustain the computer for frequent backups. At times, we have batteries that run down rapidly.

There is the breakdown the labtop and the work hard to halt for about a year before we had to gather momentum and restart as soon as a laptop was made available.

One perilous issue was the lack of storage space both in the computer and in an external hard drive. This cause limited data recording and the loss of some annotated data, 9 songs.

With the preconception of a homogenous speech community, it was difficult to readjust the research objectives to fit into the heterogenous speech pattern that we encountered on the field, this accounts for the challenges to getting through the tones due to the fact that some families had their own way of speaking the language which to them is the correct standard. And since we were out just to collect and preserve what is there against extinction, we could not adjust our methology, and even if we did, then we might have missed our set out primary goal of data collection and conservation.

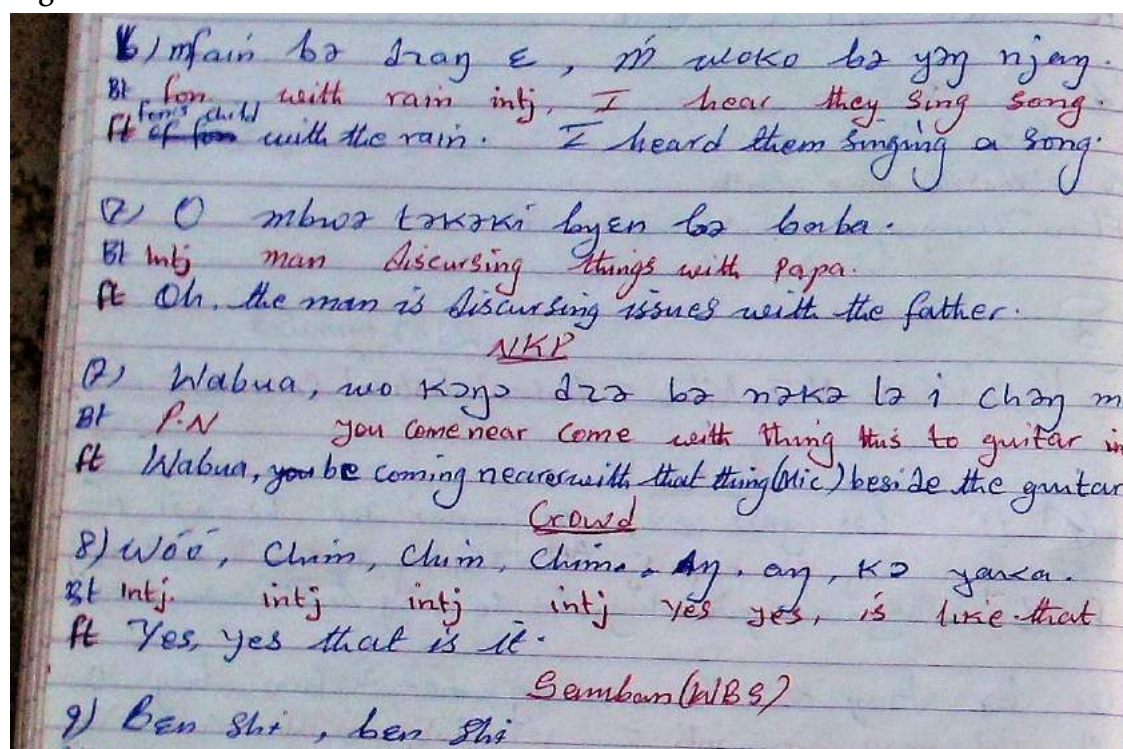
Details about borrowing from neighbouring languages was not investigated as it was difficult to know who loaned and who did borrowed. So, such a finding was not tenable giving the limited research time and funds to dig out who did borrowed from who. All neighbouring



languages sharing a cognate in same form claim that they have not borrowed the word from anywhere, that rather, it is the neighbouring language that has borrowed it and vice versa.

The question of metadata structure that has been reactive at the archive room rather than proactive has retard the progress of the documentary and almost letting it an undesirable undertaking. Good (2011:231), "But, Language documentation can often be a tiring task leaving little energy at the end of the day to work with a complex metadata management system." The figure below shows unfinished annotations:

Figure 27: Unannotated text



The process of electronic grammaticography could not appropriately mature since the duration of the resources was unawarely very brief. So our plans after tapping and collecting the documentary data to settle down for detail annotation aborted for shortage of means to supply necessary energy to keep the consultants and researcher together for more time given how much hours it takes to annotate a mininute of an utterance with above five tiers. The image below is a handwritten transcribed text awaiting ELAN annotation.

However, an ELAN tier ("ge" grammatical elements) has been created to easily track part of speeches in some of the very few ELAN files annotated in order to attain our goal of having a documentary digital grammar, where the video does a self-description of its grammatical categories in its natural context; the native speaker articulation of the sounds (which is often absent in script descriptive grammars), the syntactic position of the words and perhaps the pragmatic background information and environment circumscribing the hyper-theme of the speech act. Furthermore, the songs of the annual festival were not clearly articulated and the language highly poetic. Thus, the consultant from previous knowledge was the only one to deduce some of the words of the song which on my part I am unable to hear them. Thus, some of the transcriptions are based on the fact that the consultant knows the songs and the meaning though words are not clear in the video.

Another difficulty that restrained immediate annotation such that we had to handwritten before typing later in town was due to the absence of electricity in the community of research.

One of several difficulties is which practice is best for illustrating ELAN examples in the grammar text. For example:

- a) Giving the time lapse of the annotated? Or
- b) Giving the time lapse plus the consultant name code? Or
- c) Giving the annotated text without time lapse?
- d) Just giving the annotation plus the filename?
- e) Giving the annotation as an image shot?

Another difficulty though the last, was that half of the 2nd fieldtrip funds were stolen in a taxi around mile 4 park at Nkwen Bamenda. With the loss, the trip aborted and I undertook the trip after a week with help from my friends and cousins who donated the lost sum. Still, a phone, SAMSUNG GALAXY J5 PRO, IMEI N<sup>o</sup>. 357476/08/139845/6 was offered to ease

internet research but was stolen on 12Feb2018, a week after the offer, thus frustrated and delayed the completion of the thesis. The serial number is here in order to trace the phone.

After my Masters in 2013, I became a farmer and planted 150palms, 550 cocoa, 300 coffee, fruit trees, plantains, bananas, cocoyams and other crops with the hope that by the time I am to defend the PhD, the revenue from the farm would pay for the fees. Unfortunately, the crops were jealously and wilfully destroyed to dampen my PhD vision by communal injustice and till date the damage has never been compensated. Rather, I was tormented on daily basis for owning a farm. "Cow wey i no get tail na God di drive yi flies".

Mindful of the above difficulties encountered and the inconsistencies and mistakes that are bound to arise in a human intellectual expedition as such, we recommend and suggest some steps to better ameliorate our research and subsequent ones.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Thus, we recommend a total tonological study for all the three existing families that make up the Mbuk language. In addition, to understanding the tone of Mbuk, the families that have got married to neighbouring language groups should be given special attention because, the tones of these neighbouring languages have modifying effect on what can be termed standard Mbuk tones in the midst of variation. The origin and motivation for the tonal fluidity will help tonal orthographers to better design a writing system for Mbuk.

Not only is the need for more in-depth documentary of Mbuk, the documentary is also needed to be expanded both in the topics and languages of the Beboid group in order to get a better overview of the whole matrix of the entire language family to feed comparative and historical linguistics with the resources needed in order to better comprehend the classification.

In the ELAN, in order to have more data annotated, and due to gloss clumsiness in linear adjustment and proper alignment we hope for atmost 3 letter abbreviation in our research. Also to reduce unnecessary spaces and reduce page and time wastage. POSS → PS.

Documentary products such as the videos, audios and photos can be used for creation of recreational art centres or cultural empowerment educational centres for the speech community. Furthermore, television and radio stations can make use of these resources for education and entertainment.

Though the closest variant of Mbuk, the Chung has been shallowly analysed, it would be good to do a deeper documentation and description of the language to get a glimpse of its degree of divergences from Mbuk for the past 5 decades so as to see if both languages are viable or not for a unique or separate reference in the ethnologue of the world languages.

In addition, following from the preceding point in the immediate above paragraph, it would be of great success to foster the existence of two distinct writing systems for both Mbuk and Chung so that both communities maintain their dignity towards each other as they claim to be two separate lands, two separate fonderies, two separate governance, two separate core cultural values and not the least, two separate languages and thus by induction two sovereign alphabets or writing system giving rise to two separate independent orthographies as the tense markers differs and probably a parallel syntax and with more parallelism in aspect and mood.

The table below shows tense contrast between Mbuk and Chung.

**Table 69: Tense contrast between Mbuk and Chung**

| Mbuk Tenses      |       |        |  | Chung Tenses |       |                         |
|------------------|-------|--------|--|--------------|-------|-------------------------|
| time frame       | Label | Marker |  | Maker        | Label | time frame              |
| Last year        | P4    | nì     |  | ní           | P3    | More than a few days    |
| yesterday        | P3    | nî     |  | ni           | P2    | yesterday               |
| Morning          | P2    | hî     |  | si           | P1    | Earlier today (morning) |
| Earlier today    | P1.1  | ø      |  | ø            | P0    | just happened           |
| Immediate past   | P1    | ø      |  |              |       |                         |
|                  |       |        |  |              |       |                         |
| Ongoing, now     | P0    | ø      |  |              |       |                         |
|                  |       |        |  |              |       |                         |
| Immediate future | F1    | ø      |  | kí           | F1    |                         |
| Sooner today     | F1.1  | kî     |  |              |       | Later today             |
| Evening          | F2    | nă     |  | ní           | F2    | One or more days        |
| Tomorrow         | F3    | bí     |  | bi           | F3    | Next week               |
| Next year        | F4    | bí     |  |              |       |                         |

The tense morphemes contrast for morning "hî" and "si" and for evening "nă" and "ní". There is also tonal contrast between the two languages at the level of tenses as shown in the above table. So, if one person is talking about today, and the other is talking about yesterday, how can we linguistically be having a unique writing system, one Bible and one dictionary and one grammar textbook for two separate Fons and fondoms across a wide, deep, high current river in-between the two cultures.

Since digital storage devices get obsolete, documentary should be lifelong, revolving.

Moreover, the marker "-lə" has a multipurpose function, it acts like a focus marker (AF), at times it behaves like a question particle and very often it seems to be an interjection. Thus, this marker should come under scrutiny in subsequent research.

The hormoganic nasal is a special call for concern because very often it perhaps fails to harmonise to the following nasal point of articulation as it usually occurs in most languages.

We recommend that a thorough structural, lexical and generative phonology research on Mbuk is required to explain the assimilations taking place in the language.

Since Mbuk is endangered, a multilingual literacy method with the hope to revitalise its language while still using its language of wider communication, Bum alongside Pidgin and the two official languages of Cameroon. In a bid to fulfill the vision of the National Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism. In order to speed this ideology, the ELAN literacy component is used where learners' natural recorded data is annotated and used for teaching.

A non-white dress should be worn to have a clear subtitle better than the picture below:

Figure 28: ELAN Multilingual Literacy Component



*KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk\_RLG\_NumeralConcord\_2017-06-14*

## SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

On a first adventure, not everything can be captured or well understood, thus, further research is suggested for the entire subject of pure and applied linguistic studies on Mbuk in addition to those not listed here: phonetics (the vowels acoustics so as resolve the back rounded vowels confusion), phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, ethnobotany and ethnozoology, ethnoarts.

More studies be done on the language in order to design an orthography of the Mbuk language for the Mbuk people that which would reflect their absolute and unique sound system so that they can read and write their own sounds and their own words in every literature produced on Mbuk. With the putting in place an orthography entitled Mbuk Orthography (and not Chung Orthography or Chung-Mbuk Orthography or Chungbemboko Orthography), the translation of books into Mbuk to replicate global knowledge would be possible.

As for now, since Mbuk is currently being researched as an endangered language, while waiting for an orthography that would conform to the General Alphabet of Cameroon Languages proposed by Tadadjeu and Sadembouo (1979), in that wise, we suggest a tentative revitalisation orthography for Mbuk on the writing of its vowels. Uniformity can be achieved in the writing system with 7 vowels:

| Phonemes | Allophone | Graphemes | Alphabet | Examples | Gloss           |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------------|
| /a/      | a         | a         | a        | nyàm     | <i>animal</i>   |
|          | ã         | an        |          | bãn      | <i>paln nut</i> |
| /i/      | i         | i         | i        | mì       | <i>person</i>   |
|          | ĩ         | in        |          | dzín     | <i>teeth</i>    |
| /ɪ/      | ɪ         | e         | e        | mé       | <i>me</i>       |
| /ɛ/      | ɛ         | ɛ         | ɛ        | tsèn     | <i>arm</i>      |
|          | ẽ         | en        |          | nwẽn     | <i>space</i>    |
| /ə/      | ə         | ə         | ə        | nê       | <i>mother</i>   |

|     |       |    |   |      |         |
|-----|-------|----|---|------|---------|
|     | ẽ     | ən |   | fyən | light   |
|     | ĩ     | ə  |   | dzəŋ | corn    |
| /u/ | u     | u  | u | fú   | head    |
| /ʊ/ | ʊ     | u  |   | kúlé | quarter |
|     | ũ     | un |   | dzũn | grass   |
| /o/ | o     | o  | o | gbō  | fall    |
|     | ɔ ~ ɒ | o  |   | gón  | spear   |

Alternatively, the nasals vowels can be written as long vowels in the orthography.

Figure 29: The fon's finger is pointing down to reinforce the deixis "this"



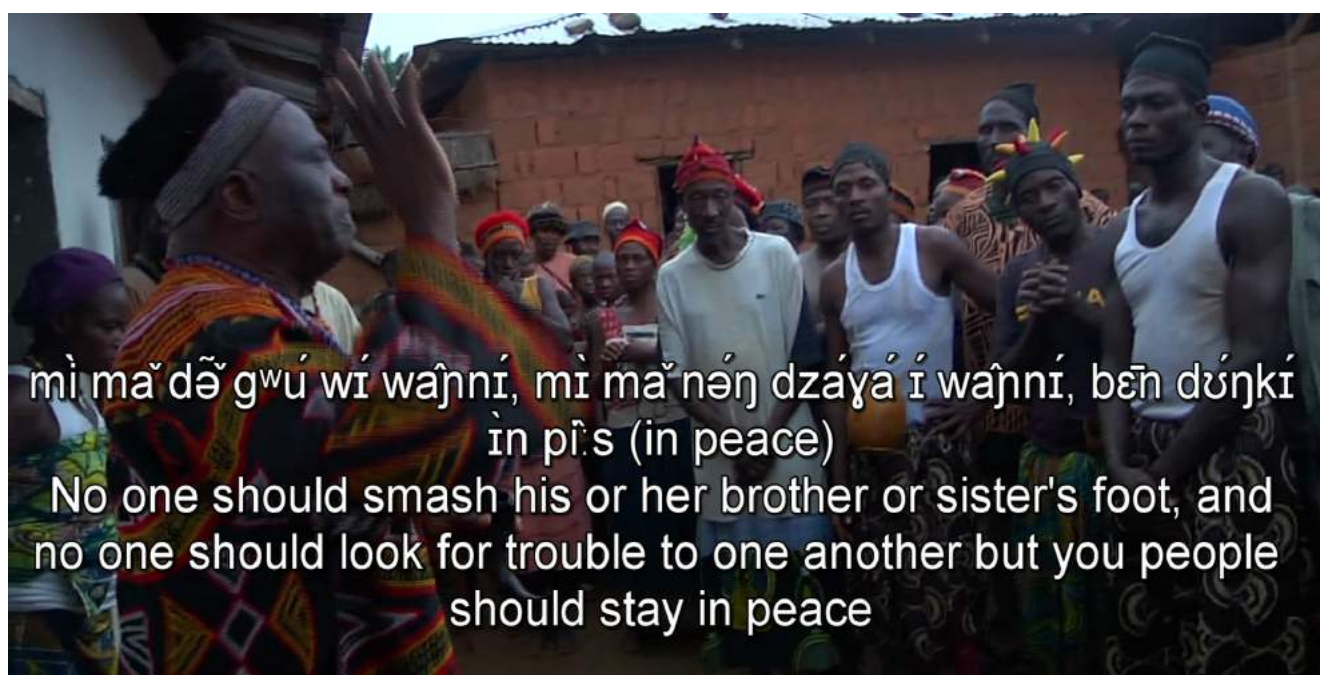
VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406.eaf

Documentary linguistics is bind with ethics, and because of unfamiliarity some domains of speech acts could not be exposed to a stranger, and so going for the second time can reveal new areas of study that were closed up by the doors of unfamiliarity between the language owners and the strange researcher. Moreover, the scenery of audio and videoing would be more natural because the village would now be used to the researcher and the working equipments like recorders and camera would no longer give them fright. In Mbuk, almost every speech or



talking is accompanied by gestures. It would be good for someone to go through the videos and study the gestures. Communication in Mbuk is not only orally but by signing using body parts and other signs on door posts, the kwifon long bamboo, the reason for the peace plant, the bamboo splints as convocation for a fine in the youth meeting, and everybody in a all have to stand up when filling wine or corn-beer into the Fon's calabash in a meeting house and after eating the water with which hands are washed is poured at the door threshold that whoever has poisoned someone will not go out free. All these implicate a semiologist. The picture below shows the Fon's hand up, as a sign for blessing his people.

Figure 30: The fon's hand is up blessing his subject to stay in peace



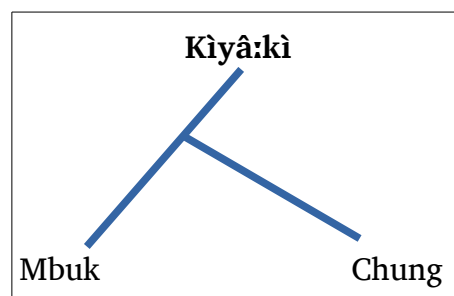
*VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_NT's\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406.eaf*

We believe that the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation can create a digital server for the preservation of the documentations for further scientific research. This server would be made at the disposition of the National Archive experts for exploration in other dimensions for national development.

It seems from our partial overview of the lexemes, though too shallow to conclude, it is not enough to split the beboid languages into just two groups, it would have been better to delineate them into three or more sets, the western, the eastern and the central beboid to which we think Mbuk and Chung, could have been considered as the members of the central group. Better still, we can consider Mbuk and Chung as Upper-Yemne-Kimbi speech variety, since, relatively, they are the ones at the catchment of the Kimbi river or they sit between the two language groups.

Mbuk and Chung have a common ancestry that settled at Kiyaki a quarter in Mbuk. When the Mbuk returned from Fang, they settled at Kiyaki. From then, some moved south, and retained the name Mbuk while others moved northward and became the Chung. That human, and geographical separation also separated the language leaving one of them, the Mbuk to be more endangered than the other. Thus, the more endangered version has been the topic of our preservation. The figure shows the break off point of Chung from Mbuk.

Figure 31: Mbuk-Chung separation



At kiyaki, there were five patrilineages of Mbuk and one of them, the *bwàbèntɔŋ* present day Chung left leaving behind four patrilineages that kept the name Mbuk: *bwâfɔm*, *bwàbèntú*, *bwàbèndǒ* (*bèndǒ*), *kimbà:lí* (extinct). The *bèndǒ* left as well, lived in Mundabli and returned recently on the request of the Fon. These movements, have led to internal patrilineage speech variations. Hence, the study of the variation of cognates in the entire beboid and outside

bedoid is necessary to understand the source and reason for the differences within Mbuk language. Moreover, not leaving out striking sociocultural specifications that can guide and back the existence of Mbuk internal variations.

Mindfull of the surface universality of culture and to some extend languages, underlyingly, there is always a difference for identity since the biodiversity of each geographical area is not the same. Thus, there is need to keep the pertinence of each to exist for peace to have a chance amongst speakers who strive for the ego.

We could not see everything, hear, scent, taste, touch and feel everything, and ethically, we have only got what was allowed to get across our five senses by the owners of the language. Hence, documentary linguistics is all about capturing in audio, video and on paper what the five senses of the human body get hold of conditioned by ethical norms applicable to the speech community in question.

While some language prefer lingual closure to lingual nakedness is because they want to keep controlling power. But with the wave of globalisation propagated through televisions and foreign films, young speakers tend to lean more on the naked language such as English and thus closing up their own language which they want to keep its secrets in it. And so, subsequently, no transmission time is available since they spend most of the time watching films. They become acquainted with the film language and forget theirs, since the evening native stories hours are now used up by film watching hours. The documentary approach comes along with linguistic nakedness in the sense that the language is now exposed to everyone and every learner as they now watch their own native films made by them selves and they learn from it those sharing the secrets and wisdom engulfed in the language. So, some of the film watching hours now includes films in their language. This contributes to extend the lifespan of the language and raises the self esteem and dignity of the Mbuk speakers (native and non-natives

who speaks the Mbuk language) and people of Mbuk (natives of Mbuk who do not know how to speak the Mbuk language).

It is with the following quote that we ground our backing on the study of Mbuk as a unique language with the virtue of its distinct grammar as expressed in Meyer (2009:239),

*All languages have rules that specify how constructions are formed, and principles that govern how these constructions are actually used. Rules are tied to competence: the abstract underlying knowledge of a language that any speaker will possess. Principles are tied to performance: how we use the structures that rules create. Thus, if you are studying rules of syntax, you are studying linguistic competence: our knowledge of how we put words together to form phrases and clauses, not our knowledge of how we use these structures once they've been formed.*

Rivers borne languages, wherever a wide river passes it splits a dialect into languages, that has been the case along the Menchum river – Fang and Befang, the Sanaga river – the Mbam languages, the Mungong river – Mungong, Fio and Mbamlo languages, and of our interest the Mbuk river (Kimbi river) – Mbuk and Faat (Chung) languages. Thus, the wideness of the Kimbi river portrays the wideness of the lexical, grammatical, cultural and socio-political mental and physical distance that exist between Mbuk and Faat merit no mutual linguistic subordination. Who as a family all first settled at *Mfanbebwu* on the range of Mbuk hills before escaping to Fang in Lower Fungom. On returning, they settled at Kiyaki (See map, figure 5).

The advent of Bum language and the split off of the Faat, has greatly endangered the Mbuk, language, thus, the rationale for treating this research as a means to preserve, conserve Mbuk from the damaging effects of current dialectal or language policies and revitalise the intrinsic sounds of Mbuk that are facing heavy attrition and relief them from the psychological torture of having to read a language (Chung) that is different from that they use in their kitchens, and before their Fon and grandparents. As a way forward, the ELAN text can influence revitalisation of a dying language. In the text below, the grammatical element to be taught is

the future tense marker F4/bí. The learners hear how it is pronounced and see how it is written. They learn it. ELAN is a powerful literacy tool for grammar learning.

On key role of documentary linguistics is to inform the world that a language is somewhere with vitality or no vitality with such and such linguistic features. So, if anyone is interested in the language, then, media files are disseminated in the following websites, which ofcourse is the final application of the last item on the theoretical documentary framework, digital dissemination of data sites:

<https://alora.cerdotola.com/jke//lamus/>

<https://ubwp.buffalo.edu/kpaamcam//>

We conclude by noting that no method or approach is predominantly the best on its own, rather it is better when complementarily employed alongside other models. With that background, we have been able to tap, annotate and disseminate the Mbuk language though not perfectly and thoroughly but what is there now is a source of inspiration for specialists to check the foundation either to reject or rearrange the stones. Thus, our digital and non-digital corpus is available for anyone to carryout in-depth study of each of the aspects he/she finds it of curiosity and worth researching.

This research, under the canopy if endangered non-reference dialect, has documented some aspects of Mbuk grammar tapped through elicitation and natural speech data in both electronic or soft copy and in a hard script copy, paper form. In this wise, to curb extinction and maintain a rich linguistic ecology of a nation, non-standard reference dialects should be cultured to survive by the state language policy through the development of electronic grammars. These grammars are learnt unconsciously by the viewers of the documentary. Through this, there is reinforcement of language use, revitalisation and intergenerational transmission of the dying dialect. Dialectal lexemes and rites have been rejected and relegated

to death by the language policy of the state and language development agencies. If these dialects all die, there shall be no language because dialects born languages and vice versa. Hence, loss of linguistic variegation, imagine the whole world with a single colour. We are often scared by the verb "kill" but our attitudes end up killing our languages. Where are the lexemes of the dialects of the French? They have been killed, we are victims of our own policies, therefore, from that lesson, while standard reference dialects reign, let non-reference ones survive. This course is fostered not because we fall into the category of speakers of less privileged dialects but to globally, without bias, promote the existence of natural resources such as flora and fauna, language and the ozone layer. Hence, the application of digital technology in safeguarding dying dialects is not the multiplicity of linguistic diversity, rather it is just an innovative means to keep the earth's linguistic variegation and beauty intact.

The Bum language is predominantly spoken at Fonfuka while the Mbuk language is spoken across the river Mbuk. Recently, by "de facto" all Mbuk native speakers do speak Bum as their language of wider communication, while statutorily, they are to learn to read and write Chung at the detriment of their own lexemes, grammar and culture. To rescue part of what is still in the Mbuk linguistic repertoire such as its sounds, nouns, verbs, determiners, adverbs, adpositions, connectives, and its cultures, we have carried out a digital documentary of the language. This language, for the first time, exists in audios, videos and pictures recording of over 200GB with some pending annotation while some have been annotated as seen with the subtitle below with Mbuk language in use within its culture.

The figure below shows a monolingual subtitled Mbuk documentary grammar.



Figure 32: Mbuk Language and Culture subtitled



The figure below presents a bilingual subtitled Mbuk documentary grammar.

Figure 33: A subtitled Bilingual Mbuk Grammar



These images, above and below demonstrate how the use of modern information and communication technology can enhance conservation, preservation, and valorisation of unclassified endangered languages like Mbuk, Ngoh, as well as classified languages of high vitality like Ghomalá' and Fulfulde. Our identity cannot keep vanishing, displaced and being exterminated from the face of earth, with wars, diseases, famine, poverty and discrimination being their exterminators, meanwhile technology has come to keep them alive, write and store a history of their existence. The annotated tiers with glossed abbreviated grammatical elements below show the Mbuk Documentary Grammar, one of the end products of our research.

Figure 34: Mbuk grammatical elements in ELAN

The screenshot displays the ELAN 4.9.4 software interface. The top menu bar includes File, Edit, Annotation, Tier, Type, Search, View, Options, Window, and Help. The main window is divided into several sections:

- Video View:** Shows a still image of a group of people in traditional attire.
- Audio Controls:** Includes a volume slider (0 to 100) and a rate slider (0 to 100). The audio file is labeled "KPAAMCAM\_NT5\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407.MTS".
- Timeline:** A horizontal timeline at the bottom shows the current time as 00:00:40.309. A selection range is marked from 00:00:39.888 to 00:00:43.447.
- Tiered Transcription:** The bottom section shows a transcription of the audio with grammatical annotations. The tiers are:
  - Topic [4]:** Interrogative pronoun, Question Word (QW)
  - Mbk\_FSW-1 [12]:** à kó ndè, mì wé wì kó bé kimbì
  - GL\_FSW-1 [12]:** DS COP QW, person REL 3S COP CNJ drum
  - FT\_FSW-1:** Who is the person with the drum?



Well, in a nutshell, many people, cultures, languages, and dialects live and die without a record of their existence but the Mbuk Documentary is the earthly trace mark for the Mbuk people, a monumental record of its speech and culture in audio, video and script, hence the preservation of the linguistic and cultural diversity of Cameroon, Africa and the world at large.

The picture below is an aerial view of Mbuk palace, our main site of research.

Figure 35: Aerial view of Mbuk palace and Fonfuka market



Finally, though documented stuff become undocumented when its technology becomes obsolete but a constant upgrading is the tenet that can keep documentary an invaluable means for language development and the extension of the language virtual lifespan. With the upgrade, our presence in Mbuk was not in vain and has not been invaded by the very technology that brings about the good works, a disseminated digitised Mbuk language and its culture.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Stephen C., 1979 "Verb Structure", In Larry M. Hyman (ed.), *Aghem Grammatical Structures*, 7:73 – 136, Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics.
- Akumbu, Puis. W. & Evelyn F. Chibaka, 2012, *A Pedagogical Grammar of Babanki – a Grassfields Language of Northwest Cameroon*, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, Koln, Germany
- Attia, L. M., 2004, *Borrowing and Standardisation in Aghem*, Maîtrise Thesis,. Univ. of Yaounde 1
- Austin, Peter K (ed)., 2006, "Data and language documentation", In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and Ulrike Mosel (eds.), *Essentials of Language Documentation* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 178), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 87-112.
- Bearth (2003) *English Grammar* (complete metadata reference is missing)
- Berge, Anna, 2010, "Adequacy in documentation". In Lenore A. Grenoble and N. Louanna Furbie (eds.) *Language Documentation, Practice and Values*: Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 51-66.
- Bird, Steven, and Gary F. Simons. 2003. "Seven dimensions of portability for language documentation and description." In *Language* 79/3.557–582.
- Bird, Steven et al, (2013), "The International Workshop on Language Preservation: An Experiment in Text Collection and Language Technology." In *Language Documentation & Conservation* 7. 155–167. [<http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4593>]
- Bitjaa Kody, Z. D., 2004, *La dynamique des langues Camerounaises en contact avec le français, Approche macrosociolinguistique*, Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat en Sociolinguistic, Université de Yaounde I
- Blench, Roger, 2005, *Beboid Composite Wordlist*, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge

- Boas, Franz, 1911 "Linguistics and Ethnology", In Franz Boas (ed.) *Handbook of American Indian Languages* Part I (Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 40), 59-73, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Boutwell, Richard L., 2010, *A Grammar Sketch of the Nchane Language*. Yaounde, SIL
- ..... 2011, *Mungong Phonology Sketch*, Yaounde, SIL
- Bowern, Claire (2011) "Planning in Language Documentation". In Peter K. Austin (ed.) *Cambridge Handbook of Language Documentation*: 459-481. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Boyd, Virginia L., 2015, *The phonological systems of the Mbam languages of Cameroon with a focus on vowels and vowel harmony*, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics, Netherlands.
- Breton, R. and B. Fohtung, 1991, *Atlas Administratif des langues nationales du Cameroun*, ALCAM, CERDOTOLA, CREA, ISH, MESIRES, Yaoundé.
- .....2012, *Atlas Administratif des langues nationales du Cameroun*, ALCAM, CERDOTOLA, CREA, ISH, MESIRES, Yaoundé.
- Brye Edward and Elizabeth Brye, 2000, *Rapid Appraisal and Intelligibility Testing Surveys of the Eastern Beoid Group of Languages (Northwest Province)*, ALCAM [871, 872, 873, 874, 875] of the Donga Mantung Division and unclassified ALCAM [885, 886] of the Menchum Division. SIL, Cameroon.
- Campbell, Lyle, 2004, *Historical Linguistics*, 2nd edition, MIT press, Cambridge.
- Chiler, E M and Kaberry, P M, 1974, *Western Grassfields Linguistic Notes*, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Child, T, J. Good, & A. Mitchell, 2014, "Beyond the Ancestral Code: Towards a Model for Sociolinguistic Language Documentation". In *Language Documentation and Conservation* 8:168-191
- Chumbow, Beban S., 1987, "Towards a language Planning Model for Africa", In *the Journal of Applied Linguistics*, AJAL, 2:336 – 351, Yaounde.

