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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

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March 2018

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the work entitled "Mbuk Documentary Grammar" is researched and authored by Nelson C. Tschonghongei 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.

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DEDICATION

The Fon of Mbuk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis initiates the documentation and description of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Mbuk under the title "Mbuk Documentary Grammar". The Mbuk lect is an unclassified endangered Beboid speech variety spoken within the Bum Sub-division in Boyo Division of the North West Region of Cameroon by approximately 400 persons. Mindful of its nearly-extinct status, this study has as objectives to audiovisually document; recordsthe scenery and speech acts, transcribes, annotates, notates metadata, analyses its wordlists alongside itsvaried genres of discourse for storage, and disseminate the corpora offline and online.It thus preserves how it is pronounced and spoken virtually in media format for the unborn Mbuks to retrieve and revitalise it in the absence of competent and proficient living speakers of Mbuk.

This work is realised with a flux of theories. Though the immix, the language documentation and descriptive goals arerealised within the theoretical platform of documentary linguistics accompanied by the Basic Linguistic Theory, Functional Grammar and Structuralism being the leading frameworks.

The data collection was accomplished through research instruments such as observation, documents, interviews, and questionnaires in order to obtain the desired findings here stated. The Ron Moe semantic domains wordlist with some elicitations were used to complement spontaneous and planned documentation, which led to the following outcome, findings.

Our findings reveal that through the documentary approach, the natives can now listen to themselves and other speakers through the audiovisual recordings. In the videos, there is knowledge sharing throughout all the social classes and gender whenever they are watching the footages. Men and women, children and adults hear and see what they have not been exposed to, thus inviting access rights to be implemented. Further more, phrase patterns in elicitation is differentfrom that obtained through the documentary natural text especially when kinship terms are head nouns of adnominals. Moreover, through the documentary approach, words were retrieved which were absent in the wordlist elicitation phase. To get Mbuk written and be read, some media files have been annotated using ELAN and exported into the thesis. The corpora include events of arts and craft, stories, songs, rites, pictures of some items, most of which are captured in natural settings.

Furthermore, outcomeson the axis of description phonetically reveals 38 consonants, 15 oral vowelsand 7 nasal vowel phones. Some secondary consonants are: palatalisation, labialisation, prenasalisation with few velarisations and some tertiary ones. There are six tones; 3 contours and 3 level tones. The tones distinguishes lexemes and grammar. Variation is common in vowels, consonants and tones. Phonemically, it is an eight-vowel system lect with 25 consonant phonemes. The phonological processess attested are vowel ablaut, consonant mutation, devoicing, haplology, vowel lowering, epenthesis, rhotacism, spirantisation, affrication, gliding, coalescency, contraction, deverbatisation – justifies the myth of pre-prefix, nasal syllabicity constraint and tonal movement. In terms of morphology, the nucleus of the syllable can be a vowel or a syllabic nasal flanked by optional onset and coda. Mbuk is endowed

with bound affixes and free morphemes. Its word structure is composed of optional affixes and a compulsory root. The affixes are both inflectional - common in nouns as noun classes, and derivational - predominant in verbs functioning as verbal extensions. Noun stem is composed of the root and affixes mainly prefixes and zero prefixes. The affixes in concomitant with the concords result to 6 regular noun class genders and 4 irregular gender pairings; with a semantic and structural overlap: gender 1/2 comprises of human and non-human nouns; this blending is also found in other classes. In the distribution of prefixes: category (1), gender 1/2, 5/6, have zero-prefixes in the singular and prefixes or circumfixes in the plural while category (2) have gender 3/4, 9/10 with zero prefixes in both singular/plural and category (3) has gender19/6a having prefixes in both singular and plural while gender 7/8 falls in categories (2) and (3). Polyplurality is a feature of Mbuk with a single singular form having 3 different plural forms. Ideophones are adverbials, outnumber onomatopoeic nouns, which appear in various classes. Most borrowed words fall in gender 1/2. The verb stem is made up of 11 derivational suffixes dividing up the verbs into 18 structural groups having 7 syllabic roots. The pronominal subject distinguishes inclusive and exclusive subject pronouns 1P (we). A low tone derivational homorganic nasal Ǹ-prefix generates gerunds while an inflectional high tone í-prefix yields infinitives. In a varying degree of valency, the arguments bond with transitive, intransitive and labile verbs. The valency increased with applicatives but decreases with reflexives, reciprocals, middle voice. In certain contexts, the distinction between reflexives and reciprocals neutralises. Examining the TAM; 7 tense markers symmetrically distinguishes 5 past and 5 future on a Mbuk timeline before a verb. On the aspectual frame, 9 strategies are employed splintered into the traditional divide of perfective and imperfective with imperfective harbouring more aspectual strategies and the mood is expressed in 10 different modes. Mood negators are continuous and discontinuous, negating either an entire clause or subject. Negator precedes a tense which in turn precedes a verb in a perfective aspect and follows a verb in the imperfective. Syntactically, SVO prevails as the default word order for clauses whilein the noun phrase, the dominant pattern is for nouns to precede adnominals through their concords. Mbuk is minus numeral mutation with its enumerative prefix present from numeral 1 to 6 and absent from 7 to 10. The adverbs of Mbuk have three distributions: before verb, after verb and that which occurs in both positions and some agree with the aspectual status of the core verb. The WH-questions are seldom displaced from clause final position. Adpositions divide into two sets: the prepositions and postpositions: both co-occurs as adpositions. Some propositions do occur without any adpostions (zero adposition). Its connectives are distinct from each other.

In relaunching such a research, good tools, longer fieldwork duration would limit elicited corpus in a bid to find enough of what is needed within the naturally occurring speech acts. Mbuk is absent in most linguistic atlases, diverse studies on its heritage is needed to discern its genuine genealogy within and beyond Beboid. A research as such is not an end in itself, it is simply an initiation to the documentation of the heritage of Mbuk.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse, intitulée 'Grammaire documentaire du mbuk' vise la documentation et la description du patrimoine linguistique et culturel de la langue mbuk. Le parler mbuk est une variété linguistique en danger d'extinction, appartenant au groupe de langues béboïdes. Il est parlé dans le département de Boyo, dans l'arrondissement de Bum, région du Nord-Ouest Cameroun, et compte environ 400 locuteurs. S'appuyant sur le statut de langue presqu'éteinte, cette étude a comme objectifs de faire une documentation audio-visuelle, de collecter les données relatives à l'environnement et aux actes de parole, de transcrire les données et de relever les métadonnées, d'analyser les listes de mots ainsi que les divers genres de discours pour les garder et diffuser en version physique ou numérique. L'étude a donc également pour objectif de préserver les données numériques de cette langue afin que les futures générations du peuple mbuk puissent récupérer les données et revitaliser la langue en l'absence de locuteurs compétents et expérimentés.

Ce travail est basé sur un éclectisme théorique. Ainsi, la documentation et la description de la langue sont encadrées par la linguistique documentaire, la théorie de la linguistique fondamentale, la théorie structuraliste et de l'approche fonctionnelle qui en découle.

La collecte des données a été réaliséeà l'aide d'instruments et techniques de collecte de données tels que l'observation, les documents, les entretiens et les questionnaires afin d'obtenir les résultats souhaités. Le lexique du domaine sémantique de Ron Moe et certaines élicitations ont été utilisées pour compléter la documentation spontanée et planifiée.

Les résultats révèlent que, grâceà l'approche documentaire, les locuteurs natifs peuvent désormais s'écouter et écouter d'autres locuteurs grâce aux enregistrements audio-visuels. Dans les vidéos, il y a un partage de connaissances entre toutes les classes sociales et tous les genres, lorsque les séquences sont regardées. Hommes et femmes, enfants et adultes, entendent et voient ce à quoi ils n'ont pas été exposés, invitant ainsi à la mise en œuvre des droits d'accès. Les modèles de phrase dans l'élicitation sont différents de ceux obtenus grâce au texte documentaire naturel, en particulier lorsque les termes de parenté sont des noms principaux d'adnominaux. En outre, l'approche documentaire a permis de récupérer des mots qui étaient absents de la phase d'élicitation au niveau du lexique. Pour que le mbuk puisse être écrit et lu, certains fichiers media ont été annotés à l'aide du logiciel ELAN et exportés dans la thèse. Les corpus comprennent des évènements d'art et d'artisanat, des histoires, des chansons, des rites, des images de certains objets dont la plupart sont collectés dans les environnements naturels.

Par ailleurs, les résultats concernant la description phonétique révèlent 38 consonnes, 15 voyelles orales et 07 voyelles nasales. Certaines consonnes secondaires sont palatalisées, labialisées et prénasalisées avec quelques vélarisations et quelques articulations tertiaires. Nous avons répertorié 06 tons dont 03 complexes et 03 non complexes. Les tons distinguent les morphèmes lexicaux et les morphèmes grammaticaux. Les variations phonétiques sont récurrentes dans les voyelles, les consonnes et les tons. Sur le plan phonémique, on distingue un système de 8 voyelles et 25 consonnes. Les processus phonologiques attestés sont l'assimilation vocalique et consonantique, l'assourdissement, l'haplologie, l'abaissement vocalique, l'épenthèse, la spirantisation, l'affrication, le dévocalisation la coalescence, la contraction, la déverbatisation – qui justifie le mythe des pré-préfixes- les contraintes de la nasale syllabique et les mouvements tonals. Sur le plan morphologique, le noyau syllabique peut être une voyelle ou une nasale syllabique flanquée par une consonne initiale de syllabe optionnelle et une consonne finale de syllabe. La langue mbuk connait des affixes liés et des morphèmes libres. La structure des mots comprend des affixes optionnels et une racine obligatoire. Les affixes sont à la fois flexionnels –fréquents chez les noms, à l'instar des préfixes de classe nominale et dérivationnels - plus fréquents chez les verbes sous forme d'extension verbales. La base nominale est composée de la racine et des affixes, principalement les suffixes et zéro préfixe. Les affixes, en association avec les accords donnent 6 genres réguliers de classes nominales et 4 paires de genres irréguliers avec un chevauchement sémantique et structurel: le genre 1/2 comprend les humains et non humains; ce mélange se trouve également dans les autres classes. Dans la

distribution des préfixes, la catégorie (1), genre 1/2, 5/6, ont des préfixes nuls au singulier et des affixes circonfixes au pluriel tandis que la catégorie (2) a le genre 3/4, 9/10 avec des préfixes nuls au singulier et au pluriel. La catégorie (3) quant à elle a le genre 19/6a ayant des préfixes au singulier et au pluriel tandis que le genre 7/8 tombe dans les catégories (2) et (3). La polypluralité est une caractéristique du mbuk avec une seule forme singulière ayant 3 formes plurielles différentes. Les idéophones sont des adverbiaux plus nombreux que les noms onomatopéiques apparaissant dans les différentes classes. La plupart des mots empruntés appartiennent au genre 1/2. Le radical du verbe est composé de 11 suffixes dérivés qui divisent les verbes en 18 groupes structurels ayant 7 racines syllabiques. Le système pronominal distingue les pronoms sujets inclusifs et exclusifs 1P (nous). Une homorganique nasale préfixale de type dérivationnel (Ǹ-), de tonalité basse génère des gérondifs tandis qu'un préfixe flexionnel de tonalité haute ɪ́- donne des infinitifs. Dans un degré de valence verbale variable, les arguments se lient à des arguments transitifs, intransitifs, etc. La valence augmente avec les applicatifs mais diminue avec les réflexifs, les réciproques, la voix moyenne. Dans certains contextes, la distinction entre les réflexifs et les réciproques se neutralise. En examinant le TAM, 7 marqueurs de temps distinguent symétriquement 5 passés et 5 futurs dans le temps en mbuk, avant le verbe. S'agissant du cadre aspectuel, 9 stratégies sont employées, se répartissant dans la division traditionnelle entre perfectif et imperfectif - l'imperfectif abritant plus de stratégies aspectuelles - et l'humeur est exprimée selon 10 modes différents. Les négateurs d'humeur sont continus et discontinus, ils nient soit une clause entière, soit le sujet. Le négateur précède le temps qui à son tour, précède le verbe dans l'aspect perfectif et suit le verbe dans l'aspect imperfectif. Syntaxiquement, l'ordre des constituants SVO prévaut comme ordre par défaut pour les propositions, tandis que dans les phrases nominales, le modèle dominant est le nom précédant les adnominaux par leurs concordances. Le mbuk a une mutation numérale négative dont le préfixe énumératif est présent pour les chiffres de 1 à 6 et absent pour les chiffres de 7 à 10. Les adverbes du mbuk ont trois distributions: avant le verbe, après le verbe et dans les deux positions. Celui qui se trouve dans ce dernier cas s'accorde avec le statut aspectuel du verbe principal. Les questions-Q sont rarement déplacées de la position finale de la proposition. Les adpositionsse divisent en deux groupes: les prépositions et les postpositions. Certaines propositions se produisent sans aucune adposition (adposition zéro). Ses connecteurs sont distincts les uns des autres, la juxtaposition ne prend aucun marqueur.

Dans une telle recherche, une plus longue durée de travail sur le terrain limiterait le corpus élicité dans le but de trouver suffisamment ce qui est indispensable dans les actes de langage naturels. Le mbuk est absent de la plupart des atlas linguistiques, raison pour laquelle des études diverses sur son héritage sont nécessaires pour discerner sa véritable généalogie au sein et au-delà du groupe des langues béboïdes. Une recherche en tant que telle n'est pas une fin en soi, c'est simplement une initiation à la documentation de l'héritage du mbuk.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	1st sg subject pronoun	1SO	1st sg object pronoun
2SG	2nd sg subject pronoun	2SO	2nd sg object pronoun
3SG	3rd sg subject pronoun	3SO	3rd sg object pronoun
3LOG	3rd sg subject logophoric		
1P.EXCL	1st pl exclusive subject	1POE	1st plural exclusive object
1P.INCL	1st pl inclusive subject	1POI	1st pl inclusive object
1P.N	1st pl neuter subject	1PON	1st neutral object pronoun
2PL	2nd pl subject pronoun	2PO	2nd pl object pronoun
3PL	3rd pl subject pronoun	3PO	3rd 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-	NC 10, concord, pronoun
19 (19-	NC 19, concord, pronoun	6a (6a-	NC 6a, concord, pronoun
P0	present		
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
AF / FOC	averment mood /focus	k.o	kind of
AGR	agreement, concord	L.ADV	Locative adverb
ADJ	adjective	LAT	language archiving technology
AM	associative marker	LC	locative applicative

APO	adposition		MBK	Mbuk language, people, village,
AT	attribute		MD	mood
ADV	adverb		MF	modifier
AX	augmentative marker		MV	middle voice
BEN	benefactive applicative		N	homorganic nasal,archiphone
BT	contrastive connective		NA	nominal affix
Crd / c	concord		NC	noun class
C	consonant		NEG	negation, negator
CC	consonant cluster		NUM	numeral, number
COND	conditional mood		NP	noun phrase, noun
CNJ	conjunction		NS	near speaker
CL	class		NU	near audience
COMP	complement marker		Ø	zero/empty/absent/null
CN	consecutive marker		OBJ	Object
COL	colour		Opt	optative mood
COP	copula		OR	or, alternative connective
CAUS	causative		OS	optional reflexive subject
CT	continuative aspect		KPAAMCAM	Key Pluridisciplinary Advances on African Multilingualism
CX	circumfix		P	pronoun, concord
DEF	definite particle		Pc	Personal communication
DD	definite determiner		PD	predicate
DI	directional marker		PFV	perfective aspect
DL	dual ponoun		PROG	progressive aspect
DEM	demonstrative		PL	Plural
DN	deontic mood		PN	someone's name
DO	direct object		PO	postposition
DQ	definite quantifier		PREP	preposition
DS	dummy subject		POSS	possessive
DT	determiner		PT	past tense
DV	ditransitive verb		PV	passive voice
DIM	diminutive marker		PX	prefix
DY	differential morpheme		Q	interrogative (question)
e.g	'exempli gratia' example		QNT	quantifier

EMP	emphasis, emphatic		QP	question particle
EIP	emphatic interrogative		QT	question tag
EV	evidential		QW	question word
EXCL	exclusive		REC	recipient applicative
FOC	focus marker,		RECP	reciprocal
FT	future, free translation		REFL	reflexive
G	glide		REL	relative pronoun
GE	grammatical element		RM	remark, comment
GL	gloss		RP	repetitive event, iterative
HAB	habitual aspect		RS	reported speech
HN	head noun		S	sentence
HP	hypothetical		S, SJ	Subject
HT	hortative		SG, sg	singular
IP	indefinite particle		SM	same subject marker
ID	indefinite determiner		SP	Specifier
INCL	inclusive		SV	serial verb construction
INF	infinitive		SX	suffix
IH	inchoative		SY	similarity morpheme
IJ, IJT	interjection		TM	temporal adverb
IMP	imperative		TR	transitive verb
IN	inferential		TS	tense
IO	indirect object		U	audience
IPFV	imperfective		V	vowel, verb
IQ	indefinite quantifier		VD	Voiced
INS	instrument applicative		VG	verb group
INTR	intransitive verb		VL	voiceless
IX	infix		VN	verbal noun, gerund
AJV	Adjectival verb		VP	verb phrase
APG	after verb progressive		XC	exclamation
APX	augmentative prefix		XG	exaggeration
ASX	augmentative suffix		ICT	Information and Communication
AFV	after verb		IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
BFV	before verb		DSX	diminutive suffix

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
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	T.ADV	Temporal adverb
GAC	General Alphabet of	USC	Audience speaker's speech

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 (in between words)
-	hyphen	separates morphemes
.	dot	two meanings in one gloss (in between words)
:	colon	lengthened vowel
??	double question sign	to be glossed
$	dollar sign	chapter / section
<	Less than sign	
< < <	Less than sign	Direction of river flow
/	slash	gloss boundary clarification facilitator
/	slash	This or the other, alternative
{ }	brackets	Code mixing / switching

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The description of Mbuk grammar through a documentary lens is the key purpose of this thesis, with one of its objectives 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 its lexemes, grammar, craft and tradition in scripts, as well as in audio and video formats. Hence making available a digital electronic grammar by imprinting upon the video the grammatical constituents found in the native speakers voice through audiovisual annotation which are accessible through CDs and online dissemination:

VideoRef: KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestivalKwifan_00024_2015-08-08.eaf

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

In addition, Mbuk communication has largely relied both on oral and to some extent gestures which, of course, has a short lifespan within Mbuk. Hence, the present research on Mbuk will move it from a dual to a triple and quadruple function; oral (speaking), signing, writing and reading and 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. Furthermore, with the advent of multilingual education, study materials would be developed for the sustainability and enriching of the course as well as contributing to the content of polylectal grammars. It will also provide corpora for enhancing the study of comparative, and historical linguistics and also the dialectology of Mbuk. 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,   [**dzǒː jì   ntʃù**]   "House of pot."
                        house AM   pot

      b. Bum,   [**ndâː ø   ntʃù**]   "House of pot."
                        house AM pot

2)   a. Mbuk,   [**ù kwáː-kí lə̀**]   "He is recording it."
                        3S catch-PROG AF

      b. English,   [**ù record-kí lə̀**]   "He is recording it."
                        3S record-PROG AF

In example (1) above, the Mbuk word for pot is "kpə́ŋə̀", the ritual house uses but the Bum word for pot "ntʃù" 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. Code switching is also common. The general introduction has provided the background to the study, the objectives, the motivation, geographical location, the people, its language and linguistic classification, the significance, the documentary metadata reference, the scope as well as the entire work plan.

BACKGROUND

Toponimically, the government of Cameroon has the term Mbuk for the inhabitants while the natives have the following toponyms: [mbúk~mbʲúk], [mbɔ̀ˠɔ́~mbòˠó~mbɔ̀kɔ́] and [bɜ̀mbòˠó]. This term signifies the people, the land, the language and the Mbuk tradition.

Our appeal or motivation to study the Mbuk was its resistance in quitting the sociolinguistic battle field between its rivals languages: both Pidgin English and Bum. Unlike Mbamlo, Fio and Saawi which did not revitalise their languages and, as a consequence, theirs are extinct it is just proper to safeguard Mbuk using the current digital software for revitalisation and posterity. 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 factors that account for the death of minority languages within the Bum sphere of influence are expressed after the following sentence. The Mbuk language and culture have not attracted many researchers for the fact that it is subjected to the Bum language which is the dominant language in the Subdivision. As a result of the Bum dominion with its diplomatic prowess, the Mbuk language is heavily facing attrition:

– It has not been taught in school for it is found within the Bum area. For instance, at G.T.C. Bum, located in the Mbuk land, the Bum language is being taught.

– Information from the Bum palace is communicated only in the Bum language, thus, the Mbuk and other sub-villages; with resentment, they learn Bum.

– In the case of a visitor, A Minister or Governor, D.O, A Whiteman, the interpretation of the message is done only in Bum with the other languages ignored. This has caused the speakers of the other languages to abandon their languages since they need only Bum for important information concerning the country, Cameroon.

– The churches use only the Bum language in preaching and a Bible will soon be available in the Bum further relegating the chances of using Mbuk.

– We seldom hear the Mbuk language spoken at the Fonfuka market.

In absolute hegemony, it is difficult to notice the presence of linguistic and cultural diversity or the existence of other sub-communities within the Bum sphere of influence. Hence, at a glance, we see homogeneity in every socio-political and cultural dimension. Meanwhile, beneath, it is a pseudo-homogeneity termed unity for survival, a forced uniformity. The heterogeneity is only revealed when we encounter in isolation an individual from the subjugated "minor" community. Minor in terms of its lesser power and not necessarily that it has a lesser population. Hence, our isolated encounter with a native of Mbuk in his Provision Store in 2012, let us (Mme Kefen Ivoline Budji, Dr Pierpaolo Di Carlo, Dr George Mbeh, Prof Paul Nchoji Nkwi, Mr George Bwei Kum, Mr Lucas Wirba and myself, Nelson C. Tschonghongei) to discover Mbuk without that, we would have left the community with only Bum at the back of our minds just as our linguistic predecessors in the area did, not noticing the presence of Mbuk in their various maps for decades (Brye & Brye 2000; Lamberty 2001; Breton & Fohtung 2012; Lewis et al 2013). Though Lamberty comments on Mbuk, the position of Mbuk is confusing since he has not indicated the position of Ajumbu which has the glossonym Mbuk. Mbuk and others shared some aspect of the culture according to Lamberty (2002:3). These lesser communities are forced to host some of the cultural aspects of Bum like the *Mandzong* in order to maintain Bum influence. The *Mandzong*, can be likened to an army of occupation.

Thus, with this evidence of Mbuk endangerment, we have chosen a documentary approach because the language is at the verge of extinction since it is highly marginalised. We want to document this language and preserve the wisdom in it while hoping that the language policy of Bum can one day favour multilingualism to breathe in the area. The dominant language has fought very hard to see that the whole Subdivision should remain homogeneous in speech. This is because they are afraid that the marginalised communities can plot against them in a language

they do not understand. And so, the marginalised communities are not allowed membership in certain circles of the Bum society on the pretext of preventing the Mbuk from spyingout on the Bum. On the contrary, the Bum are not restricted to gain membership in the socio-ritual groups of the marginalised societies.

The fondom of Mbuk, though in traditional politics, it is subjugated to Bum, it has its own land, culture and language, but this does not tie with other fondoms 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) noted that Mbuk was a traditional political system, thus, elicited a wordlistas summarised here, 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 Dʒai vən Bõka; chief is mfain vən Boka. Language is not intercomprehensible with Bum, Ngɔŋ, Nkɔm, Ntʃanti or 'njari' (Mbembe).

The above summary shows that a wordlist could only be collected from a sovereign political entity such as Mbuk 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:

sə̄ kì kó í mɪ̄ nʄ̃ĩ yúó
As the kimfili is in front of me now

VideoRef: KPMAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07-00406-eaf

Figure 2: Fon of Mbuk presides at the opening ceremony of annual festival 'Kimfili'

The Bum area is made up of 8 main fondoms with Bum and Pidgin English as languages of wider communication (LWC) or vehicular languages. The matrix presents the various fondoms:

Table 1: Fondoms of Bum Subdivision

	Fondom	Ranking	Language	Status	LWC
1	Lakabum (lô:ŋà)	2nd Class	Bum Language	Living	Bum/Pidgin
2	Chung (Faat)	3rd Class	Chung Language	Living/Endangered	Bum/Pidgin
3	Jul (Konene)	3rd Class	Bum Language	Living	Bum/Pidgin
4	Mbamlo	3rd Class	Mbamlo Language	Dead	Bum/Pidgin
5	Mbuk	3rd Class	Mbuk	Living/Endangered	Bum/Pidgin
6	Mungong	3rd Class	Mungong	Living/Endangered	Bum/Pidgin
7	Saff	3rd Class	Saff Language	Dead	Bum/Pidgin
8	Sawi	3rd Class	Sawi Language	Dead	Bum/Pidgin

If Mbuk had not attached more value to their language, we would not have known the term forest "kwá" in the Mbuk language and the same forest "kɔ́bí" in the Faat (Chung) language. They

would all have been lost, like the term for forest in Fio which is no longer remembered even by the eldest speaker.

Mbuk, Chung and Mungong are the current native languages spoken alongside the Bum language otherwise it would have been a homogeneous speech community void of diversity.

Languages are a source of hidden treasure 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 then he shouted for help in the Bum language and no one came forth for assistance from his allied friends but as he shouted immediately 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 buffalo 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 instance, a foreigner was drowning in river Mbuk. Since he knew that the Mbuk were around, he shouted in the Mbuk language and the Mbuks 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 not have been saved.

OBJECTIVES

The research on Mbuk as an endangered language had two main general objectives: to virtually conserve the conservable aspects of the Mbuk language and culture for posterity as well as exposing the unclassified dying language to the linguistic world so that it can find a place in the Linguistic atlas of Cameroon, Africa and the world in which it is currently absent. The death of language is decried by Ladefoded (1992:810): "As a linguist, I am of course saddened by the vast amount of linguistic and cultural knowledge that is disappearing, and I am delighted that the National Science Foundation has sponsored our UCLA research, in which we try to record for posterity the phonetic structures of some of the Languages that will not be around much longer."

The research with a span of three years (2014, 2015, 2016) had the following specific objectives: To capture and preserve audios and videos of Mbuk language and its culture and let them be explorable by those in need. To verify if it is actually a language within the Beboid group and which are its kin if any. In addition, to investigate what has mitigated the extinction of Mbuk such that it is still alive without having been totally extinct earlier just like the Mbamlo language which are both sandwiched within Bum.

Finally, to show that Mbuk is endowed with the traditional parts of speech (nouns, verbs, determiners, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections) just like any other living language through the study of its grammar, thus, its own words should be present in books and and in online digital format rather than being excluded from literary works in Chung books. The deletion of Mbuk terms from Chung books and the non-willingness of Mbuk to study Chung terminologies show that Mbuk is a separate entity: *"What I want to stress here is that any analysis implying clustering together some local vernaculars into one "language" has no correspondence in the locals' language ideology."* Di Carlo (2012:4)

MOTIVATION

When we arrived Fonfuka in 2012 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 glottal Stop, leading to confusion with the Mbuk in Bum Subdivision. Moreover, Hombert (1980:84) did not include the Mbuk which is spoken in Bum in his map.

The Mbuk, however, say they do not know about the Mbu' (Ajumbu) of Lower Fungom. In spite of this controversial assertion, we went ahead to prove it through a comparative study. Furthermore, on investigation, we realised that Mbuk was not known by those from that Subdivision 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 stop [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 Mbu' words are drawn from, 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.

Furthermore, we realised that Mbuk is mostly spoken only within its territory with frequent switching to Bum and it is rare to hear it spoken elsewhere – some sort of psycho-sociolinguistic diglossic structure exists leading to the lesser use of Mbuk within Bum. Hence, Mbuk portrays features of a dying language since it is restrictively used in geo-space. So its heritage should be preserved through documentary linguistics.

The lexical contrast between Mbuk and Mbu' is shown in the table below:

Table 2: Mbuk and Mbu' Comparative Lexemes

Gloss	Mbuk [mbók]	Mbu'[mbʊ̀ʔ]	Gloss	Mbuk [mbók]	Mbu'[mbʊ̀ʔ]
head	fʷú	kʰu	two	fá	fiəŋ
leg	kākā	ʃʲənə	five	tī	gbɛ
eye	dʒíɣə́~dʒəɣə	dzɨzə	Eat	dzí	za
tree	kpɛ̄n	kətə	come	dzə̄	ta
bird	fíɲēnī	fənyaŋ	house	dzǔː	əvwɔ
dog	bʲə̌	kʷa	water	ŋgʷí	mgiəŋ
bone	ḿkōŋō	kokʷavə	person	mì	uŋu

The phonetic square bracket is not used for the wordlist in tables unless it is a toponym.

Looking at some parts of the body, human beings, some verbs, numerals and artefacts and nature, we realised that the terms that refer to them are different in both languages. Thus, we concluded 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 its descendants. The pride of a linguist is to venture into a virgin language. Moreover, as also observed by Chilver and Kaberry (1974:40), the language is not inter-comprehensible with Bum though it is sandwiched by 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 carryout research on the language for it to be known and possibly be included 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 an extent that children of about 8 to 12 years from both varieties do not understand each other. 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) say "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 the Mbuk are a separate group of 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 the linguistic repertoire of world written languages. The consolation of the Mbuk is that their own native words can be found in a book, that a computer can recognise 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 Beboid. 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 recognise 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."(WAN-3, pc, 2016).

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, pc, 2016)

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

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 as a result of incomplete sociolinguistic studies.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF MBUK

The map below shows the geographical location of Mbuk at the radial red/yellow dot:
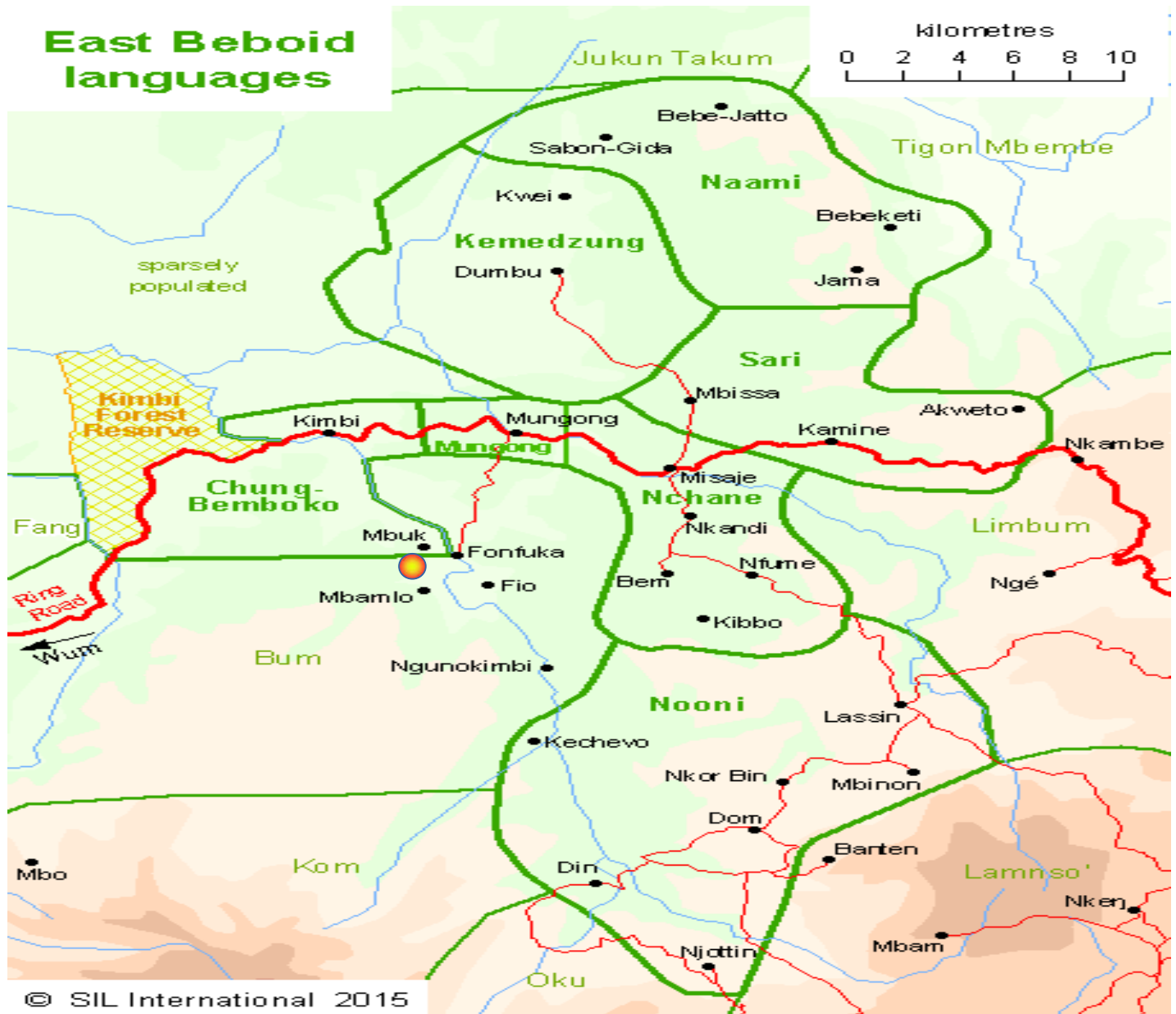
Mbuk (Bembogho), the area below the Ring Road between Mbamlo - Kimbi.

Mbuk is the radial red/yellow dot ⬤

Figure 4: Location of Mbuk

Mbuk, Fio and Mbamlo were absent on the map by 2015, but due to the research carried

out in 2012 by KPAAMCAM on endangered languages, it paved the way for their inclusion

following our discussions with the SIL Misaje Cluster Linguist, Beb Langhout in 2015.

The language is located in 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 surrounded 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, figure (5) shows the map of Mbuk alongside the locations of its quarters and some of its physical features:

Source: **Mbuk Traditional Council, 2015**
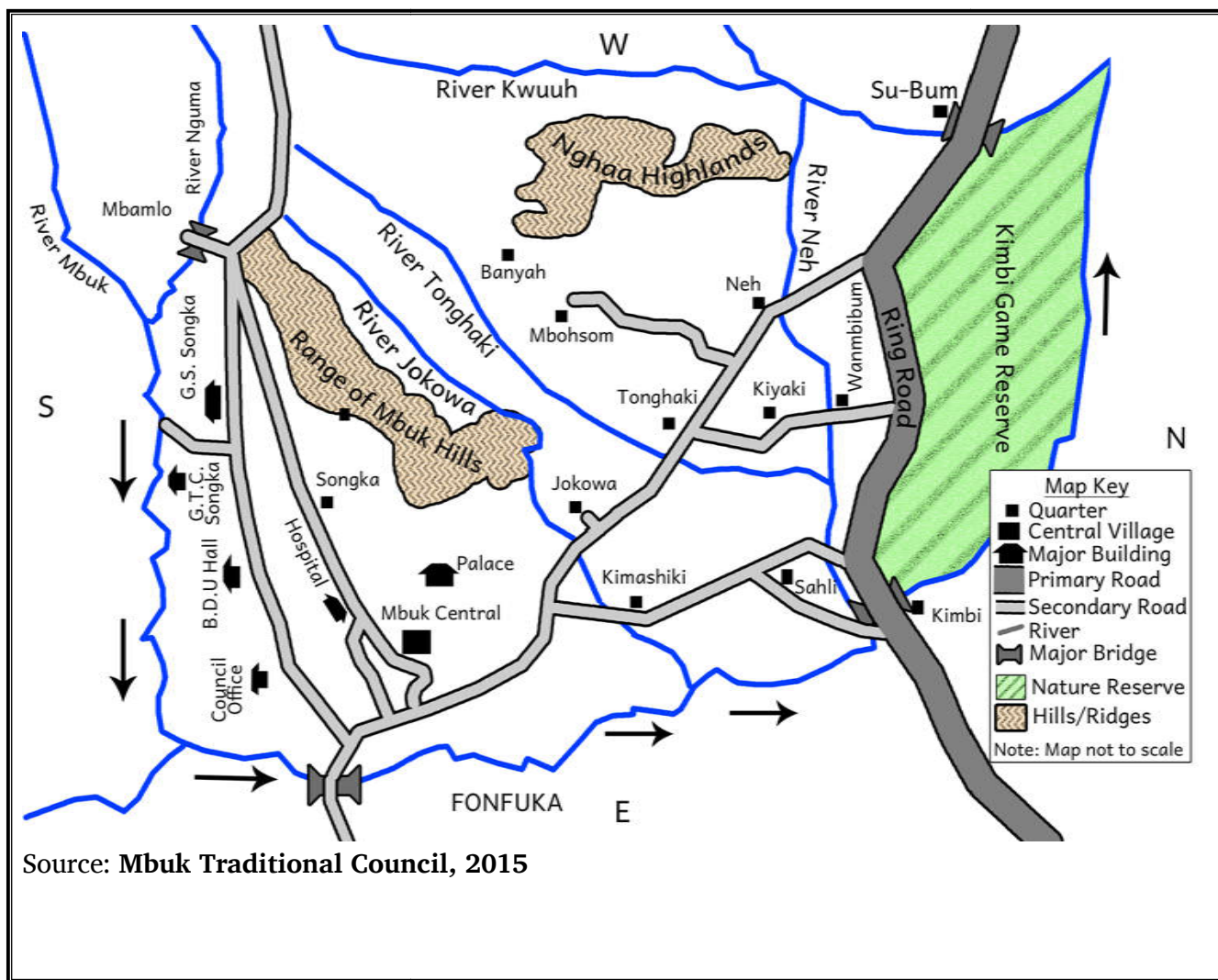
Figure 5: Map of Mbuk

THE PEOPLE OF MBUK

The people refer to themselves as [bə̀mbòɣó] meaning the people of Mbuk. The tribe is made up of four patriclans of which one, the [kìmbàːlí] is extinct. The patriclans still existing are: [bʷâʃɔ́m], [bʷàbə̀ntṹ], and the [bə̀ndǒː~bʷàbə̀ndǒː]. [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.

Historically, their origin is not well known but a few hold that they are descent of the Tikars but can no longer trace their detail stopover routes of their migration. Most of them claim that they came from nowhere; they only found themselves on the present site, adding that all their neighbours came from somewhere and met the Mbuk.

They are an organised ethnic group with a well-defined tradition which, as any surviving tradition, which is being bleached by non-native tradition within and without the country, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. As a 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. An example 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* [ŋkúŋ] assisted by the *Nji* [ndʒì] together with the compound head [tìkúlî] and the quarter head [fúwídî]. The Fons that have reigned in the history of the Mbuk Fondom are here presented in table 2:

Table3: The Reign of Mbuk Fons

	Ordinal	Fons' names	Years range	No. Years on the throne
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 *Ya* [jà] 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 neglects them, 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 decisions without the involvement of the *Nji*. The spiritual powers of the village lie 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 kingmakers. 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 a result of cultural

dynamics, some of the things are being ignored. Some people put on shoes and even a cap before the *Fon* nowadays. In normal circumstances, for ordinary subjects, you have to offer a fowl and wine to the palace before you are allowed to put on a cap in the palace. In addition, people drink with their hands from the *Fon's* cup when they have not provided what is needed. One must have given a goat and wine in order to freely drink from his 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 to put on footwear. Table 4, the dues to permit you dress up in your desired attire are:

Table 4: Palace Attire Dues

	Items	Fowl	Goat	Raffia wine	Fufu	Soup	Remarks
1	**Cup**	X	One life goat offered to the Fon	40 litres of honeywine	Enough fufu for the population	Soup	Soup is given to the population
2	**Cap**	Two roosters	X	40 litres of honeywine	Enough fufu for the population	X	Confiscated till the levy is paid
3	**Shoes**	One rooster for the Fon	X	X	X	X	Taxed for using for using shoes

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. Thus, when a cap is not taken off, you are punished for not paying allegiance to the *Fon*. The disrespect of the *Fon* implies that you are jealous of the Fon and want his throne. Likewise, refusing to drink with the hands from the *Fon* you have to pay a fine whose specific amount is known. The amount to be taxed is decided by the village *Kwifon* in relation to the degree of the offence to the Fon and the community.

The *Nji* is the closest assistant of the Fon. There are 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 also not 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 compounds. 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 patriclans. The eldest among them all are looked upon as the pure traditional *Fon*. He performs handed-down family rituals.

The fourth wing in the administration of Mbuk are the quarter heads. They assist the *Fon* in representing him in 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 it. The various quarter heads are led by the quarter head who lives in the quarter where the palace is located. The table below presents the current quarters and quarter heads of Mbuk. These administrative wings are in a hierarchical structure as shown in Figure 6:

[ŋ̀kúŋ]

"Fon" chief, ruler or leader of Mbuk

[tìkúlí]
"Compound heads"

[ndʒì]
"Vice *Fon*"

[fúwídî]
"Quarter heads"

[ʃʲə̂]

[tàntò]

[kímèŋ]

[ǹtɔ́m]
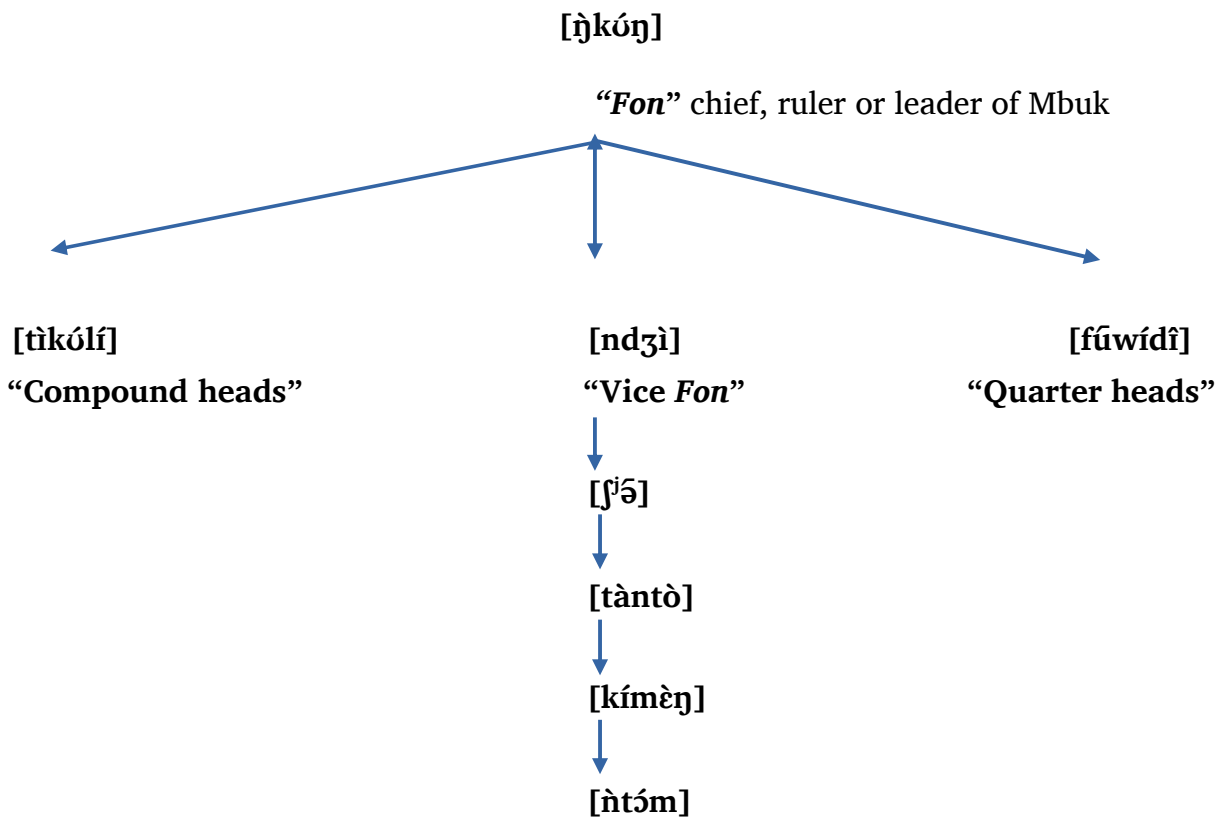
Figure 6: Hierarchical Mbuk Governance

Table 5: Mbuk Quarters and Quarterheads

	Quarters	Quarterheads		Quarters	Quarterheads
1	ntō	Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha	8	tɔ̀ŋɔ̀kí	Patrick Muchi
2	dô:ŋgá	Nchua Henry Nchogho	9	mbóʃɔ́m	0
3	sɔ́ŋká	Abanda Simon	10	bápà	0
4	dʒóˠówá	Tom Gwe	11	ndáŋàsî	Joseph Lenghachia
5	kìmâ:ʃìkí	Ngong Augustin	12	né	Joseph Lenghachia
6	sá:lí	Genesis Bangchong	13	wâɲmbìbômm	0
7	kìjâ:kì	Emmanuel Ntungmba	14	mfámbə́bʷú	0

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

- The [bʷábə́ntṹ:] family led by Pa. Nichodemus Bikem

- The [bʷábə́ndɔ̃:] 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 6: Mbuk Titles

	Title	Function	No. of holders
1st	ŋkúŋ~tĭdî	Ruler of the village	1
2nd	ndʒì	Vice fon, and king makers	3
3rd	tâtò'	Takes care of spiritual aspects of the village	3
4th	ʃⁱéj	Assists the tanto	4
5th	fúwídɪ	Takes care of their quarters	14 quarterheads
6th	ntɔ́mwìŋkúŋ	the messenger of he Fon	1
7th	kìmə̀ŋ	Assists the Shyey and Tantoh	1
8th	tìkúlí	Takes care of a particular family	3
9th	ndzídzǒ	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 Sɔ́ŋká quarter in Mbuk,

- *Nji* Simon Nchwakasi who lives in Dʒòkòwá quarter in Mbuk,

- *Nji* Thomas Lenghacha 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 Dô̂ŋgá (Bwâʃɔ́m) leader of Tantos.

- *Tanto* Kimbi Philip of *Ntō* (Mbuk central or Mbuk palace) (Mbamlo, Kifuma-Ngein)

- *Tanto* Samuel Kintani {late} of Dʒòkòwá (Bina-Kimbi of Fonfuka)

The ʃⁱéj:

- *ʃⁱéj* Jeremiah Kangli of Sɔ́ŋká

- *ʃɛ́ej* Freeboy Ndang of Ntō (Mbuk central or Mbuk palace)

- *ʃɛ́ej* Samuel Kah of Ntō

- *ʃɛ́ej* Ngong Sam Bia

*The **Ntɔ́mwìŋkúŋ*** (Tûmtí):

- Ntɔ́m Njiboh Reymond

*The **Kìmàŋ:***

- *Kìmàŋ* 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:

- [mbɛ̀ŋ] appears during the day and at night with no xylophones, using the following instruments [ŋkɔ́ŋ, kìmbì:, nsì, kìlúŋ, fʷá, ŋgɔ́:ní] used against witchcraft especially when going out of Mbuk etc)

- [màndʒɔ̀ŋ] has the following instruments: [gɔ́ŋ, ɲʲò, nsì:, kìntɔ́m, mbɛ̀ŋ, kìmgbóʸò]

- [ntʃɔ̄ŋ] has as instruments: [ntʃɔ̄ŋ, kāsì, dʒín, kpālì] (k.o forest rope). It is seen only by men, the members. A non-member becomes yellowish while women become infertile or barren.

- [kìkò] is seen when a member dies. 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 men who are died without having been initiated. It comes out for daughters because it was brought by a woman called Mrs Esther Kpachi. When she went to

fetch wood in the forest and saw it then brough it home but the men seized it from her and owned it. The sons of this woman can be initiated without offering any initiation gift.

Men and women societies:

- [kìmfílì], instruments: [kìŋkʷàhì, kìmbì, tʃɔ̌ŋ, nsɔ̀ŋ]. It is performed annually in the month of August. It is manifested for two days and one night. If they come out on Wednesday morning, they dance into Thursday evening and stop about 9p.m. It is no longer highly spiritual as it used to be in the past. If someone steps on your toe and you fail to step on his also, then you will die. The dance is motivated by the belief that it leads to peace, high birth rate for women, soil fertility for much food and fruitful hunt (meat) and nothing else. An illustrative text of the festival demands is given here:

3) a. **[m̄ nə̄ŋ-kí wā̰ɲ, m̄ nə̄ŋ fʸɛ̃̄n fídzíní, m̄ nə̄ŋ ɲàm, fʸɛ̃n fí dóˠó tʃâː jê]**
       I   want-PROG child, I want thing food,   I want meat, thing of some not else

- [mbɔ̀ŋ] uses the instruments called [ndʒáŋ] (xylophones) during the day and at night.

- [ndʒòk] *has as* instruments: [nsì, kāsì] during funerals

- *Young Farmers*, made up of mostly youths of both sexes, male and female.

- [ndʒàŋ], its instruments are: [nsì, kìmbì, kāsì, kìnshʷí̄, dʒín, ŋkɔ́ŋ wí lêː]

- [ntʃɔ́ŋ] instruments: [kìmbì, kāsì] performed during the day and at night.

- [mándāndā] instruments: [gʷú, tʃʲājìkěn] 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 [Kìmfílì] has different appellations in different villages that perform the same festival. It is performed for one night and two periods of daylight only. The following table gives the timetable of the various cultural festivals.

Table 7: Annual Festival Appelations and Periods

Order of festival	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Village	Mbuk	Chung	Fang	Koshin
Name of festival	fə̂: ~ kìmfɪ́lì	fɛ̂:	kə̀mfə̀nə̀	nə̀mŋgâ
Festival Period	August	August/September	October	October

This festival is conducted on two special days of an eight-days' 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 8: Mbuk, Chung and Bum 8 Days' Week

	Festival days	Mbuk days	Chung days	Bum days
1		túˠúbíʃi	bìdʒúmbìmbúˠúnɔ̀m	túˠúbôm
2		bìmbúɣúnɔ̀m	bìnɔ̀mŋgá	jə̀fwó
3		bìnɔ̀mtálí	bìdʒúmbíkísí	nsáfwûn
4		bìnɔ̀mkpí	bíkísí	mìwûn
5	Small country Sunday	bìŋgú késí~kɛhí	bìnɔ̀mkpí	fúkéhí
6		júŋ	bìtʃúŋnì	ŋʷóŋkòmlì
7	[kímfɪ́lì] begins	júŋwìbŏlī	bìlɔ̀kɔ́lí	ɲ̂ânsá
8	[kímfɪ́lì] ends on country Sunday	júŋwìlə̀kə́lí	bìmbúˠúnɔ̀m	túˠúkpà

The ritual societies for women are:

[mbáŋnì wì mìkpàɲá], 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 [mbʲéní]. She can be in the room for many weeks or a month, depending on the resources of the husband. She performs in public [mbílì~mbʷɪ̂ˠílí mìkpàɲá] 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.

-[mbə́ˠə̀ wì wǎɲ], immediate celebration as soon as a woman gives birth. The husband gives a fowl [ʃʲē] to other women who prepare a meal for the woman who has just given birth. This lasts 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 wǎɲ], celebration and naming of the child. This involves the whole village once the family gets what is needed such as fowls [ʃʲé], groundnut [m̀tʃɔ́ŋní], corn [dzə́ŋ], corn of the child, [dzə̄ŋ jì wǎɲ]. When these things are ready, the woman leader of [ndʒàŋ wāɲ] or [ndzì wí wāɲ] now informs the rest of the women. This is done on market days [tʊ́ˠʊ́bíʃĭ] or on country Sundays [bínɔ̀mkpí].

-[mlɔ̀wìmĭ] the burial of a person varies according to age, sex, and social status.

THE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

When one arrives the Bum area and says "dress up" [lāpsí] they will be taken to Mbuk, but when one says "dress up" [lāfí] you will instead be taken to Chung (Kimbi/Faat). Thus Mbuk and Chung are two neighbouring similar speech varieties spoken in Bum Subdivision. Among elderly people, both speech varieties become mutually intelligible to a certain degree.

The Mbuk language, in terms of isogloss, shares boundaries with other languages such as the Chung to the North, Fio to the South East, Mbamlo to the South though dead, with Bum in no specific direction since Bum encircles Mbuk and Bum is a vehicular language and the Mbuk use Bum more than they use Mbuk in certain circumstances. Diglossia does exist where Mbuk is not used at the rituals of Bum but Bum is often used at the palace of Mbuk and during Mbuk rituals as we noticed in some of the rites videos. Hence, there exist an isogloss as well as a diglossia between Bum and Mbuk. But the core of Bum is to the South West of Mbuk where Lakabum is located. Pidgin English which is not localised is also used as a language of wider communication. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a language development agency has combined the two variants: Chung and Mbuk in 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, Ethnologue classification of world languages, has Mbuk and Chung under the combined appellation, Chungmboko (Lewis and al. 2016) gives thetable below.

Table9:Linguistic Classification / Description of Chungmboko (Chung and Mbuk)

Language:	Chungmboko
	A Language of Cameroon
	ISO 639-3 cug
Alternate name:	Chung, Cung
Population:	2.000 (2001 SIL)
Location:	North West Region, [*sic*]Menchum Division, Bum Subdivision, Chung and Mbuk villages, West of Nkambe, Northeast of Wum
Language Maps:	Central Cameroon
Language Status:	5 (Developing)
Classification:	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Beboid
Dialects:	Chung, Mbuk, Lexical Similarity 83% with Ncane [ncr]
Typology:	SVO; 13 noun classes; clause constituent marked by word order; 21 consonants and 9 vowels phoneme; tonal.
Language use:	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 [bmv], Kemedzung [dmo], Kom [bkm], Ncane [ncr]
L. development:	Literacy rate in L1: 5%. Literacy program started 2011, schooling is in English [eng], Bible portions 2014
L. Resources:	OLAC resources in and about Chungmboko
Writing:	Latin script [Latn]
Other comments	Christian, Muslim

In relation to the above table, Chung and Mbuk are two different speech forms 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 the Mbuk people 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 till 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 Beboid language map, Mbuk is not indicated, but we find Chung neither is Mbuk mentioned as a dialect. While hoping for a proper sociolinguistic survey of Mbuk to be conducted, the term lect, speech variety and language would be used interchangeably.

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 subjected 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 5% literacy rate mentioned above will rise since the materials are now available in their own language. When teaching in schools or elsewhere, they can browse online to acquire the orthoepy of Mbuk from the preserved videos and audios tapped from their parents and kin.

The documentary video footage 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 on Mbuk, in Mbuk, by the Mbuk people. From the film, language is learned from elders and from others as people hear some expressions and names of certain objects for the first time. What was done indoors like the *Mandzong* was now outdoor, that is, everyone could watch it as a film including women and children. As watched they commented that, *"we have never seen the "Mandzong" before thanks to the Mbuk film."* These spontaneous comments led to the consideration of ethics and access rights which is a key concern in documentary linguistics. 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 recorded in the videos. The documentary approach has immortalised some aspects and 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 audiovisual 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 woven 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.

Analogically, while a forestry guard strives to protect and conserve endangered species of animals and trees, a language guard yearns to document and conserve neglected endangered languages or dialects. For the maintenance of the world's cultural and linguistic diversity for posterity in a digital format as emphasised in the subsequent paragraph.

The last but not the least significance of this research is the availability of Mbuk audios and videos 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.

Through this research, other researchers would easily locate Mbuk in an atlas and be able to reach there easily to carryout other research on Mbuk without fumbling or doubting whether it is the real Mbuk or not. The linguistic classification would be relooked with the data available in this work and it would facilitate extended comparative works by experts of language classification.It is our wish that the field experience on Mbuk documentary methodology would guide other researchers in the field of documentary linguistics to achieve better results by avoiding some or all of the pitfalls that we encountered and have been expressed in chapter 2.

SCOPE

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 the Mbuks and other researchers. The documentary analysis accounts for the grammar of the language (the sounds, words and word order), a wordlist and other literature in both the printed format and electronic format. We have transcribed the sounds alongside the consultant's pronunciation, and we have also used ELAN annotations texts to gather the sounds of Mbuk to analyse the grammar.

The documentary phase contains the source data for the analytical 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 allow it as the ethics demand, 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 made it difficult to have a clip of natural greeting patterns in the language since the people tend 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 and sign language could not be optimally exploited. 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 as other family villages with a related speech variety like Fang, Mundabli, Koshin, Chung and even the Bum language have led to the existence of some impurity 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 referential Mbuk speech as distinguished from what is regarded as non-standard Mbuk.

Another issue that limits the research is the lack of storage space and as well as 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 *Kwîfàŋ* 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 in-depth conduct and security of a documentary program; a methodology that brought about the corpus analysed in the entire research.

Chapter 3 presents the sounds: consonants, vowels, tone, phonemes, phonological processes as well as variation.

In Chapter 4, some aspects of the nominal morphology are examined. These include, affixation in Mbuk words, the noun classes, concord system, noun domains and pronouns.

Chapter 5 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 6, syntax: 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 7 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, Indices, and the Appendixes.

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contextualises the research through the definition of concepts, review

of theories and literature used in investigating, describing and explaining the facts in the thesis.

The chapter is divided into four sections: 1.1 the conceptual framework, 1.2 theoretical

frameworks, 1.3 literature review on documentary linguistics and, 1.4 literature review on Mbuk

laying emphasis on comparing its linguistic and cultural affiliations with the hope to situate its

status and corpus amongst its Beboid language family.

1.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Some key words are reviewed 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

Grammar, is defined pertaining to its purpose, Crystal (2008:218):

...grammar refers to a level of structural organisation which can be studied independently of phonology and semantics, and generally divided into the branches of syntax and morphology. In this sense, grammar is the study of the way words, and their component parts, combine to form sentences. It is to be contrasted with a general conception of the subject, where grammar is seen as the entire system of structural relationships in a language, as in such titles as stratificational grammar, systemic grammar and (especially) generative grammar. Here, 'grammar' subsumes phonology and semantics as well as syntax, traditionally regarded as separate linguistic levels.

The term grammar has been constantly being contextualised; scholarly oriented in different era of its didactic history from traditional grammar to the contemporary epoch of pedagogical grammar. The epochal amendments of didactics has been to facilitate language learning, language comparison and to understand the intrinsic nature of language acquisition as opposed language learning. Its proponents greatly relied on the translation of corpus from one language to another distorting the natural syntax of another language in the course of translation or elicitation. Contrarily, the documentary grammar of Mbuk which is set out to document and preserve a virtual Mbuk village scenery where the dying language would be lived live though dead is based on communicative events tapped during actual cultural activities such as ceremonies addressing almost all if not all kinds of discourse genres. Unlike in prehistoric period where the ideas of language dead were nonetheless tabulae rasae in the minds of scholars whereby they solely experienced language change and language heterogeneity but not language dead, hence, they designed grammars to suit the philosophy about the nature of language at that time. One of those grammars that reflected the thoughts of the time were the prescriptive grammars; prioritizing one form of the speech and discarding other forms as incorrect. Nowadays, the contemporary worldview about language is the philosophy of language as a living being that dies and thus instills an approach that seeks to conserve and preserve language thence giving birth to a new field of linguistics termed documentary linguistics whose purpose is to combat the current characteristics of language, which is language death through the writing of a documentary grammar for a language which is at the verge of extinction. The focus of Mbuk language documentation is language-storage-centred such that in caseof no native speaker who has been conserved or preserved from whom we can witness physical articulation of the language in the near future at least the audiovisual sounds stored up should be available for language revitalization as well as being explored and exploited by scholars in other academic disciplines.

The other grammars be it the traditional grammar, transformational grammar, generative grammar, referential grammar, functional grammar, prescriptive grammar or pedagogical grammar are simply photographs of the language while the documentary approach is an audiovisual product of the language endowed with semiotics and pragmatical in-depth knowledge of the language; analogically, (Bally, Sechehaye and Riedlinge 1995:24). "A similar mistake would be in thinking that more can be learned about someone by looking at his photograph than by viewing him directly."

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 supply what the description describes. It incorporates the entire structural system of the language: meaningful sounds and their systemic combination to form Mbuk words with their function and distribution in sentences as uttered by Mbuk natives.

1.1.2 Documentation

Documentation is expressed by Bird &Simons (2003:570): *"Researchers … only collect documentation. In the case of pure documentation, such as a video recording of a linguistic event in which the researcher has no creative input."* The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008), defines the adjective of documentation, documentary, as giving facts and information about a subject in the form of a film, television or radio programme. It also relates to documentation 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 watched like films using a television. There are also audio records which can be likened to a radio programme. Then the field notes, descriptive grammar and lexicon are considered as documents or documentation. 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 equipment and computer software adapted for documentation (Himmelmann 1998, 2006; Woodbury 2003, Austin 2006; Berge 2010; Bowern 2011; Good 2010, 2011).

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".* Bowern (2011:481): *Language documentation is a record of the language which can be used in various ways.* According to Himmelmann (2006, 1998), a language documentation is a lasting, multipurpose 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. 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 behaviour, 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 systematisations for linguistic units and events.

Now that Mbuk is at its early stage of extinction, it appropriate to multiply documentary acts now rather than delay until when the last elderly speaker is unable to speak as usual.

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 one 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 behaviour 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 sstem since it includes many aspects commonly not addressed in language descriptions. (1998:166)

Envisaging grammars based on the documentary model, Good (2011:1) states that much of the groundwork has already been done to standardise the methods and principles for digitising 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.

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. Metadata is the data manager. That is, metadata is 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 diaries, 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 organisation 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 properly 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

This work is chiefly carried out on the guidelines of documentary linguistics with descriptive linguistics tenets as an accompaniment. The documentary is the recording of day to day events of the community according the principles of documentary linguistics and a description of the language as observed in our analysis basing on the theory of Functional grammar, basic linguistic theory and the theory of structuralism.

1.2.1 Documentary Linguistics

The theory of documentarylinguistics with its pactice being language documentation is highlighted in the following quote:

> *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 and complementary be exploited for a good practice in grammar writing. A theory of language documentation as expounded by its proponents (Himmelmann 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, fieldnotes; 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. Some maxims on language documentation are presented below in a bid to respond to the above quote from Thieberger, as we consider how documentation should be conducted with us on-board using modern technology. 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 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 (e.g. using dates and sequence numbers). Different data formats are processed in three different contexts as seen in the table below:

Table 10: 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 table above 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." Bowern (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 Bowern (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."

Himmelmann (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 that 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 organisation, 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 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. 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 copyright issues, Himmelmann(1998) says that every compiler of a language documentation must 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 documentation 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 11: Types of Communicative Events

Parameter	Major types	Examples
unplanned		
	exclamative	'ouch!' 'fire!'
	directive	'scalpel' greetings small talk
	conversational	Chat discussion interview
	monological	narrative description speech formal address
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 summarise, 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).

Naturally, 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. According to 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 linguistics in particular.

- He also addresses 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 is 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 results from areas such as discourse, semantics, cognitive linguistics, prosody; which are not well understood. The lack of fluency in the language being documented results to lack of diversity in what is being documented. Easy collection and easy analysis are commonly documented than other textual types which are difficult to document as well as analysed. The lack of basic tools such as dictionaries or grammars 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 linguist 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 speakers.

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 sensitisation 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 give further information about the consultant. Thus, the framework is worth repeating for best documentary practices.

1.2.2 Descriptive Linguistics

Several theories interplay in the analysis of this grammar but some of those that carry the bulk of the work are the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2009), the theory of functional grammar andthe principles of structuralism.

The Basic Linguistic Theory studies language as natural science in which emprirical analysis are carriedout. The theory puts forward the four principles of language task, *There are*

four fundamental tasks for any science - description, explanation, prediction, and evaluation. This book is concerned mostly with the first two. Description deals with how a language is organized; for example, whether it has a system of tense or of gender, the nature of such systems, and the ways in which they fit into the overall grammatical fabric. Allied to this we must pursue explanation, and enquire why. What is the reason that one language has four genders, another just two, and a third language none at all? Why does one language have three future and five past tenses while another has no grammatical system directly relating to position in time? (Dixon 2009:4). In accodance with this theory, the language elements of Mbuk have been described, explained and in some areas predictions as well evaluations have been stated.

Stemming from the Prague School, the notion of functional grammar plays an important role in the analysis of Mbuk. The research dwells on methods of Dik (1997), the theory of Functional Grammar, "*We want a functional grammar to reveal those properties of linguistic expressions which are relevant to the manner in which they are used, and to do this in such a way that these properties can be related to the rules and principles governing verbal interaction. This means that we must not think of linguistic expressions as isolated objects, but as instruments which are used by a Speaker in order to evoke some intended interpretation in the Addressee, within a context defined by preceding expressions, and within a setting defined by the essential parameters of the speech situation.*" (Dik 1997:13). It is on this basis of the functional approach that we prioritized the documentary approach in order to tap contextualized linguistic expressions as well as exploring it in terms of a natural science. With this, we follow the various forms and functions of sounds, and contrast in context and applied same procedure for the words, phrases and clauses in the texts collected. The theory lays emphasis on form and meaning of constituents; a noun phrase catergory functioning as a subject/agent.

In addition, the synchronic tenets of structuralism, have as well guided the research "*Langue is not, however, merely a bundle of signs; it is a structured system of relations organized in terms of two*

contrasting axes. The first is a 'horizontal' (syntagmatic) axis along which signs are combined into sequences. Saussure declined to call these sequences 'sentences', since for him a sentence was an instance of parole (a unit that would probably be called an 'utterance' today). In addition, each point in the sequence represents a (more or less tightly constrained) choice of alternatives on a 'vertical' ('associative') axis. This two-dimensional framework became a central feature of structural linguistics (with 'paradigmatic' replacing the term 'associative')." Malmkjær (2010:XXXI). The principles of syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes have resolved morphophonemic issues of Mbuk.

Language is a complex element; no single theory can adequately account for its various facets thus necessitates a conglomeration/overlapping of theories to attempt an adequate analysis.

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 world view 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

Himmelmann (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 labelled "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. Till 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 documentation (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 12: Differences Between Collecting and Analysing Primary Data

	Collection	Analysis
Result	Corpus of utterances; notes on observations and comments by the 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 measuring, 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 major 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.

Himmelmann as the analytic activity. Descriptive theory has almost exclusively been occupied with the procedures for analysing 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 criticised 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 is 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 major theoretical challenge for documentary linguistics is the task of synthesising 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 multipurpose documentation. Bird &Simons (2003:570) summarise description and documentation acts with the following comment, *"researchers create descriptions, while they only collect documentation."* Thus in Mbuk, both documentation and analysis move together with the researcher ready to collect as much data as possible.