- Comrie, B., 1976, *Aspect, an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo (2010) "Take care of the poet! Verbal Art Performances as Key Factors in the Preservation of Kalasha Language and Culture." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 52, 2: 141-157.
- ..... 2011, "Lower Fungom linguistic diversity and its historical development: proposals from a multidisciplinary perspective" in *Africana Linguistica*, 17:53-100, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale.
- ..... 2015, "Multilingualism, solidarity, and magic. New perspectives on language ideology in the Cameroonian Grassfields". In *Atti de XLVI Congresso Internazionale della Società di Linguistica Italiana – Siena 27-29 settembre 2012*: 290 – 304. Roma, Bulzoni.
- Dieu, M. and Renaud P., 1983, *Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale: Situation linguistique en Afrique Centrale inventaire preliminaire*, le Cameroun. ACCT/CERDOTOLA/DGRST Paris.
- Dik, Simon C., 1989, *The Theory of Functional Grammar*, Foris Publications, Dordrecht.
- Dunn, E. F., 1968, *An Introduction to BINI*, African Studies Centre, Michigan State University.
- Ewi, Hilda M., 2011, *The morphology and semantic study of Aghem personal names*, DIPES II Thesis, University of Yaounde I.
- Fennig, Charles D., M. Paul Lewis, and Gary F. Simons, eds. 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 17Th Edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International
- Forlini, Gary et al., 1990, *Grammar and Composition*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.
- Good, Jeff, 2011, "Data and language documentation." In Peter Austin and Julia Sallabank (eds.), *Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press. 212–234.
- ....., 2012, "Deconstructing descriptive grammars." *Language Documentation & Conservation*, special publication 4:2–32

- Good, J. et al., 2011 "Languages of the Lower Fungom of the Republic of Cameroon", In *Africana Linguistica*, 17:101-164, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale.
- Grant, C. P., Griffin, and L. Seguin, 1993, *A rapid appraisal survey of languages in the 'Aghem Group'*, (ALCAM 810), Menchum Division, North West Province, SIL.
- Green, L, 2002, *African American English, a linguistic introduction*, Cambridge Univ. Press, New York.
- Heine, B. and Nurse D. (eds), 2000, *African Languages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Himmelman, N. P., 1998, "Documentary and descriptive linguistics", *Linguistics* 36(1): 161-95.
- Hamm, Cameron, 2002, "Beboid language family of Cameroon and Nigeria: Location and genetic classification". Dallas: SIL. *Language family series*. <http://www.sil.org/silesr/2002/017>.
- Hedinger, Robert. 2008. *A grammar of Akoose, a Northwest Bantu language*. Dallas; SIL International.
- Haspelmath, Martin, 2002, *Understanding Morphology*, Arnold, Hodder Headline Group, London
- Hombert, Jean-Marie, 1980, "Noun classes of the Beboïd languages." In Larry M. Hyman (ed.), *Noun classes in the Grassfields Bantu borderland*. SCOPIL No. 8. November, 1980:83-98. Los Angeles, CA: Dept. of Linguistics, University of Southern California.
- Hyman, Larry. M. (ed.), 1979, *Aghem Grammatical Structure*, Los Angeles, University of Southern California, SCOPIL, 7.
- Hyman, Larry, 1981, *Noni Grammatical Structure*. SCOPIL No. 9. Los Angeles, CA: Dept. of Linguistics, University of Southern California.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum, 2005, *A student's Introduction to English Grammar*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Huehnergard, John, 1996, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, USA.
- Idiata, F. D. & Gabriel Mba (eds.), 2003, *Studies on voice through verbal extensions in nine Bantu languages Spoken in Cameroon, Gabon, DRC and Rwanda*, LINCOM, EUROPA.

- Kießling, Roland, 2010b, "Infix genesis and incipient initial consonant mutations in some lesser known Benue-Congo languages." In Bachmann, A., C. El Mogharbel & Katja Himstedt (eds.), *Form und Struktur in der Sprache – Festschrift für Elmar Ternes*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 187-220
- Kroeger P. R., (2005), *Analyzing Grammar, An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, & Charles D. Fennig (eds), 2016, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 19th Edition, Dallas, Texas: SiL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.
- McDermott, Lydia, 2005, *Teach yourself afrikaans*, The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc, US
- Mba, Gabriel, 1996/97, "Les extensions verbales en ghòmala" in *Journal of West African Languages*, XXVI.1:77-101
- Mba, Gabriel & Blasius Chiatoh, 2003, "Verbal extensions in Kom", In Idiata, D. Franck & Gabriel ...Mba (eds.), *Studies on voice through verbal extensions in nine Bantu languages spoken in Cameroon, Gabon, DRC and Rwanda*, Munich: Lincom, 81-112
- Mba, Gabriel & Justine A. Njika, 2003, "Verbal Extensions in Ñɲwē", In Idiata, D. Franck & Gabriel Mba (eds.), *Studies on voice through verbal extensions in nine Bantu languages spoken in Cameroon, Gabon, DRC and Rwanda*, Munich: Lincom, 183-210
- Meyer F. Charles (2009) *Introducing English Linguistics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mithun, M., 2002, *Understanding and explaining applicatives*, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Mutaka N. & Tamanji P., 2000, *An Introduction to African Linguistics*, Lincom Europa, Munich.
- Mutaka, Ngessimo M., and Sammy B. Chumbow (eds.), *Research mate in African linguistics. Focus on Cameroon; a fieldworker's tool for deciphering the stories Cameroonians languages have to tell* (Grammatical Analyses of African Languages 17), Rüdiger Köppe, Cologne
- Mvo, E. M, 2009, *A structural contrastive analysis of English and Aghem Sentences*, DIPES II Thesis, University of Yaounde I.

- Nseme, Clédor, 2003, "Les extensions verbales en duala." In Idiata, D. Franck & Gabriel Mba (eds.), *Studies on voice through verbal extensions in nine Bantu languages spoken in Cameroon, Gabon, DRC and Rwanda*, Lincom Europa, 229-238.
- Nurse, D. and Philippon G. (eds), 2003, *The Bantu Languages*, Routledge, London.
- Payne, Thomas. E., 1997, *Describing Morphosyntax*, Cambridge University Press.
- Pulleyblank Douglas, 2009, "Niger-Kordofanian (Niger-Congo) Languages" In Bernard Comrie (eds) *The World's Major Languages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Routledge, London, 857-865
- Sadembouo E. et Chumbow B. S., 1990, "Standardisation et modernisation de la langue Fe'efe'e", in the *Journal of West African Languages*, Vol. XX – 2:47 – 67.
- Swan M. & C. Walter, 2011, *Oxford English Grammar Course*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Tabah, G., 2015, *A Preliminary Lexico-Semantic Description of Cung (Chung) Grammar*, SIL, Cameroon, Yaounde
- Tadadjeu M. and Sadembouo E., 1984, *General Alphabet of Cameroon Languages*, PROPELCA No. 1, University of Yaounde I.
- Tamanji, Pius, & Gabriel Mba, 2003, "A morphophonemic study of verbal extensions in Bafut." In Idiata, D. Franck & Gabriel Mba (eds.), *Studies on voice through verbal extensions in nine Bantu languages spoken in Cameroon, Gabon, DRC and Rwanda*, Lincom Europa, 15-38
- Thieberger, Nicholas, 2004, "Documentation in practice: Developing a linked media corpus of South Efate". In Peter Austin (ed). *Language documentation and description*, Volume 2. London: Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, SOAS. 169-178
- Thieberger, Nicholas (eds), 2012, *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Fieldwork*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

- Thormoset, D., 2007, *Phonological Reconstruction and the Aghem central vowels*, MA Thesis, University of Calgary, Canada.
- Thormoset, D. and N. Tschonghonge, 2000, *Aghem word list, approximately 1000 entries*, SIL, Cameroon, Yaounde.
- Thormoset, D., and Tschonghonge N., 2003, *Guide to the Aghem provisional Orthography*, SIL, Cameroon.
- Tschonghonge, N. C., 2009, *Aghems! We should be writing and reading the Aghem and English Language*, Aghem Language Development Committee.
- Tschonghonge, N. C., 2011, *The state of Aghem nouns*, ALDEC, (unpublished).
- Tschonghonge, N. C., and E. M. Mvo, 2011, "Cultural issues related to the matrilineal system of Aghem", In Mutaka (ed.), *Glimpses of African Cultures*, 161-171, Harmatta  
....., 2011, "Lakes homes of the dead", In Mutaka (ed.),  
*Glimpses of African Cultures*, 172-179, Harmathan.
- Tschonghonge, N. C., 2012, "Prefix deletion in the Central Ring; a questionable taxonomy". *Paper of the World Congress on African linguistics (WOCAL 7)*, University of Buea.
- Watters, J. 1979, "Focus in Aghem. A study of its Formal Correlates and Typology", In Hyman, L. M. (ed), *Aghem Grammatical Structure*, SCOPIL 7:137-188, University of Southern California.
- Woodbury, Anthony C, 2003, "Defining documentary linguistics". In: Austin, P. (ed.) *Language Documentation and Description*, vol. 1, 35–51. SOAS, London.
- Wray, Alison and Aileen Bloomer, 2006, *Projects in Linguistics: A practical guide to researching language*, Hodder Arnold Amazon, Franace.



Yamada, Racquel-Maía, 2007, "Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork: Practical Application of the Empowerment Model", In *Language Documentation & Conservation* 1, No.2: 257-282

## **Dictionaries**

Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary of English, 3rd Edition

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2010, Oxford University Press.

G. & C. MEERRIAM, 1971, Webster's Third New International Dictionary.

Trask R. L, 1996, *A dictionary of phonetics and phonology*, Routledge, London.

WordWeb 2017

## INDICES

### Authors Index

|                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Austin.....              | 34, 54, 471p, 475                 |
| Bearth.....              | 276, 470                          |
| Bird and Simons.....     | 36, 38, 55p.                      |
| Bitjaa.....              | iii, 8, 470                       |
| Blench.....              | 6, 470                            |
| Boas.....                | 58, 471                           |
| Bowern.....              | 31, 38, 47, 53                    |
| Breton and Fohtung.....  | 21                                |
| Brye.....                | 442                               |
| Brye & Brye.....         | 7, 60, 442                        |
| Chilver and Kaberry..... | 3, 7, 59                          |
| Comrie.....              | 301                               |
| D.....                   | 209p.                             |
| Di Carlo.....            | iii, 449, 472                     |
| Dik.....                 | 48                                |
| Dobrin.....              | 38, 47                            |
| Good.....                | iii, 452                          |
| Good et al.....          | 61, 74, 182                       |
| Green.....               | 373                               |
| Hamm.....                | 76, 473                           |
| Haspelmath.....          | 442, 473                          |
| Himmelmann.....          | 31pp., 36, 38, 41pp., 49, 51, 470 |

|                             |                                                            |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hombert.....                | 5, 61, 72, 84, 87, 182, 473                                |
| Huddleston & Pullum.....    | 86                                                         |
| Huehnergard.....            | 37, 473                                                    |
| Hyman.....                  | 80, 154, 368, 470, 473, 476                                |
| Kroeger.....                | 276, 474                                                   |
| Lewis and al.....           | 21                                                         |
| Mba.....                    | i, iii, 255, 272, 312, 338, 357, 373, 473, 504p, 531, 534, |
| Mba and Chiatoh.....        | 272                                                        |
| Mba and Njika.....          | 272                                                        |
| McDermott.....              | 161, 474                                                   |
| Meyer.....                  | 463, 474                                                   |
| Mutaka & Tamanji.....       | 327, 362                                                   |
| Nseme.....                  | iii, 272, 475                                              |
| Payne.....                  | 275, 297, 370, 374, 475                                    |
| Philippson.....             | 197, 475                                                   |
| Sadembouo and Chumbow.....  | 218                                                        |
| Schachter.....              | 220                                                        |
| Swan and Walter.....        | 327                                                        |
| Tadadjeu and Sadembouo..... | 458                                                        |
| Thieberger .....            | 35, 36                                                     |
| THORMOSET.....              | iii, 83                                                    |
| TSCHONGHONGEL.....          | 1, iv, 59, 119, 173, 349, 476, 549                         |
| Tserdanelis and Wong.....   | 278p.                                                      |
| Woodbury.....               | 36, 54                                                     |
| Tamanji and Mba.....        | 174                                                        |
| Watters.....                | 163                                                        |

## Subject Index

### A

|                        |                                                                                      |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Abialisation .....     | 102                                                                                  |
| Active voice .....     | 325                                                                                  |
| Adjective .....        | xii, 172, 177, 239-244, 382-388, 395, 396, 398, 399, 401, 438-440                    |
| Adjuncts .....         | 331, 334, 368, 472, 482                                                              |
| Adposition .....       | 455, 467-469, 483                                                                    |
| Adverb .....           | xii, 13, 341, 399, 430, 431, 435-445, 454, 457, 461, 462, 464, 482, 483, 587         |
| Adverbial .....        | 261, 300, 301, 330, 334, 340, 349, 393, 460, 466, 470, 471, 475, 477, 478            |
| Affix .....            | 204, 224, 237, 254, 260, 281, 286, 290, 314, 382, 399, 404, 490                      |
| Affixation types ..... | 210                                                                                  |
| Agent .....            | 278, 316, 321, 324, 325                                                              |
| Agglutinating .....    | 490                                                                                  |
| Alatalisation, .....   | 103                                                                                  |
| Allomorph .....        | 292                                                                                  |
| Alternation .....      | 201, 218-220, 282, 473, 474, 490                                                     |
| Alternation, .....     | 182                                                                                  |
| Anaphoric .....        | 244, 264, 396                                                                        |
| Applicative .....      | xi-14, 322-324                                                                       |
| Archiphone .....       | 401                                                                                  |
| Archive .....          | 71, 72, 92, 139, 140                                                                 |
| Archive. ....          | 65                                                                                   |
| Argument .....         | 299, 314, 316-319, 322-324, 327, 479                                                 |
| Aspect .....           | iv, xi, xiii, 66, 68, 74, 133, 198, 399, 401, 416, 436-438, 440, 443, 458, 468, 469, |

|                             |                                                                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Aspect, .....               | 430                                                                         |
| Attribute .....             | xiii, 239-250, 379, 384, 388, 389, 396, 403, 413, 427, 428                  |
| Audio .....                 | v, 6, 37, 44, 59-62, 66, 70, 72-74, 92, 94-97, 129, 138, 139, 146, 207, 504 |
| Augmentative .....          | xiii, 404                                                                   |
| Averment .....              | xiii, 345, 346, 349, 350, 384, 416, 459                                     |
| B                           |                                                                             |
| Beboid .....                | 44, 57, 95-99, 110, 113, 117, 119-121, 125, 483, 497, 502, 504, 513         |
| Bedoid .....                | 504                                                                         |
| Benefactive .....           | 323                                                                         |
| Bisyllabic .....            | 206, 226, 254, 259, 393, 394                                                |
| Bitransitive .....          | 319                                                                         |
| C                           |                                                                             |
| Cardinal .....              | 112, 113                                                                    |
| Cataphoric .....            | 244, 264, 373, 384                                                          |
| Causative .....             | xiii, 204, 281, 286, 299-301, 305, 321, 322, 385, 388, 389, 447             |
| Causative .....             | 448                                                                         |
| Causative applicative ..... | 322                                                                         |
| Causative: .....            | 457                                                                         |
| Circumfix .....             | 125, 211, 215, 216, 281, 382, 402, 404, 467                                 |
| Classification .....        | 38, 56, 57, 110, 111, 122, 221, 282, 305, 306, 367, 490, 497, 513, 564      |
| Cleft .....                 | 364, 374, 411, 417, 418, 423                                                |
| Closed-class .....          | 455                                                                         |
| Code .....                  | 38, 91, 94, 139, 140, 160, 166, 172, 179, 511                               |
| Colour .....                | xiv, 239-250, 321, 379, 380, 393, 394, 428                                  |
| Complement .....            | xiv, 139, 173, 470, 479                                                     |
| Completive .....            | 339                                                                         |

|                         |                                                                                      |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Compound head .....     | 47-51, 53                                                                            |
| Compound noun .....     | 258                                                                                  |
| Compound sentence ..... | 470, 472                                                                             |
| Compound verbs .....    | 305, 306, 367, 586                                                                   |
| Compound word .....     | 226                                                                                  |
| Concord .....           | .xi, 12, 63, 116, 12217, 221-224, 226, 228-231276, 280, 282, 372, 373, 378, 379, 588 |
| Conditional .....       | xiii, 348, 350-352                                                                   |
| Conditional mood .....  | 348                                                                                  |
| Conjugation .....       | 352, 363, 364, 488                                                                   |
| Connective .....        | xiii, 434, 460, 465, 471-479, 483, 488                                               |
| Consultant .....        | 44, 61, 82, 113, 135-138, 142-149, 151, 152, 154-159, 163, 164, 166, 168, 173,       |
| Consultants .....       | 134                                                                                  |
| Copula .....            | xiv, 395, 407, 411, 438, 439                                                         |
| D                       |                                                                                      |
| Definiteness .....      | 408, 410                                                                             |
| Demonstrative .....     | xiv, 239-250, 315, 378, 395, 413, 418, 427                                           |
| Derivation .....        | 207, 215, 217-219, 274, 281, 311, 322, 347, 367, 368, 389                            |
| Determiner .....        | xi, xiv, 239-250, 369, 408                                                           |
| Digital archival .....  | iv                                                                                   |
| Diminutive .....        | xiv, 256, 297, 384, 402-404                                                          |
| Diphthongisation .....  | 307, 308, 568                                                                        |
| Directional .....       | xiv, 301, 428, 430, 446, 447, 450, 454                                               |
| Discourse .....         | 78, 84, 87, 89, 264, 379, 486                                                        |
| Disyllabic .....        | 103, 204, 209, 287, 294, 304, 305, 431, 456, 561-563                                 |
| Ditransitive .....      | xiv, 319, 322, 323, 327, 367                                                         |
| Documentary .....       | iii-vi, xiv, 37, 39, 44, 58-61, 63, 6, 84-86, 89-92, 97, 129-139, 143 208, 394, 488  |

|                             |                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dual pronoun .....          | xiv                                                                                   |
| E                           |                                                                                       |
| Expletive .....             | xv, 410, 411, 427                                                                     |
| F                           |                                                                                       |
| Falling tone .....          | xv, 200, 343, 402, 408, 419, 461, 474                                                 |
| Falling tone: .....         | 424                                                                                   |
| Focus .....                 | xi, 39, 83, 203, 346, 348, 383, 411, 419, 427, 443, 482, 516                          |
| Free morpheme .....         | 344                                                                                   |
| Free variation .....        | 185, 191, 195, 200, 201, 220, 226, 230, 260, 387, 413, 419                            |
| Fusion .....                | 269                                                                                   |
| G                           |                                                                                       |
| Gerund .....                | 344, 382, 401, 445, 458, 465, 564                                                     |
| Grammatical relations ..... | 314, 318                                                                              |
| H                           |                                                                                       |
| Habitual .....              | xi, 338, 339, 342, 345-347, 434, 460                                                  |
| Head noun .....             | xi, 123, 217, 237, 251, 272, 275, 280, 281, 371, 3406, 408, 409, 411-413, 427, 428    |
| High tone .....             | xi, 100, 18507, 330, 331, 342, 347, 352, 386, 396, 402, 409, 415,, 461, 464, 465, 477 |
| Homorganic .....            | xi, 203, 255, 372, 374, 410, 461, 490                                                 |
| Imperfective .....          | xi, 12, 277, 278, 281, 286, 330, 331, 357, 358, 360, 361, 368, 384, 389, 468, 477     |
| Indefiniteness .....        | 408                                                                                   |
| Infinitive .....            | 189, 204, 219, 220, 286, 290, 304, 382, 401, 457, 564                                 |
| Infix .....                 | 213, 215, 216, 259, 281, 490                                                          |
| Inflection .....            | 65, 215, 217, 218, 281, 353, 368                                                      |
| Instrument .....            | xi, 110, 316, 321-323, 455                                                            |
| Interrogative .....         | xiv, 239-250, 410, 411, 414-426, 464, 473, 479                                        |
| Intransitive .....          | xii, 281, 301, 316-321, 367                                                           |

|                         |                                                                                     |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Iterative .....         | xii, 203, 281, 286, 292-294, 296-298, 305, 338, 339, 342, 347                       |
| J                       |                                                                                     |
| Juxtaposition .....     | 470-472, 474, 478                                                                   |
| L                       |                                                                                     |
| Labialisation .....     | 102, 112, 118, 186, 195, 197, 305, 307, 308, 561-563, 568                           |
| Labile .....            | 301, 320, 321                                                                       |
| Labile; .....           | 314                                                                                 |
| Lengthening .....       | 330, 333, 340, 342, 346, 347, 352, 353, 388                                         |
| Low tone .....          | xii, 100, 127, 218, 225, 251, 330, 331, 336, 353, 386, 387, 418, 419, 453, 458, 474 |
| M                       |                                                                                     |
| Metadata .....          | xiv, 60, 61, 65, 66, 70-73,, 132, 134, 137, 140, 142, 143, 151, 152, 159, 179, 487  |
| Mid tone .....          | xii, 204, 256, 307, 336, 352, 357, 363, 379, 393, 400, 407, 419, 423, 425           |
| Middle voice .....      | xii, 277, 278, 286, 325                                                             |
| Modifier, .....         | 369                                                                                 |
| Monosyllabic .....      | 103, 205, 209, 226, 254, 282, 286, 287, 289, 294, 304, 305, 393, 394, 431, 456      |
| Mood                    | xii, 286, 328, 331, 345, 388, 389, 399, 430, 436, 437, 440, 443, 479, 483, 488      |
| Mood. ....              | 328                                                                                 |
| Morpheme .....          | xiv, 218, 225, 330, 332, 344, 362, 367, 395, 396, 406, 418, 425, 471, 490           |
| Morphemes .....         | 292                                                                                 |
| Morpho-syntax . ....    | 369                                                                                 |
| Morphology .....        | 157, 207, 282, 286, 322, 370, 500, 512                                              |
| N                       |                                                                                     |
| Negation .....          | 135, 351, 355-358, 360-362, 364-366, 368, 399, 443                                  |
| Neutral .....           | 265, 270, 271, 280, 283                                                             |
| Neutral subject pronoun | xi                                                                                  |
| Nominalisation . ....   | 281                                                                                 |



|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Noun .....                 | xi-14, 57, 63, 96, 106, 114-116, 122, 123, 125, 130, 135, 154, 157, 158, 166, 174, 190, 195, 197, 204, 207, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221-232, 236, 237, 239-254, 256-260, 262, 264-273, 275, 276, 278, 280-283, 290, 292, 305, 306, 308, 314-316, 318, 319, 327, 328, 331, 344, 353, 355, 360, 361, 363, 364, 366, 369-374, 378, 379, 381-391, 393, 394, 396, 399, 401-404, 406-415, 417-428, 435, 438-440, 445, 454-457, 460, 462-470, 472, 476-479, 483, 487, 488, 490, 491, 513, 516, 583, 588, 602 |
| Noun class .....           | xi, 12, 116, 123, 158, 237, 239-250, 252, 258-260, 262, 265, 266, 271, 275, 276, 278, 280, 283, 382, 386, 388, 391, 393, 402, 406-410, 418, 421, 425, 456, 468, 588                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Noun class concord .....   | xii                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Noun class prefixes .....  | 221                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Noun in Mbuk .....         | 265                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Nouns .....                | 265, 270, 278                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Nouns, .....               | 210                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Numeral .....              | 158, 221, 239-250, 390-392, 413, 422, 427, 440                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Numeral, number .....      | xii                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| P                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Palatalisation .....       | 197, 198, 305, 307, 308, 416, 561, 562, 569                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Passive voice .....        | xiv, 325                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Perfective .....           | xiii, 280, 286, 338, 339, 348, 353, 354, 357, 358, 360, 361, 368, 442, 443, 459, 477                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Phoneme .....              | 57                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Phonetic .....             | xii, 62, 86, 91, 105, 182, 331, 461                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Phonology .....            | 65, 262, 499, 500, 515                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Pluperfect .....           | 340                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Polarisation .....         | 218, 301                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Polymorphous .....         | 224                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Possessive .....           | 237, 239-250, 273, 275, 324, 366, 370-376, 378, 413, 422, 427                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Possessive adjective ..... | xiii                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

|                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Postposition .....                      | xiii, 344, 456, 463-467, 483                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Prefix .....                            | xiii, 14, 108, 123, 125-127, 189, 195, 197, 199, 204, 209, 211-213, 215-226, 230, 233-237, 245, 251-253, 255-257, 259, 260, 266, 267, 271, 274, 277, 280-282, 286, 290, 291, 344, 372, 373, 379, 382-384, 390, 391, 394, 401-404, 406, 408, 439, 458, 467, 474, 490, 491, 516, 588 |
| Prefix as seen in the table below. .... | 115                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Prefix erosion .....                    | 126                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Prefix .....                            | 211                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Preposition .....                       | xiii, 204, 317, 322, 333, 451, 456-462, 465, 467, 477, 481, 483                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Pronoun .....                           | xiv, 135, 158, 237, 264, 266, 269-273, 275, 281, 315, 318, 363, 366, 372-374, 384, 396, 406, 407, 410, 418-424, 426, 427, 438, 455, 466, 477, 478                                                                                                                                  |
| Pronouns .....                          | 265, 270, 278                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Q                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Quantifier .....                        | xiv, 239-250                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| R                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Ransitive .....                         | 318                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Reduplication .....                     | 258-260, 282, 402, 440, 441, 490                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Relative clause . ....                  | 411, 478                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Rising tone .....                       | xiv, 185, 290, 307, 334, 336, 370, 386, 395, 415, 456, 457, 477, 564, 568, 569                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| S                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Security .....                          | 63, 109, 139, 161, 180, 375, 376                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Semantic roles .....                    | 321                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Semantics .....                         | 65, 84, 172, 204, 226, 283, 303, 339, 500                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Subject agreement .....                 | xiv, 237, 281, 283, 315                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Subordinate .....                       | 355, 368, 470, 478-480, 487                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

|                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Suffix .....        | xii-14, 204, 209, 211, 213-221, 255, 256, 259, 263, 281, 286, 290, 292-297, 299-307, 309-311, 321, 332, 340-344, 347, 367, 385, 388, 389, 393, 397-404, 445, 447, 467, 490, 563, 564, 575, 577, 579, 581, 584-587                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Suffix. ....        | 292                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Suffixes .....      | 292                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Suppletion .....    | 219, 220, 281, 338, 453, 490                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Syllabic .....      | 100, 103, 182, 197, 204-207, 209, 213, 225, 226, 254, 257, 259, 282, 286, 287, 289, 290, 294, 304, 305, 374, 393, 394, 396, 406, 431, 453, 456, 472, 561-563                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Syntax .....        | 362, 367, 387, 396, 428, 500, 505                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| T                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Taxonomy .....      | 63, 125, 222, 305, 490, 516                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Tense .....         | xi, xiii, 14, 174, 280, 315, 328-338, 340, 345, 346, 351-353, 357, 358, 360, 361, 363, 364, 367, 368, 388, 389, 430, 436-438, 440-443, 453-455, 459, 468, 475-477, 483, 488, 498, 564                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Tense, .....        | 430                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Tonal melody .....  | 59, 219, 306                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Tonal pattern ..... | 205, 256, 259, 306, 370                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Tone .....          | xi, xii, xiv, 15, 100, 101, 113, 127, 185, 200, 202-206, 209, 212, 214, 216, 218, 219, 221-223, 225, 226, 228, 229, 231, 232, 251, 253, 256, 258-260, 270, 271, 273, 278-280, 282, 283, 290, 301, 304, 306-310, 330-332, 334-337, 342-344, 347, 351, 352, 357, 363, 364, 366, 370, 372, 379, 386-389, 391, 393-396, 400, 402, 404-409, 415, 416, 418, 419, 423, 425, 447, 448, 453, 456-458, 460, 461, 463-465, 472-474, 477, 488-490, 494, 497, 559, 564, 568, 569, 591 |
| Tonology .....      | 202, 209, 286, 474                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Transitive .....    | xii, xiv, 15, 281, 301, 316-323, 327, 363, 364, 367                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Transitivity .....  | 316, 318, 319, 321, 326, 367                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Transitivity; ..... | 314                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

|                    |                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ugmentative .....  | 63                                                                                                                                                                         |
| V                  |                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Variant .....      | 56                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Velarisation ..... | 197, 305, 307, 308, 562, 569                                                                                                                                               |
| Verb class .....   | 286, 288, 306, 308, 315, 488                                                                                                                                               |
| Verbs .....        | 210                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Video .....        | v, xiv, 37, 58-62, 66, 70, 72-74, 76, 77, 91, 92, 96, 97, 129, 132, 134-136, 138-140, 146-150, 159-161, 165-167, 169, 177-179, 200, 207, 208, 485, 487, 488, 493, 501, 504 |
| W                  |                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Woodbury .....     | 72, 91                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Y                  |                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Yemne-Kimbi .....  | 97, 98, 110, 111, 113, 117, 119-121, 125-128, 130                                                                                                                          |
| Z                  |                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Zero prefix .....  | 127, 195, 197, 212, 221, 225, 253, 259, 260, 267, 282, 490                                                                                                                 |

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: 90 Personal Mbuk Names

|    | Male and possible meaning | Female and possible meaning |
|----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1  | báy sí ~ bák sí           | bá:lí                       |
| 2  | bíkám                     | bàṅkibó:                    |
| 3  | byă                       | bê:                         |
| 4  | fíndáṅ                    | dzòṅ                        |
| 5  | fíndáṅ                    | dʒílǎ: ~ dzêlǎ:             |
| 6  | gàbá                      | dʒíntàʷà                    |
| 7  | yámbòṅ                    | dʒíntí check tone of ɪ      |
| 8  | kàbá:                     | kəmfénó                     |
| 9  | kígúʷùlì                  | kətʃwá                      |
| 10 | làbákù                    | kìməʃəyá                    |
| 11 | làṅ                       | kīsáṅ                       |
| 12 | làṅndzì:                  | kìtʃúhì ~ kìtʃúsì           |
| 13 | lèṅètʃyá                  | kpǎ:tʃì                     |
| 14 | mbàdʒì                    | lyê:                        |
| 15 | mbòkó                     | lǎ:                         |
| 16 | myəʷə                     | màdúʷú ~màdúkú              |
| 17 | ndàṅ                      | máṅgàṅ                      |
| 18 | ndìtʃà                    | mbé                         |
| 19 | nsê:                      | mbě:lyê                     |
| 20 | ɲʃɔm                      | mbè:ná                      |
| 21 | ntàʷà                     | mbébà                       |
| 22 | ntàʷà                     | mbékáṅ                      |

|    |                    |                                 |
|----|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 23 | ntʃibó ~ ntʃibó    | mbò: (use together with Bum)    |
| 24 | ntʃòyò             | mbòntà <sup>và</sup> ~ mbòntàkà |
| 25 | ntʃwà:             | ndzyǎ:                          |
| 26 | ntʃwàɣàhí          | nèŋkí bá ~ nèŋkəbá              |
| 27 | ntʃwàɣàsí          | nèŋmbwà <sup>và</sup>           |
| 28 | ntùŋbá             | nêntʃwà                         |
| 29 | ntùŋbá             | nébà                            |
| 30 | ŋgwán              | nègbǎ:                          |
| 31 | ŋká:               | ní:                             |
| 32 | ŋkàmbí:            | níndzì                          |
| 33 | ŋkàmbí:            | nìnì ~ nínì                     |
| 34 | ŋkwèmbò:           | nítʃà <sup>và</sup>             |
| 35 | sàmbàŋ             | ntà:                            |
| 36 | sàmbàŋ             | ntám                            |
| 37 | ʃinɲwò             | ntí:                            |
| 38 | ʃyək <sup>wú</sup> | ŋgàŋ                            |
| 39 | tʃântàkà           | táté                            |
| 40 | tʃyè               | tíli                            |
| 41 | tʃɔʔtò:            | tʃú:                            |
| 42 | wábwá              | wénè ~ wúónè                    |
| 43 | lâ:kà: ~ lyákà     | zàtō ~ dzàtō                    |
| 44 | kítú               | zùŋə                            |
| 45 | ɲà                 |                                 |
| 46 | sàmàndì            |                                 |
| 47 | mûɲā (from Fang)   |                                 |

## Appendix 2: Lexical differences between Mbuk and Chung

|    | Mbuk     | Chung    | Gloss           | Variant element       |
|----|----------|----------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1  | kwā      | kóbí     | forest          | whole word            |
| 2  | dúnj     | núm      | sit, wait       | whole word            |
| 3  | tʃínǎ    | kóbí     | if not          | whole word            |
| 4  | tʃâ:     | kókó     | not             | whole word            |
| 5  | fálí     | fáɲní    | tilt            | nasal insertion       |
| 6  | ʃíkó     | ʃísí     | lower           | alveolar fricative vl |
| 7  | lê:      | ntʃínj   | small           | whole word            |
| 8  | lê       | yókó     | Run             | whole word            |
| 9  | Wé       | Weli     | open            | disyllabic            |
| 10 | káhí     | kásí     | finish          | alveolar fricative vl |
| 11 | mbòm     | mbòm     | large           | u vowel change        |
| 12 | bóm      | búm      | accept          | u vowel change        |
| 13 | ásó      | ásí      | as              | i vowel change        |
| 14 | məɲní    | mání     | unrecognised    | a / nasal deletion    |
| 15 | twáɲ     | twéɲ     | To beat/to wrap | ɛ vowel change        |
| 16 | tóm búʷú | tóm búʷú | appear          | u vowel change        |
| 17 | tómí     | tómí     | country         | u vowel change        |
| 18 | tʃòkò    | tʃwàkà   | iron            | a / labialisation     |
| 19 | yá       | gyá      | thing           | palatalisation        |
| 20 | ɲgákí    | ɲgáká    | trouble         | vowel harmony         |
| 21 | tóm      | mtóm     | message         | prenasalisation       |
| 22 | yəɲkó    | jísí     | start           | whole word            |
| 23 | fəʋó     | fúʷú     | tell            | u vowel change        |
| 24 | dzũ:     | dʒúnj    | house           | whole word            |

|    |          |            |              |                           |
|----|----------|------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 25 | tòŋyìdzó | tʃóŋkídʒóŋ | family       | whole word                |
| 26 | dé       | dí         | place        | i vowel change            |
| 27 | bəŋ      | bóŋ        | call         | ɔ vowel change            |
| 28 | báŋhí    | baŋsi      | lighting     | alveolar fricative vl     |
| 29 | ntʃóŋ    | ŋkóŋ       | truth        | whole word                |
| 30 | tʃə      | kyə        | know         | palatalisation            |
| 31 | tíkólí   | tíkwlí     | family head  | labialisation             |
| 32 | dzòm     | dʒóm       | war          | ʊ / palato-alveolar vd    |
| 33 | nə       | né         | mother       | e vowel change            |
| 34 | fómhí    | fúmsí      | worrisome    | alveolar fricative vl     |
| 35 | sáŋhí    | sáŋsí      | feed         | alveolar fricative vl     |
| 36 | bí       | byélí      | follow       | disyllabic                |
| 37 | tóŋ      | tʃóŋɔ      | buttocks     | disyllabic                |
| 38 | dā       | dólì       | vagina       | disyllabic                |
| 39 | yə       | túm        | put          | whole word                |
| 40 | tóm      | túm        | shoot        | ʊ vowel change            |
| 41 | ŋgwí     | mwí        | water        | develarisation            |
| 42 | kxə      | kə         | farm         | develarisation            |
| 43 | nũ:      | nó         | sleep        | ɔ vowel change            |
| 44 | wúní     | wíní       | tail         | ɪ vowel change            |
| 45 | dʒú      | dʒúlí      | soak         | disyllabic                |
| 46 | ntókú    | ntʃókó     | night        | ɔ vowel change            |
| 47 | kókó     | kósí       | cough        | alveolar fricative vl     |
| 48 | dzóŋ     | dʒúŋ       | snake        | palato-alveolar vd        |
| 49 | táyə     | tésí       | slow         | i / alveolar fricative vl |
| 50 | kóní     | kwéyí      | Part of corn | whole word                |
| 51 | dʒwábí   | dʒóbí      | time         | delabialisation           |
| 52 | dzóŋ     | dzó        | hire         | ɔ/open syllable           |



|    |                |               |                 |                       |
|----|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 53 | fímús          | fímúsì        | cat             | i / suffixation       |
| 54 | kìṅkókó        | kìṅkwáká      | tortoise        | a/ labialisation      |
| 55 | bálí           | bwélí         | waist           | e / labialisation     |
| 56 | yó             | nó            | what            | nasal onset           |
| 57 | yé             | yélí          | name            | disyllabic            |
| 58 | kpénhí         | kpénsí        | add             | alveolar fricative vl |
| 59 | dzíʋó          | dzóʋó         | hoe             | ə vowel change        |
| 60 | tséhí          | tsésí         | translate       | alveolar fricative vl |
| 61 | nómí           | númí          | hide            | u vowel change        |
| 62 | fàyí           | nàyí          | where           | nasal onset           |
| 63 | ṅgómhí / lwàhí | gómsí / lwàhí | threaten        | denasalisation        |
| 64 | kāṅhí          | kāṅsí         | guest           | alveolar fricative vl |
| 65 | bálí           | bólí          | sky             | o vowel change        |
| 66 | fíṅkóm         | fíkófí        | knife           | suffixation           |
| 67 | mbòm           | kpálí         | big (of person) | whole word            |
| 68 | mbúṅwí         | mbúṅmí        | dove            | nasal insertion       |
| 69 | bá:            | mbyán         | Palm nut        | whole word            |
| 70 | dzūṅ           | dzōṅ          | antelope        | ɔ vowel change        |

There are lexical differences between Mbuk and Chung. In some literature, Chung-Bemboko is being used as a cover term coined for both Chung and Mbuk variety by SIL in order to have them own a single writing system, a single writing material, single literacy and single Bible for both varieties. Meaning that if there is a word for forest in the text book only the Chung word would appear in the book while the Mbuk words are not included in the literature or didactic materials.

### Appendix 3: Mbuk verbs structural classification

There are two main set; (1) a set without inherent suffix, (2a) a set without inherent suffix (with a corresponding derived root) and (2b) a set with inherent suffix (without a corresponding derived root):

**TAM 1, Infinitive (IF)**

**TAM 2, Gerund (VN)**

**TAM 3, Past tense (PT)**

**TAM 4, Present progressive (PG)**

**TAM 5, Future tense (FT)**

**TAM 6, Imperative (IM)  $\pm$ Object**

| No.       | Gloss                                                | IF           | Gerund       | Past         | On-going     | Future       | IM $\pm$ O   |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>G1</b> | <b>Simple open; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, M, R)</b> |              |              |              |              |              |              |
| <b>1H</b> |                                                      | <b>TAM 1</b> | <b>TAM 2</b> | <b>TAM 3</b> | <b>TAM 4</b> | <b>TAM 5</b> | <b>TAM 6</b> |
| 1         | be heavy                                             | ídʒī         |              | dʒī          | dʒî:kílè     | dʒî:lè       | dʒí          |
| 2         | bow (down)                                           | ínɡú         | ḡḡɡú         | ḡḡ           | ḡḡkílè       | ínɡúnílè     | ḡḡ           |
| 3         | build (house)                                        | ímā          |              | mā           | mā:kílè      | má:lè        | má           |
| 4         | bury                                                 | ílá          | ḡlè          | lā           | lā:kílè      | lā:lè        | lá           |
| 5         | clean (broom)                                        | íká:         |              | ká:          | ká:kólè      | ká:lè        | ká:          |
| 6         | clear (grass)                                        | ífú          |              | fú           | fú:kílè      | fú:lè        | fú:          |
| 7         | count                                                | ífa          | ḡfa          | fā           | fā:kílè      | fā:lè        | fá           |
| 8         | cut (thatch grass)                                   | ítō          |              | tō           | tō:kílè      | tō:lè        | tó           |
| 9         | die (living thing)                                   | íkpi         |              | kpi          | kpi:kólè     | kpi:lè       | kpi:         |
| 10        | do                                                   | ífē          |              | fē           | fēkílè       | fēlè         | fē           |
| 11        | dress (wear cloth)                                   | ílō          |              | lō           | lō:kílè      | lō:lè        | ló           |
| 12        | drink                                                | ímú          |              | mú           | mú:kólè      | mú:lè        | mú           |
| 13        | entertain                                            | ító          |              | tō           | tō:kólè      | tō:lè        | tó ~ tō      |
| 14        | excrete                                              | ínī          |              | jī           | jī:kílè      | jī:lè        | jí           |
| 15        | fall (rain)                                          | ídʒē         |              | dʒē          | dʒēkílè      | dʒēlè        | dʒé          |
| 16        | feed                                                 | ísā          |              | sā           | sā:kólè      | sā:lè        | sá:          |

|    |                     |      |      |     |          |        |     |
|----|---------------------|------|------|-----|----------|--------|-----|
| 17 | follow              | fbī  |      | bī: | bī:kílè  | bí:lè  | bí: |
| 18 | get (have)/own      | fkā  |      | kā  | kā:kólè  | ká:lè  | ká: |
| 19 | give                | fnā  |      | nā  | nā:kólè  | ná:lè  | ná  |
| 20 | grow                | fkó  |      | kó: | kó:kílè  | kó:lè  | kó: |
| 21 | harvest (palm cone) | igbā |      | gbā | gbā:kílè | gbá:lè | gbá |
| 22 | hatch               | fkā  |      | kā  | kā:kólè  | ká:lè  | ká: |
| 23 | hit                 | ftá  |      | tā  | tā:kólè  | tá:lè  | tá  |
| 24 | hocking (fishing)   | flō  |      | lō  | lō:kílè  | lō:lè  | ló  |
| 25 | itch                | ífú  |      | fú  | fú:kílè  | fú:lè  | fú  |
| 26 | lack                | fdzá |      | dzá | dzá:kílè | dzá:lè | dzá |
| 27 | nail                | fbá  |      | bá  | bā:kílè  | bā:lè  | bá  |
| 28 | offer               | fná  |      | ná  | nā:kílè  | ná:lè  | ná  |
| 29 | pass                | ítsó |      | tsō | tsō:kólè | tsólè  | tsó |
| 30 | peelraw(plantaing)  | fká: |      | ká: | kā:kílè  | kā:lè  | ká: |
| 31 | plant               | fkā: |      | kā  | kā:kílè  | kā:lè  | ká: |
| 32 | rape                | fkā: | nkā: | kā: | kā:kílè  | kā:lè  | ká: |
| 33 | remain (not go)     | fbá: |      | bá: | bā:kílè  | bā:lè  | bá: |
| 34 | ride (bicycle)      | fná  |      | ná  | nā:kílè  | nā:lè  | ná  |
| 35 | rot                 | ífō  |      | fō  | fō:kólè  | fō:lè  | fó  |
| 36 | run                 | flē  |      | lē  | lē:kólè  | lē:lè  | lé: |
| 37 | scrape (clean) off  | fká: |      | ká: | kā:kólè  | kā:lè  | ká: |
| 38 | shave (scissors)    | ffá  |      | fá  | fá:kílè  | fá:lè  | fá  |
| 39 | stop                | fdzí |      | dzí | dzí:kílè | dzí:lè | dzí |
| 40 | suck                | ímá  |      | má  | má:kílè  | má:lè  | má  |
| 41 | swallow (food)      | ímā  |      | mā  | mā:kílè  | mā:lè  | mó  |
| 42 | swell               | ímō  |      | mō  | mō:kílè  | mō:lè  | mó  |
| 43 | thatch              | flú: |      | lú: | lú:kílè  | lú:lè  | lú: |

|           |                         |       |      |      |          |        |     |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------|------|------|----------|--------|-----|
| 44        | throw (away)            | ílō   |      | lō   | lô:kílè  | lô:lè  | ló  |
| 45        | tie                     | ífú   |      | ǵú   | ǵú:kílè  | ǵú:lè  | ǵú: |
| 46        | wet                     | ídó:  |      | dó:  | dó:kílè  | dó:lè  | dó  |
| <b>1M</b> |                         |       |      |      |          |        |     |
| 47        | ban from people         | ílū   | ̀̀lò | lū   | lô:kálè  | lô:lè  | lū  |
| 48        | be better               | ílō   | ̀̀lò | lǒ:  | lô:kílè  | lô:lè  | lō: |
| 49        | be tired                | íbo:  |      | bó   | bó:kílè  | bó:lè  | bō  |
| 50        | clap                    | íkū   | ̀̀kù | kū   | kû:kílè  | kúlè   | kū: |
| 51        | clear                   | ífū   |      | fū:  | fū:kálè  | fú:lè  | fū  |
| 52        | cook fufu               | íná   |      | ná   | ná:kílè  | ná:lè  | nā  |
| 53        | cry                     | ídē   | ̀̀dè | dē   | dê:kílè  | dê:lè  | dē: |
| 54        | cut palm cone<br>finger | ífa   |      | fā   | fâ:kílè  | fâ:lè  | fā  |
| 55        | eat                     | ídzí  |      | dzí  | dzí:kálè | dzí:lè | dzĩ |
| 56        | fall                    | ígbō  |      | gbō  | gbô:kálè | gbô:lè | gbō |
| 57        | finish by self          | íká   |      | kā   | kākílè   | ká:lè  | kā: |
| 58        | fold                    | ílō:  | ̀̀lò | lō   | lô:kílè  | lô:lè  | lō: |
| 59        | go (farm / work)        | ílā   |      | lā   | lâ:kílè  | lâ:lè  | lā  |
| 60        | herveſt / pluck         | íkō   |      | kō   | kô:kílè  | kô:lè  | kō  |
| 61        | imprison                | ífa   |      | fā   | fâ:kílè  | fâ:lè  | fā  |
| 62        | jump                    | ídǵí: |      | dǵĩ: | dǵí:kílè | dǵí:lè | dǵĩ |
| 63        | lock (door)             | ífa   |      | fā   | fâ:kílè  | fâ:lè  | fā  |
| 64        | make                    | ífē   |      | fē   | fê:kélè  | fê:lè  | fē  |
| 65        | mulch (farm)            | ílē   |      | lē   | lê:kálè  | lê:lè  | lē  |
| 66        | name (child name)       | ídū   |      | dū   | dô:kálè  | dô:lè  | dū  |
| 67        | peel (mango)            | ífa   |      | fā   | fâ:kílè  | fâ:lè  | fā  |
| 68        | pick up                 | ídzō  |      | dzō  | dzô:kálè | dzô:lè | dzō |
| 69        | play (music)            | íkū   |      | kū   | kû:kálè  | kû:lè  | kū  |



|           |                                                          |        |      |       |           |         |         |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------|------|-------|-----------|---------|---------|
| 96        | dish out / share                                         | ígâ:   |      | gā    | gâ:kílè   | gǎ:lè   | gǎ:     |
| 97        | grip (someone)                                           | íkǎ:   |      | kǎ:   | kǎ:kílè   | kǎ:lè   | kǎ:     |
| 98        | hang (on hanger)                                         | ítū    |      | tū    | tū:kílè   | tó:lè   | tǒ:     |
| 99        | hold                                                     | íkǎ:   |      | kǎ:   | ká:kólè   | ká:lè   | kǎ      |
| 100       | laugh                                                    | ísǔ    |      | sǔ    | sô:kílè   | sǔ:lè   | sǔ/sùṅú |
| 101       | leave (this world)                                       | íbǐ:   |      | bī    | bī:kílè   | bǐ:lè   | bǐ:     |
| 102       | lick                                                     | ímě:   |      | mē    | mē:kólè   | mé:lè   | mě:     |
| 103       | light fire                                               | íkpǎ:  |      | kpā   | kpā:kílè  | kpǎ:lè  | kpǎ:    |
| 104       | open                                                     | íwě    |      | wē:   | wē:kílè   | wě:lè   | wě:     |
| 105       | plant                                                    | ígbě:  |      | gbē   | gbě:kólè  | gbě:lè  | gbě:    |
| 106       | sleep                                                    | ínǔ:   |      | nū    | nû:kílè   | nǔ:lè   | nǔ:     |
| 107       | smash                                                    | ídǎ:   |      | dǎ    | dô:kílè   | dǎ:lè   | dǎ      |
| 108       | tear (torn)                                              | ítǎ:   |      | tā    | tā:kílè   | tǎ:lè   | tǎ:     |
|           |                                                          |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| <b>G2</b> | <b>Diphthongisation; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, M)</b>   |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| <b>2H</b> |                                                          |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| 109       | be sweet                                                 | índzúó |      | ndzũō | ndzúókílè | ndzúólè | ndzúó   |
| 110       | fear                                                     | ílúá   |      | lúá   | lūākólè   | lúálè   | lúá     |
| 111       | fight                                                    | ídzūō  |      | dzūō  | dzúòkílè  | dzúólè  | dzúó    |
| 112       | kill                                                     | íwúó   | ñwùò | wūō   | wūòkólè   | wúólè   | wúó     |
| <b>2M</b> |                                                          |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| 113       | crack, burst                                             | íwūō   | ñwùò | wūō   | wūòkólè   | wúólè   | wūō     |
| 114       | steal                                                    | ítjúó  |      | tjúō  | tjúókílè  | tjúólè  | tjúō    |
|           |                                                          |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| <b>G3</b> | <b>Labialisation form; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, R)</b> |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| <b>3H</b> |                                                          |        |      |       |           |         |         |
| 115       | be drunk                                                 | íkwá   |      | kwá   | kwá:kílè  | kwá:lè  | kwá     |
| 116       | beg                                                      | ímwā   | ñmwà | mwā   | mwā:kílè  | mwá:lè  | mwá     |

|           |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 117       | catch                                                | íkwá   |        | kwā   | kwákílè   | kwá:lè  | kwá   |
| 118       | sew with hand                                        | íkwó   | ̀̀kwò  | kwó   | kwóyíkílè | kwólè   | kwó   |
| <b>3R</b> |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| 119       | bake (in ash)                                        | ífwǎ   | ̀̀fwè  | fwǎ   | fwâ:kílè  | fwǎ:lè  | fwǎ:  |
| 120       | borrow                                               | ífwā   |        | fwā   | fwâ:kílè  | fwâ:lè  | fwǎ:  |
| 121       | loosen                                               | ífwǎ   |        | fwā   | fwâ:kílè  | fwǎ:lè  | fwǎ:  |
| 122       | pierce                                               | íbwǎ   |        | bwā   | bwâkálè   | bwǎ:lè  | bwǎ:  |
| 123       | pinch                                                | ínwǎ   |        | ɲwā   | ɲwâkílè   | ɲwǎ:lè  | ɲwǎ:  |
|           |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| <b>G4</b> | <b>Palatalisation; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, R)</b> |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| <b>4H</b> |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| 124       | done (cook)                                          | íbyé   | ̀̀byè  | byē   | íbyēkílè  | íbyé:lè | byé   |
| 125       | enter                                                | ílyā   |        | lyā   | lyākálè   | lyó:lè  | lyó   |
| <b>4R</b> |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| 126       | accuse                                               | dzyǎ   |        | dzyā  | dzyâ:kílè | dzyǎ:lè | dzyǎ  |
| 127       | cook                                                 | ídyǎ:  |        | dyā   | dyâ:kílè  | dyǎ:lè  | dyǎ   |
| 128       | go / leave                                           | ínyǎ   |        | nyā   | nyâ:kílè  | nyǎ:lè  | nyǎ:  |
| 129       | know / notice                                        | ítjyā  |        | tjyā  | tjyâ:kálè | tjyó:lè | tjyǎ  |
|           |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| <b>G5</b> | <b>Velarisation</b>                                  |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| <b>5H</b> |                                                      |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| 130       | appoint                                              | íkáyá  |        | káyá  | káyákílè  | káyálè  | káyá  |
| 131       | ask                                                  | byèyá  |        | byāyā | byáyákílè | byáyálè | byáyá |
| 132       | blow (nose)                                          | ífáyá  |        | fāyā  | fāyākálè  | fáyálè  | fáyá  |
| 133       | brush (teeth)                                        | ítjáyá |        | tjāyā | tjāyākálè | tjáyálè | tjáyá |
| 134       | carry (water)                                        | ítóyó  | ̀̀tòyò | tōyō  | tóyòkílè  | tóyólè  | tóyó  |
| 135       | exit                                                 | íbúyú  |        | būyū  | būyūkálè  | búyúlè  | búyú  |
| 136       | judge                                                | ísáyá  |        | sāyā  | sāyākálè  | sáyálè  | sáyá  |

|           |                         |        |        |       |           |         |       |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 137       | peel<br>(plantain/corn) | ífánjá |        | fāṇā  | fánákílè  | fánálè  | fánjá |
| 138       | pluck corn              | íwáyá  |        | wāyā  | wāyākílè  | wáyálè  | wáyá  |
| 139       | rear animals            | ítóyó  | ntòyò  | tóyó  | tóyókílè  | tóyólè  | tóyó  |
| 140       | request                 | íbíyí  |        | bīyī  | bíyíkílè  | bíyílè  | bíyí  |
| 141       | rule                    | ísáyá  |        | sāyā  | sáyákélè  | sáyálè  | sáyá  |
| 142       | stammering              | ígáyá  |        | gāyā  | gáyákílè  | gáyálí  | gáyá  |
| <b>5M</b> |                         |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| 143       | harvest (herbs)         | íkáyá  |        | kāyā  | kāyākílè  | káyálè  | kāyā  |
| 144       | hear                    | íwóyó  |        | wóyó  | wóyókílè  | wóyólè  | wōyō  |
| 145       | leak                    | íbúyú  |        | būyū  | būyūkílè  | búyúlè  | būyū  |
| 146       | mask                    | ísúyú  |        | súyú  | sūyūkélè  | súyúlè  | sūyū  |
| 147       | operate/tear<br>(knife) | íbáyá  |        | bāyā  | bāyákélè  | báyálè  | bāyā  |
| 148       | peel elephant stalk     | íwáyá  |        | wáyá  | wāyākílè  | wáyálè  | wāyā  |
| 149       | pound                   | ítjúyú |        | tjúyú | tjūyūkélè | tjúyúlè | tjūyū |
| 150       | remove feather          | íkpóyó | ñkpòyò | kpóyó | kpóyókílè | kpóyólè | kpōyō |
| 151       | remove from fire        | ímáyá  |        | máyá  | máyá:kélè | máyálè  | māyā  |
|           | remove inside pot       | ímáyá  |        | máyá  | máyá:kélè | máyálè  |       |
| 152       | speak / say / talk      | ídzáyá |        | dzáyá | dzáyákílè | dzáyálè | dzāyā |
| 153       | wonder                  | ígáyá  |        | gāyā  | gāyākílè  | gáyálè  | gāyā  |
| <b>5R</b> |                         |        |        |       |           |         |       |
| 154       | announce                | ílàyá  |        | lāyā  | láyákélè  | làyálè  | làyá  |
| 155       | arrange (guitar)        | ígùyú  |        | gùyú  | gúyūkílè  | gùyúlè  | gùyú  |
| 156       | ascend                  | íyàyá  |        | yāyā  | yáyákélè  | yáyálè  | yàyá  |
| 157       | be bad                  | íbáyá  |        | bāyā  | bāyākílè  | báyálè  | bāyá  |
| 158       | be dirty                | ínūyū  |        | nūyū  | núyūkílè  | nūyúlè  | nūyú  |
| 159       | be lost                 | ílāyá  |        | lāyā  | láyákílè  | làyálè  | làyá  |



|     |                       |         |  |        |            |          |        |
|-----|-----------------------|---------|--|--------|------------|----------|--------|
| 160 | be pregnant           | ífyə́yá |  | fyə́yā | fyə́yákíłə | fyə́yálə | fyə́yá |
| 161 | be red                | íbdə́yó |  | bōyō   | bōyōkíłə   | bōyólə   | bōyó   |
| 162 | be ripe               | íbdə́yó |  | bōyō   | bōyōkíłə   | bōyólə   | bōyó   |
| 163 | be strong             | íłə́yá  |  | lāyā   | lāyəkíłə   | lāyálə   | lāyá   |
| 164 | begin                 | ízə́yá  |  | zāyā   | zāyəkíłə   | zāyálə   | zāyá   |
| 165 | breathe               | íwà́yá  |  | wāyā   | wāyəkíłə   | wāyálə   | wāyá   |
| 166 | carry (death)         | íbdə́yá |  | bāyā   | bāyəkíłə   | bāyálə   | bāyá   |
| 167 | carry hands on head   | íbdə́yá |  | bāyā   | bāyəkíłə   | bāyálə   | bāyá   |
| 168 | cease                 | íldə́yó |  | lōyō   | lōyōkíłə   | lōyólə   | lōyó   |
| 169 | chain (someone)       | íkàṅ́á  |  | kāṅā   | kāṅəkíłə   | kāṅálə   | kāṅá   |
| 170 | check                 | ítʃə́yá |  | tʃāyā  | tʃāyəkíłə  | tʃāyálə  | tʃāyá  |
| 171 | check (trap)          | ítʃà́yá |  | tʃāyā  | tʃāyəkíłə  | tʃāyálə  | tʃāyá  |
| 172 | climb                 | íyà́yá  |  | yāyā   | yāyəkíłə   | yāyálə   | yāyá   |
| 173 | cough                 | íkōṅ́ō  |  | kōṅō   | kōṅōkíłə   | kōṅólə   | kōṅó   |
| 174 | crack                 | ítʃù́yú |  | tʃūyū  | tʃúyùkálə  | tʃùyúlə  | tʃùyú  |
| 175 | dance on toes         | ínà́yá  |  | nāyā   | nāyəkíłə   | nāyálə   | nāyá   |
| 176 | deliver               | íbī́yā  |  | bīyā   | bīyā:kíłə  | bīyālə   | bīyá   |
| 177 | drag / drive (car)    | ígù́yú  |  | gūyū   | gúyùkíłə   | gùyúlə   | gùyú   |
| 178 | fall (of rain excess) | ífū́yū  |  | fūyū   | fūyūkíłə   | fùyúlə   | fùyú   |
| 179 | fart                  | ífə́ṅá  |  | fəṅā   | fəṅəkíłə   | fəṅálə   | fəṅá   |
| 180 | go out / exit         | íbú́yú  |  | būyū   | búyùkálə   | búyúlə   | bùyú   |
| 181 | grind                 | ígṓyō  |  | gōyō   | góyōkíłə   | gòyólə   | gòyó   |
| 182 | yealous               | íyə́yá  |  | yāyā   | yāyəkíłə   | yāyálə   | yāyá   |
| 183 | knock (head)          | ítʃù́yú |  | tʃūyū  | tʃúyùkálə  | tʃùyúlə  | tʃùyú  |
| 184 | maintain child        | íkū́yū  |  | kūyū   | kūyūkíłə   | kúyúlə   | kúyú   |
| 185 | point / elect         | ísò́yó  |  | sōyō   | sóyōkíłə   | sòyólə   | sòyó   |
| 186 | pour                  | ífù́yú  |  | fūyū   | fúyùkíłə   | fùyúlə   | fùyú   |