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. Three considerations in planning a project are:

- 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, timelines, time frames and workflows. She also discusses on

the project management raising a point it is 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 capitalise on initial enthusiasm and to realise that enthusiasm.

She also comments on project outcomes as being tangible and intangible end products of the project. The tangible outcomes are the things that one 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 a 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: Firstly, 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.

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

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

Fourthly, material should be transparent. They should be properly annotated. In short, they should be usable by anyone interested. If all texts 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.

Fifthly, 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.

Sixthly, 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 used. 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 7th points of Bird and Simons (2003), can make one 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-year 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, 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 re-speaking and translation in a conducive environment at a slower paste. 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 the 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 an 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 to conversations of the natives and by taking part in

their daily lives 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 go 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 this section. The Mbuk language and culture have 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 back 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 Tschonghongei 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 variant 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 Beboid cluster (Hombert 1980). These languages of the Beboid are divided into Western and Eastern Beboid and we will dwell mostly on those of the Western Bebiod and a few sample will be examines in the Eastern Beboid. The Western Beboid languages include; Buu, Mundabli, Mufu, 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 are 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 family of languages

The Mbuk language is lexically similar to Nooni, Naki, Misong, Buu, Koshin, Mundabli, Fang, Mungong, Ncane and especially Chung (Cung, Cuŋ). 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. The compared words in table 11 below are extracted from Blench (2005) with which Mbuk is not among the listed languages. The Mbuk words are from our current documentary process.

Table 13: Lexical Comparison of Mbuk with Western (Yemne-Kimbi) and Eastern Beboid

Languages	tree	Bird	Head	two	rain	eat	water	Groupings
Fang	pun	bìnɔnə	kʰu	fe	bualə	ʒi	ndzia	Western Beboid
koshin	kpɨn	kɨŋwɛn	kʰɨ	fi	dzaŋ	ʒi	ndi	Western Beboid
Missong	kite	Kimwa	Ifa	bifa	ibu	ndzənə	anyɛ	Western Beboid
Buu	kpon	kənyuwənə	Fa	bəfyɛ	dzəŋ	yi	ŋgɨn	Western Beboid
Mundabli	gban	Ŋwan	fɔ	mfiə	dzɨŋ	yi	ŋgi	Western Beboid
Mashi	ati	uŋyɛnɛ	Fu	bifə	dzaŋ	nyɛə	ngwɔ	Western Beboid
Abar	kəti	ʃinyuŋ	ifɛ	bifin	ibu	idʒi	anya	Western Beboid
Mbuk	**kpēn**	**fíɲʲéní**	**Fú**	**fá**	**dzàŋ**	**dzí**	**ŋgʷí**	**?**
Mungong	kə́tə́	fə́nē	kə̀kfù	féé	dʒàŋ	ǹdʒə̂	dyùù	Eastern Beboid
Chung	kwɛ̄ŋ	finyiénjí	fúú	fáá	dʒàŋ	dʒē	múi	Eastern Beboid
Nooni	kete	fiɲíi	ɛ̀fá	fɛ́ɛ́	yàŋ	díyə́	yòò	Eastern Beboid
Ncane	kítə́	Fìnjíí	kékwɛ́ɛ̄	fɛ́ɛ́	dyàŋ	djí	dyɔ̀ɔ̀	Eastern Beboid
Kemezung	kə́tʉ́	Fìnjíní	fô	fɛ́ɛ́	dʒàŋ	ndìá	ngɔ́ŋ	Eastern Beboid
Bebe	tíɛ́	Fìnjíní	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 a daughter language to Mbuk, lexical differences have occurred as a result of their separation for over 10 decades now. This lexical difference has led to the learning of both languages as a prerequisite for understanding each other thus, children as well as adults no longer acquire 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 by the settlers of Kumfutu of the Kuk language or non-deliberately 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. Maybe the etymology of the term "Chung" can give us more facts about the relatedness of Mbuk and Chung.

Since language is one of those key uniforms 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.

1.4.4 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 make the difference between Mbuk and Chung. Vertical root vowel raising change from back low to back high [ɔ / u] as we see:

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
4)	a.	[ɔ́ / ú]	[tɔ́mí]	[túmí]	"country"
	b.	[ɔ́ / ù]	[bɔ́m]	[bùm]	"accept"
	c.	[ɔ̀ / ù]	[mbɔ̀m]	[mbùm]	"large"
	d.	[ɔ́ / ú]	[tɔ́m]	[túm]	"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 [ɛ́ / í]

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
5)	a.	[ɛ́ / i´]	[dɛ́]	[dí]	"place"

Vertical root vowel lowering change from central mid to central low [ə́ / á]

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
6)	a.	[ə́ / á]	[dzə́ˠə́]	[dzáˠá]	"talk"

Vertical root vowel lowering change from high back to low back [ú / ɔ́]

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
7)	a.	[ú / ɔ́]	[nú]	[nɔ́]	"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:

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
8)	a.	[ɔ́ / á]	[kíŋɔ́ŋɔ́]	[kíɲáɲá]	"white-neck hawk"

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

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
9)	a.	[ə́ / ú]	[fə́kə́]	[fúkú]	"country"

Oblique root vowel lowering change from central mid to back low [ə / ɔ] seen below:

			Mbuk	*Chung*	*gloss*
10)	a.	[ə̀ / ɔ́]	[bə̌ː]	[bɔ́ŋ]	"call"

b.   **[ə́ / ɔ́]**   **[bə́ní]**   **[bɔ́ní]**   "greet"

There is also a modification of the vowel in (b) demonstrating some harmony whereby the [ə] take [ɪ] and the [ɔ] goes together with [i]. In (10a), the vowel change 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]

			Mbuk	Chung	gloss
11)	a.	[ə / i]	[ásə́]	[ásí]	"as"
	b.	[ə / e ~ ɪ]	[nə́]	[né~ní]	"mother"

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

1.4.5 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:

		Mbuk	Chung	gloss
12)	a.	[ŋgə́kí	[ŋgákə́]	"trouble"
		[ə, i]	[a, ə]	
	b.	[tʃɔ̀kɔ̀	[tʃʷàkà]	"iron"
		[ɔ, ɔ]	[a, a]	

1.4.6 Consonantal disunity

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

			Mbuk	Chung	gloss
13)			Mbuk	Chung	gloss
	a.	[dz / g]	[dzə́ŋ]	[gə́ŋ]	"corn"
	b.	[j / n]	[jə́]	[nə́]	"what"

c.　　[**h / s**]　　[**fáhí**]　　[**fásí**]　　"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)　　　　　　　　*Mbuk*　　*Chung*　　*gloss*
　　a.　　[**tʃ / tʃʷ**]　　[**tʃɔ̀kɔ̀**]　　[**tʃʷàkà**]　　"iron"
　　b.　　[**k / kʷ**]　　[**tìkʊ́lí**]　　[**tìkʷílí**]　　"family head"
　　c.　　[**b / bʷ**]　　[**bálí**]　　[**bʷɛ́lí**]　　"waist"

In addition, Chung has differentiated itself from Mbuk through palatalisation:

15)　　　　　　　　*Mbuk*　　*Chung*　　*gloss*
　　a.　　[**ɣ / gʲ**]　　[**ɣá**]　　[**gʲá**]　　"thing"
　　b.　　[**tʃ / kʲ**]　　[**tʃə́**]　　[**kʲə́**]　　"know"
　　c.　　[**b / bʲ**]　　[**bí**]　　[**bʲə́lí **]　　"follow"

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

1.4.7 Disunity in syllabification

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

16)　　　　　　　　　　*Mbuk*　　*Chung*　　*gloss*
　　a.　　CV / CVCV　　[**wɛ́**]　　[**wɛlí**]　　"open"
　　b.　　CV / CVCV　　[**tʃá**]　　[**kɔkɔ**]　　"tilt"
　　c.　　CV / CVCV　　[**bí**]　　[**bʲə́lí**]　　"follow"
　　d.　　CV / CVCV　　[**jɛ́**]　　[**jélí**]　　"name"
　　e.　　CV / CVCV　　[**dā**]　　[**dólí**]　　"vagina"
　　f.　　CVV / CVCV　　[**gbě:**]　　[**gbēlí**]　　"plant" (v)

1.4.8 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) *Mbuk* *Chung*

a. **[tɔ́m]** **[tɔ́m]**
"shoot" "put"

b. **[dzáˠá]** **[dzáˠá]**
"mouth" "say/talk, mouth"

c. **[gə̄ŋ]** **[gə̄ŋ]**
"carry" "corn"

1.4.9 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) *Mbuk* *Chung* *gloss*

a. **[fíŋkɔ́m]** **[fíkɔ́fí]** "knife"
b. **[dzʊ́ŋ]** **[dzɔ́]** "hire"
c. **[mə́ŋní]** **[mání]** "mání"

1.4.10 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) *Mbuk* *Chung* *gloss*

a. **[dzǔː]** **[dʒʊ́ŋ]** "house"
b. **[tɔ́m]** **[ntɔ́m]** "message"
c. **[bɑ̋ː]** **[mbʲáŋ]** "palm nut"

1.4.11 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)

	Mbuk	Chung	gloss
a.	**[jə́]**	**[nə́]**	"what"
b.	**[fàjí]**	**[nàjí]**	"where"
c.	**[fálí]**	**[fáŋní]**	"tilt"
d.	**[mbúŋwí]**	**[mbúŋmí]**	"dove"

1.4.12 Orthographic Accent

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

For over 5 years, the Mbuk has been studying one of its variants, 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 forceful 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.

		Chung Phonetics	Mbuk Phonetics	Mbuk Thesis Phonetic
	i	[-si]	[-hi]	[-hi~-si~h~s]
	ii	[-ɣ-]	[-ɣ-]	[-ɣ- ~ -k-]
	iii	[ɔ]	[o]	[o~ɔ]
	iv	[-ɲ	[-ɲ]	[-ɲ ~ ʲn ~ n]
	b.	[Chung Orth.	Chung Orth. (Mbuk)	
	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:

			Orthographic accent	Natural Mbuk	gloss
22)	i.	**h**	**jakasi**	**[jàˠàhí]**	"climb"
			tásā	**[táhā]**	"bowl"
	ii.	**ɣ**	**káká**	**[káˠá]**	"leg"
			kɔ̄kɔ̄	**[kɔ̄ˠɔ̄]**	"camwood"
	iii.	**o**	**fɔ̀kɔ̀**	**[fòˠò]**	"axe"
			bɔ̀kɔ̀	**[bòˠò ~ bóˠò]**	"stream"
	iv	**ɲ**	**wáin**	**[wáɲ]**	"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.

1.4.13   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 other members of the group were still behind yet to arrive at the bridge. Those that did not cross became [bɜ̀fáŋ] 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 arrived, Ngoofoy would use a short staff to beat the waters with it and the water would go down and after crossing he would beat the banks and the waters would come 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 should be substantiated with some linguistic evidence. In socio-historical terms, the Mbuk and Fang regard themselves as brothers. During war, a Mbuk man sought refuge in Fang and on his return was given wives, girls of Fang. Thus, the Fang and modern Mbuk have cross-pollinated 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 sociocultural traditions amongst which is the [kímfílì] annual festival which the Mbuk brought from the Fang which is known as [kə̀mfə̀nə̀] in the Fang language. The [kə̀mfə̀nə̀] is celebrated by four chiefdoms; the Fang, Mbuk, Koshin and Chung. The cultural festival was born mystically in Fang as the origin gives. The [kə̀mfə̀nə̀] originated from an occult realm. A Fang man had a friend at the realm that he used to visit and there was famine 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 on 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 what the food was used for. The wife just thought the husband had suddenly become a glutton meanwhile part of the food was being given to the girl in the woodbin. When

the girl got mature, the man took the girl back to the occult to present to his friend. When the friend saw his daughter, he was very happy and decided to offer the [kə̀mfə̀nə̀] as a reward for a job well done. On giving the [kə̀mfə̀nə̀] 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 instruments; 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 soloist 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 calabash is brought down from the door, and the herbs are prepared on the eve of the native Sunday, the dancing day. The chaff of the herbs is taken and throwing in the farms by women because they serve as fertilisers. (5) When water is poured inside the calabash it has to rain, but if it does not, it means the villagers still bear grudges amongst themselves and also that some are still owing fines of the previous year. The day of dancing is the celebration of the native new year, so they believe 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 villages. The powers of the festival can reveal which village will bring trouble or wage war against them and also dictate any individual within or without the village who is out to poison someone during the occasion. When any problem is noticed, the members of Kwifon would come out and stop the festivities and warn anyone who is harbouring evil plans 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 the soil 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 until the period of the observation of the [kə̀mfə̀nə̀] 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 relaxed, they are not taken very seriously as is the case in Fang.

1.4.14 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 all 2011) which Hombert (1980) refers to them as Western Beboid in direct opposite, he also refers to the other group as Eastern Beboid in the Noni areas. In this work, we will stick to the more recent renamed Western Beboid appellation known as Yemne-Kimbi while we simply refer to Eastern Beboids as Beboid. The comparative analyses begin with languages of Yemne-Kimbi of the Lower Fungom Subdivision 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 Lingusitic Atlas of Cameroon.

1.4.15 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 all (2011:101-164). Mundabli (M'bli). The "ø" implies the absence the sound.

23)	**Mbuk**	**[p]**	**[z]**	**[r]**	**[ʔ]**	**[v]**	**[kx]**	**[ɣ]**	**[h]**	**[ʃ]**	**[ɥ]**
	Fang	[~ p,b]	ø	ø	ø	[v]	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
	Koshin	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	[ʃ]	ø
	Chung	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
	M'bli	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	[ʃ]	[ɥ]
	Naki	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	[ʃ]	ø
	Munken	[~p]	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	[ʃ]	[ɥ]
	Ajumbu	ø	[z]	ø	[ʔ]	[v]	ø	[ɣ]	ø	[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 sounds 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]	ø	[ʔ]	[v]		[kx]	[ɣ]	[h]	[ʃ]	[ɥ]

The data is from Ndokobai & Hedinger (2005) and Thomorset &Tschonghongei (2003).

1.4.16   Comparable vowels

Another area that ties the languages together is the vowels, here we will look at laxed vowels [ɪ, ʊ] as well as nasalised "ṽ" and super-high "v̈" vowels since the other cardinal vowels are more universal, while "v:" represents phonemic long vowel, "ᵈv" diphthongs and "vˤ" pharyngealised vowel.

25)

Mbuk	ɪ	ʊ	ṽ	v̈	vː	ᵈv	ø
Fang	ø	ø	ø	v̈	vː	ᵈv	ø
Koshin	ø	ø	ṽ	v̈	ø	ᵈv	ø
M'bli	ɪ	ʊ	ø	v̈	vː	ᵈv	vˤ
Naki	ø	ø	ø	v	ø	ø	ø
Munken	ø	ø	ṽ	v̈	ø	ᵈv	ø
Ajumbu	ø	ø	ø	v̈	ø	ᵈv	ø

The "super-high" vowels in Koshin by Good et al (2001:141) also feature 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 [ttní] which has finally been retained as [túní], the same vowel carries a lot of frication will 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 no 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 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 vowels, they went in for direct opposites which are pharyngealised vowels which makes them different from Mbuk.

1.4.17 Comparable tones

All the Western Beboid languages are tonal but tone studies have been minimal. If tone is left out, many lexemes will become homophones and grammatical ambiguity will become heavier. These languages rely on tones 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	ê̄	ø	ø	ø	3
	Fang	é	è	ē	ê	ě	ø	ø	ø	ø	3
	Koshin	é	è	ē	ê	ě	ø	ø	ế	ø	3
	Naki	é	è	ē	ê	e					4
	Ajumbu	é	è	ē	ê	ø	ø	ø			4

1.4.18 Comparable mutations

Consonants' alternations have been observed in most of the languages of the Yemne-Kimbi area with stops becoming affricates [gb/gv]approximants 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]	[ny/nyw]	[m/mb]

28)	a.	[kp/k]	[kpɛ́n / kɛ̄n]	"tree/trees"	(Mbuk)
	b.	[kp/k]	[kpɔ̂ / kɔ̂]	"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]	[gbɔ̄ / dzɔ̄]	"house/houses"	(Mundabli)
30)	a.	[w/bw]	[wáɲ / bwā]	"child/children"	(Mbuk)
	b.	[w/y, dʒ]	[wín / yín (dʒín)]	"tooth/teeth"	(Koshin)

1.4.19   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 types mutative consonant cognate and mutative vowel cognate. The corpus on Koshin, Mundabli, Fang, Mashi and Misong are courtesy of Hamm (2002:30-32) not enclosed in any bracket:

31)

	Mbuk Chung	**Koshin**	**Mundabli**	**Fang**	**Mashi**	**Missong**
"water"	[ŋgʷí]	mwí	ndi	ŋgi	ndziam	ŋgwɔ	anyɛ
"snake"	[dzúŋ]	dzúŋ	yɔŋ	dʒwɔ̃	yua	dzu	idzuŋ
"rain"	[dzàŋ]	dzàŋ	dzaŋ	dzɨŋ	bualə	dzaŋ	ibu
"eat"	[dzí]	dzí	ʒi	yi	ʒi	nyɛə	ndzənə
"one"	[mú]	mú	mɔ	mə	mu	amu	kimu

1.4.20   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 (Missong, Munken, Abar, Ngun, Biya) in the personal pronouns, it should be noted that the 1P is not stated whether they

are inclusive or exclusive. The data (Koshin, Mundabli, Fang, Mashi, Ngun) is courtesy Good et al (2011) while Chung, Tabah (2015):

32)	**Mbuk**	**Chung**	**Koshin**	**Mundabli**	**Fang**	**Mashi**	**Ngun**
1S	[mì/m̩]	mi	mə̄	N̄	mə́	mi	mə̄/N̄
2S	[wò~wə̀]	wɔ	wə̄	à	wê	wə	ā
3S	[wì~wò~ù]	wi	wū	wù	wə́	lu	ù
1P.EXCL	[bə̀ɣə́~bə́]	bughu	sɨ̄	bī	tə̀	ki	sə̄
1P.INCL	[bə̀ɣên]	bughubweiŋ	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
2P	[bɛ̄n]	bɛiŋ	mbīny	bɛ̄n	nə̀	be	bɛ̄n
3P	[bó~bə́]	bɔ	bɔ́/bə́	bɔ̌	bə́	bu	bɥə̌́

1.4.21　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 14: Mbuk Family Noun Classes Compared

Nc	Mbuk	Chung	Koshin	Mundabli	Fang	Naki	Ngun
1	ø-		ø-	ø-	ø-	ø-	ù/ø-
2	bə̀-		bə-	bə̀-	bə-	bu-	bə-
3	ø-		ʷ-	ʷ-	ʷ-	ø-	ú-
4	ø-		ʸ-	ʸ-	ʸ-		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	kɪ̀-/ø-		kə-	ø-	ø/kə-	a-	kə-
8	bì-		bə-	ø-	bə-	bi-	bi-
9	ˋ		ˋ-	ˋ-	ˋ-	ˋ-	ì
10	ˊ		ˊ-	ˊ-	ˊ-	ˊ-	ì
19	fí-		fə(N)-	fì-	fə-	fi-	fi-
6a	mì-/N-		N-	N-	N-	N-	N-

1.4.22   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	ẁ-/ʊ̀-	ẁ-	ẁ-	w-	ẁ-	ẁ-
2	b́-	b́-	b́-	b-	b́-	bʉ́-
3	ẃ-	ẃ-	ẃ-	w-	ẃ-	ʉ́-
4	ý- (ý-)	ý-	ý-	y-		ý-
5	ẁ-	ẃ-	ẃ-	w-		ý-
6	ḱ-	t́- (cl.13)	ḱ- (cl.7)	t- (cl.13)	ń-	ḱ-
7	k̀-	ḱ-	ḱ-	k-	ḱ-	ḱ-
8	b̀- /bʲ- b̀-	b́-	b-	b́-	bʲ́-	
9	ỳ- (ỳ-)	ỳ-	ỳ-	y-	ỳ-	ỳ-
10	ý- (ý-)	ý-	ý-	y-	ý-	ý-
19	f́-/fʲ-	f́-	f́-	f-	fʲ́-	f́-
6a	m-	ḿ-	ḿ-	m-	ḿ-	mʉ́-

1.4.23   Mbuk and Eastern Beboid

The Eastern Beboid here referred simply as Beboid languages share 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 Beboid. Some of the Beboid languages include; Nsari (Mbissa), Noone (Nkor), Ncane (Nkanchi), Mungong (Mungong), Kemezung (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.

1.4.24 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 by Blench (2005) as shown below:

34)	**Mbuk**	**p**	**z**	**r**	**(ʔ)**	**v**	**kx**	**ɣ**	**h**	**ʃ**	**ɥ**
	Nsari	ø	ø	r	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ʃ	ø
	Noone	ø	ø	ø	(ʔ)	ø	ø	ɣ	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

1.4.25 Comparable cognates mutation

There is a dotted-all-over similarity and differences among 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~dʲ~j].

The single verb considered shows the presence of a constant [d] in all the languages while the vowel remains the variable, though varies but does not go out of the unrounded vowel zone, [i~ɛ~ə~a~e] while the diphthong in Kemezung and the CVCV structure in Noone can be palatalised [ndʲǎ, dʲə̂] respectively. On the perspective of the lexeme "one", we can say all the languages have labial related onset in most cases [m] mutates 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, as far as lexemes comparison is concerned there are a lot of ramifications between the languages 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 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"	[ŋgwí]	dzɔ̀ɔ̀	yòò	dyɔ̀ɔ̀	dyùù	ngɔ́ŋ	ngwí	mui
"snake"	[dzúŋ]	yɔ̀	yo	yɔ̄	yiə̀	yiə̀	yɔ̄	dyǔ
"rain"	[dzàŋ]	dzààŋ	yàŋ	dyàŋ	dʒàŋ	dʒàŋ	dyàŋ	dʒàŋ
"eat"	[dzí]	dyɛ́	díyə̀	djí	ǹdʒə̂	ndìá	dí	dʒē
"one"	[mú]	kpáŋ	māŋ	mɛ́màà	mbákā	mò	fímúè	mūū

But with respect to Mbuk as deictic centre, the divergence in consonant and vowel relationship is wider in Beboid than it is in Yemne-Kimbi (BB "Beboid", YK "Yemne-Kimbi"). The language Cung ~ Chung is born by Mbuk, and has already been classified as Beboid (Eastern Beboid). From the word for water below, we can conclude that Bebe, Cung, Mbuk, Koshin,

Mundabli, Fang, Missong belong to Yemne-Kimbi meanwhile Nsari, Noone, Ncane, Mungong are Beboid while Kemezung and Mashi are midway Beboid and Yemne-Kimbi.

33)

	Mbuk	Nsari	Noone	Ncane	Mungong	K'zung	Bebe	Cung
BB "water"	[ŋgwí]	dzɔ̀ɔ̀	yòò	dyɔ̀ɔ̀	dyùù	ngɔ́ŋ	ngwí	mui

34)

	Mbuk	Koshin	Mundabli	Fang	Mashi	Misong
YK "water"	[ŋgwí]	ndi	ŋgi	ndziam	ŋgwɔ	anyɛ

35) Looking at more data closely:

BB "snake"	[dzúŋ]	[yɔ̀]	[yo]	[yō]	[yiɤ̀]	[yō]	[dyŭ]
YK "snake"	[dzúŋ]	[yɔŋ]	[dʒwɔ̃]	[yua]	[dzu]	[idzuŋ]	

YK "rain"	[dzàŋ]	[dzaŋ]	[dzɨŋ]	[bualə	[dzaŋ]	[ibu]		
BB "rain"	[dzàŋ]	[dzààŋ]	[yàŋ]	dyàŋ	[dʒàŋ]	[dʒàŋ]	[dyàŋ]	[dʒàŋ]

YK "eat"	[dzí]	[ʒi]	[yi]	[ʒi]	[nyɛə	[ndzənə]	
BB "eat"	[dzí]	[dyɛ́]	[díyɤ̀]	[djí]	[ǹdʒɤ̂]	[ndìá]	[dí]	[dʒē]

YK "one"	[mu]	[mɔ]	[mə]	[mũ]	[amu]	[kimu]	
BB "one"	[mu]	[kpáŋ]	[māŋ	[mɛ́màà]	[mbákā]	[mò]	[fímúè]	[mūū]

If we were to rely on rain and the verb eat only, we would have said Mbuk is Beboid, but looking at 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 extent of lexical mixing among what is termed Yemne-Kimbi and Beboid 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 15: West Ring Analogy of Yemne-Kimbi/Beboid

Vowel	Aghem	Bu	Isu	Weh	Zhoa	Kumfutu	Kom	gloss
/i/	-dì	-tì	-dì	-dʒ̀e	-dèe	-tʒ̀e	-dzì	'cry'
	é-ɥí	é-wí	é-wíˣ	ē-wɔ́e	é-wɛ́e	ē-wí	ā-zúe	'nose'
	kɘ́-bî	é-bî	kɘ́-bî	é-bʒ̂e	kú-bêe	kɘ́-bʒ̂e	a-bî	'thigh'
/ɨ/	-ɲɘ́	-ɲǐ	-ɲí	-ɲí-ā	-ɲī	-ɲíim	-zɨ́	'enter'
	dzɘ̀m	tsɘ̀m	dzēm	dzɘ̀m	dzèm	tʃɘ̀m	dʒɘ̀m	'back'
/ʉ/	-zɘ́.mé	-zū.mê	-zɘ́.mé	-zú.mé	-zɵ̄e.mɘ̄	-zóe	dʒú.mí	'dry' v
	tɘ́.ndzɘ́	tɘ̄.ndzú	tɘ̄.ndzɘ́	tɘ́.ndzɵ̄	tɘ́.ndzɘ́	ń.dzɵ̄	ndzɨ̄.sɨ́	'clothes'
/u/	-tóm	-tóm	-túm	-tʊm	-túm	-tɔ́m	-túm	'send'
	ē-ɣóm	é-ɣóm	ē-ɣóm	ē-ɣóm	ē-ɣɔ̄m	ē-ɣɔ́m	ī-wúm	'egg'
/o/	-dɵ̄ʔ.ɔ́	-tɘ̄ʔ.ɘ́	-dɔ̄ʔ.ɔ́	-dɔ̄ʔ.ɔ́	-dɛ̄ʔ.ɛ́	-tɘ̄ʔ.ɘ́	-dū̄ʔ.í	'sit'
	ndzɔ́ŋ	ndzɔ́ŋ	ndzɔ́ŋ	ndʒɔ́ŋ	ṇ.dʒɔ́ŋ	ṇ.dʒɔ́ŋ	ndʒɔ́ŋ	'moon'
/ɔ/	-kɵ́ʔ	-kɵ́ʔ	-kʷɔ́ʔ	-kɔ́ʔ	-kɵ́ʔ	-kɵ́ʔ	-kɔ́ʔ	'ascend'
	ē-sɵ́ŋ	é-sɵ́ŋ	é-sɵ́ŋ	e-sɔ̄ŋ	ē-sɵ́ŋ	ē-séo	ī-sɔ́ŋ	'tooth'
	-mɵ̀ʔ	-mɵ̀ʔ	-mɵ̀ʔ	-mɵ̀ʔ	-mɵ̀ʔ	-mɵ̀ʔ	-mɵ̀ʔ	'one'
/a/	-bɛ̀e	-bàe	-bàː	-bàː	-bɜ̏ː	-bàə	-bàiɲ	hate
	-tɛ̀e	-tàe	-tàː	-tàː	-tɜ̏ː	-tàə	-tàiɲ	five

In the table above, we can see how similar these languages are but they are considered as separate entities. In 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 reason 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 the 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 links the Mbuk to the Yemne-Kimbi and one social factor is the presence of the Su-Bum market in between Mbuk and some of the Yemne-Kimbi languages.

1.4.26   Comparable Noun classes

The noun class is also one of the parameters we can use to determine the noun classification of languages. We will explore the noun classes and see in which direction the Mbuk language will be tilted more. The noun classes are courtesy of 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(ʷ)-	ø-	ø-
2	bə̀-	bɔ	ba-	bɛ-	bʌ-
3	ø-	øʷ-	øʷ-	øʷ-	øʷ-
4	ø-	ø-	ø-	ø-	__
5	ø-	e-	ø-	ø-	ø-
6	kí-	ɛ-	a-	__	ø-
7	kì-/ø-/kə̀-	ke-	ki-	ki-	kə-
8	bì-	bi-	bi-	bi-	bi-
9	ø-	ø̀-	ø̀-	ø̀-	ø̀-
10	ø-	ǿ-	ǿ-	ǿ-	ǿ-
19	fì-/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(1980)'s 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.

1.4.27   Comparable Noun Class Concord

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

37)

Class	Mbuk	Noni	Nchanti	Akweto	Bebe-Jatto
1	wˋ-	wˋ-	wˋ-	wˋ-	ŋgʷˋ-
2	bˊ-	bˊ-	bˊ-	bˊ-	bˊ-
3	wˊ-	wˊ-	wˊ-	wˊ-	wˊ-
4	yˊ-	yˊ-	yˊ-	yˊ-	—
5	wˊ-	dʸˊ-	čˊ-	čˊ-	lˊ-
6	kˊ-	ɛʸˊ-	aʷˊ-	---	ŋˊ-
7	kˋ-	kˊ-	kˊ-	kˊ-	kˊ-
8	bˊ-, bʸˊ-	bʸˊ-	bʸˊ-	bʸˊ-	bˊ-
9	yˋ-	yˋ-	yˋ-	yˋ-	nĵˋ-
10	yˊ-	yˊ-	yˊ-	yˊ-	yˊ-
19	fˋ-, fʸˊ-	fʸˊ-	fʸˊ-	fʸˊ-	fˊ-
6a	Nˊ-	mˊ-	mˊ-	mˊ-	mˊ-
12	—	kˊ-	—	—	kˊ-
14	---	bʷˊ-	bʷˊ-	bʷˊ-	—
25	---	mˊ-	mˊ-	mˊ-	—
26	---	mʷˊ-	mʷˊ-	mʷˊ-	mʷ-
27	—	dʸˊ-	čˊ-	—	—

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 elsewhere or else it is an island or a crossing point from one major family to the next major family thus, a midway family but critically looking at the class 12, the following variations in Mbuk:

38)   a.   ø-/ kɪ- (5/6), **bʷáˠám/ kíbʷáˠám**   "cup/cups" corresponds to

       b.   ø / bi- (5/8), **bʷáˠám / bibʷáˠám**   "cup/cups"

c.   ki-/bi- (7/8) **kíbʷáˠám / bíbʷáˠám**   "cup/cups"

d.   ø-/ø- (9/10) **bʷāˠām / bʷáˠám** "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) indicate that Mbuk is midway within the cluster. The description of Mbuk has taken into consideration its internal speech variation by the use of a tilde diacritic ∼ (**bʷāˠām ∼ bʷām)** 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.

1.4.28   Restricted Areal k- Plural Concord

The K- plural concord has been restricted only to the Yemne-Kimbi and Beboid 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. With this peculiarity, we regroup all the languages of both Yemne-Kimbi and Beboid that make use of k- plural concord to understand more about the internal taxonomy of languages within the 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 Beboid) which is still midway:

39)

Yemne-Kimbi	**Mbuk**	**Beboid**
(Western Beboid)	**(Central Beboid)**	**(Eastern Beboid)**
Munken	Mbuk	Noni
Abar		Nchanti

The plural prefixes and the plural concords as well as exemplary word are here below. Two Beboid (Eastern Beboid) 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 Beboid. 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-prefix but has the k-concord. For Mbuk, it has both the k- prefix and concord but void of circumfixation in this class though other classes in the Mbuk language do exhibit circumfixation.

40)

Language	**Prefix**	**Concord**
Abar	kə-... -Cə	ký-
Ngun	kə-... -Cə	k-
Biya	kə- ... -Cə	k-
Buu	kə̀-.... -Cə	k̀- *
Ajumbu	kə- ... (-lə)	k-
Munken	kí-... -Cə	ký-
Missong	kí-... -Cə	k-
Mbuk	**kí-**	**k-**
Mundabli	ø-	k-
Nchanti	či-	č-
Noni	yi-	dʸ-

The figure below shows the changes to the absence of the prefix in the diachronic view of the language. It dichotomy is illustrated with the noun class 7 prefix "kə-" in Abar that tends zero "ø-" in Mundabli (figure 7):

K-plural prefix   *change flow*

kə → kɪ → ki → či → yi → i → ø

Abar   **Mundabli**

Direction of flow   kə ————————————————▶ ø

                        Original   *Eroded*
                        prefix   **kə** -> *ø prefix*
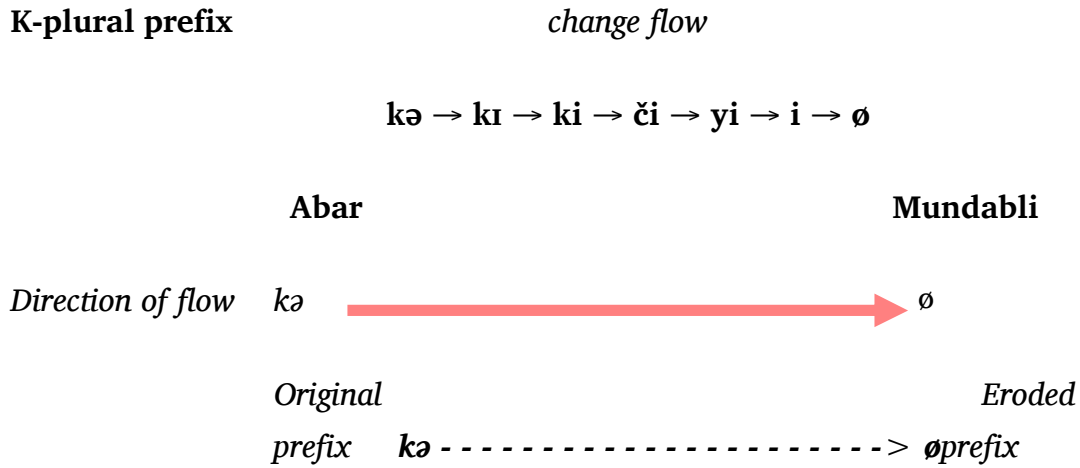
Figure 7: Prefix erosion

We will now look at the singular counterpart of the k- plural alongside the k- plural:

Compared prefixes and concords within Yemne-Kimbi in the frame below:

Singular   **Plural**

41)	**Language**	**class**	**Prefix**	**Concord**		**class**	**Prefix**	**Concord**
	Abar	4a	í-	ý-		6	kə-... -Cə	ký-
	Ngun	4a	í-	ý-		6	kə-... -Cə	ƙ-
	Biya	4a	í-	ý-		6	kə- ... -Cə	ƙ-
	*Buu	3/5	ø-/ʷ-	ẁ-		6/7b	kə̀-.... -Cə̀	k̀-
	Ajumbu	5	ø-	ý-		7(a)	kə- ... (-lə)	ƙ-
	Munken	4a	í-	ý-		6	kí-... -Cə	ký-
	Missong	4a	í-	ý-		6	kí-... -Cə	ƙ-
	Mbuk	**5**	**ø-**	**w-**		**6**	**kí-**	**ƙ-**
	Mundabli	5	ø-	w-		7	ø-	ƙ-
	Nchanti	5	ø-	č́		27	či-	č́
	Noni	5	-e	dʸ		27	yi-	dʸ́

*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 ẃ- concord and four of the languages have a zero prefix. Looking already, we can regroup the ẃ- 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:

	Language	Singular class	Prefix	Concord	Plural class	Prefix	Concord
42)	Koshin	5	ø-	ẃ-	13	tɛ-	t́-
	Fang	5	ø-	w-	13	tə-	t-
	Buu	3/5	ø-/ʷ-	ẁ-	6/7b	kə̀-.... -Cə̀	k̀-
	Mbuk	**5**	**ø-**	**ẃ-**	**6**	**kí-**	**ḱ-**
	Mundabli	5	ø-	ẃ-	7	ø-	ḱ-

Having arrived at 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 16: Cognates of The Ji [Boe] Group Within Yemne-Kimbi

Buu	Mundabli	Mbuk	Koshin	Fang	gloss
yi	yi	dzɪ	ʒi	ʒi	eat
tyeə	tʃiə	tʃʲə	tsi	kʰi	know
pi	pi	kpɪ	kpɨ	kfu	die
nduhe	dze	dzaˠa	dzama	gɛnə	say
ŋkɔŋə	nəŋ	nəŋ	nɨnɨ	muŋkɔŋwə	want
mõ	mu	Mu	mu	mu	drink
wɔ	wə	woˠo	wɔ	su	wash
tɛlə	guʃu	guʊˠʊ	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 sons 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):

Phylum	Niger Kordofanian (Niger-Congo)
Sub-phylum	Niger-Congo
Family	Atlantic-Congo
Sub-family	Volta-Congo
Branch	Benue-Congo
Sub-branch	Bantoid
Group	Southern
Sub-group	Beboid

Yemne-Kimbi ← Beboid → Eastern Beboid

Languages	Yemne-Kimbi	Eastern Beboid
	Mungbam [mij]	noni[875]
	Mufu-Mundabli [boe]	ncane[873]
	Buu [877]	munggong[885]
	Fang [fak]	kemezung[872]
	Ajumbu [muc]	naki [876]
	Koshin [879]	Bebe [871]
	Mbuk [no code]	Chung [886]

The approximate positions of the languages discussed in this chapter are shown in the Map below indicated as Figure 8.

YEMNE-KIMBI (WESTERN BEBOID)   EASTERN BEBOID
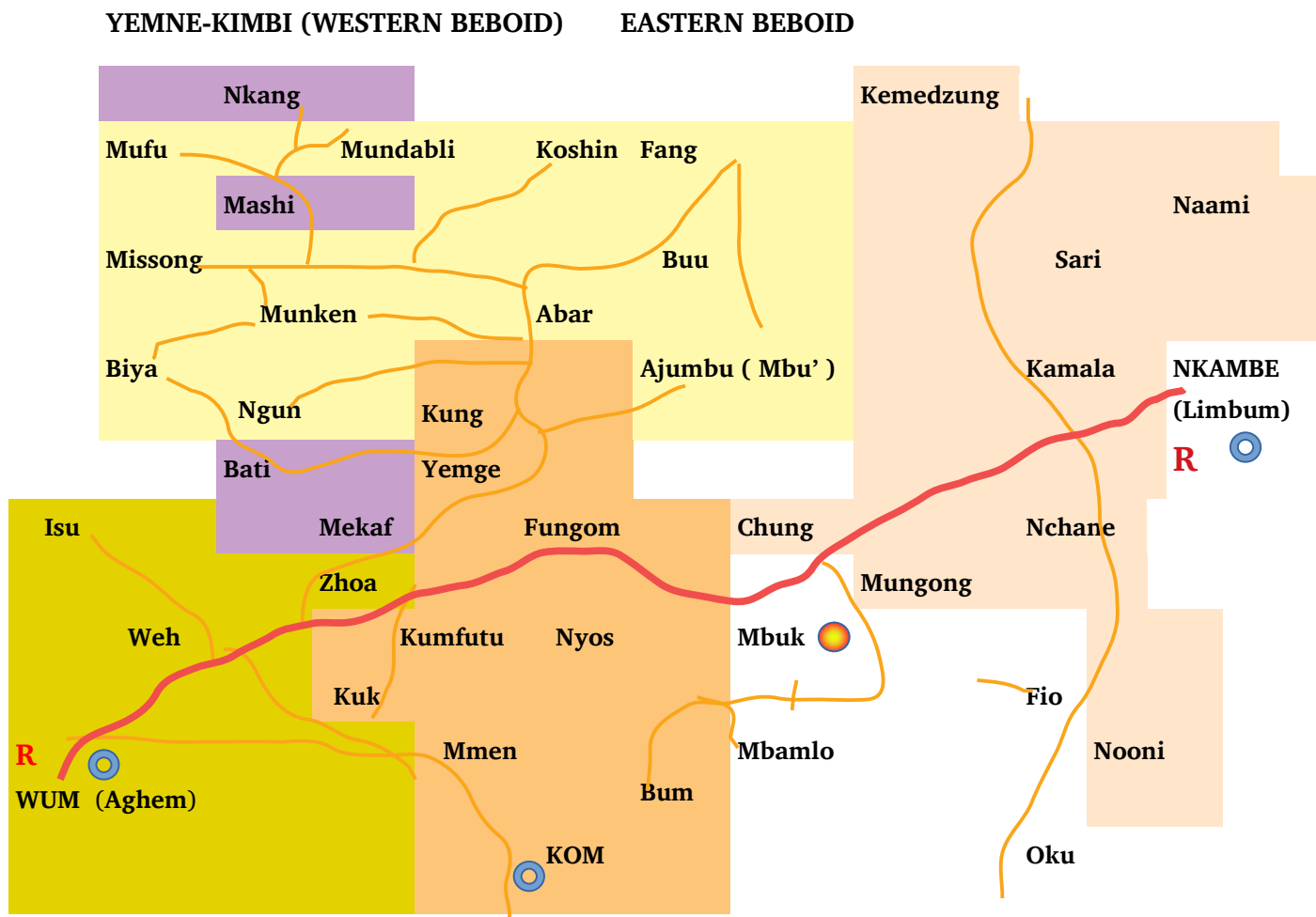
Figure 7: Mbuk within Yemne-Kimbi and Eastern Beboid

KEY

R ⁓ R   Ring Road(RR)

🔴   **Mbuk** (the radial red/yellow dot)

◎   Divisional Head Quarters (3 of 7 Divisional Head Quarters of the N. W. R.)

⁓   Roads or Footpaths leading to Languages, Dialects, Speech varieties (lects)

Yemne-Kimbi (Mungbam, Ajumbu, Fang, Koshin, Buu, Mufu, Mundabli)

Eastern Beboid (Nooni, Nchane, Mungong, Chung, Sari, Kemedzung)

Central Ring (Kom, Mmen, Kuk, Kung, Fungom)

Naki (Mekaf, Bati, Mashi, Nkang)

West Ring (Aghem, Weh, Isu, Zhoa)

The Mbuk language is in-between Yemne-Kimbi and Eastern (East) Beboid languages as seen in the map above is adapted from Good et al. (2011:104), SIL East Beboid Languages (2015) & Hombert (1981) and from Mbuk findings Tschonghongei (2014).

1.5 GAPS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This overview reveals that the language of Mbuk has not received any significant 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 linguists 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 world view, the Mbuk lexemes and culture will suffer attrition and be relegated to extinction. 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 morale 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 out 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 reviewed 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 and it has been reviewed in this chapter.

So, the new trend is the goal of our work to permit 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 great-grandparents would be able to see their grandparents and share in the wisdom they transmitted and 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.

The various locations of some of the languages discused in this work as been presented.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the methodology adopted for the research leading up to Mbuk documentary grammar by describing the methods of data collection, tools usage and analysis.

The documentary methodology covers the following aspects: Mbuk documentary data tapping, Documentary security, Metadata, Documentary techniques, Grammatical elicitations; Documentary tools; documentary self-education are the various ways we had to go through in documenting Mbuk.

2.1 DATA TAPPING

Many languages have disappeared from the face of the earth both in sounds and in signs with none of its data collected (tapped) and preserved. Some have got a reduced vitality; sphere of usage, and innumerable are totally being abandoned due to their lesser prestige. Many others have died because even though they were documented they were either not stored properly or had limited storage systems. The documentary data tapping method applied in this work sought to overcome such lapses.

The tapping metaphor used here, correlates with the wisdom and effort used by the wine-tapper to tap 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 linguistics 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.

Documentation is a social phenomenon that has the influence of the society we are working with. We had to appeal to the speech community of Mbuk to give us access into their natural activities, language and for us to be integrated as part of them wherever necessary since we were new to the community. 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. While, as well, is the community being afraid of the researcher. Hence, the opposing parties need a lot of control and understanding to achieve the goals of the research. In this light, it took us sometime for the Mbuk to welcome us fully into the community and to share with ease their stories with us.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. This aspect was implemented late in the research whereas one of our consultants assisted as a commentator.

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. The natives and non-natives can hear how the language is spoken in a given circumstance. Such as in the poem, "eat, wasp eat" [dzí kìŋkwàɲ kì dzɍ:], this expression informs the parents that the child is hungry. So, when someone is hungry, he can sing it in a form of a song to inform others about the need to eat.

2.1.1 Documentary and Non-Documentary Approach

Nowadays, language description is supported with documentary evidence. by documentary proofs, we mean that the analyses are supported 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 diverse it is and how meticulous it has been carried out. This gives chance for further analysis of the recordings offline or online by other experts interested in the data who are not necessarily linguists as in the past with non-documentary approach where it was reserved for linguists.

In recent times, documentary approach supersedes the non-documentary approach to language description. Thus, we are moving the current trend in language studies and preservation. A question format has been adopted to better project the advantages of the study from the vantage points of documentary linguistics:

- Are the expressions of a certain idea 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 [ʊ̀] but when you give a sentence to translate into the mother tongue the pronoun "he" is pronounced 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" 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 rendering the tapping of data a hideous task. In addition, even the researcher is at risk of being attacked in case of any misfortune in the community.

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 lens termed "Mbuk Descriptive Grammar: A Documentary Approach". This involves a grammatical description based on the pragmatics of language use and not on fabricated artificial non-contextualised ill-translated sounds, words, phrases, clauses and sentences. But on sounds, lexemes and expressions tapped ecologically (in the speech community, non-foreign to the context of usage).

In documentary linguistics, the question of a sample population is not a strict issue. We get information from every speaker we come across. 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 thought for 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 17: Documentary and Non-documentary Approach

Documentary approach	Non-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.	- 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.
- Repetition not necessary.	Demands repetition of expressions.
- The consultant is more active since he says freely what is in his mind without being conditioned to think in a particular way.	- The consultants get tired easily and are bored due to the strain of reasoning in a foreign language. Repetition is done for better understanding.
- The recordings capture every detail and even those that the consultant is not aware of them while uttering.	- Every detail should be written down which, of course, is impossible.
- Easy making of reference through metadata.	- Cannot easily trace files due to the absence of metadata.
- It saves time.	- It is time consuming.
- Deals with natural and pragmatic expressions.	- It deals with unnatural and unpragmatic expressions.
- Gives room for sign language analyses.	- Since they seldom rely on recordings, sign language study is virtually impossible.
- Public audience.	- Private audience.
- Community film.	- no film.
- Wider use of data collected.	- Restricted exploration of data collected.
- noise not permitted as it damages sounds.	- Noise from fowls permitted since recording is absent or is not taken seriously.
- Recording tools or equipment may fail.	- Tools not needed thus less chance for disappointment.
- Electricity needed for charging and backups.	- 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 be versed with it.	- You must not go to the field. Example, the Aghem Grammatical Structure was written in California while linguists 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 a longer time to gain skills	- Takes a shorter time to gain skills
- Requires frequent backup of data	- Less frequent backup of data
- Data is tapped	- Data is collected

In those days, what they presented as grammar on a hard copy is today a by-product of a software, ELAN, a documentary grammar. Today, the consultants (informants) accompany the researcher in the defence room hall and you hear and see them speaking the language, thus, giving access to hear from the horse's own mouth. What is more nowadays, we are able to have multiple analysts 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 horse's mouth; philological studies. Once an orthographic linguist has trespassed a language with its dogma, that language can no longer be articulated purely as when it has not known such a linguist. Orthographic and literacy linguists defy the naturalness of the speech. This introduces a new speech style, accent.

2.2 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 a live event. Details of each of these events unfold in the subsequent pages.
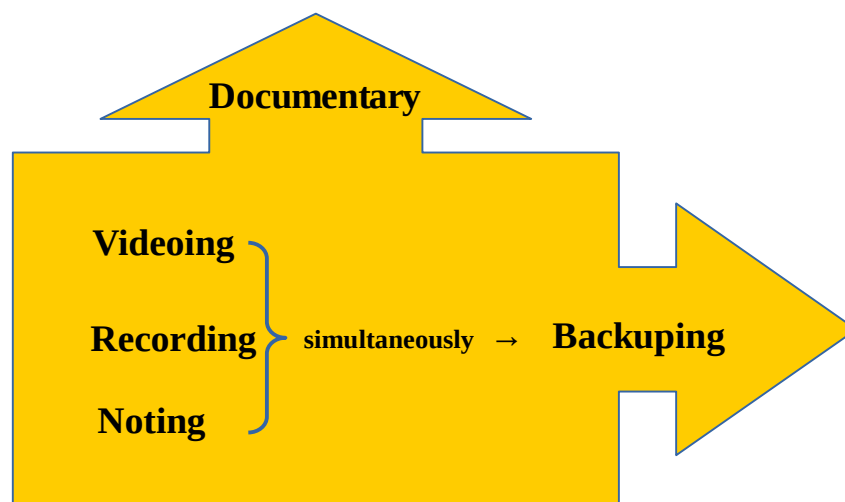
Figure 8: Documentary Events

2.2.1 Digital Archival

Digital arechival is how and where the results of the research would be stored. Before embarking on Mbuk, we new were servers would be available for online preservation. 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 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. We had trainings on archival during the research. This oriented us on what information would be needed from fieldwork in order to archive the data.

The sole archiving system is ALORA at 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 tools while LAMUS is an online uploading program.

The codecs acceptable by the archiving system of ALORA are MPEG 4 and MPEG 2 and file formats of lower-case wave "wav" or lower-case "mp4". Meanwhile the system is

incompatible with files of upper case MP3, MP4 and WAV, such files are rejected automatically by the media files within ARBIL session and cannot be uploaded into the archive.

2.2.2 Acquaintance

When we arrived the research field, first of all, we met the Fon of Mbuk and othertraditional rulers of the village. Then, we went to the Mayor of the municipality, thence the Divisional Officer of the jurisdiction andalso presentsoneself to the forces of law and order.

We state clearly our purpose to them and presents any relevant document from the university to prove to them that one has been sent by an institution.

Some consultants were sceptical about our mission in the community, we presented 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 the introductory day, do not move along with a camera and recorder so that you may not be tempted to use them. Explain to those you meet that the prime element of the research is recording and videoing. If they refuse recording and videoing, then no research will be done, so you simply have to 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 bothof you. Another challenging area of acquaintance is honour, respect and humility. Do what the people do with precaution taking a decision on what can be inappropriate for health. The image below is the Fon sharing wine with his subjects drink from his cup through their hands as a sign of paying absolute allegiance to their leader, the Fon of Mbuk:

KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00407 of Mbuk

Figure 9: Getting blessings from the Fon's cup

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. Studying the culture alongside the language helped us to know what to do and not to do throughout our stay in Mbuk.

2.2.3 A Spectrum of Consultants and Compensation

In Mbuk, we had about six (6) categories of consultants as seen in (fig. 10). Consultants are those who supply the researcher with the knowledge of the language in question. They are referred to as consultants or in other literatures as informants. In this work, we refer to them as consultants. Our consultants' Incentives was given according to output in relation to stipulated time used. During each working session, we noted the names or metadata of each of the

consultants. Six major consultants could be identified in relation to their availability to the researcher: - Regular consultants , - Accidental consultants,

- Irregular consultants, - Peripheral consultants,

- Occasional consultants, - Crowd/group/gathering/meeting

Researcher/Consultant Contacts

Researcher	Regular consultants	Peripheral consultants
	Irregular consultants	Peripheral consultants
	Occasional consultants	Peripheral consultants
	Accidental consultants	
	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Peripheral consultants
	Crowd / group	Peripheral consultants
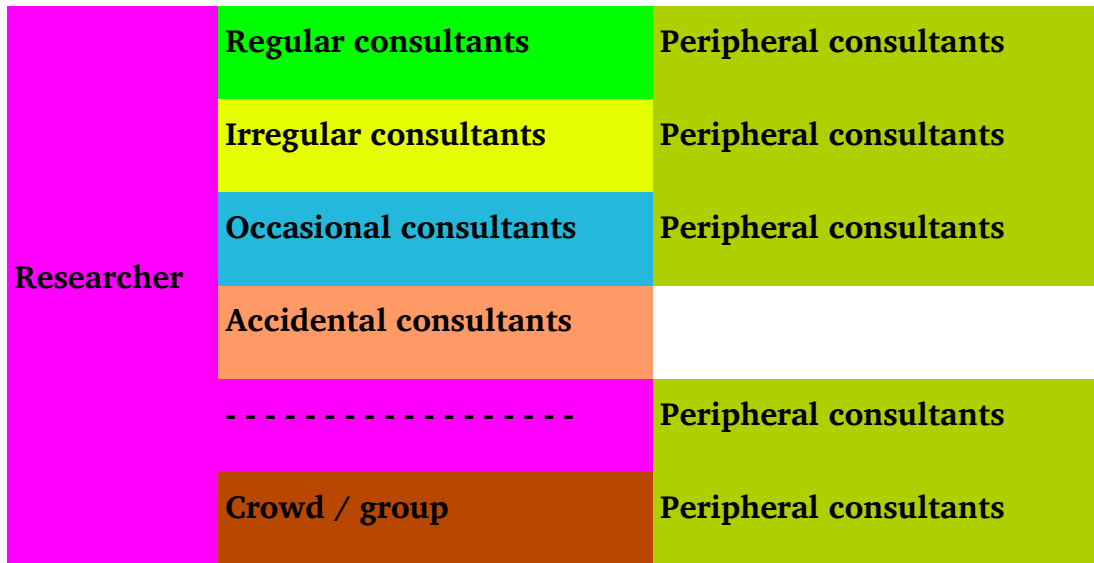
Figure 10: Researcher and Consultation Contacts

The regular consultants were the most active and had a frequent direct contact with us on scheduled. They acted like community researchers who go out and meet other members of the community for an information they are not sure of or do not know. The researcher was not aware of the people they met. These are known as peripheral consultants. We could 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 ready to work with him whenever he/she is available.

The occasional consultants are those around who are partially included in the consultant's 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 has 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 unplanned questions mostly circumstantial questions that arise according to the situation in which you both find yourselves at the 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 useful to the researcher due to language barriers or due to other issues known only to him. The peripheral may feel freer to converse with the native or brother who is the regular consultant.

One last consultant is the group or crowd consultation. This can embody the five sets 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 a question is asked to a group, some members of the group can consult some people privately for verification or to find out the answer, these private consultants are the peripheral or background consultants. Recording sessions are mostly covered by 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 a formal setting. But the peripheral and the regular consultant can have formal settings and most often without a recorder. Therefore, there is need to be conscious to get a recording of these impromptu interventions. Remuneration of the various consultants is a perplexing issue because some do not cover up to a minute of conversation. Thus, how much do

we give for an information that did not take up to a minute. 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 in a tape? How do we then calculate the hours of work? Very often, the peripheral consultants withhold information 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 are consciously remunerated to avoid conflict, hatred or selfishness of information. See Appendix 5 for some of the consultants.

2.2.4 Recording Caution

In recording, we adjusted the date of the recorder before starting to record. We are able to easily locate something that we recorded on a certain date. During recording, we watch the recording indicator light which often turns red to show that the recording is going on. When it is on, we verify whether the screen does not read as "invalid system". If it does, we reformat it before recording. We first of all make sure that the previous recorded data is backed up each time before formatting. When the first message is recorded, I checked if it could play in my recorder then uploaded it onto my laptop and verified if it can play. If it happens not to play, it means the memory card might have been corrupted by viruses or something hid the recorder or the recorder fell on the recording desk while it was on. Then I tried a virus-free memory card since formatting is not the solution or used a spare recorder. In addition, we made sure that the environment was not noisy, and placed the recorder closer the speakers while encouraging them to speak louder so as to capture every information with clarity.

2.2.5 Videoing Precaution

In Mbuk, a remote area, videoing was an unfriendly event. Certain events could only be taken from far because the performants were not willing to be clearer in the video or to be seen. Some acts were done in areas that a non-native can not come closer. This affected the voice and visual quality of some videos. The video has two components: the audio and image. Let range be one in which it can provide both a clear voice and a good image simultaneously.

Due to some of these camera restrictions, I then trained some smart consultants to assist in videoing since they could go closer to some speakers and they can be everywhere in their own village. Before I go out for videoing, I adjusted the date before beginning to record any data. I checked the first video whether it could play. If not then the card might have been corrupted. The I tried formatting the memory card (SD card or micro SD card) before recording again. The we verify if it can play, if not then we replace the card.

Furthermore, we realised that the social events may be good at the beginning of the recordings but on the long run during recording, the people 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 course, we stopped the videoing, and go away from the spot or withdraw to your room so that the fighting may not damage the camera or mar video and cordial relations. Some members of the community may also intoxicate the elders and villagers not to allow videoing, 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 them the burnt videos for free and that you are simply there to preserve and study the language. After our recordings some videos were made for the comunity and they have been requesting for more but this time they are available only for them to watch their events.

2.2.6 Wordlist

In Mbuk we started up with a Ron Moe Semantic Domains 10.000 wordlist to get acquianted with the people and the word structures before going round to homes, farms, bushes and to other social gatherings to witness activities. The wordlist is a list of premeditated words. This is only helpful when consultants are literate. The wordlist is not ideal for documentary linguistics. But documentary methods can be used for example, when we see the word "hat" we can ask the natives to list the names of the kinds of caps that they have in their village. A photo of the various caps in the community is taken and how they are called. We do not get only word for "hat" found in the wordlist. The words in the wordlist are considered as minor themes from which other words are tapped. They might not have a word for hat but do have names for other kinds of caps. This is true for the names of animals, insects, birds, fish, grass, trees. Vocabulary from a crab from river Mbuk:

fʷu / kìfʷú~bífʷu 5/6,8 "head"

káɣá / bíkáɣá 5/8 "leg"

ǹyʊ̀ŋ / bə̀ǹyʊ̀ŋ 1/2 "joint"

dʒō̄m / dʒú̄m 9/10 "back"

tʊ̀ŋ / tʊ̂ŋ 9/10 "anus or bottock"

ŋkáŋwí / bíŋkáŋwí 5/8 "crab"
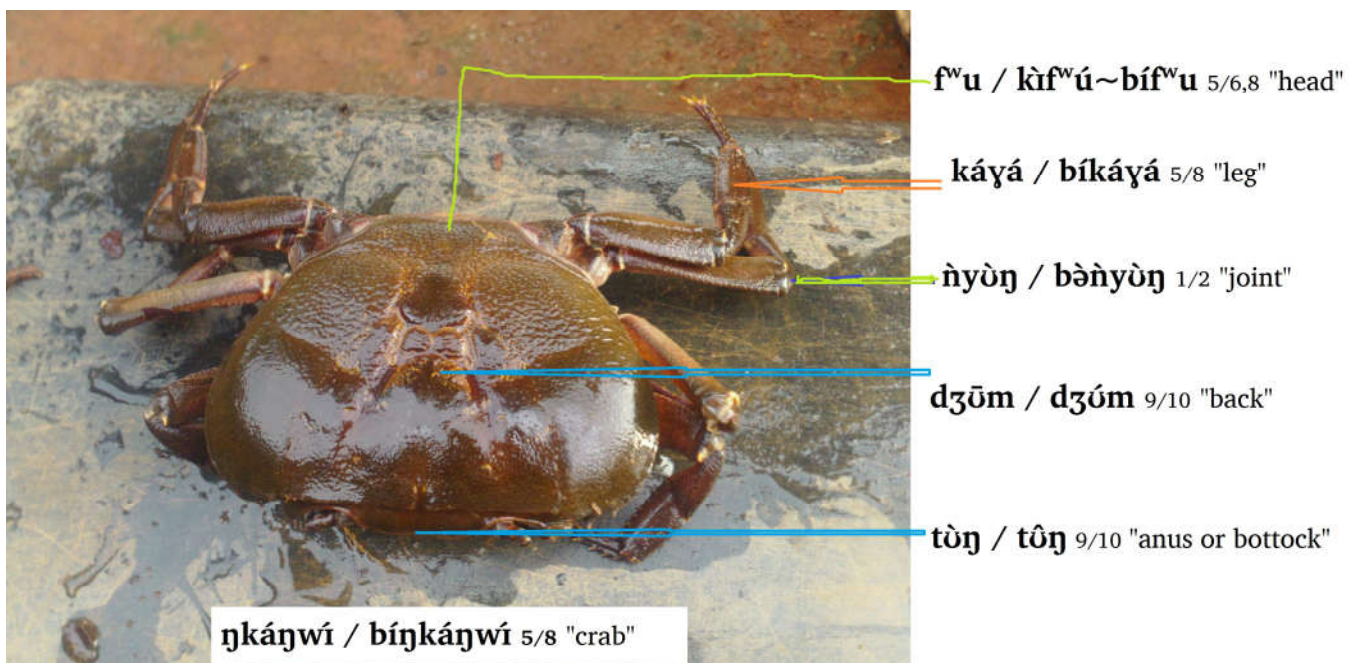
Figure 11: Mbuk Parts of a Crab

The documentary wordlist collection methods were used as seen in (fig. 11) to complement the premeditated wordlist. We 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.

2.2.7 Word-in-use

Contrary to the elicitation of a wordlist, in Mbuk, it is the word-in-use system which cuts across 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 events 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. At times, we projected the videos and watch them with Mbuk speakers. During this time, we get more words from the things they see in the video as they call them spontaneously.

2.2.8 Evaluation and Ethics

In Mbuk, due to its speech variation, some evaluative comments are often made similar to what we got from (Fio 2012). These are comments made by a fellow consultant (A) assessing the linguistic competence of another fellow consultant (B). For pragmatic reasons, we exemplify with the Fio case:

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

In the recordings, consultant B says [bə̀gˠə́] is Nchane word for "money". It is because consultant (A) is married from Nchane and he speaks the language with his wife. He has forgotten the Fio word for money which is [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 if A hears it or the children or relatives of A, it can cause a lot of problems. In this regard, ethically for Mbuk, we are conscious of the nature of public data.

2.2.9 Charging

Mbuk just like many suburbs in Cameroon lacks electicity. Replenishing the power of your camera or computer from a doubtful source of electrical power is dangerous. We have lost several chargers when 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.

There was a generator in Mbuk village but we could not use it due to our past experiences on the nature of village generators. But luckily, there was a solar energy system installed at the Bum Bible Translation Office that we often used in charging our equipment whenever the weather is good. We also a had solar lamp which could only charge a phone which served in recording when batteries fail. It was also possible charging the camera on a solar lamp but with low efficiency. If your laptop cannot hold power for several days to allow you back up on a daily basis then make provision for more spare memory cards; this is how we survived in Mbuk. At times, when the power situation is critical, we go to a nearby village, Misaje, once in a while to charge the laptop and backedup our corpora. In order to sustain our recorder, we had enough battery, the non-rechargeable Duracell batteries. The rechargeable are good where there is electricity, you can have two packets while you are using one packet the other should be on charge. So, it was not easy to successfully keep on recording without regular electricity.

2.2.10   Battery

We tested the lifespan of the battery before each recorder. Some recorders run down the battery even when there is no recording going on. So, each time the battery is inserted, we verify and estimate its duration. Some battery cannot go for a recording that would last for more than two hours. 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 rechargeable batteries often have no power in them. Make sure you verify this before moving to the field so that you can charge them before leaving.

Duracell batteries 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 Duracell batteries; you would not find them there.

2.2.11   SD Card or Micro SD Card (Memory Card)

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

We did test recording to make sure that our memory cards were good, that is, they could play both in the camera or recorder and in our laptop. If not, a full day is wasted collecting inaccessible data. We try to format the card in both the recorder and the camera. But each time we charged our camera with the card inside, it will become corrupted. It is preferable to charge them without the card inside the recorder. We had to learn this true tial and error.

2.2.12   Identification

In order to identify our recordings, we introduced each session with basic metadata information that is given before the recording of the topic or the information in question.
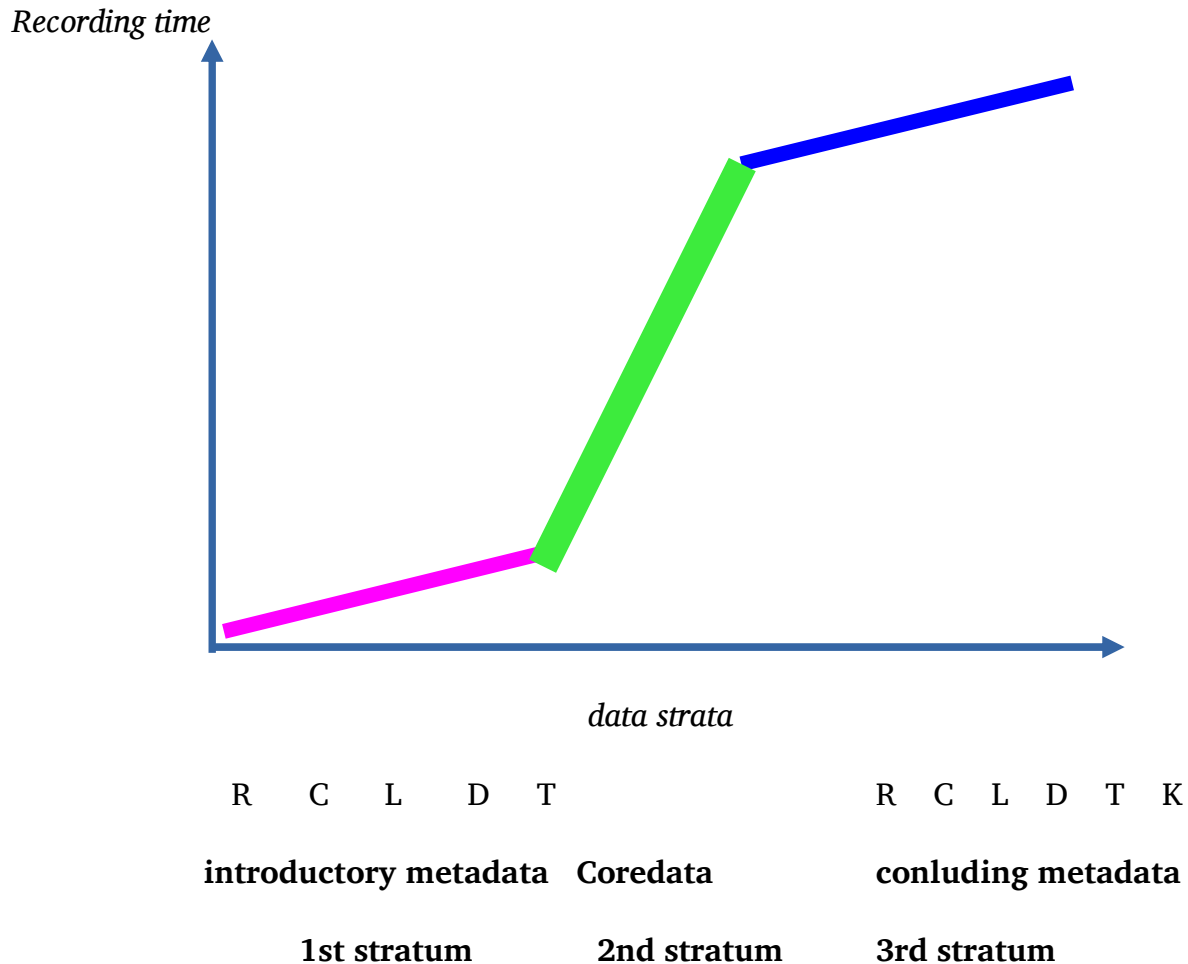
Figure 12: Recording Identification

We introduced with 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)
- consultant's name   (C)
- name of location   (L)
- date of recording and   (D)
- topic of discussion   (T)
- summary of key findings (K)

These parameters can be regarded as a remote metadata which is the first stratum of a data strata or a data directory. We often made identification twice, at the beginning and at the end of the recording as shown in the (fig. 12) above.