|           |                         |         |       |        |            |          |        |
|-----------|-------------------------|---------|-------|--------|------------|----------|--------|
| 187       | rest                    | íwàṙá   |       | wāṙā   | wáṙàkílè   | wàṙálè   | wàṙá   |
| 188       | seize                   | ílòṙó   |       | lōṙō   | lóṙòkílè   | lòṙólè   | lòṙó   |
| 189       | sex                     | ítòṙó   | ntòṙò | tōṙō   | tóṙòkílè   | tòṙólè   | tòṙó   |
| 190       | shift (further)         | íkòṙó   |       | kōṙō   | kóṙòkílè   | kòṙólè   | kòṙó   |
| 191       | sieve                   | ísèṙé   |       | sēṙē   | sáyèkílè   | sèṙálè   | sèṙé   |
| 192       | start                   | íyèṙé   |       | yēṙē   | yáyèkílè   | yèṙálè   | yèṙé   |
| 193       | sweep                   | ízèṙé   |       | zēṙē   | záyèkílè   | zèṙálè   | zèṙé   |
| 194       | tell                    | ífèṙé   |       | fēṙē   | fáyèkílè   | fèṙálè   | fèṙé   |
| 195       | urinate                 | índzàṙá |       | ndzāṙā | ndzáṙàkélè | ndzàṙálè | ndzàṙá |
| 196       | weed                    | ísàṙá   | ṙsàṙà | sāṙā   | sáyàkílè   | sàṙálè   | sàṙá   |
| 197       | weed farm               | ísàṙá   | ṙsàṙà | sāṙā   | sáyàkílè   | sàṙálè   | sàṙá   |
| 198       | write                   | ínàṙá   |       | nāṙā   | náyàkílè   | nàṙálè   | nàṙá   |
|           |                         |         |       |        |            |          |        |
| <b>G6</b> | <b>Simple closed</b>    |         |       |        |            |          |        |
| <b>6H</b> |                         |         |       |        |            |          |        |
| 199       | chew                    | ítsám   | ntfám | tjám   | tjām̀kélè  | tjám̀lè  | tjá:m  |
| 200       | deny                    | ínén    |       | nén    | nénkílè    | né:nlè   | nén    |
| 201       | bark                    | íwǎm    |       | wǎm    | wá:mkélè   | wám̀lè   | wá:m   |
| 202       | blow                    | ítóṙ    |       | tōṙ    | tóṙkélè    | tóṙlè    | tóṙ    |
| 203       | bite                    | ínóm    |       | nóm    | nó:mkílè   | nómlè    | nóm    |
| 204       | be big                  | ítjéh   |       | tjéh   | tjéh̀kélè  | tjéh̀lè  | tjéh   |
| 205       | buy                     | ítán    |       | tāṙ    | tāṙkélè    | tánlè    | tán    |
| 206       | light / burn<br>incense | ídān    |       | dān    | dāṙkílè    | dā:nlè   | dá:n   |
| 207       | break                   | íbwĩn   |       | bwĩn   | bwínkílè   | bwínlè   | bwín   |
| 208       | choose                  | íkāṙ    |       | kāṙ    | kāṙkílè    | kā:ṙlè   | kāṙ    |
| 209       | carve                   | íkwāṙ   |       | kwāṙ   | kwāṙkílè   | kwāṙlè   | kwāṙ   |
| 210       | selfish                 | ínóm    |       | nóm    | nó:mkílè   | nómlè    | nóm    |

|     |                     |       |  |      |            |          |       |
|-----|---------------------|-------|--|------|------------|----------|-------|
| 211 | escape/ scape rain  | ígēn  |  | gēn  | gè:ŋkílè   | gê:nlè   | gén   |
| 212 | dance               | íbín  |  | bín  | bí:ŋkálè   | bínlè    | bí:n  |
| 213 | chase away          | íkóŋ  |  | kóŋ  | kōŋkílè    | kóŋlè    | kó:ŋ  |
| 214 | find (look for)     | ínóŋ  |  | nōŋ  | nōŋkílè    | nóŋlè    | nóŋ   |
| 215 | test                | ímōm  |  | mōm  | mōmkílè    | mōmlè    | mó:m  |
| 216 | get accident        | íbén  |  | bén  | bénkílè    | bénlè    | bén   |
| 217 | have yoy            | ílán  |  | lán  | lánkílè    | lánlè    | lán   |
| 218 | kneel               | ítóm  |  | tóm  | tó:mkílè   | tómlè    | tó:m  |
| 219 | knock (door)        | íkōm  |  | kōm  | kōmkílè    | kōmlè    | kó:m  |
| 220 | look for            | ítjén |  | tjēn | tjēnkílè   |          | tjé:n |
| 221 | be come old         | ídžón |  | džōn | džwî:ŋkílè | džwî:nlè | džón  |
| 222 | point torch         | íkám  |  | kám  | kām kílè   | ká:mlè   | ká:m  |
| 223 | tear open           | íbwín |  | bwín | bwínkílè   | bwínlè   | bwí:n |
| 224 | pay                 | ígōm  |  | gōm  | gô:mkálè   | gô:mlè   | góm   |
| 225 | pick (lost)         | íbóŋ  |  | bóŋ  | bóŋkílè    | bóŋlè    | bóŋ   |
| 226 | remove silently     | ínám  |  | ŋám  | ŋámkálè    | ŋá:mlè   | ŋá:m  |
| 227 | sharpen             | ífān  |  | fān  | fāŋkálè    | fā:ŋlè   | fāŋ   |
| 228 | shine               | íbān  |  | bāŋ  | bāŋkálè    | bāŋlè    | bāŋ   |
| 229 | send                | ífáŋ  |  | fāŋ  | fá:ŋkálè   | fá:ŋlè   | fá:ŋ  |
| 230 | squeeze             | íkám  |  | kám  | kámkílè    | kámlè    | ká:m  |
| 231 | swear               | íkān  |  | kān  | kānkílè    | kā:nlè   | ká:n  |
| 232 | smelt               | íbyōŋ |  | byōŋ | byōŋkílè   | byō:ŋlè  | byó:ŋ |
| 233 | be still (going on) | íkén  |  | kēn  | kēnkálè    | kénlè    | kén   |
| 234 | touch               | íkōm  |  | kōm  | kōmkílè    | kô:mlè   | kó:m  |
| 235 | taste               | ímōm  |  | mō:m | mōmkílè    | mô:mlè   | mó:m  |
| 236 | take (part of)      | ítjōm |  | tjōm | tjōmkílè   | tjō:mlè  | tjó:m |
| 237 | glue                | ígōm  |  | gōm  | gōmkílè    | gōmlè    | góm   |
| 238 | vomit               | íyān  |  | yān  | yānkílè    | yánlè    | yá:n  |

|           |                          |        |  |       |            |         |       |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------|--|-------|------------|---------|-------|
| 239       | want                     | ínəŋ   |  | nəŋ   | nəŋkílə    | nəŋlə   | nəŋ   |
| 240       | whistle                  | ítóŋ   |  | tóŋ   | tó:ŋkélə   | tóŋlə   | tó:ŋ  |
| 241       | be white                 | íbán   |  | bán   | bá:ŋkélə   | báŋlə   | bá:n  |
| 242       | work                     | ínōm   |  | nō:m  | nōmkílə    | nō:mlə  | nō:m  |
| <b>6M</b> |                          |        |  |       |            |         |       |
| 243       | rub excess oil           | ídzwóm |  | dzwóm | dzwómkélə  | dzwōmlə | dzwōm |
| 244       | close                    | íbáŋ   |  | báŋ   | báŋkílə    | báŋlə   | báŋ   |
| 245       | do by hiding             | ínóm   |  | ŋóm   | ŋómkélə    | ŋómlə   | ŋóm   |
| 246       | dig                      | ítjóm  |  | tjóm  | tjómkílə   | tjómlə  | tjō:m |
| 247       | labour (birth)           | ínóm   |  | nóm   | nó:mkílə   | nómlə   | nōm   |
| 248       | yerk                     | ígəŋ   |  | gəŋ   | gəŋkílə    | gəŋlə   | gəŋ   |
| 249       | light                    | ídān   |  | dān   | dā:nkílə   | dā:nlə  | dān   |
| 250       | like / love              | íkōŋ   |  | kōŋ   | kōŋkílə    | kóŋlə   | kōŋ   |
| 251       | live                     | íkén   |  | kén   | kēnkélə    | kénlə   | kén   |
| 252       | talk lie                 | íwám   |  | wám   | wām kélə   | wámlə   | wám   |
| 253       | limp                     | ísəŋ   |  | səŋ   | səŋkílə    | sá:ŋlə  | səŋ   |
| 254       | knit                     | ítóm   |  | tóm   | tómkélə    | tómlə   | tóm   |
| 255       | bring problem            | ínām   |  | nām   | nām kélə   | nāmlə   | nām   |
| 256       | build house<br>(plaster) | íməyóm |  | məyóm | məyómkélə  | məyómlə | məyōm |
| 257       | mould                    | íməyám |  | məyám | məyām kélə | məyámlə | mwām  |
| 258       | roll fufu (in palm)      | íməyóm |  | məyóm | məyómkélə  | məyómlə | məyōm |
| 259       | disappear                | ísáŋ   |  | sáŋ   | sā:ŋkílə   | sá:ŋlə  | sāŋ   |
| 260       | scatter people           | ísāŋ   |  | sāŋ   | sā:ŋkélə   | sā:ŋlə  | sāŋ   |
| 261       | open eye                 | ínəŋ   |  | ŋəŋ   | ŋəmkílə    | ŋəmlə   | ŋə:m  |
| 262       | obstruct                 | íbáŋ   |  | báŋ   | báŋkílə    | báŋlə   | báŋ   |
| 263       | labour push (birth)      | íkūn   |  | kūn   | kū:nkílə   | kū:nlə  | kūn   |
|           | dry                      | íwōm   |  | wōm   | wōmkílə    | wómlə   | wōm   |

|            |                        |        |  |        |             |          |        |
|------------|------------------------|--------|--|--------|-------------|----------|--------|
| 264        | be quiet               | íḡm    |  |        |             |          |        |
| 265        | querrel                | índzāŋ |  |        |             |          |        |
| 266        | refuse                 | ínén   |  | nēn    | nēnkólè     | né:nlè   | nēn    |
| 267        | roast                  | íwāŋ   |  | wāŋ    | wāŋkólè     | wāŋlè    | wāŋ    |
| 268        | refuse / deny          | ínén   |  | nén    | nēnkólè     | né:nlè   | nēn    |
| 269        | see                    | íyén   |  | yēn    | yēnkólè     | yēnlè    | yēn    |
| 270        | shoot                  | ítóm   |  | tóm    | tómkílè     | tómlè    | tóm    |
| 271        | bewitch                | ílyíŋ  |  | lyīŋ   | lyíŋkílè    | lyíŋlè   | lyīŋ   |
| 272        | slaughter              | íkūm   |  | kūm    | kūmkílè     | kōmlè    | kūm    |
| 273        | shout                  | íwám   |  | wām    | wāmkílè     | wámlè    | wām    |
| 274        | go (gone far off)      | ízūm   |  | zūm    | zúmkílè     | zô:mlè   | zūm    |
| <b>6R</b>  |                        |        |  |        |             |          |        |
| 275        | be                     | ídūŋ   |  | dūŋ    | dúŋkílè     | dúŋlè    | dūŋ    |
| 276        | accept                 | íbōm   |  | bōm    | bómkólè     | bōmlè    | bō:m   |
| 277        | cross                  | ídǎŋ   |  | dāŋ    | dâ:ŋkílè    | dǎ:ŋlè   | dǎ:ŋ   |
| 278        | be dark                | ídzǔm  |  | dzūm   | dzūmkílè    | dzúmlè   | dzǔm   |
| 279        | happen                 | ídūŋ   |  | dūŋ    | dúŋkílè     | dúŋlè    | dūŋ    |
| 280        | omit                   | ídǎ:ŋ  |  | dāŋ    | dâ:ŋkílè    | dǎ:ŋlè   | dǎ:ŋ   |
| 281        | sit                    | ídūŋ   |  | dūŋ    | dūŋkílè     | dúŋlè    | dūŋ    |
| <b>6HM</b> |                        |        |  |        |             |          |        |
| 282        | put medicine farm      | ídāŋ   |  | dāŋ    | dāŋkílè     | dā:ŋlè   | dā:ŋ   |
|            |                        |        |  |        |             |          |        |
| <b>G7</b>  | <b>Suffix -yi (yi)</b> |        |  |        |             |          |        |
| <b>7H</b>  |                        |        |  |        |             |          |        |
|            | fan                    | íḡyḡyí |  | fḡyḡyī | fáyáyí kílè | fáyáyílè | fáyáyí |
| <b>7MH</b> |                        |        |  |        |             |          |        |
|            | abuse                  | ítōyí  |  | tōyī   | tóyíkílè    | tóyílè   | tōyí   |
|            | bargain (price)        | ítāŋyí |  | tāŋyī  | tāŋyíkólè   | tāŋyílè  | tāŋyí  |

|            |                       |         |       |        |            |          |        |
|------------|-----------------------|---------|-------|--------|------------|----------|--------|
|            | burst pepper          | wúóyí   |       | wúóyí  | wúóyíkílè  | wúóyílè  | wūōyí  |
|            | cane                  | íḡṇṇyí  |       | ḡṇṇyī  | ḡṇṇyíkílè  | ḡṇṇyílè  | ḡṇṇyí  |
|            | carve (hair on face)  | ímāyí   |       | māyī   | māyíkálè   | máyílè   | māyí   |
|            | clean (spon)          | íkāyí   |       | kāyī   | ká:yíkílè  | ká:yílè  | kāyí   |
|            | clear little or a bit | ífūyí   |       | fūyī   | fū:yíkálè  | fú:yílè  | fū:yí  |
|            | cut into slices       | íjyēyí  |       | jyēyī  | jyēyíkílè  | jyēyílè  | jyēyí  |
|            | drip                  | ítəṣyí  |       | təṣyī  | təṣyíkílè  | táyáyílè | təṣyí  |
|            | harvest (corn)        | íwáyāyí |       | wáyāyī | wáyāyíkílè | wáyáyílè | wáyāyí |
|            | hit                   | ítáyí   |       | tāyī   | tāyíkílè   | táyílè   | tāyí   |
|            | horn                  | ítṇyí   |       | tṇyī   | tṇyíkílè   | tóṇyílè  | tṇyí   |
|            | yerk (several times)  | ígəṇyí  |       | gəṇyī  | gəṇyíkílè  | gəṇyílè  | gəṇyí  |
|            | loosen                | íḡwāyí  |       | ḡwāyī  | ḡwāyíkálè  | ḡwāyílè  | ḡwāyí  |
|            | nail                  | íbāyí   |       | bāyī   | bā:yíkálè  | bā:yílè  | bāyí   |
|            | pluck (feather grave) | íbāyī   |       | bāyī   | báyíkálè   | báyílè   | bāyí   |
|            | ride                  | ínāyí   | ṇnàyi | nāyī   | nāyíkílè   | náyílè   | nāyí   |
|            | scarify               | ítsəṣyí |       | tsəṣyī | tsəṣyíkílè | tsəṣyílè | tsəṣyí |
|            | sew (with hand)       | íkwōyí  |       | kwōyī  | kwóyíkílè  | kwóyílè  | kwōyí  |
|            | sex                   | íbwāṇyí |       | bwāṇyī | bwāṇyíkílè | bwāṇyílè | bwāṇyí |
|            | shout                 | íwāmyí  |       | wāmyī  | wāmyíkílè  | wámyílè  | wāmyí  |
| <b>7R</b>  |                       |         |       |        |            |          |        |
|            | arrange headhouse     | íbwāyí  |       | bwāyī  | bwāyíkílè  | bwā:yílè | bwāyí  |
|            | be weak               | íbōyí   |       | bōyī   | bóyíkálè   | bóyílè   | bòyí   |
|            | demolish/scatter      | íjàyàyí |       | jàyāyī | jàyàyíkílè | jàyàyílè | jàyàyí |
| <b>7FH</b> |                       |         |       |        |            |          |        |
|            | be calling            | íbê:yí  |       | bê:yī  | bê:yíkílè  | bê:yílè  | bê:yí  |

|            |                       |          |        |         |             |          |         |
|------------|-----------------------|----------|--------|---------|-------------|----------|---------|
|            | cry                   | ídāyī    |        | dāyī    | dāyìkílè    | dāyílè   | dāyí    |
|            | deceive               | ífúyí    |        | fū:yí   | fû:yìkílè   | fû:yílè  | fû:yí   |
|            | fall (sevel times)    | ígbōyí   |        | gbōyī   | gbōyìkílè   | gbōyílè  | gbōyí   |
|            | harvest (pears)       | íkḍyí    |        | kḍyī    | kḍyìkílè    | kḍyílè   | kḍyí    |
|            | knock                 | ítʃúyùyí |        | tʃūyūyī | tʃūyūyìkílè | tʃúyùyí  | tʃúyùyí |
|            | mud (plaster house)   | ímāyí    |        | māyī    | māyìkílè    | māyílè   | māyí    |
|            | mulch                 | ílāyí    |        | lāyī    | lāyìkílè    | lāyílè   | lāyí    |
|            | peel (cook cocoyam)   | íwōyí    |        | wōyī    | wōyìkílè    | wō:yílè  | wōyí    |
|            | peel (ripe banana)    | íwēyí    |        | wēyī    | wēyìkálè    | wēyílè   | wēyí    |
|            | pinching              | ínwāyì   |        | ḡwāyī   | ḡwāyìkílè   | ḡwāyílè  | ḡwāyí   |
|            | remove (palmnuts)     | ífáyàyí  |        | fāyāyī  | fáyàyìkílè  | fáyàyílè | fáyàyí  |
|            | select (vegetables)   | íkāyí    |        | kāyī    | kāyìkílè    | kāyílè   | kāyí    |
|            | transport (corn)      | íbáyèyí  |        | bāyēyī  | báyèyìkílè  | báyèyílè | báyèyí  |
|            |                       |          |        |         |             |          |         |
| <b>G8</b>  | <b>Suffix - li</b>    |          |        |         |             |          |         |
| <b>8H</b>  |                       |          |        |         |             |          |         |
|            | argue                 | íbáyǎlí  |        | bāyǎlī  | bāyǎlìkílè  | báyǎlílè | báyǎlí  |
|            | embrace               | íkê:lí   |        | kê:lī   | kê:líkílè   | kê:lílè  | kê:lí   |
|            | exchange              | íkūlī    | ḡkùlì  | kūlī    | kú:líkílè   | kúlílè   | kú:lí   |
| <b>8MH</b> |                       |          |        |         |             |          |         |
|            | be happy              | ísāṅlí   | ḡsāṅlì | sāṅlī   | sāṅlákálè   | sāṅlílè  | sāṅlí   |
|            | be short              | ídʒùlí   |        | dʒūlī   | dʒúlíkílè   | dʒúlílè  | dʒūlí   |
|            | by pass (diff. roads) | ítsēlí   |        | tsēlī   | tsēlíkílè   | tsēlílè  | tsēlí   |
|            | carry                 | ítōyōlí  |        | tōyōlī  | tōyōlìkílè  | tōyōlílè | tōyōlí  |
|            | change                | íkū:lí   |        | kū:lī   | kūlìkálè    | kúlílè   | kū:lí   |

|             |                       |         |  |         |             |           |         |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------|--|---------|-------------|-----------|---------|
|             | collect (rain in pot) | íloṽolí |  | lōṽolí  | lōṽolíkíḽè  | lóṽóḽíḽè  | lōṽolí  |
|             | compare               | íṽyēlí  |  | ṽyēlí   | ṽyēlíkíḽè   | ṽyēlíḽè   | ṽyēlí   |
|             | destroy, spoil        | íbáyóḽí |  | bāṽyēlí | báyóḽíkíḽè  | báyóḽíḽè  | bāṽyēlí |
|             | forget                | ídā:lī  |  | dā:lī   | dā:líkíḽè   | dā:líḽè   | dā:lí   |
|             | hurry                 | íṽblī   |  | ṽblī    | ṽblíkíḽè    | ṽblíḽè    | ṽblí    |
|             | imitate               | íṽyēlí  |  | ṽyēlí   | ṽyē:líkíḽè  | ṽyēlíḽè   | ṽyēlí   |
|             | lean                  | íyèṽḽí  |  | yēṽyēlí | yēṽyēlíkíḽè | yēṽyēlíḽè | yēṽyēlí |
|             | listen                | íwōṽolí |  | wōṽolí  | wóṽóḽíkíḽè  | wóṽóḽíḽè  | wōṽolí  |
|             | massage               | ídṽyēlí |  | dṽyēlí  | dṽyēlíkíḽè  | dṽyēlíḽè  | dṽyēlí  |
|             | mix (raw cornbeer)    | ítṽwālí |  | tṽwālí  | tṽwālíkíḽè  | tṽwālíḽè  | tṽwā:lí |
|             | press                 | ídṽyēlí |  | dṽyēlí  | dṽyēlíkíḽè  | dṽyēlíḽè  | dṽyēlí  |
|             | quarrel               | bíṽḽí   |  | bīṽyēlí | bíṽḽíkíḽè   | bíṽḽíḽè   | bīṽyēlí |
|             | quarrel               | íṽḽí    |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | roll fufu (in hand)   | ítṽwālí |  | tṽwālí  | tṽwālíkíḽè  | tṽwālíḽè  | tṽwā:lí |
|             | show cup (to take)    | íloṽolí |  | lōṽolí  | lōṽolíkíḽè  | lóṽóḽíḽè  | lōṽolí  |
|             | smile                 | ínūmlī  |  | nūmlī   | nóṽmlíkíḽè  | nóṽmlíḽè  | nūmlí   |
| <b>8HMH</b> |                       |         |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | destroy               | íbáyèḽí |  | bāṽyēlí | báyèḽíkíḽè  | báyèḽíḽè  | bāṽyēlí |
|             | frustrate             | íbáyèḽí |  | bāṽyēlí | báyèḽíkíḽè  | báyèḽíḽè  | bāṽyēlí |
|             | miscarriage           | íbáyèḽí |  | bāṽyēlí | báyèḽíkíḽè  | báyèḽíḽè  | bāṽyēlí |
| <b>8FH</b>  |                       |         |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | divide                | ígā:lí  |  | gā:lī   | gā:líkíḽè   | gā:líḽè   | gā:lí   |
|             | eat slimmy soup       | ídṽōmlí |  | dṽōmlī  | dṽōmlíkíḽè  | dṽōmlíḽè  | dṽōmlí  |
|             | fly                   | ífû:lí  |  | fû:lī   | fû:líkíḽè   | fû:líḽè   | fû:lí   |
|             | labour (birth)        | ídṽōmlí |  | dṽōmlī  | dṽōmlíkíḽè  | dṽōmlíḽè  | dṽōmlí  |
|             | level                 | ítáyàḽí |  | tāṽyālī | táyàḽíkíḽè  | tāṽyàḽíḽè | táyàḽí  |





|            |                         |          |        |         |              |           |         |
|------------|-------------------------|----------|--------|---------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| <b>9MH</b> |                         |          |        |         |              |           |         |
|            | advise                  | ílānǐ    |        | lānī    | láníkǎlè     | lánílè    | lānǐ    |
|            | argue                   | íkǎmnǐ   |        | kǎmnī   | kǎmníkǐlè    | kǎmnílè   | kǎmnǐ   |
|            | be ashamed              | íngǎmnǐ  |        | ngǎmnī  | ngǎmníkǐlè   | ngǎmnílè  | ngǎmnǐ  |
|            | be dumb                 | ítǐnǐ    |        | tǐnī    | tǐnikǎlè     | tǐnǐlè    | tǐnǐ    |
|            | be sour                 | ímgǎnǐ   |        | mgǎnī   | mgǎníkǐlè    | mgǎnǐlè   | mgǎnǐ   |
|            | crawl                   | íkúnǐ    |        | kūnī    | kúníkǐlè     | kúnǐlè    | kūnǐ    |
|            | decide                  | ísānnǐ   |        | sānnī   | sānníkǐlè    | sānnǐlè   | sānnǐ   |
|            | heal, well              | íbō:nǐ   |        | bō:nī   | bō:níkǐlè    | bō:nǐlè   | bō:nǐ   |
|            | yoin (people)           | ítǐǎngǐ  |        | tǐǎngī  | tǐǎngníkǎlè  | tǐǎngnǐlè | tǐǎngǐ  |
|            | yoke, play              | ínēnnǐ   |        | nēnnī   | nēnníkǐlè    | nēnnǐlè   | nēnnǐ   |
|            | learn                   | ílānǐ    |        | lānī    | láníkǎlè     | lánílè    | lānǐ    |
|            | mix fish / oil, stir    | ífū:nǐ   |        | fū:nī   | fū:níkǎlè    | fū:nǐlè   | fū:nǐ   |
|            | return                  | ífyēnǐ   |        | fyēnī   | fyēníkǐlè    | fyēnǐlè   | fyēnǐ   |
|            | scratch                 | íkwānǐ   |        | kwānī   | kwāníkǐlè    | kwānǐlè   | kwā:nǐ  |
|            | search                  | ínǎngǐ   |        | nǎngī   | nǎngníkǐlè   | nǎngnǐlè  | nǎngǐ   |
|            | sell                    | ítǎngǐ   |        | tǎngī   | tǎngníkǎlè   | tǎngnǐlè  | tǎngǐ   |
|            | sink                    | ímínǐ    |        | mínǐ    | míníkǐlè     | mínǐlè    | mínǐ    |
|            | wander about            | íyānnǐ   | ḡyānnì | yā:nnī  | yānníkǐlè    | yānnǐlè   | yānnǐ   |
| <b>9FH</b> |                         |          |        |         |              |           |         |
|            | be long                 | ídǎgǎnǐ  |        | dǎgǎnī  | dǎgǎnikǐlè   | dǎgǎnǐlè  | dǎgǎnǐ  |
|            | bring-up (child)        | ítòngǎnǐ |        | tòngǎnī | tòngǎnikǐlè  | tòngǎnǐlè | tòngǎnǐ |
|            | colide                  | ítǐǔyǔnǐ |        | tǐǔyǔnī | ítǐǔyǔnikǐlè | tǐǔyǔnǐlè | tǐǔyǔnǐ |
|            | gather                  | íyǔngǐ   |        | yǔngī   | yǔngníkǐlè   | yǔngnǐlè  | yǔngǐ   |
|            | greet                   | íbǎ:nǐ   |        | bǎ:nī   | bǎ:níkǐlè    | bǎ:nǐlè   | bǎ:nǐ   |
|            | measure                 | ífǎyǎnǐ  |        | fǎyǎnī  | fǎyǎnikǐlè   | fǎyǎnǐlè  | fǎyǎnǐ  |
|            | mix soft/strong<br>shar | ífūnnǐ   |        | fūnnī   | fūnníkǐlè    | fūnnǐlè   | fūnnǐ   |

|             |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------|--|--------|------------|------------|--------|
|             | node head agree     | néyənì       |  | nəyənī | néyənìkílè | néyənìfílè | néyənì |
|             | prostitute          | ínānnì       |  | ṽānnī  | ṽānnìkálè  | ṽānnìfílè  | ṽānnì  |
|             | shake               | néyənì       |  | nəyənī | néyənìkílè | néyənìfílè | néyənì |
|             | stir                | néyənì       |  | nəyənī | néyənìkílè | néyənìfílè | néyənì |
|             | touch               | ímòmńí       |  |        |            |            |        |
|             | travel              | ínàńì        |  | ṽāńī   | ṽàńìkílè   | ṽāńìfílè   | ṽāńì   |
| <b>9FL</b>  |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
|             | guide               | ítóyònì      |  | tōyōńī | tōyōńìkílè | tōyōńìfílè | tóyònì |
| <b>9R</b>   |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
|             | shift               | íkìńí        |  | kīńī   | kínìkílè   | kīńìfílè   | kìńí   |
|             |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
| <b>G10</b>  | <b>Suffix - hi</b>  |              |  |        |            |            |        |
| <b>10H</b>  |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
|             | dress someone       | ílápsí ~ _hí |  | lāpsī  | lápsíkílè  | lápsíflè   | lápsí  |
|             | finish              | íkāhí        |  | kāhī   | káhíkílè   | ká:híflè   | ká:hí  |
| <b>10M</b>  |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
|             | bring down          | íṽəyēhí      |  | ṽəyēhī | ṽəyēhíkílè | ṽəyēhíflè  | ṽəyēhī |
|             | extinguish          | ínūmhí       |  | ṽūmhī  | ṽúmhíkílè  | ṽūmhíflè   | ṽūmhī  |
| <b>10MH</b> |                     |              |  |        |            |            |        |
|             | add, yoin           | íkpēnhí      |  | kpēnhī | kpēnhíkílè | kpēnhíflè  | kpēnhí |
|             | anoint              | ífyāṅhí      |  | fyāṅhī | fyāṅhíkílè | fyāṅhíflè  | fyāṅhí |
|             | be quick            | íkāmhí       |  | kāmhī  | kámhíkílè  | kámhíflè   | kāmhí  |
|             | be weary            | ífūmhí       |  | fūmhī  | fúmhíkílè  | fúmhíflè   | fūmhí  |
|             | bend                | ṽgũhí        |  | ṽgũhī  | ṽgũhíkílè  | ṽgũhíflè   | ṽgũhí  |
|             | breastfeed          | ímāhí        |  | māhī   | māhíkílè   | māhíflè    | māhí   |
|             | cause child to play | ínēnhí       |  | nēnhī  | nēnhíkílè  | nēnhíflè   | nēnhí  |
|             | cry                 | ídāhí        |  | dāhī   | dāhíkílè   | dāhíflè    | dāhí   |
|             | disappear           | ísāṅhí       |  | sāṅhī  | sāṅhíkílè  | sāṅhíflè   | sāṅhí  |

|            |                          |             |         |              |                    |                  |               |
|------------|--------------------------|-------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
|            | feed                     | ísā: hí     |         | sá: hí       | sā: híkílè         | sā: hílè         | sā: hí        |
|            | finish                   | íwə hí      |         | wə hí        | wə híkílè          | wə hílè          | wə hí         |
|            | frighten                 | ílu á hí    |         | lù à hí      | lú á híkálè        | lú á hílè        | lū á hí       |
|            | impregnate               | ífyə yə hí  |         | fyə yə hí    | fyə yə híkílè      | fyə yə hílè      | fyə khí       |
|            | inherit                  | índū yū hí  |         | ndū yū hí    | ndū yū híkílè      | ndū yū hílè      | ndū yū hí     |
|            | injure                   | íbēn hí     |         | bēn hí       | bēn híkílè         | bēn hílè         | bēn hí        |
|            | lift up                  | ígə ŋ hí    |         | gə ŋ hí      | gə ŋ híkálè        | gə ŋ hílè        | gə ŋ hí       |
|            | meet (colide)            | íbā ŋ hí    |         | bā ŋ hí      | bā ŋ híkálè        | bā ŋ hílè        | bā ŋ hí       |
|            | omit                     | ídā ŋ hí    |         | dā ŋ hí      | dā ŋ híkílè        | dā ŋ hílè        | dā ŋ hí       |
|            | perspire                 | íyū yū hí   |         | yū yū hí     | yū yū híkílè       | yū yū hílè       | yū yū hí      |
|            | put down                 | íjə yə hí   |         | jə yə hí     | jə yə híkílè       | jə yə hílè       | jə yə hí      |
|            | put off light            | ínūm hí     |         | nūm hí       | nūm híkílè         | nūm hílè         | nūm hí        |
|            | resemble                 | íbwē hí     |         | bwē hí       | bwē híkálè         | bwē hílè         | bwē hí        |
|            | ride (a byke)            | ílē hí      |         | lē hí        | lé híkálè          | lé hílè          | lē hí         |
|            | rub                      | ífyā yā hí  |         | fā yā hí     | fyā yā híkílè      | fyā yā hílè      | fyā yā hí     |
|            | sew                      | ítā hí      |         | tā hí        | tā híkílè          | tā hílè          | tā hí         |
|            | slide                    | ítō hí      |         | tō hí        | tō híkálè          | tō hílè          | tō hí         |
|            | spend (the day)          | íjī hí      |         | jī hí        | jī híkílè          | jī hílè          | jī hí         |
|            |                          |             |         |              |                    |                  | yā ŋ hí       |
|            |                          |             |         |              |                    |                  | wā yā hí      |
| <b>10R</b> |                          |             |         |              |                    |                  |               |
|            | fix                      | íkēn hí     | ñkēn hí | kēn hí       | kēn híkílè         | kēn hílè         | kēn hí        |
|            | full turn object<br>360° | íbēn hí     |         | bēn hí       | bēn híkílè         | bēn hílè         | bēn hí        |
|            | half turn object<br>180° | ímgbā yā hí |         | mgbā yā<br>ī | mgbā yā híkíl<br>è | mgbā yā híl<br>è | mgbā yā<br>hí |
|            | reduce                   | íyā hí      |         | yā hí        | yā híkílè          | yā hílè          | yā hí         |
|            | think                    | ímə yə hí   |         | mə yə hí     | mə yə híkálè       | mə yə hílè       | mə yə hí      |

| 10FH |                       |             |  |        |            |          |        |
|------|-----------------------|-------------|--|--------|------------|----------|--------|
|      | agree                 | íkènhí      |  | kēnhī  | kēnhìkílè  | kēnhílè  | kēnhí  |
|      | align                 | íkènhí      |  | kēnhī  | kēnhìkílè  | kēnhílè  | kēnhí  |
|      | announce (talk loud)  | ílayàhí     |  | lāyāhī | láyàhìkílè | láyàhílè | láyàhí |
|      | arrange (xylophone)   | íkēnhí      |  | kēnhī  | kēnhìkílè  | kēnhílè  | kēnhí  |
|      | be light (weight)     | íyānhí      |  | yānhī  | yānhìkílè  | yānhílè  | yānhí  |
|      | clear with hoe        | ísàhí       |  | sāhī   | sāhìkílè   | sāhílè   | sāhí   |
|      | cultivate             | íkâhí       |  | kāhī   | kâ:hìkílè  | kâhílè   | kâhí   |
|      | deny by head node     | ídẏēhī      |  | ẏēhī   | ẏēhìkílè   | ẏēhílè   | ẏēhí   |
|      | end                   | ígóẏhí      |  | gōẏhī  | góẏhìkílè  | góẏhílè  | góẏhí  |
|      | fill                  | ídẏóẏhí     |  | ẏóẏhī  | ẏóẏhìkílè  | ẏóẏhílè  | ẏóẏhí  |
|      | guess                 | íkānhí      |  | kānhī  | kānhìkílè  | kānhílè  | kānhí  |
|      | inherit a widow       | ínôhí       |  | nôhī   | nôhìkílè   | nôhílè   | nôhí   |
|      | loan                  | ífwâhí      |  | fwāhī  | fwāhìkílè  | fwāhílè  | fwāhí  |
|      | lost something        | ílayàhí     |  | lāyāhī | láyàhìkílè | láyàhílè | láyàhí |
|      | minimise (thing/gift) | ísēnhí      |  | sēnhī  | sēnhìkílè  | sēnhílè  | sēnhí  |
|      | minimise person       | ídẏînhí     |  | ẏîhī   | ẏînhìkílè  | ẏînhílè  | ẏînhí  |
|      | prone palm tree       | íkēnhí      |  | kēnhī  | kēnhìkílè  | kēnhílè  | kēnhí  |
|      | put on (light)        | ídẏômhí     |  | ẏômhī  | ẏômhìkílè  | ẏômhílè  | ẏômhí  |
|      | reply                 | ífīsí ~ _hí |  | fīsī   | fīsìkílè   | fīsílè   | fīsí   |
|      | scrape                | íkwôhí      |  | kwôhī  | kwôhìkílè  | kwôhílè  | kwôhí  |
|      | show                  | ítẏwîhí     |  | tẏwîhī | tẏwîhìkílè | tẏwîhílè | tẏwîhí |
|      | spy (listen secretly) | ífáyèhí     |  | fāyēhī | fáyèhìkílè | fáyèhílè | fáyèhí |
|      | swing                 | ídẏēhí      |  | ẏēhī   | ẏēhìkílè   | ẏēhílè   | ẏēhí   |
|      | try, test             | ímômhí      |  | mômhī  | mômhìkílè  | mômhílè  | mômhí  |

|             |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|--|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
|             | turn<br>nyiamanyama                                  | íffísí ~ _hí      |  | fīsī            | fīsíkílè                  | fīsílè                | físí            |
|             |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
| <b>G11</b>  | <b>Suffix - fi</b>                                   |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
| <b>11MH</b> |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
|             | advice                                               | ítáffí            |  | tāfī            | táfíkkílè                 | táfíflè               | tāfí            |
|             | be head off (mad)                                    | íyōŋfí            |  | yōŋfī           | yóŋfíkkílè                | yóŋfíflè              | yōŋfí           |
|             | beat bitterly                                        | íjūfí             |  | jūfī            | júfíkkílè                 | júfíflè               | jūfí            |
|             | carry (cup)                                          | ísǎfí             |  | sǎfī            | sǎfíkkílè                 | sǎfíflè               | sǎfí            |
|             | hang                                                 | íwāfí             |  | wāfī            | wáfíkkílè                 | wáfíflè               | wā:fí           |
|             | mismanage                                            | ídʒâfí            |  | dʒāfī           | dʒâfíkkílè                | dʒâfíflè              | dʒâfí           |
|             | peak                                                 | ítjūfí            |  | tjūfī           | tjufíkkílè                | tjufíflè              | tjūfí           |
|             | teach                                                | ítáffí            |  | tāfī            | táfíkkílè                 | táfíflè               | tāfí            |
|             | yawn                                                 | íyíffí            |  | yī:fí           | yí:fíkkílè                | yí:fíflè              | yī:fí           |
|             |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
| <b>11FH</b> |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
|             | dress self                                           | íláfí             |  | lāfī            | láfíkkílè                 | lāfíflè               | lāfí            |
|             |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
| <b>G12</b>  | <b>Suffix - ti</b>                                   |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
| <b>12H</b>  |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
|             | get                                                  | íkwātí            |  | kwātī           | kwātíkkílè                | kwátíflè              | kwātí           |
| <b>12MH</b> |                                                      |                   |  |                 |                           |                       |                 |
|             | arrange matters                                      | íbāyātí           |  | bāyātī          | báyátíkkílè               | báyátíflè             | bāyātí          |
|             | help                                                 | ígāmtí            |  | gāmtī           | gā:mtíkkílè               | gāmtíflè              | gāmtí           |
|             | incubate (sit on<br>egg)<br>incubate (sit on<br>egg) | íkūyūrī<br>íkōktī |  | kūyūrī<br>kōktī | kúyúríkkílè<br>kōktíkkílè | kúyúríflè<br>kōktíflè | kūyūrī<br>kōktí |
|             | pack                                                 | íbáyātí           |  | bāyātī          | báyátíkkílè               | báyátíflè             | bāyātí          |

|             |                       |          |  |         |             |           |         |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------|--|---------|-------------|-----------|---------|
|             | pate (child)          | ílōptī   |  | lōptī   | lōptíkálè   | lōptílè   | lōptí   |
|             | rest                  | ímótì    |  | mōtī    | mótíkílè    | môtílè    | mōtí    |
|             | sharpen stick         | ísēptí   |  | sēptī   | sēptíkílè   | sēptílè   | sēptí   |
|             | think                 | ítjēyētí |  | tjēyētī | tjáyótíkílè | tjáyótílè | tjēyētí |
|             | transfer              | íbàyàtí  |  | bāyātī  | báyátíkílè  | báyátílè  | bāyātí  |
|             | turn into evil spirit | íbúyútí  |  | būyūtī  | búyútíkílè  | búyútílè  | būyūtí  |
| <b>12FH</b> |                       |          |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | remember              | íyêṅtí   |  | yēṅtī   | yêṅtíkálè   | yêṅtílè   | yêṅtí   |
|             | think                 | íkwāktí  |  | kwāktī  | kwáyàtíkílè | kwáyàtílè | kwáyàtí |
|             |                       |          |  |         |             |           |         |
| <b>G13</b>  | <b>Suffix - mɪ</b>    |          |  |         |             |           |         |
| <b>13H</b>  |                       |          |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | hold head(bad news)   | íkūmmí   |  | kūmmī   | kúmmíkílè   | kúmmílè   | kúmmí   |
| <b>13MH</b> |                       |          |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | groan                 | ídʒōmmí  |  | dʒōmmī  | dʒómmíkílè  | dʒōmmílè  | dʒōmmí  |
|             | hide                  | ínōmmí   |  | nōmmī   | nōmmíkílè   | mōmmílè   | nōmmí   |
|             | stretch               | ínāmmí   |  | nāmmī   | nāmmíkálè   | nāmmílè   | nāmmí   |
| <b>13FH</b> |                       |          |  |         |             |           |         |
|             | be thick              | ítʃōmmí  |  | tʃōmmī  | tʃōmmíkílè  | tʃōmmílè  | tʃōmmí  |
|             | wake up (sleep)       | ínōmmí   |  | nōmmī   | nōmmíkálè   | nōmmílè   | nōmmí   |
| <b>G14</b>  | <b>Suffix - bɪ</b>    |          |  |         |             |           |         |
| <b>14MH</b> | clot, coagulate       | ítābī    |  | tābī    | tābíkílè    | tábílè    | tābí    |
|             | fix nyamanyama        | ísābī    |  | sābī    | sābíkílè    | sábílè    | sābí    |
| <b>G15</b>  | <b>Suffix - ʃí</b>    |          |  |         |             |           |         |
| <b>15R</b>  | break–huge fufu part  | íwāʃí    |  | wāʃī    | wāʃíkílè    | wāʃílè    | wāʃí    |
|             | half-heat             | íwāʃí    |  | wāʃī    | wāʃíkílè    | wāʃílè    | wāʃí    |

|             |                       |                 |  |                |                              |                   |                 |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--|----------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <b>G16</b>  | <b>Suffix - wɪ</b>    |                 |  |                |                              |                   |                 |
| <b>16MH</b> | hunt                  | íbyəŋwí         |  | byəŋwī         | byəŋwíkílè                   | byəŋwílè          | byəŋwí          |
| <b>G17</b>  | <b>Suffix - sò</b>    |                 |  |                |                              |                   |                 |
| <b>17FL</b> | wrestle               | ímômsò          |  | mômsò          | mô:mkísò<br>mômkílèsò        | mômlèsò:          | mômsò:          |
| <b>G18</b>  | <b>Compound verbs</b> |                 |  |                |                              |                   |                 |
| <b>18H</b>  | awake (death)         | ídzá: kpī<br>mā |  | dzá: kpī<br>mā | dzá:kílè kpī:<br>mā          | dzá:lè kpī:<br>mā | dzá: kpī:<br>mā |
| <b>18HM</b> | be fast               | íkômhī fə       |  | kômhī fə       | kômhíkí<br>fə:kílè           | kômhífəlè         | kômhífə         |
| <b>M</b>    | be well done          | ífə bìnôŋ       |  | fə bìnôŋ       | fəkílè bìnôŋ                 | fəlè bìnôŋ        | fə bìnôŋ        |
|             | do same               | íbóŋ fə         |  | bóŋ fə         | bóŋkè fəkèlè<br>bóŋké fəkélè | bóŋ fəlè          | bóŋ fə          |
|             | give date             | dū tūyū         |  |                |                              |                   |                 |
|             | harvest honey         | ídzí nǔ         |  | dzī nǔ:        | dzī:kílè nǔ:                 | dzī:lè nǔ         | dzí ì nǔ        |
|             | imprison              | ítsə nsəŋ       |  | tsə nsəŋ       | tsəkélè nsəŋ                 | tsəlè nsəŋ        | tsə nsəŋ        |
|             | keep standing         | ídūŋ bá         |  | dūŋ bá<br>mbēn | dúŋkí bákí<br>mbēn           | dúŋ mbá á<br>mbēn | dūŋ bá:<br>mbēn |
|             | liberate, set free    | íyà tóyó        |  | yā tóyó        | yâkí<br>tóyókélè             | yâ tóyólè         | yâ tōyō         |
|             | lie down              | ínāmmí gù       |  | nāmmī<br>gù    | nāmmíkélè<br>gù              | nāmmílè<br>gù     | nāmmí<br>gù     |
|             | miscarriage           | íbəyəlí tō      |  | bəyəlī tō      | bəyəlīkélè<br>tō             | bəyəlílè tō       | bəyəlí tō       |
|             | mismanage<br>property | ítjín bəyəlí    |  | tjín<br>bəyəlī | tjín<br>bəyəlīkélè           | tjín<br>bəyəlílè  | tjín<br>bəyəlí  |
|             | mulch                 | íbánkí tún      |  |                |                              |                   |                 |
|             | pull out              | ígúyú bílí      |  | gūyū bílè      | gúyúkí<br>bílíkílè           | gúyú bílílè       | gúyú bílí       |
|             | remain                | íbándzǐ         |  | bā:ndzǐ        | bá:kíndzǐkíl                 | bá:ndzǐlè         | bā:ndzǐ         |



|          |                     |            |  |              |                   |                |              |
|----------|---------------------|------------|--|--------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|
|          |                     |            |  |              | ə                 |                |              |
|          | tell lies           | íwám ñtəyə |  | wām<br>ñtəyə | wā:mkələ<br>ñtəyə | wámlə<br>ñtəyə | wám<br>ñtəyə |
|          | thank               | íná kiyəɲí |  | ɲá<br>kiyəɲí | ɲákílə<br>kiyəɲí  | ɲálə<br>kiyəɲí | ɲá<br>kiyəɲí |
|          | vex                 | íbóyòhí tō |  | bòyòhì<br>tó | bóyòhìkílə<br>tó  | bóyòhílə<br>tó | bóyòhí<br>tō |
|          | Warning, take sense | dzō: fí    |  |              |                   |                |              |
| <b>G</b> | <b>Suffix - hə</b>  |            |  |              |                   |                |              |
| adverb   | be slow             | ítəhə      |  | təhə         | təhətəhə          | təhə           | təhə         |

## Appendix 4: Some Mbuk Nouns, according to recording order

KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk4\_NounSgPl\_ZM33\_2015-05-31 (01/06/15)

| No.   | Record time | Noun:<br>Singular/Plural    | Prefixes<br>Sg / pl | Concord<br>sg / pl | Noun class<br>sg / pl | gloss                  |
|-------|-------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 00001 | 00:56       | gbā / gbá                   | ø- / ø-             | ỳ / ý            | 9 / 10                | bushfowl,<br>partridge |
| 00002 | 01:11       | mkōṅō / mkóṅó<br>(19:14rep) | ø- / ø-             | k̀ / b̀            | 7 / 8                 | bone                   |
| 00003 | 01:27       | kìtàn / bìtàn               | kì- / bì-           | k̀ / b̀            | 7 / 8                 | hut                    |
| 00004 | 01:36       | gbóʷ / kìgbóʷ               | ø- / kì-            | ẁ / b̀            | 5 / 6,<br>5 / 8       | gun                    |
| 00005 | 01:42       | káká / bìkáká (18:25rep)    | ø- / bì-            | k̀ / b̀            | 7 / 8                 | leg                    |
| 00006 | 01:51       | tsèn / tsê:n                | ø- / ø-             | ỳ / ý            | 9 / 10                | arm                    |
| 00007 | 01:58       | dzōkō / dzókó               | ø- / ø-             | ỳ / ý            | 9 / 10                | penis                  |
| 00008 | 02:06       | filán / m̀làn               | fì- / m̀-           | f̀ / m̀            | 19 / 6a               | claypot                |
| 00009 | 02:16       | dā / bīdā                   | ø- / bī-            | ẁ / b̀            | 5 / 8                 | vagina                 |
| 00010 | 02:24       | gbú / gʷú                   | ø- / ø-             | ẁ / ý            | 3 / 4                 | foot                   |
| 00011 | 02:33       | kígá:lí / bígá:lí           | kí- / bí-           | k̀ / b̀            | 7 / 8                 | broom                  |
| 00012 | 02:42       | nê: / bènê:                 | ø- / bèn-           | ẁ / b̀            | 1 / 2                 | mother                 |
| 00013 | 03:00       | ṅgēnì / bíṅgēnì             | ø- / bí-            | k̀ / b̀            | 7 / 8                 | earth worm             |
| 00014 | 03:08       | bâ: / bènâ:                 | ø- / bèn-           | ẁ / b̀            | 1 / 2                 | father                 |
| 00015 | 03:15       | nákè / kínákè               | ø- / kí-            | ẁ / k̀            | 5 / 6 (27)            | grinding stone         |
| 00016 | 03:24       | tsǎ: / tsá:                 | ø̃ / ǿ             | ỳ / ý            | 9 / 10                | tyre (car)             |
| 00017 | 03:33       | fintām / m̄tām              | fì- / m̄-           | f- / m-            | 19 / 6a               | fruit                  |
| 00018 | 03:39       | dʒòm / dʒôm                 | ø- / ø-             | ỳ / ý            | 9 / 10                | tiger                  |
| 00019 | 03:46       | bìkēm / bènìkēm             | ø- / bèn-           | ẁ / b̀            | 1 / 2                 | lion                   |
| 00020 | 03:52       | dzòṅ / dzôṅ                 | ø- / ø-             | y- / y-            | 9 / 10                | antelope               |
| 00021 | 03:57       | fimkwā / m̄mkwā             | fì- / m̄-           | f- / m-            | 19 / 6a               | deer                   |

|       |       |                                       |              |            |            |                         |
|-------|-------|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|
| 00022 | 04:03 | dzàkè / dzâkè                         | ø- / ø-      | ỳ / ý    | 9 / 10     | hippopotamus            |
| 00023 | 04:10 | kìbókó / bìbókó                       | kì- / bì-    | k- / b̀    | 7 / 8      | chimpanzee              |
| 00024 | 04:19 | tsā: / tsá:                           | ø- / ø-      | ỳ / ý    | 9 / 10     | baboon                  |
| 00025 | 04:25 | byākā / byáká                         | ø- / ø-      | ỳ / ý    | 9 / 10     | cane-rat                |
| 00026 | 04:32 | kūm / kúm                             | ø- / ø-      | ỳ / ý    | 9 / 10     | python                  |
| 00027 | 04:38 | kīgā: / bī:gā:                        | kī- / bī-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | mat                     |
| 00028 | 04:46 | mbəŋ / bəmbəŋ                         | ø- / bə-     | ẁ / b̀    | 1 / 2      | walking stick,<br>staff |
| 00029 | 04:53 | dzŭ: / dzú                            | ø- / ø-      | ỳ / ý    | 9 / 10     | snake                   |
| 00030 | 04:58 | kìkpə: / bìkpə:                       | kì- / bì-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | lizard                  |
| 00031 | 05:02 | kīmgbê:mgbèlí /<br>bīmgbê:mgbèlí      | kī- /<br>bī- | k- /<br>b- | 7 /<br>8   | millipede               |
| 00032 | 05:12 | gbā: / kígbā:                         | ø- / kí-     | ẃ / ḱ    | 5 / 6 (27) | ceiling                 |
| 00033 | 05:17 | tʃɔkɔ / tʃókó                         | ø- / ø-      | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | zinc                    |
| 00034 | 05:29 | kwā / kwá (47:37)                     | ø- / ø-      | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | forest                  |
| 00035 | 05:36 | fīnfāmbú / m̄nfāmbú                   | fī- / m̄-    | f- / m-    | 19 / 6a    | sand                    |
| 00036 | 05:42 | tə: / kītə:                           | ø- / kī-     | ẃ / ḱ    | 5 / 6      | batteries               |
| 00037 | 05:48 | kībā <sup>ᵀ</sup> / bībā <sup>ᵀ</sup> | kī- / bī-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | table                   |
| 00038 | 05:53 | bwám / kíbwám                         | ø- / kí-     | ẃ / ḱ    | 5 / 6 (27) | cup                     |
| 00039 | 05:59 | kífó / bífó                           | kí- / bí-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | cap                     |
| 00040 | 06:06 | bá: / bībá:                           | ø- / bí-     | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | palm nut                |
| 00041 | 06:14 | sōm / kīsōm                           | ø- / kī-     | ẃ / ḱ    | 5 / 6 (27) | palm tree               |
| 00042 | 06:21 | kìŋgəŋgáŋ / bìŋgəŋgáŋ                 | kì- / bì-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | sugarcane               |
| 00043 | 06:27 | fùlówà / bəfùlówà                     | ø- / bə-     | ẁ / b̀    | 1 / 2      | flower                  |
| 00044 | 06:33 | byə / byá                             | ø- / ø-      | ỳ / ý    | 9 / 10     | dog                     |
| 00045 | 06:39 | kpəŋə / kīkəŋə                        | ø- / kī-     | ẃ / ḱ    | 5 / 6 (27) | pot                     |
| 00046 | 06:48 | kìntàkà / bìntàkà                     | kì- / bì-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | spoon                   |
| 00047 | 06:53 | kìnfàkà / bìnfàkà<br>(01:02:51)       | kì- / bì-    | k- / b-    | 7 / 8      | comb                    |
| 00048 | 06:59 | fīmbān / m̄mbān                       | fī- / m̄-    | f- / m-    | 19 / 6a    | nail                    |

|       |       |                            |                |               |           |                |
|-------|-------|----------------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| 00049 | 07:06 | fyānī / fyání              | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | pin, nail      |
| 00050 | 07:15 | gā:lì / bīgā:lì            | ø- / bī-       | k- / b-       | 7 / 10    | pen            |
| 00051 | 07:22 | nǝṅṅə / bǝnǝṅṅə            | ø- / bǝ-       | k- / b-       | 7 / 8     | long-mouth-rat |
| 00052 | 07:30 | kṛṅkólì / bṛṅkólì          | kì- / bì-      | k- / b-       | 7 / 8     | rat            |
| 00053 | 07:35 | dā: / kídā: ~ bídā:        | ø- / kí- ~ bí- | w-/k- ~ k-/b- | 5/6 ~ 7/8 | bridge         |
| 00054 | 07:48 | nāṅ / bīnāṅ ~ kīnāṅ        | ø- / bī- ~ kí- | k-/b- ~ w-/k- | 7/8 ~ 5/6 | bed            |
| 00055 | 08:02 | kōkō / bīkōkō [kōʷ]        | ø- / bī-       | k- / b-       | 7 / 8     | camwood        |
| 00056 | 08:08 | bǝ: / bí (14:01 repeats)   | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | goat           |
| 00057 | 08:14 | bàkà / bàkà [bàʷà/bàʷà]    | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | fish           |
| 00058 | 08:19 | ǝyā / ǝyá                  | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | fowl           |
| 00059 | 08:24 | ṅṅgēsí / ṅgēsí             | ø- / ø-        | ẃ / ý       | 3 / 4     | cowries        |
| 00060 | 08:51 | dzǝ: / dzú                 | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | house          |
| 00061 | 08:56 | ṅʷāṅ / níʷāṅ               | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | ground, soil   |
| 00062 | 09:02 | gʷù / gʷû: (15:30 repeats) | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | body           |
| 00063 | 09:07 | dʒǝm / dʒǝm (17:31 repeat) | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | back           |
| 00064 | 09:13 | dzǝ / dzǝ: (15:35 repeats) | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | skin           |
| 00065 | 09:19 | bòkò / bókò ~ bóʷò         | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | stream, river  |
| 00066 | 09:24 | ʃʷāṅ ~ (ʃʷāṅ) / ʃʷáṅ       | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | sheep          |
| 00067 | 09:34 | ǝ / ǝ                      | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | market         |
| 00068 | 09:40 | dzǝṅṅə / dzǝṅṅə            | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | hole           |
| 00069 | 09:48 | dzǝ: / dzǝ {diff.come}     | ø- / ø-        | ỳ / ý       | 9 / 10    | road           |
| 00070 | 09:53 | fǝpēnī ~ fǝpēnī / mǝpēnī   | fǝ- / m-       | f- / m-       | 19 / 6a   | bird           |
| 00071 | 09:59 | fímús / mímús              | fǝ- / m-       | f- / m-       | 19 / 6a   | cat            |
| 00072 | 10:03 | fǝntē:nī / mǝntē:nī        | fǝ- / m-       | f- / m-       | 19 / 6a   | palm rat       |
| 00073 | 10:08 | kǝn / kēn                  | ø- / ø-        | ẃ / ý       | 3 / 4     | tree           |
| 00074 | 10:19 | dʒím / dʒím <i>vf.tone</i> | ø- / ø-        | ẃ / ý       | 3 / 4     | tooth          |
| 00075 | 10:25 | dzǝṅ / dzǝṅ                | ø- / ø-        | ẃ / ý       | 3 / 4     | corn           |

|       |       |                                                                        |           |                                     |         |                                 |
|-------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| 00076 | 10:29 | g <sup>w</sup> án / g <sup>w</sup> ǎn                                  | ø- / ø-   | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / y <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 3 / 4   | <i>bamboo</i>                   |
| 00077 | 10:35 | g <sup>w</sup> àg <sup>w</sup> á / bəg <sup>w</sup> àg <sup>w</sup> á  | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>duck</i>                     |
| 00078 | 10:43 | mì: / bənì:                                                            | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>person</i>                   |
| 00079 | 10:52 | ɲúò / bəɲúò:                                                           | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>cutlass</i>                  |
| 00080 | 10:58 | ɲùò / bəɲùò                                                            | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>gods</i>                     |
| 00081 | 11:07 | tāsā~tāhā / bətāhā                                                     | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>dish</i>                     |
| 00082 | 11:24 | búŋ ~mbúŋ / bəbúŋ                                                      | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>dress, cloth</i>             |
| 00083 | 11:29 | wāŋ / b <sup>w</sup> ā (11:36 repeat)                                  | ø- / ø-   | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>child</i>                    |
| 00084 | 11:40 | kìlèkpó / bìlèkpó                                                      | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>potato</i>                   |
| 00085 | 11:53 | kìkōkō / bìkōkō                                                        | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>bat</i>                      |
| 00086 | 12:03 | kìmgbókò / bìmgbókò<br>[kìmgbò <sup>v</sup> ò / bìmgbò <sup>v</sup> ò] | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>chair</i>                    |
| 00087 | 12:11 | kìŋwàní / bìŋwàní                                                      | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>plantain</i>                 |
| 00088 | 12:16 | kìŋwàktì / bìŋwàktì<br>(58:40)                                         | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>book</i>                     |
| 00089 | 12:22 | kìmámá / bìmámá                                                        | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>caterpillar</i>              |
| 00090 | 12:26 | lùŋgá / bəlùŋgá                                                        | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>bucket</i>                   |
| 00091 | 12:32 | fìmfí: / òmfí:                                                         | fì- / ò-  | f- / m-                             | 19 / 6a | <i>underwear</i>                |
| 00092 | 12:38 | mblāŋ / bəmbblāŋ                                                       | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>blanks</i>                   |
| 00093 | 12:48 | fīndōŋ / òndōŋ                                                         | fī- / ò-  | f- / m-                             | 19 / 6a | <i>fig tree</i>                 |
| 00094 | 12:54 | fìmkāŋ / òmkāŋ                                                         | fì- / ò-  | f- / m-                             | 19 / 6a | <i>oath</i>                     |
| 00095 | 12:59 | fìmkāŋ / òmkāŋ                                                         | fì- / ò-  | f- / m-                             | 19 / 6a | <i>k.o tree</i>                 |
| 00096 | 13:07 | ndzēní / bìndzēní                                                      | ø- / bì-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b-               | 5 / 8   | <i>leave</i>                    |
| 00097 | 13:15 | tsá: / bítsá: (24:01repeat)                                            | ø- / bī-  | y <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b-               | 4 / 8   | <i>medicine</i>                 |
| 00098 | 13:22 | fìmgbǎ:bàŋ / òmgbǎ:bàŋ                                                 | fì- / ò-  | f- / m-                             | 19 / 6a | <i>guava</i>                    |
| 00099 | 13:28 | mbǎ:ŋ / bəmbǎ:ŋ                                                        | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>fence</i>                    |
| 00100 | 14:07 | mbùndàm / bəmbùndàm                                                    | ø- / bə-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / b <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 1 / 2   | <i>potato(syn.)<br/>(58:54)</i> |
| 00101 | 14:13 | ŋgóŋ / kíŋgóŋ                                                          | ø- / kí-  | w <sup>ˈ</sup> - / k <sup>ˈ</sup> - | 5 / 6   | <i>spear</i>                    |
| 00102 | 14:17 | kìtótóm / bìtótóm<br>~ kìntómtóm                                       | kì- / bì- | k- / b-                             | 7 / 8   | <i>indian<br/>bamboo</i>        |