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 analysis. We made sure the date of each day is noted in a notebook. We distinguished three sessions: the morning session, afternoon session and evening session so that one can know exactly when we got the information. We ensure that the recorder and camera dates do correspond with the notebook date.

2.2.13   Backup

Any data that has not been backed up is lost data. If it has to be re-recorded, it will never be the same as the first one. So, we did a daily backup unfailingly and kept a security copy of all data elsewhere so that thieves, fire, and water cannot get access to damage them.

2.2.14   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 one may answer to the dialogue box command to override and unconsciously delete a vital data. Thus, we seldom deletedour data, rather, we renamed a file each time.

2.2.15   Blurred

Very often the best opportunity to get the most important data is when the environment is not friendly. But one can still be lucky to get evidence of what is 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 weare fortunate to get very clear recordings or video images then it is better. This explains why some of our videos or audios are of low quality in sight but rich in information.

2.2.16   Corpora

Data unanalysed is considered data uncollected. We noted on daily basis some key observations about the corpus so as to keep track of vital details. The data was classified for easy analysis. This saved us time from having to listen to all the recordings over and over again to tap out what is there if we had to keep the analysis the next day we may forget or have to go over the recorded data which is of course tedious and boring to do so. Hence, we did some partial analyses immediately we are back from the field, and went back to the recordings and videos merely for verification of some few facts when the ideas are still fresh in your mind.

2.2.17   Rains

One uncontrollable noise that could not be avoided was the rains. Most of the homes in Mbuk 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 rains. Research time is not maximised during the rainy season when rain falls for many hours. And we cannot record anything during this time. The critical raining period is between August and October. Thus, it is good to avoid recordings during this time or going for fieldwork. In addition, during rain, places are very slippery so it is more safe to carry the camera and recorder in a cushion bag rather than holding them with the hands for one may fall and get them destroyed. Moreover, when rain gets into the equipment it can damage them as well. So, we were sensitive very often to notice and avoid using equipment undera drizzle. Then we also inform those around that when they notice the presence of rain they should inform us to stop recording during rain fall.

2.2.18   Winds

Some of our recordings were not quite clear due to breeze and wind which distort the quality of sound. It is difficult to notice this when we record outdoor since our mind is focused to capture some curious event. We often used a "dead-cat" filter. At times, if we could plead for the event to be done indoor; in a wind-free environment like a closed room, we often do so. Reflections and reverberations generated by the walls should be taken care of to minimise these effects especially when the room is small and without the traditional mud walls as was the case in some of the rooms in Mbuk.

2.2.19   Crowing

The village setting is full of animals; fowls, birds, goats and pigs. During recording the sounds made by these animals overshadowed the voice of the deserved recordings. As a result we get poor data. We tried as much we could to think that a cock could crow around when recording is on. Some of our recordings have birds and roosters crowing and well as fowls with

its chicks, so it was difficult to avoid such sites when choosing for a recording environment.

Almost all homes rear animals in Mbuk and they frequent the house.

2.2.20   Distractions

In Mbuk, while the level of acquiantance was high, it rather called for invitations that could disturb the fieldwork timing. In documentary fieldwork, there is actually no distraction as long as we are gathered around with people. It is rather an advantage but we were careful not to rely on frequent personal friends' invitations, "Not part of my agenda. I have not yet covered what I am to do. I need to meet those who can help me go through what I am here for." When we reach the field, we get new friends who keep inviting us in their occasions, conferences and meetings. We took precautions against being derailed so as to maximise our research period. So that we can return from the field having done what we were assigned or planned to do. This can be done during part of your leisure time which very often in a documentation can find something useful for the research which you could not get in planned ceremonies.

2.2.21   Discussions

During our recordings, divergence and interference occurred. This is noise at the 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 waste a lot of time and battery because useless information is being recorded. Whenever we were faced with this situation we stopped the recording and resumed when the visitor is gone. At times, we seldom recorded the conversation if it is in Mbuk, then we findout at the end if it was useful for use to keep it or delete it. We use audacity to cut out this part of the recordings that the consult refused to be included in the recordings.

2.2.22   Cable

While in Mbuk, we had troubles with our SD cards and recorder, then we realised that the linking cables do harbour viruses. It is hard to get rid of them even after scanning. We just suspected the cable, and that was where the virus that affected our recorders and even the malfunctioning of the laptop at times was coming from. The linking cable that is used for charging the camera carries viruses. When we realised this, we had to move to a nearby village, Misaje and bought a different cable.

2.2.23   Sensitivity

Insensitivity in data collection may disrupt the research. At certain points we had to be philosophical in all we do on the field. When we noticed contradictory responses on a certain issue, we realised immediately that it is a sensitive issue. It is one of those things the natives will not want us foreigners to be aware of them. We discontinued the interview wisely and continue next time using a different strategy. Sometimes with different consultants with a different approach. We had to 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.

2.2.24   Hidden

In Mbuk, we noticed that communities would always love to preserve their dignity, thus, they will not tell us that part of their history that makes them inferior. Most of our literate consultants we discrete in their speech while the non-literate persons of that community were less restrictive. Hence, we interviewed the illiterates as well about the same issues of their tribe. We inquired from them about the origin of some of the jujus or cultural acts. Furthermore,

non-natives were interviewed about the history where they live. In addition, we also, sought information from the neighbouring villages concerning the people we are researching. We got information which we would have never gotten from the natives about themselves. The real history of a people are not told by the people themselves, especially the literate ones. So, having done research in the neighbouring villages in 2012, it helped us to get more insight into Mbuk history.

2.2.25   Politics

In Mbuk, we had consultants who were not versed with the language, but we worked with them to make a balance in the family distribution. Our communities is segmented into families, so we made sure that all the families are actively involved in what we were doing.

In terms of gender, we got data from both men and women, boys and girls. In addition, did not ignore children for they came to converse with us in their Mbuk language and we used the opportunity to learn the language and get used to how the language is spoken. They helped as well to confirm our data from hearing from children speaking freely in their community though very often they mixed with Bum. We involved all social strata both men and women.

2.2.26   Forgetfulness

There is nothing unavoidable as forgetfulness. About to backup data, I could not find the linking cable. We tried to own a field bag where we stored all field stuff in it and had a list of field items in the bag. We verified very often before going to the field to see if everything is in.

2.2.27   Caution

While in Mbuk, even though the village council had given me the right to carryout research, I had to explain the importance of what we were doing to each consultant before they could fully opt to speak.

We also had to beg them to guard our 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.

We once had our camera damaged by a juju in Ajumbu in 2013, so, we take a lot of precaution buy avoiding jujus come closer to where instrument are.

2.2.28   Unrecorded

The unrecorded or video data is often the key data that we have been looking for. It often occurs as a side comment or informal conversation which takes place after we have shut stopped recording. It often occurs on the street while we are busy doing something else.

Immediately we return to resting inn, I make a write-up on what I heard or saw then formulate research questions, and administer them and recorded the conversation.

2.2.29   Maturity

In Mbuk, some cultural barriers to language documentation do exist. In most traditional societies, we can only be initiated to when we have given birth to a child. Some require that we 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, we cannot have access to video data when we do not have a child. In addition, very often we need to be initiated before we can

sit together with the members and get the data needed. If one happens to see what is forbidden to be seen when he has no child yet, he can become barren for life.

In this light, not all our consultants as well can sit in some of this places. It they accept that we can record the event, we prepared a member to handle the recording aspect for us.

2.3 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. Metadata is detailed information about any data record, it is processed orderly for easy reference and a better storage, Withers (2012:72) "*The metadata can be entered in any order or at any stage during the process and then exported with the data files for use in the archive or as a backup of the current work. Once the metadata and its data are ready for archiving and an Internet connection is available it can be exported from Arbil and in the case of IMDI it can then be transferred to the main archive via LAMUS (Broeder et al., 2006) (archive management and upload system)".*Metadata is the history of our information (when, who, why, where, how; of the event or aspects we are recording). A KPAAM-CAM Metadata Template usually on excel sheet is provided in the appendix 6.

2.3.1 Consultant's Name

During the research in Mbuk, we noted the name of the narrator or consultant, age, sex, quarter within Mbuk village, the list of languages he can speak other than Mbuk, the name of his paternal family or maternal family (patrilineal/matrilineal or patriclan/matriclan), matrimonial status, if married; village of the wife or husband were collected. We also check if the narrator had any speech impairment proper so that we can understand why he pronounces

certain words somehow. These details helped us to trace their cultural links and the degree of language contact that has occurred.

2.3.2 Place of Recording

We noted details about the place where the interview was carried out. The name of the host as well as the name of the quarter and village. This kept track of the various quarters in which recording took place in Mbuk.

2.3.3 Circumstances of Recording

The recording situations in Mbuk were noisy and accompanied by other issues impromptu visits that disturbed the quality of the recordings? We also noted those present during the recordings? Was the rain pouring or the birds were making noise around? We realised that most of the our evening recordings had noise from birds due to many trees around. So we tried to relocate and also tried to avoid recording during such hours. Some elicitation sessions were done after the consultants have returned from their job sites while most were impromptu (non-elicitated) recordings had no specific hour and the distracting or disturbing circumstances of the latter couldn't be avoid since the scene is contextual and spontaneous where it is taking place; while moving along the road we found people catching wingless termites or while going to meets a consultant we bump into a feast of a newly built house or traditional palm oil milling. Hence, there was non-elicitated but preplanned; we knew a head of time that such event would be taking place and we simply watch the natives as they carryout their activities or performances such the burial of the Mbuk patriarch, Pa. Company Nkambi (13March2015) or an annual festival (05–10 August 2015).

2.3.4 Duration of Recording

In Mbuk, the recording duration and size of each file are noted on the metadata. The timeframe of recording, the duration; when it started and when it ended. This helps in knowing the duration of the file to get precisions about annotations; it directs us on the length of each file. The archivist uses this piece of information to determine uploading and downloading activities. It also, simultaneously indicates the size of the audio or video which accompany archival processes. It also helps to quantify the data in terms of hours and giga bytes for example Mbuk has (200GB).

2.3.5 Access

The documentaries of Mbuk are not all access free. Who should have access to the stories or who can listen to the stories is the questions to reflect on with respect to some of the corpus.

Some of the stories have information which other members of the village can not listen to; 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, we are going over the recordings and noting those that can be for the public and those that cannot be allowed to the public.

2.3.6 Birth place and Settlement Displacements

When we arrived Mbuk, we conducted a sociolinguistic interview to help us define our consultants. From the questionnaire, we were able to know the various places the consultant

has lived through out his or her life. Whether he or she was born in Mbuk and stayed only in Mbuk till date. He was born in Mbuk, 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, we find out long term and short term displacement of the consultant outside the village. We check if the consultant has gone out for business, marriage, schooling or to work elsewhere before coming back and settling in the village. Then we note such information about the consultant and it determines the choice of our key consultants. If he has 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.

2.3.7 File name

In naming our Mbuk files, we gav**e** a new name to the file which you have copied from the original backup file whose original name looks like ZOOM0003.MP3. After having copied, it is renamedt as KPAAM-CAM-NT-Mbuk1-Prisca_Song1-2015-02-30.MP3. The name Prisca is given a code in the metadata excel sheet: KPL-5. Where 5 means the 5th name on the sheet while KPL are the abbreviations of her full names. With file name, we can easily search any Mbuk file since it incorporates the topic of the session.

2.3.8 Recorder type

In the Mbuk metadata, the name of the recording instrument is stated. This helps the archivist to archive the data with ease. Any archiving hitches are easily identified through the

trade mark of the equipment. The file size and conversion (wma or wav or MP3) to help in uploading data online.

2.3.9 Communication Contacts

The phone technology has become one of the background needed to get to our consultants. The Phone number or Email is used for data collection, verification and maintenance of friendly contact. This has advanced the research of Mbuk as we call back to the village for some verifications and additional data recording through whatsapp.

2.3.10 Spares

Since we had no electricity in Mbuk, we had spares as means to overcome the lack of power. In addition, during recording, the memory card (Micro SD card) becomes full, the spare is inserted immediately to minimise time wastage. Spare memory cards, recorders, and batteries were mde available for an effective fieldwork in Mbuk. At times, we could not transfer the data to the laptop to cleanup the SD card for the next recording, so, we had to use the spares one to keep on recording until we had the opportunity to charge our laptop.

2.3.11 Finance

Our daily expenses in Mbuk were noted in a notebook for a vivid account of daily spending. It helped us to be aware of what amount of money was still available and how much work can still be done. The key areas of spendings are given on table (16):

Other Areas of Expenditures: L, M, N

- Motivations for videoing
- Occassional meals assistance
- Birth assistance
- Bereaved assistance
- Transport assistance
- Motivation for pictures snapped
- Health assistance
- Community work assistance
- Telephone credit assistance
- Consultants/Villagers in their leisure drinking spots
- Schooling assistance in terms of (pen, pencil, others)
- Diplomacy; some consultants advise that money be given to non-consultants for the sake of peace

Table 18: Documentary Research Report

Researcher / Level: Nelson C. Tschonghongei / PhD, University of Yaounde 1, Linguistics

Topic / Area: Mbuk Documentary Grammar / NWR, Boyo Division, Bum Sub-Division

Funding:

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 (kɪtɔŋ ~ bítɔ́ŋ)
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	

2.3.12   Daily Record of Activity and Reporting

The Mbuk research had five reporting segments: daily, weekly, monthly summary and quarterly (3 months report of the state of reseach activities) and finally and annual narrative account of the research. We wrote report daily at the end of each day. We did not postpone to the next day as a means of taking precaution to not forget some facts.

In reporting, we noted the date, the consultants with whom research was conducted, the metadata, a brief literary description of the day's events. In the report, we jotted any special event or curiosity that we came across. The financial accounts are balanced with details on each expense. We comment on those who supported in cash or kind on the field each day.

In our research, a day to day record keeping of our activities helped guided us and tracked the research plan. It helps for proper weekly, monthly and yearly report. It reminded us and our funders of what has been done and what is to be done.

2.3.13   Coding and Consultant's Basic Metadata

While in Mbuk, at the end of each day, we named our files. The file names are a reference when reporting. We coded all the consultants with their basic metadata before writing the narrative report. When naming the files, we try not to override files of the same name. We could change the name of one of them and may no longer know who is who. We back-up the audios, videos and the narrative report. In writing the report, we included the code and the recording section (00:30:01) 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 as well by knowing who the consultant is through his image. In coding, use the language name, date, accronym of your name separated with hyphens or dashes. See the structure of a consutant identification album consist of the name, code, number, year of birth, gender, record date,

marrital status, role, and topic or event (fig. 13). The album gives image of each participants and his/her basic metadata. KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk-3-WAN_Sugarcane_2014-11-12.Wav. This helps in tracing the files and knowing who the consultant is and his data through his image:

WAN-3

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**

Figure 13: Presenting Mbuk Consultant's Basic Metadata

2.3.14   Choice of Consultants

The prime consideration of our consultants was determined through the administration of 20 copies of the socioliguistic interview guide from which got the sociolinguist profile of some members of the Mbuk community. This was also an opportunity thorugh which we became closer to the people of Mbuk. We discovered that there were three living disctinct Mbuk families that constitute the Mbuk patriclan. We interviewed the Fon to conform the distribution of Mbuk families. Then we suggested that the Fon should give us those who can assist in the documentation of Mbuk.

Each of the tree families are led by a *Nji* who is considered a vice of the Fon.

The Fon proposed a list of some consultants from the various families and we then generalised whoever was available to keep the research moving without any hindrance. From

the 20 consultants soo many athers uttered a word in our research and we noted a total of over 100 consultants (appendix 5).

After studying the sociolinguistic profile of each consultants we frequently got data from those who were born in the village, live throughout their time in the village and from diverse background of activies. Mbuk from antiquity had practiced exogamous marriage, thus, in selecting the consultants, we took into account the origin of the consultant's mother in order to justify some aspect of the counsultant's language nuances. The table presents some of the most frequent consonants in the documentaries.

Table 19: Most Frequent Consultants

	Mbuk Language Consultants for the Mbuk Documentary Grammar 2014 – 2016					
	FullName	Code	DOB	Occ	Family	Language description
1	Fon. Wango Solomon Nkambi	FSW-1	1949 Mbuk	Ruler	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Fang, Pidgin
2	Rev. Lang George bya	RLG-2	1957 Mbuk	Rev Pastor	[bʷántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Nooni, Limbum, Bikom (Kom), Mundabli, Koshin, Dumbu, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English
3	Wabua Angelbert Ndicha	WAN-3	1990 Mbuk	Student	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English, French
4	Ngwang Rudolf Wabua	NRW-4	1977 Mbuk	Farmer	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin
5	Lenghaneh Prisca Kichua	KP-5	1973 Mbuk	Business	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulani, Pidgin
6	Chia Clementine Tili	TC-6	1970 Mbuk	Farmer	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung
9	Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha	NNN-9		Registrar	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin, English
10	Pa. Freeboy Ndang	FN-10	1944 Mbuk	Weaver, CDC	[bʷántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Mundabli, Bikom, Chung, Bafmen, Koshin, Fang, Mungong, Dumbu, Pidgin
11	Lang Elijah Ngwang	LE-11	1998 Mbuk	Student	[bʷántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Lamnso', Pidgin, English
12	*Nji* Ngong Philemon Foncha	NPF-12	1967 Mashi	Farmer	[bə́ndõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Bikom, Bafmen, Mashi, Njikum, Pidgin, English
13	Tanto Nya Yambong Samuel	TNY-13	1954 Mbuk	Farmer	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Fulani (Fulfulde), Bikom, Bafmen, Fang, Dumbu
14	*Nji* Nchwaksi Simon Ŋam	NKS-14	1948 Mbuk	Weaver	[bʷántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Bafang, Bikom, Bafmen, Mungong, Dumbu, Mundabli, Chung

15	Clement Lenghacha Nkwembo	CL-15	1950 Mbuk	Fishing	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Fang, Mashi, Bikom, Fulfulde, Pidgin
16	Wabua Blasius Samban	WBS-16	1983 Mbuk	Student	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English, French
17	Wango John Kumta	WJK-17	1998 Mbuk	Student	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English
18	Wabua Joseph Ntagha	WNJ-18	1952 Mbuk	Trader	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Bikom, Pidgin
19	Nji Nya Augustin Bia	NYA-60	1947 Mbuk	CDC	[bʷâʃɔ́m]	Mbuk, Chung, Fang, Bikom, Dumbu, Mungong, Pidgin
20	Bikem Nestor Bikem	BN-31	1994 Mbuk	Student	[bʷántõ̀ː]	Mbuk, Chung, Bum, English, Pidgin

2.4 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, interaction and knowledge transmission. Because of this functionality of language we used the following techniques to systemantically extract the various components of language such as; words, phrases, clauses and sentences of Mbuk as well as it cultural fabric.

2.4.1 Lexical elicitation

One thing the documentary linguist is searching for is words or lexemes of a language. In Mbuk, the literacy rate is low and it is hard to find literate people in English. Thus, to apply one method to collect words cannot be sufficient. So, a multidimensional method was applied to get many words as possible and to overcome the barriers imposed by English. We had to move round the community to get the words through looking at the objects and actions and asking questions about what we saw, heard, touched, felt, and tasted.

2.4.2 Wordlist translation

A wordlist is a ready 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 was void of pragmantic considerations, it was created with a background of a different culture.

In addition, homophones often gave the native speaker the nearest or the word he is used to such that they gave a wrong equivalent of a word in Mbuk. Thus, the wordlist needed a lot of keenness on our part to make sure that the consultant does not miss the sense of the word. Documentary is ecological, certain features are found in certain areas which you cannot get from the prescribed fixed wordlist but when we move around we got 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. Mbuk consultants remembered but a near homophone [kàm] meaning "fore juju" which they frequently see than the cliff.

2.4.3 Object pointing

In Mbuk, certain English terms do not occur in the language and there are also Mbuk 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 hurdles of illiteracy that usually impede the collection of words.

One pragmatic system for collecting words is moving around with the consultant as he names things round the village. Go to the hills and name plants and insects and animals that you come across. The naming is accompanied by a video image and photo of the element with supporting explanations or helpful comments about the element.

2.4.4 Semantic domains

The specific exploration of one item for words is preferable because the native speakers have the names. The speaker has to list the words used for the concepts. For instance, the domain of palm tree has several words that we cannot get without looking at the palm tree and what is done on it or with it. This system saves time and more words were documented within a short time. Words are contextualised and something like a thesaurus can be developed if several domains are treated. In addition, synonyms are easily remembered. In Mbuk, we targetted themes; on certain days we move into the palm plantations harvesting palms with the Mbuk people then discuss about the palms and participated during the palm oil production. Then we move together to their hills to get the videos of plants and their names and some days we find ourselves at the bank of river Mbuk to clear farms, prepare planting along the banks.

2.4.5 Arts and Crafts for Tapping Words

In the process of expressing skills in the production of something like the Mbuk fishing basket and the weaving of a mat which requires two kinds of bamboo (the round and the unround bomboo which is flat one side). Words that could not be recalled in the process of elicitation of items could not come to mind but during the fabrication of items (the documentary process), names of the part of the items are remembered, the instruments (tools) used and the materials prepared for the fabriacation of the artefact and the source of the various materials is also noted. In our first trip, kinds of fishing instruments were named and some were not recalled. In our second trip, we asked them to fabricate a fishing basket and one intermediary basket was produced whose name was not in the first trip wordlist. Hence, the documentation of arts and craft helps us to collect practical and contextual corpora.
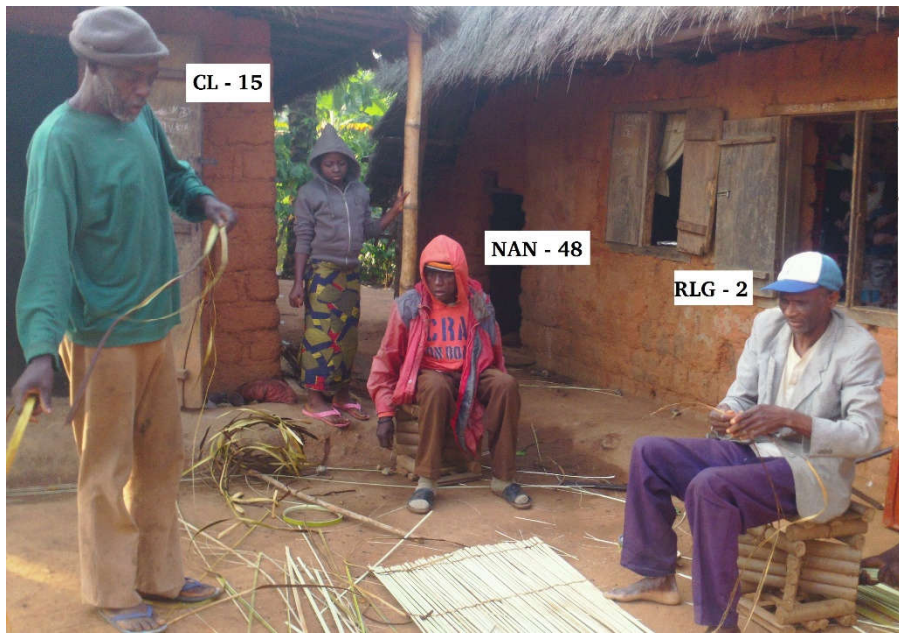
Actor: Rev. Lang George Bya (RLG - 2)
&
Actor: Pa. Ngwang Abel Nkembo (NAN - 48)
&
Actor: Mr. Clement Lenghacha (CL - 15)

Activity: Constructing a fishing basket

Date: 2014-12-30 (30 December 2014)

Figure14: Mbuk Arts and craft activity: Fishing basket

The pictures (fig.14) presents some artistic activities of the village from which words and literature was tapped. The partioning of a pig's 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. The cultural vitality is extensive and not every body partake in the "plaited intestines" [lâː bí lôːní]. This is also true for a fowl. Certain parts are given to the Fon while the others are given to notables and to the one who roasts the fowl, the legs. In a dance group, each member has a particular part to eat depending on his rank. The elders of Mbuk value these intestine and the liver. It was only after the dissection documentation that we learned more about the culture of Mbuk in relation to the pig value attached to a pig. The community rears a lot of pigs for cultural and commercial purpose.

2.4.6 Ritual performances

Very often ritual performances carry with them periodical vocabulary. That is, only on certain periods of the year that one can hear of certain words. When the period is over, we may not hear of 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 were allowed to record and got the vocabulary and grammar of Mbuk. Figure 15 shows our interaction with the group.

Figure 15: Mandzong House

2.4.7 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

provokes tears to flow and causes the development of goose flesh as well as instilled fear or bravery in the people. 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 means the songs are poetical and thus their meanings are not taken literally; they involve the semantic study rather than just a grammatical reflection to give the right denoted meaning the the wordings of the songs. Many of the songs have been documented in videos and audios. The songs range from mariage, funeral, festival, ordinary social group (Mbuk Young Farmers) amd gospel songs composed in Mbuk.

2.4.8 Stories

The life experienced stories of Mbuk helped us to know the reason why Mbuk has not been extinct yet just like its neighbours. Stories recording was also another avenue to tap words. Stories carry natural and pragmatic expression of language. In the elicitation of wordlist of adjectives, the regular expression for adjectives is given and another system of adjectives is left out. This system is highlighted or retrieved from 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 expose certain semantic aspects that could not be gotten if we failed to take into account stories for the collection of our wordlist and the study of grammar and semantics. Unlike in songs, the emotional effect of stories is mostly humourous as one can hear listeners sometime laughing or sighing at the background when the story is interrupted.

2.4.9 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.

2.4.10 Myths

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

In the arts of Mbuk, we have often asked them if there is a law attached on something. For some, we did not ask but when we want to attempt doing something, we are cautioned not to do for it is forbidden and the reason for injunction is explained to us. 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 clung more strongly to one that has nothing to do with hygiene such as forbidding someone to crack a palm nut whose oil is still on the process of making in order to get more oil. These myths are benefical 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 from sex on the eve of producing corn beer. If she fails to obey this, the corn beer will not be sweet or will be "sweeet on one side of jaws" that is partially sweet and watery, not thick. One can successfully be free in Mbuk if he has a mastery of its myth system.

2.5 GRAMMATICAL ELICITATION

The grammar of Mbuk was tapped using two main strategies; (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 thematic words, phrases, clauses or sentences with the goal to supply data for the analysis. The two approachescomplement each other for a thorough grammar writing in a documentary perspective and bearing in mind; Nooman (2005:353) *"One should also bear in mind that many of the grammars written in the next few decades will someday be the only sources of informationabout the languages they describe – not just for linguists, but also for the communities that currently speak them. The transition from vital, to moribund, to extinct can happen surprisingly quickly."* Mindful of the fact that Mbuk is an endangered language, we decided to add videos and audios to support our written grammar in future thus, the title "MBUK DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR: A Documentary Approach" with documentaries being another source of the language when it is finally extinct.

2.5.1 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 homophones in the phrases. If the consultant is not literate enough his translation may mislead the researcher. Then, 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 maybe because the context was not well understood or the word was not well pronounced. One the one hand, we faced these issues in the tapping of Mbuk wordlist and we got stucked when an equivalent is not available in Mbuk from the prepaired wordlist and on the other hand, while moving round inthe village we find it difficult to equate some native words with the appropriate English equivalent.

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 help the consultant to differentiate the word "son" and "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 something to it like "it is ..." In the elicitation of translated corpus in Mbuk, it is inappropriate to get possessives expressions with the word "sun" because the people believe that no one owns a "sun", and so you cannot say "my sun" in that language this holds true with the speakers of Fio as well. This holds true for animals like "chameleon" that cannot be owned by anyone and it is even rare to see. So, if you ask someone to say "my chameleon" he refuses to say it because it has been long since he last saw a chameleon and more to that no one owns it so, you can only elicit the natural and pragmatic expressions. What might seem correct in another language will be incorrrect in another language. Though documentary uses both the translation and untranslation method it lays priority on the natural approach of getting words by pointing at various objects.

2.5.2 Object positioning

Adpositions of Mbuk in positioning fish

The Mbuk river is rich in fish, these fishes are from river Mbuk which we used in eliciting the various positions: on its abdomen, on it side, an its dorsal part for the understanding of Mbuk adpositions.

2.5.3 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.

In Mbuk, in the study of some grammatical issues like tense and aspect, we found someone crossing a bridge and we videoed 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.

2.5.4 Free conversation and gossip

During elicitation, some familiar Mbuk visitors interruped the recording, we kept the recorder on while an excuse is taken to ease oneself or to collect something he forgot somewhere. Also, during elicitation the researcher keeps the recorder on when there is digression. He suspends questioning while allowing the consultants to keep talking 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 in Mbuk is also a source of natural data with permission to keep the recordings and analyse its grammar.

2.5.5 Text annotation

Some of the Mbuk texts or expressions collected have been annotated that is, they are transcribed and interlinearised and the elements of grammar needed were extracted and exemplified in the written grammar.

2.6 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 FLEx, and a text annalysing computational program for called ELAN, the computer and backup external drives and other writing materials like books, pens, pencils and rulers. We are concerned with the type of electronic tools used are with concern of long term use, O'Meara &Good (2010:164) "*They are more likely to be concerned about what digital formats they employ because making use of the right format is likely to facilitate their own research while making use of the wrong format may render their recordings unusable in a few years time.*" The documentary tools of Mbuk's formats for audio recorders and cameras were ensured that they can serve for long term use. Also, they can easily be converted to other formats as required by other archive servers.

2.6.1 Audio recorder

The Mbuk research had a quality a recorder which was trust worthy and easier to operate and preferable for a smooth documentary anda standby phone to assist in recording. At one time on the field, while running out of SD-card space, in order to maximise memory card space, we changed the settings from "WAV" to "MP3" so as to capture more data though unscientific since it cannot be used in analysing its phonetics. The "WAV" is preferred in studying the instrumental phonetics and even its forensic phonetics for dialectology keeping tract of variants relative to it various individuals speakers. 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 recorders at once to ensure that no failure is obtained.Audio recordings are later used to verify someone's 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 Mbuk audios it helps to advance the research with constructive and verifiable justifications.

2.6.2 Video recorder

In Mbuk, not all is said, 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 present focused in a way as to capture both the sounds, image and gestures.

We backed-up videos for each event such that if one happens to malfunction, we can rescue the data from the backed-up video. One day I decided to 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 went off. There was nothing I could do to prove that I had reached there where people seldom researched. Suddenly and luckily I thought of my phone, then tied it on a tree and put on video then went before it and got myself videoed 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 miss if if you had to rely only on your main camera.

2.6.3 FLEx dictionary

FieldWorks Language Explorer "FLEx" is a dictionary making software. 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. We are entering the data into FLEx to create a Mbuk Lexicon or dictionary.

2.6.4 ELAN text

ElAN is a language text analysing software 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. The Mbuk data has the follwing tiers:

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)

Some Mbuk texts such as story, song, ritual performances have been annoted in ELAN and even an ELAN wordlist or ELAN-Lexicon can be designed as the one in Mbuk.

Word-spacing bar, by defualt is 100 on a font size of 12. But when the font size is Adjusted to 24 the word-spacing bar is 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. Here is a Mbuk example:

To have much natural text, the native consultant should carryout the interview intstead of a cameraman who is a foreigner. This is to avoid foreign languages in the recordings.

2.6.5 EXCEL "metadata"

EXCEL is an arithmetic spreadsheet software in which data about data is entered for easier reference. It is a kind of dictionary for the corpus collected. The names of participants or consultants of Mbuk have been entered into it together with naming or titles of the data and short comments about the environment with which the data collection. The audio or video codes of the recorded information is preserved in the excel sheet.

2.6.6 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.

The Mbuk project is typed in a laptop and frequent back-ups are carried out.

2.6.7 Backup external drives

Documentary is synonymous to secured storage of data. The Mbuk documentary are stored in a manner that can easily be accessible for those opened to the public. 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, We have stored Mbuk corpus in multiple places to avoid data loss. While the data our drives do not go out to the public anyhow and it is checked for security and moral reasons in order to preserve the dignity and integrity of the consultants or language owners in pohibited matters in relation to the access to the language especially some Mbuk audio files.

2.6.8 Other Accessories

In documenting the Mbuk language, we used the following stationeries such as notebooks for fieldnotes, pens, rulers, pencils and erasers. In addition we used plastic folders or files to secure the notebooks and SD card, recorders and laptops from rains. We also used a generator, fuel and solarwares to carryout the research in village with no electricity.

2.7 DOCUMENTARY SELF-EDUCATION

Documentary research is on the one hand a self-vocational training where the researcher is trained on new aspects of life. During this time, one is exposed to learn 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 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 artefacts such as their roasting of the hide of an animal such as a 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 the human nature.

Documentary shows the interrelatedness of customs and 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, inspite 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 one 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 is if a non-initiated person sees it his body becomes 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 wood is fetched and the wood 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, the 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.

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.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the various methods, procedures, precautions and tools that have contributed to the documentation of the Mbuk language. It is hoped to guide future researchers engaging in conducting documentary linguistics in one way or the other.

The chapter has distinguished documetary and non-documentary aspects with emphasis on differences in the approach of data collection.

The researcher made sure that the cameraman encourages speech makers to speak in their mother tongue and the consultants should drilled to ask questions in their mother tongue to fellow country men in other to redude the use of Pidgin or other languages instead.

On the issue of arriving at having a secured collected data, the chapter has provided some guidelines. The methodology has helped in providing the data analysed in the subsequent chapters of this research. It has provided a knowledge about Mbuk language and culture.

CHAPTER THREE

MBUK PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the speech sounds of Mbuk; the segmental and the suprasegmental features of the language. The chapter is organised as follows: 3.1 Mbuk oral and nasal vowels; 3.2 Mbuk consonants, variation, tones, syllabic, morpheme and word structure; 3.3 Mbuk phonological processes and,3.4 Mbuk phonemics. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is used in this work for the transcriptionsexcept otherwise stated while quotes are not altered.

3.1 MBUK ORAL AND NASAL VOWELS

The vowel sounds are 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. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Mbuk non-nasal vowel phone chart:

Table 20: Mbuk Vowel Phone Chart

	Front		Central		Back	
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
Close	i	ü	ɨ		ɯ	u
Near-close	ɪ					ʊ
Close-mid	e					o
Mid			ə			
Open-mid	ɛ					ɔ
Near-open						ɒ
Open			A			

The front and back vowels exhibit some symmetry. The [ü], "u" diaeresis will be used instead of the [y] of the IPA. The entire work would be transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) placed in square bracket except inside tables to avoid awkwardness.

3.1.1 Mbuk short vowels

Here are a set of fifteen (15) Mbuk short vowels with examples:

[i, ɪ, e, ɛ, ü, œ, ɨ, ə, a, ɯ, u, ʊ, o, ɔ, ɒ]

44) a. [i]   [dʒín~dʒín, bìmbǎːŋ, ʃí]   "tooth, yaws, face"

[ɪ]   [íkɔ̄ŋ, nì, ɲìˠì]   "to love, on, slimy strands"

[e]   [nténì, ⁿfʲélì, fʲéŋkī]   "boundary of ridges, cricket, wing termite"

[ɛ]   [ŋgénì, tsɛ̀ŋ~tsɛ̀n, bìjé~bʲě~bìjé] "worm, arm, dog"

[ü]   [kíɲű, tsű, ttní]   "knee, spit, ear"

[œ]   [lœjí]   "mulch"

[ɨ]   [dzíŋ~dzə́ŋ, dzíˠə̀]   "corn, eye"

[ə]   [bʲə̀kə́, tʃə́ŋ, dzzə̄]   "sore, fat, road"

[a]   [dʒʷáɲ, tsā, ndàŋ]   "illness, medicine, k.o tree, male name"

[ɯ]   [ɣúfí~ɣə́fí, tʃɯ̌ŋwìgvú]   "yawn(n), heel"

[u]   [fú, gvú, mū]   "head, foot, one"

[ʊ]   [dzʊ̄m, dzʊ́, mbʊ́k]   "back, houses, Mbuk village"

[o]   [kìfó, ŋʲòkʰì, wòlì]   "cap, sweat, raffia nut shell"

[ɔ]   [fíkɔ́m, nɔ́m, kìmɔ̀~kìmò]   "knife, birth pains, swelling"

[ɒ]   [gɒ́ŋ~gɔ́ŋ]   "spear, cartridge"

3.1.2 Mbuk long vowels

The language has 10 long vowels:

45)   [iː]   [m̀bìː, bǐː]   "palm wine, goat"

[ɪː]   [bʲálîːsɔ̄m, bǐː]   "palm frond, allow"

[ɛː]   [mɛ̌ː, wɛ̌ː]   "lick, open"

[ɨː]   [dzɨ̄ːŋ]   "thigh"

[əː]   [dǎ̀ː, mbə̀ː]   "trample (with foot), guinea fowl"

[aː]   [lâː, fáː]   "intestine, read"

[uː]   [fìmbúː, kfúː]   "gall bladder, pour libation"

[ʊː]   [dzʊ̌ː, dồːkə́lə̀]   "house, naming a child"

[oː]   [tsòː, lồːlə̀]   "palm kernel, wear"

[ɔː]   [kìmɔ́ːŋ, bɔ̄nīː]   "brain, heal"

Exceptionally, [eː] and [üː] 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. The barred "i"[ɨ] is seldom lengthened in Mbuk.

3.1.2 Short and Long Vowels Contrast

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

46)   a.   [ʊː / ʊ]   [dzǔː / dzʊ́]   "house / houses
      b.   [iː / i]   [bǐː / bí]   "goat / goats"
      c.   [a / aː]~   [kà / kàː]   "basket / baskets"
           [aː / aː]~   [kàː / kâː]   "basket / baskets"

In (a, b), the singularity is marked by a long vowel with a rising tone while the plural is marked by a short vowel with a high tone. And vice versa for but with both genders maintain low tones for some speakers while others have both the singingular and plural with long vowels and only differ with a falling tone (c). While in (d) below the duration with which the vowels are articulated results to distinct words:

47)   d.   [u]   [kfù]   "rope"
      e.   [uː]   [kfùː]   "raffia fruit"
      f.   [a]   [tālɪ̄]   "ladder"
      g.   [aː]   [tāːlɪ́]   "go round"

3.1.3 Mbuk pseudo-diphthongs

A diphthong is 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.   [aɪ]   [wáín]   "child"

    b.   [ɛɪ]   [téín]   "cut"

    c.   [ʋa]   [dʒʊ́á]   "soup"

    d.   [ai]   [kʷáí]   "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 (aʲ) to a high vowel anticipated by the regressive assimilatory influence of ɲ. That combination with non-multilingual effect will render the first two (a, b) as:

    e.   [aɲ]   [wáɲ]   "child"

    f.   [ɛɲ]   [téɲ]   "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 "ŋkʷájì". So, considering diphthongs in this language will be a misinterpretation of corpora. Hence, our analyses keep both variations; where a consultant glides or diphthongises. The palatal nasal [ɲ] in coda position is observed as an areal phenomenon covering Ajumbu, Kom, Mmen and others.

3.1.4 Nasal Vowels

It is a vowel produced with the airstream passing through the nasal cavity. They are two types: the short and the long nasal vowels. The following table shows the 7 nasal vowels of Mbuk; 2 front vowels, 2 central vowels and 3 back vowels. All nasal vowels occur in open CV syllables. The two high vowels [i] and [u] are not nasalised:

Table 21: The Nasal Vowels Frame

	Front		Central		Back	
	unrounded	**rounded**	**unrounded**	**rounded**	**unrounded**	**rounded**
Close						
Near-close	ĩ					ũ
Close-mid						õ
Mid			ə̃			
Open-mid	ɛ̃					ɔ̃
Near-open						
Open			Ã			

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

49a)   ĩ   [kĩ̀kĩ~], [kə̀mfĩ̀], [kə̀ŋgɔ̀mhĩ́]   "bamboo chair, gun cotton. caricature"

        ɛ̃   [bʲɛ̃́kílə̀]   "hitting"

        ə̃   [ǹʃə̂̃]   "palm cord"

        ã   [bã́, mbã́]   "palm nut, fufu biscuit"

        ũ   [dzũ̀, ísũ̌]   "skin, to laugh"

        õ   [fʷõ̌]   "call, bake (in ash)"

49b)   ĩː   [kĩ̄ŋkĩ̄ː / bĩ̄ŋkĩ̄ː]   "bamboo chair"

        ə̃ː   [tsə̃̌ː, sə̃̂ː, də̃̂ː]   "navel, thin, long-distance"

        ɛ̃ː   [mkpɛ̄̃ː, bʲɛ̃́ː]   "elbow, bundle"

        ãː   [kpã̀ː, ítã̌ː]   "hand, to tear. "

        ũː   [bũ̌ː, fũ̌ː]   "blood-sucking fly, insect k.o."

        õː   [ndʒʷṍː, bõ̌ː~bã̌ː, bʷàbə̀ndõ̌ː]   "sweet, call, a family "

        ɔ̃ː   [kɔ̃́ː, ŋ́kɔ̃́ːní]   "beehive, palm front cotton"

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

49c)   [ã]   [bã́]   "palm nuts"

        [ãː]   [bã́ː]   "palm nut"

        [ə̃]   [tsə̃̌]   "navels"

        [ə̃ː]   [tsə̃̌ː]   "navel"

All nasal vowels occur in open CV syllables. Koshin, one of the Beboid variety also has

nasalised vowels, Ousmanou (2014:34). In Mbuk as in Koshin, vowel prefixes are not nasalised.

3.1.5 Oral and nasal contrast

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

50) a. [a] [tsā] "baboon"

        [ã] [tsā̃] "monkey"

    b. [a] [ŋfà] "slave"

        [ãː] [ŋfã́ː] "cowpea"

3.2 MBUK CONSONANTS

The Mbuk language has simple, complex and modified consonants; speech sounds produced with the obstruction of the airstream through the mouth or nose. A wordlist to supplement examples here has been given in Appendix 3 (verbs) and 4 (nouns).

3.2.1 Primary Consonants

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

Here are the 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, j, l, r. The manner and point of articulation for each sound is given in the table below for easy comprehension:

Table 22: Mbuk Consonants Phone Chart

point / manner		bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	labio-velar	labio-dental 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 Approximant	Vd			l						
Trill	Vd			(r)						

Where (v), (r): are in free variation.

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

3.2.2 Plosives

The distribution and the morphophonological situations of the sounds are explained under the appropriate headings below (phonemics). Here we present the sounds attested:

51) [p] [lāpsí, sə́ptí~sə́ptí~sɔ̄ptī, tʃə̀psí] "dress up someone, sharpen, maltreat"
 [b] [bálí, kìbábâ, bō] "waist, hyena, tired"
 [t] [tálí, ítōɣōlí, ítɔ́m] "ladder, carry, to shoot"
 [d] [dɔ́lí, dòɣó, ídā:lī̄] "chin, some, to forget"
 [k] [kʊ́ᵞʊ́lī, kìŋkɔ́ᵞɔ́, kìtʃʊ̀ᵞʊ̀] "elder, bat, granary"
 [g] [gáŋwì, gāmtī, ígâ:] "wall shelf, help, dish out"
 [ʔ] [nàʔ, mbɔ́ʔ, ŋgɔ̀ʔ] "female cattle, premature palm nut, gun trigger"
 [kp] [kpà̰:, kpí, íkpǎ:] "day, die, to cook corn beer"
 [gb] [gbò, gbáŋá, gbʊ́ᵞʊ́] "fall, young female goat, gun"

3.2.3 Nasals

52) [m]   [mí, kìkôm, íwām]   "myself, horse, to tell lies"

  [n]   [nǐn, nə́ˠə́kínāŋ, bíní]   "forbid, bedbug, dance (n)"

  [ɲ]   [kìɲá, ɲàːní, ⁿfĩɲ]   "gift, sojourn, blindness"

  [ŋ]   [náŋ, ŋàŋlí, kìɲɔ́ŋ]   "bed, crawling, buffalo"

  [ɱ]   [kìɱfín, ɱfà, ɱfá̃ː]   "cocoyam, slave, cowpea"

3.2.4 Fricatives

53) [β]   [βṹ]   "blood-sucking fly"

  [f]   [ífú, kìfo, kífóm]   "fetish priest, cap, roofs"

  [v]   [vwɔ̃̂~wwɔ̃̂, vwô~wúò]   "screech owl, peeling"

  [s]   [ísə́ŋ, sə̄fí, sō]   "to limp, carry, six (6)"

  [ʃ]   [ʃə̀ˠə́, ʃĩ, ʃɔ̄m]   "wingless termite, market, heart"

  [ʒ]   [ʒɔ́ŋ, íʒūm, ʒə̀ˠə́]   "k.o. song, to go far, sweep"

  [ɣ]   [ɣə̀fí, káˠá, íɣə́ˠə̀]   "yawn, leg, glowing (fire)"

  [h]   [ŋgɔ̀hɔ̀, híkī, íkāhí]   "seedlings, nape (of neck), to get finished"

  [z]   [zátō~dzátō]   "female name" (the only example)

3.2.5 Affricates

54) [kf]   [kfù]   "rope"

          [kfú]   "bowing (greetings)"

  [gv]   [gvú]   "feet"

  [ɣf]   [ɣfú]   "sorcerer

  [dz]   [dzə̄ŋ, dzə́ˠə̀, dzǔː]   "hunger, elephants, house"

  [tʃ]   [tʃúní, kìtʃ̆ŭm, kìntʃɔ̀ˠɔ̀lí] "k.o owl, story, heifer"

  [dʒ]   [dʒə́ˠə́, dʒə̀mì, kídʒúá]   "eye, sister, soup"

  [kx]   [kxə́]   "farm"

          [ŋkxùŋ]   "curve, bend, crook"

Some of the affricates are rare sounds whose presence in Mbuk can only be attested by their presence in other Beboid languages, Hyman (1981:1), in Noni, "*Although predictable, this labiodentalization is expressed orthograhically in the consonant sequences tf, kf, bv, dv, gv, mv, and wv. … In a few cases labio-dentalization is observed before uu, e.g. kfùù [kfùː] 'rope'.*"

The alveolar affricate [dz] has two allophones; a stronger [dz] with more friction written as [dzz] and the other with lesser friction [dz] accompanied by a short duration in pronunciation:

55)   a.   [dzzə̄]   "road"
       b.   [dzə̄]   "go"

3.2.6 Approximants

56)   [j]   [jɛ̀tɛ̀]   "k.o. snake"
          [w]   [wʊ́ní]   "tail"

3.2.7 Lateral Approximant (liquid)

57)   [l]   [kìlʊ́]   "gong (of 1m height)"

3.2.8 Trill (liquid)

68)   [r]   [ntɔ́rɔ̀ ~ ntɔ́tɔ̀]   "pepper"
         [r]   [kìlɛ́rí ~ kìlɛ́tí]   "calabash"
         [r]   [yɛ̀rì ~ yɛ̀tì]   "viper"
         [r]   [môrə̀ ~ mòtì]   "rest"

In this language, the voiced alveolar fricative [z] is absent. Hyman (1979:11):

"*Historically, e becomes 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 [j] is interchangeable with [ʒ], a voiced palatal fricative which differs from [z] with respect to the point of articulation. The following examples depict that [j] is in free variation with [ʒ]:

59)   a.   [ʒá:ní ~ jání]   "island"
            [bìjá:ní ~bʲá:ní]   "islands"

       b.   [ʒʲə́ ~ jɛ́]   "name"
            [kíjʲə́ ~ kíʒʲə́]   "names"

3.2.9 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:

3.2.10   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] as illustrated in 60:

60)   a.   [ʃʷ]   [ʃʷàjí], [ǹʃʷáɲ]   "loosen", "brick"
              [vʷ]   [vʷɔ̂]   "screech owl"
              [mʷ]   [mʷá], [bɜ̀mʷám]   "blood", "chaff (guinea corn)"
              [gʷ]   [gʷáɪ]   "bamboo (pl.)"
              [ʃʷ]   [ʃʷăŋ]   "sheep"
              [ɲʷ]   [ɲʷɔ̀]   "cutlass"
              [ŋʷ]   [gáŋʷì]   "wall shelf"

3.2.11   Palatalised consonants

In Mbuk, palatalised consonants precedes the following vowels; ə, a, ɛ, i, ʊ and ɔ:

61)   [bʲ]   [bʲɜ̀lí, bʲə̄ˠə]   "rib, cane rat"
            [dʲ]   [dʲɜ̆ˠ]   "cook"
            [fʲ]   [fʲà]   "aŋkle"
            [mʲ]   [mʲɛ̀]   "palm oil"
            [ʒʲ]   [ʒʲɜ́]   "planting"
            [dʒʲ]   [dʒʲɜ̆]   "put"
            [ɲʲ]   [ɲʲɜ́]   "corn fufu"
                    [tɛ́ɲʲí]   "cut"
            [ʃʲ]   [ʃʲə̄]   "fowl"
            [tʲ]   [tʲɜ̂]   "horn, cup"
            [lʲ]   [lʲʊ́ní]   "laziness"
                    [lʲɔ́kɔ]   "cassava"

3.2.12 Prenasalised consonants

In a prenasalised consonant cluster, the two (Nasal consonant and Voiced oral consonant) fused and form a single non-syllabic voiced consonant. The sonority strength reduces depriving the nasal from being syllabic in this environment:

62) [mb] [mbə̀ŋ]   "walking stick"
     [nd] [kìndɔ̀ŋ]   "throat"
     [ndz] [fîndzə̀ŋə̀] "clitoris"
     [ŋg] [ŋgáŋ]   "root/roots" segment and tone is the same (3/4)

The sonority strength is higher on the nasal consonant when it precedes a voiceless consonant than on nasals that precedes voiced consonants. This

     [ŋk] [ŋkáŋní]   "hard skin of palm nut"
     [nt] [ntáˠā]   "shin"
     [ntʃ] [ntʃánì]   "raffia frond (with fibre removed)"
     [nʃ] [nʃáŋá]   "palm oil chaff"

Most of the prenasalised consonants are verbal nouns; where n- is the nominal marker for singular nouns derived from verbs. But this nasal has lost it syllabicity (63b). Thus, we find the regular plural marker bə- being prefixed to give the plural (63c). While the singular tends to have a ø-prefix when the nasal is fused with the following consonant to be prenasalised.

63) a. [í-tsɑ̋ː]   "to pray"
     b. [ø-ntsɑ̋ː]   "a prayer"
     c. [bə̀-ntsɑ̋ː]   "prayers"

In this work, prenasal superscript (ⁿ) is not used, all prenasalised sounds, are written as [ǹt] without the syllabic diacritic (̩) as in [ṇ̀t]; the tone would indicate syllabicity, [bw] as [bʷ], and [bj/by] as [bʲ], in this work.

3.2.13   Tertiary Consonants

Here, consonants add another modification to the previous modified form. Such complex

modified consonants are: prenasalisation plus labialisation, prenasalisation plus palatalisation,

as well as prenasalisation and velarisation.

In (64a), a prenasalised is being labialised in the example below:

64)   a.   [ŋgʷ] [ŋgʷí, ŋgʷaɲwətʃə́kə̀m]   "water, second juju (behind the first)"
       b.   [ŋkʷ] [fíŋkʷá̋]   "hare"

       Or   prenasalisation being palatalised:

       c.   [mbʲ] [mbʲéní]   "smallish palm nuts"
       d.   [ndʲ] [ndʲə̀̏]~[ndʲə̀]   "rhizom fruit"

       And prenasalised being velarised as seen in the examples below:

       e.   [ŋgˠ] [ŋgˠə́kī, ŋgˠə̀, kìŋgˠə̀]   "suffer, wine calabash, wine calabashes"

On the contrary, a similar sequence of consonants (CCG) are attested but fail to

prenasalised. These are illustrated in (65) below:

65)   a.   [nʃʷ]   [kìnʃʷá̋]   "nasal mucus (catarrh)"
       b.   [nʃʲ]   [nʃʲə̀̏]   "palm cord"

3.2.14   Variations

Variation is the optional alternative use of some sounds by some speakers. At times,

others evaluate some varied forms as incorrect version of the language, Mbuk. 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 in this research, all forms are documented;be it standard or non-standard form to

serve the purpose of synchronic and diachronic linguistics.

Variation is often pejorative; sometime tied to some families who use particular forms while other families use others. And within the same family we find members using what is generally regarded by members of the family as not correct. All about variation here is that it bears with it the assessment of proper and improper use of the language. ADocumentary approach is not to assess the standard used but to preserve what theaudio and thevideo recorders have captured to be used by other disciplines such as sociolinguistics.

3.2.15   Vowel Variations

The Mbuk language is endowed with a lot variations. 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 repeat or emphasis on something:

			Mbuk Variants	Gloss
66)	a.	[ə ~ ɪ]	[kəlérí ~ kìlérí]	"calabash"
	b.	[ɪ ~ i]	[kəlɛ́tí ~ kəlɛ́tí]	"calabash"
	c.	[o ~ ʋ]	[gbó ~ gbʋ́]	"foot"
	d.	[ə̃ ~ õ]	[bə̃̌ ~ bõ̌]	"call"
	e.	[ə ~ o]	[bə́ ~ bó]	"they"
	f.	[e ~ ɛ]	[bʲēlí ~ bʲɛ̄lí]	"rib"
			[mʲè]~[mʲɛ̀]	"oil"

3.2.16   Consonant Variations

Consonants of Mbuk do undergo variations as well:

67)   a.   [r ~ t]
[ǹtɔ́rɔ̀ ~ ǹtɔ́tɔ̀]   "pepper"

[ǹtɔ̂t]   "pepper" (apocopated form, the final vowel has elides)

Sometimes, the speakers contract the word pepper as [ntɔ̂t]. 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. This contraction is motivated by fast speech. And the preference for [t] to [r] is consonant identity; progressive assimilation induced by the onset consonant [t].

b. [j ~ ʒ]
    [jání ~ ʒáːní]   "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 [j] while some uses [ʒ].

c. [h ~ s]   [fáhí ~ fásí]   "threaten"

These are dialectal variations. The [h] is predominant in Mbuk while [s] is dominant in Chung. But speakers of Mbuk use both [h] and [s] freely though they would often say that [s] is not a proper Mbuk language.

d. [l ~ lʲ]   [lákà ~ lʲákà]   "female name"

68) a. [ɣ ~ ŋ]   [bə́ˠə̂n ~ bə́ŋə̂]   "we"
         Patriclan A ~ Patriclan B 1PI

Our research goal in Mbuk is not to impose spoken pattern but to record and preserve the language-in-use and not prescribe what form is preferred, McDermott (2005:VIII):

> *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 patriclan speech background within Mbuk. As per the prejudice surrounding variation or dialectology in Mbuk, it must be covert to be free from jeopardy. The documentary has some raw data which can be exploited by dialectologists to come up with the degree or percentage of speech convergence as well as its divergence. Documentation is a continual process and this research has just set the stage for further studies.

3.2.17 Tonology

The language is tonal and it uses both lexical and grammatical tones to convey a message. These tones further changes in various phrases and clauses in relation to the context.

3.2.18 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 table 20 below:

Table 23: Mbuk Lexical Tone Contrast

	High, H ´	Mid, M ¯	Low, L `	Falling, F ^	Rising, R ˇ	Highmid, HM ˊ
a	Dá	dā		dâː	dǎː	kígáː
	"testicles"	"vagina"		"bridge"	"crossing"	"mat"
b	mbɛ́n			mbɛ̂n		
	"sky"			"breast"		
c	kóˠó		kóˠò			
	"camwood"		"rooster			
d		dzōˠō	dzòˠò			
		"penis"	"yam"			
e	kxə́	kxə̄		kxə̂		
	"shave"	"farm"		"female name"		
f	ŋkxə́		ŋkxə̀			
	"guide"		"shield"			
g	kfúː		kfùː		ŋkfû	
	"raffia fruit"		"hill"		"late (die)"	
h	Kfú	kfū				
	"abode (dead)"	"playing (drum)"				
i						ŋʄ'ɔ́ŋ
						"silence"

3.2.19   Grammatical Tones

The differences in grammartical expression such as tense/aspect is expressed by tone:

69)   a.   [bó dzí-kí-lə̀]   "They are eating"
            3P eat.PROG.AF

      b.   [bó dzí-kì-lə̀]   "They are going to eat"
            3P eat.PROG.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, it is a

focus marker in Mbuk.

      c.   [Ntʃɔ̀ɣɔ̀ tʃâː dzʊ́] "Nchoko (male name) is not at home"
            Nchogho NEG houses

      d.   [Ntʃɔ̀ɣɔ̀ tʃâː dzʊ̌ː]   "Nchoko is not a house"
            Nchogho NEG house

In (c), when home (house) is negated, it takes the plural form for house, dzʊ̌ː/dzʊ́

"house/houses". In addition, (c) home (house) is a location. But in (d) the tonal distinction as

well as the lengthening of the vowel the house, is rhetorical in negating the metaphor.

70)   a.   [m̄ tǎŋ jì]   "I have bought it "
            1S buy it

      b.   [m̄ táŋ jí]   "I am bargaining"
            1S buy it

      c.   [m̄ táŋ jí]   "I have bought many things (them)" iterative
            1S buy them

The [m] is not homorganic nasal because it is a contracted form of [mɪ]. The Mbuk

speakers would constantly delete (apocope) the [ɪ] in [mɪ] when in a clause, especially in

subject position. This phenomenon accounts for the syllabicity of deverbative nasal prefixes that

precedes voiceless consonants as discussed in phonological processes:

71) a. [bə̀bìkə́m bə̄ ŋkʊ́ŋ] "(The) lion of (the) Fon"
   2.lion AM 1.Fon

c. [Bə̀ŋkʊ́ŋ bə̀ kʊ̀lí]   "(The) Fons of (the) village"
   2.lion   AM 5.village

b. [bə̀bìkə́m bə́ ŋ̀kʊ́ŋ]   "(The) lion and (the) Fon."
   2.lion   CNJ 1.Fon

The concord tone for class 2 nouns in associative construct is low but can be realised as mid with certain noun phrases (71a, 71b) while the tone of the conjunction, and [bə́] is high.

3.2.20   Mbuk Syllable Structure

A syllable is a sonorant peak (nucleus) bonded by permissible segments (onset/coda) of a said language. "*The syllable is an organizing principle for grouping segments into sequences*" Lacy (2007:162). Lacy (2007:166) "*The following constraints on syllable form are sufficient to capture the basic syllable shapes, as well as their relative markedness: Constraints on syllable form…: (a) Nuc Syllables must have nuclei. (b) Ons Syllables must have onsets.(c) Cod Syllables may not have a coda.*" In addition, Roach (1991:67) says "(i) What we might call a minimum syllable would be a single vowel in isolation…(ii)Some syllables have an onset … (iii) Syllables may have no onset but have a coda … (iv) Some syllables have onset and coda.

The preferred syllable structure in Mbuk is the CV, the general canonical structure is captured here: (C)(G)V(C); where C is a consonant, G a glide and V a vowel. This has been determined using lexical frequency counts.The syllable structure of affixes of Mbuk ranges from V, C, VC, CV, CGV, CVC:

72) a. V   [í, á]   "to, that"
    b. C   [m̀]   "I" contracted speech form of "mì"
    c. VC   [án]   "more small" small
    c. CV   [là, mì, ná~ná:]   "intestine, person, more big" big
    d. CGV   [kʷā, bjɛ̌, mbjã̄]   "forest, dog, kidney"

e.	CVC	[búŋ, kēn, wāɲ]	"clothes, trees, child"
f.	CGVC	[ʃʷăŋ, fʷáɲ, tʃʷɛ́n]	"sheep, red feather bird, bitterleaf"
g.	CVV	[gǎː, kàː, bʉ̋ː]	"sharing, basket, wood ash"
h.	CVCV	[kpɛ̄ŋɘ̀, dàlá, ⁿsàlà]	"pot, regalia, needle"

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).

3.2.21   The Morpheme Structures

Mbuk has both the bound and free morphemes. The bound morphemes are affixes and free morphemes are the root of words (see word structure). Bound morphemes (Affixes) have the general structure, (C)V as seen below:

V-	[ɪ-]	the infinitive inflection for verbs
C-	[m-]	the nominal prefix of nouns
CV-	[bi-], [-nɪ]	the nominal prefix or verbal suffixes

The examples are:

V-	[í-]	[í-mā, í- kɛ̋ː]	"to build, to clean broom"
C-	[m-]	[m̀-mús, m̄-ntɛ̄ːnī]	"cat, palm rat"
CV-	[fi-]	[fì-mús, fī-ntɛ̄ːnī]	"cats, palm rats"
-CV	[-ji]	[tājī, nājī]	"hit, ride"

A full range of these morphemes are presented in subsequent chapters.

3.2.22   Word Structures

The word structure of Mbuk is composed of optionalaffixes and a compulsory root. The root and the affixes give the stem or word. Its segmental structure is given in table (22). The dot in word structure indicates syllable boundaries:

Table 24: Mbuk Word Structure

	Word forms	Word (stem)			Gloss
	Structures	bound morpheme	free morpheme	bound morpheme	
		(prefix)	root	(suffix)	
		(C)V-	$(C)(G)V_1V_2(C)(V)$	CV	
a.	V	ø-	-á-	-ø	"that"
b.	V	ø-	-ḿ-	-ø	"1S"
c.	CV	ø-	-tsá-	-ø	"baboon"
d.	CGV	ø-	-ʃʲə̄-	-ø	"fowl"
e.	CV.CV.V	kí-	-gâ:-	-ø	"mat"
f.	CV_1V_2	ø-	tʃūō	-ø	diarrhoea
g.	CV.CVC	fì-	-mkāɲ-	-ø	"oath"
h.	V.CV.CV	í-	-nā-	-jí	"to ride"
i.	CV.CV.CV	kì-	-bábā-	-ø	"leopard"
k.	C.CV	m̄-	-ndzə̌	-ø	"saliva"

3.3 MBUK PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The conjoin of Mbuk sounds is a vector of modification due to mutual assimilation. In four planes, the sounds have been subjected to (1) assimilation to the point, and (2) the manner of articulation, (3) alteration of pitch, and (4) the contraction or the expansion of the word form. The changes include, mutation, ablaut, tone spreading, contracting, haplology, apocope, elision, epenthesis, rhotacism, spirantisation and affrication.

3.3.1 Mutation and Ablaut in Mbuk

In Mbuk, the mutation of sounds have been noticed. It is not a free variation. The sound changes regularly amongst speakers. Both consonants and vowels mutate or undergo ablaut.

3.3.1.1 Mbuk Consonant Mutation

In Mbuk, to get the plural of some nouns, a different sound is used other than the one used in the singular form. The onset consonant changes to and fro to mark number (singular / plural). In (a), the voiced labio-velar stop [gb] alternates with a voiced labiodental affricate [gv]. Also, (d), the contrasting onsets are a labio-velar approximant [w] against a labialised bilabial stop [bʷ]. While in (e) the voiceless glottal fricative [h] mutates with the voiceless velar stop [k]. Then with (f) the voiceless labio-velar stop [kp] opposes with a voiceless velar stop [k]. In the same vein, in (i, j) two nasal positions; the bilabial [m] and the palatal [ɲ] unite to a single alveolar nasal [n]. Mutation appears in both voiced and voiceless consonants. It occurs with stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals and approximants. The mutant terms are both animate and inanimate nouns. We begin with noun to noun mutation:

73) a. [gb] / [gv]   [gbó] / [gvú]   "foot / feet"
     b. [gb] / [gʲ]   [gbí] / [gí~gí]   "hundred (one)/(two), net/nets"
     c. [ʊ] / [u]   [gbʊ́] / [gʷú]   "foot / feet"
     d. [w] / [bʷ]   [wáɲ] / [bʷá]   "child / children"
     e. [h] / [k]   [híkī] / [kíkī]   "nape (of neck)"
     f. [kp] / [k]   [kpēn] / [kēn]   "tree / trees"
     g. [kp] / [k]   [kpàŋá] / [bə́káŋà]   "woman / women"
     h. [kp] / [k]   [kpə̂] / [bə́káŋà]   "wife"
     i. [m] / [n]   [mì] / [bə́nî]   "person / people"
     j. [ɲ] / [n]   [ɲòˠʊ́] / [bə́nʊ́ˠʊ̀] "man / men"

Mbuk mutants exhibit a voicing symmetrical pairing of onset consonants as seen below:

74) a. Voiceless   b. Voiced

         [kp] / [k]   [gb] / [gv], [g]
         [h] / [k]   [w] / [bʷ]
                                       [m] / [n]
                                       [ɲ] / [n]

Furthermore, mutation also discriminate in vowels mutation pairings; front vowels will co-occur with front vowels, then central vowels go together and the back vowels will flock in within their rounded set:

Front	[i/i], [ɪ/i], [ɛ/ɛ], [a/a];
Central	[ə/a], and
Back vowels	[o/u], [ʊ/u]

In addition, in (a) above, some converging feature is that the plurals of the voiceless both share a common point and manner of articulation, the voiceless velar stop [k] while their singulars diverge in both points (labio-velar [kp] and glottal [h]) and manner of articulation (stop [kp] and fricative [h]). Moreover, the voiced in their singular converge to the same point of articulation while their plurals may diverge to different points of articulations. Manner-wise, they may all differ.