|       |       |                            |                   |         |             |                 |
|-------|-------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------------|-----------------|
| 00103 | 14:22 | lâm / bəlâm                | ø- / bə-          | w- / b- | 1 / 2       | <i>lamp</i>     |
| 00105 | 14:27 | kìntáptán / bìntáptán      | kì- / bì-         | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>box</i>      |
| 00106 | 14:32 | kòfí / bəkòfí              | ø- / bə-          | w- / b- | 1 / 2       | <i>coffee</i>   |
| 00107 | 14:38 | fíkóm / òkóm               | fí- / ò-          | f- / m- | 19 / 6a     | <i>knife</i>    |
| 00108 | 14:44 | kìnánâs / bìnánâs          | kì- / bì-         | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>pinapple</i> |
| 00109 | 14:53 | má:ngù / bəmá:ngù          | ø- / bə-          | w- / b- | 1 / 2       | <i>mangoe</i>   |
| 00110 | 14:58 | mfóm / bəmfóm              | ø- / bə-          | w- / b- | 1 / 2       | <i>phone</i>    |
| 00111 | 15:02 | mìkpàṅá / bákáṅà           | ø- / bá-          | w- / b- | 1 / 2       | <i>wife</i>     |
| 00112 | 15:09 | fimbì: / òmbì:             | fì- / ò-          | f- / m- | 19 / 6a     | <i>colanut</i>  |
| 00113 | 15:15 | kĩmbā: / bĩmbā:            | kĩ- / bĩ-         | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>umbrella</i> |
| 00114 | 15:23 | fìndzèṅè / òndzèṅè         | fì- / ò-          | f- / m- | 19 / 6a     | <i>clitoris</i> |
| 00115 | 15:41 | jí / bìjí ~ kījī (hh > lh) | ø- / bì- ~<br>kì- | k- / b- | 7/8 ~ 5/6   | <i>face</i>     |
| 00116 | 15:58 | ndzǔ: / kìndzǔ:            | ø- / k- ~<br>bì-  | w- / k- | 5/6 ~ 7/8   | <i>nose</i>     |
| 00117 | 16:12 | ntō:ní / bìntō:ní          | ø- / bì-          | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>ear</i>      |
| 00118 | 16:22 | dè:lí / bìdè:lí            | ø- / bì-          | w- / b- | 5 / 8       | <i>cheek</i>    |
| 00119 | 16:29 | dzáká / bídzáʼá            | ø- / bí-          | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>mouth</i>    |
| 00120 | 16:33 | ñnō:mí / bìnō:mí           | ø- / bì-          | w- / b- | 5 / 8       | <i>tongue</i>   |
| 00121 | 16:38 | kìmbă:ṅ / bìmă:ṅ           | kì- / bì-         | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>yaw</i>      |
| 00122 | 16:42 | mākè / bímākè              | ø- / bí-          | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>neck</i>     |
| 00123 | 16:48 | dè:lí / kídè:lí            | ø- / bi-<br>(kì-) | w- / b- | 5 / 8 (5/6) | <i>beard</i>    |
| 00124 | 16:53 | kìdžòm / bìdžòm            | kì- / bì-         | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>chest</i>    |
| 00125 | 16:58 | mbê:n / mbê:n              | ø- / ø-           | w- / y- | 3 / 4       | <i>breast</i>   |
| 00126 | 17:09 | bālī / bíbālī              | ø- / bí-          | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>waist</i>    |
| 00127 | 17:15 | tsǎ: / tsǎ:                | ø- / ø-           | y- / y- | 9 / 10      | <i>navel</i>    |
| 00128 | 17:22 | tó / bitó ~ kító           | ø- / bì-          | w- / b- | 5/8 ~ 5/6   | <i>stomach</i>  |
| 00129 | 17:38 | tùṅ / tōṅ                  | ø- / ø-           | y- / y- | 9 / 10      | <i>buttocks</i> |
| 00130 | 17:49 | kìṅkàṅkán / bìṅkàṅkán      | kì- / bì-         | k- / b- | 7 / 8       | <i>armpit</i>   |

|       |       |                                           |           |         |         |              |
|-------|-------|-------------------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------|--------------|
| 00131 | 17:57 | ḡkəmnì / bəḡkəmnì                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2   | wrist        |
| 00132 | 18:03 | kpà: / kà:                                | ø- / ø-   | w- / y- | 3 / 4   | hand         |
| 00133 | 18:09 | kìḡkò / bìḡkò                             | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | boxing       |
| 00134 | 18:15 | nyùḡ / bənyùḡ                             | ø- / ø-   | w- / b- | 1 / 2   | knuckle      |
| 00135 | 18:25 | kākā / káká (01:42 rep)                   | ø- / ø-   | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | leg          |
| 00136 | 18:34 | dzəḡ / dzəḡ                               | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10  | thigh, lap   |
| 00137 | 18:38 | kìḡō / bìḡō                               | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | knee         |
| 00138 | 18:44 | ntākā / bəntākā                           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2   | shin         |
| 00139 | 18:53 | fìkōkō / m̄kōkō                           | fì- / m̄- | f- / m- | 19 / 6a | ankle        |
| 00140 | 19:03 | gwū <sup>f</sup> / gwú <sup>f</sup>       | ø- / ø-   | w- / y- | 3 / 4   | foot         |
| 00141 | 19:14 | mkōḡō / bīmkōḡō                           | ø- / bī-  | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | bone         |
| 00142 | 19:17 | kímōḡ / bímōḡ                             | kī- / bī- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | bone marrow  |
| 00143 | 19:22 | byēlí / bjélí                             | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10  | rib          |
| 00145 | 19:28 | kímōḡ / bímōḡ                             | kī- / bī- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | brain        |
| 00146 | 19:32 | ḡm / ḡm                                   | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10  | heart        |
| 00147 | 19:37 | ḡkālī / ḡkālí                             | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10  | liver        |
| 00148 | 19:50 | mbyā̄ / mbyá̄                             | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10  | kidney       |
| 00149 | 19:58 | lā / lā                                   | ø- / ø-   | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | intestine    |
| 00150 | 20:09 | fīmbú / m̄mbú                             | fì- / m̄- | f- / m- | 19 / 6a | gall bladder |
| 00151 | 20:19 | mgbáḡ / ḡgáḡ                              | ø- / ø-   | w- / y- | 3 / 4   | vein         |
| 00152 | 20:25 | m̄ndzəḡ                                   | m̄-       | m-      | 6a      | saliva       |
| 00153 | 20:33 | kìḡwā̄ / bìḡwā̄                           | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | phlegm       |
| 00154 | 20:40 | kìḡwā̄ / bìḡwā̄                           | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | nasal mucus  |
| 00155 | 20:46 | ḡgáḡ / ḡgáḡ                               | ø- / ø-   | w- / y- | 3 / 4   | root         |
| 00156 | 20:55 | fīndóm / m̄ndóm                           | fì- / m̄- | f- / m- | 19 / 6a | tears        |
| 00157 | 21:23 | fīmbú / m̄mbú                             | fì- / m̄- | f- / m- | 19 / 6a | bile, gall   |
| 00158 | 21:30 | ndzáḡàḡ / bīndzáḡàḡ                       | ø- / bī-  | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | semen        |
| 00159 | 21:37 | kìmbín / bìmbín                           | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8   | faeces       |
| 00160 | 21:44 | móm / bəməm                               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2   | taste        |
| 00161 | 21:51 | ḡk <sup>w</sup> ùḡ / bəḡk <sup>w</sup> ùḡ | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2   | mountain     |

|       |       |                           |           |           |         |                          |
|-------|-------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|
| 00162 | 21:56 | ḡàḡlì / bḡàḡlì            | ø- / bḡ-  | wḡ- / bḡ- | 1 / 2   | <i>crawl</i>             |
| 00163 | 22:01 | fíndḡḡ / ríndḡḡ           | fí- / rí- | f- / m-   | 19 / 6a | <i>pimple</i>            |
| 00164 | 22:13 | kǎḡnī / bīkǎḡnī           | ø- / bī-  | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>barren woman</i>      |
| 00165 | 22:20 | kìmfī / bīmḡfī            | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>blind</i>             |
| 00166 | 22:30 | kìntḡḡnī / bīntḡḡnī       | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>deaf</i>              |
| 00167 | 22:36 | mḡè ~ myè (01:03:09)      | m-        | m-        | 6a      | <i>oil</i>               |
| 00168 | 22:40 | ḡkākā (58:35 repeats)     | ḡ-        | yḡ-       | 4       | <i>salt</i>              |
| 00169 | 22:45 | ḡkākā / ḡkáḡá             | ḡ-        | yḡ- / yḡ- | 9 / 10  | <i>yigger</i>            |
| 00170 | 22:54 | mḡá                       | m-        | m-        | 6a      | <i>blood</i>             |
| 00171 | 22:57 | dzàḡ                      | ø-        | yḡ-       | 4       | <i>rain</i>              |
| 00172 | 23:01 | dḡḡḡḡ / dḡḡḡḡ             | ø- / ø-   | yḡ- / yḡ- | 9 / 10  | <i>disease, sickness</i> |
| 00173 | 23:07 | ntḡḡḡ / ntḡḡḡ             | ø- / ø-   | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>hunchback</i>         |
| 00174 | 23:14 | kìḡkḡblī / bīḡkḡblī       | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>cripple</i>           |
| 00175 | 23:25 | mīwīdḡḡlī / bḡnībḡdḡḡlī   | ø- / bḡ-  | wḡ- / bḡ- | 1 / 2   | <i>dwarf</i>             |
| 00176 | 23:34 | kìḡḡbḡḡ / bīmḡbḡḡ         | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>giant</i>             |
| 00177 | 23:42 | kìndḡḡ / bīndḡḡ           | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>stupid person</i>     |
| 00178 | 23:47 | mīwīdzḡḡlī / bḡnībḡdzḡḡlī | ø- / bḡ-  | wḡ- / bḡ- | 1 / 2   | <i>mad person</i>        |
| 00179 | 23:55 | ntḡḡkú / bḡntḡḡkú         | ø- / bḡ-  | wḡ- / bḡ- | 1 / 2   | <i>heal / cure</i>       |
| 00180 | 24:08 | ndḡḡnī / bīndḡḡnī         | ø- / bī-  | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>abscess</i>           |
| 00181 | 24:15 | kīmòḡ / bīmòḡ             | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>swelling</i>          |
| 00182 | 24:24 | mḡfī / bḡmḡfī             | ø- / bḡ-  | ø- / b-   | 1 / 2   | <i>burn</i>              |
| 00183 | 24:56 | kīndḡḡ / bīndḡḡ           | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>goiter</i>            |
| 00184 | 25:01 | byḡkḡ / byḡkḡ             | ø- / ø-   | yḡ- / yḡ- | 9 / 10  | <i>wound, sore</i>       |
| 00185 | 25:08 | kīmḡbḡḡ / bīmḡbḡḡ         | kí- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>pus</i>               |
| 00186 | 25:15 | kīmòḡ / bīmòḡ             | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>elephantiasis</i>     |
| 00187 | 25:23 | kīkḡkḡlī / bīkḡkḡlī       | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>ringworm</i>          |
| 00188 | 25:30 | kīḡkḡmmī / bīḡkḡmmī       | kī- / bī- | k- / b-   | 7 / 8   | <i>leprosy</i>           |
| 00189 | 25:37 | ḡḡḡf / ḡḡḡf               | ø- / ø-   | yḡ- / yḡ- | 9 / 10  | <i>fever</i>             |
| 00190 | 25:42 | nlò / bḡnlò               | ø- / bḡ-  | wḡ- / bḡ- | 1 / 2   | <i>pain</i>              |



|       |       |                             |           |         |        |                  |
|-------|-------|-----------------------------|-----------|---------|--------|------------------|
| 00191 | 25:47 | nyàṅ / bənyàṅ               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | vomit            |
| 00192 | 25:52 | fʷū / bɪfʷū                 | ø- / bɪ-  | w- / b- | 5 / 8  | headache         |
| 00193 | 25:59 | tʃūō / tʃúó                 | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10 | diarrhoea        |
| 00194 | 26:05 | mkpàkà / bəmkpàkà           | ø- / ø-   | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | scabies          |
| 00195 | 26:10 | dʒʷàbí / bɪdʒʷàbí           | ø- / bɪ-  | w- / b- | 5 / 8  | menstrual period |
| 00196 | 26:25 | tó / bitó                   | ø- / bɪ-  | w- / b- | 5 / 8  | pregnant         |
| 00197 | 26:29 | mbə̀̀və̀̀lì / bəmbə̀̀və̀̀lì | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | miscarriage      |
| 00198 | 26:33 | mbə́́və́́ / bəmbə́́və́́     | ø- / bə   | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | give birth       |
| 0199  | 26:38 | sòmì / sómì                 | ø- / ø-   | y- / y- | 9 / 10 | young / youth    |
| 00200 | 26:46 | kpī / kpíyí                 | ø- / -yí  | y- / y- | 9 / 10 | death            |
| 00201 | 26:52 | ŋkʷàktì / bəŋkʷàktì         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | think            |
| 00202 | 26:59 | mbôm / bəmbôm               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | believe          |
| 00203 | 27:08 | mbò:m                       | ø-        | b-      | 8      | size             |
| 00204 | 27:14 | nlànì / bənlānì             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | teach            |
| 00205 | 27:20 | kìnsàṅlì / bìnṣàṅlì         | kì- / bɪ- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | happy/yoy        |
| 00206 | 27:28 | nsùṅú / bənsùṅù             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | laugh            |
| 00207 | 27:34 | nfé:n                       | ø-        | y-      | 4      | sad              |
| 00208 | 27:40 | ndə̀̀ / bəndə̀̀             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | cry              |
| 00209 | 27:44 | nfí:n                       | ø-        | y-      | 4      | sorrow           |
| 00210 | 27:50 | kìṅgá:mnì / bìnḡá:mnì       | kì- / bɪ- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | shame            |
| 00211 | 27:59 | nlúá / bənlúá               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | fear             |
| 00212 | 28:14 | ṅgò̀̀mì / bəṅgò̀̀mì         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | frighten         |
| 00213 | 28:19 | kìṅyàṅhí / bìnḡyàṅhí        | kì- / bɪ- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | proud            |
| 00214 | 28:27 | ṅkókʰì / bəṅkókʰì           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | respect          |
| 00215 | 28:33 | ṅkókʰì / bəṅkókʰì           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | honour           |
| 00216 | 28:39 | kìṅkòṅ / bìnḡkòṅ            | kì- / bɪ- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | love             |
| 00217 | 28:43 | kìmbàṅnì / bìmbàṅnì         | kì- / bɪ- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | hatred           |
| 00218 | 28:53 | kìmbàṅ / bìmbàṅ             | kì- / bɪ- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | hatred           |
| 00219 | 28:58 | nsènḡ / bənsènḡ             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | neglect          |

|       |       |                         |           |         |        |                       |
|-------|-------|-------------------------|-----------|---------|--------|-----------------------|
| 00220 | 29:06 | néŋ / bènén             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>desire, want</i>   |
| 00221 | 29:13 | bá / bəmbá              | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>choose</i>         |
| 00222 | 29:19 | mbám / bəmbám           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>abstain</i>        |
| 00223 | 29:25 | mbì: / bəmbì:           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>allow, permit</i>  |
| 00224 | 29:31 | né:n / bənén            | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>forbid</i>         |
| 00225 | 29:39 | nsánnî / bənsánnî       | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>plan, decide</i>   |
| 00226 | 29:46 | mòmhi / bəòmhi          | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>try</i>            |
| 00227 | 29:50 | ntsā / bəntsā           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>succeed</i>        |
| 00228 | 29:55 | mgbò / bəmgbò           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>fail</i>           |
| 00229 | 29:59 | ŋkwā:yì / bəŋkwā:yì     | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>pretend</i>        |
| 00230 | 30:14 | nnô:ní / binnô:ní       |           | k- / b- |        | <i>kind</i>           |
| 00231 | 30:23 | ŋŕá / bìnŋŕá (ŋá:ní)  |           | k- / b- |        | <i>generous</i>       |
| 00232 | 30:46 | ŋróm / bəŋróm           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>selfish</i>        |
| 00233 | 30:57 | ŋrōmní                  |           | b-      |        | <i>selfish</i>        |
| 00234 | 31:04 | ntfúó / bəntfúó         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>honest</i>         |
| 00235 | 31:09 | mbākālì / bəmbākālì     | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>corrupt</i>        |
| 00236 | 31:13 | ntókú / bəntfókú        | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>pound</i>          |
| 00237 | 31:21 | tfù:                    |           | b-      |        | <i>wicked</i>         |
| 00238 | 31:25 | ndzāŋ / ndzán           |           | y- / y' |        | <i>fierce</i>         |
| 00239 | 31:33 | kìŋyàkà / bìnŋyàkà      | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | <i>jealousy</i>       |
| 00240 | 31:40 | fō:m / fóm              |           |         | 9 / 10 | <i>courageous</i>     |
| 00241 | 31:45 | lqí:                    |           | b-      |        | <i>laziness</i>       |
| 00242 | 31:51 | ŋkàŋà fóm / bəŋkàŋà fóm | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>patience</i>       |
| 00243 | 31:56 | nlà'ə fú / bənlà'ə fú   | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>stubborn</i>       |
| 00244 | 32:01 | kìfù: / bìfù:           | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | <i>hardship, poor</i> |
| 00245 | 32:08 | bìlòŋ                   |           | b-      |        | <i>hardship</i>       |
| 00246 | 32:18 | ntfùkùlì / bəntfùkùlì   | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>respond, reply</i> |
| 00247 | 32:23 | ŋgyākí / bəŋgyākí       | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>suffer</i>         |
| 00248 | 32:30 | ntàhì / bəntàhì         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>obstruct</i>       |
| 00249 | 32:37 | ŋgyākí / bəŋgyākí       | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>danger</i>         |

|       |       |                                                           |           |         |        |                              |
|-------|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------|--------|------------------------------|
| 00250 | 32:42 | ngyǎkí / bəngyǎkí                                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>problem</i>               |
| 00251 | 32:48 | mì: / bǎnî                                                | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>human being</i>           |
| 00252 | 32:56 | mī                                                        |           | w-      | 1      | <i>self</i>                  |
| 00253 | 33:02 | ɲòkú / bəɲókù                                             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>man/male</i>              |
| 00254 | 33:18 | wān / bǎ́á                                                |           | w- / b- |        | <i>fetus</i>                 |
| 00255 | 33:29 | wáɲ / bǎ́á                                                | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>baby</i>                  |
| 00256 | 33:36 | kìntómni / bintómni                                       | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8  | <i>twin</i>                  |
| 00257 | 33:44 | wān / bʷǎ́á                                               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>child</i>                 |
| 00258 | 33:53 | wāɲɲókùní / bʷábəɲókùní                                   | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>boy</i>                   |
| 00259 | 34:00 | wāɲkǎɲàní / bǎ́ábəkǎɲàní                                  | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>girl</i>                  |
| 00260 | 34:18 | kòkólī                                                    | ø-        | w-      | 1      | <i>adult</i>                 |
| 00261 | 34:23 | ngāmì / bəngāmì                                           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>elder</i>                 |
| 00262 | 34:29 | mìwìdʒɹĩnī /<br>bǎnîbədʒɹĩnī                              | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>old person</i>            |
| 00263 | 34:36 | tùɲyìdzǔ: / tũɲyídʒǔ:                                     |           |         | 9 / 10 | <i>relative</i>              |
| 00264 | 34:49 | ɲkʷúsà / bəɲkʷúsà                                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>ancestor</i>              |
| 00265 | 34:58 | tĩ:bâ: / bətĩ:bâ:                                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>grandparent</i>           |
| 00266 | 35:03 | bâ: / bəbâ:                                               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>father</i>                |
| 00267 | 35:06 | wàɲnǎɲ / bʷābǎnǎɲ                                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>brother</i>               |
| 00268 | 35:12 | dʒəmì / dʒəmì                                             |           |         |        | <i>sister</i>                |
| 00269 | 35:18 | wúnâ: / bəwúnâ:                                           | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>uncle</i>                 |
| 00270 | 35:24 | wàɲnínâ / bʷábǎnîbǎnâ:                                    | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>aunt, mother's sister</i> |
| 00271 | 35:40 | wàɲnîbâ: /<br>bʷǎ́ábə̀nîbǎbâ:<br>wàɲnîbâ: / bʷǎ́ábə̀nîbâ: | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>aunt, father's sister</i> |
| 00272 | 36:02 | wâɲdʒəmì / bǎ́ábədʒəmí                                    | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>cousin</i>                |
| 00273 | 36:11 | kìmbʷâ: / bìmbʷâ:                                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>descendant</i>            |
| 00274 | 36:28 | wâɲwáɲ / bʷǎ́ábábʷǎ́á                                     | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>grandchild</i>            |
| 00275 | 36:39 | wâɲdʒəmì / bǎ́ábədʒəmí                                    | ø- / bə-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2  | <i>nephew</i>                |
| 00276 | 36:45 | yǎ / bíyǎ                                                 |           | w- / k- |        | <i>name</i>                  |

|       |       |                                   |           |         |       |               |
|-------|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------|-------|---------------|
| 00277 | 36:55 | kʷi / bàkʷi                       | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | namesake      |
| 00278 | 37:00 | myəkà / bàmyəkà                   | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | in-law        |
| 00279 | 37:07 | kpáyá / káyá                      |           |         | 3 / 4 | fellow-wife   |
| 00280 | 37:14 | níkpaṅá / bèníkàṅà                | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | sister-in-law |
| 00281 | 37:34 | jômɰwāɲ / núʋòbàbʷǎ:              | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | son-in-law    |
| 00282 | 37:44 | kpəṅkʷù / bókáṅàbəṅkʷù:           | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | widow         |
| 00283 | 37:50 | jômṅkʷû / bəṅjômṅkʷû              | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | widower       |
| 00284 | 37:58 | tómí / bitómí                     |           |         | 7 / 8 | clan          |
| 00285 | 38:06 | tòṅyìdzǔ: / tṱṅyídzǔ:             |           |         |       | family        |
| 00286 | 38:12 | nsē:n / nsé:n                     |           |         | 3 / 4 | friend        |
| 00287 | 38:37 | ṅkòmḥí / bəṅkòmḥí                 | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | neighbour     |
| 00288 | 38:42 | kìmbàṅnì / bìm̀bàṅnì              |           |         |       | enemy         |
| 00289 | 38:50 | ntáṅnì / bəntáṅnì                 | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | traitor       |
| 00290 | 38:55 | dǔí / bə̀dǔí                      | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | thief         |
| 00291 | 38:58 | mìwìntóm / bə̀nì:bə̀ntóm          | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | messenger     |
| 00292 | 39:04 | kìṅyùṅnì / bìṅyùṅnì               | kì- / bì- | k- / b- | 7 / 8 | crowd         |
| 00293 | 39:09 | ṅkúṅ / bəṅkúṅ                     | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | chief, fon    |
| 00294 | 39:13 | m̩fà: / bə̀m̩fà:                  | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | slave         |
| 00295 | 39:17 | mìwìkxə: / bə̀nì:bə̀kxə:          | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | farmer        |
| 00296 | 39:22 | mìwìbyíṅwí:/bə̀nìbə̀byíṅwí:<br>í: | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | hunter        |
| 00297 | 39:40 | n̩fàni / n̩fàni                   |           |         | 5 / 6 | weaver        |
| 00298 | 39:49 | m̩wìkōmnì /<br>bə̀nì:bə̀kōmnì     | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | butcher       |
| 00299 | 40:01 | wāɲwìnǎm / bʷə̀ʋábə̀nǎm           | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | servant       |
| 00300 | 40:09 | mbòʋòkífó / bə̀mbòʋòkífó          | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | gendarme      |
| 00301 | 40:16 | mbòʋòfú / bə̀mbòʋòfú              | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | gendarme      |
| 00302 | 40:22 | mìwìtsǎ: / bə̀nì:wìtsǎ:           | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | Tradi. healer |
| 00303 | 40:34 | tsí / bə̀tsí                      | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | sorcerer      |
| 00304 | 40:51 | tsí / bə̀tsí                      | ø- / bà-  | w- / b- | 1 / 2 | witchcraft    |

|       |                |                                                                     |           |                 |         |               |
|-------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|---------|---------------|
| 00305 | 41:11          | mbāḡhí / bəmbāḡhì                                                   | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | meet          |
| 00306 | 41:17          | nlàyà / bənlàyà                                                     | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | invite        |
| 00307 | 41:21          | mbì: / bəmbì:                                                       | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | abandon       |
| 00308 | 41:25          | gέ:n/bəḡgèn, ḡgèn/bəḡgèn                                            | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | flee, escape  |
| 00309 | 41:51          | myùgúʸùní/bəni:báguʸùní<br>mókóḡ / bə́mókóḡ                         | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | drive         |
| 00310 | 42:03          | lyíḡ                                                                |           | w- <sup>4</sup> | 4       | same          |
| 00311 | 42:16          | tjí                                                                 |           | b-              |         | different     |
| 00312 | 42:19          | kìmbwáhi / bìm bwáhi                                                |           |                 |         | resemble      |
| 00313 | 42:28          | nʃyāli / bənʃyāli                                                   |           |                 |         | initiate      |
| 00314 | 42:33          | ḡkòḡ / bəḡkòḡ                                                       |           |                 |         | admire        |
| 00315 | 42:38<br>43:10 | kìntʃ:ḡni / bìntʃ:ḡni<br>kìndzóḡ / bìndzóḡ<br>kìndzòḡni / bìndzòḡni | kì- / bì- | k- / b-         | 7 / 8   | admiration    |
| 00316 | 43:18          | mkpén / bəmkpén                                                     | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | befit, suit   |
| 00317 | 43:25          | dzyâ / bídzyâ ~ kídzyâ                                              |           |                 |         | language      |
| 00318 | 43:38          | dzyâ / dzyâ                                                         |           |                 | 9 / 10  | word          |
| 00319 | 43:44          | ndzākē / bəndzākē                                                   | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | say, talk     |
| 00320 | 43:50          | dzyâ / dzyâ                                                         |           |                 |         | voice         |
| 00321 | 43:56          | ndzākēyi / bəndzākēyi                                               | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | whisper       |
| 00322 | 44:03<br>44:12 | ḡwúlì / bəḡwílì<br>wúlí / wúlí ~ kìwúlí                             | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | shout, cryout |
| 00323 | 44:22          | ntākē / bəntākē                                                     | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | chat          |
| 00324 | 44:30          | ntākē                                                               |           |                 | 8       | lies          |
| 00325 | 44:40          | ntʃóḡ                                                               |           |                 | 4 or 10 | lies telling  |
| 00326 | 44:43          | mʃyó:ḡ                                                              |           | w-              | 1       | quiet         |
| 00327 | 44:48          | mbè: / bəmbè:                                                       | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | call someone  |
| 00328 | 44:54<br>45:03 | nlàyà / bənlàyà<br>ntsə:hi / bəntsə:hi                              | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | announce      |
| 00329 | 45:12          | ntōm / bəntōm                                                       | ø- / bə-  | w- / b-         | 1 / 2   | news          |

## Appendix 5: Mbuk Language Consultants

Some Consultants of the Mbuk Language and abbreviated notational conventions for their names alongside the number of languages they can use in communication.

| <b>Mbuk Language Consultants for the Mbuk Documentary Grammar 2014 – 2017</b> |                             |                 |                                                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                               | <b>FullName</b>             | <b>CodeName</b> | <b>Language description</b>                                                                               |
| 1                                                                             | Fon. Wango Solomon Kumta    | FSW-1           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Fang, Pidgin                                                                            |
| 2                                                                             | Rev. Lang George Bya        | RLG-2           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Nooni, Limbum, Bikom (Kom), Mundabli, Koshin, Dumbu, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English |
| 3                                                                             | Wabua Angelbert Ndicha      | WAN-3           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English, French                                                                 |
| 4                                                                             | Ngwang Rudolf Wabua         | NRW-4           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin                                                                                  |
| 5                                                                             | Lenghaneh Prisca Kichua     | KP-5            | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulani, Pidgin                                                                    |
| 6                                                                             | Chia Clementine Tili        | TC-6            | Mbuk, Bum, Chung                                                                                          |
| 7                                                                             | Tadieus Ngwá' Labaku        | TNL-7           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin                                                                                  |
| 8                                                                             | Lilian Ndžang Samban        | LNS-8           | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                                                         |
| 9                                                                             | Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha      | NNN-9           | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin, English                                                                                |
| 10                                                                            | Pa. Freeboy Ndang           | FN-10           | Mbuk, Bum, Mundabli, Bikom, Chung, Bafmen, Koshin, Fang, Mungong, Dumbu, Pidgin                           |
| 11                                                                            | Lang Elijah Ngwang          | LE-11           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Lamnso', Pidgin, English                                                                |
| 12                                                                            | Ngong Philemon Foncha       | NPF-12          | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Bikom, Bafmen, Mashi, Njikum, Pidgin, English                                           |
| 13                                                                            | Tanto Nya Yambong Samuel    | TNY-13          | Mbuk, Bum, Fulani (Fulfulde), Bikom, Bafmen, Fang, Dumbu                                                  |
| 14                                                                            | Nji Nchwaksi Simon Dam      | NKS-14          | Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Bafang, Bikom, Bafmen, Mungong, Dumbu, Mundabli, Chung                                   |
| 15                                                                            | Clement Lenghacha Nkwembo   | CL-15           | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Fang, Mashi, Bikom, Fulfulde, Pidgin                                           |
| 16                                                                            | Wabua Blasius Samban        | WBS-16          | Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English, French                                                 |
| 17                                                                            | Wango John Kumta            | WJK-17          | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English                                                                         |
| 18                                                                            | Wabua Joseph Ntagha         | WNJ-18          | Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Bikom, Pidgin                                                           |
| 19                                                                            | Ntagha Baali                | NB-19           | Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Pidgin, French                                                                    |
| 20                                                                            | Mbi Sylvester Ketung (Fang) | MS-20           | Fang, Mbuk, Koshin, Pidgin                                                                                |
| 21                                                                            | Wango Genesis Labaku        | WGL-21          | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, French, Pidgin                                                                 |
| 22                                                                            | Wango Lizert Ninji          | WLN-22          | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, English, Pidgin                                                                         |
| 23                                                                            | Chia Mekayis Baali          | CMB-23          | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, English, Pidgin                                                                         |

|    |                              |             |                                                                                     |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 24 | Mboko Terence Shieku         | MTS (TT)-24 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                                   |
| 25 | Langji John Kuli             | LJK (LJ)-25 | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Fang, Fulfulde, Pidgin                                            |
| 26 | Lenghaneh Melvis Jaka        | LMJ (KM)-26 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, Pidgin                                                   |
| 27 | Lang Irene Nini              | LIN (LI)-27 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Nooni, Nchane, Limbum, English, Pidgin                            |
| 28 | Wabua Confidence Khe         | WCK-28      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Pidgin                                                            |
| 29 | Lenghaneh Pleasure Ngong     | LPN-29      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Pidgin                                                            |
| 30 | Ntagha Joel Pekis            | JNP-30      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Pidgin, French                                              |
| 31 | Bikem Nestor Bikem           | BN-31       | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, Pidgin                                                   |
| 32 | Njicha Nelson Ngwang         | NGN-32      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Koshin, Bikom, Pidgin, French                               |
| 33 | Wabua Evaristus Yambong      | WEY(SJ)-33  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulfulde, Pidgin                                            |
| 34 | Wango George Mbaji           | WGM-34      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulfulde, Pidgin                                            |
| 35 | Ndicha Herodias Teteh        | NHT(NH)-35  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, Pidgin, French                                           |
| 36 | Foncha Divine Bang           | FDB(NDB)-36 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Mashi, Koshin, English, Pidgin                                    |
| 37 | Ya Wabua Agnes Loh           | YLA-37      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Pidgin                                                      |
| 38 | Ahaji Malam Namaku           | AMN(AM)-38  | Fulfulde, Hausa, Pidgin                                                             |
| 39 | Lang Amilia Nteh             | LA-39       | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, Pidgin                                                   |
| 40 | Nji Thomas Lenghacha (Kimbi) | NTL-40      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Koshin, Dumbu (Kemezong), Mundabli, Bikom, Pidgin, Fulfulde |
| 41 | Ndicha Vanessa Wona          | NVW(NV)-41  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, French, Pidgin                                           |
| 42 | Ndicha Endless Bih           | NEB(NE)-42  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, Pidgin                                                   |
| 43 | Tar Shadrack (Subum Market)  | TS-43       | Bum, Pidgin ???                                                                     |
| 44 | Tom Rene (Fang)              | TR-44       | Fang, Pidgin ???                                                                    |
| 45 | Pa. Combani Langji Nkambi    | CLN-45      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Koshin, Mundabli, Mungong, Dumbu, Fulfulde                  |
| 46 | Samandi James Bagsi          | SJB(JM)-46  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulfulde, Dumbu, Pidgin                                     |
| 47 | Nchwa Henry Nchogho          | NHN(YD)-47  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Mungong, Pidgin, Dumbu                                      |
| 48 | Ngwang Abel Nkwembo          | NAN-48      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Koshin, Pidgin, Dumbu, Bikom                                |
| 49 | Njicha Abel Shong            | NAS-49      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulfulde, Pidgin                                            |
| 50 | Ngwang Shafred Toh           | NST-50      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Nooni, Pidgin                                                     |
| 51 | Labah Samson Nshom           | LSN-51      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Dumbu, Mungong, Bikom, Pidgin                               |
| 52 | Lang Andrew Gaba             | LAG-52      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Koshin, Mundabli,                                           |

|    |                              |            |                                                         |
|----|------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|    |                              |            | Pidgin                                                  |
| 53 | Kimbi Arrivian Moti          | KAM-53     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Pidgin                                |
| 54 | Tanto Kimbi Philip Kimbi     | KPK-54     | Bum, Mbuk, Fulfulde, Nooni                              |
| 55 | Ngwang Francoline Nkana      | NFN-55     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Mungong, Pidgin                       |
| 56 | Mbaji Patience               | MBP-56     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Pidgin                                |
| 57 | Lenghaneh Mbeba              | LB-57      | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Dumbu, Fang, Pidgin,                  |
| 58 | Leghaneh Esther Kpachi       | LEK-58     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Dumbu, Mungong, Pidgin          |
| 59 | Wango Emilia Lieh            | WEL(FW)-59 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Dumbu, Mungong, Pidgin                |
| 60 | Nji Nya Augustine Bia        | NYA-60     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Bikom, Dumbu, Mungong, Pidgin   |
| 61 | Lang Belinda Bih             | LBB-61     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Nooni, Nchane, Dumbu, English, Pidgin |
| 62 | Ntagha Beatrice              | NTB-62     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, French, Pidgin                  |
| 63 | Ntagha Mboo                  | NTM-63     | Bum, Mbuk, Chung, Bikom, Bafmen, Pidgin                 |
| 64 | Lang Herodias Mbongntagha    | LHM-64     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Nooni, Nchane, English, Pidgin        |
| 65 | Kum Vumbong Julius (Fang)    | KVJ-65     | Fang, Mbuk, Koshin, Fulfulde, Bikom, Pidgin,            |
| 66 | Wango Pascaline Mbe' (Mashi) | WPM(FW)-66 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Mashi, Pidgin                         |
| 67 | Wango Odilia Fundo           | WOF(FW)-67 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Nooni, Fulfulde, Pidgin               |
| 68 | Wango Vivian Toh             | WVT(FW)-68 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fulfulde, Pidgin                      |
| 69 | Wango Ndu'                   | WND(FW)-69 | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Bafmen, Pidgin                        |
| 70 | Lang Samuel Wabua            | LSW-70     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, French, Pidgin                        |
| 71 | Lenghani Oliver Nseh         | LON-71     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, English, French, Pidgin         |
| 72 | Bikem Seraphia Nini          | BSN-72     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum,                                       |
| 73 | Lang Patience Kimbwejum      | LPK-73     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum,                                       |
| 74 | Nyah Synthia Biang           | NSB-74     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum,                                       |
| 75 | Bagsi Siviene Kisang         | BSK-75     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum,                                       |
| 76 | Ndang Euphresia Neh          | NEN-76     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum,                                       |
| 77 | Bikem Adeline Fuku           | BAF-77     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum,                                       |
| 78 | Young Farmer Dance           | YFD-78     | Mbuk                                                    |
| 79 | Nelson C. Tschonghonge       | NTs-79     | Aghem, English, Pidgin, French                          |
| 80 | Nji Mboko of Fio Village     | FMF-80     | Bum, Fio                                                |
| 81 | Ngwang Sidony                | NGS-81     | Mbuk, Bum                                               |
| 82 | Bagsi Felix Yambong          | BFY-82     | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fulfulde, Pidgin                      |



|     |                        |         |                                                                                |
|-----|------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 83  | Bagsi Carine Ninji     | BCN-83  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Pidgin                                                       |
| 84  | Ngong Lilian           | NGL-84  | Bum, Mbuk, French, Pidgin, English                                             |
| 85  | Ntagha Evaristus Chia  | NTE-85  | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, French, English, Pidgin                                      |
| 86  | Wango Veshela          | WVL-86  | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin                                                       |
| 87  | Nkambi Peter           | NKP-87  | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Fang, Pidgin, French                                         |
| 88  | Mr. Ikom Christopher   | IKC-88  | Aghem, English, Pidgin,                                                        |
| 89  | Nchiboh Sylvester Bwum | NCB-89  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Mundabli, Fang, Fulfulde                                     |
| 90  | Shiekuh Tadieus Mbogho | STM-90  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulfulde, Mungong,                                     |
| 91  | Wango Dominique Njicha | WDN-91  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Pidgin                                                 |
| 92  | Kumta Emmanuel Njicha  | KEN-92  | Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Koshin, Mundabli, Dumbu, Noonni, Bafmen, Bikom, Pidgin |
| 93  | Jude Wabua             | JUW-93  | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin                                                       |
| 94  | Njicha Nover Njeh      | NNJ-94  | Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin                                                       |
| 95  | Pertiter Jintagha      | PJT-95  | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 96  | Nover Ningchwa         | NIC-96  | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 97  | Nchu Irene             | NCI-97  | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 98  | Kunta Daniel           | KDL-98  | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 99  | Jeremiah Dom           | JDM-99  | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 100 | Kunta Kichua           | KKC-100 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 101 | Wango Irene            | WIR-101 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin, English                                                     |
| 102 | Kigukli Mboh           | KMB-102 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 103 | Lang Kenedy            | LKD-103 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 104 | Emmerentia Toh         | EMT-104 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 105 | Nseh Christopher       | NSC-105 | Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin                                                              |
| 106 | Timothy's Wife         | TWF-106 | Mbuk, Bum                                                                      |

## Appendix 1: Mbuk Literary Tradition

These texts are natural speech data of Mbuk tapped during the 2015 Annual Festival. They were recorded by the project audio-visual technician Mr. Ikom Christopher and the researcher Nelson C. Tschonghongi. Thence Nelson C. Tschonghongi did the ELAN annotations alongside the dynamic translation with the assistance of Mr. Wabua Angelbert Ndicha (WAN-3) providing the literal and pragmatic meaning of Mbuk speech. The individual tiers have been preserved here for quick reference.

### TEXT 1: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00414.txt

01 FSW-1      **bóní á      kìn̄kʷàsì t̄f̄á: á      bí kʷàsì, wò ló á      tsē**  
 CM                      CM                      CM                      CM  
 easy **that**      rattle      NG **that**      F3 play      2S so **that**      go

{last} **tóyú byê bó d̄zyêkí kìmfilì**

REL

last      day      **that** 3P putting dance

*The rattle is not something easy that you will be the only one to be playing until the last day.*

02 FSW-1      **ngán̄ mì      bó-kí là wì ná wâní**  
 3S              no      person tire-PG AF 3S give brother

*No! anyone who gets tired should hand it to the brother*

03 KEN-92      **wò bó, wò ná hē ā      ná-ní, wò ná hē ā      ná-ní**  
 VN              2S V      2S V      V AV V-NA      2S V      V AV V-NA

2S tire 2S give go just giving      2S give go just giving

*When you become tired of playing an instrument, just give it to your brother.*

*GE adverbs "a" AV*

cm: verbal noun, gerund (VN), -NA nominal affix, -suffix

04 FSW-1      **bē wōyō, bē wōyō, m̄ ká wóyó, wò kwàsì ndzón̄ kē**  
 CD              3P hear      3P hear      1S if hear      2S play      good NG

RF              **m dzə dzayá a      ná m̄, m̄ wə m t̄f̄yəkí**

1S come say      that give me 1SO that 1S know

**wò ná tsē, wò ná tsé à      nání**

2S give go      2S give go just giving

*If they hear or I hear that you are not playing it the right way and I come and ask you who can better do it, you should just be giving.*

cm bó ~ bó

05 WNJ-18 **bó bó bó wóyó-kí là mbè**

**3P** 3P 3P 3P hear-PG AF Fon

*Fon, they are understanding you.*

06 FSW-1 **dzáyá tsā yáyà, {since} sà bèn ndzaṅ-kí ndzaṅ-ní**

**2P** talk go like.that since as 2P quarrel-PG quarrel-NA

**NG** **bèn kəṅ kə {reason} a əṅhə**

2P love NG reason that yes

*Tell them what I have said since you people are rather in a quarrel and do not want to reason with me. Yes.*

Why code mixing? Something to be studied. {since}, {reason}

## TEXT 2: KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestivalKwifan\_00024\_2015-08-08.eaf

Key Speaker: Tanto Nya Yambong Samuel (TNY-13) on behalf of the 'Kwifon' (Mbuk government)

001 mbk **Oh kwífən wì bəmbòyó wì wàṅ Mfʷáyántàyá,**

002 gl Oh kwifon of Mbuk.people of child Mfwantagha

003 ft *Oh Kwifon of Mbuk people of Mfwantagha's child*

006 mbk **wì dúṅ fǎ hí tóyò yúó, nā:sá bá tʃí lā:, wì nū: kí, wì nū:kí bēn bēn**

007 gl he stand here this yard now, as we gather so, 1S stay-PG, 1S stay-PG 2P on

008 ft *The kwifon is here now as we have gathered like.this. He is living, he is living for you people.*

014 mbk **wí dā: mī, á lē ká bəmbòyó bá wó: lā**

015 gl 1S crying person, is this finish Mbuk.people 2c the so.IJ

016 ft *He is crying for people. Are these all the Mbuk people?*

017 cm the PG is absent on the verb

023 mbk **bá nì dúṅkí fá lā, dī byálé dzíyè lā: bí yáyà tʃùṅlì há nū:lā, bá bó nà**

024 gl 3P P4 stand-PG here like.this, place this full so 8c up reach go over.there, where 3P where

025 ft *They were standing here like this, right over there, where are they.*

026 cm /bá bó nāy/ "where are they", /bá wì nāy/ "where is he" What is the meaning of /bá/?

028 mbk **Kwífən dzáyá, ntóní kó nā: tʃʷèsi, bì nà wóyó là bání**

Kwifon say, ear is even small it will hear AF people

**bá dòyó kó nā nū: mèn àyáyà, bó hí tʃyēkí kē, yí líyèkí lā**

2c some is very far even so, 3P P2 know NG, it difficult.PG AF

**í kʷátí bání yúó, kwífən tʃʷín dzáyá yā á**

029 gl to get people now, Kwifon summarise say things yes

030 ft *Kwifon should talk, no matter the number of people, they will hear. Others are far from here because they were not aware. It is not easy to gather people now, thus, Kwifon should summarise whatever he has for the people.*

031 cm P2 /hî/ becomes /hí/ in progressive aspect, bó hî dzí "they ate", bó hí dzí "they are eating", bó hî dzí là "they always eat", bó hí dzíkílà "they were eating."

033 gc ntuni /ear/ stands for people /metonymy/

035 mbk **oo wì wàṇ mf<sup>w</sup>ǎ ntàṽà**

036 gl IJ of child PN PN

037 ft *oh Kwifon of Mfwa Ntagha's child.*

039 mbk **wí nũ: dāṇ jánìṇà kífóm kí dzũ: kífóm kí dzũ:, wí tǽṇ wí tǽṇ wí tǽṇ wí tǽṇ.**

040 gl 3S slept today walking.around roofs of houses roofs of houses, 3S watch 3S watch 3S watch

041 ft *The Kwifon slept at night walking around from roof to roof watching and watching.*

043 mbk **fā wì bəmbòyó wálā lā, fā wí bwā ǰóm wálā,**

044 gl festival of Mbuk.people this.one so, festival of children PN this

045 ft *This festival of the Mbuk people of the Bwa Shom's family like this,*

047 mbk **à kó fyēṇ fí dzíní, á dōṇ wāṇ, á dō:ṇ ṇàm**

048 gl it is thing of eating, it is child, it is animal

049 ft *It is food, child, meat*

059 mbk **fí dōyó kó lā, í byén byálā mō bí tālī sè m fā: lā,**

060 gl 19c any be IJ (AF.QM) in 8.things 8.these in 8c three as 1S count like.this

061 ft *Is there something else? Among these three things that I have listed,*

067 mbk **m nēṇ fí dōyó tǽ yā. hēy! háp, kó hā bəmbòyó sáyá yáyà-lá**

068 gl 1S find 11c some NG IJ. IJ bad, is how Mbuk.people judge like.that

069 ft *If I don't see one of them. God forbid! No, That is how mbuk people do judge.*

078 cm kó hā bəmbòyó hī (used.to) sáyá yáyà-lá

080 mbk **á bā nēṇkí wāṇ, bā nēṇ ṇàm, bó fyēṇ fí dzíní**

081 gl that they want child, they want animal, and thing of eating

082 ft *That they need a child, they need meat, and food*

092 mbk **fyēṇ fí dzíní bó ṇàm á bā sàhí wāṇ yéṇ wō**

093 gl thing of eating and meat that they feed child with it

094 ft *food and meat that they feed the child with it*

096 ge COMPLEMENTIZER /á/

097 mbk **ē: kwífēṇ wì bəmbòyó wì wó wì wāṇ mf<sup>w</sup>ǎ ntàṽá**

098 gl IJ kwifon of Mbuk.people of the of child Mfwa Ntagha

- 099 ft      *The kwifon of the Mbuk people of Mfwa Ntagha's child.*
- 101 mbk    **yén á sē bē dúnyí fá̃ lə: wì fáyèkí dzākí fáyèní**  
 102 gl      see that as people stand.around here like.this, he telling coming telling  
 103 ft      *The kwifon has seen that as people have stood around like this, he is saying to you by telling.*  
 108 cm      fáyèní {gerund form}
- 110 mbk    **wì fáyèkí dzākí fáyèní á mì wē wǐ dǎ:ŋ bōyò bá fýēn fí fyê**  
 111 gl      he saying coming telling that person who he cross river with thing his that  
 112 ft      *he is warning that the person who has crossed the river with that his poison*
- 114 mbk    **wì dzākí í dzē mòm yēn kwífēn, kwífēn nō:kí kē kínó,**  
 115 gl      he coming to come test see kwifon, kwifon sleeping NG sleep  
 116 ft      *who is coming to try the Kwifon, The kwifon is not sleeping.*  
 122 ge      nominal derivation /kínó/
- 123 mbk    **à fýēn fyê í kìbà kí ká mē, sē wì dzē í nyǎ fá̃,**  
 124 gl      that thing that in bag his that in, before he come to go here  
 125 ft      *that thing in that his bag, before he goes away from here.*  
 130 cm      í is it a logophoric pronoun of 3S (he)? Is it a verbal conjunction? **It is infinitive?**
- 131 mbk    **hē wì dzē í nyǎ: fá̃ hítóyò lē,**  
 132 gl      before he come to leave here yard in fact  
 133 ft      *in fact, before the person leaves this place*
- 135 mbk    **á fyen fí fí wō fí míní bá á kìbà: kí mē, má wì fyéní kʷe: bá fí wì dzó**  
 136 gl      that thing his the it sink remain only bag his in, so.that he return home with it to his house  
 137 ft      *That thing of his should only remain in his bag and he should return home with it.*
- 139 mbk    **mì wē wǐ dǎŋ bōyò yê, bá fýēn fyê kìbà: kí mē**  
 140 gl      person who he cross river that, with thing that bag his in  
 141 ft      *The person who has crossed that river, with that thing (poison) in his bag*
- 147 mbk    **á wì nǎ: dzē jǎ fá̃, á bē dzá: mì fá̃,**  
 148 gl      that he will come give here, that they lack person here  
 149 ft      *that he will come and poison someone with it here, that they should loss a person here,*
- 155 mbk    **á bē dzá: mì yén wē, á kwífēn yén mì wì wó**  
 156 gl      that they lack person in it, that kwifon see person 1.P the (DA)  
 157 ft      *that they should lost a someone because of it, that kwifon has seen the person*  
 158 cm      yén "beacuse" in some contexts, 164 ge the definite pronoun /wó/ "the"
- 165 mbk    **mī sá bóyú mā dǔwābí wê sí kónò jì sá lē**  
 166 gl      before go reach while sun that is shift down go IJ

167 ft *Before the sun will be setting down*

169 mbk **fýēn fí wō kēn kībà: kí mì wì wō wō,**

170 gl thing 11c the still bag of person 1.P the in,

171 ft *while that thing is still in the person's bag,*

173 mbk **ndzō bāyā fā wālā fākí kē wí, bāyā fíkàlikí fākí kē, nàsàlì tǿyákí là**

174 gl because we do this doing NG it, we secretly doing NG, government knowing AF

175 ft *Because we are not secretly carrying out the occasion, the government knows it.*

177 mbk **bē dzākí í dzā fā wí, bā dzō kìnʷàktì í nàsàlì.**

178 gl they coming to come do it, they takw book from goernment

179 ft *Before we come to do this, we obtained permission from the government*

181 mbk **and Kʷifān kâ rights í gùyùyí dzā bá mì wì wó í tsā í nàsàlì, wò ní gbʷílí dzā bá fí fén wā**

182 gl and kwifon have rights to drag come with person 1.P the to go to government, you will remove come with it there at

183 ft *and the kwifon has the rights to report the person to the government, and there you will bring out the thing.*

185 mbk **á fí fýēn, á fí fō í kībà: kí mì wì wó mō**

186 gl that it thing, that it rotten PP bag of person 1.P the PO

187 ft *that the thing should get rotten in the person's bag*

189 mbk **kwifān náŋkí mì, tǿŋə lô â wì dzá: mì dōyó**

190 gl kwifon want.PG person, NG instead that he lack person some

191 ft *Kwifon needs people. Not that he should instead lost somebody*

197 mbk **mì ko í nyǎ túyú bí mē jùò nì dzyǎ, bēmbòyó nì bǎ fā wí bó**

198 gl person is to go day his on God P4 keep, Mbuk.people F4 call Kimfili 1.P their

199 ft *a person is to die on his appointed day by God, The Mbuk people called for their festival*

204 cm kimifili (fā) "Mbuk annual festival"

206 mbk **tǿ: kpí yì mì dōyó bā dā:kí, kó**

207 gl NG death of person some they crying, it is

208 ft *it is not someone's death they are crying, it is*

210 mbk **býēn byā bǎtǐ, bēnì bá wó nì dzō bí í kìkpó mō**

211 gl 8.things 8.that 2.forefathers, 2.people 2c the P4 take 8c in old in

212 ft *the things that the ancestors, the people took in the olden days.*

214 mbk **á dōŋ bìnètō, bēn dzā fyénì yúó á, á bí nà dōŋkí fá̃**

215 gl it be fuetus, 2P come reverse now that, that it will being here

216 ft *The aim of the festival in the past was to have children but today your have reerse its aim*

218 mbk **mì dzā bá tsā yí á wì dzā wúó mì yén á bā dzàyá, { à mò lēmì mbyók yē }**

219 gl person come with medicine his that he come kill person with.it so.that they say,{it is festival

- 220 ft *A person will bring his poison to kill somebody with it, so that they would accuse the Mbuk festival.*
- 221 cm { à mò lêmì mbyók yâ } speech in Bum language (code switch).
- 223 mbk **bèyá nèn yá yí wō, á kwífən dzáyá, á wì, á m̀ wì wó làyá nùó.**
- 224 gl we deny thing 10c the, that kwifon say, that he, that person 2c the lost forever
- 225 ft *We the kwifon have deny the evil and that the person should disapper from her forever*
- 227 mbk **à yúó s̄ā b̄ā dzāyā́kí lā, í dzā búyú bád̄z̄'ábí, í b̄əmbyə̀nə m̄ā b́ā t̄i:**
- 228 gl just now as they saying like.this, to come reach evening, in 2.hours in 2c five
- 229 ft *as from now before evening as we are talking like this, in five hours time*
- 235 mbk **b̄ā ní g̀ỳỳỳí dzā b̄ā m̀ wì wó fá́ h́ítóỳò ĺá**
- 236 gl they will drag come with person 1.P the here yard in
- 237 ft *they shall expose the person to the public*
- 238 cm h́ítóỳò ~ t́óỳò "yard", bád̄z̄'ábí ~ h́íd̄z̄'ábí "evening"
- 240 mbk **b̄ā dzə̀ýá í w̄í, á í ỳə̀ýá d́áɲ ts̄ā n̄̀n̄j̄í**
- 241 gl 3P tell to him,that to start today go ahead
- 242 ft *they will tell him/her that as from today henceforth*
- 244 mbk **á b̄ē ýén ẁò, á ḡ'ú ẃá fá́ m̀b̀òỳó, á ẃí b́í t̄s̄ék̄ìt̄s̄ū t̀òlì k̄ā**
- 245 gl that we see you,that foot your here Mbuk, that it should never pass NG
- 246 ft *that the kwifon has seen you, and that you should never step on Mbuk land again*
- 247 cm a zero preposition precedes Mbuk
- 249 mbk **k̀ìk̀ò: dźáýá ḱít̄s̄úm̀ì**
- 250 gl juju talk ???
- 251 ft *We swear the juju K̀ìk̀ò:*
- 253 mbk **á k̄'íf̄ən n̄̀n̄, ẁì fýém̄n̄í ḱí l̄ə, ýá ỳì ḡ'ú fýém̄n̄í, á ýí dz̄ə̀ŋḱí k̄ā**
- 254 gl that kwifon deny,he frowning AF, thing it the frowning, that it.is good NG
- 255 ft *The kwifon frawnly denies the thing that it is not good*
- 257 mbk **b̄ə́n̄í k̄p̄í:ḱí l̄ā, b̄ə́n̄í t̄j̄ȳə ýén t̄j̄m̄, à ýí ýá́ làyá nùó**
- 258 gl people dying like.this, people know it under, that the thing disappear forever
- 259 ft *people are dying while others are aware of their death secretly, the thing should disappear forever*
- 265 mbk **à ýí ýá́ làyá nùó, m̄f̄ə̀ŋn̄í dźá: n̄̄ ýáyà**
- 266 gl that the thing disappear forever, Fang person come.from far very
- 267 ft *that the thing should disappear forever, Fang people would leave very far from Fang*
- 273 mbk **ɲ̄à̀n̄ìl̄ə ɲ̄à̀n̄ìl̄ə, à n̄̀ t̄j̄á́ â dú̀ŋḱí b́ȳēn b̀ì b̄ə̀ȳən b̀ì k̀ùl̄í m̄ā b́í lȳə́ í m̄'á m̄ā,**
- 274 gl walk walk, if P4 NG that be things 8c our 8c village while 8c enter in blood in
- 275 ft *The Fang man walked and walked, if it was not that the festival is not interesting to him,*

277 mbk í nyǎ̀ m̄fəŋ í dzə́ búyó fá́, bēn t̄jyó ká à kō bə́áwà bəmáì bá máì  
 278 gl to leave Fang to come reach here, 2P know that it is hours miles 2c how.many  
 279 ft to leave Fang and be here, do you know the number of hours and miles?

281 mbk sè wì dzêkí k̄nsàŋlí  
 282 gl NG he coming joy  
 283 ft Is he not coming to rejoice with us?  
 285 ge Rhetorical question

286 mbk wì dzêkí k̄nsàŋlí kí, wì fyèní k̄wē: tó ló wì, fú bóyó wì,  
 287 gl he coming rejoicing his, he return go.home stomach ache him, head ache him  
 288 ft he is coming for him to rejoice, but returns home with stomach ache and headache  
 290 ge juxtaposition, absence of /and/ to line stomach ache and headache

291 mbk à kó n̄:ní kí n̄ŋ, ŋgán. bēn ló tóyó n̄:ní kí wō  
 292 gl it is 5.fashions 5c good, no. 2P throw away 5.fashion 5c the  
 293 ft it is a good fashion? No. You people should stop it.  
 296 ge (tag question)???

297 mbk kó n̄:ní kì t̄jù. sē wì dzáyó dzêkí fá́ lā, ɔ́lái, bē wóyólí bádz̄wábí  
 298 gl is 5.fashion 5c bad. as he say coming here like.this, alright, we wait evening  
 299 ft It is a bad fashion. as the kwifon is saying like this, Ok, we should wait in the evening.

310 mbk á fí fyēn kēn í k̄bà: kí mì wì wó m̄, bē n̄: gùyùyí tsé bá wò fá́,  
 311 gl while 11c thing still in bag of person 2c the in, they will drag go with you here  
 312 ft while the thing is still in the person's bag. they will drag and take you here behind  
 317 cm mode, hand gesture indicate behind

319 mbk í dzòm-wē, wò n̄: dzáyó lè tyē fēn-wē. á b̄nī k̄int̄.  
 320 gl in behind.there, you will say AF much there in people inside  
 321 ft there behind you will better explain, You shall talk just among the kwifon people.

### TEXT 3: KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406

FSW-1 hí t̄jā: á bá n̄ŋ-kí yá yálā,  
 CM if NG CM 2P want-PG 9.thing 9.this  
 If not that we want it.

FSW-1 má m̄ dzáyà yá yí fā  
 NM like 1S say 10.thing 10c NM  
 I should have only said two things.