In addition, the mutation leads to consonant simplification; the complex [gb] simplifies to [g] and [kp] to [k] as seen in the above data.

3.3.1.2 Mbuk Vowel Ablaut

In Mbuk, consonant mutation is concomitant with vowel ablaut in nouns and verbs. There is variation between speakers in relation to vowel ablaut. Some use [o] while others use the -vowel [ʊ] in the singular but both groups use the [u] in the plural as seen in example (a) and (b) below. In (c), the ablaut vowels are [ɪ] in the singular then [i~ɪ] in the plural. The high vowles appear before voiced labio-dental affricate [gv] as in (a) and a vowel harmony is posited in this case. Furthermore, the voiced labialised velar stop [gʷ] as in (b) as well as with voiced velar stop [g] in (c) reside with a high vowel. Moreover, the front vowels alternate within themselves [ɪ/i], and the central vowels alternate within the central vocalic frame [ə/a] while the back vowels harmonise within the back [o/u, ʊ/u]. Hence, resulting to a three-dimensional vowel harmonic system; Front-Central-Back (FBC) ablaut harmony:

75)   a.   [o]/[u]   [gbó] / [gvú] ~   "foot / feet"

        b.   [ʊ]/[u]   [gbʊ́] / [gʷú~gvu]   "foot / feet"

        c.   [ɪ]/[i]   [gbɪ́] / [gí~gɪ́]   "hundred (one)/(two), net/nets"

        d.   [ə]/[a]   [kpâ] / [bə́káŋà]   "wife / wives"

Another set of ablaut has been the deverbalisation of some verbs. Two cases are illustrated here below in a verb to noun derivationalters back vowels [o/ɔ] as well as front vowels opposing themselves [ɪ/ɛ]:

76)   a.   [o] → [ɔ],   [íkō]   →   [ŋkɔ̀]

                                to harvest   harvest (n)

        b.   [í] → [ɛ],   [ídzí]   →   [dzɛ́n]

                                  to eat   food (n)

This is captured in restricted rule: Close vowels → Open Vowels / Around Nasals.

Generally, vowels ablaut have group themselves following some relational traits as seen in these groupings: (1) In noun to noun ablaut, both near-close [ʊ] and close-mid [o] give close back [u] vowel, and the near-close [ɪ] vowels gives the close front vowel [i]. (2) In verb to noun, both near-close [ɪ] and close-mid [o] give open-mid vowels [ɛ, ɔ]

Mbuk Vowels in FCB Ablaut

(3) The final ablaut set is the verb to verb vowel change. When the iterative (ITV) suffix is attached or the verb is expressed in the imperative (IMP), the vowel of the verb changes quality with some speakers. The vowel ablauts are expressed below:

o → ɔ   [í-kō]   [kɔ̄jī]

               INF-harvest   harvest.ITV

e → ɛ   [í-lέ]   [lɛ̌]

               INF-run   run.IMP

e → ɛ   [í-bʷéhí]   [bʷɛ́hí]

               INF-resemble   resemble.IMP

In Mbuk, in some words, [e] and [ɛ] are frequently in free variation, [e] is rare in the language:

       [mʲè] ∼ [mʲɛ̀]   "oil"

       [îlě] ∼ [îlɛ̌]   "to run"

       [í-bʷéhí] ∼ [íbwɛhí]   "to resemble"

This variation in verb to verb mutation makes vowels ablaut a trivial issue in Mbuk, which, conversely, is a salient phenomenon in Ajumbu a Beboid sister language of Mbuk. Ajumbu differentiates the past tense (perfective) with an ongoing action (imperfective) through vowel ablaut as seen below:

		Change	Perfective		Imperfective	Gloss
77)	a.	[a→u]	[tá]	→	[túkə̀]	"come"
	b.	[ə→ɪ]	[tə́n]	→	[tí:kə̀]	"send"
	c.	[a→ɛ]	[báɲ]	→	[bέ:kə̀]	"shine"
	d.	[a→ɔ]	[tá]	→	[tɔ́:kə̀]	"kick"
	e.	[ə→ɨ]	[dzə̀]	→	[dzɨ̀:kə̀]	"feed"

Ajumbu, is also a consonant mutation language as exemplify below:

		Change	Perfective		Imperfective	Gloss
78)	a.	[ʃ→s]	[ʃə̀]	→	[sə̀kə̀]	"tell"
	b	[b→gᶣ]	[búŋ]	→	[gᶣó:kə̀]	"pick"
	c.	[gʲ→d]	[gʲə̀]	→	[də̀kə̀]	"cry"

The rich vowel ablaut in Ajumbu verbs indicates that diachronically the vowel ablaut of Mbuk is certainly becoming extinct but its consonant mutation is still somehow ([gbʊ́/gʷú] "foot/feet"it is being gradually labialised in some speakers) intact just as those of Ajumbu.

Vowel ablaut does not occur on the same grammatical environment for both languages:

Mbuk:	Iterative Aspect	Imperative Mood	Absent
Ajumbu:	Absent	Absent	Progressive Imperfective Aspect

Conclusively, with mutation or ablaut in Mbuk, some root words changes with an attachment of an affix. This morphophonological phenomenon implicates phonemic decision.

3.3.2 Mbuk Devoicing

The consonant [b] devoices before a voiceless consonant [s, t]. Sounds mutually affect each other, "*it is quite apparent that it is the voiced quality of !m! that is affecting the voicing of the following plosive. As we have already noted, sounds in a sequence do not occur as discrete units; rather there is a single wave of sound, with each individual sound making its own contribution. The sounds have a tendency to blend into one another where they abut*"Burquest (2006:14). We posit this route of phonological notation for devoicing of [b]:

b → p / __{voiceless: alveolar stop/fricative}

[lɔb] → [lɔp] / _t,	[lɔ̄ptī]	"pet a child"
[lab] → [lap] / _s,	[lāpsí]	"dress up someone"
	[sə́ptí ~ sɛ́ptí ~ sɔ̄ptī]	"sharpen bamboo splint"
	[tʃə̀psí]	"maltreat"

Hence, in its phonemics, the [b] is not available at the right edge of a Mbuk word. [b] and [p] are in complementary distribution.

3.3.3 Mbuk Haplology

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 leading to haplology; the process of deleting one of two adjacent identical syllables.Now, under this circumstance, which of the two deletes? The concord or the prefix? In this case, the concord is more stable. 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 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):

79)   a.   N1 + N2
      b.   N1 + DET
      c.   DET + N1

      d.   [kə̀-mgbáŋ]   "very large"
      e.   [kì-fó]   "cap"

      f.   [kə̀-mgbáŋ   ø   kì-fó]∼
      g.   [kə̀-mgbáŋ   kə́   ø-fó]/kə̀mgbá kə́ kì-fó/ "A very big cap"
           7-very.lager 7c-AM 7-cap

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 CVidentical in form to its nominal prefix but when the modifier begins with a vowel, there is elision or assimilation of one of the vowels.

3.3.4 Mbuk Vowel Lowering

The [-ji] suffix changes the [o] into [ɔ] when the preceding consonant is voiceless. In (a) then two terms are not alike but we see [o] / [ɔ] in complementary distribution triggered by the presence of [-ji] suffix while in (b) they have the same semantic content.

80) a. [tō]   [tɔ̄jī]
         "cut grass"   "abuse"
     b. [kō]   [kɔ̄jī]
         "harvest"   "harvest repeatedly"

Then in (c) the vowel lowering rule fails to apply because the sonority strength of the onset consonant of the first syllable is high.

     c. [gbō]   [gbōjī]
         "fall"   "fall repeatedly"
     d. *[wo]   [wōjī]
                          "knock several times"

3.3.5 Mbuk Epenthesis

In Mbuk, some speakers do break up adjacent vowels with the insertion of a nasal consonant. One kind of this hiatus resolution occurs during denasalisation of a nasal vowel thus creating speech preference among speakers where some use a form different from others. Speaker (a) says the word with a single syllable while speaker (b) says the same word with two syllables (CVCV). Both examples share the same epenthetic consonant [ŋ]:

81) a. [sǒ:]   "laugh"   [kà̏:]   "hands"
     b. [sùŋú]   "laugh"   [kàŋà]   "hands"

In the example below, a non-nasalised shwa [ə] breaks up and changes to [a] with the insertion of an epenthetic [ŋ] but both speakers use a single hiatus resolved plural form

82) a. [kp�â]   "wife"   [bə́káŋà]   "wives"
     b. [kpàŋá]   "wife"   [bə́káŋà]   "wives"

3.3.6 Mbuk Rhotacism

In Mbuk, some alveolar sounds changes to trill [r]. This is because the language seldom allows two adjacent non-trill alveolars. Tauth & Kazzazi (1996:1010): *"1 In the broader sense, every change of a consonant to r. This change mostly concerns dental fricatives and l. It is found, for example, in numerous Italian dialects. 2 In the narrower sense, spontaneous change of Proto-Gmc [z] to West Gmc [r] intervocalically".* In serial verb construct, [dz] alternates with [r] (b):

83) a. [t] → [r] ntɔ́tɔ̀ ~ ntɔ́rɔ̀ "pepper"

kìlétí ~ kìlérí "calabash"

b. [dz] → [r] dzó dzə̄ ~ dzó rə̄ "bring"

take come take come

3.3.7 Mbuk Spirantisation

In Mbuk the sound [**h**] and [**j**] spirantised to [**s**] and [**ʒ**] respectively while [**p**] and [**s**] concatenate in spirantising to [**f**]. Crystal (2008:199): *"The term spirantization is sometimes used for the process of deriving a fricative from some other type of articulation."* Then Trauth & Kazzazi (1996:1114): *"Replacement of plosives through homorganic fricatives. For example, in the Old High German consonant shift, where Gmc p, t, k are shifted to the double fricatives ff, zz, hh initially and after vowels"* Brown & Sarah (2009:675): *"One of the phonological characteristics of Malagasy is the alternation between spirants and their corresponding stops."* Unlike in German and Malagasy whose spirants stem from stops, the spirants of Mbuk come from fricatives, approximants a The spirantisation occurs before near-close [ɪ] and before an open vowel [**a**] but not triggered by these vowels since the vowel quality of each remains the same though spirantised, Akumbu (2012:16) *"Lexical rules can lact phonetic motivation"*:

84)a. [fáhí] ~[fásí] "threaten" glottal fricative [h] to alveolar fricative [s]

b. [jání] ~[ʒá:ní] "island" approximant [j] to alveolar fricative [ʒ]

c. [lápsí] ~[láfí] "dress self plosive plus fricative [ps] to labio-dental fricative [f]

3.3.8 Mbuk Affrication

Afffrication is when stops are triggered phonologically to become affricates. In Mbuk two stops [k, g] triggered to [kf, gv] before [-u] respectively. Then the stop, [b] becomes a fricative [β]. These are triggere by [u] back vowel when it is preceded by a stop [b, k, g] → [β, kf, gv]:

stages	Bilabial stop	Alveolar voiceless stop	Alveolar voiced stop
A	B	K	g
	b → bʷ → bʷr → β	k → kʷ → kʷf → kf	g → gʷ → gʷf → gv
B	bʷ	kʷ	gʷ
C	bʷr	kʷf	gʷf
D	[β]	[kf]	[gv]
	Bilabial fricative	Voiceless labio-dental affricate	Voiced Labio-dental affricate
	[βű]	[kfù]	[gvú]
	"Blood-sucking fly"	"rope"	"feet"
	Spirantisation	Affrication	Affrication
	b → β/__u	k → kf/__u	g → gv/ _u
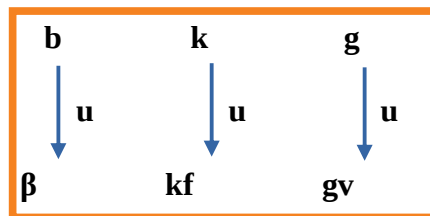
Some speakers articulate stage B (labialisation) while some articulate D (affrication) and some do both B and D. Hyman (1980:1) ascribed affrication in Noni as "labio-dentalization". Stage C is the transition phase and a detail of articulatory transition from [b] to [β].

3.3.9 Glide formation

The formation of glides (devocalisation) and vocalisation are recurrent phenomena in postlexically and lexically word formation in Mbuk. The glides described here palatalisation and labialisation:

85)a. Palatalisation   / mì   wì   kxɘ́ / →   [mʲʊ̀kxɘ́]   "farmer"

                                        1.person 1.of farm

                                        "person of farm"

This implies that, [mì → mʲ] while [wì → ʊ̀]

Thus, two phonological processes occurred: palatalisation and vocalisation.

b.   Labialisation / bə-waɲ /   → / bwaɲ / →/ bwa / → [bʷá]~[bʷáʸá] "children"

                               prefix-child

The prefixation leads to the deletion of the shwa [-ə] then labialisation and with an option for echoing the root vowel for some speakers or a kind of remote hiatus to abait vowel lengthening. In other words, to replacement or compensate for the deleted [-ɲ] the coda of the singular, child "**wāɲ**" with the addition of [-**ʸà**] syllable. In addition, this gliding change the form of the class prefix [**bə → bw-**] leading to initial consonant mutation, Kieβling (2010:2), "*similar processes of morphologicisation of assimilations caused by noun class prefixes pop up in various subgroups of Benue-Congo independently of each other, obviously representing one of the preferred strategies to compensate for the reduction of the inherited noun class system.*"

3.3.10   Consonantal Coalescency

Coalescency is the fusion of two distinct sounds giving rise to a third sound which is different from the sounds that came into union. This phenomenon has been observed in Mbuk consonants. The various consonants that coalesce are:

86)   a.   bs → ps → f
      b.   bəgb → bgb → g
      c.   bəkp → bkp → k

In (a), [p] and [s] coalesce to a spirant [f] in some speakers of Mbuk, spirants ($3.4.6).

While in (b) and (c) the shwa deletes in the plural prefix marker [bɘ́-] leading cluster [bgb] and [bkp] resulting to respectively to the coalescent [g] and [k], mutation ($3.4.1.1). In

some cases, the presence of [bə-] generates a change in consonant with affecting the form of [bə-] such as in "wives" [bə́káŋà] from the singular "wife" [kpáŋà]. Other words have not used the same prefix [bə-] but they have used an underlying [CV-] prefix that can only be determined through diachronic or comparative studies to account for coalescence / mutation.

3.3.11   Contraction

The nasal of class 6a [mə-~mɪ-] contracts to [m-] and generates a concord [N-].

The contraction leads to a euphonism constraints achieved through the syncopation of [ə~ɪ] since [ə~ɪ] cannot occur between two onsets; the onset of the prefix [mə-~mɪ-] and the root [-ɲɛ́ní]. When a contraction occurs, it bears a syllabic nasal which resists homorganicity with the following consonant:

87)   a1.   [fí-ɲɛ́ní]   /   [ḿ-ɲɛ́ní] ~ [mí-ɲɛ́ní] ~ [mə́-ɲɛ́ní]
             19-bird   6a-birds

      a2.   [fì-láŋ]   /   [m̀-láŋ]
             19-clay pot   6a-clay pots

      a3.   [fì-mkā̄ɲ]   /   [m̄-mkā̄ɲ]
             19-oath   6a-oaths

      a4.   [fì-ntɛ̄ːnī]   /   [m̄-ntɛ̄ːnī]
             19-palm rat   6a-palm rats

      a5.   fì-ndə̄ŋ   /   m̄-ndə̄ŋ
             19-fig tree   6a-fig trees

In the following sentence, birds [**míɲɛ́ní**] is realised as [**ḿ-ɲɛ́ní**]:

      b.   **m-**   [**ḿ-ɲɛ́ní mí   gʷû]**   "the red bird"
                      6a-birds 6a.AM DEF

Then it alternates in others as [**míɲɛ́ní**] from the same speaker:

      c.   **mɪ-**   [**mí-ɲɛ́ní mí   fá]**   "two birds"
                      6a-birds 6a.AM NUM

3.3.12 Deverbatisation (DVB)

Dixon (2010:46) "Grammar includes various kinds of processes, which apply to lexemes. A lexical root (such as the verb *organize* in English) can undergo derivation, producing the noun *organization*. This then undergoes the inflectional process appropriate to nouns, number marking; we can get the plural word *organizations*."In Mbuk, a nasal that is supposed to act like a prefix for marking singular/plural is cliticised and fossilised into the verb thus losing its status as a prefix. In this state, it does not generate any concord marker as nasal prefixes usually do.

When cliticisation occurs on a voiced consonant the sonority peak of the nasal turns to zero and it fused fully with the following consonant forming a single prenasalised consonant:

88)   a.   [mbàɲ / bə̀mbàɲ] |mbàɲ / bə̀mbàɲ| "fence"   1/2

         [mbə̀ŋ / bə̀mbə̀ŋ] |mbə̀ŋ / bə̀mbə̀ŋ| "stick"   1/2

         [ŋkə̀mnì / bə̀ŋkə̀mnì] |ŋkə̀mnì / bə̀ŋkə̀mnì| "wrist"   1/2

Then, when the nasal is cliticised on a voiceless consonant its sonority is relatively higher such that it could be mistaken as syllabic but it fails to generate a concord of its own to function as an intrinsic syllabic nasal. Contrary to contraction that bears a non-homorganic syllabic prefix which generates concords, the devarbative nasal undergoes homorganicity:

      b.   [mkpàˠà / bə̀mkpàˠà] |mkpàˠà / bə̀mkpàˠà| "scabies"   1/2

         [ntáŋní / bə̀ntáŋní] |ntáŋní / bə̀ntáŋní| "taitor"   1/2

         [nsə̀ŋ / bə̀nsə̀ŋ] |nsə̀ŋ / bə̀nsə̀ŋ| "bracelet"   1/2

         [ŋkúɲ / bə̀ŋkúŋ] |ŋkúɲ / bə̀ŋkúŋ| "chief"   1/2

         [kə̀ŋkə̀blì / bìŋkə̀blì] |kə̀ŋkə̀blì / bìŋkə̀blì| "creeple"   7/8

The deverbal processes are outlined here:

Mbuk Deverbatisation Process

Steps	Processes	Description	Examples	
1.	Infinitival stem	Consider the infinitival stem prefixed with [í-]	[í-sə̀ᵞə́] to-sieve	
2.	Bare root	The elision of [ɪ-] anticipating the affixation of the deverbative clitic which does not influence the noun class but changes the grammatical category of the verb to a noun.	-sə̀ᵞə́	⇓
4.	Deverbal clitic	Deverbal nasal prefixation [ǹ-] with a built-in low tone and syllabicity.	[ǹ-] DVB	⇓
5.	Right tone spread	The low tone from the nasal spreads to the root lowering it.	[ǹ-sə̀ᵞə̀]	⇓
6.	Deverbal noun	The low tone spreads to the right.	[ǹsə̀ᵞə̀]	⇓
7.	Homorganicity	Homorganicity occurs and the nasal desyllabifies and loses it syllabic nature due to mutual assimilation with adjacent consonant and the loss of tone due to a drop in its sonority peak.	[nsə̀ᵞə̀]	⇓
8.	The kɪ-prefixation	The nominal prefixes are then prefixed to the deverbal stem "root" giving rise to a singular noun.	kì-nsə̀ᵞə̀ 7-DVB.sieve "a sieve"	⇓
9.	The bi-prefixation	A nominal prefix is then prefixed to the deverbal stem "root" giving rise to a plural noun.	bì-nsə̀ᵞə̀ 8-DVB.sieve "sieves"	⇓

Nurse & Phillippson (2003:122): *"Arguments may be realised…as pronominal elements incorporated into the verb, often called clitics, concords, prefixes or subject/object markers" (*"DC" deverbative clitic). The phonological process that brings about the nasal cliticisation is known as deverbatisation , which has been demonstrated above.

Furthermore, the deverbative in Mbuk is entrapped as a fossilised infix but reanalysed as part of the stem which in current Mbuk has become fused to the root such that it forms an

identical syllable for both the singular (step 8) **[kì-nsə̀ˠə̀]** "a sieve"and the plural form (step 9) [bì-nsə̀ˠə̀]"sieves" for nouns. The fusing of infixes is the concern in Brown & Sarah (2009:287) *"Yu discussed four processes that give rise to infixes: entrapment, metathesis, reduplication mutation, and prosodic stem association. For example, in ProtoMuskogean the mediopassive proclitic *il- appeared after the applicative *a- and the plural *oho-, which were later reanalysed as part of the verb stem, entrapping the intervening affix *-il- (e.g., *oho-il-icca 'be shot' ! Alabama holicca 'be shot')."* If the root does not carry this prefix [ɪ], the prefixation of [n-] would give rise to [n-ɪ-] which can generate a contraction (3.4.10) thus creating a syllabic nasal which in turn participates in noun class and concord determination but this is not the case with deverbatives. Furthermore, nasals, as weak consonants would rarely retain their syllabic characteristics beside stronger consonants, Burquest (2001:149): *"This is why we find that nasals (as weaker consonants) commonly assimilate to the point of articulation of following obstruents (the stronger consonants). But it is rather unexpected for obstruents to assimilate to the point of articulation of a nasal."*

3.3.12   Mbuk Nasals' Operational System

The operational system of Mbuk nasals can be configured into four sets as (A, B, C, D); Firstly, set A presents cases of a nasal which is both syllabic and undergoes homorganicity, then secondly, set B are those nasals whose phonological process permits it to be syllabic but does not allow it to homorganise. Thirdly, set C words whose lexical rule of word formation did not allow the nasal to syllabify but homorganicity was permissible and finally, the fourth set nasal neither syllabifies nor homorganises during its lexical composition.

These are nasals in the onset position which expresses themselves in four (4) different morphophonemic realisations. Table below is the epitome of nasals' operations:

Table 25: Mbuk Nasals' Operational System

Types	A	B	C	D
Syllabicity	+	+	-	-
homorganicity	+	-	+	-
Example	n-ndíŋ	m-kàɲ	ŋ-kɔŋ	fì-m-kàɲ
Phonetic form	ń-ndíŋ	m̄kàɲ, m̀kɔ́m	ŋkɔŋ	fìŋkàɲ
Remarks		contracted "mə~mɪ"	deverbative	nominalisation
Noun classes	6a	6a	1	19
Other examples	ń-ndíŋ	m̄kàɲ	ŋkɔ́ŋ/bə̀ŋkɔ́ŋ	fìmkàɲ
	"fig tree"	"oaths"	"admiration (s)"	"oath"
		m̀kɔ́m	nlò / bə̀nlò	fìkɔ́m
		"knives"	"pain / pains"	"knife (ø-nasal)"
		ḿtáŋ	kìmbàɲ/bìmbàɲ	fíntáŋ
		"kites"	"hatred (s)"	"kite"

The absence of an illustrative example in set A is doubtful. We are still going through over and over to verify this typology. A word like, "bed/beds" [nāŋ/bínáŋ] with a nasal onset would fall on nasal type D which is zero syllabic and zero homorganic because it not attached to any consonant.

3.3.13 Tonal Movement

The tones in Mbuk can spread to neighbouring syllables in both directions; left or right. In 89a, the deverbatisation leads to the the lowering of the mid tone root of the verb:

89) **a.** **Right tone spread**

"abandonment"
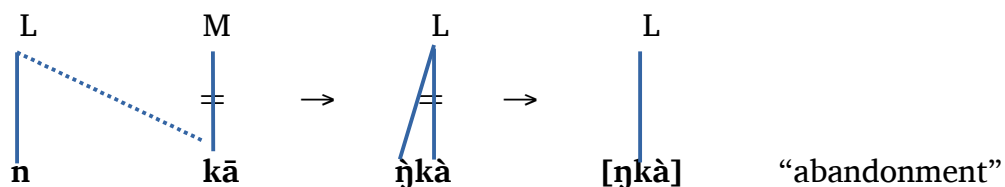
In 89b, the AM for class 10 is inherently high but becomes low before a low tone:

b. **Left tone spread**

10.fowl 10.AM certain   "A certain fowl"
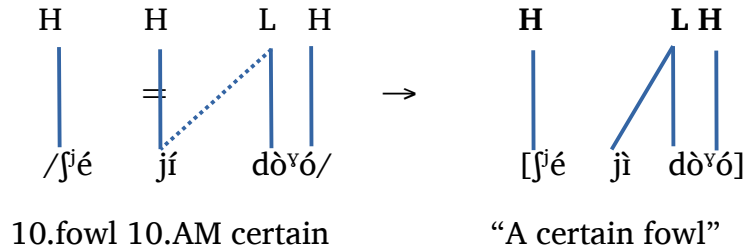
c. **Floating tone**

While in 89c, **t**he segmental unit apocopates and the tone become floating then docks on the preceding syllable giving rise to tone contourisation:

[ntɔ́tɔ̀] → [ntɔ̂t]   "pepper"
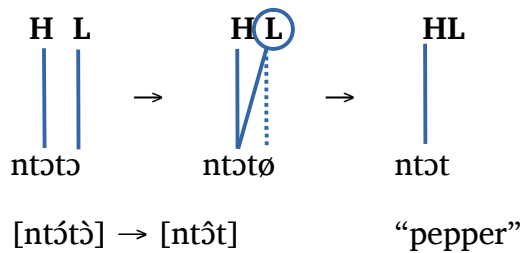
Mbuk, has a bidirectional tone spreading, a floating tone does not get lost alongside an elided segment. The sounds influence each other, we look at the opposition of sounds to determine its phonemes, "The linguistic entity is not accurately defined until it is *delimited,* i.e. separated from everything that surrounds it on the phonic chain. These delimited entities or units stand in opposition to each other in the mechanism of language." Bally et al (1995:103).

3.4 MBUK PHONEMICS

This section presents the phonemes of Mbuk through the analyses of the minimal pairs and those in analogous environments. The allophones in a complementary distribution will resolve to a base phoneme. "*A phoneme is a distinctive phonological unit in a given language which can be shown to contrastwith other phonetically similar units,* Burquest (2006:35)*.*"

In addition, the internal characteristic features of a phoneme are taken into consideration when deciding on the status of a Mbuk phoneme, "*Moreover, the phoneme, which had previously been regarded as an indivisible minimal unit, was now decomposed into a matrix of smaller units, the distinctive features,* Trask &Stockwell (2007:215)*"*

A Phoneme results from a context of mutual influence by its adjacent sounds if its distinctive features have not been suppressed by its neighbouring sounds when compared to a sound suspected to be its allophone. *"A crucial point is that a single phoneme need not always get the same phonetic realization. ... There is only one phoneme /p/ here, and English-speakers typically do not even notice the phonetic difference; we say that [pʰ] and [p] are allophones of the phoneme /p/. In contrast, Mandarin Chinese has pairs of words like [pʰā] 'crouch' and [pa] 'eight', and so [pʰ] and [p] clearly belong to two different phonemes, /pʰ/ and /p/, and these words are phonemically /pʰā/ and /pa/." Trask & Stockwell (2007:214).* These theoretical tenets help us to decipher phonemes from among the phones of Mbuk.

3.4.1 Vowel Phonemics

Mbuk vowels especially in verbs appear to be highly minimally pertinent but when listening to other speakers you find the distinction often neutralised. Since phonology is to prioritise one speech act over the other, we can come up with the following pairings:

Suspicious Pairs	Minimal Pairs Examples				Allophones	Phonemes
90) (u, ʊ)	[mú]	"drink"	[ítú]	"to spit"	[u]	/u/
	[mū]	"spread"	[ítʊ́]	"to hang"	[ʊ]	/ʊ/
(o, ʊ)	[ílō]	"to throw"	[ítō]	"to mow"	[o]	/o/
	[ílʊ̄]	"to ban"	[ítʊ̄]	"to hang"	[ʊ]	/ʊ/
(u, o)	[kū]	"clap"	[fú]	"itch"	[u]	/u/
	[kō]	"harvest"	[fō]	"rot"	[o]	/o/
(ə, a)	[nə́]	"mother"	[dzə́ŋ]	"corn"	[ə]	/ə/
	[nà]	"cow"	[dzàŋ]	"rain"	[a]	/a/
(i, ɪ)	[mì]	"person"	[kìfí]	"pig"	[i]	/i/
	[mí]	"I, me"	[kìfɪ]	"knowledge"	[ɪ]	/ɪ/

Analogous Pairs	Minimal Pairs Examples				Allophones	Phonemes
91) (i, ɨ)	[dʒí] "thief"		[dʒî:] "frontier"		[i]	/i/
	[kìndʒíŋ] "giant"		[dʒɨ̀ɣə̀] "hoe"		[ɨ]	/ɨ/
(ɪ, ə)	[dzɪ̄ʲ] "eat"		[kpɪ́] "death"		[ɪ]	/ɪ/
	[dzə̄] "go"		[kə̀kpə̂] "lizard"		[ə]	/e/
(ɛ, ə)	[kpɛ̀ní] "able"		[mkpɛ́n] "enough"		[ɛ]	/ɛ/
	[kìkpə̀] "lizard"		[síkpə́ŋ] "wrong"		[ə]	/ə/

Complementary Pair

93) (e, ɛ)	[fʲēnī] "return"		[bʲēlí] "rib"		[e]	
	[fɪ̄ɲɛ̄nī~fɪ̄ɲɛ̄nī] "bird"		[bɛ̌n] "you" (pl)		[ɛ]	/ɛ/

Pseudo-minimal Pairs

These pairs are always in free variation. The same speaker would use [o~ɔ]

94) (o, ɔ)	[tō]~[tɔ̄] "reveal"		[mǒ:]~[mɔ̌:] "little things"		/ɔ/
	[tɔ̄]~[tō] "cut"		[mɔ́]~[mó] "swell"		

The [ɔ] is found in both open and closed syllable while [o] is restricted to open syllables. Since [ɔ] has a higher distributive frequency, it has been retained as the base allophone, phoneme.

The Trio Variants

The trio [**o, ɔ, ɒ**] are articulated by the same and different speakers. The [ɔ] has earlier been determined as the phoneme /ɔ/ due to its wide distribution:

95)   (o, ɔ, ɒ)   [kìfó]~[kìfɔ́]~[kìfɒ́]   "cap"
                          [tó]~[tɔ́]~[tɒ́]   "belly"
                          *[gó] [gɔ́]~[gɒ́]   "spear"

The trio [**ü, u, ʊ**] are articulated by the same and different speakers. In other contexts, [u] and [ʊ] are distinct phonemes.

96)   (ü, u, ʊ)   [tüní]~[túní]~[tʊ́ní]   "ear"
                          [ɲű]~[ɲú]~[ɲʊ́]   "knee"

The data above gives the impression that all the sounds are phonemes. Apart from these minimal pairs, many occur in the analogous environment. While those that are in complementary distributions have been treated with one of the allophones resulting as the phoneme.

The [ü] and [u] are not found with an intervening [ɣ] at the intervocalic positions *[ítʃúɣú]. It occurs in the environment of palatals and alveolars, thus, this pulls the back rounded vowel [u] to be fronted and becomes a high front unrounded vowel [ü] giving an allophone of [u]~[ʊ] with /ʊ/ as the base phoneme and /u/ a hard found phoneme.

The phonemes /ə/ and /ɨ/ are always in free variation and /ɨ/ is more of a phonological trigger. The consonants with palatal property are a suitable environment for the /ɨ/, thus, [ɨ] is more an allophone of the phoneme /ə/.

Though [o] and [ɔ] maybe apparent phonemes, but variation has dampened their distinctiveness. Thus, they are better portrayed as allophones of phonemic mutuality; /o/~/ɔ/. But due to the phonotactic behaviour of [o], it suffices that its status remains allophonic.

The rear [œ] results from [o~ə] when it is sandwiched between the lateral approximant [l] and [ji]. The [l] precedes [o~ə] while [o~ə] precedes [ji]. The [o~ə] in this instance has also generated the [ɔ] as shown in the diagram:

97)a.   [wôjí~wə̂jí] "peel"   [o~ə]   o~ə → o~ə / approximant, w_, stop gb__

                                                            [œ]

b.   [lœ̄jī] "mulch"   marked [l]   o~ə → œ/ approximant, l_

                                                 [ɔ]

c.   [tɔ̄jí] "abuse"   default [t, k]   o~ə → ɔ / stops, voiceless; t, k_
        [kɔ̄jí] "harvest"
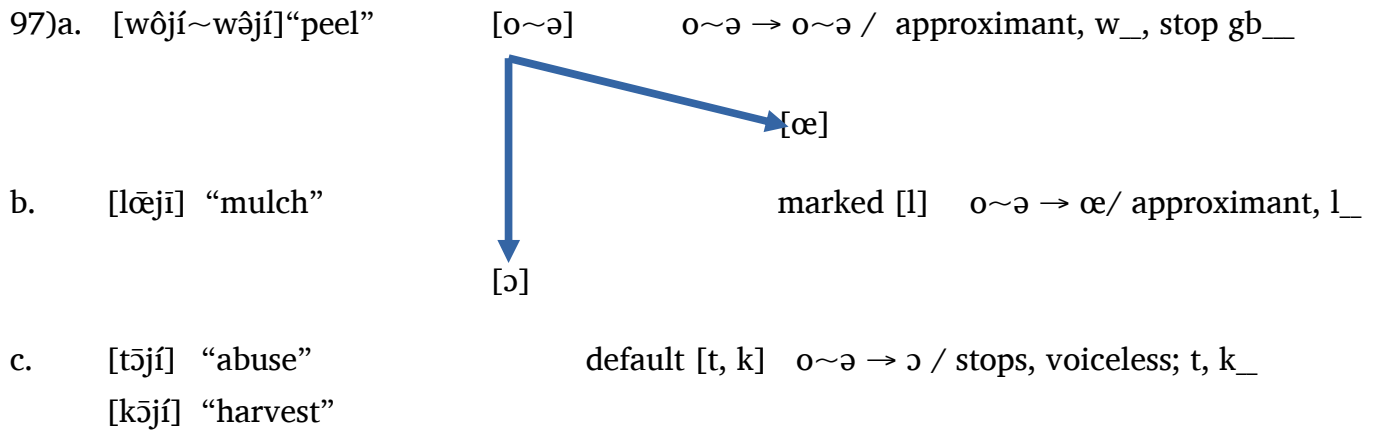
Hence, since [o] and [ə] are often in free variation, [œ] is an allophone of the phoneme /ə/ since [o] is an allophone of the phoneme [ɔ] in the Mbuk language.

Here below is a summary of the phonemic vowels of Mbuk. The Mbuk language has eight (8) phonemic vowels this distributed throughout the vocal cavity frame:

Mbuk Eight (8) Phonemic Vowels

1	/u/	[ü]
		[u]
2	/ʊ/	[ʊ]
3	/ɔ/	[o]
		[ɔ]
		[ɒ]
4	/ə/	[ɨ]
		[ɯ]
		[ə]
		[œ]
5	/ɛ/	[e]
		[ɛ]
6	/i/	[i]
7	/ɪ/	[ɪ]
8	/a/	[a]
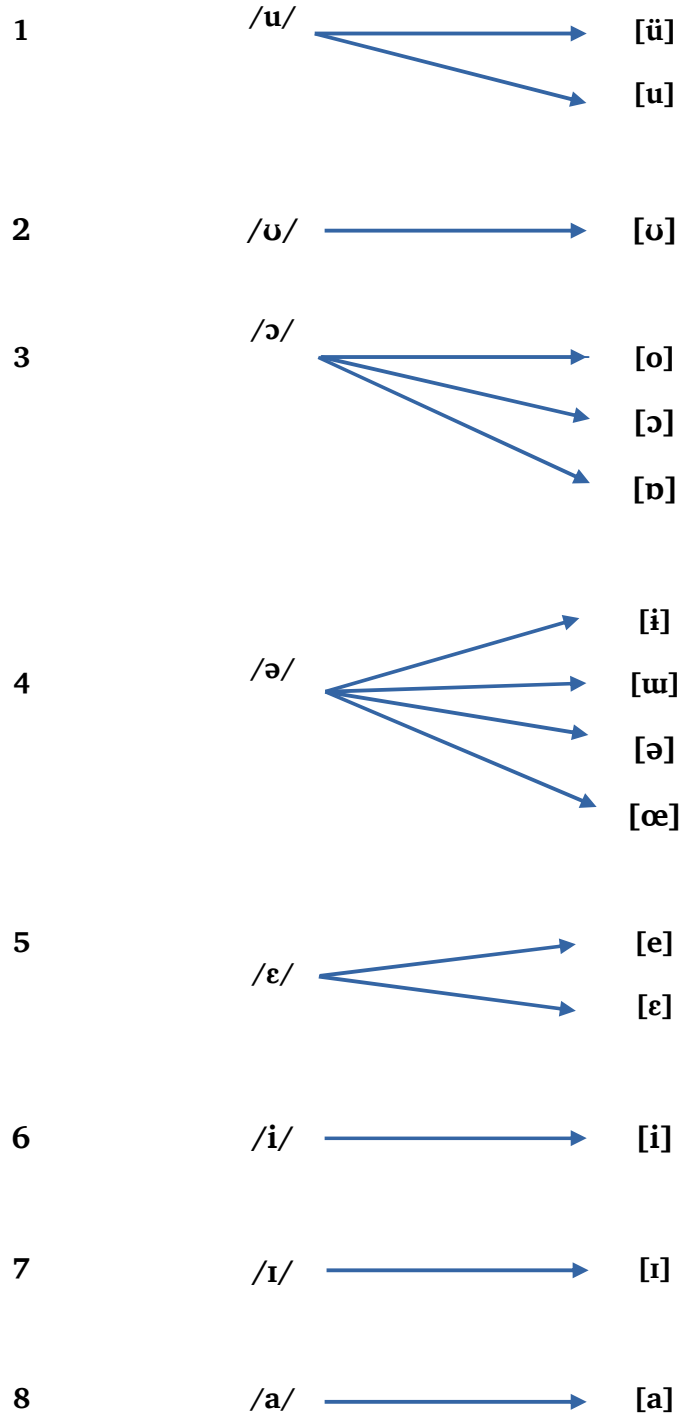
We conclude with the following table of phones, phonemes and proposed alphabet of Mbuk.

Table 26: Summary of Mbuk Vowel Phonemes

Descriptions	Mbuk Phones [15]			Mbuk Phonemes /8/			Mbuk Alphabet |7|		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
close	i ü	ɨɯ	u	i		u	i		u
near-close	ɪ		ʊ	ɪ		ʊ	e		
close-mid	e œ		o						o
Mid	ə				ə			ə	
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ	ɛ		ɔ	ɛ		
Near-open	ɒ								
Open	A				a			a	

3.4.2 Summary of Vowels' Distribution

Not all the 15 vowels are nasal vowels. The exceptions are "i, e, ɨ, ü, ɒ". 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. In Mbuk, nasal stops, the liquid and the trill do not occur as onset consonants with the nasal vowels. While the oral plosives, fricatives, affricates and the approximants functioning as glides do appear with the nasals. In addition, nasalised vowels are not realised as a compensation for the lack of a coda nasal for they do appear in analogous pairs. Nasalised vowels do not have a nasal coda as their oral counterparts:

98) a. [báŋ] "cover (v)" c. [kàm] "cliff river side"

  [bá̃] "nail (v)" [ká̃] "hands"

  b. [búŋ] "clothes"

  [bṹ~bbː] "wood ash"

They minimally contrast in the following pairs:

    d.   [bá̄]   "nail" (v)

           [bā]   "roast" (v)

    e.   [fű]   "clear" (grass) (v)

           [fú]   "itch" (v)

In Mbuk, the [ɪ] is the only vowel occurring as a prefix of a verb, the infinitive prefix:

99)   a.   [í-]   [ímā]   "to build"

        b.   [í-]   [ítō]   "to cut grass"

        c.   [í-]   [ílə́]   "to bury"

All other vowels do occur in open syllables after onset consonants. The intervocalic velar fricative excludes the following vowels [i, u, ɨ, ɛ, e] which implicates phoneme decisions since the fricative is capable of affecting the vowel quality. In this environment, a kind of vowel echoing takes place that excludes [i, u, ɨ, ɛ, e]: [dzáˠá, búˠú] "speak, leak" respectively. The intervocalically [ɣ] sound is so weak that is why it transcribed as a superscript. With the young speakers who have been exposed to the Chung orthography, they interchangeably use [k] for the weak [ɣ], when they pronounce the word for the first time, it gives a weak [ɣ]. Then when they are asked to repeat the word, the [k] is often pronounced. The Chung orthography writes [k] in the intervocalic position.

As for closed syllables, all the vowels can appear except for [ü]. Root vowels, they have restricted onset consonants as well as selected coda ones. Closed syllable vowels:

Table 27: Summary of Vowels Distribution

No	Types	Position	Vowels	Initial	Median	Final
1	**Short Oral**	**Front**	i	Ø	[ndʒíní] "fly"	[bǐː] , [kìfí] "goat" "pig"
2			ɪ	[ídzō] "to come"	[bìmfín] "cocoyam"	[bǐː] , [kìfíː] "allow" "knowledge"(pl)
3			e	Ø	[fʲéŋkí] "wing termite"	[mʲè] "oil"
4			ɛ	Ø	[kɛ̄n] [kìlɛ́tí] "tree" "calabash"	[mgbɛ̀] "plant"
5			œ	Ø	[ílœjí] "mulch"	ø
6			ü	Ø	[tṹní] "ear"	[kíɲǘ] [tsü~tú~tʃú] "knee""spit"
7		**Central**	ɨ	Ø	[kìndʒɨ̀ŋndʒíŋ] "picture"	[dáŋtʃíkɨ́] "regalia"
8			ə	Ø	[fɨⁿsə̀ŋ] "ring"	[ídə̄] [gbə̄] "to cry" "partridge"
9			a	[a] That	[dáɲ] "today"	[dzá] fìláŋ "year" "pot"
10		**Back**	ɯ	Ø	[ɣúfí]"yawn (n)"	ø
11			u	Ø	[ʃūfɨ̄], [kúm] "beat" "python"	[mū] [ʃú] "one" "tie"
12			ʊ	Ø	[ítʃʊ́m], [dʒʊ́ŋ] "to dig" "snake"	[mô] [ídū] "blade""to name"
13			o	Ø	[ḿkōŋō] "bone"	[kìfó] "cap"
14			ɔ	Ø	[bìnɔ̀m] "gonorrhoea"	[bìndzɔ̀] "sugar"
15			ɒ	Ø	[gɒ́ŋ~gɔ́ŋ] "spear"	ø

These vowels exist in suspicious pairs either minimal pairs, analogous or in complementary distribution to each other as demonstrated above.

3.4.3 Accidental Phonemes [i] and [u]

The bilabial, palatals influences vowel qualities in Mbuk in the same way as labiodentalisation effect vowels by raising them to 'extra' high vocalic positions.

100)	nasals:	[i]	[m]	[mi]	"person"
		[u]	[m]	[mú]	"drink"
	Palatals:	[i]	[ʃ]	[ʃí]	"descend"
			[tʃ]	[tʃí]	"different"
		[u]	[ʃ]	[ʃú]	"tie"
			[tʃ]	[tʃù:]	"wicked"
	Labio-dentals:	[i]	[f]	[kìfí]	"pig"
		[u]	[kf]	[kfù]	"rope"
		[u]	[gv]	[gvú]	"feet"

This phonological rule governs the realisation of close vowels as allophones in Mbuk:

$$\text{ɪ} \rightarrow \text{i} \; / \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{Bilabias} & \text{b\_,} \quad \text{m\_, ...} \\ \text{Palatals} & \text{ʃ\_,} \quad \text{tʃ\_, ...} \\ \text{Labio-dentals} \quad \text{kf\_,} & \text{gv\_ ,..} \end{array}$$

Hence, though with some minimal and analogous environment, the phonetic influence supercedes leading to the conclusion that [u] is an allophone of [ʊ] and likewise [i] being an allophone of [ɪ]. Any contrary observation would result from a historical backing concerning particular word. In this case, the first person subject pronoun, 1S, [mɨ́ʲ] which is often from a complex compound realisation that often accompanies the existence of 1S in most languages. It is worth noting that [u] will lower to [ʊ] in the environment of velars:

101)

$$u \rightarrow \upsilon / \quad \_\_Velars\_\_$$

	[u]	[ʊ]	
	*[gūɣū]	[gʊ̄ɣʊ̄]	"drag / drive (car)"
	*[būɣū]	[bʊ̄ɣʊ̄]	"go out / exit"
	*[tʃūɣū]	[tʃʊ̄ɣʊ̄]	"knock (head)"
	*[kūɣū]	[kʊ̄ɣʊ̄]	"maintain child"
	*[ʃūɣū]	[ʃʊ̄ɣʊ̄]	"pour"

102)

$$\upsilon \rightarrow u / Palatals\_\_-Velar$$

	[ʊ]	[u]	
	*[ʃʊ̄fĩ]	[ʃūfĩ]	"beat bitterly"
	*[tʃʊ̄fĩ]	[tʃūfĩ]	"peak"

The bilabial nasal effect influences vowel qualities in Mbuk in the same way labiodentalisation effect vowels by raising them to 'extra' high vocalic positions.

103) nasals:

		[i]	[m]	[mi]	"person"
		[u]	[m]	[mú]	"drink"

104) Labio-dentals:

		[i]	[f]	[kìfí]	"pig"
		[u]	[kf]	[kfù]	"rope"
		[u]	[gv]	[gvú]	"feet"

Hence, though with some minimal and analogous environment, the phonetic influence supercedes leading to the conclusion that [u] is an allophone of [ʊ].

As we observed accidental phonemes, there is also an accidental allophone [o] which in fact can be considered a phoneme through its analogous relations with [ɔ] but the bilabial, dental and variations influence overcome the possible consideration of it being a phoneme of its own. It is also obvious that [o] might not be an intrinsic vowel of native Mbuk though it has ample lexemes, it sounds lower towards [ɔ] in most speakers.

3.4.4 Consonant Phonemics

The Mbuk language has 38 consonantal phones. These phones appear in words as allophones and phonemes which we are going to distinguish; through minimal, analogous and complementary pair presentation. The table summarises the phonemes and allophones of Mbuk:

Table 28: Summary of Mbuk Consonant Phonemes

No	Phonemes	Allophones	Examples			
			Initial	Median	Final	
I	STOPS: / b, t, d, k, g, kp, gb /					
1	/b/	[b]	bálí bí "waist" "goats"	íbā "to roast"	ø	1
		[β]	βū́ ~ "fly (n)"	ø	ø	2
		[p]	Ø	lāpsí ~ lāfí "dress up"	ø	3
2	/t/	[t]	tálí "ladder"	ítá "to sting"	ø	4
		[r]	rā̄ (dzə̄) "come"	ntɔ́rɔ̀ "pepper"	ø	5
3	/d/	[d]	dàlá "redalia"	ídā "to build"	ø	6
4	/k/	[k]	kā "hatch"	íkō̄ᵞō̄ "to nurse"	ø	7
		[kf]	kfú "abode (dead)"	ŋkfû "ancestor"	ø	8
		[ʔ]	Ø	ø	nàʔ"cow"	9
5	/g/	[g]	gā "share"	ígʉ̀ᵞʉ́ "to drag"	ø	10
		[gv]	gvú "feet"	ø	ø	11
6	/kp/	[kp]	kpī "death"	íkpā "to light fire"	ø	12

7	/gb/	[gb]	gbí "net, 100frs"	ígbā "to harvest"	ø	13
II	**NASALS: / m, n, ɲ, ŋ /**					
8	/m/	[m]	mà "or"	ímā "build"	fìntám "fruit"	14
		[ɱ]	ɱfá́ː "cowpea"			15
9	/n/	[n]	nà "will"	íná "ride"	kēn "trees"	16
10	/ɲ/	[ɲ]	ɲàm "animal"	íɲā "give"	wáɲ "child"	17
11	/ŋ/	[ŋ]	ŋàŋlí "crawling(v)"	mìkpàɲá "woman"	fìntáŋ "kite"	18
III	**FRICATIVES: / f, s, ʃ, h, ʒ, ɣ /**					
12	/f/	[f]	fá "two"	ífá "to shave"	ø	19
13	/s/	[s]	sàŋ "hall"	ísáŋ "to disappear"	ø	20
14	/ʃ/	[ʃ]	ʃáŋwí "tree k.o"	íʃáɲá "to peel"	ø	21
15	/h/	[h]	híkī "nape (neck)"	táhā "bowl"	ø	22
16	/ʒ/	[ʒ]	ʒáːní ~ jání "island"	íʒə̀ˠɔ́ "to begin"	ø	23
17	/ɣ/	[ɣ]	ɣə̀fí ~ ɣífí "yawn(v)"	ɣ́ˠə́ˠə̀ "glowing"	ø	24
		[ɣf]	ɣfú "blue berry tree"	ø	ø	25
IV	**AFFRICATES: / ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ, kx /**					
18	/ts/	[ts]	tsá "baboon"	ø	ø	26
19	/dz/	[dz]	dzàŋ "rain"	ídzá "to lack"	ø	27
		[dzz]	dzzə̄ "road"	ø	ø	28

		[z]	zátō ~ dzátō "female name"	ø	ø	29
20	/tʃ/	[tʃ]	tʃá "tilt"	ítʃám "chew"(v)	ø	30
21	/dʒ/	[dʒ]	dʒáɲ "juju home"	ídʒâfí "mismanage"	ø	31
22	/kx/	[kx]	kxə̄ "farm"	íkxə́ "to shave"	ø	32
V	APPROXIMANTS: / l, j, w, /					
23	/l/	[l]	lɛ́ "run"	kìlétí "calabash"	ø	33
24	/j/	[j]	́janí ~ ʒá:ní "island"	íjà ˠá "to ascend"	ø	34
25		[ɥ]	lɥíː "laziness"	ø	ø	35
	/w/	[w]	wɛ́ "open"	íwɛ̄ "to open"	ø	36
		[v]	vʷɔ̂ ~ wwɔ̂ "screech owl"	ø	ø	37

3.4.5 Stops (plosives)

The Stops [p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, kp, gb] in Mbuk have been found in various relationships in the language; firstly, as minimal pairs, then analogous and in complementary distribution.

In minimal pairs:

105)	(t, d)	[tá]	"hit"	[tə́]	"entertain"	/ t /
		[dā]	"build"	[də́]	"wet"	/ d /
	(k, g)	[kā]	"plant"	[kū ˠū]	"nurse a child"	/ k /
		[gā]	"share"	[gū ˠū]	"drag"	/ g /
	(kp, gb)	[kpā]	"cook"	[kpí]	"death"	/ kp /
		[gbā]	"harvest"	[gbí]	"net"	/ gb /
	(b, d)	[íbāŋhī]	"to meet"	[bā]	"roast"	/ b /
		[ídâŋhí]	"to omit"	[dā]	"build"	/ d /

(k, kp)	[kǎ]	"hands"	[ká]	"days"	/ k /
	[kpǎ]	"hand"	[kpá]	"day"	/ kp /
(b, gb)	[bā]	"roast"	[búˠú]	"exit"	/ b /
	[gbā]	"harvest palm"	[gbúˠú]	"gun"	/ gb /

In complementary pairs:

106) (p, b) [ø] "no word" [ø] "no word" [lāpsí] "dress up" [p]
[bálí] "waist" [kìbábâ] "hyena" [kìŋkə̀blì] "cripple" / b /

The plosives [p] and [b] are in complementary distribution in initial and medial position but in the "final" position, final in the sense that [-sɪ] and [-lɪ] are suffixes in the language. The stems without suffixes /lāp-/ and /kìŋkə̀b-/ would bear [p] and [b] in word final respectively.

Then the phonological rule (P-R):

[b] → [p] / voiceless fricative __[s] / lab-sɪ / [lāpsí] and vice versa,
[p] → [b] / voiced lateral approximant __[l] / kìŋkə̀p -lɪ/ [kìŋkə̀blì]

This implies that there is a reversal influence; devoicing of [b] by [-s] and [voicing of [p] by [-l]. But since [b] occupies the strong initial position at the absence [p], thus, [p] remains the allophone of the / b / phoneme.

Moreover, another suspicious pair are (**k, ʔ**) with [**k**] restricted to the initial and medial position while the glottal has the final position as its comfort position but we find some traces of [k] sharing this somehow final position (giving that [-tɪ̄] is a suffix) with the [ʔ]:

(k, ʔ) [ŋgò̀ʔ] "gun trigger" [nàʔ] "cow" [ʔ]
[kúˠúlī̄] "elder" [kwāktī̄] "think" /k/

The suffix [-tɪ] being a strong front consonant, an alveolar accompanied with the near-close (near-high) front vowel has displaced the glottal from the pharynx to the velar position because the glottal seems to appear in semi-intervocalic position necessitating a change in position. Hence the phonological rule (P-R):

(P-rule 1)   [ʔ] → [k] / _[tɪ]   and vice versa

(P-rule 2)   [k] → [ʔ] / _#

Data   [íkūktī]   "to incubate"   [mbɔ́ʔ]   "premature palm nut"
        [íkwâktí]   "to think"   [ŋgɔ̀ʔ]   "gun trigger"

3.4.6 Nasals

The nasal sounds [**m, m̵, n, ɲ, ŋ**] form a huge number of words and they bear a pertinent contrast among each other with [**m̵**] as an exception for it is seldom noticed. It only occurs as a prefix with prenasalisation properties. The pair (**m, n**) are the first suspects:

107)a. (m, n)   [má] "suck"   [bìmàmá] "caterpillars [nɔ̄m] "work   /m/
                 [nā] "ride   [bīnāŋ] "beds   [mɔ̄n] "test   /n/

Hence, in minimal pairs, [**m**] and [**n**] are distinct phonemes in Mbuk.

The second suspect in nasals are (**n, ɲ**), they contrast in initial and final position:

b.   (n, ɲ)   [nā] "ride   [nū] "sleep   [dān] "burn incense   /n/
                [ɲā] "give   [ɲū] "honey   [dáɲ] "today   /ɲ/

The suspects (**n, ɲ**) are minimal contrasts, thus, pertinent phonemes. But at the final position, the contrast is neutralised either to [n](A) or [ɲ](F) as seen below:

	gloss	infinitive	gerund	past	progressive	future	imperative
c.	sharpen	[ífān]	[mfàɲ]	[fān]	fâɲkɔ́lə̀	fáːŋlə̀	fáɲ
d.	shine	[íbān]	[mbàɲ]	[báɲ]	báɲkɔ́lə̀	báɲlə̀	báɲ
		A	B	C	D	E	F

The variation in [n~ɲ] cannot be attributed to a phonological factor since the context is the same. It is a sociolinguistic factor. Furthermore, in sharpen, column E (future), the [ɲ] reverses to [ŋ] before [-lə] as the root vowel lengthens.

The third suspect in nasals are (**n, ŋ**), the contrast analogously in the following words:

e. (n, ŋ) [nə̄ŋ] "want" [ntʃání] "raffia frond" [bɘ̀nɛ̀n] "forbid" /n/

[ŋə̄m] "open eye" [ⁿʃáŋá] "oil chaff" [bɘ̀nə́ŋ] "want" /ŋ/

Thus, [n, ŋ] are phonemes /n, ŋ/ borne by contrast in analogous contexts.

The fourth pair in suspect are (ɲ, ŋ), they are contrasted in all three positions:

f. (ɲ, ŋ) [ɲə́m] "silently remove" [kìɲɔ́ŋ] "buffalo" [bàɲ] "shine" /ɲ/

[ŋə̄m] "open eye" [ŋkō̄ŋō] "bone" [bàŋ] "covering" /ŋ/

The, [ɲ, ŋ] are phonemes of /n, ŋ/ which contrast through minimal pairs in

both initial and final position while in medial, they differ in minimal pairs.

3.4.7 Fricatives

The fricatives [β, f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ɣ, h] can be suspected among themselves in a permissible

permutation such as (β, f), (β, v), (f, v), (f, s), (s, z), (s, ʃ), (ɣ, h):

108)a. (β, f) [βṹ] "blood-sucking fly" [ø] "no entry" /β/

[fú] "head" [ífú] "to itch" /f/

[β] and [f] occur in analogous pair in initial position thus, they are phonemes.

b. (β, v) [βṹ] "blood-sucking fly" [ø] "no entry" /β/

[vʷɔ̂] "screech owl" [vʷô] "slowly, peeling" /v/

These words contrast analogically in the initial position thus, are phonemes.

c. (f, v) [fɔ́ɣɔ́] "axe" [kìfó] "cap" /f/

[vʷɔ̂] "screech owl" [vʷô] "slowly, peeling" /v/

These sounds contrast analogically in the initial position thus, are phonemes.

d. (f, s) [sə̄ɣə] "sieve" [ⁿfàhì] "plan" /f/

[fə̄ɣə] "tell" [ⁿsàfì] "judge" /s/

The sound [f] and [s] contrast minimally and analogously, hence, phonemes.

e. (s, z) [sàŋ] "hall" [bìsǐ:] "place" /s/

[zátō] "female name" [ø] "no entry" /z/

The sound [s] and [z] contrast analogously, hence, they are phonemes.

f.   (s, ʃ)   [sàŋá]   "weed"   [ⁿsàfì]   "judge"   /s/

                 [ʃáŋá]   "peel"   [ⁿʃáŋá] "palm oil chaff"   /ʃ/

       The sound [s] and [ʃ] contrast significantly, they are phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/.

g.   (s, ʒ)   [sɔ́ŋ]   "long mouth rat"   [ísə̀ᵛə́] "to sieve"   /s/

                 [ʒɔ́ŋ]   "k.o song"   [íʒə̀ᵛə́] "to sweep"   /ʒ/

       [s] and [ʒ] convey different meanings in minimal pairs, /s/, /z/ are phonemes.

h.   (ʃ, ʒ)   [ʃə́ᵛə́]   "wingless termites"   [íʃūfì]   "beat severely"   /ʃ/

                 [ʒə̀ᵛə́]   "begin"   [íʒūm]   "to go far off"   /ʒ/

       These sounds bear different meanings in identical positions, they are phonemes.

i.   (ɣ, h)   [ɣə̀fí]   "yawn"   [íʃə̀ᵛə̀hí]   "to bring down"   /ɣ/

                 [híkí]   "nape (neck)"   [ítə́hə̀]   "be slow"   /h/

       In analogous pair, they are distinct phonemes.

3.4.7 Affricates

The affricates [kf, gv, ɣf, ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ, kx] permute in suspect pairs as (kf, gv), (kf, ɣf),

(ts, dz), (ts, tʃ), (dz, dʒ), (gɣ, kx). The analysis of these suspected pairs are as follows:

109)   (kf, gv)   [kfú:]   "pour libation"   [kfū:]   "play instruments"

                  [gvú]   "feet"   [gvù]   "Body"

       [kf] and [gv] differ analogously, they are phonemes /kf/ and /gv/.

       (kf, ɣf)   [kfú:]   "pour libation"   [kfū:]   "play instruments"

                  [ɣfú]   "blue berry tree"   [ø]   "no entry"

       [kf] and [ɣf] differ analogously, they are phonemes /kf/ and /ɣf/.

       (ts, dz)   [tsá]   "baboon"   [tsə̄]   "pass"

                  [dzà]   "porcupine"   [dzə̄]   "fall (rain)"

       The sound [ts] and [dz] differ minimally, they are phonemes /ts/ and /dz/.

       (ts, tʃ)   [tsĭ]   "sorcerer"   [ítsə̄ᵛə̄jí]   "scarify"

                  [tʃíní]   "push in"   [ítʃə̄ᵛə̄tí]   "think"

       The sound [ts] and [tʃ] differ analogously, they are phonemes /ts/ and /tʃ/.

| (dz, dʒ) | [dzʊ̀ŋ] | "antelope" | | [dzə̀ˠə̀] | "elephant" |
| | [dʒʊ̀m] | "tiger" | | [dʒə̄ˠə̄] | "kernel (corn)" |

The sound [dz] and [dʒ] differ similar contexts leading to /dz/ and /dʒ/.

| (kf, kx) | [kfú] | "abode (dead)" | | [kfʊ̀ː] | "hill" |
| | [kxə́] | "shave" | | [kxə̄] | "farm" |

The sound [kf] and [kx] differ similar contexts resulting to /kf/ and /kx/.

3.4.8 Approximants

These suspected sound (**w, j**) contrast in identical and analogous environments thus they are both phonemes /**w**/ and /**j**/ according to the following data:

| 110) | (w, j) | [wɛ́] | "open" | [íwō̄ˠōlī] | "to listen" | [wʊ́ní] | "tail" | /w/ |
| | | [jɛ́] | "name" | [íjə̄ˠə̄lī] | "to lean" | [jání] | "island" | /j/ |

3.4.9 Lateral Approximant

The lateral approximant [l] is suspected with the palatal approximant (j):

| 111) | (l, j) | [lɛ̄] | "run" | [íláfí] | "to dress self" |
| | | [jɛ́] | "name" | [íjāhí] | "to reduce" |

The sound [l] and [j] differ in similar contexts, they are phonemes /l/ and /j/.

3.4.10   Trill

The occurrence of the trill [r] is either as a lexical variant of [t] or as a phrasal variant of [dz]. Hence, [r] is an allophone of lexical [t] or the phrasal [dz]:

| 112) | a. | [ntɔ́tɔ̀] ~ [ntɔ́rɔ̀] | "pepper" |
| | b. | [kə̀lɛ́tí] ~ [kə̀lɛ́rí] | "calabash" |

and also phrasal allophone of [dz]

| | c. | [dzó dzə̄] ~ [dzó rə̄] | "bring" |
| | | take come   take come | |

Since phonemes are primarily deduced from the lexemes thus, [r] is allophone of /t/.

3.4.11 Criss-crossing Articulatory Manners

Manners criss-cross each other in suspicious pairs when different manners are put into suspect. For instance, suspecting a stop and a fricative such as (**k, ɣ**), (**t, s**), (**k, h**). or stops and affricates (**t, ts**), (**ts, s**) are examples of criss-crossing manners in suspicious pairs. The rationale for this pattern of suspect is because most phonological processes affect consonants by displacing them from one manner of articular to another. For instance, [b] → [β], [ɣ] → [ɣf]:

Some Mbuk suspect pairs in criss-crossing manners are in analogous positions (**k, ɣ**):

Stops/fricatives, (k, ɣ)   [kàː] "basket"   [híkɪ̄] "nape (neck)"   /k/
113)   [ɣá] "thing"   [íɣə́ˠə̀] "to glow(fire)"   /ɣ/

The sound [k] and [ɣ] play a variational role in "think" where [ɣ] appears intervocalic:

gloss	infinitive	gerund	past	progressive	future	imperative
think	íkʷâktí	ŋ̀kʷàktì	kʷāktɪ̄	kʷá ˠàtìkɪ́lə̀	kʷá ˠàtɪ́lə̀	kʷá ˠàtí
	A	B	C	D	E	F

In column D, E, and F, the [k] → [ɣ] while it retains [k] in column A, B, and C.

This unveils the scarcity of [k] in a pure medial position, where [k] does not function as an onset of a syllable and non-velarisation of [k] within two high front vowels as [**híkɪ̄**] nape (neck). But velarisation occurs elsewhere thus, accounts for the profuse occurrence of [ɣ] in Mbuk. Despite of the complementary role the sounds play in the medial position, they are somehow minimal pairs in the initial position though [kàː] occurs with a long vowel while the vowel of [ɣá] is short and they further contrast in tone, thus, it a quasi-minimal pair, analogous pair which give rise to phonemes /k/ and /ɣ/. [ɣ] as in [**ɣá**] "thing" is a strong consonant at the onset but becomes lenis intervocalically as in [**í-ɣə́ˠə̀**]   "to-glow (fire)".

Having looked at (k, ɣ), another criss-crossing sets in articulatory manner that are put into suspicious pairs are (t, s). They differ in minimal and analogous pair thus /t/ and /s/:

stop/fricative(t, s)	[tə̄fí]	"advice"	[ítū]	"hang"
114)	[sə̄fí]	"carry"	[ísǔ]	"laugh"

The sound [t] and [dz] differ in minimal pairs, they are phonemes, /t/ and /dz/:

stop/affricate(t, dz)	[tō]	"reveal"	[ítá]	"sting"
	[dzō]	"take"	[ídzá]	"stand up"

liquid/nasal (l, n)	[fūlī]	"mix fish"	[ílā]	"go to work"
	[fū:nī]	"smell"	[íná]	"ride (bicycle)"

The sound [l] and [n] differ in minimal contexts, they are phonemes, /l/ and /n/:

stop/prenasalised (b, mb)	[bɔ́m]	"accept"	[bǐ:]	"goat"
	[mbɔ̀m]	"large"	[mbí:]	"world"

The sound [b] and [mb] are in minimal pairs, they are phonemes, /b/ and /mb/:

stop/prenasalised(gb, mb)	[gbí]	"net"	[gbə̄]	"partridge"
	[mbí:]	"stone trap"	[mbɛ̀:]	"guinea corn"

[gb] and [mb] are in minimal contexts, they are phonemes, /gb/ and /mb/:

3.4.11   Coda Consonants

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 a [s]. The [s] is in a borrowed word. Almost all consonants are found at the onset of a root word except the glottal stop that is neither at the onset nor intervocalic. In Mbuk, the preferred syllabic structure for is the CV form due to its high frequency in the wordlist. And not all consonants can pair up as onset and coda to form a closed syllable. Closed syllable consonants are exemplified in the following pages:

115)	a.	[k...m]	[bìkə́m]	"lion"
	b.	[dʒ...m]	[dʒúm]	"tiger"
	c.	[nt...m]	[fìntám]	"fruit"
	d.	[mb...n]	[kìmbín]	"faeces"
	d.	[ts...n]	[tsɛ̀n]	"arm"
	e.	[t...ŋ]	[kìtàŋ]	"hut"

f.	[dz...ŋ]	[dzʊ́ŋ]	"antelope"
g.	[mb...ŋ]	[mbɔ̀ŋ]	"k.o juju"
h.	[ts...ŋ]	[tsáŋ]	"tyre"
i.	[l...ŋ]	[fìláŋ]	"clay pot"
j.	[ŋkw...ŋ]	[fíŋkwáŋ]	"deer"
k.	[ŋg...ʔ]	[ŋgɔ̀ʔ]	"gun plug"
l.	[ŋgw...ʔ]	[ŋgʷáʔ]	"meeting"

A diachronic study can be conducted to see how far the patterns have been endangered or have changed to other forms; either the vowels have been nasalised or denasalised or the cognates can be cross-examined in other languages in order to understand the evolution of the nasalised vowels observed in Mbuk.

3.4.12 Consonant-Vowel Combinations

Vowels in Initial Position and the consonants that vowels can precede them.

116)		[ɪ] – Vocalic infinitive prefix of verbs			phoneme	Remarks
[p]	ø	ø	Ø			
[b]	[ɪ]-	íbá	"to roasting (fowl)"		/b/	
[bʲ]	[ɪ]-	íbʲɛ́	"to be done (cook)"			
[bʷ]	[ɪ]-	íbʷǎ	"to pierce"			
[t]	[ɪ]-	ítá	"to hit"		/ t /	
[d]	[ɪ]-	ídə́:	"to be wet"		/ d /	
[k]	[ɪ]-	íkā	"to hatch"		/ k /	
[kʷ]	[ɪ]-	íkʷá	"to catch"		/ k /	
[g]	[ɪ]-	ígâ:	"to dish out / share"		/ g /	
[gv]	ø	ø	Ø			
[ʔ]	ø	ø	Ø		[ʔ] of /k/	
[kp]	[ɪ]-	íkpǎ:	"to light fire"		/ kp /	
[gb]	[ɪ]-	ígbā	"to harvest (palm cone)"		/ gb /	
[m]	[ɪ]-	ímā	"to build (house)"		/ m /	
[mʷ]	[ɪ]-	ímʷā	"to beg"		/ m /	
[n]	[ɪ]-	íná	"ride (bicycle)"		/ n /	
[ɲ]	[ɪ]-	íɲā	"to give"		/ ɲ /	

[ŋ]		[ɪ]-	íŋə́m	"to open eye"	/ ŋ /	
[ŋʷ]		[ɪ]-	íŋʷă	"to pinch"	/ ŋ /	
[β]		ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø
[f]		[ɪ]-	ífā	"to count"	/ f /	
[fʷ]		[ɪ]-	ífʷâhí	"to loan"		
[v]		ø	ø		[v] / w /	ø
[s]		[ɪ]-	ísáˠá	"to judge"	/ s /	
[z]		ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø
[ʃ]		[ɪ]-	íʃáˠàjí	"to demolish"		
[ʃʷ]		[ɪ]-	íʃʷă	"to loosen"	/ ʃ /	
[ʃʲ]		[ɪ]-	íʃʲə̄lí	"to compare"		
[ʒ]		[ɪ]-	íʒà̀ˠə́	"to begin"	/ ʒ /	
[ʒʲ]		[ɪ]-	íʒʲə̄:ní	"to fill"	/ ʒ /	
[h]		ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø
[ɣ]		[ɪ]-	íˠānní	"to wander about"	/ ɣ /	
[ɣf]		ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø
[ts]		[ɪ]-	ítsá:	"to praise"	/ ts /	
[dz]		[ɪ]-	ídzə̄	"to fall (rain)"	/ dz /	
[tʃ]		[ɪ]-	ítʃàˠá	"to check (trap)"	/ tʃ /	
[tʃʷ]		[ɪ]-	ítʃʷālí	"to mix (raw corn beer)"	/ tʃ /	
[dʒ]		[ɪ]-	ídʒī	"to be heavy"	/ dʒ /	
[dʒʷ]		[ɪ]-	ídʒʷɔ́m	"rub excess oil"	/ dʒ /	
[kx]		[ɪ]-	íkxə́	"to shave"	/ kx /	
[gɣ]		[ɪ]-	ígˠə́kī	"to suffer"	/ g /	
[kf]		[ɪ]-	íkfū	"to pour libation"	/ k /	
[gv]		ø	ø	Ø	/ g /	
[j]		[ɪ]-	íjà̀ˠə́	"to start"	/ j /	
[w]		[ɪ]-	íwăm	"to bark"	/ w /	
[l]		[ɪ]-	íláŋ	"to have joy"	/ l /	
[lʲ]		[ɪ]-	ílʲíŋ	"to bewitch"	/ l /	
[r]		ø	ø	Ø	/ t /	
[ndz]		[ɪ]-	índzàŋá	"to urinate"	/ dz /	
[ndʒ]		[ɪ]-	índʒúő	"be sweet"	/ dʒ /	
[ŋg]		[ɪ]-	íŋgű	"bow (down)"	/ g /	

The presentation above shows that not all onset consonants are preceded by the infinitive prefix. Most allophonic onsets do not take the infinitive prefix but all phonemic consonants are preceded by an [ɪ-] prefix.

3.4.13 Keynotes on Restricted Combinations

The vowels and consonants of Mbuk have a lot of restriction of occurrence. This restriction of occurrence has contributed in the determining of the number of phonemes; 8 vowels and 25 consonants. Further studies on phonology can dwell more on further phonotactics of the Mbuk sounds as such:

117)	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	ü	Œ	ɨ	ə	a	ɯ	u	ʊ	o	ɔ	ɒ
_p	-	-	-	ɛp	-	-	-	əp	ap	-	-	-	-	ɔp	-
*p_	-	-	-	*pɛ	-	-	-	*pə	*pa	-	-	-	-	*pɔ	-
b_	bi	bɪ	-	bɛ	-	-	bɨ	bə	ba	-	bu~	bʊ	bo	bɔ	-

Vowels would always precede [p] but never [p] preceding vowels. Only four sets of vowels would appear before [-p]; one front vowel [ɛ-], two central vowels [ə-, a-] and one back vowel [ɔ-]. [*pɛ], the asterisk indicates that it is not a permissible combination of [p].

3.5 CONCLUSION

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: 15 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 occur in all three positions; initial, medial and final. With some being restricted to the initial and median while some permute for medial and final as certain ones appear strictly 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; initial, median and final. Some are restricted 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. It has 25 consonantal phonemes.

This section also exposes on the variation noticed namely; vowels and consonant variation which for some part stems from patrician 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 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 syllable structure: 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.

The phonological processes have been studied with prominent spirantisation. This has contributed to the determination of the phonemes of its vowels (8) and consonants (25).

Spirantisation (Nurse &Philippson 2003:20) observed it in four languages: Fang, Swahili Yeyi, Kalanga. Similarly, it is a common feature in Mbuk which has led to many fricatives. Spirantization in Mbuk lead to the change of point and manner of articulation. The four spirants of Mbuk are [β, kf, gv, ɣf] ($3.4.7 and $3.4.8).

In Mbuk, a nasal in a prefix position is not necessarily homorganic or syllabic ($3.4.12).

It is worth noting that instead of a phonemic transcription, this thesis entirely employs the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) under the auspices of savegaurding an endangered language hence contrary to the expections of (Dixon 2009:2), "*The basic material for study will be texts recorded in the language—legends, narratives of recent events, instructions for planting, hunting, herding, and manufacture, and so on. These are recorded, transcribed (in terms of a suitable phonemic alphabet), and analysed.*" At the moment, the thesis is oriented on conservation, not on pedagody. More analysis is pending on tones, lexemes, and texts as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

MBUK NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the nominal morphology of Mbuk. It examines how nouns are formed through the combination of morphemes thus giving a clue on the word limit. Then it gives the classification of nouns into groups based on the singular/plural affixes of the Bantu tradition in concomitant with their respective pronominal concords. Nouns are also grouped according to semantic domains to further justify the noun class system. The chapter is divided into four sections: 4.1 the noun classes; 4.2 the concord system while 4.3nouns semantic domain and the last section, 4.4 looks at the pronouns.

4.1 MBUK NOUN CLASSES

Mbuk as a Bantu kin has not deviated from the traditional noun class prefix system of its linguistic phratry. In Mbuk, aware of the merging and overlapping of semantic domains (section 4.3, Mbuk Noun Domains), the semantic classification has been downplayed prioritising structural taxonomy through its affixation system, most especially the prefixes concomitantly aided by their concord markers. A concord is the remote form of a pronoun that coreferences the head noun with its modifiers. In other words, it is a bridge linking a modifier to its head noun or subject. According to Nurse and Philippson (2003:112), a "*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 nounhas 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. The pronominal concord can be a bound affix on the modifier or a separate particle. Hence, the presentation of Mbuk noun class prefixes and the noun classes below.

4.1.1 Noun Class Prefixes

The noun classes of Mbuk are drawn from Watters (2003:240), the nouns can be related to the Pheripheral, Momo and Ring generally referred to as the Western Grassfileds. The Mbuk noun classes share almost the same features from this comparison:

Table 29: Mbuk in Proto-Western Grassfields (Peripheral, Proto-Momo and Ring)

"Proto Western Grassfields"			Mbuk		
Noun Class	Noun Prefix	Concord	Noun Prefix	Concord	Remarks
1	ù (n)-	ù-	ø-	ẁ-~ù-	Mbuk has a prenasalised syllable onset
1a	-	-	ø-	ẁ-	Mbuk prenasalised onsets go here
2	bə́-	bə́-	bə́-	b́-	Same as Proto-Western Grassfields
3	ú-	ú-	ø-	ẃ-	Absence of nasal prefix
3a	-	-	-	-	Noun class 3a not attested in Mbuk
4	í-	í-	ø-	j́- ~ í-	The concords are similar
5	í-	í-	ø-	ẃ-	The concords differ
6	á-	gá-	ø-	ø-	No correspondence
6a	mə̀-	mə̀-	mə-	N-	Similar
7	kí-	kí-	kɪ-~kə	k-	Similar
8	bí-	bí-	bi-	b-	Similar
9	ì(N)-	ì-	jì-	ĵ-~ì	Quasi similar
10	í(N)-	Cí-	jí-	j́-~í	Quasi similar
13	tí-	tí-	ø-	ø-	Not found in Mbuk
19	fí-	fí-	fɪ ~fi	f-	Similar

Mbuk is a noun class language as seen from the above table. Looking at the noun class anatomy in terms of prefixes; a vowel is not a noun class prefix. There exist only the CV- and the ø-prefix classes. The N-prefix is actually a contracted form of CV- (Nə-, Nɪ-). The suffixes on nouns have nothing to do with classes. The problematic group for classification are those of

classes (5 and 7b) whose plurals are respectively [kí-, bə́-~bí-] and there is a lot of inconsistency as to which word from which speaker will take a [kí-~ bí-]. The concords are also varying.

The only nasal class is class 6a [mə-~mɪ-~m-] and generates a concord [m-].

The traditional Bantu class 6 is absent in Mbuk and thus the class has been adopted to represent the nouns of the [kə-~kɪ-] plural prefix of Mbuk. Class 6 is a plural class with the following alternating prefixes [kə-~kɪ-] which can bear a low or a high tone. While in other languages, the [kə~kɪ] prefixes have been assigned different numbers, Hombert (1980:87-87) classified the plural [kí-] as class 27 in Missong and Buu while Good et al. (2011:120-122) classified the plural [kí-] in classes 7a in the following languages Abar, Biya, Missong, Munken, Ngun of the Mungbam varieties. But in Mbuk, class 6 is for [kə-~kɪ-] plural class to fill a vacuum in numbering the Mbuk noun classes. This then forms the gender 5/6 (ø/kə~kɪ)

The gender 5/6 alternates with gender 5/8. Some speakers use only the plural form of class 6 while others only use the plural form of class 8 meanwhile some uses both classes 5/6, 5/8 without any prefixes for the singular but only differentiate them at the concord level.

Additionally, classes 7 and 8 have words with zero prefix that only surface when concording 7/8, [ntṏːní / ntṍːní] "ear/ears". From the 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 form a single class.

Furthermore, classes 3/4 and 9/10 have words that do not show any tonal difference for singular and plural but this distinction occurs at the level of the concords (3/4, [mbên]/[mbên] "breast/breasts"). The noun taxonomy has a plethora of examples presented in the subsequent pages for all the 12 noun classes. Table 21 is a summary of noun classes:

Table 30: Noun Class Summary

	nc	Prefix			Concord			Examples		Gloss
		segment	tone		segment	tone				
I	1	ø-			wì	L, M		ŋkúŋ	bìkə́m	chief, lion
	2	bə-	H, L		bə́	H		bə̀ŋkúŋ	bə̀bìkə́m	chiefs, lions
II	3	ø-			wí	H		kpáˠá	dʒín	co-wife, tooth
	4	ø-			jí	H		káˠá	dʒín̄	co-wife, teeth
III	5	ø-			wí	H		gbâ	tə̄	ceiling, stone
	6	kɪ- ~ ø	H, L, M		kí	H		kígbâ	kītə̄	ceilings, stones
IV	7	kɪ- ~ ø-	H, L		kí	H		kə̀kpê	ntú:ní	lizard, ear
	8	bi- ~ ø-	H, L		bí	H		bìkpə̂	ntú:ní	lizards, ears,
V	9	ø-			jì	L		ʃʷǎŋ	gbə̄	sheep, partridge
	10	ø-			jí	H		ʃʷáŋ	gbə́	sheep(s), partridges
VI	19	fɪ-	H, L		fí-	H		fìɲʲéní	fìláŋ	bird, clay pot
	6a	N-	H, L, M		N-	L, H		mìɲʲéní ~ ḿɲéní	m̀láŋ	Birds, clay pots

The possibility of further splitting the noun classes is presented in table 22 with focus on genders 1/2 , 5/6, and 7/8:

Where the roman numerals I, II, III, IV, V, VI ... represent the gender pairing.

The noun classes are determined complementarily with the pronominal prefixes sandwich in-betweenthe head noun ang the adnominals. In Mbuk the possessive can be used to differentiate the noun classes in cases of zero-prefix meanwhile in Missong, Munken, Ngun (Tschonghongei 2018) the possessive cannot be used in determining noun classes. In Fang,both the possessive and demonstratives are needed to accurately determine the noun classes; the possessive alone is inappropriate and the demonstrative on its own is insufficient to support the circumscription of Fang noun classes.

Table 31: Noun Class Summary Further Split

	NC	PX	AM	Cd	Examples		Gloss	
I	1	ø-	wì	w-ˋ	mì	nə̂	wā̰n	"person, mother, child"
	2	bə́-	bə́	b-ˊ	bə́nî:	bə́nə̂	bʷá	"people, mothers, children"
	1	ø-	wì	w-ˋ	ø-mbúŋ	ø-bìkə́m	nʃʲǎ̰:	"cloth, lion, fats (sg.)"
	2	bə̀-	bə́	b-ˊ	bə̀-mbúŋ	bə̀bìkə́m	bə̀nʃʲǎ̰:	"cloths, lions, fats (pl.)"
II	3	ø-	wí	w-ˊ	kpà̰	nsē:n	gʷá̰n	"hand, friend, bamboo"
	4	ø-	jí	j-ˊ	kà̰	nsé:n	gʷá̰n	"hands, friends, bamboo(s)"
III	5	ø-	wí	w-ˊ	bʷám	fʲɛ̄̃	dʒúá	"cup, moon, soup"
	6	kí-	kí	k-ˊ	kə́bʷám	kífʲɛ̄̃	kídʒúá	"cups, moon(s), soup(s)"
IV	5	ø-	wí	w-ˊ	gbâ:	ndzēní	fɔ́ˠɔ́	"ceiling, leaf, pestle (fufu)"
	8	bì-	bí	b-ˊ	bígbâ:	bìndzēní	bífɔ́ˠɔ́	"ceilings, leaves, pestle (fufu)"
V	7	ø-	kí	k-ˊ	fímí	jání	mbã̰	"he-goat, island, burnt fufu"
	8	bì-	bí-	b-ˊ	bìfímí	bìjání	bīmbã̰	"he-goats, islands, burnt fufu(s)"
	7	ø-	kí	k-ˊ	bǎ̰:	là	ntʃōŋō	"palm nut, intestine, hunchback"
	8	ø-	bí	b-ˊ	bǎ̰:	lâ	ntʃóŋó	"palm nuts, intestines, hunchbacks"
	7	kì-	kí	k-ˊ	kìfí	kìmbáŋhḭ̀	kìnʃʷã̰	"pig, tributary, phlegm"
	8	bì-	bì	b-ˋ	bìfí	bìmbáŋhḭ̀	bìnʃʷã̰	"pigs, tributaries, phlegm"
VI	9	ø-	jì	j-ˋ	ʃʲə̄	fʲānī	dzò:lí	"fowl, rung, mushroom"
	10	ø-	jí	j-ˊ	ʃʲə́	fʲání	dzú:lí	"fowls, rungs, mushrooms"
VII	19	fí-	fì	f-ˊ	fíɲéní	fìmbú	fìnʃáŋ	"bird, gall bladder(bile), seed"
	6a	N-	N	N-ˊ	ḿɲéní~ mìɲʲéní	m̄mbú	m̀ʃáŋ	"birds, gall bladders(bile), seeds"

118) When class 5 uses [k-] as a concord, there is affixation of the nominal [kɪ]-prefix:

    a.   [dâ:] "bridge"

        [**kídâ: kí   wó nà ʲ**]   "where is the bridge or where are the bridges?"

        6.bridge   6.AM DEF where

This indicates that in [ki-] affixation, there has been a lexical prefix deletion which can be reassigned as seen in (118a).

119) When it uses [b-], a plural concord, there is no affixation of the nominal prefix:

    a.   [dâː] "bridge"

          [dâː   bí   wó   nàʲ]   "where is the bridges."

          bridge 8.AM DEF where

Hence, the absence of [bi-] nominal prefix indicates that there is a prefix deletion phenomenon in the language. Here are some examples of a single lexeme with three plural forms and three corresponding concord types:

		[*sg/pl*]	*Concord*	*gloss*
120)	a.	[ø-sɔ̄m]	wʹ-	"palm tree"
		[ø-sɔ́m]	kʹ- ~ bʹ-	"palm trees"
	b.	[ø-sɔ̄m]	wʹ-	"palm tree"
		[kɪ́-sɔ̄m]	[kʹ-]	"palm trees"
	c.	[ø-sɔ̄m]	[wʹ-]	"palm tree"
		[bɪ́-sɔ́m]	[bʹ-]	"palm trees"
121)	a.	[ø-ntʊ́ːnɪ́]	[kʹ-]	"ear"
		[ø-ntʊ́ːnɪ́]	[bʹ-]	"ears"
	b.	[ø-ntʊ́ːnɪ́]	[kʹ-]	"ear"
		[bɪ̀-ntʊ́ːnɪ́]	[bʹ-]	"ears"
	c.	[kɪ̀-ntʊ́ːnɪ́]	[kʹ-]	"ear"
		[bɪ̀-ntʊ́ːnɪ́]	[bʹ-]	"ears"
122)	a.	[ø-bɑ̂ː]	[kʹ-]	"palm nut"
		[ø-bɑ̂ː]	[bʹ-]	"palm nuts"

In spite of all these polymorphous classes, we have attempted a grouping that we will use for our discussion of noun classes and in noun phrases. The classes are as follows:

4.1.2 Noun class gender 1/2, ø- / bə́- (high tone)

Noun class 1 nouns have zero prefix and class 2 morphemes have a high tone CV- [bə́-] and a low tone CV- [bə̀-] form:

The enumerative concord (1c, 2c) for gender 1/2 with the high tone [bə́-] prefix:

gender	NC	PX	root	stem	AM 1/2	1c/2c	gloss
1 / 2	1	ø-	-mì	mì	wì	ẁ-	person
	2	bə́-	-nì	bə́nî	bə́	b́-	people

123) Gender 1/2, ø- / bə́- (high tone)

a. [mì / bə́nî] "person" [wāɲ / bwá] "child"

b. [nə̂ / bə́nə̂] "mother" [bâ / bə́bâ] "father"

c. [kpə̂ ~ kpàŋá / bə́káŋà] "wife" [mìɲòˠú / bə́nóˠ ʊ̀] "male"

d. [ŋgàmì / bə́ŋgámì] "elder" [ndzɔ̀dì / bə́ndzɔ́dì] "mediator"

e. [tìbà / bə́tíbà] "grandfather" [kέlí / bə́kέlí] "dead people"

f. [ⁿfà / bə́ⁿfà ~ ⁿfâː] "slave" [dʒí / bə́dʒí] "thief"

h. [ɲûm ~ ɲʊ̀ˠ ú / bə́nóˠ ʊ̀] "husband" [mìkpàŋá / bə́káŋà] "female"

With a glance on gender 1/2, semantically, it is composed of both human and non-human referents. Structurally, the singular forms do not have prefixes. There exists a prefix for the plural form with a CV syllable structure. On the contrary, there is a single word child [wāɲ / bʷā~bʷá~bʷə́ˠá] which is suppletive and lacks the prefix for both the singular and plural forms. It has two segmental variants in the plural [bʷa~bʷə́ˠa].

The root word harbours both register and contour tones. In free variation, some nouns do not take the [bə́-] prefix, rather, the tone is modified to get the plural form (b). In addition, vowel length varies (a):

124) a. [ŋfà / bə̀ŋfà] "slave/slaves"
      b. [ŋfàː/ ŋfâː] "slave/slaves"

The syllables for singulars are mostly monosyllabic and bisyllabic in nature. The human gender has an open syllable root with mostly prenasalised consonant onsets except for a few compound words, suppletive, and inalienable like (grandfather, father, mother) terms that fall into this class which do not have nasals.

The second set of gender 1/2 (1a/2a) is made up of the low tone plural prefix [bə̀-]. The words come from diverse semantic domains as illustrated (1a/2a):

4.1.3 Noun class gender 1 / 2, ø- / bə̀- (low tone)

gender	nc	PX	root	stem	AM 1/2	1c/2c	gloss
1/ 2	1a	ø-	-mbúŋ	mbúŋ	wì	ẁ-	cloth
	2a	bə̀-	-mbúŋ	bə̀mbúŋ	bə́	b́-	cloths

125)   Gender 1 / 2, ø- / bə̀- (Low tone)

a.   [mbúŋ / bə̀mbúŋ]   "cloth"   [ʃāŋwī / bə̀ʃāŋwī]   "frog"

b.   [tāsā / bə̀tāsā]   "dish"   [gʷàgʷá / bə̀gʷàgʷá]   "duck"

c.   [ɲʷô / bə̀ɲʷô]   "cutlass"   [ntáŋnì / bə̀ntáŋnì]   "traitor"

d.   [bìkə́m / bə̀bìkə́m]   "lion"   [ⁿsə̀ŋ / bə̀ⁿsə̀ŋ]   "bracelet"

e.   [mbə̀ŋ / bə̀mbə̀ŋ]   "stick"   [sə̀ŋə́ / bə̀ⁿsə̀ŋə̀]   "whip"

f.   [ɲʷò / bə̀ɲʷò]   "god"   [mkpàˠà / bə̀mkpàˠà]   "scabies"

g.   [mbàɲ / bə̀mbàɲ]   "fence"   [ŋkə̀mní / bə̀ŋkə́mní]   "wrist"

h.   [ntáˠá / bə̀ntáˠá]   "shin"   [ⁿʒúŋ / bə̀ⁿʒúŋ]   "knuckle"

i.   [ŋkɔ̀msì / bə̀ŋkɔ́msì]   "neighbour"   [tsǐ / bə̀tsí]   "sorcerer"

j.   [ⁿsàˠà / bə̀ⁿsáˠà]   "judge"   [ŋkùsàʲ/ bə̀ŋkùsàʲ]   "ancestor"

k.   [ŋkúŋ / bə̀ŋkúŋ]   "Fon, chief"   [də́ŋə̀ / bə̀də́ŋə̀]   "okra"

In Mbuk, generally, gender 1/2 has more nouns with the low tone [bə̀-] prefix than the high tone [bə́-] prefix.

4.1.4 Noun class gender 3/4, ø- / ø-

gender	nc	PX	root	stem	AM 3/4	3c/4c	gloss
3/4	3	ø-	-kpɛn	kpɛ̄n	wí	w-́	tree
	4	ø-	-kɛn	kɛ̄n	jí	j-́	trees

126) gender 3 / 4, ø- / ø-

a.   [dʒɨ̄ / dʒɨ́]   "tooth"   [dzɨ̄ŋ / dzɨ́ŋ]   "corn cob"

b.   [gʷāɲ / gʷáɲ]   "bamboo"   [ŋgə̄sī / ŋgə́sí]   "cowries"

c.   [mbên / mbên]   "breast"   [kpɑ̂ / kɑ̄]   "hand"

d.   [gvū / gvú]   "foot"   [ŋgāŋ / ŋgáŋ]   "root, vein"

e.   [nsɛ̄n / nsɛ́n]   "friend"   [kpáˠá / káˠá]   "fellow-wife"

f.   [ŋgə̄̄ / ŋgə́̄]   "egg"   [gɔ̄ŋ / gɔ́ŋ]   "cartridge"

g.   [fʷāɲ / fʷáɲ]   "redfeather bird"   [dzɨ́ˠə̀ /dzɨ́ˠə̀]   "kernel (corn)"

4.1.5 Noun class gender 5/6, ø- / kí-

gender	nc	PX	root	Stem	AM 5/6	5c/6c	gloss
5/6	5	ø-	-bʷáˠám	bʷáˠám	wí	w-́	cup
	6	kí-	-bʷáˠám	kíbʷáˠám	kí	k-́	cups

127) gender 5 / 6, ø- / kɪ ~ kə, (kɪ ~ bi)

a.   [náˠə̀ / kínáˠə̀]   "grinding stone"   [ʒyə́ / kíʒyə́]   "name"

b.   [gbâ: / kígbâ:]   "native ceiling"   [ʃī / kíʃí]   "week"

c.   [sɔ̄m / kísɔ́m]   "palm tree"   [fyə́̄ / kífyə́̄]   "month, moon"

d.   [kpə́ŋə̀ / kíkpə́ŋə̀] "pot"   [tʃwɛ́n / kítʃwɛ́n]   "bitter leaf"

e.   [tə̄ / kītə̄]   "battery"   [nìŋ / kínìŋ]   "nyamanyama"

f.   [gɔ́ŋ / kígɔ́ŋ]   "spear"   [mù: / kìmù:]   "razor blade"

g.   [ndzú / kìndzú]   "nose"   [dʒwà / kìdʒwà]"soup"

h.   [tʃə̌ŋ / kìtʃə̌ŋ]   "guitar"   [dʒíŋní / kídʒíŋní] "belt"

i.   [kpúŋ / kíkpúŋ]   "handle (hoe)"   [tɔ́ŋ / kítɔ́ŋ]   "fireside"

j.   [gbɔ́ˠɔ́ / kígbɔ́ˠɔ́] "pestle (mortar)"   [bʲáɲá / kíbʲáɲá]   "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 up to standard. We keep the situation as such since all are used in the community.

4.1.6 Noun class gender 7/8, [kɪ-/bi-]

gender	nc	PX	root	stem	stem tone	AM 7/8	gloss
7/8	7	kí-	-mɔ́ŋ	kímɔ́ŋ	H H	kí	marrow (sg)
	8	bí-	-mɔ́ŋ	bímɔ́ŋ	H H	bí	marrow (pl)
7/8	7	kì-	-dʒùm	kìdʒùm	L L	kí	chest
	8	bì-	-dʒùm	bìdʒùm	L L	bí	chests

128) gender 7 / 8, kɪ- ~ kə- / bi- with concord (k- / b-)

a.   [kíɲũ / bīɲṹ]   "knee"   kə̀ŋkúlì / bìŋkúlì   "rat"

b.   [kə́gá:lé / bígá:léʲ]   "broom"   [kìmbǎ:ŋ / bìmbǎ:ŋ]   "yaw"

c.   [kìndɔ̀ŋ / bìndɔ̀ŋ]   "throat, goiter"   [kìfí / bìfí]   "pig"

e.   [kímgbɑ́ / bìmgbɑ́]   "giant"   [kìntɔ́mì / bìntɔ̀mì]   "pillar"

f.   [kə́ndʒə́ŋ / bìndʒə́ŋ]   "stupid person"   [kə̀kpə̂ / bìkpə̂]   "lizard"

g.   [kə́mbúŋú / bímbúŋú]   "hailstone"   [kìŋkùmì / bìŋkùmì]   "leprosy"

h.   [kə́mgbê:lí / bímgbê:lí]   "native carrot"   [kìmfín / bìmfín]   "cocoyam"

i.   [kə́ntʃə́ˠə̀ní / bíntʃə́ˠə̀ní] "fruitless palm flower" [kìmbín / bìmbín]   "faeces"

129)   gender 7 / 8, ø- / ø- with concord (k- / b-) : ntṹ:ní / ntṹ̄ní ~ ttní / bítt:ní "ear"

4.1.7 Noun class gender 9/10, "ø- / ø-"

gender	nc	PX	root	stem	stem tone	AM 9/10	gloss
9/10	9	ø-	-ʃi	ʃī	M	jì	market
	10	ø-	-ʃi	ʃí	H	jí	markets
9/10	9	ø-	-dzu	dzù	L	jì	skin
	10	ø-´	-dzu	dzû	F	jí	skins
9/10	9	ø-`	-dzʊ:	dzǔ:	R	jì	house
	10	ø-´	-dzʊ	dzú	H	jí	houses

130) gender 9 / 10, ø- / ø- with concord (j-ˋ / j-ˊ)

a.   [bə̀ˠə̀ / bə́ˠə̀]   "fish"   [ʃʷāŋ / ʃʷáŋ]   "sheep"
b.   [gvù / gvû]   "body"   [tsō / tsó]   "palm kernel"
c.   [bǐː / bí]   "goat"   [bá̰ː / bá̰]   "palm nut"
d.   [ʃʲə̄ / ʃʲə́]   "fowl"   [fṵ̌ː / fṵ̃ː]   "palm beetle"
e.   [tsɛ̀n / tsɛ̂n]   "arm"   [bʲě ~ bìjé / bʲé]   "dog"
f.   [dʒū̄m / dʒúm]   "back"   [fyānɪ̄ / fjánɪ]   "Native pin/nail"
g.   [bɔ̄ˠɔ̄ / bɔ́ˠɔ́]   "stream"   [dzʊ̀ŋ / dzúŋ]   "hair (of body)"
h.   [ʃàˠàlī / ʃáˠálí]   "liver"   [bʲə̄lī / bʲə́lí]   "rib"
i.   [mbʲāŋ / mbʲáŋ]   "kidney"   [ʃɔ̄m / ʃɔ́m]   "heart"
j.   [dzə̄ˠə̄ / dzə́ˠə́]   "elephant"   [dzʊ̀ŋ / dzúŋ]   "antelope"
k.   [tsə̄̄ / tsə́̄]   "navel"   [gbə̄ / gbə́]   "partridge (bushfowl)"

4.1.7 Multiple noun classes

One feature common with Mbuk nouns is the ability of pertaining to more than one class especially for plural forms. A noun, [ʃí] "week" 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 classes 6 and 8 as illustrated in (fig. 16). The word "week" is one of the polyplural words in Mbuk:

	gloss	nc	PX	stem		AG	phrase example	
131)	"week"	9	[ø-]	[ʃí]		[jì-]	[ʃǐ jì mù]	"one week"
	"weeks"	6	[kɪ-]	[kíʃí]		[kɪ-]	[kə́ʃī kí fá]	"two weeks"
	"weeks"	8	[bi-]	[bíʃí]		[bi-]	[bíʃī bí fá]	"two weeks"
	"weeks"	10	[ø-]	[ʃī]		[jí]	[ʃī jí fá]	"two weeks"

Figure 16: Multiple Noun Classes

The solid lines indicate the default class of the noun while the dotted lines are the plural forms of the derived plural variants from the actual gender 9/10. There can be some homonyms 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 classes 7a and 8 [kɪ-] and [bi-] respectively.

The two forms have different interpretations being rendered as:

132) a. **[ʃī jí fá]** "two weeks"
10.week 10AM two

b. **[kə́ʃī kí fá]** "two weeks have passed"
6.week 6.AM two

c. **[bíʃī bí fá]** "two weeks have passed"
8.week 8.AM two

The plural [kí-~bi-] is used 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 ancestors of Mbuk are from Mundabli. In

addition, the concord for example (a) and (c) are both w- / k- ~ b- singular and plural

respectively. The word "palm tree" is another polyplural term which speakers use all the forms

interchangeably:

133) a. [ø-sɪ̄m / ø-sɪ̄m] "palm tree / palm trees"
b. [ø-sɪ̄m / ø-sɔ́m] "palm tree / palm trees"
c. [kí-sɔ́m / bí-sɔ́m] "palm tree / palm trees"
d. [ø-sɔ́m / kí-sɔ́m] "palm tree / palm trees"
e. [ø-sɔ́m / bí-sɔ́m] "palm tree / palm trees"

Apart from Mbuk, alternative plurals have been observed in Akoose as shown below,

Hedinger (2004:9) *"Two other nouns also found in this gender have alternative plurals in the more*

typical class 10. The plural in class 6 is clearly a more recent formation for these nouns.

134) Gender 9/10~6 ndáb ndab or mendáb *house(s)*
nzii nzii or menzii *path(s)"*

4.1.8 Noun class gender 19/6a, fi- / m-

gender	NC	PX	root	Stem	stem tone	NM 19c/6ac	gloss
19/6a	19	fɪ-	-kunɪ	fìkúní	L H H	fi	k.o calabash
	6a	N-	-kunɪ	ḿkúní	H H H	N	k.o calabashes

135) **gender 19 / 6a, fɪ- ~ fɔ́ / N- ~ Nɪ- ~ Nə-with concord (f- / N-)**

a.   [fìláŋ / m̀láŋ]   "k.o clay pot"   [fíndíŋ / ńdíŋ]   "fig tree"
b.   [fìntám / ḿtám]   "fruit"   [fìŋkàɲ / m̀kàɲ]   "oath"
c.   [fíŋkwáŋ / ḿŋkʷáŋ]   "deer"   [fíkɔ́m / ḿkɔ́m]   "knife"
d.   [fìⁿʃámbú / fìⁿʃámbú]   "sand"   [fìmbì / m̀mbì]   "colanut"
e.   [fímbàɲ / ḿbàɲ]   "nail"   [fìkɔ́ˠɔ́ / m̀kɔ́ˠɔ́]   "ankle"
f.   [fìɲéní / m̀ɲéní]   "bird"   [fìndɔ́ŋɔ́ / m̀ndɔ́ŋɔ́]   "pimple"
g.   [fìmús / m̀mús]   "cat"   [fìmbú / m̀mbú]   "bile"
h.   [fìntɛ́ní / m̀tɛ́ní]   "palm rat"   [fímbʲɔ́ŋɔ́ / ḿmbʲɔ́ŋɔ́]   "black wasp"
i.   [fìntáŋ / m̀táŋ]   "kite   [fìŋkwáŋ / ḿkʷáŋ]   "forest goat"

4.1.9 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 whereby the singular appears with features of one reference class and the plural belongs to a different reference class. These two classes 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:

4.1.10   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 (s)
	8	bi-	-dâ:	bídâ:	H H H	bi	bridges

136) gender 5 / 8, ø- / bi

a.	[ŋgə́nì / bíŋgə́nì]	"earth worm"	[káˠá / bīkáˠá]	"leg"
b.	[ŋkɔ́ŋɔ́ / bíŋkɔ́ŋɔ́]	"bone"	[tʃɔ́kɔ́ / bítʃɔ́kɔ́]	"zinc"
c.	[bá̃: / bíbá̃:]	"palm nut"	[gá:lì / bígá:lì]	"pen"
d.	[nʃə́ŋə́ / bínʃə́ŋə́]	"long mouth rat"	[náŋ / bínáŋ]	"bed"
e.	[kɔ́ˠɔ́ / bíkɔ́ˠɔ́]	"camwood"	[ʃí / bíʃí]	"face"
f.	[ttní / bítt:ní]	"ear"	[dzáˠá / bídzáˠá]	"mouth"
g.	[mə́ˠə̀ / bímə́ˠə̀]	"neck"	[bálí / bíbálí]	"waist"
h.	[də́lí / bídə́lí]	"cheek"	[sɔ̄m / bīsɔ̄m] (5/6)	"palm tree"
i.	[dzə́ŋə́ / bídzə́ŋə̀]	"hole, trench"	[gbâ: / bígbâ] (5/6)	"ceiling"
y.	[fúŋ / bífúŋ]	"gutter, pothole"	[kpâ / bíkpâ]	"river bank"

4.1.11   Irregular gender 1/6a

137) a.   **[dzádzá / ndzádzá]**   1/6a   "k.o cricket (not eaten)"

4.1.12   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. They are made up of mass nouns and abstract nouns. Four single-gender classes: 8, 6, 4~10, 6a:

4.1.13   Noun class 8 with concord of class 8c

	class	prefix	root	stem	8c concord	gloss
138)	8	[bi-]	-fufu	[bìfùfú]	[b-]	"oil foams"
	8	[bi-]	[dzaŋ]	[bìdzâŋ]	[b-]	"rainy season"
	8	[bi-]	[-luŋ]	[bílúŋ]	[b-]	"hardship"
	8	ø-	[-ŋkuŋu]	[ŋkúŋú]	[b-]	"dust"
	8	ø-	[-ntʃaŋa]	[ntʃáŋá]	[b-]	"mud"
	8	ø-	[-bũ:]	[bṹ:]	[b-]	"woodash"
	8	ø-	[-ŋga]	[ŋgá]	[b-]	"power"
	8	ø-	[-ɱfã:]	[ɱfã́:]	[b-]	"cowpea"
	8	ø-	[-lꞯunɪ]	[lꞯúní]	[b-]	"laziness"
	8	ø-	[-baɲnɪ]	[bàɲní]	[b-]	"shining"

4.1.14   Noun class 6 with concord of class 6c

The nouns of this class are used in their plural form with the k- concord of class 6.

	class	prefix	root	stem	concord	gloss
139)	6	kɪ-	[-ʃʷã]	[kínʃʷã́]	[k-]	"phlegm"
	6	kɪ-	[-mgbɪji]	[kímgbîjí]	[k-]	"pus"
	6	kɪ-	[-ŋgəmnɪ]	[kíŋgə́mnì]	[k-]	"shame"
	6	kɪ-	[-nsaŋlɪ]	[kínsáŋlí]	[k-]	"happiness, joy"
	6	ø-	[-fəbi]	[fə̀bì]	[k-]	"soup"
	6	ø-	[-dzaˠa]	[dzáˠá]	[k-]	"noise"

4.1.15   Noun class 4 or 10 with concord of class 4c, 10c

Noun class 4 and 10 both have the [j́-] concord for plural nouns.

	class	prefix	root	stem	concord	gloss
140)	4,10	ø-	[-fʲəˠə]	[fʲə́ˠə́]	[j-]	"wind, air"
	4,10	ø-	[-tʃʷa]	[tʃʷá]	[j-]	"dirt"
	4,10	ø-	[-ɲu]	[ɲù]	[j-]	"honey"
	4,10	ø-	[-ɲɔm]	[ɲɔ̀m]	[j-]	"dry season"
	4,10	ø-	[-ŋkaˠa]	[ŋkàˠà]	[j-]	"salt"
	4,10	ø-	[-dzaŋ]	[dzàŋ]	[j-]	"rain"
	4,10	ø-	[-ndə]	[ndə́]	[j-]	"cry"

4.1.16 Gender 6a with concord of class 6a

	class	prefix	root	stem	concord	gloss
141)	6a	ø-	[-mbimsɔm]	[mbîmsɔ́m]	N-	"palm wine"
	6a	m-	[-kaɲ]	[m̀kàɲ]	N-	"gunpowder"
	6a	ø-	[-mʊ]	[mʊ̀ˠʊ̀]	N-	"powder"
	6a	ø-	[-mbiː]	[m̀bîː]	N-	"juice"
	6a	m-	[-wa]	[mʷá]	N-	"blood
	6a	m-	[-jə]	[mʲə̀]	N-	"oil"
	6a	m-	[-dzə̃]	[m̄ndzə̃́]	N-	"saliva"
	6a	ø-	[-kaɲ]	[m̀kàɲ]	N-	"corn beer"

4.1.17 Gender 1 with concord of class 1c

	class	prefix	root	stem	concord	gloss
142)	1	ø-	[ɲʷò]	[ɲʷò]	w-	"God"
	1	ø-	[-ŋkɔ̀ksì]	[ŋkɔ̀ksì]	w-	"respect, honour"
	1	ø-	[-mbɔ̀m]	[mbɔ̀m]	w-	"believe"
	1	ø-	[-mbʷə̀]	[mbʷə̀]	w-	"give birth"
	1	ø-	[-dʒʷábí]	[dʒʷábí]	w-	"menses"
	1	ø-	[-mfˢɔ́ŋ]	[mfˢɔ́ŋ]	w-	"lies"
	1	ø-	[-mgbə́ᵞə́]	[mgbə́ᵞə́]	w-	"blow"
	1	ø-	[-gbʊ́ᵞʊ́]	[gbʊ́ᵞʊ́]	w-	"betrothing"
	1	ø-	[ntʃísɔ́m]	[ntʃísɔ́m]	w-	"breakfast"

4.1.18 Gender 3, 5 with concord of class 3c, 5c

		prefix	root	concord	gloss
143)		ø-	[fˢə̃́]	w-	"whitewash"
		ø-	[fú]	w-	"mbambara nut"
		ø-	[ɲʊ́ᵞʊ́]	w-	"catalyst (beer)"
		ø-	[gbʊ́ᵞʊ́]	w-	"tobacco"

4.1.19 Gender pairing

The mapping of the singular with its plural counterparts:

Table 32: Noun Class Gender Pairing

The concords have been determined from numerals.

144)   a.   [dzádzá / ndzádzá]   1/6a "k.o cricket (not eaten)" or

         b.   [dzádzá / bə́dzádzá]   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 suprasegmental 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 markers 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.

4.2 MBUK CONCORDS

The 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 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. The pronominal concord can function as an associative marker (w-ì/1c-AM) within the following expressions: adjectival phrase, second person possessive adjectives (our, your, their respectively in Mbuk as [wì bə́ŋə̄, wì bĕn, 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:

145) Associative construction, **[ŋkúŋ wì   mbɔ̀m]**   "a big chief"
                        1.chief 1c.AM big

The concord markers (approximants) (w, j) can be absorbed or deleted 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 "ø". Thus, the route of the assimilation process is in the order below for the [w-] concord of classes 1, 3, 5:

146) degliding: [wɪ] → [wʊ] → [ʊ] and   [j → ɪ]

      a. **[ŋkúŋ   wì   mù → ŋkúŋ wò mù → ŋkúŋ ò mù]** "one chief"
           1.chief 1c.AM one

      b. **[ʃʲə̀   jì   mù → ʃʲə̄ ì mù]**   "one fowl"
           9.fowl 9c.AM one

As shown in (b) above, the [j] assimilates to [ɪ].

While for the non-approximants, the concord marker does not elide:

      c. **[kìfí   kɪ́   mū]** "one pig"
           7.pig 7c.AM one

4.2.1 Noun class 1 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners (adnominals or modifiers). The subject marker relays but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominal.

Table 33: Noun Class 1 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (1c) w-	Class (1) ø-	Concord (1c) w-	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ 1c	-əŋ POSS	[ŋkúŋ wǎŋ] *my chief*
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˊ 1c	-ələ DEM	[ŋkúŋ wə́lə́] *this chief*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ ~ ù- 1c	mbɔm ATT	[ŋkúŋ wì mbɔ̀m] *big chief*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˠ ~ ù- 1c	doˠo QNT	[ŋkúŋ wì dóˠó] *a certain chief*
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ ~ ù- 1c	mu NUM	[ŋkúŋ wì mù] *one chief*
3.4 Colour COL		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ 1c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	[ŋkúŋ wì bɔ̀ˠɔ́lɪ̄] *red chief*
4. Associative AM		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ 1c	ø-kòlí 5-N	[ŋkúŋ wì kòlí] *chief of the village*
5. Relative REL		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˊə̄ wì 1c-REL 1c.SM	gbô V	[ŋkúŋ wə́ wì gbô] *the chief who fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ ǹ̀ w-ə̂ COP EIP 1c-Q	ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief			[kə́ ǹ̀ wə̂ ŋkúŋ] *which chief?*
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ 1c	gʷû DEF	[ŋkúŋ wì gʷû] *the chief*
8. Subject marker SM		ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	Ø 1c.SM	kwá ø-bǐ V 9-N	[ŋkúŋ kwá bǐ] *chief caught a goat*

4.2.2 Noun class 2 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners (adnominals or modifiers). The subject marker relays a head noun to a verb and not to a determiner.

Table 34: Noun Class 2 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (2c) b-	Class (2) bə-	Concord (2c) b-	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b̀- 2c	-əŋ POSS	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə̌ŋ] *my chiefs*
2. Demonstrative DEM		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	-ələ DEM	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́lə̄] *these chiefs*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	mbɔm ATT	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ mbɔ̀m] *big chiefs*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	doˠo QNT	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ dóˠó] *certain chiefs*
3.3 Numeral NUM		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	fa NUM	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ fá] *two chiefs*
3.4 Colour COL		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lɪ̄] *red chiefs*
4. Associative AM		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b̀- 2c	ø-kùlí 5-N	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə̀ kùlí] *chiefs of the village*
5. Relative REL		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	gbô V	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ bógbō] *the chiefs who fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ m̀ b-ə̂ COP EIP 2c-Q	bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs			[kə́ m̀ bə̂ bə̀ŋkúŋ] *which chiefs?*
7. Definite particle DEF		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	gʷû DEF	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ gʷû] *the chiefs*
8. Subject marker SM		bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	Ø 2c.SM	kwá ø-bǐ V 9-N	[bə̀ŋkúŋ kʷá bǐ] *chiefs caught a goat*

4.2.3 Noun class 3 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners (adnominals or modifiers). The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominal.

Table 35: Noun Class 3 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (3c) w-	Class (3) ø-	Concord (3c) w-	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	w᷄- 3c	-əŋ POSS	[kpǎ wǎŋ] *my hand*
2.Demonstrative DEM		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	w᷄- 3c	-ələ DEM	[kpǎ wə́lə̄] *this hand*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	ẁ- ~ù- 3c	mbɔm ATT	[kpǎ wù mbɔ̀m] *big hand*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	ẁ- 3c	doˠo QNT	[kpǎ wì dòˠó] *certain hand*
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	w᷄- 3c	mu NUM	[kpǎ wí mū] *one hand*
3.4 Colour COL		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	ẁ- 3c	bɔˠolɪ COL	[kpǎ wì bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī] *red hand*
4. Associative AM		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	w᷄- 3c	ø-ŋkʊŋ 1-N	[kpǎ wî ŋkʊ́ŋ] *hand of chief*
5. Relative REL		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	w᷄- ə̄ w᷄- í 3c-REL3c-SM	gbô V	[kpǎ wə̄ wí gbō] *the hand which fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ ŋ̀ w-ə̂ COP EIP 3c-Q	ø-kpǎ 3-hand			[kə́ ŋ̀ wə̂ kpǎ] *which hand?*
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	ʊ᷄- 3c	gʷû DEF	[kpǎ ʊ́ gʷû] *the hand*
8. Subject marker SM		ø-kpǎ 3-hand	Ø 3c.SM	kʷá ø-bǐ V 9-N	[kpǎ kʷá bǐ] *a hand caught a goat*

4.2.4 Noun class 4 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners. The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominals.

Table 36: Noun Class 4 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (4c) w-	Class (4) ø-	Concord (4c) w-	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˋ 4c	-əŋ POSS	[kâ̰ jə̌ŋ] *my hands*
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˊ 4c	-ələ DEM	[kâ̰ jə́lə̄] *these hands*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˊ 4c	mbɔm ATT	[kâ̰ jí mbɔ̀m] *big hands*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˉ 4c	doˠo QNT	[kâ̰ jī dóˠó] *certain hands*
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˊ 4c	fa NUM	[kà̰ jí fá] *two hands*
3.4 Colour COL		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˊ 4c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	[kâ̰ jí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī] *red hands*
4. Associative AM		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˊ 4c	ø-ŋkʊ́ŋ 1-N	[kâ̰ jí ŋkʊ́ŋ] *hand of chief*
5. Relative REL		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ə̄ j-í 4c-REL 4c.SM	gbô V	[kâ̰ jə̄ jí gbō] *the hands which fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ ŋ̀ j-ə̂ COP EIP 4c-Q	ø-kâ̰ 4-hands			[kə́ ŋ̀ jə̂ kâ̰] *which hands?*
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	j-ˊ 4c	gʷû DEF	[kâ̰ jí gʷû] *the hands*
8. Subject marker SM		ø-kâ̰ 4-hands	Ø 4c.SM	kwá ø-bɪ̌ V 9-N	[kà̰ kʷá bɪ̌] *hands caught a goat*

4.2.5 Noun class 5 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners. The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominals.

Table 37: Noun Class 5 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (5c) w-	Class (5) ø-	Concords (5c) w-	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˋ 5c	-əŋ POSS	[gbâ wǎŋ] *my barn*
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	-ələ DEM	[gbâ wə́lə̄] *this barn*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	mbɔm ATT	[gbâ: wí mbɔ̀m] *big barn*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	doˠo QNT	[gbâ: wí dóˠó] *certain barn*
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	mu NUM	[gbâ: wí mū] *two barn*
3.4 Colour COL		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	[gbâ: wí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lɪ̄] *red barn*
4. Associative AM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	ø-kùlí 5-N	[gbâ: wí kūlí] *barn of the village*
5. Relative REL		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊə̄ w-í 5c-Rel 5c-SM	gbô V	[gbâ: wə̄ wí gbō] *the barn which fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ ŋ̀ w-ə̂ COP EIP 5c-Q	ø-gbâ: 5-barn			[kə́ ŋ̀ wə̂ gbâ:] *which barn?*
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-ˊ 5c	gʷû DEF	[gbâ: wí gʷû] *the barn*
8. Subject marke SM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	Ø 5c.SM	kə́ bə́ dzə́ŋ COP CNJ 4-N	[gbâ: kə́ bə́ dzə́ŋ] *a barn is with corn*

4.2.6 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 38: Noun Class 6 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (6c) k-	Class (6) ø-	Concord (6c) k-	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˋ 6c	-əŋ POSS	[kígbâ: kə̌ŋ] *my barns*
2. Demonstrative DEM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˊ 6c	-ələ DEM	[kígbâ: kə́lə̄] *these barns*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˊ ∼ b-ˊ 6c	mbɔm ATT	[kígbâ: bí mbɔ̀m] *big barns*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˋ ∼ b-ˋ 6c	doˠo QNT	[kígbâ: bì dòˠó] *certain barns*
3.3 Numeral NUM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˊ∼ b-ˊ 6c	fa NUM	[gbâ: bí fá] *two barns*
3.4 Colour COL		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˊ 6c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	[kígbâ: bí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī] *red barns*
4. Associative AM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˋ 6c	ø-kùlí 5-N	[kígbâ: kì kùlí] *barn of the village*
5. Relative REL		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˊ ə̄ k-í 6c-REL 6c-SM	gbô V	[kígbâ: kə́ kí gbō] *the barns which fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ ŋ̀ k-ə̂ COP EIP 6c-Q	kí-gbâ: 6-barns			[kə́ ŋ̀ kə̂ kígbâ:] *which barns?*
7. Definite particle DEF		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k-ˊ 6c	gʷu DEF	[kígbâ: kí gʷû] *the barns*
8. Subject marker SM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	Ø 6c.SM	kə bə dzəŋ COP CNJ 4-N	[kígbâ: kə́ bə́ dzə́ŋ] *barns are with corn*

4.2.7 Noun class 7 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners. The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominals.

Table 39: Noun Class 7 Concords

Modifier	Concord (7c)	Class (7)	Concord (7c)	Modifier	Example Sentence
1. Possessive POSS		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	-əŋ POSS	**[kìfí kə̌ŋ]** *my pig*
2.Demonstrative DEM		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	-ələ DEM	**[kìfí kə́lə̄]** *this pig*
3.1 Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- ~ k̀- 7c	mbɔm ATT	**[kìfí kì mbɔ̀m]** *large pig*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	doˠo QNT	**[kìfí kì bò ˠólī]** *a certain pig*
3.3 Numeral NUM		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c.	mu NUM	**[kìfí kí mū]** *one pig*
3.4 Colour COL		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- ~ k̀- 7c.	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	**kìfí kì bò ˠólī** *red pig*
4. Associative AM		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	ø-kʋlɪ 5-N	**kìfí kì kʋ̀lí** *village pig*
5. Relative REL		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- ə̄ k-í 7c-REL 7c-SM	gbo V	**[kìfí kə̄ kí gbō]** *the pig that fall*
6.Interrogative Q	kə ŋ k-ə COP EIP 7c-Q	kì-fí 7-pig			**[ká ŋ̀ kə̂ kìfí]** *which pig?*
7. Definite particle DEF		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	gʷu DEF	**[kìfí kí gʷû]** *the pig*
8. Subject marker SM		kì-fí 7-pig	Ø 7c.SM	kʷá ø-ʃʲə V 9-N	**[kìfí kʷá ʃʲə̄]** *a pig caught a fowl*

4.2.8 Noun class 8 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners. The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominals.

Table 40: Noun Class 8 Concords

Modifier	Concord (8c)	Class (8)	Concord (8c)	Modifier	Example Sentence
1. Possessive POSS		bì-fí 8-pig	b̀- 8c	-əŋ POSS	**[bìfí bĕŋ]** *my pigs*
2. Demonstrative DEM		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	-ələ DEM	**bìfí bə́lə̄]** *these pigs*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	mbɔm ATT	**[bìfí bí mbɔ̀m]** *large pigs*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	doɣo QNT	**[bìfí bí dóˠó]** *certain pigs*
3.3 Numeral NUM		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	fa NUM	**[bìfí bí fá]** *two pigs*
3.4 Colour COL		bì-fí 8-pig	b̀- 8c	bɔɣɔlɪ COL	**[bìfí bì bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī]** *red pigs*
4. Associative AM		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	ø-kʊlɪ 5-N	**[bìfí bí kʊ́lí]** *village pigs*
5. Relative REL		bì-fí 8-pig	b́-ə̄b- í 8c-REL 8c-SM	gbo V	**[bìfí bʲə̄ bígbō]** *the pigs that fall*
6. Interrogative Q	kə́ m bʲ-ə COP EIP 8c-Q	bì-fí 8-pig			**[kə́ m̀ bʲə̄ bìfí]** *which pigs?*
7. Definite particle DEF		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	gʷu DEF	**[bìfí bí gʷû]** *the pigs*
8. Subject marker SM		bì-fí 8-pig	Ø 8c.SM	kʷá ø-ʃʲə V 9-N	**[bìfí kʷá ʃʲə̄]** *pigs caught a fowl*

4.2.9 Noun class 9 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners. The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominals.

Table 41: Noun Class 8 Concords

Modifier	Concord (9c)	Class (9)	Concord (9c)	Modifier	Example Sentence
1. Possessive POSS		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	-ən POSS	**[ʃʲə̄ jə̌ŋ]** *my fowl*
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	-ələ DEM	**[ʃʲə̄ jə́lə̄]** *this fowl*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	mbɔm ATT	**[ʃʲə̄ jì mbɔ̀m]** *large fowl*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	doˠo QNT	**[ʃʲə̄ jì dóˠó]** *a certain fowl*
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	mu NUM	**[ʃʲə̄ jì mù]** *one fowl*
3.4 Colour COL		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	**[ʃʲə̄ jì bɔ̀ˠɔ́lɪ̄]** *red fowl*
4. Associative AM		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	ø-kʊlɪ 5-N	**[ʃʲə̄ jì kʊ̀lí]** *village fowl*
5. Relative REL		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ ə̄j-ˋ ì 9c-REL 9c-SM	gbo V	**[ʃʲə̄jə̄ jì gbó]** *the fowl that fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə ŋ j-ə COP EIP 9c-Q	ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl			**[ká ŋ̀ jə̂ ʃʲə̄]** *which fowl?*
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	j-ˋ 9c	gʷu DEF	[ʃʲə̄ jì gʷû] *the fowl*
8. Subject marker SM		ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	Ø 9c.SM	dzɪ ø-dzəŋ V 4-N	**[ʃʲə̌ dzǐ: dzə́ŋ]** *fowl eats corn*

4.2.10   Noun class 10 concords

The table shows the various forms of agreement markers between the head noun and its determiners. The subject marker links but a head noun to a verb and not to an adnominals.

Table 42: Noun Class 10 Concords

Modifier	Concord (10c)	Class (10)	Concord (10c)	Modifier	Example Sentence
1. Possessive POSS		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-ˋ 10c	-əŋ POSS	**[ʃʲə́ jə̌ŋ]** *my fowls*
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-´ 10c	-ələ DEM	**[ʃʲə́ jə́lə̄]** *these fowls*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-´ 10c	mbɔm ATT	**[ʃʲə́ jí mbɔ̀m]** *large fowls*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-ˋ 10c	doˠo QNT	**[ʃʲə́ jì dòˠó]** *a certain fowls*
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-´ 10c	fa NUM	**[ʃʲə́ jí fá]** *two fowls*
3.4 Colour COL		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-´ 10c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	**[ʃʲə́ jí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lɪ̄]** *red fowls*
4. Associative AM		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-´ 10c	ø-kʊlɪ 5-N	**[ʃʲə́ jí kʊ́lí]** *village fowls*
5. Relative REL		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-ˋ ə̄ ji 10c-Rel. 10c.SM	gbo V	**[ʃʲə́ jə̄ jí gbō]** *fowls that fell*
6. Interrogative	kə ŋ j-´ə COP EIP 10c-Q	ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls			**[ká ŋ̀ jə̂ ʃʲə́]** *which fowls?*
7. Definte particle DEF		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	j-ˋ 10c	gʷu DEF	[ʃʲə́ jí gʷû] *the fowls*
8. Subject marker SM		ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	Ø 10c.SM	dzɪ ø-dzíŋ V 4-N	**[ʃʲə́ dzíː dzíŋ]** *fowls eat corn*

4.2.11   Noun class 19 concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

Table 43: Noun Class 19 Concords

Modifiers	Concord (19c)	Class (19)	Concord (19c)	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	fʲ-ˋ 19c	-ɪŋ POSS	**[fíɲéní fʲĭŋ]** *my bird*
2. Demonstrative DEM		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	fʲ-́ 19c	-ələ DEM	**[fíɲéní fʲə́lə̄]** *this bird*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	f-́ 19c	mbɔm ATT	**[fíɲéní fí mbɔ̀m]** *big bird*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	f-̄ 19c	doˠo QNT	**[fíɲéní fi dò ˠó]** *a certain bird*
3.3 Numeral NUM		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	f-́ 19c	mu NM	**[fíɲéní fí mū]** *one bird*
3.4 Colour COL		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	f-́ 19c	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	**[fíɲéní fi bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī]** *red bird*
4. Associative AM		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	f-ˋ 19c	ø-kpɛn 3-N	**[fíɲénɪ fì kpĕn]** *bird of tree*
5. Relative REL		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	fʲ-ə́ fí 19c-REL 19c.SM	gbo V	**[fíɲéní fʲə́ fí gbō]** *the bird that fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə m fʲ-ə COP EIP 19c-Q	fí-ɲéní 19-bird			**[kə́ m̀ fʲə̀ fíɲéní]** *which bird?*
7. Definte particle DEF		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	f-́ 19c	gʷu DEF	**[fíɲéní fí gʷû]** *the bird*
8. Subject marker SM		fí-ɲéní 19-bird	Ø 19c.SM	gwaɲ-kə lə V-PROG AF	**[fíɲéní gʷâɲ-ké-lə̀]** *a bird is sick*

4.2.12 Noun class 6a concords

The table shows the forms of concord markers between the head noun and its determiners.

Table 44: Noun Class 6a Concords

Modifiers	Concord (6ac)	Class (6a)	Concord (6ac)	Modifiers	Example Sentences
1. Possessive POSS		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	-əŋ POSS	**[míɲéní mӗŋ]** *my birds*
2.Demonstrative DEM		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	-ələ DEM	**[míɲéní mə́lə̄]** *these birds*
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	mbɔm ATT	**[míɲéní mî mbɔ̀m]** *big birds*
3.2 Quantifier QNT		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	doˠo QNT	**[míɲéní mí dò̰ˠó]** *certain birds*
3.3 Numeral NUM		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	fa NM	**[míɲéní mí fá]** *two birds*
3.4 Colour COL		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	bɔˠɔlɪ COL	**[mɲéní mí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī]** *red birds*
4. Associative AM		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	ø-kpɛn 5-N	**[míɲéní mì kpӗn]** *birds of tree*
5. Relative REL		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m̀- əm-´ ó 6ac-Rel.6ac.SM	gbo V	**[míɲéní mə̂ mó gbӗ]** *the birds that fell*
6. Interrogative Q	kə m m-ə COP EIP 6ac-Q	mí-ɲéní 6a-birds			**[kə́ m̀ mə̂ míɲéní]** *which birds?*
7. Definite particle DEF		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	m-´ 6ac	gʷu DEF	**[m̀ɲéní mí gʷû]** *the birds*
8. Subject marker SM		mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	Ø 6ac.SM	gʷaɲ-kə ləv-PROG AF	**[m̀ɲéní gʷâɲkə́lə̀]** *birds are sick*

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:

147) a.   [ʃʲə̄   jî mbɔ̀m jì bájní jí fá]   "Two big white fowls."
               9.fowl 9c big   9c white 9c two

      b.   [ʃʲə̄   jə́lə̄ kə́ jî mbɔ̀m jí bájní jí fá]   "These are two big white fowls."
               9.fowl 9c.this COP 9c big   9c white 9c two

      c.   [ʃʲə̄   jə́lə̄   jî mbɔ̀m jí fá]   "These two large fowls"
               9.fowls 9c.this 9c big   9c two

4.2.13   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, ʊ]; classes 1, 3, 5. Class 1 has low tone while 3 and 5 have high tone each.

[bə]; for class 2 with a high tone that can be mid

[ji, 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]; for classes 6 (plural class) and class 7 (singular class) with identical tone, high.

[bi, bʲ]; for class 8 which can be glided with a palatal glide (bʲ).

[fi, fʲ]; for class 19 with high tone. It glides palatally (fʲ).

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 45: Concords Summary

Associative	Concords	Classes	Singulars or Plurals
wɪ	w-	1, 3, 5	all singular
bə	b-	2	plural
ji	j-	4, 9, 10	4, 10; plural, 9 singular
kɪ	k-	6, 7	6; plural, 7 singular
bi	b-	8	plural
fi	f-	19	singular
N~ (mɪ)	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
148)	1	ø-	w-̀ ~ wɪ̄ ~ ø w-̀		ὺ
	2	bə-	b-̀ ~ b-̄	b-́	b-́
	3	ø-	w-́	w-́	ύ
	4	ø-	j-́	j-́	í
	5	ø-	w-́	w-́	ύ
	6	kɪ-	k-́	k-́	k-́
	7	kɪ-	k-̀	k-̀	k-̀
	8	bi-	b-̀	bʲ-̀	b-́
	9	ø-	j-̀	j-̀	ì
	10	ø-	j-́	j-́	í
	19	fi-	f-̀	fʲ-̀	f-́
	6a	N-	N-̀	N-̀	N-

Nouns whose nominal prefixesare zero do generate concord markers; classes 1, 3, 5 have [w-] while classes 4, 9, 10 have [j-]. While nouns with nominal prefixes do reproduce the onset of the prefix for a concord. The study of the noun phrase tonology is needed to actually understand the tonal behaviour.

4.3 NOUNS SEMANTIC 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.

4.3.1 Concrete Nouns

These concrete nouns are names of places, rivers, trees, animals, birds, personal names, insects, natural features and man-made artefacts. They range from monosyllabic to bisyllabic words. The affixes in the preceding chapter are found in almost all the domains of nouns.

4.3.2 Insects

The insect set reveals that they belong to at least four different genders: 7/8, 1/2, 9/10, 19/6a:

149) a. [ø-ntáːní / bì-ntáːní]   7/8   "k.o. insects"
      b. [kə̀-ndzə̀ᵞə́lí / bì-ndzə̀ᵞə̀līː]   7/8   "k.o insect"
      c. [kə̀-ndzǎ̄ː / bì-ndzǎ̄ː]   7/8   "k.o grasshopper (for babʲ fluency)"
      d. [kə́-mbúŋú / bí-mbúŋú]   7/8   "k.o insect"
      e. [ø-ⁿfʲélì / bə̀-ⁿfʲélì]   1/2   "k.o insect"
      f. [fə̀-ⁿfìntʃɔ́ŋ / m̀-ndʒʲə̀ntʃɔ́ŋ] 19/6a "k.o insect"
      g. [ø-ŋkɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ŋ / bə̀-ŋkɔ̀ŋkɔ̀ŋ]   1/2   "k.o cockroach (hitting/singing)"
      h. [ø-fṹː / ø-fṹː]   9/10   "maggot under soil in farms (eatable)"

4.3.3 **Flies**

The flies set reveals that they belong to at least three different genders: 5/6, 7/8, 9/10

150) a. [bʷɛ́n ~ bʷɛ́ᵞɛ́n / kə́~kíbʷɛ́n] 5/6   "mosquito"
      b. [ndʒíní / bíndʒíní]   7/8   "housefly"
      c. [ø-fʲēŋkī / ø-fʲéŋkí]   9/10   "wing termite"
      d. [βṹː / βṹ]   9/10   "blood-sucking fly"
      e. [ø-dʒʊ̀ᵞʊ́ / ø-dʒʊ́ᵞʊ́]   9/10   "firefly (light at abdomen)"

4.3.3 Birds

The semantic domain of birds belong to at least four different genders: 1/2, 7/8, 9/10, 19/6a:

151) a. [fíɲʲéní ~ fíɲʲéní / m̀ɲʲéní~mìɲʲéní]   19/6a   "bird"
b. [nʃànì / nʃánī]   9/10   "k.o bird"
c. [fə̀mgbə̀kì / m̀mgbə̀kì]   19/6a   "swallow"
d. [búŋwí / bíbúŋwí]   7/8   "k.o bird,
e. [fə́ndʒúŋú / ḿndʒúŋú]   19/6a   "k.o bird, eats guinea corn"
f. [bùŋ / bə̀bùŋ]   1/2   "k.o bird"
g. [fə́ntáŋ / ḿntáŋ]   19/6a   "k.o bird"
h. [tʃʷĭnní / bìtʃʷĭnní]   7/8   "witchbird (owl)"
i. [wwɔ̌ ~ vwɔ̌ / bíwwɔ̌]   7/8   "screech owl (witchbird)"
y. [gbā̄ / gbə́]   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 into 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'.