FSW-1 ɛ: ŋkwù wì k̄imf̄lì kí b̄mbòyó  
 AM thinking 1.libation 1.AM 7.kimfili 7.AM Mbuk.people



*The rites of the Kimfili of the Mbuk people.*

Associative constructions (AM), concord

NYA-60 **mbè**

013 FSW-1 **à tʃâ: kí dǎn, à kó kìmffìlì mā bó dzā yén à kí fá̃.**  
 L.AV is NG 7c today, it is 7.Kimfili while we come see just 7.it LAV  
*The Kimfili has not started today, it is something we came saw here.*  
 mbè "yes Fon"  
 cataphoric pronoun kɪ (7c)

FSW-1 **má m̄ tʃyáki lè yá yê m̄ kó í dzáyó ʃí à yúó í ñkʷù wì**  
 like 1s know AF thing that 1s can to say on just now in pouring of  
**kìmffìlì wē ndzúó kó fyēn má m̄ dzā yén à fí fá̃**  
 kimfili in because is something that 1s come see just it here  
*I should have known what to say on these things(instruments) in the  
 Kimifili ritual because it is something which I just came and saw here already existing*

Crowd **mbè:**

RSP Yes, Fon

FSW-1 **yá yó m̄ kó dzáyó kòm kìmffìlì, sē bēn tʃyáki {wédá} bēn tʃyáki kē**  
 CJ thing that 1s can say because Kimfili, as 2P know whether 2P know not  
*What I can say about Kimfili, Whether you people aware or you are not*

FSW-1 **sə m̄: m̄ tó bóŋkí tʃyáki kó á, kìmffìlì kálē lá, nō:ní kí kìmffìlì kálē kó**  
 RF as 1s myself also also know is that, Kimfili this so, fashion of kimfili this is  
*As I myself is also aware of, is that, this Kimfili like this, The tradition of this Kimfili is*

cm reflexive 1st person pronoun, ge reflexive pronoun repetition of 1S 1S

FSW-1 **á sē jùò ná dzā býēn bí dzíní í wǒ, bàyá bēn dzā yùñní bà kpā mkàn**  
 that as God give come thing of eating to you, we.inc come gather and cook corn.beer  
*As God has blessed you with enough food (corn), we would come together and cook corn beer*

FSW-1 **bà yá bēn tó m̄ kí-wō kí tʃí, bē tʃəñní bá mú lá bá bín**  
 we.inc 7.village 7-the of all, we join and drink so and dance  
*All of us of the village, we should join, drink and dance.*

cm consecutive (CN)

ge verbal conjunction

FSW-1 **bā sánlǐkí í tʃùsí á bàyēn kó fyēn lā fí mū**  
 Crowd **fí: mū (USC)**  
 USC we rejoicing to show that we are thing so of of one one  
*We should be rejoicing to prove that we are in unity*

- FSW-1      à tʃâ dèyó yá    yí dòyó yê yí kó, yí tʃùsì    á  
is not not    thing of some that it is, it    showing that  
*It is not something of, it is obvious that.*
- FSW-1      á    à kó kpó    wì dòyó {or} à kó ndzàṅ wì dòyó á    bē    nă fàlí      b́é ʃyě  
that it is money of some or    it is song    of some that they will offer.money with fowl  
*It is not a money making event or the offering of fowls to the dancers.*
- FSW-1      ṅgáṅ sī      kó àlàì bàyáḃēn dzē    yùṅní bē    kító      kí nóṅ  
1PI      no! it.always is that we.inc    come gather with 6.bellies 6.good  
*No! It is always that we come together in good hearts.*
- FSW-1      bē bē mū mkǎṅ í dzyà lé yì mù, sē nùò ná byēn bí dzíní í bàyáḃēn í dzǎ: yélē wē  
Crowd                      wē                      yì mù,(USC)  
AD      we we drink corn.beer in voice so of one, as God give things of eating to us.inc in year this in  
*We should drink corn beer in unity as God has given us food in this year (Tag statement)*  
cm    figurative: one voice "unity",    Fon's Speech completion by the crowd  
ge      adposition (AD)
- FSW-1      à tʃâ sē m tʃyákí là (Tag question)      má bēn tʃyák á nýē tá  
Crowd                                              {mbè:}                                              {kó yáyà mbè:} (Tag affirmative)  
QT      is not as 1s know so?      {yes Fon} or 2p know that what also? {is so Fon}  
*Is it not what I know? Fon, it is. Or What do you people know also? it is, Fon*  
cm      alternate conjunction, or "má", tʃyəkí (tʃyək) elision of ɪ in fast speech
- FSW-1                                              èṅhê      èṅhê  
Crowd      kó (à)yáyà mbè:  
                 {is like.that Fon}      yes      yes  
                 it is, Fon.                      Yes
- FSW-1      {so} í dāṅ  
so    PP today  
*as a result, today,*  
cm      the adverb today "dāṅ" can take optional "ɪ" preposition to mark emphasis  
ge    Sociolinguistic (Multilingualism), the use of the English word "so"
- FSW-1      sē bàyáḃēn    kó fá̃ ntō,      sē bē há dzó dzē    b́é fè kì bàmbòyó,  
as we.inc      are here palace,    as they go take come with kimfili of Mbuk.people  
*As we are here in this palace, since they have gone and brought the Kimfili of the Mbuk people*
- FSW-1      dzē    b́é    bí  
come with them  
*and has brought them*



|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| FSW-1    | <b>wān mbòyòlì tʃyáki là kònrú (control)</b>                                                                                                                                                                |
| IP       | child Mbuk know AF control<br><i>I know that the Mbuk children know the laws of Kimfili. (Rhetorical Q)</i>                                                                                                 |
| FSW-1    | <b>sā kìmfilì kó, bē sí dʒúó kē kìmfilì wē, bē sí ndzáŋ kē kìmfilì wē</b>                                                                                                                                   |
| HB       | as kimfili CP, 3P HB fight NG Kimfili PO, 3P HB quarrel NG Kimfili PO<br><i>According to the laws of kimfili, they never fight, and they never quarrel during the Kimfili</i>                               |
| FSW-1    | <b>àn (and) kìmfilì kálē lá, sā kì kó í mī nʃí yúó</b>                                                                                                                                                      |
| DM       | and kimfili this so, as it is in me front now<br><i>and this Kimfili like this, as the kimfili is in front of me now</i>                                                                                    |
| FSW-1    | <b>fýēn fyā, è:m ín nǎŋkí yén fýēn fýā kìmfilì kálē kó fá́ tóyò yúó bǎyábēn nǎŋ fí</b>                                                                                                                      |
| REL      | thing that ITJ 1s wanting in thing that kimfili this is here yard now we.inc want it<br><i>The thing that ehm what I am in need of in this kimfili that is here now, which is also what all of us want.</i> |
| FSW-1    | <b>dzē lā mbáyà</b>                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|          | come so man<br><i>Please, come</i>                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Crowd    | <b>əŋhā</b><br>yes                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| WBS-16   | <b>bá mmbí mē nǎŋ</b>                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|          | DS wine that where<br><i>Where is that wine? {this is really the time}</i>                                                                                                                                  |
| FSW-1    | <b>mó kēnkí dzô:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Crowd    | <b>bā wá dzē mbē, bā dzā́kí là, ā:</b>                                                                                                                                                                      |
|          | it.is still house they are come Fon, they coming, yes<br><i>Is the wine still the house? Fon, they are bringing it. yes</i>                                                                                 |
| cm       | wá "are", wē "in,on, at"                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| NYA-60   | <b>bēn dzē bēn dzē bá náyá kē</b>                                                                                                                                                                           |
|          | 2P come 2P come with thing that<br><i>You people should bring that container of wine.</i>                                                                                                                   |
| WBS-16   | <b>bá kīŋgà ká́ nǎŋ</b>                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|          | DS calabash that where?<br><i>Where is the traditional calabash of wine?</i>                                                                                                                                |
| VisitorW | <b>wó tǎŋnèi bá náyá kē mmbí nǎŋkí tsē kúyò</b>                                                                                                                                                             |
|          | 2s careful with thing that wine wanting go down                                                                                                                                                             |

*Be careful with the container because the wine will pour out on the ground.*

- TC-6      **bēn dzó dzā bā kí náýá kí kólí**  
 2P take come with it thing of village  
*You people should bring it (the traditional calabash)*
- VisitorW      **àý dzō náýá kì kòlí m̀báyə**  
 ITJ take thing of village man  
*No! Take but the traditional calabash this man] Wait!*
- cm      náýá "thing (Chung)", náýá "thing(Mbuk)". The participant is a native of Mungong who  
 codemix himself in Chung and Mbuk

**TEXT 4: KPAAMCAME\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-08\_00006**

- NNN-9      **kíní kíní buyu (tsə) nù**  
 shift shift go.out (go) there  
*shift and go that way.*
- CM      nù "there" / kíní "shift" new terms surface in the documentary
- TC-6      **ko ki lə // I duŋkɪ sɔmɪ / na lə / na lə // mi tʃa ko dzɛn / ko dzɛn**  
 is it so. It is youth / really so / really so // person not is like.that / is like.that  
*This is it. Really, they are the youths. There is nobody. That is it.*
- NNN-9      **ə ə {ndɛn} bəyən ja:(kɪ)lə ntunɪ / bə woɣo gha yə Ndʒi kākɪ i dəyə.**  
 IJ IJ then we.inc give ears / we hear thing that Nji have to say  
 Thinking. Then we should pay attention to what Nji has to say.
- WGM-34      **ndʒi / ay**  
 yes.Nji / no  
 Yes Nji. No
- Crowd      **I bwa, Nji, Nji**  
 Is children, yes, yes Nji  
*Children Nji*
- KPK-54      **ndʒi**  
 yes.Nji  
*yes Nji.*
- NNN-9      **Ndʒi / Ndʒi yi ndzɔŋkɪ a / wo dzəyə tʃʷesi i dʒay yi bəmboɣo mə /**  
 Nji / Nji it good that / you talk small in language of Mbuk in /  
**wo dzəyə kasɪ / i dʒay yi nasalɪ ma (wə) / sə bənɪ bələ woɣo.**  
 you talk finish / in language of English in (in) / so.that people these hear

*Nji, it is good that you should speak a bit first in the Mbuk language, and then finish the talking in English so that these people should hear.*

NNN-9 **i go i go talk first for country talk / i go summarisam for language wey we brothers them wey dem don come them fi hear. wuna listen!**

*He first all speak in the Mbuk language and the do a summary in the language that our visitors can understand. You should pay attention!*

WBS-16 **a ko dzaya / dzaya no / we:**

it is mouth / mouth IJ / IJ

*What is the noise for.*

NYA-60 **ok, ma pikin them wuna welcome**

*ok my children you are welcomed*

NNN-9 **Ndʒi / a yiti dzəyə duŋ dʒay yi kɔlɪ mə // yes.**

Nji / that first talk but language of village in // yes

*Nji, that you should first of all speak in the language of the village. yes*

GE contrastive connective, but "duŋ"

NYA-60 **oke/ m yiti dzəyə dzəyə dʒay yi kɔlɪ mə no /**

ok / I first talk first language of village PO IJ

*All right, I should first of all speak in Mbuk*

Crowd **dʒay yi kɔlɪ, dʒay yi kɔlɪ mə no**

language of village, language of village in IJ

*In the Mbuk language, In the Mbuk language isn't it*

NYA-60 **{yes / bət} ya yə yi nɪ lɔkɪ mɪ / ya yi doyo ka mɪ tʃu lo //**

yes / but thing that it P3 angry me / thing of some has me not angry //

*Yes, but what was troubling me, has not troubled me a gain.*

GE negation - (positive statement), negative statement + "tʃú

NYA-60 **{bət} m yen wəp wə / wɪ nɪ kʷatɪ / bənɪ sə bə / nɪ bɛnsɪkɪ dâ byə //**

but I see child that / he P4 have / accident as they / P4 making brige that //

*but I have seen that child who had that accident in the cause of arranging the bridge*

NYA-60 **m̩ yén wì fá (wə) / ʃóm yǎŋ ʃɪ**

I see him here place / heart my go.down

*I have seen him here and worries are over.*

NYA-60 **{bət} gha yi doyo kolə / a bə kpɪkɪ bɪkɪ / wo kpɪ bi / bʷa bam,**

but thing of some is / that they dying leaving / you die leave / children your /

*but the thing is that people are dying and leaving, if you die and leave your children behind,*

GE bam "possessive"

NYA-60 wo / tsə fyenɪ dzə lə / wo / nɪ yen / mi wə wɪ / kã bi nɔŋ /  
 you / go turn come AF / you / F3 see / person who he / have of good /  
 wo / nɪ yen / mi wə wɪ / kã bi tʃu /  
 you / F3 see / person who he / have of bad  
*and you happen to return, you will see the one who has taken good care of your  
 things and you would know the one that has badly handled them,*

NYA-60 ndʒù m (ko mam tʃu) / si tʃyə-lə si yə yi nɪ fə  
 because I ( ) / F2 knowing place that it P3 do  
 sə waŋ wə kã benɪ byə.  
 so.tha child that have accident that  
*because I already know the cause of that child's accident.*

NYA-60 {an} m sɪ / dzəyəkɪ a / m dzə dɔŋ mboyo / m dzəyə / kə bə kumkɪlə / mɪ a bə kum //  
 and I F2 / saying that / I come today Mbuk / I talk / whether they slaughtering/ me that  
 they slaughter //  
*And I was thinking that I should come to Mbuk today and talk, whether they are slaughtering  
 me, they should go ahead and slaughter.*

NYA-60 a m dzəyəkɪ i bəmboyo kɪntə a lo /  
 that I talking to Mbuk.people inside that IJ/  
*I am talking amidst Mbuk people that*

NYA-60 gha yə yi / nɪ tsə fi / si yi da yə / yi ma: tʃu tsəkɪ//  
 thing that it / P3 pass there / place of bridge that /it not still passing.  
*What wanted to happen there where they were arranging that bridge, let it never be  
 happening again.*

NYA-60 {bət} bə / duŋ nɪ lyə / dzu bəmboyo bə wo / bo dzəyə gha //  
 but they / be will enter / hooose Mbuk.people them/ they talk things //  
*But the Mbuk people shall enter their judgement house and talk on the issue.*

NYA-60 bə ma: gəyəsɪkɪ sɔmɪ yələ ndʒu yi kɔkɪ dzəkɪlə kɪdʒyəlɪ/i dzə fə a/bəmboyo dɔ:kə lə.  
 we not crush / youths these / because they grow coming tomorrow / to come do that /  
 Mbuk.people increase so //

*We should not be crushing these youths because they are growing and coming tomorrow to make the Mbuk  
 population to increase.*

NYA-60 a fa dɔ:kɪ bʷa ma dɔ:kɪ bəyə a  
 just here more children or more us QP  
*Are they children who are more here or us*





GE completed by the audience < < < > > > "audience participation" (USC)

NYA-60 **mi ma / tʃɪni wəpni {sute:} / kɪmfɪli kələ / nɪ tsə ka //**

person not / push until / festival this / will go finish //

*Nobody should fight with the brother until this festival would come to an end.*

GE the verb "push" is hypobole of the word "fight". "hypobole" is opposite of "hyperbole"

NYA-60 **kɪmfɪli kələ ko / kɪmfɪli kɪ nəŋ / kɪ nɪ tʃusɪ / dzaya mgbu**

festival this is / festival of good / it was show / mouth yesterday

*This festival is a good one. It revealed itself yesterday*

NYA-60 **{bet} bəyə nəŋ / a kɪ nɪ tʃusɪ / dzaya i dʒʷabi / wə bə nəŋkɪ/hə leyə kɪmfɪli /**

but we want / that it will show / mouth by time/ that they want / go put.in kimfili /

*We want that it should also do same by the time they will go and return it (kimfili).*

NYA-60 **a duŋ ntsa / wɪ bəyə / mə yaya / {su} m kākɪ kə / ɣa yi dɔli / i dzəyə.**

it be prayer / of we / in like.that / so I have not / thing of much / to say

*and that is our prayer like that. I do not have many things to talk.*

NYA-60 **kɪnsaŋli ko a {la} / se m yəŋkɪ bən lə / m dʒɪ fɔli**

joy is just like / as I see you so / I eat satisfy

*My joy is that when I see you people like this, I am satisfied.*

NYA-60 **dələ wələ m lo mɪ wə / {bet} wɪ tʃəŋkɪ tsəyəkɪlə mɪ**

robe this I wear I on / but it big pass me

*this traditional robe on me, is bigger than me*

NYA-60 **{bet} m kʷaya m məyəkɪ yuo a m tʃəŋkɪ tsəyəkɪ lə dala wɪ wo ndʒʷo bən no**

but I think I thinking now that I big more.than robe it the because you IJ(isn't it)

*but to my knowledge now, I am very sure that I am bigger than the robe because of you people. Isn't it?*

NYA-60 **{su} kɪyənɪ kɪ bən**

so thank of you

*So, I thank you people.*

NNN-9 **wo dzəyəkɪlə tʃʷesi/i dʒay yi/nasali mə/gha yə wo dzəyə/ma bənɪ bələ woyɔ**

you talk a.bit/in language of/English in/thing that you said/so.that people these hear

*You should talk a bit in English what you have said so that these people can hear.*

NNN-9 **bən / bən woyoli lai mbʷə**

you / you hear ?? man

*please you people should listen.*

- NYA-60        **ma guest them haa wana don kam for we**  
 NYA-60        **a glad too much**  
 NYA-60        **this we dance**  
                  *This our dance*  
 NYA-60        **we don dance over fifty, eighty, one hundred years**  
 NYA-60        **wey dem nova**  
                  *when they have never*  
 NYA-60        **we nova see**  
 NYA-60        **some man don komot say i di came**  
 NYA-60        **make we too make another kontri too them see we**  
 NYA-60        **su we glad today**  
 NYA-60        **weti Mbuk man no go glad**  
 Crowd        **we go glad**  
 NYA-60        **we don came, we don play, we talk don enter**  
 NYA-60        **for say make dem readam, make pikin dem readam all over (in the whole world)**  
 NYA-60        **na we dance this today we i di enter**  
 NYA-60        **we no di glaad?**  
 Crowd        **we di glad (noo)**  
 NYA-60        **no bi one day wey you go shut all beep wey de dey for forest you bringam**  
                  **bet na one by one beep go came.**
- CM    Mbuk proverb.
- NYA-60        **but a sure say the beep them don di came**  
 NTs-79        **kɪyɔŋnɪ ben**  
                  *thank you*  
 NTs-79        **Thank you all**  
 NYA-60        **So I no get plenty for talk, thank wuna for wuna welcome**  
 NYA-60        **kɪyɔŋnɪ**  
 NYA-60        *thank*  
 Crowd        **Ndʒi, ndʒi**  
 CM            The quarterhead giving the research team directives on the festival  
 NNN-9        **so that next point the nature of wuna work i go only be for palace**

**TEXT 5: KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00413.txt**

- NCB-89        **wò bó, wò ná wáná tʃádèké fyén fí dòyó mfá,**  
 JX/CN        2S V    2S V    1.N    NG    19.N 19.P IQ    AV  
                  you tire, you give your.brother, not        thing of        some here,  
                  **bó dzáyá kó {kóntràkt} wì mì**  
                  3P V        CP N            AM N  
                  they say        is    contract        of    person

*When you are tired, you should give the instrument to your brother. It is not something they have said here that it is a contract.*

**TEXT 6: KPAAMCAMEnts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-08\_00000**

- 01 NNN-9    **O   m təyə byen bə kpi. kinu ndzəŋ mɪ.**  
 CJ            IJ 1S discuss things CJ death sleep doing 1SO  
*I discussed issues with death. I am sleepy.*
- 04 NNN-9    **o   boyo gəŋ tumŋa, o   m woyo bə yɔli**  
 CJ ø           IJ water carry PN,       IJ 1S hear    3P quarrel  
*Oh a river carried Mr. Tumnga and I hear them quarreling*
- 07 NNN-9    **éhéhé wo lo    ʃəm, wo kʷa kʷɛ       bə wəŋ ɲam**  
                  IJ    2S   angry heart, 2S   catch go.home CJ child animal  
*Eh, if you want to show how angry you are, you should catch home the child of an animal.*
- 10 NNN-9    **éhéhé wo lo    ʃəm ma, ʃəm kʷɛ       bə wo**  
                  IJ    2S   angry heart IJ, heart go.home CJ 2S  
*Eh, if you want to prove how angry you are, the heart will kill you.*
- 13 CM Mbuk proverb: If you become angry, your heart will kill you.
- 14 NNN-9    **éhéhé / bə kobya nɪ ko kɪ / bə ʃi bə yɔli a //**  
                  IJ/ the PN F3 is beneath / 3P always 3P quarrel IJ //  
*Eh, the household of the Kobia's are beneath the earth, and they were always quarreling.*
- 17 NNN-9    **o mbetɛ / {ŋɡunu} ɲam {fu ka} nɪ ɡɛn mfəŋ ɔ//**  
                  IJ IJ / bush anima of tree P3 run Fang IJ//  
*It is good of the wild animal of a tree that ran away from Fang.*
- 20 CM        {ŋɡunu, fu ka} are not Mbuk words, certainly Fang language
- 21 NNN-9    **o o dzaŋ // o m woyo bə tsaŋ //**  
                  IJ IJ rain // IJ 1S hear 3P talking //  
*Oh rain. I heard them talking.*
- 24 NKP-87    **ben binkɪ**  
                  2P   dancing  
*you should be dancing*
- 27 WEY-33    **kɪŋkʷahɪ / kɪŋkʷahɪ**  
                  bamboo rattle / bamboo rattle  
*Play the rattle, play it.*

30 LON-71 **bən ɲə fa / bən ɲə hə nɪdʒum / bən tsə hə lə //**  
 2P go here / 2P go toward behind / 2P go toward this.way //  
*You should leave this place, and go toward behind or you should go this way.*

33 LON-71 **bən tsə ma na kɪbə kələ wə**  
**PO** 2P go just this side this **on(PO)**  
*You people should just go on this side.*

36 WBS-16 **O mfaɲ bə ɲùò**  
 IJ fon of gods  
*Oh the Fon of gods.*

**TEXT 7: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-08\_00002.txt**

01 WGM-34 **a mbaɲ wɪ saɲ // o ba dzo mɪ o / o kpɪ ɲa kɪɲə**  
 that very.big corn// IJ father take me IJ,/ IJ death give blessing//  
**o m woɣo ma bə hi yɔli // o dzaɲ kʷa mɪ tʃʷa //**  
 IJ 1S hear while 3P already quarrel. IJ rain catch me bush.  
*That very big corn. Father take me, death has given blessings.*  
*I heard while they were already quarreling. Rain caught (killed) me in the bush.*

CM The author needs to interpret the meaning of "rain catch" (kill or meet him in the bush).

05 NNN-9 **bən koŋo bəni bə kʷunɪ bələ kpəɲ// tʃɛn na / dʊɲ bə mkaɲ mə.**  
 2P shift people AM playing these front. look so, wait with cornbeer that  
*You people should shift in front of the instruments. Look, you should wait with that corn-beer.*

10 WBS-16 **bən dʊɲ bə mkaɲ mə // dʒyə mkaɲ mə kʊyʊ //**  
 2P wait with cornbeer that // put cornbeer that down //  
*You should wait with that corn-beer. Put the corn-beer down*

13 GE the structure of the imperative mood in Mbuk

14 LON-71 **a:ɲ // a ko ndʒaɲ yaɣa //**  
 yes // it is song like.that //  
*Yes. It is song like that. (17 cm full meaning of the utterance not clear)*

18 LSW-70 **a tɔyɔ mɪ / a tɔyɔ mɪ // wɪ dzaya / a bə fəki na dɛn / hə bə hi fə//**  
 just love me/ just love me//3S say/ that 1PNT doing any how/as 1PNT used.to do  
*Just in a loving style, just in a loving style. He said that we should be doing as we used to do.*

## Appendix 7: Mbuk in Images



Figure 36: Community Work, construction of palace guest house



Figure 37: Palm oil production in Mbuk





**Figure 38:** *nāŋ* bed ( *studying numeracy in bed making*)



**Figure 39:** *Numeracy in making ceiling boards*

Figure 40: Honey corn beer for celebrating a newly built house



Figure 41: Celebrating a newly built house in Mbuk





Figure 42: Banks of River Mbuk (Left) and Fonfuka (Right)



Figure 43: Crossing river: Mbuk(right) from Fonfuka (left)





*Palm oil collection calabash in Mbuk,      **kìlérí ~ kílétí** "calabash"*



*Mbuk funeral trumpet at the burial of Pa. C. Nkambi, Bwashom family head 13Mar2015*



*Mr. Ntàyà Joseph, drinking festival corn-beer from the Fon's cup*

*07August2015*



*Honouring wine/corn-beer servant, the left fingers on the right arm for drinks to be in your cup*





*Internal organs of a fowl in Mbuk, the gizzard, liver, (intestine) for the notables*



*Arts & craft, Fitting the ceiling at the Mbuk palace, 31<sup>st</sup> December 2014*



*Making roof to be thatched*



*Taking up a roof*





*Roof from the ground carried onto the house top (in Aghem, it is constructed on the house top)*



*Staring with admiration, all four roofs and roof-flour are up*





*Palm cone harvesting in Mbuk*



*kómgbê:lí rare Mbuk food near extinction*





*Cocoa cultivation in Mbuk*



*The Fon's wife and her daughter harvesting coffee in Mbuk*





*Corn and vegetable cultivation, along the banks of river Mbuk*



*Mbuk trumpet, calabash + animal horn (antelope) + cloth*





*Processing garri in Mbuk*



*Frying of garri in Mbuk*







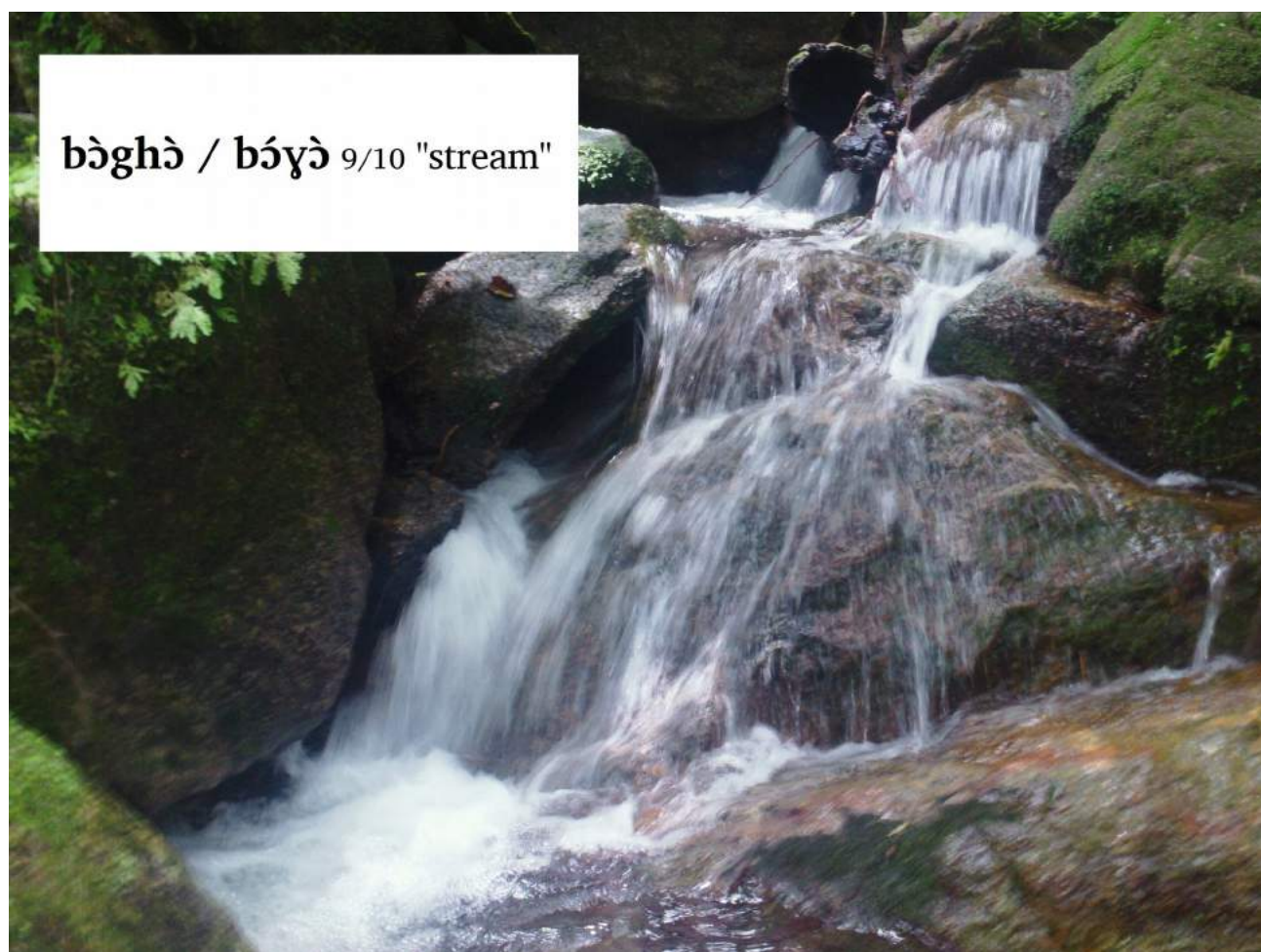


*N. W. R. Governor, Lele Lafrique, visits Government Technical College Fonfuka 24Feb2015*



*Figure 44: N. W. R. Governor, Abakar Ahamat, visiting Government Primary School Mbuk 29May2009*





*Water is life. Potable stream behind the Mbuk palace, reason for settlement site. The catchment needs rehabilitation; afforested and fenced against stray animals and habitation.*

*Palace entrance compound: our lodge for the research (the middle house behind)*





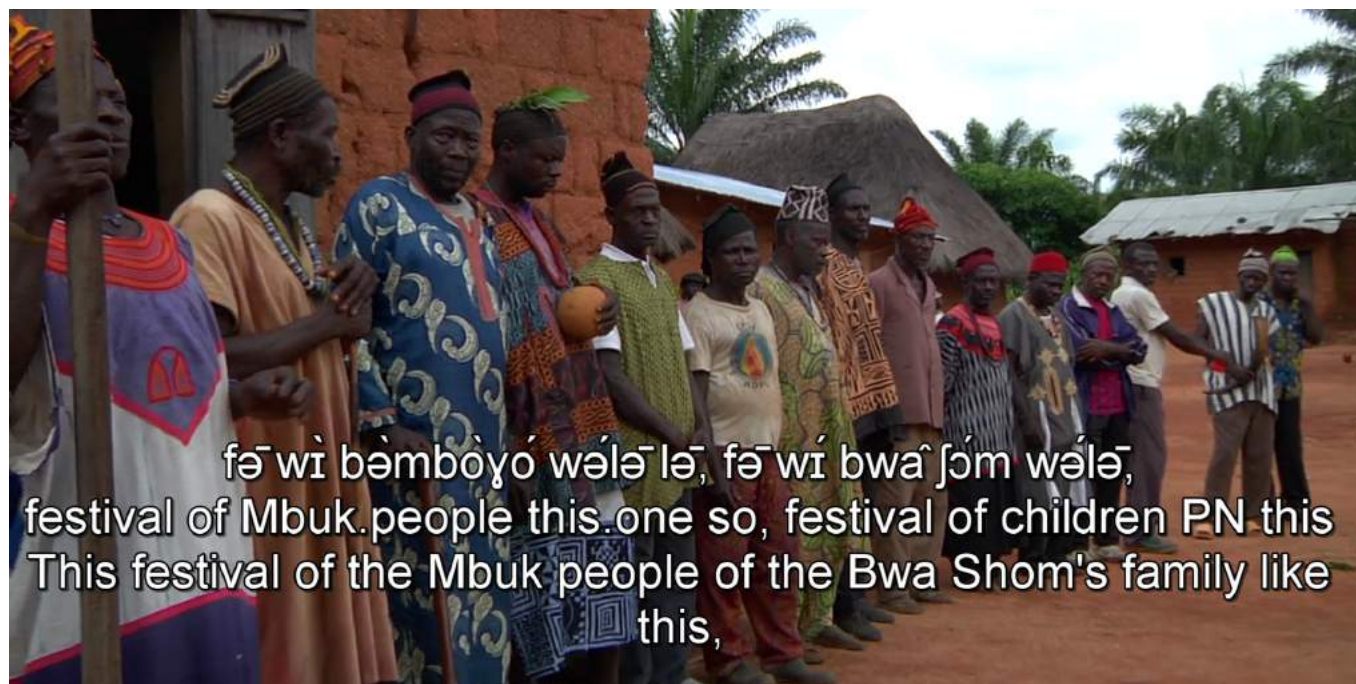


*Mbuk Baptist Church Choir Posture*



*Mbuk Annual Festival Dance Posture*





wì "he" (3s)





*Mbuk people Listening to the Kwifon*



*Listening to the Kwifon Annual Festival Speech of Mbuk*









*Festival taken from the shrine and moving to the palace*



*Leading the festival to the palace (Nji Nchwaksi, NKS-14)*





*Buk festival instruments and players giving melody to the Fon*



*The Fon about to receive the festival and launch it*



*Handing the festival (kimfili, fe) to the Fon at the palace*









*The Fon taking corn-beer in his cup which must overflow to the ground*



*The subjects confirm Fon's speech by putting their palms together as for clapping and bowing*





*The Fon shares the wine to his special subjects (players of the instruments)*



*The festival now goes dancing from compound to compound drinking corn-beer*

## Appendix 8: Mbuk Sister Languages and villages of Lower Fungom

Mbuk Matrilineal Heritage, most wives of Mbuk came from Fang, Mundabli and Koshin  
This map is courtesy of Good et al (2011:104)