4.3.4 Animals

The animals of Mbuk are distributed to the various noun classes as seen below:

152) a. [fíntὲːnī / m̄tɛ̄ːní]   19/6a   "palm rat"
b. [fìnʃʲã̀/ m̀ʃʲǎ̀]   19/6a   "squirrel "
c. [fíŋkʷā̄̄ / m̀kʷā̄̄]   19/6a   "deer"
d. [bìkə́m / bə̀bìkə́m]   1/2   "lion"
e. [dzàː / dzâː]   9/10   "porcupine"
f. [bʲə̀ɣə́ / bʲə́ɣə́]   9/10   "cane rat"
g. [dzùŋ / dzûŋ]   9/10   "antelope"
h. [tsāː / tsǎ̄ː]   9/10   "monkey"
j. [kìbókó/bìbókó]~   7/8   "chimpanzee"
   [kìbábā/bìbábā]~[kìbʷə́ɣə́bʷə̄ɣā/bìbʷə́ɣə́bʷə̄ɣə]

4.3.5 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
153)	H	[ŋká:]	[mbɛ́]	1
	L	[làŋ]	[dzɔ̀ŋ]	1
	M	[ⁿʃɔ̄m]	[kīsáŋ]	1
	F	[bʷɔ̂m]	[bɛ̂]	1
	R	[bʲǎ:]	[lɔ̌:]	1
	HM	[làŋndʒî:]	[nfĩ:]	1

Mbuk male names make use of seven (7) vowels of its language: [a, ə, i, ɪ, ʊ, u, ɔ, ɛ] as well as some long ones. Here is the syllabic structure of male names:

	syllable	male	male	
154)	CV	[ɲà]	CVCV	[mbɔ̀kɔ́ ~ mbɔ̀ᵞɔ́]
	CCVV	[ŋká:, nsə̂:]	CCVCV	[ŋkàmbî:, ŋkèmbɔ̀:]
	CGV	[tʃʲə̀, bʲǎ]	CVCVC	[bìkɔ́m, sàmbàɲ, fíndə́ŋ]
	CVC	[làŋ, ndàŋ, nʃɔ̄m]	CVCCGV	[ntòŋbá, ʃìɲɲʷò]
	CGVC	[ŋgʷáŋ]	CVCVCGV	[làŋə̀tʃʲá]

4.3.6 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, j] for 7/8 are in the language optional. It is not compelled to use the prefix. Thus, abstract nouns are characterised by the absence of a prefix that marks singular. In some cases, the plural prefix has 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 shift its syllabic properties to the central root vowel. However, amorphously, some nouns, especially those of gender 1/2 still maintain their nominalisation nasal syllabicity. 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:

155) a.   [ŋkàˠà / bə̀ŋkàˠà]   1/2   "promise"
      b.   [ntə̀fì / bə̀ntə̀fì]   1/2   "advice, teach"
      c.   [nlání / bə̀nlání]   1/2   "learn"
      d.   [mbíkí / bə̀mbíkí]   1/2   "ask, request"
      e.   [ŋgúkúlí / bə̀ŋgùkùlí]   1/2   "argue"
      f.   [mbɔ́nsí / bə̀mbɔ́nsí]   1/2   "bless"
      g.   [ŋkàɲ / bə̀ŋkàɲ]   1/2   "swear"
      h.   [njàˠàsí / bə̀njàˠàsí]   1/2   "praise"
      i.   [kìjɔ̀ŋnì / bìjɔ̀ŋnì]   7/8   "thank, congratulations"
      y.   [kìmbíkə̀ / bìmbíkə̀]   7/8   "question" (variant of d. (ask, request))

In example (g), [ŋkàɲ / bə̀ŋkàɲ] |mkàɲ/bə̀mkàɲ|, the homorganicity rule fails to apply. Also in (h) one would have expected [njàˠàsí / bə̀njàˠàsí]→ |njàˠàsí / bə̀njàˠàsí| and can even go further to harmonisation from [nj] to [ɲ] but it fails to occur as such. These nasals are very audible and are accompanied by a high pitch but they fail to generate the nasalconcord usually produced by a nasal prefix. This is because the required sonority peak has not been attained; thus, it retains a premature nasal prefix which neither harmonises nor generates concord in its own image.

4.3.7 Compound Nouns

A combination of two words that denote to a single referent in the mind of the native speak of Mbuk is termed compound word. Various combinations have been observed in Mbuk; a noun combines with an adjectival word to give an adjectival noun (156a). With the noun, the noun class features of the pure noun (the head noun) dominates, iving rise to gender (5/8). Meanwhile in (141bcd), the composition occurs between a pure noun, and a deverbatised noun indicated by the deverbative clitic (DC). In these sets, the noun class properties of their head noun surfaces though the deverbatives also belong to gender 1/2:

156) a. **[fú-wí-nɔ̂ŋ/bì-fú-bí-nɔ̂ŋ]** → **[fúwìnɔ̂ŋ/bìfúbìnɔ̂ŋ]**   5/8   "luck"
5.head-5.AM-good /8-head-AM-good

    b. **[mì-wì-ntɔ́m/bɔ́-nî-bɔ́-ntɔ́m]** → **[mìwìntɔ́m/bɛ̀nîbɛ̀ntɔ́m]** 1/2   "messenger"
1.person-1.AM-DC.send / 2-people-AG-DC.send

    c. **[kpɔ̀-ŋkʷù/bɔ́-káŋà-bɛ̀-ŋkʷù]** → **[kpɛ̀ŋkʷù/bɔ́káŋàbɛ̀ŋkʷù]** 1/2   "widow"
1.wife-DC.dead/ 2-wife-2.AM-DC.dead

    d. **[ɲòm-ŋkʷù / bɔ́-ɲôm-ŋkʷù → ɲòmŋkʷù / bɔ́ɲômŋkʷù]**   1/2   "widower"
1.husband-DC.dead / 2-husband-DC.dead

In (156d) above, the associative (AM) for the plural has been deleted while in the singular of (156c,d) lack the singular associative marker or concord marker.

4.3.8 Nouns reduplication

Reduplication is the formation of a word by doubling the initial root syllable of Mbuk words. 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 meaning of the base word. However, Mbuk exhibits both total ad partial reduplication as demonstrated in the corpus. Two cases of partial reduplication are (h and m):

		stem tone	stem	noun class	gloss
157)	a.	(L) L L (H)	[kìmgbə̀mgbə̀lí / bìmgbə̀mgbə̀lí]	7/8	"millipede"
	b.	(L) L H	[kìŋgə̀ŋgə́ŋ / bìŋgə̀ŋgə́ŋ]	7/8	"sugar cane"
	c.	(L) L H	[gʷàgʷá / bə̀gʷàgʷá]	1/2	"duck"
	d.	(L) H H	[kìmàmá / bìmàmá]	7/8	"caterpillar"
	e.	(L) L H	[kìntɔ̀mtɔ́m / bìntɔ̀mtɔ́m]	7/8	"indian bamboo"
	f.	(L) H H	[kìntáɲtáɲ / bìntáɲtáɲ]	7/8	"box"
	g.	(L) L H	[kìŋkàŋkáŋ / bìŋkàŋkáŋ]	7/8	"armpit"
	h.	(L) L L (H)	[kìkàkàlí / bìkàkàlí]	7/8	"ringworm"
	i.	(L) H H	[kìⁿʃʷáɲʃʷáɲ / bìⁿʃʷáɲʃʷáɲ]	7/8	"pumpkin"
	y.	(L) H H L L	[kpálákpàlà / bə̀kpálákpàlà]	1/2	"bamboo mat"
	k.	(L) L H H H	[kə̀mbɛ̀lɛ́mbɛ́lɛ́ / bìmbɛ̀lɛ́mbɛ́lɛ́]	7/8	"butterfly"
	l.	(L) H H H H	[fìyɔ́kɔ́yɔ́kɔ́ / m̀yɔ́kɔ́yɔ́kɔ́]	19/6a	"k.o fruit flies"
	m.	(L) L (H) M	[fìndɛ̀líndɛ̄ / m̀ndɛ̀líndɛ̄]	19/6a	"house cricket"

All the [**-lɪ**] suffixes or [**-lɪ-**] infixes have high tones. 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 [**ʃʷ, gʷ**] onsets are found with aspect of a palatalised onset reduplicated. Apart from simple primary consonants [**k, j, 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 it is because of their easy and most frequent articulation in the language. All of these are a set of laxed 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 in games 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 inanimate 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 onomatopoeia 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-gʷàgʷá/bə̀-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.

4.3.9 Ideophones

Crystal (2008: 235): *"ideophone (n.) A term sometimes used in linguistics and phonetics for any vivid (ideophonic) representation of an idea in sound, such as occurs through onomatopoeia. In Bantu linguistics, it is the name of a particular word-class containing sound-symbolic words, often accompanied by such extralinguistic (or 'mimetic') effects as whistles or clapping."* 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*". The ideophones of Mbuk describe adjectives (158ac), describe nouns (158dm), and the verb (158no). The ideophones intensifies the state of something or the state of an action:

158) a.   [ŋkàːŋ]   "very red"

       b.   [bʷú]   "very white"

       c.   [tiːjk]   "very black"

       d.   [lúːs]   "smooth"

       e.   [mgbàm]   "sound of someone falling"

       f.   [ŋkə̀ːŋ]   "sound of something falling"

       g.   [wáːŋ]   "sound of something falling into a valley or a very high place"

       h.   [ƥáːŋ]   "sound of something moving with a high velocity"

       i.   [káːŋ]   "sound of cutting something"

       j.   [ŋʷáːŋ]   "sound from a slap"

       k.   [ŋgʷímbóɣō]   "many" (of people, houses, vehicles)

       l.   [ⁿʃɔ̄ːŋ, ⁿƥɔ̄ːŋ]   "describes a quiet scene"

       m.   [lʲə̀ːm]   "describes the overflow of a river"

       n.   [ŋʷàːŋ]   "light of light beam"

       o.   [ŋʷàŋŋʷàŋ]   "light of lightening"

Most of the ideophones occur in clause final posistion:

159) a.   **[kíbá̄ːŋ kə́lə̄ kólə̄ lúːs]**   "This table is very smooth"

             7.table 7.this be   very.smooth

       b.   **[bibá̄ːŋ bʲə́lə̄ kólə̄ lúːs]**   "these tables are very smooth"

             8.table 8.these be   very.smooth

       c.   **[bǔːŋ wə́lə̄ bóɣòkí lə̄ ŋkàːŋ]**   "this dress is very red"

             1.cloth 1.this red.PROG AF very.red

       d.   **[m ká̄ːkí bǔːŋ wí   bòɣò (lə́) ŋkàːŋ]** "I have a very red cloth"

             1s have coth 1.AM red   (AF) very.red

4.3.10   **Onomatopoeic**

These words are formed from the imitation of the sound the animals produce:

160) a.   [sélékúkû̄ / bə̀sélékúkû̄]   1/2   "cuckoo bird"

       b.   [kə̀ŋɔ́ŋɔ̂ / bìŋɔ́ŋɔ̂]   7/8   "whiteneck hawk"

       c.   [kə̀kʷô̄ː / bìkʷô̄ː]   7/8   "toad"

This domain of nouns has two genders of nouns, 1/2 and 7/8.

4.3.11   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.

4.3.12   Borrowings

Foreign terms have totally picked up 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 from the borrowed language. 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:

161) a.   p → N- / # _ , p → mb,   potato   →   [mbʷūndàm]
      b.   g → N- / # _ , g → mgb,   guava   →   [fímgbábàŋ]
      c.   ø → PX- / # _ , ø → bə̀-,   lamps   →   [bə̀lâm]
      d.   # _C # → # _ ø #,   plank   →   [plan]
      e.   CC → CVC, pl → mbəl,   plank   →   [mbə̀lân]
      f.   # _ n # → # _ŋ#   plan   →   [mbə̀láŋ]
      g.   + fricative → + plosive, v → b, guava   →   [fímgbábàŋ]
      h.   CV → CVC, va → bàŋ,   guava   →   [fímgbábàŋ]

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 does occur with [g] as in the case.

In nominal class, the morphology picks up gender 1/2, 7/8 and 19/6a:

162) a. [fímgbábàŋ / m̀mgbábàŋ] 19/6a "guava" English
     b. [tāsā / bə̀tāsā] 1/2 "aluminium dish" ??
     c. [mbə̀láŋ / bə̀mbə̀láŋ] 1/2 "plank" English
     d. [mbʷūndàm / bə̀mbʷúndàm] 1/2 "potato" Mbouda
     e. [lâm / bə̀lâm] 1/2 "lamp" English
     f. [kɔ̀fí / bə̀kɔ̀fí] 1/2 "coffee" English
     g. [máŋgú / bə̀máŋgú] 1/2 "mango" English
     h. [mfʊ́m / bə́mfʊ́m] 1/2 "phone" English
     i. [lɔ̂k / bə̀lɔ̂k] 1/2 "lock" English
     j. [pɔ̀lɔ̂m / bə̀pɔ̀lɔ̂m] 1/2 "plum" English
     k. [kìnánâs / bìnánâs] 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 have not been considered. For example, the word for palm tree "sɔ̄m", we do not know whether it was loaned to the Bum language by the Mbuk or the Mbuk borrowed it from the Bum.

This subsection 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 specie 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.

4.4 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.

4.4.1 Personal Pronouns

In Mbuk, they refer to a person or thing and agree with the known or unknown subject in person; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 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.

4.4.2 Subject pronouns

These pronouns act as the subject of a phrase, clause or sentence. These are the human and non-human subject pronouns.

4.4.2.1 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	[wə̀ ~ wò]	"you"(sg)	second person singular subject pronoun
3S	[wì]	"he/she"	third person singular subject pronoun
1PI	[bə̀ˠə́n ~ bə̀ˠə́bɛ̄n]	"we"	first person plural inclusive subject pronoun
1P.EXCL	[bə̀ˠə́]	"we"	first person plural exclusive subject pronoun
2P.INCL	[bɛ̄n]	"you"(pl)	second person plural subject pronoun
3P	[bó ~ bə́]	"they"	third person plural subject pronoun

163) The following text exemplifies the use of the 2P "bɛ̄n" human subject pronoun in Mbuk:

VideoRef:

4.4.2.2 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 take other forms for nouns without prefixes.

The table below gives non-human subject pronouns.

Table 46: Non-human Subject Pronouns

Non-human Subject Pronouns				
Singular			Plural	
Noun classes	Pronouns		Noun classes	Pronouns
1	wǐ ~ wù ~ ù		2	bə́ ~ bó
3	wí		4	jí
5	wí		6	kí
7	kí		8	bí
9	jì		10	jí
19	fí		6a	mə́ ~ 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.

4.4.3 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:

4.4.3.1 Human object pronouns

The human object pronouns pertains to human nouns. The word forms (segmental and suprasegmental) change according to person (first, second, third) and in number (SG, PL):

Person	Object	Gloss	Definition
1SO	[mī]	"me"	first person singular object pronoun
2SO	[wə̀]	"you"(sg)	second person singular object pronoun
3SO	[wì]	"him"	third person singular object pronoun
1POI	[bə̀ɣə́n]	"us"	first person plural inclusive object pronoun
1POE	[bə̀ɣə́]	"us"	first person plural exclusive object pronoun
2PO	[bǐn]	"you"(pl)	second person plural object pronoun
3PO	[bó ~ bə́]	"them"	third person plural object pronoun

164)   An example sentence for the first-person singular object pronoun, 1SO below:

MBK_NNN-9	Óo	kì-nú	kwɛ́	bə́	mī
GL_NNN-9	IJT	7-sleep	go.home	CNJ	1SO
FT_NNN-9	Oh sleep! Go home with me.				

VideoRef: KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00399

4.4.3.2 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 take 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 47: Non-human Object Pronouns

Non-human Object Pronouns				
Singular			**Plural**	
Noun classes	Pronouns		Noun classes	Pronouns
1	wì		2	bə́ ~ bó
3	wí		4	jí
5	wí		6	kí
7	kí		8	bí
9	Jì		10	ji
19	Fí		6a	mó ~ mə́ ~ mí

4.4.4 Dual Pronouns

Dual pronouns (DL) are compound pronouns. The combination of two or more pronouns.

Here are examples of Mbuk dual pronouns:

Table 48: Dual Pronouns

glosses	you (SG)	him/her (SG)	you (PL)	they/them (PL)
I	bɔ̄ˠɔ̄	bə̄ˠə̄	bə̄ˠə̄ běn	bə̄ˠə̄ bó
you	bēn	bə̀ˠə̄ wì	bēn	bēn
him	bɔ̄ˠɔ̄	Bó	bēn bó	bó
we INCL	báŋə̀	báŋə̀	báŋə̀	bɨ́ˠɨ́ bó
we EXCL	bə̄ˠə̄	bə̄ˠə̄	bə̄ˠə̄	bə̄ˠə̄
you (PL)	bēn	bēn	bēn	bēn
they	bēn	Bó	bó	bó

The table above is expressed in the examples below:

165) a.   [bɔ̄ˠɔ̄]   "you and I"
     b.   [bɔ̄ˠɔ̄]   "you and me"
     c.   [bə̄ˠə̄]   "him and I"
     d.   [bó]   "you and him"
     e.   [bə̄ˠə̄]   "him and you"
     f.   [bə̄ˠə̄ bó]   "they and us"
     g.   [bə́ˠə́ wì]   "him and we"

Structurally, they are fused, some are juxtaposed, some use the coordinating conjunction "and" while some are without a conjunction. Some dual pronouns in Mbuk are:

166) The fused is, for example: a.   **[bɔ̄ˠɔ̄.ø]**   "you and I"
                                         1S.2S.CNJ

     The juxtaposed is: b.   **[bə́ˠə́   ø   wì]**   "him and we"
                                           1P.EXCL CNJ 3S

     Use of a conjunction: c.   **[wì bə́   bə̄ˠə̄]**   "him and we"
                                           3S   CNJ 1P.EXCL

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 also be used:

167) a.   **[bə́ˠə́ wāɲ]**   "the child and me"
          1P.EXCL 1.child

      b.   **[běn wāɲ]**   "the child and you"
          2P   1.child

      c.   **[bó wāɲ]**   "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 49: Meaning of Simple and Dual Pronouns

Number	Simple Subject Pronouns	Dual or Compound Pronouns
1P.EXCL	**bə̀ˠə́** "we/us"	**bə̀ˠə́** "I/me"
2P	**bēn** "you (pl.)"	**bēn** "you (sg.)"
3P	**bó** "they/them"	**bó** "he/him"

      d1. **[wāɲ   bə́   bə̄ˠə̄]**   "the child and us"
          1.child CNJ 1P.EXCL

      d2. **[wāɲ   bə́   bə́ŋə̀]**   "the child and us"
          1.child CNJ 1P.INCL

      e.   **[běn wāɲ]**   "the child and you"
          2P   1.child

      f.   **[wāɲbə̄   bó]**   "the child and them"
          1.child CNJ 3P

In addition, a full noun phrase in the plural form plus a pronoun can be used as well:

168) a. **[bʷāˠā bə̄ mī]**   "the children and me"
          2.children CNJ 1SO

          [bì̀ˠɨ́ bʷāˠā]   "the children and us"
          1PE 2.children

          ]wò bə̄ bʷāˠā]   "the children and you"
          2S CNJ 2.children

          [wì bə̄ bʷāˠā]   "the children and him"
          3S CNJ 2.children

The tones need more time to understand their contribution to meaning in this section.

4.4.5 Neutral pronoun

The Mbuk language has neutral pronouns such a "bə́" meaning "we". Apart from the two inclusive (bə́ŋə̀) and exclusive (bə̄ɣə̄) ~ (bə̀ɣə́) subject pronouns, there is also a neutral one which stands in either the inclusive or the exclusive pronoun.

169) a. **[bə́ŋə̀]**   "we" 1P.INCL   inclusive

     b. **[bə̄ˠə̄]**   "we" 1P.EXCL   exclusive

     c. **[bə́]**   "we" 1P.N   Neuter

Moreover, for the non-human, the word "kə́" 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:

170)   **[kə́ ɲʲə́ lə̄]**   "what is that?" or "how is it"
          it what XC

4.4.6 Dummy subject

A dummy subject (DS) occurs mostly in question expressions and for emphasis. The dummy subject represents the head noun in the noun phrase. The DS has a low tone and often followed by a copula as seen in the example:

171) a.   **[À ko ndə̀]**   "who is it?"
        DS COP QW
        it   be   who

4.4.7 Reciprocal pronoun

Areciprocal action is the mutual interaction between things that act for each other. The reciprocal (RECP) element in Mbuk is [kí-gʷû] which literally means body (itself). The word body is [gʷù] and it acquires a nominal prefix [kí-] 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:

172) a.   **[bó ndʒáŋ-kə́-lə̀]**   "they are quarreling"
        3P quarrel-PROG-AF

    b.   **[bó ndʒáŋ-kí í   kí-gʷû:]**   "they are quarreling with each other"
        3P quarrel-PROG CNJ RECP

173) a.   **[bó dʒúò-kə́-lə̀]**   "They are fighting"
        3P fight-PROG-AF

    b.   **[bó dʒúò-kə́-lə̀ kí-gʷû (kí bó)]**   "They are fighting each other"
        3P fight-PROG-AF RECP (RECP they)

The reciprocal expression can be emphatic, thus, necessitating the optional expression in parentheses as in (173b). The reciprocal has a fixed form, which is not influenced 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:

174) a. **[Bó dʒuo-kí kí-gʷû kí bó]**   "They are fighting themselves."
  3P fight-PROG RECP   AM 3PO
  3P fighting   REFL/RECP

4.4.8 Reflexive pronoun

Four systems have been used to express reflexive (REFL); for emphasis, body parts, for inanimates and for humans. Reflexive emphatic subject pronoun.

Reflexivity is achieved by the emphatic use of the human subject pronoun:

175)   1S   [mí]   "myself"
      2S   [wò]   "yourself"
      3S   [wì]   "himself/herself"
      3S   [kì, fí, wì]   "itself (non-human nouns)"
      1P   [báŋə̀]   "ourselves"
      2P   [bɛ̄n]   "yourselves"
      3P   [bó]   "themselves"
      3P   [bì, mì, jí]   "themselves" (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:

176)   1S   **[mí wóˠó gʷù-jə̆ŋ**   "I wash myself"
        1S wash body-my.REFL

      2S   **[wò wóˠó gʷù-já]**   "You wash yourself"
        2S wash body-your.REFL

      3S   **[wì wóˠó gʷù-jí]**   "He washes himself"
        3S wash body-his.REFL

      1P   **[bə̀ɣə́ wóˠó gʷû-jî-bə̀ɣə́]**   "We wash ourselves"
        1P.EXCL wash body-our-us

2P   **[běn wóˠó gʷû-jî-bēn]**   "You wash yourselves"
       2P   wash   body-yours-your

3P   **[bō wóˠó gʷû jí bó]**   "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 [ji] plus their object markers. But the singulars take only their object markers without the [ji]. This implies that, at the singular level, once the key reflexive word "body" is stated, it no longer needs the [ji]. This is not true, it is because of the constraints of two like terms that the language does not permit two adjacent [j] sounds as is the case for [ji jəŋ, ji ja, ji ji-] for 1s, 2S and 3S respectively. Which means, there should be an elision of [ji]; [ji → i→ø] somehow if this has to be an acceptable speech form in the language:

177)   1S   *[**mí wóˠó gʷù-ji-jə̌ŋ**]   "I wash myself"
           1S   wash   body-me-my(REFL)

2S   *[**wò wóˠó gʷù-ji-já**]   "You wash yourself"
       2S wash   body-you-your(REFL)

3S   *[**wì wóˠó gʷù-jí-ji**]   "He washes himself"
       3S   wash   body-him-his(REFL)

On the contrary, the plural forms cannot be grammatical without the [ji]

178)   1P   *[**bə̀ˠə́ wóˠó gʷû-bə̀ˠə́**]   "We wash ourselves"
           1P.EXCL wash body-us

2P   *[**běn wóˠó gʷû-bēn**]   "You wash yourselves"
       2P   wash   body-your

3P   *[**bō wóˠó gʷû-bó **]   "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:

179) 3P   **[bō wó^ɣó gʷû-yi]**   "They wash themselves"

       3P wash body-their

Sometimes, 1S pronoun is doubled to express reflexivity as seen in the text below:

180) a.   *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00406*

030 FSW-1   **[sə mǐː-mī   tə́ bóŋkí tʃʲə́kí kó á]**

       REFL   as 1S.myself also also   know is that

         "As I myself am also aware of, is that"

4.4.8.1 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. In example (181b, c), 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 [ji].

181) a.   **[Bìkə́m kɔ̂ŋ-kə́-lə̀   Kxə̂]**   "Bikem loves Khe."

       Bikem love-PROG-AF Khe

    b.   **[Bìkə́m kɔ̂ŋ-kə́-lə̀   ø-gʷù jí]**   "Bìkə́m loves himself."

       Bikem love-PROG-AF 9-body his

    c.   **[wì dʒúò-kí ø-gʷù jī]**   "He is fighting himself"

       3S fight-PROG 9-body his

Meanwhile in (182d, 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.

182) d.   **[Bìkə́m bó Kxə̂ kɔ̂ŋ-kə́-lə̀   kí-gʷû]**   "Bikəm and Khe love themselves."

       Bikem and Khe love-PROG-AF 6-bodies

    e.   **[Bə̄^ɣə̄ dʒúò-kí kí-gʷû]**   "We are fighting ourselves"

       1PE   fight-PROG 6-bodies

These examples are further broken down in the subsequent pages under the headings reflexive asymmetry and reflexive genders.

4.4.8.2 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 (183b) is emphatic though speakers say it is an optional form:

Table 50: Optional Reflexive Subject (OS)

	Subject	Verb	Class-noun	Concord	Reflexive Subject	Number
183) a.	[wì	dʒúò-kí	ø-gʷù	jī	ø]	singular
	3S	fight-PROG	9-body	his		
	"He is fighting himself"					
b.	[bó	dʒúò-kí	kí-gʷû	kí	bó]	Plural
	3P	fight-PROG	9-body	their	they	
	"They themselves are fighting themselves"					
c.	[bó	dʒúò-kí	kí-gʷû	ø	ø]	Plural
	3P	fight-PROG	9-body			
	"They are fighting themselves"					

4.4.8.3 **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 51: Reflexive Noun Class Gender

Three Genders	Three Noun Classes	Concord	Number
Nominal gender 5/6	ø-gʷù / kí-gʷû	w-ˋ / k-ˋ	singular / plural
Nominal gender 9/10	ø-gʷù / ø-gʷú	j-ˋ / j-ˊ	singular / plural
Reflexive gender 9/6	ø-gʷù / kí-gʷû	j-ˋ / k-ˋ	singular / plural

The parenthesis means that the word "body" does not belong to gender 5/6, but because the reflexive gender picks up one of its features there, it is then worth, to draw by induction a relationship which might have been historical that classes 9/10 might have once had prefixes or that the word "body" once had a prefix.

4.4.8.4 **Middle voice reflexive morpheme**

When inanimates and body parts are carrying out reflexive actions, a separate word [tʃʲə̄] meaning self is used, lexicalised. For inanimates we have the following examples:

184) a. [**gbâː í bʷî̌ʸín tʃʲə̄**] "The barn has broken itself or by itself"
          5.barn PFV break   self

     b. [**kígbâː í bʷî̌ʸín tʃʲə̄**] "The barns have broken itselves"
          6.barns PFV break   self

     c. [**mbúŋ wóʸó tʃʲə̄**] "The dress has washed itself"
          1.dress wash self

Two variations feature here; break "bʷî̌ʸín ~ bʷín", dress/cloth "mbúŋ ~ búŋ".

Thence for the body part, we have as an example:

185)   a.   **[kpâ   wóˠó-kí tʃʲə̂-kí   kpæ̀]** "The hands washed itself"
             3.hand wash-PROG REFL-PROG 3.hand

The reflexive marker accords with the imperfective progressive marker. And contrary to both the body parts and inanimate presumptions about the use of the "tʃʲə", we find the human actions using the morpheme as well:

186)   a.   **[bó lání-kə́ là]**   "they are studying"
             3P study-PROG AF

       b.   **[bó lání-kí   tʃʲə̄-kə́ là]**   "they are studying by themselves"
             3P study-PROG REFL/MV-PROG AF

The reflexive morpheme, [tʃʲə̄] 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 (186b) above. One curious undertaking is what happens to the reflexive marker through the various noun classes of the Mbuk language.

4.4.8.5 **Zero Reflexive Morphemes**

In certain reflexive constructions are expressed without a reflexive morpheme:

187)   a.   **[kpǽ   wóˠó kpæ̀]**   "the hand washed itself"
             3.hand wash 3.hand

or   **b.**   **[Kpæ̀   wóˠó-kí kpæ̀]**   "the hand is washing the hand"
             3.hand wash-PROG 3.hand

4.4.8.6 **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 reflexive comprehension within the Mbuk noun class

system; the tones, the body morpheme [gʷù], the middle voice morpheme [tʃʲə], and the third

person plural marker for plural nouns as seen in the following examples:

188)   nc 1   **[wāɲ   wóˠó gʷù-jī]**   "The child washed himself"
                    1.child wash   body-his

        nc 2   **[bwáˠá   wóˠó gʷù-jī-bó]**   "The children washed themselves"
                    2.children wash body-thier-they

        nc 3   **[kpɑ̀   wóˠó ø-kpɑ̀]**   "The hand washed itself"
                    3.hand wash   body-3.hand

        or   **[kpɑ̀   wóˠó tʃʲə̂-kí   kpɑ̀]**   "The hand is washing itself"
                    3.hand wash   REFL-PROG 3.hand

        nc 4   **[kɑ̌   wóˠò gʷû-jǐ-bó]**   "The hands washed themselves"
                    4.hands wash body-their-they

        nc 5   **[gbâː (í) gbō tʃʲə̄]**   "The barn fell itself (by itself)"
                    5.barn PREP fall self

        nc 6   **[kígbâː (i) gbō tʃʲə̄]**   "The barns fell themselves"
                    6.barns PPEP fall self

        nc 7   **[kìfí wóˠó gʷù-jí]**   "The pig washed itself"
                    7.pig wash   body-his

        nc 8   **[bìfí   wóˠó gʷû-jí-bó]**   "The pigs washed themselves"
                    8.pigs wash   body-their-they

        nc 9   **[ʃʲə̌   wóˠó gʷù-jī]**   "The fowl washed itself"
                    9.fowl wash body-his

        nc 10   **[ʃʲə̌   wóˠó gʷû-jí-bō]**   "The fowls washed themselves"
                    10.fowls wash body-their-they

        nc 19   **[fíɲéní   wóˠó gʷù-jì]**   "The bird washed itself"
                    19.bird wash body-his

        nc 6a   **[míɲéní wóˠó gʷû-jí-bó]**   "The bird washed themselves"
                    6a.bird wash body-their-they

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 "ɓó" is often left implicitly stated. When this happens, both the singular and the plural form becomes identical:

189) nc 7　　[kìfí　wóˠó　gʷù-jí]　　　"A pig washed itself"
　　　　　　7.pig wash.PFV　body-his(REFL)

nc 8　　[bìfí　wóˠó　gʷû-jí]　　　"Pigs washed themselves"
　　　　　8.pigs wash.PFV　body-their(REFL)

nc 9　　[ʃʲə̆　wóˠó　gʷù-jī]　　　"A fowl washed itself"
　　　　　9.fowl wash.PFV　body-his(REFL)

nc 10　　[ʃʲə̄　wóˠó　gʷû-jí]　　　"Fowls washed themselves"
　　　　　10.fowls wash.PFV　body-their(REFL)

Other than the tones, there is particle [i~ɪ] with prepositional sense and distribution. It can precede the verb or comes after the verb. Here are some sample expressions of the particle:

190) a.　　[kpằ　íwóˠó-kí kpằ]　　　"The hand was washing itself"
　　　　　　3.hand PFVwash-PROG　3.hand

b.　　[ʃʲə̄　íwóˠó gʷû-jí-bó]　　　"The fowls washed itselves"
　　　　10.fowl PFVwash　body-their-they(REFL)

c.　　[kpằ　wóˠó-kí　í-kpằ]　　　"The hand is washing itself"
　　　　3.hand wash-PROG　PX-hand

d.　　[míɲéní wóˠó í-gʷû-jí-bó]　　"Birds are washing themselves"
　　　　6a.birds wash PX-body-their-they

e.　　[mí hí wóˠó í-gʷù-jə̆ŋ]　　　"I had washed myself"
　　　　1s　P2 wash PX-body-my

d.　　[mí wóˠó í-gʷù-jə̆ŋ]　　　"I washed myself"
　　　　1s wash　PX-body-my

The [i] before a verb is a perfective aspect or a contracted form of the [hɪ] past tense marker. If it is a perfective, then the verb is also marked simultaneously for progressive aspect, meaning the event was ongoing in the past. While the [i] after the verb could be the reasigned 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 is 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.

4.4.9 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 as seen in the following text, KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_TNY-13_AnnualFestivalKwifan_00024_2015-08-08.eaf:

191) a. **mì w� wǐ dǎŋ bòˠò jê, bɔ́ fˤɛn fˤɔ́ kìbàː kí mɔ̄**
          NP   REL SM V   NP   DEM, CONJ NP   DEM NP   POSS PO
          personwho he cross river that, with thing that bag   his in
          The person who has crossed that river, with that thing (poison) in his bag.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the noun morphology of Mbuk. It has covered noun classes, concords, noun domains and pronouns.

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 (ø-) 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 are bridged to the modifiers through an agreement marker called the concord marker. Those nouns with a consonantal-vowel prefix (CV-) generate 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 [j] 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 [bʲ-] and [ɸ-] 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 nouns 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 it vicinity. And their borrowed terms have been moulded 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 belong to at least four different noun classes; 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 things like trees. The human pronouns vary according to person and number "1S" [mí]; "2S" [wə̀]; "3S" [wì]; "1P" [bə̀ɣə́]; "2P" [bēn]; "3P" [bó] while those of non-human will vary according to the noun classes, class 1, [wì]; class 2, [bə́]; class 3, [wí]; class 4, [jí]; class 5, [wí]; class 6, [kí]; class 7, [kí]; class 8, [bí]; class 9, [jì]; class 10, [jí]; 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, [bə́ɣə́bēn]; the exclusive, [bə̀ɣə́] and the neutral, [bə́]. The tones of these pronouns vary in relation to the semantics of the sentence, a study tone is needed to come up 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 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 $4. Then we proceed to verbal morphology in $5. The picture summarises the amorphous nature of Mbuk noun classes; some nouns do not have a well-defined noun class.

CHAPTER FIVE

MBUK VERB MORPHOLOGY

5.0 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 (tense). Then discloses the beginning, duration, completion or repetition of the action of a verb known as aspect. In addition, it unveils the manner in which the speaker speaks, the mood. It ends up showing how positive and negative verbal expressions are made. It covers four areas where 5.1 treats verb forms and their extensions; 5.2 deals with valency and transitivity; 5.3 examines tense, aspect, mood; and 5.4 describes the negation patterns.

5.1 MBUK VERB FORMS

This section unfolds with the verb word or stem, verb root, verbal extensions, and verbs taxonomy. The forms of the verbs with their affixes and meaning is stated.

5.1.1 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 with an independent meaning. A verb belongs to the open class of words amongst the grammatical categories. A Mbuk verb has three main parts of which two of them are optional:

191) **verb word: (prefix)   +   root   +   (suffix)**

	ɪ	-	ma	-	hi	[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:

affix + root = stem

The prefix expresses the nominal infinitive form of the verb while the suffix generates other verbs and also provides verbal grammatical elements.

5.1.2 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 (192) with a few vowels in open syllables:

		CV form	**gloss**
192)	a.	[fú]	"ich"
	b.	[lā]	"go to work/farm"
	c.	[tsə́]	"go"
	d.	[də̄]	"cry"
	e.	[kã̄]	"to hold (with hand)"

The closed syllabic root is presented with m, ŋ as the coda consonant:

		CVC form	**gloss**
193)	a.	**[tɔ́m]**	"shoot"
	b.	**[kāŋ]**	"choose"
	c.	**[táŋ]**	"buy"
	d.	**[wóm]**	"dry"
	e.	**[bín]**	"dance"

Furthermore, the open syllable has been subdivided into forms comprising two syllabic subdivisions; the monosyllabic and disyllabic. The monosyllabic open syllable has been illustrated above in (192, 193). Thence, the disyllabic are of the form CVV and CVCV. The disyllabic root which is expressed by the lengthening root vowels CVV is exemplified in 178 though with contemplation, Hyman (1985:10): *"Tone is, as we know, sensitive to the number of units that may be available to carry it. Thus, there are numerous tone languages which may not assign more than one tone to a single tone bearing unit (e.g. vowel), i.e. they may not have tonal contours on a single segment. In most tone and tonal accent languages, it is the mora that is the tone-bearing unit (TBU)".* Since vowel length is phonemic in Mbuk verbs, we consider the long vowels to be disyllabic for both the level and contour tone roots:

		CV$_1$V$_1$ form	**gloss**
194)	a.	[íwě:]	"open"
	b.	[fā:]	"read"
	c.	[tʊ̄:]	"hang"
	d.	[ʃǐ:]	"descend"
	e.	[ká̰:]	"have"

Below, in diphthongs, **CV$_1$V$_2$**, 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

cental [a] is here exemplified as follows:

		CV₁V₂ form	gloss
195)	a.	[dʒūō]	"fight"
	b.	[wúó]	"kill"
	c.	[lúá]	"fear"
	d.	[wūō]	"crack"
	e.	[tʃúó]	"steal"

A bulk of the Mbuk verbs falls in the **CV₁CV₁** category. Most of the **CV₁CV₁** verb roots have a weak intervening voiceless velar fricative [ɣ] which is sometimes articulated as velar stop [k] by younger speakers or it has 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 CV₁CV₁ in (196), the echo vowel exhibits some vowel harmony. It is seldom different from the root vowel:

		CV₁CV₁ form	gloss
196)	a.	[dzə́ɣə́]	"say, speak, talk"
	b.	[wɔ́ɣɔ́]	"wash"
	c.	[sàŋà]	"weed"
	d.	[ndzàŋá]	"urinate"
	e.	[mɨ́ɣɨ̀]	"blink"

But in CV₁CV₂CV₃ structure both the root and echo vowel are different as seen in the "-lɪ" verb class: **CV₁CV₂CV₃ form**

197)	a.	[lūɣālí]	"miss target"
	b.	[bɨ́ɣə̀lí]	"quarrel"

In Mbuk, verb roots do have the [w] and the [j] glide for labialisation and palatalisation noted as CGW where G is the glide. The glide in open syllables are presented in (198):

	CGV form	**gloss**
198) a.	[mʷā]	"beg"
b.	[kʷó]	"sew with hand"
c.	[bʷǎ]	"catch"
d.	[bʲɛ́]	"done, cook"
e.	[lʲə̄	"enter"
f.	[tʃʲə̄	"know"

Some examples with glides in a closed syllable include:

	CGVC form	**gloss**
199) a.	[tʷáɲ]	"beat"
b.	[bʷǐn]	"break"
c.	[kʷāŋ]	"carve"
d.	[dʒʷɔ́m]	"rub excess oil"
e.	[bʲɔ̄ŋ]	"smelt"

Tonally, the language demonstrates two patterns on the monosyllabic roots of the finite

verb form; high (200) and mid (201) below:

200) high,	a.	[tsə́]	"go"	d.	[fá]	"count"
	b.	[ná]	"ride"	e.	[mú]	"drink"
	c.	[fó]	"rot"			

201) mid,	a.	[dzə̄]	"come"	d.	[kū]	"clap"
	b.	[lū]	"ban from people"	e.	[fṹ]	"clear grass"
	c.	[lō]	"be better"			

Below are rising contour tone verbs with open syllables:

202) rising,	a.	[nǔ:]	"sleep"	d.	[mě:]	"lick"
	b.	[wě:]	"open"	e.	[ʃǐ:]	"descend"
	c.	[də̌:]	"smash"			

The lengthening induces the rising tone on the verb. All other verbal syllabic stems

exhibit any of the following tone combinations mentioned above.

5.1.3 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 meant for the examination of affixes attached to a verb root.

5.1.4 Verbal prefixes

The verbal prefix of Mbuk is a near-close unrounded front IPA vowel [ɪ]. The prefix [ɪ] is of a 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 verbs as exposed in :

203) [ɪ]-prefix, a.   [í-tsə̂]   "to go"
                    b.   [í-táŋ]   "to buy"
                    c.   [-ɲɔ̂mí]   "to wake up from sleep"
                    d.   [í-nsàŋà]   "to weed"
                    e.   [í-ʃʲéjí]   "to be slicing"

Tonally, the prefix [ɪ-] 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 variant prefixes are:

204) High,   a.   [í-fə̂ˠə́   "to tell"
                    b.   [í-tέn]   "to cut"
                    c.   [í-dzə́ˠə́]   "to speak"
                    d.   [í-dʒî]   "to jump"
                    e.   [í-wɔ́ˠɔ́]   "to wash"

205) **Mid,**   a.   [ītáŋnī]   "to sell"
                    b.   [ītǔ: ~ ītū:]   "to hang"
                    c.   [īkɔ̄m]   "to ring"
                    d.   [īɲī]   "to defecate"

206)   Falling,   a.   [ɲ̂nàˠá ~ ɲ̂nàká]   "to write"
             b.   [îlĕ ~ îlɛ̆]   "to run"
             c.   [îwàˠá]   "to rest"
             d.   [îwĕː]   "to open"
             e.   [înŭː~ înŭː]   "to sleep"

The inflectional [ɪ] prefix indicates Mbuk infinitive verb form while the absence of [ɪ] expresses the various finite verb forms marked by tense, aspect and mood. Though Mbuk is poor in verbal prefixes, it is extremely rich in derivational and inflectional verbal suffixes.

5.1.5 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] and others. The verbal extensions are suffixes that carry certain meanings with them. The meaning of some of the suffixes can no longer be determined with precision; tending to be empty morphemes. Some of these morphemes occur in nouns and adjectives. Some classes of 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].

5.1.6 Iterative Suffixes [-yɪ, -lɪ, -nɪ]

The suffix [-jɪ] is one allomorph amongst the three allomorphs [-jɪ, -lɪ, -nɪ] that exhibits iteratively in the language. The iterative allomorphs to a certain extent are conditioned by the following manner properties of the word-initial consonant such as voiced versus voicelessness and nasality. The voiced consonant takes the [-lɪ], while the voiceless take the [-jɪ] and the nasals take [-nɪ].

Here is an example of the voiceless consonants taking the iterative [-ji] suffix:

207) a.   [tə́ᵛə́jī]   "drip several times"

     b.   [kājī]   "select, fix vegetables"

     c.   [tsə̄ᵛəjī]   "scarify"

     d.   [ʃʲējī]   "cut into slices"

     e.   [tɔjī]   "abuse"

     f.   [kɔ̄jī]   "harvest" pears

     g.   [tʃū̄ᵛū̄jī]   "knock"

Examples of the voiced consonants taking the iterative -lɪ suffix:

208) a.   [gū̄ᵛū̄lī]   "drag, by two or more people"

     b.   [bə̄ᵛəlī]   "spoil, many times or by many people"

     c.   [dālī]   "forget"

     d.   [dʒə̄ᵛə̄lī]   "massage"

     e.   [lō̄ᵛōlī]   "collect, rain water in a pot or show cup to get something"

Examples of the nasal consonants taking the iterative [-nɪ] suffix. A geminate is created in example (193c-h):

209) a.   [nə̄ŋnī]   "search"

     b.   [tāŋnī]   "sell"

     c.   [mínní]   "sink"

     d.   [nē̄nnī]   "play"

     e.   [nə̄ᵛə̄nnī]   "shake"

     f.   [tʃīnnī]   "push in, send in"

     j.   [bɔ̄:nnī]   "heal, well"

     h.   [kūnnī]   "crawl"

In every claim, there is often a leakage leading to an overlap or creating exceptions such that we find voiceless consonants taking the [-lɪ] suffix as well as the voiced with the [-ji] suffix. Even though [-ji] is associated with voiceless consonants there are still words with voiced and nasal consonants carrying the [-ji] suffix:

210) a.   [bə̄̄:jī]   "be calling"

     b.   [bə̄ᵛəjī]   "transport corn"

     c.   [ŋʷājī]   "pinching"

Though [-lɪ] is associated more with words with voiced consonants we can still get some words with voiceless consonants taking on the [-lɪ] suffix:

    d.   [kɛ̄lī]   "embrace"

    e.   [kūlī]   "exchange"

    f.   [tālī]   "swim"

A word with nasal sounds is not restricted to [-nɪ] suffix, we find some nasal root words having the [-lɪ] suffix as outlined here:

211) a.   [ɲūmlī]   "smile"

       b.   [sāŋlī]   "be happy"

       c.   [jʊ̄mlī]   "not truthful"

The iterative suffix is attached to both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. The monosyllabic root taking the three iterative suffixes [-ji, -lɪ, -nɪ] are:

212) a.   [wəjī]   "peel ripe banana"

       b.   [tʃʷālī]   "mix raw corn beer during preparation"

       c.   [lānī]   "advise"

The disyllabic root taking the three iterative suffixes are [-ji, -lɪ, -nɪ] are:

    d.   [fāˠājī]   "remove palm nuts"

    e.   [tʃʊ̄ˠʊ̄lī]   "respond"

    f.   [tòŋònī]   "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:

213) a.   [wōjī]   "knock several times"

       b.   [mājī]   "plastering a house, event is done over and over again"

       c.   [tʃʊ̄ˠʊ̄lī]   "respond several times"

       d.   [bʷīlī]   "remove several times"

       e.   [fʊ̄:nī]   "mix fish in oil, stir"

       f.   [kʷānī]   "scratch again and again"

In multiple participants, many people do it once or several times:

g.   [gō^ɣūlī̄]   "drag by several people at once" or

                          "drag by one person repeatedly"

h.   [bə̄^ɣə̄lī̄]   "spoil by several people at once" or

                          "spoil by one person repeatedly"

i.   [mbājī̄]   "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 bear an attributive mode, that is, they are adjectival in nature:

214) a.   [bō̄ŋjī̄]   "harvest not enough as expected"

       b.   [bō̄ŋjī̄]   "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 up one by one or randomly and not really harvesting as you expected. The [-ji] expresses the scantiness or fewness of the thing being harvested.

In addition, the verb eat [dzí] takes the [-ji] suffix to express both the eating by several persons and the eating of something not enough as is shown in the examples below:

215) a.   [dzī̄jī̄]   "eat several times a bit of food which is not enough"

       b.   [dzī̄jī̄]   "eat by many people at once"

       c.   [dzī̄nī̄]   "eat several times enough"

The suffixes [-ji] and [-nɪ] express some nuances in iteratively. The [-ji] indicates that either the food is insufficient or the eating is not satisfactory while [-nɪ] 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 [-ji] pairs with its corresponding basic verbs:

	Basic, once	*Iterative -yi, several times*	*gloss*
216) a.	[bɔ̄ŋ]	[bɔ̄ŋjī]	"pick"
b.	[kō]	[kɔ̄jī]	"harvest"
c.	[tə̄ˠə̄]	[tə̄ˠə̄jī]	"drip"
d.	[gbō]	[gbōjī]	"fall"
e.	[kʷā]	[kʷājī]	"catch"

Furthermore, the iterative root has no corresponding meaning with that of the basic

word in some words:

	Basic, once	*Iterative -[ji]*
217) a.	**[wāˠā]** "rest"	**[wāˠājī]** "harvest (corn)"
b.	**[tō]** "cut grass"	**[tɔ̄jī]** "abuse"

In addition, not all the basic verbs can be made iterative verbs as exemplified here:

	Basic	*Iterative -ji*
218) a.	**[kɛ̄n]** "live"	**[*kɛnyi]**
b.	**[wām]** "talk lie"	**[*wāmjī]**
c.	**[kɔ̄ŋ]** "love"	*** [kɔ̄ŋjī]**

The suffixation of [-ji] to a basic word reverses the meaning of the word. The [-ji]

functions as a semantic reversal suffix:

	Basic	*Iterative reversal -ji*
219) a.	**[tāŋ]** "buy"	**[tāŋjī]** "sell"

In other basic words, the suffixation of -yi gives a diminutive repetitive meaning:

	Basic	**Iterative diminutive -yi**
220) a.	**[jə̄ŋ]**	**[jə̄ŋjɪ̄]**
	"sing"	"sing a bit (several times)"
b.	**[ʃʲə̄]**	**[ʃʲə̄jɪ̄]**
	"cut"	"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:

221)	**Basic, once**	**Iterative -lɪ, several times/by people**
a.	**[kā̄ŋ]**	**[kā̄ŋlī]**
	"fry once"	"fry several times"
b.	**[gō̄ˠō̄]**	**[gō̄ˠō̄lī]**
	"drag by one person"	"drag by many people"
c.	**[bā̄ˠā]**	**[bā̄ˠālī]**
	"tear"	"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:

	Basic	**Iterative -lɪ**
222) a.	**[dʒə̄ˠə̄]**	**[dʒə̄ˠəlī]**
	"talk"	"join"
b.	**[tʃō̄ˠō̄]**	**[tʃō̄ˠō̄lī]**
	"knock head"	"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:

	basic	*Iterative -lɪ*
223) a.	ø	[tʃūˠūlī]
	"ø"	"response / reply"
b.	ø	[tə̄ˠə̄lī]
	"ø"	"surprise"
c.	ø	[sə̄kə̄lī]
	"ø"	"abandon"
d.	ø	[kūlī]
	"ø"	"change side"
e.	ø	[tāˠālī]
	"ø"	"make a baby sit between legs"

The iterative is derived from the basic form with the suffixation of [-nɪ]:

	Basic, once	*Iterative, repetition -nɪ*
224) a.	[bāŋ]	[bāŋnī]
	"embrace"	"embrace"
b.	[jūŋ	[jūŋnī]
	"gather, join"	"gather, join"
c.	[tɛ̄ɲ]	[tɛ̄ɲnī]
	"cut"	"cut"
d.	[fə̄ˠə̄]	[fə̄ˠə̄nī]
	"measure"	"measure"
e.	[mɔ̄m]	[mɔ̄mnī]
	"taste"	"touch"

5.1.7 The suffix [-hɪ ~ -sɪ]

The suffix [-hɪ ~ -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 causative verbs. Some of these verbs are:

	Basic, by self	*Causative -hɪ, by someone else*

225) a. [dūŋ] [dūŋhī
  "sit" "put someone on seat"

  b. [dāŋ] [dāŋhī
  "cross" "help someone cross"

  c. [tsə̄] [tsə̄hī]
  "pass" "give way"

  d. tʃə̄ˠə̄ [ˮtʃə̄ˠəhī]
  "polish" "wipe, erase"

  e. [sǎ:] [sǎ̄hī]
  "feed self" "feed someone"

  f. [gbō] [gbōhī]
  "fail" "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 (CAUS)) form:

	Basic	*Causative -hɪ (CAUS)*

226) a. [wāˠā] [wāˠā-hī]
  "breathe" "misuse-CAUS"

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:

	Basic	**Causative -hɪ**
227) a.	[*kɔk]	[kɔ̄khī̄]
	"ø"	"worship, respect"
b.	[*gɔk]	"[gɔ̄khī̄]
	"ø"	"end"
c.	[*ta]	[tāhī̄]
	"ø"	"disturb"
d.	[būᵞū]	[būᵞūhī̄]
	"ø"	"pretend not to hear"

There are 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 examples below are the root and derived causative form:

	Basic	**Causative -hɪCausative adverbial -hɪ**	
228) a.	[jāᵞā]	[jāᵞāhī̄]	[jāᵞāhī̄]
	"climb alone"	"cause to climb"	"really climb by yourself, alone
b.	[mɔ̄m]	[mɔ̄mhī̄]	[mɔ̄mhī̄]
	"try"	"cause to try"	"really or actually try alone"
c.	[gɔ̀ᵞɔ́]	[gɔ̀ᵞɔ́hí]	[gɔ̀ᵞɔ́hí]
	"press pepper"	"press pepper for someone"	"really press pepper by yourself"

Below, not all the verbs can be expressed at the level of causative adverbial:

	Basic	Causative -hɪ	Causative adverbial -hɪ
229) a.	[nǔː]	[nùhí]	[*nùhí]
	"sleep"	"cause baby to sleep"	
b.	[gɛ̄n]	[gɛ̄nhī̄]	[*gɛ̄nhī̄]
	"scape"	"cause someone to escape	
c.	[mɛ̌]	[mɛ̀hí]	[*mɛ̀hí]
	"lick"	"feed someone with pap"	

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:

		Basic	**Causative -hɪ**
230)	a.	[fʷǎ]	[fʷàhí]
		"borrow, take"	"loan, give"
	b.	[lúá]	[lúàhí]
		"fear"	"fighten"
	c.	[f ʲə̄ˠə̄]	[f ʲə̄ˠəhī̄]
		"pregnant"	"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. 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:

231)	a.	L H	[jàˠá]	"go up by yourself"
	a1.	L L H	[jàˠàhí]	"help someone or something to get to the top"
	b.	L H	[bə̀ˠə́]	"carry by yourself, carry alone"
	b1.	L L H	[bə̀ˠəhí]	"help someone to put load on his head"
	c.	L H	[ʃə̀ˠə́]	"putting down load by yourself"
	c1.	L L H	[ʃə̀ˠəhí]	"help someone to put down his load"

5.1.8 The suffix -mɪ

The meaning of the [-mɪ] suffix expresses reflexiveness in action even though there might be some that do not tie semantically to the group. The suffix is a middle voice marker:

232)	a.	[nāmmī̄]	"self stretch"
	b.	[ɲɔ̄mmī̄]	"self wake up"
	c.	[nɔ̄mmī̄]	"self hide"
	d.	[kūmmī̄]	"self hold head indicating bad news"
	e.	[tʃūmmī̄]	"be thick, thicken self"

Above, the double [m] is seen as a geminate due to the duration of [m] articulation.

5.1.9 The suffix -fɪ

The [-fɪ] suffix can be imagined to express "give away or let go" something:

233) a.   [tə̄fɪ́]   "teach, giving out knowledge"
      b.   [ʃūfɪ́]   "beat bitterly, sending out energy and transferring pains"
      d.   [wāfɪ́]   "hang, release something from your hand to keep somewhere"
      c.   [ɣīfɪ́]   "yawn, relaxing and releasing air"
      e.   [jūŋfɪ́]   "mad, let go conscience"

5.1.10   The suffix -tɪ

Most of the [-tɪ] suffix words relate to the choice determined by the state of the mind:

234) a.   [tʃə̄ʸə̄tɪ̄]   "think"
      b.   [gāmtɪ̄]   "help"
      c.   [lɔ̄ptɪ̄]   "pet (child)"
      d.   [mōtɪ̄]   "rest"
      e.   [jə̄ŋtɪ̄] "remember"
      Though there are some exceptions that do not relate to the state of the mind:

      f.   **sə̄ptɪ̄**   "sharpen stick"

5.1.11   The suffix -wɪ

The suffix [-wɪ] has been found only in a single word, hunting, thus its semantics cannot

be determined with just one example:

235) a.   [bʲə̄ŋwɪ̄]   "hunt"

5.1.12   The suffix -ʃɪ

The suffix [-ʃɪ] 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:

236) a.   [wāʃɪ̄]   "half-heat"
      b.   [wāʃɪ̄]   "break-huge part of fufu

5.1.13   The suffix [-bɪ]

The [-bɪ] suffix is limited to words and the aspectual function is not known, maybe by looking at related language, it meaning can be discovered. Two verbs bear the [-bɪ] this suffix:

237) a.   [tābī]   "clot, coagulate"
      b.   [sābī]   "fix huckleberry (njamanjama)"

5.1.14   The suffix -so

The suffix [-so] is artificial or is a separate particle in the language because the progressive aspect markers come in between the root and the suffix. A single case is:

238) a.   [mɔ̄msɔ̀]   "westle"

Concluding, there are 9 verb suffixes of Mbuk: [-ji, -lɪ, -nɪ, -hɪ, -tɪ, -fɪ, -mɪ, -bɪ, and -wɪ], most of them with known functions. At the infinitive level, all the suffixes bear a high tone. The suffix marker of Mbuk is of the form [-ɪ] which takes the following sounds [j, 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, -ʃɪ, -bɪ, -fɪ] only attach to monosyllabic roots, while [-yi, -lɪ, nɪ, -tɪ, -hɪ] takes both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. Example of suffixes that take only monosyllabic roots:

		root	*suffix*	*stem*	*gloss*
239)	a.	[dʒâ-]	-fí	[dʒâfí]	"mismanage"
	b.	[nɔ̂m-]	-mí	[nɔ̂mmí]	"hide"
	c.	[ta-]	-bī	[tābī]	"clot"
	d.	[wâ-]	-ʃí	[wâʃí]	"half-heat"
	e.	[bʲə̄ŋ-]	-wí	[bʲə̄ŋwí]	"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:

		roots	*suffix*	*stems*	*gloss*
240)	a.	[kā-]	-ji	[kājī]	"select (fix vegetables)"
	b.	[bəə-]	-ji	[bəəjī]	"transport (corn)"
	a.	[tā]	-lɪ	[tālī]	"swim"
	b.	[wōō-]	-lɪ	[wōōlī]	"wait"
	a.	[dʒə̄ŋ-]	-hɪ	[dʒə̄ŋhī]	"swing"
	b.	[lāā-]	-hɪ	[lāāhī]	"announce"
	a.	[kī-]	-nɪ	[kīnī]	"shift"
	b.	[tōō]	-nɪ	[tōōnī]	"guide"
	a.	[lɔ̄p-]	-tɪ	[lɔ̄ptī]	"pet (child)"
	b.	[bāā-]	-tī	[bāātī]	"pack"

Example (a) above is monosyllabic while (b) is disyllabic of the suffix concerned.

5.1.15   Verb taxonomy

The classification of Mbuk verbs 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) deals with compound verbs. These categories are:

A – Absence of suffix;   1,   simple open syllable

2,   diphthongs

3,   labialisation

4,   palatalisation

5,   velarisation

6,   simple closed

B – Presence of suffix;   7,   suffix -ji   iterative

8,   suffix -lɪ   iterative

9,   suffix -nɪ   iterative

10,   suffix -hɪ   causative

11,   suffix -fɪ   give up / send away / release

12,   suffix -tɪ   state of mind

13,   suffix -mɪ   bound empty morpheme

14,   suffix -bɪ   bound empty morpheme

15,   suffix -ʃɪ   partial / part (incomplete)

16,   suffix -wɪ   bound empty morpheme

17,   suffix -sò   free empty morpheme

C – Compound verb;   18,   Verb + (Verb)(Noun)

Verbs can be further grouped according to the imperative tonal melody with the absence of a direct object. The tone patterns for the first 17 classes of single verbs are presented in Table 43. The case for compound verbs is complex and needs separate observation. The 17 single verb classes have approximately 9 tonal patterns. Table 50 presents these tonal patterns:

H	high	´		FH	falling high	ˆ ´
M	mid	`		FL	falling low	ˆ `
R	rising	ˇ		HMH	high mid high	˝ ´
HM	high mid	˝		LMH	low mid high	˵ ´
MH	mid high	-´				

Table 52: Tonal Patterns of Single Verb Classes (A and B)

Axes	group	Types	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 –ji	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 take 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

none. 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:

Group 1, simple open	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[fá]	"count"
	M	[gbō]	"fall"
	R	[bə̌ː]	"call"

Group 2, Diphthongisation	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[dʒúó]	"fight"
	M	[wūō]	"crack, burst"

Group 3, Labialisation	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[mʷá]	"beg"
	R	[ʃʷǎ]	"loosen"

Group 4, Palatalisation	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[bʲɛ́]	"done (cook)"
	R	[ɲjə̌ː]	"go / leave"

Group 5, Velarisation	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[kə́ˠə́]	"appoint"
	M	[kə̄ˠə̄]	"harvest (herbs)"
	R	[làˠá]	"announce"

Group 6, Simple close	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[táŋ]	"buy"
	M	[gə̄ŋ]	"lift up, yerk"
	R	[dŭŋ]	"sit"
	H M	[dáːŋ]	"protect farm with medicine"

Group 7, Suffix -ji	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[fə́ᵛéjí]	"fan"
	R	[bɔ̀jí]	"be weak"
	M H	[tɔ̄jí]	"abuse"
	F H	[dɛ̂jí]	"cry"

Group 8, Suffix -lɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[bə́ᵛə́lí]	"argue"
	R	[gʊ̀ᵛʊ̀lí]	"drag"
	M H	[ɲūmlí]	"smile"
	F H	[gâːlí]	"divide"
	H M H	[bə́ᵛə̄lí]	"miscarriage"
	L M H	[wò̀ᵛōlí]	"wait"

Group 9, Suffix -nɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[ʒʲə́ní]	"fill"
	R	[kìní]	"shift"
	M H	[lāní]	"advise"
	F H	[jôŋní]	"gather"
	F L	[tóᵛònì]	"guige"

Group 10, Suffix -hɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[káːhí]	"finish"
	M	[ʃə̄ᵛə̄hī]	"bring down something from up"
	R	[kɛ̀nhí]	"fix"
	M H	[fʲāŋhí]	"anoint"
	F H	[fʷâhí]	"loan"

Group 11, Suffix -fɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	M H	[sə̄fí]	"carry (cup)"
	F H	[lâfí]	"dress self"

Group 12, Suffix -tɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H	[kʷátí]	"get"
	M H	[bā̄ᵛātí]	"transfer"
	F H	[jə̂ŋtí]	"remember"

Group 13, Suffix -mɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	H H	[kúmmí]	"hold head (sign of bad news)"
	M H	[nɔ̄mmí]	"hide"
	F H	[ɲɔ̂mmí]	"wake up (sleep)"

Group 14, Suffix -bɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	M H	[tābí]	"clot"

Group 15, Suffix -ʃɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	R	[wàʃí]	"half-heat"

Group 16, Suffix -wɪ	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	M H	[bʲə̄ŋwí]	"hunt"

Group 17, Suffix -sò	Tone	Verb	Gloss
	F L	[mɔ̂msò]	"wrestle"

5.1.16   Mbuk verb extensions

Mbuk verb extensions refers to the ability of the root to take a derivational suffix -X; where X can either be: [ji, lɪ, nɪ, hɪ, mɪ, mo, ma, ti, fi, wi, so, ki], creating a word family for each of the root or lexeme that takes a combination of suffixes.

241)   Derivational suffixes that can go with the verb, to eat [ídzī]:

[dzí]   "eat"

[dzíní]   "eating several times", "food", "feast", also a verbal noun form (gerund)

[dzíjí]   "eating several times (a bit of food each time) / several people eating at once"

[dzímò]   "initiation eating"

[dzímā]   "inside the process of eating"

Table 53: Mbuk Verb Extensions

	Verbs	ji	lɪ	nɪ	hɪ	mɪ	Mo	ma	ti	fi	wɪ	so,ki	*gloss*
1	[íbɔ̄m]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	mi	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*accept*
2	[íjàtō̄ᵛ]	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*allow*
3	[íbɨ́ᵞə́]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*ask*
4	[íkə́/dúŋ]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*be*
5	[ítʷáɲ]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*beat*
6	[mbɔ̀m]	ø	ø	nɪ	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*be big*
7	[dʒí]	ø	li	nɪ	hi	ø	Ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*be black*
8	[íbʷə́n]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*break*
9	[ídzō]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*bring*
10	[ítáŋ]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*buy*
11	[íbɔ̆̃]	ji	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*call*
12	[ítóᵞòní]	ø	li	nɪ	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*care*
13	[ígə́ŋ]	ji	ø	nɪ	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*carry*
14	[íkʷāŋ]	ji	li	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*carve*
15	[íbī]	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*cease/stop*
16	[íkūlī]	ø	li	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*change*
17	[íkʷàᵞàtí]	ø	ø	nɪ	ø	ø	Ø	ø	ti	ø	ø	ø	*check/think*
18	[íkū]	ji	ø	nɪ	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ti	fi	ø	ø	*clap*
19	[íjàᵞá]	ji	li	Ni	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*climb*
20	[ífə̀ᵞə́]	ø	ø	Ø	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*cold*
21	[íbáᵞátí]	ø	ø	Ni	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ti	ø	ø	ki	*collect*
22	[ídʲə̆]	ji	ø	Ni	ø	ø	mo	ma	ø	ø	ø	ki	*cook*
23	[íkōŋō]	ji	ø	Ni	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*cough*
24	[íbáŋ]	ji	ø	Ni	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ki	*cover*
25	[íɲàŋlí]	ø	li	Ni	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	fi	ø	ø	*creep*
26	[ídâ]	ji	li	Ni	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ki	*cry*
27	[íʃǐ:]	ji	li	Ni	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*descend*
28	[ífə]	ji	li	Ni	ø	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*do*
29	[ítə̄ᵞə̄jí]	ji	li	Ni	hi	ø	Ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*drip*
30	[dzí]	ji	ø	Ni	hi	ø	mo	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*eat*
31	[ídɔ̂mhì]	ø	ø	Ø	hi	ø	Ø	ma	ø	ø	ø	ø	*dream*

In Mbuk just as in other languages, Mba and Njika (2003:193) *"Different extensions can occur with the same roots separately to yield different meanings."* For example, Ghɔmálá', Mba (1996/97: 100) (a); Duala, Nseme (2003:236) (b); Kom, Mba and Chiatoh (2003:109) (c):

242) a.   [nɔ́-jɔ̂]   →   [nɔ́-jɔ́tɔ̀]   →   [nɔ́-jɔ́njɔ̀]
       "voir"   "se voir à plusieurs reprises"   "sɔ́cher"

     b.   [anda]   →   [andisɛ]   →   [andisaɓɛ]

         "acheter"   "vendre"   "être vendu"

     c.   [sî bîŋtí]   →   [sî bîŋlɨ́]   →   [sî bîŋsɨ́]

         "to roll a bit"   "to roll"   "to cause to roll"

We have addressed the structural idea of Mbuk verbs in this subsection 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 up to 6 different suffixes for 6 different meanings that lead the verb into several grammatical categories (part of speech). We will be discussing the semantic interplay of verbs and its arguments under the heading valency behaviour.

5.1.17   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 are some examples in the table 52:

Table 54: TAM Verb Conjugation

Gloss	Infinitive (INF)	Gerund (VN)	Past (PST)	Ongoing (PROG)	Future (FUT)	Imperative $\pm$ OBJ
Verb	TAM 1	TAM 2	TAM 3	TAM 4	TAM 5	TAM 6
fold	[ílō:]	[nlò]	[lō]	[lô:kílə̀]	[lɔ́:lə̀]	[lō:]
bury	[ílə́]	[nlə̀]	[lə́]	[lə̂:kílə̀]	[lə̂:lə̀]	[lə́]
count	[ífā]	[mfà]	[fā]	[fâ:kílə̀]	[fâ:lə̀]	[fá]
ban	[ílō]	[nlò]	[lō]	[lô:kə́lə̀]	[lɔ́:lə̀]	[lō]
clap	[íkū]	[ŋkù]	[kū]	[kû:kílə̀]	[kúlə̀]	[kū:]

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 strickly 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.

5.2 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:

243) a.   [**gbâ   wə́   wí   kə́   mā   wî   gbō]**   "the barn which has fallen"
              5.barn 5.REL 5.SM COP   SP 5.SM fall

        b.   [***gbâ   wə́   wí   kə́   bə́   ø   gbō]** "the barn which has fallen"
              5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM COP CNJ 5c.SM fall

244) a.   [**gbâ   wə́   wí   kə́   bə́   tʃʷǎ]**   "the barn which is dirty"
              5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM COP CNJ dirty

        b.   [***gbâ   wə́   wí   kə́   mā   tʃʷǎ]**   "the barn which is dirty"
              5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM COP SP   dirty

        c.   [**gbâ   wə́   mā   wí   kə́   bə́   tʃʷǎ]**   "the barn that is dirty"
              5.barn 5c.REL SP 5c.SM COP CNJ   dirty

The verb fall [gbō] can only take the particle [ma] and not [bə́] while the verb dirty [tʃʷǎ]can as well only take the particle [bə́]. Any combination of [mā] and [tʃʷǎ] is ungrammatical and this applies to [bə́] 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 [wə́]. 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. Verbs 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.

5.2.1 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 scaler determination of how many arguments can combine with the predicate to characterise a clause as transitive or intransitive. According to 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 allows 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 table 53:

Table 55: Valency Table

	Valency	Argument	Subject	Verb	Object (N)			Transitivity
	VAL	ARG	S, N$_1$	V	DO , N$_2$	PREP	IO , N$_3$	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	PREP	IO	Intransitive
2c	Valency of two	Two arguments	subject	verb	Ø	PREP	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	PREP	IO	bi-/di- transitive

5.2.2 Valency of one

The verbs in Mbuk can have only one subject argument being controlled by a verb without any direct object,argument. The action verb "fall" [gbō] takes a past tense for a perfective aspect while the stative verb dry agrees with head noun with a zero tense marker.

245) a.   **[kpēn ní gbō]**   "Tree has fallen"
           3.tree P2 fall

     b.   **[kpēn í   wɔ́m]**   "tree has dried"
           3.tree 3.AM dry

5.2.3 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):

246) a.   **[kpēn í   gbǒ í   dzǔ: bēn]**   "The tree has fallen on the house"
           S   3.SM IT   PP   IO   PO
           3.tree 3.SM fall   PREP 9.house PO

b.   **[wì nî dzíː kìŋwàní]**   "He has eaten banana"

             S   TR   DO

             3S P2   eat   7.banana

5.2.4 Valency of Three

The verb that takes three arguments has 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.

247)   a.   **[bó ɲá mímbîː í ŋkúŋ]**

             S   DV   DO   PREP IO

             3P   give   6a.wine   to   1.chief

             "They have given wine to the chief."

       b.   **[ǹsɛ̄ːn wɔ̌ŋ dʲə̀ kìŋʷàní í Bìkə́m]**

             S   POSS   V   DO   PREP   PN

             3.friend my   cook 7.banana   for   Bikem

             "My friend has cooked banana for Bikəm"

5.2.5 Argument and grammatical relations

The term argument is synonymous to noun or pronoun or noun phrase thus in valency, instead of talking about nouns we talk about arguments. When a clause has a single noun, it means it has a single argument and when it has two nouns it means it has two arguments. The arguments can further be described in terms of their grammatical relations as a subject or object (direct and indirect).

5.2.6 Transitive Verb

A transitive (TR) verb takes a noun phrase direct object (e.g., in the sentence "Robin eats pretzels", eat is a transitive verb that takes the direct object pretzels) (Tserdanelis and Wong (eds), 2004:532). In this light, the verb which can hook up a subject and a direct object to itself is called a transitive or monotransitive verb while that which can anchor just a subject without

any object is called an intransitive (ITR) verb. The grammatical relations of the two nouns differ, one can be a subject while the other one an object, which can be direct (DO) or indirect (IO). Where IP is an indefinite particle.Some examples of transitivity in Mbuk are:

248) a. **[mí gbâː-kí ɨ̄ kpēn]**   "I am cutting a tree"
          S   TR-PROG IP   DO
          1s   cuttinga3.tree

5.2.7 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive (DV) verbs take 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:

249) a. **[bô ɲá mímbîː î ŋkúŋ]**   "They have given wine to the chief."
          S   DV DO   PREP IO
          3P give 6a.wine to 1.chief

      b. **[bô ɲá ŋkúŋ bə́ mìmbîː]**   "They have given wine to the chief."
          S   DV IO   CNJ 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.

5.2.8 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).

5.2.9 Transitivity Choice

Some verbs can deliberately be rendered both transitively and intransitively. 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:

250) a. **[wì nî   dzí]**   "he has eaten"
          S   TNS IT
          1s P3   eat.PF

      b. **[wì nî   dzíː   kìŋʷàní]**   "he has eaten banana"
          S TNS TR   DO
          1s P3   eat.PF 7.banana

251) a. **[bə̄ˠə̄ bîːn-ká̄ lə̀]**   "we are dancing"
          S   IT-PROG AF
          3PEXCL dance-IP AF

      b. **[bə̄ˠə̄ bín-kí   kìmfìlì]**   "we are dancing the Mbuk annual dance"
          S   TR-PROG DO
          1PEXCL   dance-IP 7.annual.dance

5.2.10   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):

252) a. **[bə̄ˠə̄ hî dzí í   kɵ́lí   mə̄]** "We ate in the compound"
           S   ITR PREP IO   PO
          1P.EXCL P2 eat   PREP 5.compound PO

      b. **[bə̄ˠə̄ nì dzǐ   kɵ́lí]**   "We inherited the compound" (Lit. ate compound)
          1P.EXCL P4 eat   5.compound

      c. **[bə̄ˠə̄ hî dzí híbī]**   "We ate at the compound"
          1P.EXCL P2 eat compound

Moreover, an intransitive can also become transitive by acquiring a causative suffix [-hɪ]. In (253a) the verb is intransitive while in (253b) it has become transitive. In (253a) the action is done by the agent itself and the agent is also the beneficiary. While in (253b) the agent is not the beneficiary but rather assist the benefactor to suck. An example is here below:

253) a.　[**wāɲ　mā**]　　　　　　　　"The child has sucked."
　　　　1.child suck.ITR.PF

　　b.　[**Kxə̄　māhí　　　wāɲ**]　　"Khe has suckled the child."
　　　　1.F.name suck.CAUS.TR.PF. 1.child

　　c.　[**wāɲ　má　　　mbên**]　　"The child has suck the breast(mild)"
　　　　1.child suck.TR.PF. 1.child

Thence the intransitive (253a) is now transitive in (253c) without the causative suffix, thus, the verb, to suck [ímā] is also one of the labile verbs.

5.2.11　Transitivity in colour terms

In Mbuk again, intransitive colour terms (254a) can be made transitive through the use of the causative suffix [-hɪ] (254b) thus, reversing intransitivity to transitivity:

254) a.　[**kpə́ŋə̀ dʒíː-ká-lə̀**]　　　"Pot is black"
　　　　5.pot　black.ITR-PROG-AF

　　b.　[**bó dʒī-hī　　　kpə̀ŋə̀**]　"They have blacken the pot"
　　　　3P black-CAUS.TR 5.pot

This implies that colour terms can as well be treated as labile verbs.

5.2.12　Valency Effects

The number of arguments can increase or reduce in certain verbal constructions. These arguments could bear the following semantic roles: recipient, beneficiary, instrument, location

expressed through incorporated prepositional phrases. These applicative constructions can be considered as prepositional phrases with the exception of the causative clause.

5.3.12.1 Valency Increasing Strategies (Applicatives)

This is a situation whereby certain verbs can add more arguments to increase the number of arguments 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.*

According to Crystal (2008:30) applicative is "a type of double-object constructionin some languages (roughly corresponding to the direct/indirect object constructionin English). An applicative affix on the verb encodes as objects arange of roles, such as benefactive and locative. The construction can beanalysed as a type of voice, in which the focus is on the types of object ratherthan on the relationship between subject and object."

In Mbuk, we will examine the following applicative constructions (semantic roles of arguments): causative, instrumental, benefactive, recipient, associative and locative applicative.

The applicatives are linked to a verb through a preposition or postposition or an adposition except the causative which hasa derived suffix through which the valency is increased without the us of an adposition.

5.3.12.1.1 Causative

The Mbuk basic verb root meaning "suck" [-ma-] yields an applicative verb stem meaning make "suck (suckle)" [ma-hɪ]. The added argument is the recipient "child" [wāɲ] in examle (b):

255) a.   **[m̂ má mbên]**   "I have sucked breast"
              1s suck breast

    b.   **[ḿ má-hí   wāɲ]**   "I have suckled the child"
              1s suckle-CAUS 1.child

5.3.12.1.2 Instrumental

The instrumental (INS) applicative is linked by a prepositional element, 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):

256) a.   **[ḿ kxə̄   fú]**   "I have shaved"
              1S shave head

    b.   **[ḿ kxə̄ fú   bə́   mû]**   "I have shaved with a razor blade"
              1S shave head with razor-blade

5.3.12.1.3 Benefactive

The benefactive applicative (BEN) 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):

257) a.   **[nsɛ̄n wə̆ŋ ná ɲʲə̄]**   "My friend has cooked fufu"
              friend my   cook fufu

    b.   **[nsɛ̄n wə̆ŋ nā   ɲʲə̄ í   bə̀ˠə́]**   "My friend has cooked fufu for us"
              friend my cook fufu for us

5.3.12.1.4 Locative

The locative applicative (LOC) points at the position, place or the location of something.

258) **bó nɔ́mì-kí   gʷû jí   bó í   gbâ mə̄**
3P hide-PROG body their 3P LOC(PREP) barn LOC(PO)
"They are hiding themselves in the barn"

5.3.12.1.5 Recipient

The recipient applicative (REC) is a semantic role that tells what undergoes the influence

exerted by the agent.

259) a.   **[wì nì ɲá kìmfín]**   "he gave cocoyam"
3S P4 give 7.cocoyam

b   **[wì nì ɲá: kí]**   "he gave it"
3S P4 give 7c

c.   **[wì nì ɲá kìmfín   í   wǐ:]**   "he gave cocoyam to him"
3S P4 give 7.cocoyam PREP him

d.   **[wì nì ɲá: kí í   wǐ:]**   "he gave it to him"
3S P4 give 7c PREP him

e.   **[wì nì ɲá: í   wǐ: kìmfín]**   "he gave to him a cocoyam"
3S P4 gave PREP him 7.cocoyam

5.3.12.1.6 Associative

The associative (AM) applicative adds an argument to the verb through the possessive

relations exhibited by the possessor and the possessed. In (a) the possessor is absent while in

the (b) the possessor of the possessed is added thus increasing the number of arguments from

two to three:

260) a.   **[ḿ dzí:-kí ɲʲə̄]**   "I am eating fufu."
1s eat-PROG 8.fufu
ARG1   ARG2

b. [ḿ dzíː-kí   ɲʲə́ bí   wǎɲ]   "I am eating the child's fufu"
   1s eat-PROG 8.fufu 8.AM 1.child
      ARG1   ARG2   ARG3

where argument ARG1 is 1s, argument ARG2 is fufu, the third argument ARG3 is the child.

5.3.12.2 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:

5.3.12.2.1 Middle voice (MV)

261) a.   [bə̀ˠə́ hí ʃʷájí kʷù]   "We have cut the rope"
          1PE P2 loosen rope

     b.   [bə̀ˠə́   hí   ʃʷājí tʃʲə̄]   "We have cut ourselves"
          1P.EXCL P2 loosen self.MV

262) a.   [bó lání-kə́-lə̀]   "They are learning"
          3P learn-PROG-AF

     b.   [bó lání-kí   tʃʲə̄-kə́-lə̀]   "They are learning for/by themselves"
          3P learn-PROG self-PROG-AF

     c.   ]bó nɔ̂ːm-kí tʃʲə̄-kə́ lə̀]   "They are working for/by themselves"
          3P work-PROG self-PROG AF

5.3.12.2.2 Passive voice (PV)

When passivisation takes place, the verb also gains a middle voice status in meaning.

263) a.   [bə̀ˠə́   hí ʃʷájí kʷù]   "We have loosen the rope"
          1P.EXCL P2 loosen rope

     b.   [kʷǔ ʃʷājī tʃʲə̄]   "The rope has loosened itself"
          rope loosen self

     c.   [kʷǔ ʃʷājī   tʃʲə̄ gʷù jí]   "The rope has loosened itself"
          rope loosen self body it

264) a. [**bó těn kʷù**]   "They have cut the rope"
        3P cut rope

    b. [**kwù ní tēn**]   "The rope has cut"
        rope P3 cut

5.3.12.2.3 Reflexive

Part of the reflexive (REFL) 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:

265) a. [**Bìkə́m kɔ̂ŋ-kə́-lə̀   Kxə̂**]   "Bikem loves Khe"
         PN   love-PROG-AF PN

    b. [**Bìkə́m kɔ̂ŋ-kə́-lə̀   gʷù jí**] "Bikem loves himself"
         PN   love-PROG-AF body his

When the reflexive involves more than one person, it generates a reciprocal interaction.

5.3.12.2.4 Reciprocal

Mutual beneficiaries from each other action participating in the event. The reciprocity (RECP) is expressed by the plural form of the term "bodies" [kígʷû].

266) a. [**bó dʒúò-kə́-lə̀**]   "They are fighting"
         3P fight-PROG-AF

    b. [**bó dʒúò-kí kí-gʷû**]   "They are fighting each other"
         3P fight-PROG PX-body

5.2.13   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.

5.2.13.1 **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 objects 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 below are ditransitive:

267) a. [**Bìkə́m dzō   kìŋwàní kī   wáɲ]**   "Bikem has taken the child's banana"
          S   DV   DO   AM   IO
          3S   take.PF 7.banana 7c.AM 1.child

   b. [**Bìkə́m dzō   bìŋwàní bī   wáɲ]**   "Bikem has taken the child's banana"
          S   DV   DO   AM   IO
          3S   take.PF 8.banana 8c.AM 1.child

5.2.13.2 **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 objects within an associative noun phrase are considered to be 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 is, considered as the direct object. In this case, both nouns are understood as direct objects, giving rise to a monotransitive situation:

268) a.   [**Bìkə́m dzō   kìŋwàní kī   wáɲ]**   "Bikem has taken the child's banana"
             S   DV   DO   AM   DO
             3S   take.PF 7.banana 7c.AM 1.child

   b.   [**Bìkə́m dzō   bìŋwàní bī   wáɲ]**   "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.

5.3 TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD

This section looks at some elements of the Mbuk verb phrase in relation to tense, aspect, and mood. The tense looks at 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 subsection 5.4.1 provides the morphology of tense markers and locate various timeframes. This also outlines time adverbials of Mbuk.

5.3.1 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 the manifestation of the event in question.

5.3.1.1 Tense Markers; Past and Future

Mbuk has grammatical elements for marking tense which are both segmental and suprasegmental. Figure 17 is an overview of the systematic placement of the tense makers of Mbuk on a timeline:

PAST (P)

	now	Imme diate	sooner	Later today	Tomo rrow	Next year
	ø	ø	kī	nă	bí	bí
	F0	**F1**	**F1.1**	**F2**	**F3**	**F4**

P4	**P3**	**P2**	**P1.1**	**P1**	**P0**
Nì	**nî**	**hî, hí**	**ø**	**Ø**	**Ø**
last year	yest'day	ear'today	early	Imme'te	now

FUTURE (F)

Markers	nì	nî	hî	ø	ø	ø	ø	kī	nă	bí	bí
Labels	P4	P3	P2	P1.1	P1	P0	F1	F1.1	F2	F3	F4
Adverbs	last year	yester day	morning today	earlier today	imme diate	ongoing	imme diate	sooner today	evening today	tomo rrow	next year

P/F   P "unspecified past"   F "unspecified future"

Figure 17: Mbuk Tense Crossbars

Labelling correspondence with the adverbials is being ensured by trying to give the past and future tenses the same labelling numbers:

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:

269) 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.

       Immediate past   P1   ø   [wì dzí]   "He ate."

270) Ongoing, now   P0   ø   [wì dzí:kí lə̀]   "He is eating."

271) Immediate future   F1   ø   [wì dzí:kì lə̀]   "He will eat."

       Sooner today   F1.1   kī   [wì kī dzí: lə̀]   "He will eat."

       Evening   F2   nǎ   [wì nǎ: dzí: lə̀]   "He will eat."

       Tomorrow   F3   bí   [wì bí dzí: lə̀]   "He will eat."

       Next year   F4   bí   [wì bí dzí: lə̀]   "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 spaces; the earlier 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:

272) 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 (PROG) marker which is the lengthening of the root vowel of the verb coupled with the general imperfective aspect (IPFV) marker [lə̀] 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:

273) a.P1 [**wì dzí**]   "He has eaten"   c.F1 [**wì dzí:kì   lè**] "He will eat"
          3S eat.   3S eat.PROG AF

      b.P0 [**wì dzí:kí lè**]   "He is eating"
          3S eat.PROG AF

Moving on to the future tense,

274) Immediate future F1   [ø]   [wì dzí:kìlè.]   "He will eat."
      Sooner today   F1.1 [kī]   [wì kì dzí:kìlè.] "He will eat."
      Evening   F2   [nǎ:]   [wì nǎ: 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 labelled F2, F3, F4 are void of the immediate future F1, F1.1 participle [kì] but all five future expressions carry 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 labelled 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 nǎ: 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.

5.3.1.2 **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:

275) a.　P1/P1.1　　[wì dzí]　　　　　"He ate"

　　 b.　P2　　　　[wì hî dzí]　　　 "He ate"

　　 c.　P　　　　　[wí dzí]　　　　 "He ate" Unspecified past time

The unspecified does not say when it happens. 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 whether it is later today, tomorrow or next year. These markers are in the following examples:

276) a.　F1　　[wì dzí:kìlə̀]　　　"He will eat" immediately

　　 b.　F1.1　[wì hī dzí:lə̀]　　　"He will eat" later today

　　 c.　F　　　[wì dzí:lə̀]　　　　"He will eat" Any time in future

Other particles that express 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:

277) a.　F　　[**wì nà dzí:lə̀**]

　　　　　　　He F eat.PROG AF

　　　　　　　"He will eat (later today)"

　　 b.　F　　[**wì nī dzī**]

　　　　　　　He F eat

　　　　　　　"He will eat (later today)"

The (a) has an imperfective aspect marker lə̀ and the lengthening of the verb root for progressive aspect. While (b) lacks both imperfective markers: the durative and the lə̀. 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.

5.3.1.3 Temporal Adverbials

These are lexical elements that talks about tense by stating when an event occurred or will occur. Mbuk temporal (time) adverbials include:

278)   [íjúó ~ íʒúó]   "now"

            [íjúójúó]   "immediately, very soon"

            [kə́sə́ˠə́]   "soon"

            [mgbʊ̀]   "yesterday"

            [dân]   "today"

            [dzǎítsɛ́nní]   "last year"

            [kə̀ntúŋʊ̀túŋʊ]   "morning"

            [nʃí]   "afternoon"

            [wə́dʒʷábí]   "evening"

            [kə̀dʒʲélí]   "tomorrow"

            [dzǎjáˠá]   "next year"

Distributively, the time adverbial 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.

279) a.   **[bə̀ˠə̀   bí dzí: là]**
            we.EXCL F3 eat.IPFV AF
            "We will eat (tomorrow/next year)"

    b.   **[bə̀ɣə̀ bí dzí: kə̀dʒʲēlí]**
            we.EXCL F3 eat.IPFV tomorrow
            "We will eat tomorrow"

In (a) the sentence is ambiguous in future reference, it can mean tomorrow or next year. This clause expresses both progressive (PROG) 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 [là] has been substituted with the adverbial "tomorrow".

5.3.1.4 **Tense And Subject**

Segmentally no observable change occurs with the subject, object or tense markers. But tonally, all three undergo changes at different occasions. This presented in table 54:

Table 56: Past And Future Tenses

Subject; 1S I, in PastTenses			Subject; 1S I, in Future Tenses		
P0	[ḿ dzí:kí lə̀]	"I am eating"			
P1	[m̂ dzí]	"I ate"	F1	[ḿ dzí:kì lə̀]	"I will eat"
P1.1	[ḿ dzí]	"I ate"	F1.1	[ḿ kī dzí:kì lə̀]	"I will eat"
P2	[ḿ hî dzí]	"I ate"	F2	[m̄ nǎ: dzí: lə̀]	"I will eat"
P3	[m̀ nî dzí]	"I ate"	F3	[m̄ bí dzí: lə̀]	"I will eat"
P4	[m̀ nì dzí]	"I ate"	F4	[m̄ bí dzí: lə̀]	"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 the subject while the tense remains fixed with no tonal change.

Looking at the subject you "2S" in both past and future. We observe that there is a change in the subject of P1 from low to rising tone in table 55:

Table 57: Second Person Singular 2S In Past And Future Tenses

Subject; 2S you, in Past Tenses			Subject; 2S you, in Future Tenses		
P0	[wò dzí:kí lə̀]	"You are eating"			
P1	[wǒ dzí]	"You ate"	F1	[wò dzí:kì lə̀]	"You will eat"
P1.1	[wò dzí]	"You ate"	F1.1	[wò kī dzí:kì lə̀]	"You will eat"
P2	[wò hî dzí]	"You ate"	F2	[wò nǎ: dzí: lə̀]	"You will eat"
P3	[wò nî dzí]	"You ate"	F3	[wò bí dzí: lə̀]	"You will eat"
P4	[wò nì dzí]	"You ate"	F4	[wò bí dzí: lə̀]	"You will eat"

Examining, he "3S" in both past and future, the tabling reveals that the subject "he" [wì] remains unchanged while the tone of the tense of F1.1 and F2 changes. The F2 is not fixed:

Table 58: Third Person Singular 3S in Past And Future Tenses

Subject; 3S he, in Past Tenses			Subject; 3S he, in Future Tenses		
P0	[wì dzí:kí lə̀]	"He is eating"			
P1	[wì dzí]	"He ate"	F1	[wì dzí:kì lə̀]	"He will eat"
P1.1	[wì dzí]	"He ate"	F1.1	[wì kì dzí:kì lə̀]	"He will eat"
P2	[wì hî dzí]	"He ate"	F2	[wì nà ~ nǎ: dzí: lə̀]	"He will eat"
P3	[wì nî dzí]	"He ate"	F3	[wì bí dzí: lə̀]	"He will eat"
P4	[wì nì dzí]	"He ate"	F4	[wì bí dzí: lə̀]	"He will eat"

The table below presents the subject of inclusive "we" 1P.INCL [bə̀ᵞə̂n] 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" [bə̀ᵞə̂n] while both the past tense markers and subject remain unaffected.

Table 59: First Person Plural Inclusive, 1P.INCL In Past and Future Tenses

Subject; 1P.INCL we, in Past Tenses			Subject; 1P.INCL we, in Future Tenses		
P0	[bə̀ᵞə̂n dzí:kí lə̀]	"We are eating"			
P1	[bə̀ᵞə̂n dzí]	"We ate"	F1	[bə̀ᵞə̂n dzí:kìlə̀]	"We will eat"
P1.1	[bə̀ᵞə̂n dzí]	"We ate"	F1.1	[bə̀ᵞə̂n kì dzí:kìlə̀]	"We will eat"
P2	[bə̀ᵞə̂n hî dzí]	"We ate"	F2	[bə̀ᵞə̂n nà dzí:lə̀]	"We will eat"
P3	[bə̀ᵞə̂n nî dzí]	"We ate"	F3	[bə̀ᵞə̂n bí dzí:lə̀]	"We will eat"
P4	[bə̀ᵞə̂n nì dzí]	"We ate"	F4	[bə̀ᵞə̂n bí dzí:lə̀]	"We will eat"

We now examine the subject of exclusive we 1p [bə́ᵞə́] 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 mid to low and from rising to low respectively:

Table 60: First Person Plural Exclusive, 1P.EXCL in Past and Future tenses

Subject; 1P.EXCL we, in Past Tense			Subject; 1P.EXCL we, in Future Tense		
P0	[bə̄ᵞə̄ dzí:kí lə̀]	"We are eating"			
P1	[bə̀ᵞə́ dzí]	"We ate"	F1	[bə̀ᵞə̀ dzí:kì lə̀]	"We will eat"
P1.1	[bə̀ᵞə̀ dzí]	"We ate"	F1.1	[bə̀ᵞə̀ kì dzí:kì lə̀]	"We will eat"
P2	[bə̀ᵞə̀ hî dzí]	"We ate"	F2	[bə̀ᵞə̀ nà dzí: lə̀]	"We will eat"
P3	[bə̀ᵞə̀ nî dzí]	"We ate"	F3	[bə̀ᵞə̀ bí dzí: lə̀]	"We will eat"
P4	[bə̀ᵞə̀ nì dzí]	"We ate"	F4	[bə̀ᵞə̀ bí dzí: lə̀]	"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 tone respectively:

Table 61: Second Person Plural 2P in Past and Future Tenses

Subject; 2P you, in Past Tense			Subject; 2P you, in Future Tense		
P0	[bēn dzí:kí lə̀]	"You are eating"			
P1	[běn dzí]	"You ate"	F1	[bēn dzí:kì lə̀]	"You will eat"
P1.1	[bēn dzí]	"You ate"	F1.1	[bēn kì dzí:kì lə̀]	"You will eat"
P2	[bēn hî dzí]	"You ate"	F2	[bēn nà dzí: lə̀]	"You will eat"
P3	[bēn nî dzí]	"You ate"	F3	[bēn bí dzí: lə̀]	"You will eat"
P4	[bèn nì dzí]	"You ate"	F4	[bēn bí dzí: lə̀]	"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 62: Third-Person Plural 3P in Past and Future Tenses

Subject; 3P they, in Past Tense			Subject; 3P they, in Future Tense		
P0	[bó dzí:kí lə̀]	"They are eating"			
P1	[bô dzí]	"They ate"	F1	[bó dzí:kì lə̀]	"They will eat"
P1.1	[bó dzí]	"They ate"	F1.1	[bó kì dzí:kì lə̀]	"They will eat"
P2	[bó hî dzí]	"They ate"	F2	[bó nà dzí: lə̀]	"They will eat"
P3	[bó nî dzí]	"They ate"	F3	[bó bí dzí: lə̀]	"They will eat"
P4	[bó nì dzí]	"They ate"	F4	[bó bí dzí: lə̀]	"They will eat"

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:

280) 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 the manifestation of the event in question.

5.3.2 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.

5.3.2.1 Aspect Markers

Mbuk expresses various semantics of aspect making use of several linguistic forms as presented in the table below:

Table 63: Aspect Markers

Aspect Types			
Main Types	**Subtypes**	**Aspect Markers**	**Description**
Perfective	simple perfective	ø	complete
	pluperfect	lô	complete
Perfect			
Imperfective	imperfective	-là	not yet over or complete
	Progressive	-kɪ	progressive
	Continuity	-nɪ	continuous
	Locative	ma	In action
	habitual	ʃǐ	always
	habitual	lánhí	always
	iterative	-ji	repetitive
Others	repetition	túˠú	again
	punctual	Lexical verb	instantaneous
	inceptive	jə̀ˠə́	start
	completive	kā:hí	finish

5.3.2.2 **Perfective aspect**

The perfective (PFV) 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 a 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:

281) a. **[wì ø dzí]** "He has eaten"
           3S P1 eat

5.3.2.2**Pluperfect aspect**

The pluperfect is a deeper expression for the completion of an event with some sort of emphasis. This is made possible with the pluperfect particle [lô]labelled as PFV (perfective) 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:

282) a. **[wì ø dzí: lô]**   "He has eaten"
           3S P1 eat PFV

      b. **[wì hí dzí: lô]**   "He has eaten"
           3S P2 eat PFV

      c. **[wì nî dzí: lô]**   "He has eaten"
           3S P3 eat PFV

      d. **[wì nì dzí: lô]**   "He has eaten"
           3S P4 eat PFV

All the 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 absence at the presence of the time adverbial. The pluperfect particle [lô] contrasts in the same position with the imperfective particle [là] which, of course, is also optional:

283) a.   **[wì hî dzí: lô]**   "He has already eaten"
          3S P2 eat.PFV PFV/ADV

      b.   **[wì nǎ dzí: -lə̀]**   **"He will eat"**
          3S F2 eat.IP   AF

This particle can be equivalent to the English adverb meaning already [lô] which is more lexical as an adverb than a suffix. The imperfective particle is more analytic in form than the pluperfect. The [lə̀] has meaning only when linked to a verb (c):

      c.   **[wì nì dzí lô]**   "He had already eaten"
          3S P4 eat already

5.3.2.3 Inchoative

Inchoative (IH) aspect indicates the beginning of the action of a verb. According toComrie (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]:

284) *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00412.txt*

      01 FSW-1   **[wò sì tʃʲə̄, wò sì tʃʲə̄-kí á   kí kó dʒòˠòwá,**
                  2S PFV V   2S PFV V-PROG CM 7c COP   N
                  you PFV know you PF know   that it is   Joghowa,

                  wó ká bə̄ bín-kí fã́   ndʒʷò ɲʲə̄.]
                  2S IHPREP V-PROG ADV CNJ   QW
                  you start to dance   here because what
                  "You knew that it was in Joghowa, why did you begin to dance it here?"

5.3.2.4 Imperfective aspect

Imperfective (IPFV) expresses an ongoing event or a recurrent event or an event yet to happen. A series of imperfective actions include: action to be begun and to be completed, progressive, habitual, continuous, and iterative.

5.3.2.5 After Verb Progressive

The progressive imperfective aspect (PROG) indicates that the action is ongoing. The phonological form is CV [kɨ́] 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)

285) a. **[wɨ́ nɔ̄m kxə̄ wɨ̄]** "He has worked his farm"
3S work farm his

b. **[wɨ̀ nɔ̂m-kɨ́ kxə̄]** "He is working farm."
3S work-APG farm

c. **[wɨ̀ nɔ̂m-kɨ́ là kxə̄]** "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.

5.3.2.6 Before Verb Progressive

There is another progressive marker in Mbuk that occurs before verbs. It roughly gives the meaning that, *"on the way or on the process of being realised (it is)"*. The form is CV [wə̂] with a falling tone. The before verb progressive (BPG) examples below:

286) a.   **[m̀ wə̂-dzə̄]**   "I am coming"
          1s PROG-come

    b.   **[ḿ dzə̂-kí lə̀]** "I am coming"
          1s come-PROG AF

    c.   **[wì wə̂-dzə̄]**   "he is coming"
          he BPG-come

The particle [wə̂] contrasts with the definite marker that [kə̂]:

287) a.   **[kìkpə̀ wə̂-dzə̄ tʊ́ˠʊ́]**   "(the) lizard is coming again"
          lizard   BPG-come again

    b.   **[kìkpə̀ kə̂   dzə̄ tʊ́ˠʊ́]**   "that lizard has come again"
          7.lizard 7.that come again

Both wə̂ and kí are syntactically mutually exclusive.

5.3.2.7 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 [nɪ] suffixed on the repeated verb. The particle [hâ] is lexically glossed "go" which has been grammaticalised from the verb, go [hə́]. 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:

288) a.   **[wò dʲə̄ hâ dʲə̂-ní]**   "Keep on cooking."
          2S   cook CT cook-NA
          (Lit. You should go on with your cooking)

    b.   **[wò nûː hâ nûː-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 prefixed nominalised and the tone of the verb changes from mid to low as shown in the subsequent example:

289) a **[Wò tsə̄ hâ bə́ n-dʲə̀]** "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.

5.3.2.8 Process aspect

The process aspect (NA-Verb(Gerund)-POSTP) marker uses a postposition(POSTP) 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).

290) a. **[M̀ kə̄ n-dyə̀   má].** "I am in (the process of) cooking"
1S be NA-cook POSTP.LC

b. **[M̀ dʲə̀ː-k�í-lə̀]** "I am cooking"
1S cook-PROG-AF

5.3.2.9 Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect (HAB) asserts that something takes place regularly. It must 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 [ʃ̌ ... à] is a discontinuous, and another habitual marker [lánhí] both precede the verb while [lə̀] 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 [là]

The habitual [ʃǐ] has a discontinuous vowel [a] which occurs after verb stems. The habitual follows both the past (b) and future (c) tense markers:

291) a. **[ʊ̀ ʃǐ tʃə́mí-à lə̄]** "He is always sneezing"
         3S HAB sneeze-HAB AF

    b. **[ʊ̀ nī ʃǐ tʃə́mí-à lə̄]** "He is always sneezing"
         3S P3 HAB sneeze-HAB AF

    c. **[ʊ̀ bí ʃǐ tʃə́mí-à lə̄]** "He is always sneezing"
         3S F3 HAB sneeze-HAB AF

Moreover, another habitual particle is [lánhí] which behaves a bit differently from the others:

292) a. **[ḿ lánhí nɔ̀m là]** "I am always working."
         1S HAB work AF

    b. **[ḿ lánhí nɔ́m má nɔ̀m-ní]** "I am always in work working."
         1S HAB work LC work-NA

    c. * **[ḿ lánhí nɔ́m là má nɔ̀m-ní.]** "I am always working."
         1S HAB work AF LC work-NA

Example (c) does not take the là particle. In this case the verb has to be repeated as in (b) in order to keep away the [là]. The particle [là] has been regarded as a habitual in the absence of other habitual markers like: [ʃǐ] and [lánhí].

293) a. **[ḿ tʃʲə̄ lə̄]** "I always know."
         1s know HAB

    b. **[ḿ tʃʲə́-kí là]** "I know."
         1s know-PROG AF

    c. **[ḿ tʃʲə́-kí kə̄]** "I do not know."
         1s know-PROG NG

The presence of [lə̀] and the absence of [lə̀] have been contrasted to express the idea of habitual and non-habitual. The [lə̀] gives emphasis in (b):

294) a.   **[wì dzí:-kí   ɲə̄]**   "he is eating fufu."
                 3S eat-PROG fufu

      b.   **[wì dzí:-kí   lə̀   ɲə̄]**   "He does eat fufu."
                 3S   eat-PROG AF eat

      c.   **[wì dzí: lə̀   ɲə̄]**   "He always eats fufu."
                 3S eat HAB fufu

In (a) the [lə̀] is absent and the clause expresses a progressive aspect with the presence [kí] and the vowel lengthening of the root vowel. In (b) the [lə̀] together with [kí] is like a focus marker emphasising that he ate fufu. So, [lə̀] in certain expressions can be regarded as a focus marker "Averment Mood", which sometimes 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 progressive and the averment mood [lə̀]. 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 [lə] can render the expression as past habitual as is the case with (c):

295) a.   **[wì dzí:-kí lə̀]**   "He is eating"
                 3S eat-PROG AF

      b.   **[wì nà dzí:-kí lə̀]**   "He will be eating" (as long as he lives.)
                 3S F eat-PROG AF

      c.   **[mí ní dzə́ɣə́-kí lə̀]**   "I was always talking"
                 1s P4 talk-PROG-AF

5.3.2.10   **Iterative aspect**

Expressing an event taking place in succession over time. The iterative aspect is a repetitive event (RP) denoted by derivational suffixes; [-yi, lɪ, -nɪ] being attached to some verbs:

296) a.   [ŋʷá]   "pinch once"
      b.   [ŋʷájí]   "pinch several times"
      a1.   [kú]   "change once"
      b2.   [kúlí]   "change several times"
      aa.   [báŋ]   "cover once"
      bb.   [báŋní]   "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, what is still of confusing is that speakers or the language is inconsistent 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. The [kɪ] has a focus colouring in certain expressions which makes it an avalanche of focus plus aspect that we need not bother to separate these two for there is no enough resources; time and pages to do this.

The [là] has multiple functions: It is aspectual, it behaves like a mood and it also behaves

5.3.3 Mood

Mood expresses the manner and the intonation with which the speaker addresses is audience. Several strategies are being employed to read the speaker's mind through his style, way or choice of words. Mood is often mixed up with modaliy as (Dixon 2009:96) points out,

"It is important to carefully distinguish mood from modality. Mood—aproperty of the sentence—deals with speech acts of the three recurrent typesdeclarative, imperative, and interrogative. Modality—which relates to a clauseand its predicate—describes semantic distinctions within an irrealis specification.The modal auxiliary verbs in English are typical markers of modality,including must (necessity), should and ought to (obligation), will (prediction),and can (ability)."

In this wise, the deontic mood in Mbuk has a facet of modality (necessity and obligation) woven into it.

5.3.3.1 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.

5.3.3.2 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 [là] 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 (NEG):

297) a.   **[mī nɔ̂m-kí   là]**   "I am working."
              1S work-PROG AF

      b.   **[mī nɔ̂m-kí   kə̄]**   "I am not working."
              1S work-PROG NEG

The averment mood can be followed by a time adverbial:

    c.   [wì tʃú   dzí: lə̀ íjúó]   "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.   [m̀ bí nɔ̂m lə̀ kədʒʲélí]   "I will work tomorrow."
          1s F3 work AF tomorrow

    e.   [m̀ bí nɔ̂m kə̄ kədʒʲélí]   "I will not work tomorrow."
          1s F3 work NEG 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.   [m̀ kɑ̌:-kí-lə̀   ɲʲə́]   "I have fufu."
          1s have-PROG-AF fufu

    g.   [m̀ kɑ̌:-kí   kə̄ ɲʲə̄]   "I do not have fufu."
          1s have-PROG NEG fufu

5.3.3.3 Evidential mood

The degree to which you are certain about something. The evidential mood (EV):

298) a.   [jí kə́ kó dzàŋ dzə̂-kə́-lə̀]   "it seems rain is coming."
          It is as rain come-PROG-AF

    b.   [ǹtʃúòntʃúó dzǎŋ báŋ bó]   "truly truly rain blocked them."
          truly.truly   rain cover 3S

5.3.3.4 Inferential Mood

An assumption or a probability basing on certain facts about something to happen. The

inference mood (IN) is a guess about something:

299) a.   **[jùdòˠó bó ɲʲš íjúó]**   "maybe they have gone by now"
          maybe   3P   go   now

    b.   **[dʒʷàbí údòˠó bó dzǐ]**   "sometime they have eaten"
          time   some   3P   eat

5.3.3.5 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 is left out but through the negation of both the conditional and the non-conditional clause the idea of conditional mood (CD) is expressed:

300) a.   **[wò ká bə̄   ká: ŋgā,   wò lǎ: kxə̄.]**
          2S   CD   with have power 2S   go   farm
          "if you have power, you should go to farm."

    b.   **[wò nâ ɲá mí bə̄   gá:lī, ḿ bí nà: tsə̄ dzǔ   í   kə̀mwàktì]**
           2S   NG give me with pen,   1S F3 NEG go   house AM book
          "if you do not give me a pen, I will not go to school."

5.3.3.6 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]:

301) a.   **[ḿ ká̃:   kí   dzí]**   "I must eat"
          1s have DN eat

5.3.3.7 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 go 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" [bə̄] is not the usual subject for "we" [bə́ˠə́] or [bə̀ˠə̄n]. 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 takes a past tense and perfective aspect while the verb is in the progressive aspect in what can consider as present tense:

302)   a.   **[bə̄ bǎm á ḿ dzɨ́]**   "let us agree that I have eaten"
             1p agree that 1s eat

       b.   **[bə̄ dzó á   ḿ dzɨ́]**   "let us consider that I have eaten"
             1p take   that 1s eat

       c.   **[dzō á ḿ kɑ́   kɨ́   lə̀ kɨ̀lɛ́rɨ́]**   "assume that I am having a calabash"
             take that 1s have PROG AF calabash

5.3.3.8 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 a variant 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 markings 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 [kɪ] 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:

303) a. **[hí kó á ḿ kɑ́: kɪ́ mbɛ̀ŋ, má ḿ wúó dzǒ]**
        P2 is that 1S have PROG 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 ndɔ́mhì nǔ: wì, mà wì nì jén jì]**
        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 kɑ́ kɪ́ kímbɑ̃, má dzàŋ tʃâ kʷā mī]**
        P2 is that 1S have PROG umbrella, OP rain NEG 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."

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:

304) a. **[Wì dzí: lô]**   "He has eaten"
        3S eat FM

5.3.3.9 **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 show simple expression with no verbal inflection and they simply state or declare the meaning:

305) a.   **[ŋkúŋ kó dzó]**   "chief is at home"
               chief   be   home

      b.   **[ŋkúŋ kó dzǒ:]**   "chief is a house"
               chief   be   house

The vowel length, level and contour tone differentiates home from house.

5.3.3.10   **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 a declarative, the verb "go" [tsɔ́] ~ [hé] takes a shwa but when in the imperative (IMP) 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 excerpt below exemplifies the imperative:

306)   *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00406*

FSW-1   **[mì   mǎ   dǒ̌   gʷú wí wâɲní,   mì   mǎ   nɔ́ŋ dzáɣá   í**
IM   person do.not smash foot of   his.brother/sister, person do.not find problem to

            wâɲní,   bēn dóŋkí {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."

5.4   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.

Negation (NEG) 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.

5.4.1 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 [tʃâː] is followed by the verb then the noun. The prepositions are seldom heard. But postpositions are common:

307) a. **[m̀ nî tʃâː tsə̄ í ʃī bɛ́n]**   "I did not go to the market."
     1s P3 NEG go   to market in

b. **[wì nì tʃâː tsə̄ ʃī]**   "he did not go to the market."
     3S P4 NEG go market

The second type of negation is the constituent negation which negates only a constituent within the clause. The [kə̄] negates the object food [dzɛ̄n] (a). While in (b) the verb is negated:

308) a. **[wì ká̋ kí kə̄ dzɛ̄n]** "He has no food."
     3S have PROG NEG food

b. **[wì nà dzí: kə̄]**   "He will eat later."
     3S later eat NEG

5.4.2 Mbuk Negators

The Mbuk language is endowed with a handful of negators with assorted forms:

309) a. [tʃâː]   "is not"   verb-like negator
     b. [kə̄]   "not"   non-verb-like negator
     c. [kə̄ ... kə̄]   "not"   double non-verb-like negator
     c. [mà]   "do not"   imperative negator
     d. [tʃâ də̀ˠə́]   "not"   emphatic negator
     e. [tʃâ ... də̀ˠə́]   "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 ŋkớŋ]**   "my father is a chief"
              my.father   is chief

bb.   -ve   **[bâ: tʃâ: ŋkớŋ]**   "my father is not a chief"
              my.father NEG chief

These negators interplay with tense, aspect, mood and focus to negate affirmative statements. The scope of negation studies in this work includes; negation and aspect, negation and tense, negation and dominance, negation and contrast, negation and imperative, emphatic negator, lexical negation and we conclude with negation and refusal as expressed in the subsequent pages.

5.4.2.1 **5.5.2.1 Negation and aspect**

In Mbuk there is a distinction in negator of perfective aspect and that of the imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect negator [tʃâ:] with the CV form and a falling tone and sometimes the vowel is often lengthened deals with actions that have been acted and ended. This negator is sandwiched between the past tense followed by the verb phrasepreceded by tense. Examplesof both positive +ve (a) and negative -ve (b) statement, (c) is without a temporal adverb:

310) a.   +ve   **[mí nî dzí: mgbò**   "I did eat yesterday"
                  1s P3 eat yesterday

      b.   -ve   **[mí nî tʃâ: dzí: mgbò]**   "I did not eat yesterday"
                  1s P3 NEG eat yesterday

      c.   -ve   **[mí nî tʃâ: dzí]**   "I did not eat"
                  1s P3 NEG eat

As for the imperfective aspect, it is of the form CV [kə̄] with a mid tone and it always comes after a verb as illustrated by the following sentences:

311) a. +ve **[ḿ bí dzí: lə̀ kə̀dʒʲə̀lí]** "I will eat tomorrow"
1s F3 eat AF tomorrow

b. -ve **[ḿ bí dzí: kə̄ kə̀dʒʲə̀lí]** "I will not eat tomorrow"
1s F3 eat NEG tomorrow

It will end a sentence or clause in the absence of an object:

c. -ve **ḿ bí dzí: kə̄** "I will not eat"
1s F3 eat NEG

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:

312) a. perfective: **[mì hí tʃâ: dzí]** "I did not eat"
1s P2 NEG eat

b. progressive: **[m̄ dzí:-kí kə̄]** "I am not eating"
1s eat-PROG NEG

c. imperfective: **[m̀ nà dzí: kə̄]** "I will not eat"
1s F   eat NEG

d. **[*ḿ dzí: kə̄]** "I will not eat" (ungrammatical)

5.5.2.2 Negation and Tense

It is dawn that the past tense uses [tʃâ] unless in the case of the past imperfective situation where the negator of a future tense [kə̄] can intervene and displace that of the past tense: The past tense use of the negator [tʃâː] and [tʃâ də̀ᵞɔ́] is exemplified. The negator is preceded by the past tense marker while the negator is followed by a verb:

313)   a.   **[wì hî tʃâ: tsə̄ ʃī   bēn]**
3S P2 NEG go market in
"he did not go to the market"

   b.   **[wì nî tʃâ: tsə̄ ʃī   bēn]**
3S   P3 NEG go market in
"he did not go to the market"

The future tense, uses the [kə̄] negator (314a) as well as an imperative negator [mà]:

314)   a.   **[wì bí tsə̄ kə̄   ʃī]**   "he will not go to the market (tomorrow)."
3S F3 go NEG market

315) The negetor [kə̀ ... kə̀] is doubled to strengthen the refusal with a tonal change:

tʷá̰	wī	wə̄	ɲá	lʲə́	dzúá		kə̀	tʷá̰	kə̂	wə̀	ɲá:	sə́	bí	ɛ̄
tʷáɲ	wì	wə̀	ɲá	lyə́	dzú	á	kə̀	tʷáɲ	kə̄	wə̀	ɲá	tsə́	bí	ɛ̄
N	3SO	2S	V	V	N		IJT	NEG	V		NEG	2S	V	V	N	IJT
beat	him	you	give	go.in	house		don't	beat	not	you	give	go	outside

Beat a child and send him into the house, do not send him away.

| tʷá̰ | wī | wə̄ | ɲá | lʲə́ | dzúá | | kə̀ | tʷá̰ | kə̂ | wə̀ | ɲá: | sə́ | bí | ɛ̄ |

The tense and negations categories are presented in figure (18):

Tense and Negation

PAST   **FUTURE**

Past progressive negator	Past tense Negator	Past tense negator	Future negator	Future negator	Future progressive negator
kə	**tʃâː**	**tʃâ də̀ˠə́**	**kə**	**mà**	**kə**

	- negates clause	- negates verb	- negates verb	-negates verb	
	- before verb	- negates noun	- negates noun	-before verb	
	- after tense		- after verb		
			- weak command	-strong command	
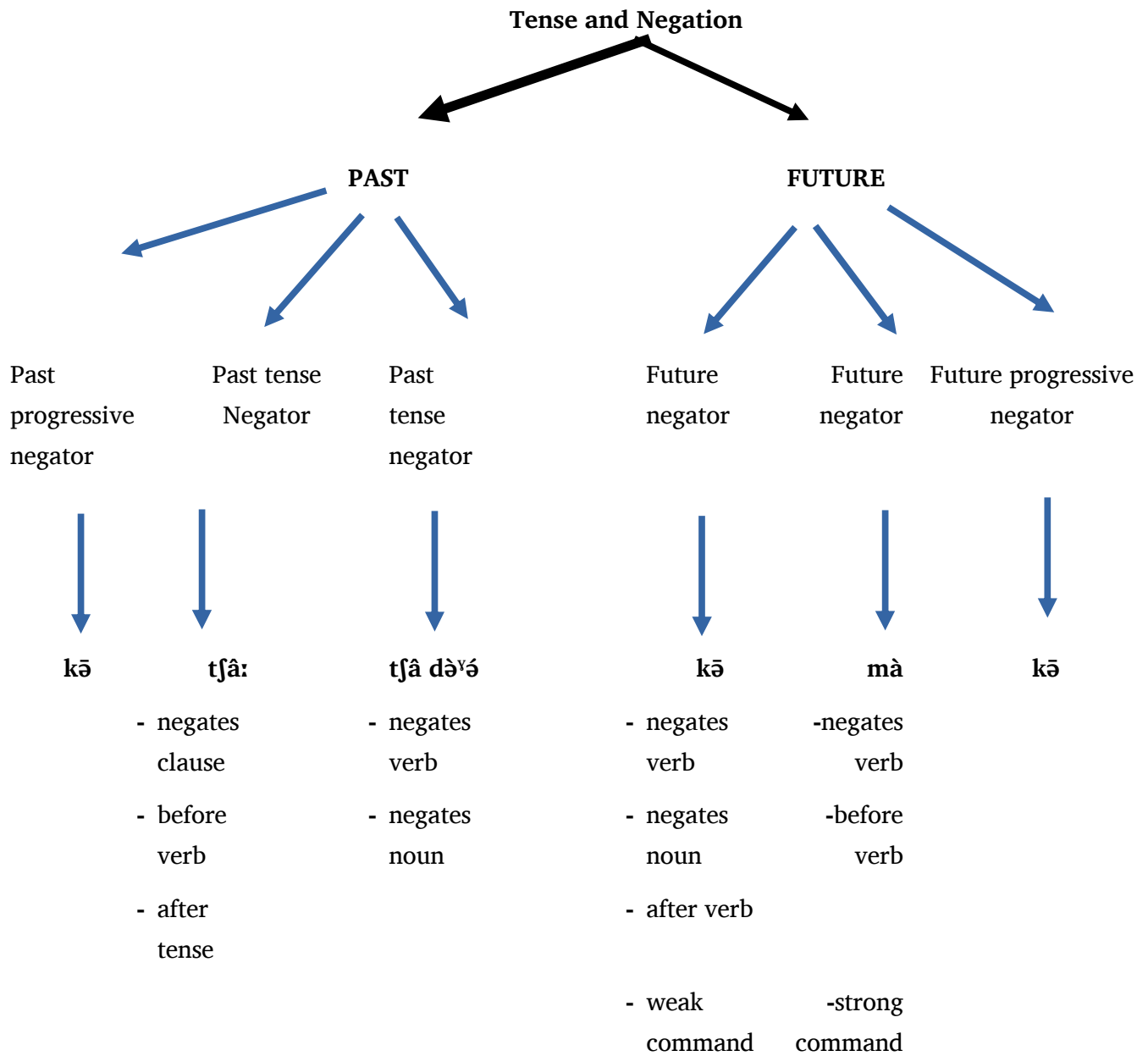
Figure 18: Schema of Negation and Tense

5.5.2.3 **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 [kə̄] plus the progressive aspect [kɪ́] dominates the perfective negator [tʃâ:] in a sentence with a past tense marker P2 [hɪ́]. 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 [kə̄]:

316) a.   [**wò hɪ̂ tʃâ: dzɪ́**]   "you did not eat"
       2S P2 NEG eat

     b.   [**wò dzɪ́: kɪ́   kə̄**]   "you are not eating"
       2S   eat PROG NEG

     c.   [**wò hɪ́ dzɪ́: kɪ́   kə̄**]   "you were not eating"
       2S P2 eat PROG NEG

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:

317) a.   [**wù kà   mò zə̄**]   "you did not eat"
        2S   NEG P2 eat

     b.   [**wù zə̀-á   jō**]   "you are eating"
       2S eat-PROG NEG

     c.   [**wù mò zə̌a   jō**]   "you were not eating"
       2S P2   eat.PROG NEG

5.4.2.4   **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:

318) a.   +ve   **[nə̀ŋ kó lə̀]**   "There is njamanjama (huckleberry soup)"
                     soup   be   AF

          -ve   **[nə̀ŋ tʃâ:]**   "There is no nyamanyama (soup) or it is finished"
                     soup   NEG

    b.   +ve   **[mí dzí]**   "I have eaten"
                     1S   eat

          -ve   **[mí tʃâ: dzí]**   "I have not eaten"
                     1s   NEG 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: nə̀ŋ]**   "Not nyamanyama (but something else)"
                     NEG soup

Another way to maintain the syntax in (c) above is to use the emphatic negator [tʃâ də̀ˠə́]. The [də̀ˠə́ ~ də̀kə́] is an empty morpheme and cannot be used alone to articulate negation:

    d.   **[à tʃâ də̀ˠə́ nə̀ŋ]**   "it is not huckleberry" (meaning it is something else).
          It   NEG NEG   soup

    e.   **[mì   tʃâ   də̀ˠə́]**   "it is not a person"
          person   NEG   NEG

5.4.2.5   **Negation and imperative**

The Mbuk language has reserved a special negator for commands. The imperative negator of the form CV [mà] with a low tone is used in two 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 [nî] 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:

319) a. [**mà dzí**]   "don't eat"
           NEG eat

      b. [**mǎ ní dzí**]   "do not eat"
           NEG do eat

The verb takes a direct object, the tone of auxiliary "do" (b) moves from high to mid tone (d):

      c. [**mà dzíː ɲə̄**]   "don't eat fufu"
           NEG eat fufu

      d. [**mǎ nī dzíː ɲə̄**]   "do not eat fufu"
           NEG do eat fufu

      e. [**mà tsə̄ ʃī**]   "do not go to market"
           NEG go market

      f. [**mà lá́   kxə̄**] "do not go to farm"
           NEG go.work farm

In (e and f) above [nī] is not used which means it is restricted to transitive verbs.

In (320) below, the subject pronouns are used alongside the command negator:

320) e.　　[**mì mà dzí**]　　"let no one eat"

d.　　[**bə̄ mà dzí**]　　"we should not eat" (many people)

f.　　[**bə̀ˠə́n mà dzí**]　　"we should not eat" (inclusive)

g.　　[**bə́ˠə̀ mà dzí**]　　"we should not eat" (exclusive)

h.　　[**bɔ́ˠɔ̀ mà dzí**]　　"we should not eat" (Mbuk–Kìjáàkì (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 [ínɪ̄] meaning "to do" in the future, or yet to be done. The most frequently and full verb of "to do" [ífə̄] in Mbuk which can be conjugated unlike [ínɪ̄] which can not be conjugated. The use of [nɪ] is like a 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:

321) a.　　[**mǎ ní mú**]　　　　　　　b.　　[**mà mú**]
　　　　NEG do drink　　　　　　　　　　　NEG drink
　　　　"do not drink (any time in the future)"　　"don't drink"

5.4.3 Emphatic negator

Two forms of emphatic negators are: [tʃâ də̀ˠə́] ~ [tʃâ ... də̀ˠə́]. The emphatic negator [tʃâ də̀ˠə́] is without discontinuity. It is more contrastive in nature with a dummy subject [à] in a cleft construction in (a). But when a full noun is used as a subject in (b), it simply negates the assertion of having fufu that there is no fufu without any contrastivity intention. Then [tʃâ...də̀ˠə́] with discontinuity happens with verbs, which is just a simple negation (c). The negator [tʃâː] is no longer lengthened when it becomes emphatic [tʃâ də̀ˠə́]:

322) a.　　[**à tʃâ də̀ˠə́ nə̀ŋ**]　　　　"it is not njamanjama (vegetable soup)"
　　　　it NEG NEG soup

b.   [ɲʲə̄ tʃâ də̀ˠə́ dzʊ́]   "there is no fufu in the house"
        fufu NEG NEG house

c.   [wì tʃâ ɲá: də̀ˠə́]   "he did not give."
        3S NEG give NEG

5.4.4 Lexical negation

Lexical negation is the use of antonyms to downplay 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 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" [dzá:]:

323) a.   +ve   [m̄ ká̌: kɪ́   lə̀ ɲə̄]   "I have fufu"
                1s have PROG AF fufu

    b.   -ve   [m̄ dzá: kɪ́   lə̀ ɲə̄]   "I lack fufu"
                1s lack   PROG AF fufu

    c.   -ve   [m̄ ká̌: kɪ́   kə̄ ɲə̄]   "I do not have fufu"
                1s have PROG NEG 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:

324) a.   +ve [kpɛ́n wə́lə̀ kó wɪ́ də̂̀:]   "this tree is a tall one."
              tree this is of tall

    b.   -ve   [kpɛ̄n wə̄lə̀ kó wì dʒʊ̀lî]   "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:

325) a. +ve [**kpén wə́lə́ də́ŋə̀ kī lə̀**]   "this tree is tall"
tree this tall   PROG AF

b. -ve [**kpén wə́lə́ də́ŋə̀ kí   kə̄**]   "this tree is not tall"
tree this tall   PROG NEG

5.4.5 Negation and Refusal

Here, we look at ways to respond; deny or say yes. Negation or refusal is the denial of an affirmation by the use of various strategies. In Mbuk, a negator can be used or some special markers meaning "no".

326)   a. [**wò kɑ̃́ː-kí-lə̀   dʒúá jí dò^ɣô**]   "Do you have any / some soup?
2S   have-PROG-AF soup AM some.QP
The above statement has several ways of responding to it negatively or positively:

b. [**m̄ kɑ̃́ː-kí   kə̄**]   "I do not have"
1S have-PROG NEG

c. [**ŋgǎŋ, m̄ kɑ̃́ː-kí   kə̄**] "no, I do not have"
no,   1s have-PROG NEG

d. [**ŋgǎŋ**]   "no"

e. [**àí**]   "no"

f. [**ɑ̂ːŋ**]   "yes"

327)   a. [**bâ   wà   kó ŋkûːŋ**]   "Is your father a chief?"
father your is chief.QP

Responses: b. [**àí bâ   wə̌ŋ tʃâ ŋkúŋ**]   "no, my father is not a chief"
no, father my   NEG chief

c. [**ŋgāŋ**]   "no"

d. [**ɑ̂ːŋ**]   "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 the possessive pronoun is the effect of language contact. Note that length of [tʃâː] becomes short [tʃâ] in a response clause.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This section has examined the structure and functions of Mbuk verbs and their verbal extension. The classification of Mbuk verbs has been presented in two main groups; the single verbs and the compound verbs. The single verbs are further divided into two sets of minus plus suffix with the minus suffix grouped according to phonological nuances and the plus suffix grouped with respect to morphemes changes. Each of these sub-groupings of phonological differences and morphemes 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 diverse 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. Ambitransitives 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 a posed by the structural diversity of verbs. The semantic and structural features have an impart 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 others. 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's 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 quiet 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 todocument   its   forms   and   distributions.

CHAPTER SIX

MBUK SYNTAX

6.0 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 6.1 alongside their concord or noun class agreement markers while that of the interrogatives follow in 6.2, highlighted in a separate section due to its permeability in nouns and verb phrases.

6.1 MBUK DETERMINERS

This section looks at nouns and their 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.*" 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 particles, adjectives, numerals, possessives.

In this wise, the Mbuk determiners are presented in the subsequent pages.

6.1.1 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" [wāɲ] 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" ($6.2.15).

6.1.1.1 Possessive Adjectives

Ownership is expressed using CVC and CV syllable patterns in Mbuk. This is illustrated with noun class gender 7/8:

328)

	NC 7		*NC 8*	
1S	[kə̀kpə̂ kə̌ŋ]	*"my lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bʲɪ̌ŋ]	*"my lizards"*
2S	[kə̀kpə̂ ká]	*"your lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bʲá]	*"your lizards"*
3S	[kə̀kpə̂ wí]	*"his lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bí]	*"his lizards"*
1P.INCL	[kə̀kpə̂ kə̀ bə̀ˠə̂n]	*"our lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bì bə̀ˠə̂n]	*"our lizards"*
1P.EXCL	[kə̀kpə̂ ká bə̀ˠə́]	*"our lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bí bə̀ˠə́]	*"our lizards"*
2P	[kə̀kpə̂ ká bǔn]	*"your lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bí bǔn]	*"your lizards"*
3P	[kə̀kpə̂ kì bó]	*"their lizard"*	[bìkpə̂ bì bó]	*"their lizards"*

The patriclan variant form of 1P inclusive (1P.INCL) [bə̀ˠə̂n]~[bə̀ˠə́bɛ̄n].

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 + POSS as seen above. Particular classes are characterised by a particular tonal pattern with some exceptions. There are contour tones on 1S, 1P.INCL, 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 [-ʊm] 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. Inclusive "our" is different from exclusive "our". The table below gives possessive adjectives (POSS) for each noun class.

Table 64: **Possessive Adjectives**

Noun Classes	Person Prefix	1S my [-ə́ŋ] [-íŋ]	2S your [-á] [-ám]	3S his/her/its [-í] [-úm]	1P.INCL our inclusive [bə̀ˠə̂n]	1P.EXCL our exclusive [bə̀ˠə́]	2P your [bĕn]	3P their "bo"
1	ø-	wə̆ŋ	wā	wī	ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə̂n	ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə́	ʊ̀ bĕn	wì bó
2	bə-	bə̆ŋ	bām	búm	bə́ bə̀ˠə̂n	bə̂ bə̀ˠə́	bə́ bĕn	bī bó
3	ø-	wə̆ŋ	wá	wí	ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə̂n	wî bə̀ˠə́	wò bĕn	wì bó
4	ø-	jə̆ŋ	já	Jí	jì bə̀ˠə̂n	jî bə̀ˠə́	jí bĕn	kì bó
5	ø-	wə̆ŋ	wá	wí	ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə̂n	wú bə̀ˠə́	wí bĕn	wì bó
6	kɪ-	kə̆ŋ	ká	kí	kə̀ bə̀ˠə̂n	kə́ bə̀ˠə́	kə́ bĕn	kì bó
7	kɪ-	kə̆ŋ	ká	kí	kə̀ bə̀ˠə̂n	kə́ bə̀ˠə́	kə́ bĕn	kì bó
8	bi-	bʲɪ̆ŋ	bʲá	Bí	bì bə̀ˠə̂n	bí bə̀ˠə́	bí bĕn	kì bó
9	ø-	jə̆ŋ	jā	Jì	jì bə̀ˠə̂n	jì bə̀ˠə́	jì bĕn	jì bó
10	ø-	jə̆ŋ	já	Jí	jî bə̀ˠə̂n	jî bə̀ˠə́	jî bĕn	jí bó
19	fɪ-	fʲɪ̆ŋ	fʲá	Fí	fì bə̀ˠə̂n	fə́ bə̀ˠə́	fə́ bĕn	fí bó
6a	N-	mə̆ŋ	má	múm	m̀ bə̀ˠə̂n	ḿ bə̀ˠə́	m̀ bĕn	ḿ bó

329) a.　1S　[**kə̀-kpə̂　k-ə̆ŋ**]　　　　"my lizard"
　　　　7-NP　　7c.AM-POSS
　　　　7.lizard　7.my

　　b.　1S　[**bì-kpə̂　bʲ-ɪ̆ŋ**]　　　"my lizards"
　　　　8-NP　　　8c.AM-POSS
　　　　8.lizards　8.my

Above, possessive pronoun vowel harmony occurs: ə → ɪ / bʲ__ and ɪ → ə / k__

The plural forms of the possessives takes the associative concord, the genitive marker. It is openly pronounced here because the onset root possessive pronoun begins with a consonant:

330) a.　3P　[kə̀kpə̂ k-ì　　bó]　　　"their lizards"
　　　　　N　　7c-AM POSS

b.   3P   [bìkpɛ̂ b-ì   bó]   "their lizards"

        N   8c-AM POSS

6.1.1.2 Emphatic Possessive Adjectives

The emphatic possessive strongly specifies the possessor. The normal possessive undergoes two compulsory changes and one restrictive change. The first change happens by prefixing the homorganic nasal. The second is the reversing of the syntactic order. The third is the modification of the tone of the third person singular (3S). The nasal prefixation only occurs on the 1S, 2S, 3S possessive for both singular and plural nouns as in the table 63:

Table 65: Non-Emphatic And Emphatic Possessive Adjectives

Noun Classes	Person/ Number	Non-emphatic Possessive Adjective	Gloss	Emphatic Possessive Adjective	Gloss
nc. 1	1S	wɛ̌ŋ	*My*	ŋ̀wɛ̌ŋ	*my own*
	2S	wā	*Your*	ŋ̄wā	*your own*
	3S	wī	*His*	ŋ̄wī	*his own*
nc. 2	1S	bɛ̌ŋ	*My*	m̀bɛ̌ŋ	*my own*
	2S	bām	*Your*	m̄bām	*your own*
	3S	Búm	*His*	m̄bûm	*his own*

331) a.   nc. 1 1S   non-emphatic: [**bìkə́m wɛ̌ŋ**]   "my lion" (sg.)

                                               1.lion   my

        nc. 1 1S   emphatic: [**ŋ̀wɛ̌ŋ   bìkə́m**]   "my own lion" (sg.)

                                               my.own 1.lion

    b.   nc. 2 1S   non-emphatic: [**bìbìkə́m bɛ̌ŋ**]   "my lions" (pl.)

                                               2.lions   2.my

        nc. 2 1S   emphatic: [**m̀bɛ̌ŋ   bìbìkə́m**] "my own lions" (pl.)

                                               2.my.own 2.lions

The word order for non-emphatic and the emphatic form compared:

332) a. 1S **[ø-bìkə́m w-ə̌ŋ]**   **[ŋ̀-w-ə̌ŋ   ø-bìkə́m]**
                1-lion   1c-my   EMP-1c-my 1-lion

      b. 1S **[bì-bìkə́m b-ə̌ŋ]**   **[m̀-b-ə̌ŋ   bì-bìkə́m]**
                2-lions   2c-my   EMP-2c-my 2c-lions

The nasal prefixation does 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:

333) a. **[ø-bìkə́m w-ì   bě̌n]**   "your (pl.) lion"
                1-lion   1c-AM your

      b. **[wì   bě̌n ø-bìkə́m]**   "your (pl.) own lion"
                1c-AM your 1-lion

334) a. **[bìkə́m w-ì   bə̀ˠə́bēn]**   "our lion" (inclusive non-emphatic)
                1.lion 1c-AM our.INCL

      b. **[w-ì   bə̀ˠə́bēn bìkə́m]**   "our own lion" (inclusive emphatic)
                1c-AM our.inc   1.lion

Instead of a nasal prefix, the plural form takes 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 (6.1.1.3) do not take an overt segmental possession.

6.1.1.3 Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns here refers to; mine, yours, his, our, yours and theirs. They do not have an overt marker for the thing they possessed or the name of what is owned:

Table 66: Possessive Pronouns

	Person	1S	2S	3S	1P.INCL	1P.EXCL	2P	3P
NC	PX	mine	yours	his/her/its	ours	ours	yours	theirs
1	ø-	ŋ̀wǎŋ	ŋ̀wā	ŋ̀wī	ʊ̀ bə̀ʸə̂n	ʊ̀ bə̀ʸə́	ʊ̀ běn	wì bó
2	bə-	m̀bǎŋ	m̀bá	m̀búm	bə́ bə̀ʸə̂n	bə̂ bə̀ʸə́	bə́ běn	bī bó
3	ø-	ŋ̀wǎŋ	ŋ̀wá	ŋ̀wí	ʊ̀ bə̀ʸə̂n	wî bə̀ʸə́	wʊ̀ běn	wì bó
4	ø-	ǹjə̌ŋ	ǹjá	ǹjí	jì bə̀ʸə̂n	jî bə̀ʸə́	jí běn	jì bó
5	ø-	ŋ̀wǎŋ	ŋ̀wá	ŋ̀wí	ʊ̀ bə̀ʸə̂n	wʊ́ bə̀ʸə́	wí běn	wì bó
6	kɪ-	ŋ̀kǎŋ	ŋ̀ká	ŋ̀kí	kə̀ bə̀ʸə̂n	kə́ bə̀ʸə́	kə́ běn	kì bó
7	kɪ-	ŋ̀kǎŋ	ŋ̀ká	ŋ̀kí	kə̀ bə̀ʸə̂n	kə́ bə̀ʸə́	kə́ běn	kì bó
8	bi-	m̀bʲǐŋ	m̀bʲá	m̀bí	bì bə̀ʸə̂n	bí bə̀ʸə́	bí běn	kì bó
9	ø-	ǹjə̌ŋ	ǹjā	ŋ̀jī	jì bə̀ʸə̂n	jì bə̀ʸə́	jì běn	jì bó
10	ø-	ǹjə̌ŋ	ǹjá	ɲ́jí ~ ǹʒí	jî bə̀ʸə̂n	jî bə̀ʸə́	jî běn	jí bó
19	fɪ-	m̀fʲǐŋ	m̀fʲá	m̀fí	fì bə̀ʸə̂n	fə́ bə̀ʸə́	fə́ běn	fí bó
6a	N-	m̀mə̌ŋ	m̀má	m̀múm	m̀ bə̀ʸə̂n	ḿ bə̀ʸə́	m̀ běn	ḿ bó

Note that [ǹj]is different from [ɲ]. 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 emphasis and disambiguation. It takes the form of a cleft sentence in the expression "it is mine"[à kə́ m̀mə̌ŋ]. Where [à] is the dummy subject, [kə] is the copula is, and [N] is a homorganic nasal referring to "I" while [mə̌] is the possessive adjective. Hence, a possessive pronoun is a subject pronoun N + a possessive adjective:

6.1.1.4 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 who is only 50% sure while the percentage of the father is lacking.

Here below is a summary ladder of possession; alienable and inalienable (figure 19):
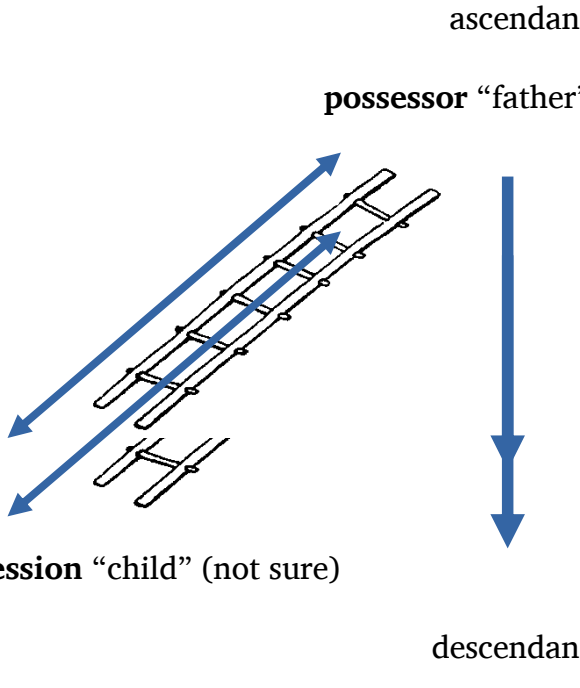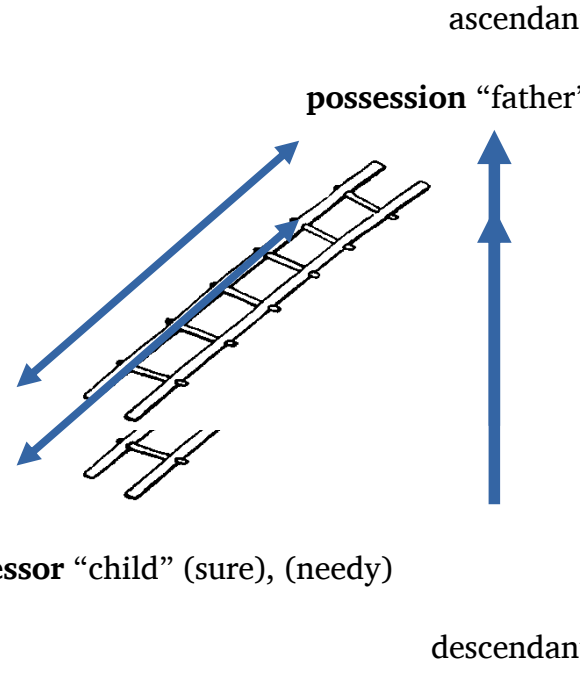
Alienable	inalienable
Can be repudiated or transferred to another	Cannot be repudiated or transferred to another
my child	**my father**
ascendant **possessor** "father" **possession** "child" (not sure) descendant	ascendant **possession** "father" **possessor** "child" (sure), (needy) descendant
When the possessor is up on the ceiling, the relationship is alienable.	When the possessor is on the floor down, the relationship is inalienable. Needing help, security.

Figure 19: Possession Ladder

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 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.

6.1.1.4.1 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:

335) **inalienable** **form for alienable possessive**

1S	[bâ]	"my father" ~	1S	[bâ wǒŋ]	
2S	[tʲɔ̌]	"your father" ~	2S	[bâ wā]	
3S	[tǐ:]	"his father" ~	3S	[bâ wī]	
1PI		~	1p	[bâ ʊ̀ bə̀ˠɔ̄n]	"our father (INCL)"
1PE		~	1p	[bá ʊ̀ bə̀ˠɔ́]	"our father (EXCL)"
2P	[bə̀ná]	"your father" ~	2P	[bə̀bâ wā]	
3P	[bə̀ní]	"their father" ~	3P	[bə̀bâ wī ~ tǐ: ~ bâ ʊ̀ bó]	"their father"

336) *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00388.jpg{00:00:17.920-00:00:23.470}*

In the preceding ELAN text above, the lexical tonal melody [bə̀bâ, mī] changes into a

song tonal melody as seen in [bə́bâ, mí]. Above, the inalienable possessive examples are shown

with the possessor and possessed fused into a single word.

The following corpus are inalienable terms referring to mother and uncle:

337) 1S [nɜ̂ː] "my mother" 1p [ní ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə́n] "our mother (inc)"

1p [ní ʊ̀ bə̀ˠɔ́] "our mother (exc)"

2S [náː] "your mother" 2P [ní ʊ̀ bɛ̌n] "your mother"

3S [níː] "his mother" 3P [nî ʊ̀ bó] "their mother"

338) 1S [wʊ́nɜ̂] "my uncle" 1p [wʊnɜ̂ ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə̂n] "our uncle (INCL)"

1p [wʊnɜ̂ ʊ̀ bə̀ˠɔ́] "our uncle (EXCL)"

2S [wʊ́ná] "your uncle" 2P [wʊ́ná ʊ̀ bɛ̌n] "your uncle (PL)"

3S [wʊ́ní] "his uncle" 3P [wʊ́ní ʊ̀ bó] "their uncle"

There is an inalienable term for paternal aunt and not for maternal aunt in the language:

339) 1S [dʒə̀míbɑ̃̄ː] "my aunt (paternal)"

2S [dʒə̀mìtʲɔ̌] "your aunt"

3S [dʒə̀mìtǐː] "his/her aunt"

1P.INCL [dʒə̀mì jì tǐː ʊ̀ bə̀ˠə̂n] "our aunt (INCL)" ~

[dʒə̀mìbɔ́ˠə́n] "our sister"

1P.EXCL [dʒə̀mì jì tǐː ʊ̀ bə̀ˠɔ́] "our aunt (EXCL)"

2P [dʒə̀mì tǐ ʊ̀ bɛ̌n] "your aunt"

3P [dʒə̀mì tǐ ʊ̀ bó] "their aunt"

In Dixon (2009:5-6), languages mark possession depending on what is possessed; kin terms, body parts and objects takes up different possessives forms. Mbuk intrinsically has two forms in which the kin terms are marked differently from both body parts and objects. In the Dixon (2009:6) possessive construction system, we can add a sixth (VI) to account for Mbuk:

Possessive system	I	II	III	VI	IV	V	VI
objects, such as 'knife', 'canoe'	x	x	x	x	x	**x**	**x**
affinal relations, such as 'husband'	y	x	y	x	y	**x**	**x**
blood relations, such as 'mother'	y	x	y	y	y	**x**	**y**
parts, such as 'foot', 'eye'	y	y	x	y	z	**x**	**x**

There is the lost of pattern VI which is common in natural speech (documentary) while adopting system (V) which is obtained mostly in translating from English (elicitation) to Mbuk, the inalienable form is relegated due to the influence of the English syntax.

6.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives (DEM) agree with the concord of the head noun they are modifying;

This, near speaker (NS) [-ələ],

That, near audience (NU) [-fɔ‌ˠɔ]

That, away from the speaker and audience [-jaˠa], remember ([j] = /y/)

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 67: 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-ə̄lə̄	mì wə̄lə̄ "this person"	wó fɔ‌ˠɔ	wə̄ já‌ˠà
2	bə-	b-´	bə́nî:	b-ə́lə̄	bə́nî: bə́lə̄ "these people"	bə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	bə́ já‌ˠà
3	ø-	w-´	kpə̂:	w-ə́lə̄	kpə̂: wə́lə̄ "this hand"	wə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	wə́ já‌ˠà
4	ø-	j-´	kə̂:	j-ə́lə̄	kə̂: jə́lə̄ "these hands"	jə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	jə́ já‌ˠà
5	ø-	w-´	gbâ:	w-ə́lə̄	gbâ: wə́lə̄ "this ceiling"	wə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	wə́ já‌ˠà
6	kɪ-	k-´	kígbâ:	k-ə́lə̄	kígbâ: kə́lə̄ "these ceilings"	kə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	kə́ já‌ˠà
7	kɪ-	k-´	kìkpə̂:	k-ə́lə̄	kìkpə̂: kə́lə̄ "this lizard"	kə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	kə́ já‌ˠà
8	bi-	b-´	bìkpə̂:	bʲ-ə́lə̄	bìkpə̂: bʲə́lə̄ "these lizards"	bʲə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	bʲə́ jà‌ˠà
9	ø-	j-`	ʃʷăŋ	j-ēlə̄	ʃʷăŋ jə̄lə̄ "this sheep"	jə̄ fɔ‌ˠɔ	jə̄ já‌ˠà
10	ø-	j-´	ʃʷáŋ	j-ə́lə̄	ʃʷáŋ jə́lə̄ "these sheep	jə́ fɔ‌ˠɔ	jə́ já‌ˠà
19	fi-	f-´	fíɲʲéní	fʲ-ə́lə̄	fíɲʲéní fʲə́lə̄ "this bird"	fʲé fɔ‌ˠɔ	fʲé já‌ˠà
6a	N-	N-´	m̩ɲʲéní	m-ə́lə̄	m̩ɲʲéní mə́lə̄ "these birds"	mə̂ fɔ‌ˠɔ	mə́ já‌ˠà

We prefer audience (U) to hearers because the audience participates in the discourse. NU - nearer the audience, FSU - far away from both the speaker and audience. The mid tone in class 1 could be due to the influence of the low tone on the preceding [mì].

6.1.3 Mbuk numerals

The language has a base ten counting system, and after ten the counting repeats 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 is rather a particle [ɪ] meaning "it is". The numeral particle [ɪ] 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 1st five numbers. In addition, the number ten is being left unpronounced for the number "eleven 11" sometimes. This is like taking a shortcut:

370) Mbuk numerals and enumeration particle

figure	word	numerating (1st)	numerating (2nd)
1	[mú]	[í mú] "it is one (1)"	[mū]
2	[fá]	[í fá] "it is two"	[fáː]
3	[tālī]	[tálī]	[tálī]
4	[nā]	[nā]	[í nā]
5	[tī]	[í tǐː]	[tīː]
6	[sōː]	[sōː]	[sōː]
7	[nānītā]	[nānītā]	[nānītā]
8	[ɲáŋ]	[ɲáŋ]	[ɲáŋ]
9	[bùːkâ]	[bùːkâ]	[bùːkâ]
10	[dʒóːfí]	[dʒóːfí]	[dʒóːfí]
11	[dʒóːfí ntʃòmù]	[ntʃòmù]	[ntʃòmù]
100	[gbí]		
200	[gí jí fá [gíːfá]		
1000	[ntʃòˠò]		

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 [ʊ ~wɪ] or [ɪ~ji]. The word order is "HN + AG + NM" the head noun precedes the numeral concord thence the numeral itself. Two genders have been used to illustrate the numeral concords and the concord limits where "ø" refers to zero concord. Concord 4 and 5 have falling tones. The concord wí can be heard as [wʊ́ ~ ʊ́] and [ji] and be heard as [ɪ]. Below are numerals with concords of gender 7/8 and 3/4 expressed with examples:

371) Mbuk numeral concords and concord limits

NM	Noun class 7/8	gloss 7/8	Noun class 3/4	gloss 3/4
	[kìndzá: / bìndzá:]	"grasshopper"	[ŋgɔ̄̃ / ŋgɔ̃́]	"egg"
1	[kìndzá: kɔ́ mū]	"one grasshopper"	[ŋgɔ̃́ wí mū]	"one egg"
2	[bìndzá: bí fá]	"two grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ jí fá]	"two eggs"
3	[bìndzá: bí tālī]	"three grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ jí tálī]	"three eggs"
4	[bìndzá: bî nǎ:]	"four grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ jî nǎ:]	"four eggs"
5	[bìndzá: bî tī:]	"five grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ jî tǐ:]	"five eggs"
6	[bìndzá: bí sō:]	"six grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ jí sō:]	"six eggs"
7	[bìndzá: ø nánìtá]	"seven grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ ø nánìtá]	"seven eggs"
8	[bìndzá: ø ɲáŋ]	"eight grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ ø ɲāŋ]	"eight eggs"
9	[bìndzá: ø bù:kâ]	"nine grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ ø bù:kâ]	"nine eggs"
10	[bìndzá: ø ndʒó:fí]	"ten grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ ø ndʒó:fí]	"ten eggs"
11	[bìndzá: ø ntʃòmù]	"eleven grasshoppers"	[ŋgɔ̃́ ø 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 Beboid languages,Tschonghongei (2018). The presentation of numbers 1 to 5 withnoun classes and concords:

Table 68: Numerals 1-5 Per Noun Class

NC	Noun(s)	1	2	3	4	5
1	mì	mì ʊ̀ mù:				
2	bə́nî:		bə́nî bə́ fá:	bə́nî bə́ tālī	bə́nî bə́ ná:	bə́nî bə́ tī:
3	dzə́ŋ	dzə́ŋ ʊ́ mū				
4	dzə́ŋ		dzə́ŋ jí fá:	dzə́ŋ jī tālī	dzə̄ŋ jí nǎ:	dzə́ŋ jí tī:
5	bʷám	bʷám ʊ́ mū				
6	kə́bʷám		bʷám bí fá:	bʷám bí tālī	bʷám bí nǎ:	bʷám bí tǐ:
7	kìkpílí	kìkpílíkí mū				
8	bìkpílí		bìkpílí bí fá:	bìkpílí bī tālī	bìkpílí bī na	bìkpílí bí tī
9	fʲə̄ŋkī	fʲə́ŋkí jì mò				
10	fʲə́ŋkí		fʲə́ŋkí jí fá	fʲə́ŋkí jí tālī	fʲə́ŋkí jí na	fʲə́ŋkí jí tī
19	fíntāŋ	fíntāŋ fí mū				
6a	m̄tāŋ		m̄tāŋ m̄ fá̂	m̄tāŋ m̄ tālī	m̄tāŋ m̂ na	m̄tāŋ m̄ tī

Syntactically, the numeral (NUM) is clause final as illustrated below in the ELAN texts:

372)　a.　　*KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_FSW-1_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00406.MP4*

[**hí tʃâ: á　bə́ nə́ŋ-kí　ɣá　　　jə́lō, má m̀ dzáᵛà ɣá　　jí　　fā.**]

if　NEG COMP1P want-PROG 10.thing 10.DEM as　1S　say　　10.thing 10.AM NUM

"If not that we want this thing, I should have only said two things."

　　b.　　*KPAAMCAM_NTs_Song06_2014-12-29_HDV2779.MP4.txt*

[**dʲə́　kì-jòŋ-nì dʒàì jì　　mù wə́:, fì-ɲéní ndzóŋ-kí kə́　wáɲ-nə́ŋ o**]

V　　7.N　　　9.N 9.AM NUM　IJ　19.N　　ADJV-PROG NEG 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."

6.1.4 Colour terms

Mbuk has three basic colour terms; black [dʒǐ:lī], white [bǎɲnī] and red [bɔ̀ᵛɔ́lī]. The term red is used to refer to white in the case of a white man [mì ʊ̀ bɔ̀ᵛɔ́lī] Literally "man of red". The suffixal morphemes [-nɪ] and [-lɪ] are both adjectival and adverbial allomorphs of the

Mbuk language. In nasal medium, the [-lɪ] appears [-nɪ] and elsewhere it remains [-lɪ]. The suffix is underlyingly a mid tone. These concords vary with the noun classes. See the Table:

Table 69: Colour Terms Concords

NC	Noun(s)	Black [dʒǐ:lī]	Red [bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī]	White [bǎɲnī]	Gloss
1	wāɲ]	ʊ̀ dʒǐ:lī	ʊ̀ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	ʊ̀ bǎɲnī	child
2	bʷā	bɤ́ dʒǐ:lī	bɤ́ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	bɤ̄ bǎɲnī	children
3	kpà̰	wò dʒǐ:lī	wí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	wó bǎɲnī	hand
4	kà̰	jí dʒí:lī	jí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	jí báɲnī	hands
5	gbâ:	wó dʒí:lī	ʊ̀ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	wò bǎɲnī	ceiling
6	kígbâ:	kí dʒí:lī	kí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī ~ bí bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	kí báɲnī	ceilings
7	kìkpɘ̂	kí dʒí:lī	kɤ́ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	kɤ́ báɲnī	lizard
8	bìkpɘ̂	bì dʒí:lī	bì bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	bí báɲnī	lizards
9	ʃʷǎŋ	jì dʒǐ:lī	jì bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	jì báɲnī	sheep
10	ʃʷáŋ	jí dʒǐ:lī	jî bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	jí báɲnī	sheep (pl.)
19	fɘ̀mgbɘ̀kì	fí dʒí:lī	fɤ̀ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	fí báɲnī	swallow
6a	m̀mgbɘ̀kì	ḿ dʒí:lī	m̀ bɔ̀ˠɔ́lī	ḿ báɲnī	swallows

The root of the colours are monosyllabic for black and 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 head noun. The concord structure is same as head noun prefixes for nouns with them while [wɪ] and [ji] surfaces for nouns without concord to bridge the link. These ø-prefix concords are heard with the following forms: [wɪ ~ wʊ ~ ʊ], [ji ~ i].

In Mbuk, the word [dʒí:lī] is homonymous in that it has two different meanings; black and heavy. The speakers claim to differentiate them tonally but for the sake of the documentary approach, we will assume that the tones are same and they vary in context:

373) a. **[dʒǐ:lī ~ dʒí:lī]** "heavy" b. **[dʒí:lī ~ dʒǐ:lī]** "black"

6.1.5 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 (Table 69):

Table 70: Relative Pronouns (REL)

Noun Classes (NC)	Prefixes (PX)	RelativePronoun [-ə] (REL)	Gloss
1	ø-	wə̄	who/which
2	bə́-	bə̂	who/which
3	ø-	wə̂	which
4	ø-	jə́	which
5	ø-	wə̂	which
6	kɪ-	kə́	which
7	kɪ-	kə́	which
8	bi-	bʲə̂	which
9	ø-	jə̀	which
10	ø-	jə̂	which
19	fi-	fʲə́	which
6a	N-	mə̂	which

The tones are influenced by the preceding head noun. In addition, depending on the distance which the thing is found, [jaˠa] or [fɔˠɔ̀~mfɔˠɔ̀] is used to after the relative pronoun. The examples show relative pronouns in relation to other grammatical elements below:

397) a. **[ɲāː mī bə́ mì wə̄ wì kó dzú]**
give me with 1.person REL 1c.SM COP 9.house
"Give me the person who is in the house"

b. **[ɲāː mī bə́ bə́nî bə̂ bə́ kó dzú]**
give me with 2.people 2c.REL 2c.SM COP 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 [**bə̂ ~ bə̄̂**].

398) a. **[ŋkúŋ wə̄ wì gbô]** "The chief who fell"
1.chief 1c.REL 1c.SM fall

b. **[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə̄̂ bó gbō]** "The chefs who fell"
2.chiefs 2c.REL 2c.SM fall

The relative pronoun (REL) 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):

399) *KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00407*

a. **[fə̄ bʲə́lə̄ bí kó dáɲ fā̂]**
8.festival 8.DEM 8.SM is T.ADV L.ADV
These instruments that are here present today,

b. **[m̀ kwù kìmfílì, fʲên fʲə̄ m̄ nə́ŋ-kí]**
1S pour 7.kimfili 19.thing 19.REL 1S want-PROG
As I am performing this rite of Kimfili, what I want,

c. **[m̄ nə́ŋ-kí wāɲ, bə́ ɲàm, fʲɛ̂n fí dzí-ní]**
1S want-PROG child, CNJ meat, 19.thing 19.AM eat-**NA**
I want a child, meat and food.

6.1.6 Definite and Indefinite Particles

The table below presents the definite particles (DEF) per noun classes:

Table 71: Definite Particle

NC/Prefixes	Nouns	Concords	Definite Particle	Example Sentences
ø- 1	ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	w-ˋ 1c	gʷû the	[ŋkúŋ wì gʷû] *the chief*
bə- 2	bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	b-ˊ 2c	gʷû the	[bə̀ŋkúŋ bə́ gʷû] *the chiefs*
ø- 3	ø-kpã̀ 3-hand	w-ˊ~ʊ́ 3c	gʷû the	[kpâ̰ ʊ́ gʷû] *the hand*
ø- 4	ø-kã̂ 4-hands	ĵ- 4c	gʷû the	[kã̂ jí gʷû] *the hands*
5	ø-gbâ: 5-barn	wˊ 5c	gʷû the	[gbâ: wí gʷû] *the barn*
6	kí-gbâ: 6-ba	kˊ 6c	gʷû the	[kígbâ: kí gʷû] *the barns*
7	kì-fí 7-pig	kˊ 7c	gʷû the	[kìfí kí gʷû] *the pig*
8	bì-fí 8-pig	bˊ 8c	gʷû the	[bìfí bí gʷû] the pigs
9	ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	ĵ- 9c	gʷû the	[ʃʲə̄ jì gʷû] *the fowl*
10	ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	jˊ 10c	gʷû the	[ʃʲə́ jí gʷû] *the fowls*
19	fí-ɲɛ́ní 19-bird	f-ˊ 19c	gʷû the	[fíɲɛ́ní fí gʷû] *the bird*
6a	mí-ɲɛ́ní 6a-birds	m-ˊ 6ac	gʷû the	[ḿɲɛ́ní mí gʷû] *the birds*

The definite particle in Mbuk is an invariable morpheme that relays 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 (IDEF) particle [ɪ], 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:

400) Noun class 1:   a.   [í   ŋkúŋ]   "a chief"
                                IDEF 1.chief

      Noun class 3   b.   [í   kpâ̰]   "a hand"
                                IDEF   3.hand

      Noun class 5   c.   [í   gbâː]   "a barn"
                                IDEF   5.barn

      Noun class 7   d.   [í   kɨ́fɨ́]   "a pig"
                                IDEF7.pig

      Noun class 9   e.   [í   ʃʲə̌]   "a fowl"
                                IDEF 9.fowl

      Noun class 19   f.   [í   fiɲéní]   "a bird"
                                IDEF 19.bird

This form is seldom used, the bare word, a bird or bird [fíɲéní] is often used without [i].

6.1.7 Diminutives

A word that is formed with a circumfix such as [fí-...-nî] for the singular form and [m̋-...-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 (DIM) 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		
390)	a.	[kì-kwô] 7 "toad"	[fí-kwô-nî / ḿ-kwô-nî]	19/6a	"small toad"
	b.	[fʲɛ̃ːn] 19 "thing"	[fìnə́kə́ / m̀nə́kə́]	19/6a	"small thing"

For suppletive human terms, the circumfix does not show up but a different form is used incorporated with diminutivity:

391)	a.	[wáɲ]1	"child"	[fʲǎɲ / mʷǎɲ]	19/6a	"little children"
	b.	[bâː] 1	"father"	[fìbânî / m̀bânî]	19/6a	"little father"
	c.	[nə̂ː] 1	"mother"	[fìnə̂ːnî / m̀nə̂nî]	19/6a	"little mother"
	d.	[mìː] 1	"person"	[fìnìnî / m̀nìːnî]	19/6a	"little person"

This term now becomes labialised,   [wáɲ → mʷǎɲ]

The root word of the plural form of the base word is the one that undergoes diminution:

392)	a.	[mì]	1	"person"		
	b.	[bə́nî]	2	"people" →[fìnîːnî / ḿnîːnî]	19/6a	"small person"

Diminutiviness is ridicule, humiliation and abusive especially to human terms:

393)   a.   [fìnìːnî / m̀nîːnî]   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 diminutive form. The diminutive suffix sometimes seems optional but the

optical 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 72: Dininutive Noun Genders

NC	*Gloss*	Base Noun	Diminutive Noun	Diminutive Class	*Gloss*
1	*child*	wāɲ	fʲăn	19	*little child*
2	*children*	bʷā	mʷăn	6a	*little children*
3	*tree*	kpēn	fīkpēnnî	19	*little tree*
4	*trees*	kēn	m̄kēnnî	6a	*little trees*
5	*cup*	bʷám	fə́bʷámnî ~ fə́bʷám	19	*little cup*
6	*cups*	kíbʷám	ḿbʷámnî ~ ḿbʷám	6a	*little cups*
7	*lizard*	kìkpə̂	fìkìkpə̀nî ~ fìkpə̀nî	19	*little lizard*
8	*lizards*	bìkpə̂	m̀kìkpə̀nî ~ mkpə̀:nî	6a	*little lizards*
9	*dog*	bʲě	fíbʲénî	19	*little dog*
10	*dogs*	bʲé	ḿbʲénî	6a	*little dogs*
19	*swallow*	fə̀mgbə̀ˠə̀	fə̀mgbə̀ˠə̀nî	19	*little swallows*
6a	*swallows*	m̀mgbə̀ˠə̀	m̀mgbə̀ˠə̀nî	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 [fɪ-]diminutive prefixes:

394) **19**　　[fìmfìntʃɔ́ŋ] "k.o insects found below the earth with wing edible by Mbuk"

　　6a　　[m̀mɲfìntʃɔ́ŋ] "k.o insects found below the earth with wing edible by Mbuk"

Normally, there does exist an independent term for small [lɛ̂] in the language but when the idea of small is so fused with hatred or abuse, they prefer using the circumfix [fɪ-...-nî] (diminutive prefix DPX and diminutive suffix DSX) rather than the word [lɛ̂] small:

395)　a.　　[nāŋ]　→　**[náŋ kí lɛ̂]**　"little bed"
　　　　　　bed　　　　　bed of small

b.   [nāŋ] →   **[fí-nâŋ-nî]**   "little bed"

          bed   DPX-bed-DSX

Above, the tone of bed changes from mid to high for (a), while is falling in (b).

6.1.8 Augmentative

Increasing or having the power to increase especially in size or amount or degree. This effect is realised with the prefixation of the root of a noun with [kə-~kɪ-] an augmentative prefix (APX) followed by 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) say augmentatives and diminutives 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 augmentative belongs to classes 20 and 21:

		base term	**augment process**	**augmented term**
396)	a.	[ŋgʷí]→ water	**[kə̀-ŋgʷí-lí]** APX-water-ASX	"watery soup (soup with excess water)"
	b.	[dʒúá]→ soup	**[kì-dʒùá-lí]** APX-soup-ASX	"much soup"
	c.	[nāŋ] → bed	**[kí-náŋ-lí]** APX-bed-ASX	"many beds"
	d.	[bʲáŋá]→ flat stone	**[kí-bʲáŋá-lí]** APX-flats.tone-ASX	"many flat stones (for sunning things)"
	e.	[kpɛ̄n]→ tree	**[kì-kèn-lí ~ bì-kèn-lí]** APX-trees-ASX	"many trees, sticks, much wood, big tree

f.   [ndzɵ́]→   **[bì-ndzɵ́-lí ~ kìndzɵ́lí]**   "large nose, large noses or many noses"
         nose   APX-nose-ASX

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.

6.1.9 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 among which are numerals, colours, diminutives and augments examined out of this subsection in other to highlight their noun class prominence. 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.

6.1.9.1 Adjectives per Domain

These adjectives include; attributes, quantifiers, numerals, and colour terms.

340) Size,   "big, huge" [mbɔ̀m, tʃə́ŋ, tʃə́ŋní,]
                   "big, huge" [kìmgbáŋ ~ kə̀mgbáŋ,]
                   "big, huge" [kìmfáŋ ~ kə̀mfáŋ]
                   "small"   [fílɛ̂:, tʃʷêsì, fíntʃî̃, tʃʷà ʲ]

	"medium"	[ìkpéníní]
	"thick"	[tʃə́mí (kílə̀]
	"thin"	[jàŋhì (kílə̀]

341) Length,
	"tall, long"	[dɛ̂, də̀ŋə̀ ~ ndə̀ŋə̀]
	"short"	[ndʒúlì ~ ndʒʊ̀lì]
	"width"	[jǎmnī, mbɔ̀m]
	"depth"	[lʲə́ (kə́lə̀), dʒʊ̌ (kə́lə̀)]

342) Age,
	"new"	[fífʲɛ̃́]
	"old"	[fíkpú, ndʒʉ̌nnī, kpú] (non-living things)
	"old"	[dʒún] (for living things)
	"aged"	[tʃə́ʔ]
	"elder"	[ŋgámì]
	"young"	[sɔ́mì]
	"fade"	[múhī]

343) Weight,
| | "light" | [jàŋhì] |
| | "heavy" | [ndʒì, dʒǐːlī] |

344) Manner,
	"good"	[nɔ̂ŋ, ndzɔ́ŋ, ndzɔ̌ŋnī, índzɔ́ŋ]
	"bad"	[chù, bə̀ˠə̀]
	wickedess	[m̀bə̀ˠə̀]
	"nice"	[ndzɔ́ŋ]
	"terrible"	[gɔ́mì]

345) Colour,
	"black"	[ndʒǐ, dʒǐːlī]
	"white"	[mbáɲ, báɲnī]
	"red"	[mbɒ̀ˠɒ̀ ~ mbə̀ˠɔ̀, bə̀ˠɔ́lī]
	"redden"	[bɔ́ˠóhí ~ bɔ́ˠòsí]

346) Strength,
	"strong"	[nlə̀ˠə̀]
	"hard"	[nlə̀ˠə̀]
	"power"	[ŋgǎː]
	"weak"	[bɔ́ː, kìmpə̀ŋ, jólí, kpɛ̂hî̃]
	"tiredness"	[mbó]
	"lazy"	[kpɛ̂sì]
	"laziness"	[mgbɛ̂nì, mkpɛ̂sì, lɥíní]
	"soft"	[mbó]

347) State   "rich"   [nàtə́m, mbɔ̀m]

                   "worthy"   [mkpénnì]

                   "poverty"   [kìfûː]

                   "blund"   [ntʊ̀hì]

348) Taste   "sweet"   [mfɔ̃m, ndʒʷɔ́,]

                   "tasteless"   [tʊ̀sì, ntʊ̀sì]

                   "bitter"   [lɔ̀ː, nlɔ̀ː] (bitterleaf, salt)

                   "sour"   [mgbáŋnì]

                   "rawness"   [ŋkk ∼ ŋkʷṹ] (unripe)

349) Shapes,   "round"   [lʲə́ŋ]

                   "flat"   [sâŋlī]

6.1.9.2 Non-derived Adjectives

There are lexemes that are descriptive in their nature, pure adjectives. They talk about the quality/quantity of the noun when used. Some of these are:

350) a.   [mbɔ̀m, kìmfáŋ, kìmgbáŋ]   "large, big"

     b.   [fintʃî, lê, fintʃʷàʲ]   "small, little"

     c.   [dʒùlî]   "short"

     d.   [tʃɨ̌ːŋ]   "fat"

     e.   [tʃù]   "bad, wicked"

     f.   [m̀kpénì]   "medium/normal size"

6.1.9.3 Derived Adjectives

There are a set of nominalised adjectives. This gives adjectival nouns. This occurs as a result of deverbatisation and as such the prefix is not actually doubled. Deverbatisaltion is one the phonological processes through which verbs acquire features of nouns becoming nouns or adjectival nouns:

		Verb infinitive	verb root	affixation	derived Adjective
351)	a.	[ígbáŋ]	[-gbaŋ]	[kì-m-gbáŋ]	[kìmgbáŋ]
		empty morph	ø	double prefixation	largeness

b. [faŋ]   [-faŋ]   [kə-m-faŋ]   [kə̀mfáŋ]
    ø   ø   double prefixation largeness

c. [íkpí]   [-kpí]   [kɪ-m-kpɪ-lɪ]   [kìmkpǐ:lɪ̄]
    "to die"   "die"   circumfixation   "corpse (dead person)"

Some sets of adjectival nouns are born by adjectival verbs that pick up the nasal prefix of gerunds. This phenomenon has been exemplified below:

352) a. black   [dʒǐ]   → [ǹ-dʒǐ]   "blackness"
      b. red   [bòˠó]→   [m̀-bòˠò]   "redness"
      c. large   tʃə́ŋ]   → [ǹ-tʃə́ŋ]   "largeness"
      d. tire   [bó]   → [m̀-bó]   "tireness"
      e. strong [lɪ̀ˠɪ́]   → [ǹ-lɪ̀ˠɪ̀]   "strongness/hardness"
      e. heavy   [dʒì]   → [ǹ-dʒì]   "heaviness"

Illustrative phrase. The [wì] associative marker generated by the gerund, verbal noun vocalises to [ù]. The nominalised adjectives become members of class noun class 1:

353) a. **[ndʒǐ: ù kìfó kə́lə̄ ndzɔ́ŋ-kə́ lə̀]**   "The blackness of this cap is good"
          blackness of cap this good-PROG AF

      b. **[mbòˠò ù kìfó kə́lə̄ gɔ́mə̀kə́   lə̀]**   "The redness of this cap is frightful"
          redness of cap this frightening AF

6.1.9.4 Preposed Adjectives

These are adjectives that occur before the head noun (HN). These adjectives are often nominalised adjectives (N.ADJ) because they behave like nouns and do have a noun prefix and radiate 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:

354) a. **[kə̀mfáŋ kə́   dzǔ:]**   "A very large house"
          7-N.ADJ 7c-AM 9.HN
          very.large of   house

b. **[m̀fɔ́m (wì)   kìmʷàní gɔ́míkílə̀]** "The sweetness of the banana is wonderful"
1-N.ADJ 1c-AM 7.HN   ADJ
sweetness of   banana   terrible/wonderful

6.1.9.5 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 fall in these categories. The adjective in (b) is an adjectival verb:

355) a. **[dzǒ jì   mbɔ̀m]**   "big house"
9.HN 9.AM ADJ
house of   big

b. **[dzǒ   jì   wó tʃə́ŋ-kə́-lə̀]**   "the house is big"
9.HN   9.AM DEF   ADJ-PROG-AF
9.house of   the big-PROG-AF

c. **[dzǒ jì   lɛ̀   j-ə́lə̄]**   "this small house"
9.HN 9.AM ADJ 9c-DEM
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 [fíntʃî] which is also embedded with the sense of minimising the head noun and is often regarded as abusive:

356) a. **[fí-dzɔ́   fí-ntʃî]**   b.   **[fí-dzú   fí-ntʃî́   fj-ə́lə̄]**
19.DIM-HN 19.DIM-ADJ   19.DIM-HN 19.DIM-ADJ 19c-DEM
house   little   house   little   this
"little house"   "this little house"

c. **[fí-dzú   fí-ntʃî́   fj-ə́lə̄   fí-ndzɔ́ŋ-kí-lə̀]**
19.DIM-HN 19.DIM-ADJ 19c-DEM 19.DIM-ADJ-PROG-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:

357)

VideoRef:

6.1.9.6 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 appears after a noun but when they become nominal adjectives they precede the head noun. Examples are given below:

358) a. **[kpēn wí   mbɔ̀m]**   "A big tree"
          3.tree 3c.AM big

      b. **[dzǔ   jì   mbɔ̀m]**   "A big house"
          9.house 3c.AM big

      c. **[kə̀mgbòɣò kə̀   dʒʊ̀lî]** "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 its grammatical class changes from an adjective to an

adjectival noun. This accounts for the presence of the associative marker linking both the adjectival noun and the noun as seen in (a, b). In (c) a causative verb has been derived from the adjective, though the causative is not explicitly stated as the [-hɪ] causative suffix is absent:

359) a.   [**mbɔ̀m bì   nǎŋ**]   "Width of the bed"
         large   8c.AM bed

     b.   [**dɔ̂̃ bì   nǎŋ**]   "length of the bed"
         long 8c.AM bed

     c.   [**dʒùlí   dzzɔ̄**]   "shorten the road"
         shorten road

Both nominal adjectives fall 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 concord is generated regressively such that the concord precedes the head noun this implies that the concord is not from the nominal adjective [mbɔm] "big" but from the word "beds" [bi-naŋ]. If on the contrary, then we can reanalyse it as such:

360) a.   [**mbɔm bì-nǎŋ**]   "Width of the bed"
         large   8-bed

     b.   [**dɔ̂̃ 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.

6.1.9.7 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:

361) a. [dʒʊ̀lí bə́ nsì:]   "what a short drum!"
         short   XG drum

     b. [ŋgɔ̀mì bə́ nsì:]   "what a drum/what a frightful drum! (size or design)"
         frightful XG 1.drum

     c. [à dɘ̀ŋə́ bə́ mì:]   "what tall man!"
         EI! tall   XG 1.person

     d. [à dʒʊ̀lí bə́ mì:]   "what a short man!"
         EI! short XG 1.person

     e. [à sə̌   bə́ mì]   "what a small man!"
         EI! small XG 1.person

     f. [à tʃǐːŋ bó mì:]   "what a fat man!"
          EI! fat   XG 1.person

     g. [à tʃǐːŋ bó kpēn]   "what a big tree!"
         EI! fat   XG 3.tree

     h. [à tʃǐːŋ bó bwám]   "what a big cup!"
         EI! fat   XG 5.cup

The word [bə́] and [bó] are free variations. The adjective is connected to the head noun through 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 (361a,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 differ 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 (362a and b):

362) a.   [**dzǔ   jì   mbɔ̀m**]   "big house"
              9.house 9.AM big

    b.   [**ná: dzǔ   jì   mbɔ̀m**] "bigger/biggest house" or "what a bigger house!"
              XC 9.house 9.AM 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 (663, comparative adjectives) below. The form of the exclamation morpheme is not influenced by the noun class gender:

363) a.   [**nâ kìfó kì   bɔ̀ᵞɔ́lī**]   "a very red cap!"
              XC 7.cap 7c.AM red

    b.   [**nâ bìfó bì   bɔ̀ᵞɔ́lī**]   "very red caps!"
              XC 8.caps 8c.AM red

The exclamation mood also changes the tone of the adjectival verb. The adjective red [bɔ̀ᵞɔ́] is underlyingly low but changes to L H in an exclamation. In this context the adjective red/shine is now a verb that is why the head noun concord is absent. And because the head noun is followed by a verb the clause can be optionally marked for tense:

364) a.   [**kìfó (nì) bɔ̀ᵞɔ́**] "the cap shone!"   b.   [**gbúᵞú bɔ̀ᵞɔ́**] "the fire shines!"
              cap P4 red   fire   red

6.1.9.8 Adjectival causatives

An adjectival verbs can be suffixed with a causative suffix to form a causative attribute:

365) a.   "long"   [də̀ŋə́ → də́ŋə̀hí]   "lengthening" (make it become longer)
    b.   "black   [dʒǐ → dʒíhí]   "blacken" (make it become black)
    c.   "red"   [bò ᵞó → bó ᵞòhí]   "redden" (make it become red)

Some phrase examples are:

366) a.   **[bóˠò-hí   kì-fó]**   "redden the cap"
           red-CAUS   7-cap

      b.   **[dʒì-sí   kì-fó]** "blacken the cap"
           black-CAUS 7-cap

The causative suffix is interchangeably used: [-hɪ~sɪ] Some speakers use the [-hɪ] while some are used to [-sɪ], but the Mbuk says the [-sɪ] variant is predominant of Chung (Faat) language a variant of Mbuk language. This data here is collected from a Mbuk speaker who unconsciously uses [-sɪ], then when conscious uses [-hɪ], due to the interwoven social ties with the Faat variety. The derivational causative suffix [-hɪ~-sɪ] is toneless. The tone is determined by the tense, the imperfective aspect and the affirmative mood. The causative morpheme copies the following tense tone on the progressive aspect (PROG) as is contrasted in (b) and (c) below:

367) a.   **[Mí dʒí-sí-kí   kì-fó]**   "I am blackening the cap (now)"
           1S black-CAUS-PROG 7-cap

      b.   **[Ḿ dʒí-sì-kì-lə̀   kì-fó]**   "I am going to blacken the cap (sooner)"
           1S black-CAUS-PROG-AF 7-cap

      c.   **[Ḿ dʒí-sí-kí-lə̀   kì-fó]**   "I am going to blaken the cap (soon)"
           1S black-CAUS-PROG-AF 7-cap

Another observation is that the causative attribute precedes the noun it describes.

The causative suffix [-hɪ] has prominence over adjectival suffix [-lɪ/-nɪ] 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 [-nɪ] since it is no longer apposed to the root:

368) a.   **[tə́   wí   dʒǐ:-lī]**   "heavy stone"
           5.stone 5c.AM heavy-SX

      b.   **[tə́   wí   jâŋ-hí-nī]**   "light stone (weigh)"
           5.stone 5c.AM light-CAUS-SX

6.1.9.9 **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:

369)   a.   [**kìnsà ndzɔ́ŋ-kí   kə̄**]

           Nyongo good-PROG NEG

           "Nyongo is not good."

           VideoRef:KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00391{00:00:54.000-00:00:57.000}

6.1.9.10   **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 are constructed with unique morphemes; the morpheme of similarity and two morphemes of differences.

6.1.9.10.1 **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 [kə́ ~ 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 examples below illustrate the marker of similarity:

374)   a.   [**dzǒ   jə̌ŋ   tʃə́ŋ kə́ lǎ jì   Ntsòˠò**]

           9.house 9c.my big   be SY 9c.AM PN

           "My house is big like that of Nchogho"

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b.　　[dzǔ　　jɛ̌ŋ　jì　　mbɔ̀m kó lǎ jì　　Ntsò^ɣò]
9.house 9c.my 9c.AM big　　be SY 9c.AM PN
"My house is big like that of Nchogho"

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.　　[Kâʔ　　fɔ́n　fɔ́　　dû: kó tò　kâʔ　　fɔ́　Ntʃʲà]
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.　　[Kâʔ　　fɔ́n　fɔ́　　dû: kó tò　fɔ́　Ntʃʲà　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.　　[Kâʔ　　fɔ́n　ló kó　tò kâʔ　fɔ́　　Ntʃʲà]
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 [jì] stays. The full noun phrase, house [dzǔ] is optional:

f.　　[dzǔ　　jɛ̌ŋ tʃɛ́ŋ kɔ́　　lǎ　(dzǔ)　jì　　Ntsò^ɣò]
9.house 9c.my big　be/just SY　9.house 9c.AM PN
"My house is big like that of Nchogho"

6.1.9.10.2 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 [tsɔ́ŋɔ́]. The different lexemes can be considered as adverbs of adjectives. The [án]

and [ná:] comparative adverbs precede the adjective they modify while the [tsə́ŋə́] is preceded

by the adjective it is describing. The three differential morphemes (DY) are [án], [ná], [tsə́ŋə́]:

375) a. [tʃʷàì]   "small"
     b. [án tʃʷàì]   "more or very small" or "smaller/smalest"

     c. [kə̌ŋ   kìmwàní ko an   tʃwàì]   "mine plantain is smaller"
         mine 7.plantain is   DY small

376) a. [mbɔ̀m]   "big"
     b. [ná: mbɔ̀m]   "more or very big" or   "bigger/biggest"
          XC big

     c1. [kə̌ŋ   kìmwàní kó ná: kì   mbɔ̀m]   "mine plantain is bigger"
         mine 7.plantain is DY   7c.AM big

     c2. [bʲǐŋ bìmwàní kó ná: bì   mbɔ̀m]   "Mine plantains are bigger"
         mine 8.plantain is DY 8c.AM big

Hence, [án] and [ná:] play 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 [tsə́ŋə́] within a clause:

377) a. [Kìfó kə̌ŋ   tʃə́ŋ-kí   tsə́ŋə́-kí-là   kì Ntsòˠó]
         7.cap 7c.my big-PROG DY-PROG-AF 7c PN
         "My cap is bigger than Nchoko's cap"

     b. [Dzǔ   jə̌ŋ   tʃə́ŋ-kí   tsə́ŋə́-kí-là dzǔ   jì Ntsòˠó]
          9.house 9c.my big-PROG DY-kɪ-lə   9.house 9c PN
         "My house is bigger than Nchoko's house"

6.1.9.11 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 suffix deverbatise a verb

forming an adjective. Not all verbs can be deverbatise with the suffix [-lɪ] or [-nɪ]. The

adjectival suffix (ADJS) [-lɪ] and [-nɪ] from data (a) and (b) are allophones for in the

neighbourhood of a nasal coda, the [-lɪ → -nɪ]. The presence of the suffix seems to nominalise the adjectival verb:

		Verb		Noun		Adjective
378)	a.	[báɲ] "be white"	/	[mbáɲ] "whiteness"	/	[báɲ-nī] "white"
	b.	[bóˠò] "be red"	/	[mbɔ̀ˠɔ̀] "redness"	/	[bɔ̀ˠɔ́-lī] "red"
	c.	[dʒí] "be black"	/	[ndʒí] "blackness"	/	[dʒǐː-lī] "black"
	d.	[líghɪ̀] "be strong"	/	[nlɪ̀ˠɪ̀] "strongness"	/	[lɪ̀ˠɪ́-lī] "strong"
	e.	[bó] "be tired"	/	[mbó] "tireness"	/	[bó-lī] "tire"
	f.	[dʒʊn] "be old	/	[ndʒʊ̀n] "oldness"	/	[dʒʊ̌n-nī] "old"

379) a1. [dzǔ   jì   bǎɲní jə́lə̄ ndzɔ́ŋ-ká   lə̀]
9.house 9c.AM white 9.this good-PROG AF
"this white house is good"

380) f1. [mǐ dʒō̄n]   "I am old"
1S   old

f2. [mì wì dʒʊ̌n-nī]   "an old man"
 1S AM Old-ADJS

f3. [wǐ dʒō̄n]   "he is old"
 3S   old

f4. [wí lànhí dʒʊ̌n]   "he is very old"
3S 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 ʊ̀ lì˥-lɪ**   "a strong man"

d2.   [**mì wə́lə́ lɨ́˥ɨ̀-kɪ́-lə̀**]   "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 [-lɪ] suffix but when it is in its stative verb form, the suffix elides.

e1.   [**bə̀˥ə́ bō :**]   "we are tire"

e2.   [**m̀bó   ndɔ̄ŋ-kɪ́ kə̄**]   "tiredness is not good"
       tiredness good-PROG NEG

e3.   [**bǐ   jì   bǒ:lɨ̄**]   "tired goats"
       9.goat 9.AM N.ADJ

e4.   **bǐ   jì   bó:lɨ̄**   "the young goats"
       HN   AM   N.ADJ
       9.goat 9c.AM young

In the example below, adjectival verbs (verb-like adjectives) do take an adverb:

381) a.   [**mǐ lāhɨ̄ bó**]   "I am very tired"
             1S ADV ADJ.V

We round up the binary concept of the presence and the absence of the [-lɪ] suffix:

382) a.   [**m̀tɔ́tɔ̀   wì   bə̀˥ɔ́-lɨ̄**]   "a red pepper"
             1.pepper 1.AM red-SX

      b.   [**m̀tɔ́tɔ̀   wì   bə̀˥ɔ́**]   "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 [-lɪ] is not induced by the head noun being singular or plural. Consider the clause in its negation mood:

383) a. **[kì-fó k-ə́lə̄ bɔ́ˠɔ̀-kí kə̄]** "this cap is not red"

 7-HN 7c-DEM ADJ-PROG NEG

 cap   this   red-IP not

b. **[bì-fó bj-ə́lə̄ bɔ́ˠɔ̀-kí   kə̄]** "these caps are not red"

 8-HN 8c-DEM ADJ-PROG NEG

 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~lə] suffix and especially the pure adjectives like the ones below which cannot be suffixed in (c):

384) a. [mbɔ̀m]   "big, large, huge"

b. [tʃù~tʃû]   "bad, ugly, wicked"

c. *[lànhí tʃú-kí-lə̀]   "very bad"

d. [lànhí ká̋-kí-lə̀   tʃû] "have a very bad fashion" (bad manners)
    very   have-PROG-AF bad

Hence, in order to have "very bad" we have to use it with, have [ká̋].

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 become an empty morph. Here are some examples:

385) a. [lɥín-nī]   →   [lɥínní]   "lazy"

b. [mbáŋ-nī]   →   [mbàŋnì]   "sour"

c. [jăm-nī]   →   [jămnī]   "width"

The tonal system for (a) and (b) fails to comply with the suffix mid tone and the root [lɥín, mbáŋ, jăm] is void of a meaning in the absence of their suffixes. Meaning that the suffix is an intrinsic part of these sets 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

21ˢᵗcentury generation of Mbuk speakers. The suffixation is not clear for the above examples, we also contemplate on the onset nasal consonant probably resulting from [n → ndʒ] here:

386) a. **[nɔ̂ŋ]** / **[ndzɔ́ŋ]** / **[ndzɔ́ŋ-nī]** "good"

The verb "good" is under a puzzle as to the phonological process because [nɔ́ŋ] and [ndzɔ́ŋní] paradigmatically substitutes for each other for the same sense. The examples are:

387) a. **[mì wì nɔ́ŋ]** "A good man"
b. **[mì wì ndzɔ́ŋ-nī]** "A good man"

6.1.9.12 **Adjectival constraints**

The term "large" [mbɔ̀m] can modify every noun. Its modification tendency is not limited to certain categories of nouns. While [mbɔ̀m] is a general term for large, its synonymous term large [kìmfáŋ, kìmgbáŋ] 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, [kìmfáŋ] 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 exclamations in meaning unlike [mbɔ̀m] 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 [mbɔ̀m, kìmfáŋ] because it cannot take the imperfective marker [-kílə́]. In addition, a pure adjective cannot also be prefixed to the gerund nasal prefix archiphone to form an adjectivalnoun.

On the contrary, adjectives derived from verbs such as [tʃə́ŋ], the root of the verb can be suffixed with an imperfective aspect maker [-kílə́]. 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:

388)　a.　　**[tʃə́ŋ-kílə́]**　　"being large"

　　　b.　　**[ǹ-tʃə́ŋ]**　　　"largeness"

Distributively, "mbɔ̀m" 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 [mbɔ̀m] can be used to express comparatives 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:

389)　a.　　"big"　　　　**[dù → dùdù]**　　　　"bigger"

　　　b.　　"real"　　　**[kùm → kùmkùm]**　　　"really"

　　　c.　　"darkness"　**[kə́lə́m → lə́mkə̀lə́m]**　"secretly (dark dark)"

6.1.10　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 close the modifier is closer to the head noun. Illustrative presentation:

403) a.   **[kpɛ̄n]**   "tree"
           HN/NP

    b.   **[kpɛ̄n wɔ̌ŋ]**   "my tree"
           HN   POSS

    c.   **[kpɛ̄n wɔ̌ŋ wí mbɔ̀m]**   "my big tree"
           HN   POSS AM ATT

    d.   **[kpɛ̄n wɔ̌ŋ wì mbɔ̀m wɔ́lə̄]**   "this my big tree"
           HN   POSS AM ATT   DEM

    e1.   **[kɛ̄n jɔ̌ŋ jì mbɔ̀m jí fá jɔ́lə̄]**   "these my two big trees"
           HN POSS AM ATT   AM NUM DEM

    e2.   **[kɛ̄n jɔ̌ŋ jì mbɔ̀m jɔ́lə̄ jí fá]**   "these my two big trees"
           HN POSS AM big   DEM AM NUM

Considering the above four modifiers (possessive, attribute, demonstrative and numeral) we can state the following observations in relation to the hierarchy:

404) a.   **HN**   **or**   **b.**   **HN**
        1ˢᵗ   **POSS**   **1ˢᵗ**   **POSS**
             2ⁿᵈ   **ATT**   **2ⁿᵈ**   **ATT**
             3ʳᵈ   **NUM**   **3ʳᵈ**   **DEM**
             4ᵗʰ   **DEM**   **4ᵗʰ**   **NUM**

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:

Noun Phrase Rule: (aa)   NP/HN POSS ATT NUM DEM   or
                      (bb)   NP/HN POSS ATT DEM NUM

Between hierarchy (a) and (b), hierarchy (a) is more frequently used:

405) a.   **kɛ̄n jɔ̌ŋ jî mbɔ̀m jí fá: jɔ́lə̄ kúlí wə̄**
          HN POSS AM ATT   AM NUM DEM NP LC/PO
          trees my of big   of two these compound in
          "These my two big trees at the compound"

6.2 MBUK INTERROGATION

Mbuk language has several ways of interrogating. Interrogating or questioning is a means of requesting information or just expressing or exclaiming. Which means not all questions do request information they may be expressing discontent. Languages all over the world use one or many of the following strategies to mark interrogation; intonation, word order inversion, interrogative particle, tag question, and question word.

The rising and fall of pitch intonation, is being used in English to convert declarative into an interrogative:

406)   English: He is going to the market.

He is going to the market?   With a rising intonation gives a question.

As for the word order, the Malay language uses this method to ask questions where the subject and the verb are reversed, data courtesy Payne (1997:296)

407)   Malay: Assertion,   [**bapak datangkah nanti**]   "father will come later"
                              father   come.FUT   later

Question,   [**datangkah bapak nanti**]   "will father come later?"
                              come.FUT   father later

Upon all these five methods, Mbuk has three; the interrogative particle, the tag question, and the question word which we will now look at them systematically.

6.2.1 Interrogative particle

The interrogative particle (QP) is used in forming yes/no questions in Mbuk. There are two question particles in Mbuk; the [a] and [ma] which are of the form V and CV. These particles come after a noun or a verb or any other word depending on which of these end a clause. The interrogative marker V [a] is difficult to observe when it is following a vowel

because it is often assimilated by the vowel. When the word ends with a consonant, sometimes the root vowels is affected by length. The example show how the question particle operates:

408) a. **[dzíŋ bó bìmfín]**   "corn and cocoyam"   Assertion
        corn and cocoyam

    b. **[dzíŋ má bìmfín   ā]**   "corn or cocoyam?"   Question
        corn or   cocoyam QP

In the alternative conjunction phrase (b) we hear an extra particle after the noun which is absent in (a) above. These cases have illustrated the interrogative particle with nouns of closed syllables. Furthermore, in some closed syllables the extra vowel is not heard rather it is the vowel of the root that becomes longer. With some speakers, in emphatic speech, the interrogative particle stands out clearly without being assimilated. One remark is that all the vowels can be lengthened due to the presence of a question particle. In the case below, both the front (a) and central vowels are exemplified (b, c):

409) a. Assertion   **[ŋkúŋ gbǎ: kpēn]**   "the chief has cut a tree"
                chief cut   tree

        Question   **[ŋkúŋ hī gbǎ: kpê:n]**   "the chief has cut a tree?"
                chief P2 cut   tree.QP

    b. Assertion   **[bə̀ˠə́   wò̀ˠó bʷám]**   "we have washed a cup"
                1P.EXCL wash cup

        Question   **[bə̀ˠə́   wò̀ˠó bʷâ:m]**   "we have washed a cup?"
                1P.EXCL wash   cup.QP

    c. Assertion   **[wò kɑ̌:-kə́   lə̀ dzə́ŋ]**   "you do have corn"
                2S have-PROG AF corn

        Question   **[wò kɑ̌:-kə́   lə̀ dzə̂:ŋ]**   "do you have corn?"
                2S have-PROG AF corn.QP

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:

410) a. **[dzíŋ bó ʃʲə̌]** "corn and fowl"
           corn and fowl

      b. **[dzíŋ mā ʃʲə̄]** "corn or fowl?"
           corn or   fowl.QP

Below, the lengthening is obvious and the tone moves from high to falling:

411) a. **[ká̗lə̀ ko kìmʷàní ~ kìŋʷàní]** "this is banana."
           this   is banana

      b. **[ká̗lə̀ ko kìmʷànî:?]** "this is banana a?
           this is   banana.QP

With a progressive aspect, the interrogative particle comes before the averment:

412) a. Assertion **[m̄ kə̄mhī̄-kī̄ fə̂-kí-lə̀]** "I am doing it faster"
                       1S fast-PROG do-PROG-AF

      b. Question   **[wò kə̄mhī̄-kī̄ fə̂-kí-à-lə̀]** "are you doing it faster?"
                       2S fast-PROG do-PROG-QP-AF

6.2.2 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. 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

413) a.   *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00406*

FSW-1   **[bə̄ bə̄ mū mkǎɲ   í dʒ^jà lə́ jì mù, sə̄ ɲùò ɲá b^ʲɛ̄n bí dzíní í**

we we drink corn.beer in voice so of one, as God give things of eating to

bə̀ˠábě̌n í   dzǎː jə́lə̄ wə̄]

1POIPREP year DEM PO

We should drink corn beer in unity as God has given us food this year (STATEMENT)

Crowd   **[wə̄   jì mù]**

USC   IJ   of one *(in unity)*

FSW-1   **[à   tʃâ sə̄ ḿ tʃ^jə́kí lə̀   má bēn tʃ^jə́k á   ɲ^ʲə̄ tə́]**

it.isnot 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   **[mbɛ̀ː   kó já^ˠà mbɛ̀ː]**

yes Fon   is.it so   Fon

Fon, it is.   That is it, Fon (AFFIRMATION)

414) a.   **[Ntòmbá dzí-kì   lə̀. À kó àjá^ˠá? À kó àjá^ˠà.]**

PN   eat-PROG.F1 AF it is so?   It is so.

"Ntumba will eat. Is he?" He is.

b.   **[Ntòmbá dzí-kì   lə̀. À kó àjá^ˠá? À tʃâː àjá^ˠà.]**

PN   eat-PROG.F1 AF it is so   it not so

"Ntumba will eat. Is he?" No, he will not eat.

6.2.3 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:

415) a.   [ndə̀]   "who"   f.   [ŋʷə̄]   "which"
      b.   [bʷìn]   "when"   g.   [dên]   "how"
      c.   [nàɲ, fàɲ] "where"   h.   [mān~māɲ]   "how many"
      d.   [ɲʲə̄]   "what"   i.   [dên]   "how much"
      e.   [ɲʲə̄]   "why"

6.2.3.1 The interrogative who [ndə̀]

The interrogative who [ndə̀] 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:

416) a.   [à dzə̂ kí ndə̀]   "who is coming?"
           DS come PROG 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:

417) a.   [wò kó ndə̀]   "who are you?"
            2S be who

      b.   [wə̀lə̀ kó ndə̀]   "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 is important to note that any other verb can take the position of the auxiliary verb "be" as seen above with the verb come [dzē]:

418) 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 [**ə̀ə̀, à kɔ̂m-kí   bə́ ndè dzáˠá jáˠà   nǒ:**]
          IJ, DS make-PROG 3P who 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.

6.2.3.2 **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:

419) a. [**wì dzə̂ kí   bʷìn**] "when is he coming?"
          3S come PROG when

      b. [**ò bí ɲʲə̂ bʷìn**] "when will he go?"
          3S F3 go   when

      c. [**wə̀ nǎ: dzə̂ bʷìn**] "when will you come"
          2S will come when

6.2.3.3 **The interrogative where [nàɲ ~ fàɲ]**

There are forms and one of them has a variant, "where" [nàɲ~nàʲ~nàn] and [fàɲ]:

420) a.   [nàɲ]   "where"

     b.   [fàɲ]   "where"

The context of usage varies. The definite particle [wó] is optionally used with [nàɲ]:

421) a.   [**dzǔ: nâɲ**]   b.   [**dzǔ: jì   wó nâɲ**]

        9.house where   9.house 9c.AM DEF where

        "where is (the) house?"   "where is the house?"

Below, the interrogative [fàɲ] can only be used with the copula, is [kó]:

422) a.   *[**dzǔ: fàɲ**]   b.   [**dzǔ: kó fàɲ**]

       house where   house is   where

       "*where is the house?"   "where is the house?"

[fàɲ] can work together with [wó] and [kó] in restricted order. The (DEF) definite

particle [wó] can only be used with [fàɲ] when followed by a compulsory copula, is [kó] as:

     c.   [**dzǔ: jì wó kó fàɲ**]   "where is the house?"

        9.house 9.c the is where

     But [wó] cannot be used with [fàɲ] in the absence of [kó]. in (f, g):

     d.   [**dzǔ: fàɲ**]   "where is the house?"

     e.   *[dzǔ: jì wó fàɲ]   "where is the house?"

     f.   [**dzǔ: kó fàɲ**]   "where is the house?"

        house is where

     g.   [**dzǔ: jì wó kó fàɲ**]   "where is the house?"

        house it the is where

The corpula, is [kó] can be used with [fàɲ] in the absence of [wó] but [wó] cannot be

used in the absence of [kó]. As for [nàɲ] the copula, is [kó] is used optionally, except for [wó]

which has a discriminative application to [nàɲ]. Another optional definite particle that goes

with the interrogative pronoun is [gʷú]. The [wó] and [gʷú] are used for what is specific and known. To find out what one knew was there and he no longer finds it, [gʷú] or [wó] is used:

423) a. [**dzǒ: gʷú nâɲ**]   "where is the house" (the house that was here before)
         house the where

      b. [**dzǒ: wó nâɲ**]   "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):

424) a. [**dzə́ŋ nâɲ**]   b. [**dzə́ŋ wó nâɲ**]
         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. [**dzə́ŋ wí nâɲ**]   d. [**dzə́ŋ wí wó nâɲ**]
         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. [**dzə́ŋ jí nâɲ**]   f. [**dzə́ŋ jí wó nâɲ**]
         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 particle [wo] or [gʷu] and the copular "is" as well as all of them can be left out as shown in example (h):

      g. [**kìkpè kí wó kó nâɲ**]   h. [**kìkpə̀ nàɲ**]
         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 head noun are present, the interrogative is always at the end of the sentence. Examples:

425) a.   [**Bâ   kìfí kə̌ŋ   kə́   mbɔ̀m nâɲ**]   "Where is my big pig?"
            FOC 7.pig 7.my 7c.AM big   where

       b.   [**Bé bìfí bʲĭŋ bí   fá   nâɲ**]   "Where are my two pigs?"
            FOC 8.pig 8.my 8c.AM two where

The meaning of the particle labelled focus (FOC) 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.   [**kìfí kə̌ŋ   kə́   mbɔ̀m nâɲ**]   "Where is my big pig?"
            7.pig 7.my 7c.AM   big   where

       d.   [**bìfí bʲĭŋ bí   fá   nâɲ**]   "Where are my two pigs?"
             8.pig 8.my 8c.AM two where

6.2.3.4 **The interrogative why [ɲʲə̄]**

The interrogative "why" [ɲʲə̄] 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 2S [wò] has a variant pronunciation [wə̀]. The interrogative example for why [ɲʲə̄] is:

426) a.   [**wə̀ dâ kí   ɲʲɔ̄**]   "why are you crying?"
          2S cry PROG why

       b.   [**wə̀ dzí kí   ɲʲɔ̄**]   "why are you eating?"
          2S eat PROG why

6.2.3.5 **The interrogative what** [ɲʲə̄]

The questioning word, "what" [ɲʲə̄] finds information relating to a noun (what is your name?) or a verb (what are you doing?). The interrogative of form CGV [ɲʲə̄] is the same form with the interrogative why [ɲʲə̄]. But there is a different 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:

427) a. [**wì dzə̂ kɪ́ dzə́ fə́ ɲʲə́**]   "what is he coming to do?"
            3S come PROG come do what

      b. [**wì dzə́ kə́ fə́ ɲʲə́ mfá**]   "what is he coming to do here?"
            3S come PROG do what here

      c. [**à lô kɪ́   ɲʲə́ wò**]   "what is paining you?"
            DS pain PROG what 2S

6.2.3.6 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. It is of the family of closed syllable word of the fabric CVC accompanied by a falling tone:

428) a. [**wò nǔ dên**]   "how did you sleep?"
            2S   sleep how

      b. [**wì ko dên**]   "how is he?"
            3S be how

      c. [**kɛ́n kɪ́   dʒúá dên**]   "how is the soup made?"
            make PROG soup how

      d. [**kì tʃə́ŋə̀ kɪ́   dên**]   "how does the thing looks like?"
            it look   PROG how

6.2.3.7 The interrogative which [ŋʷə́] ~ [N]

The interrogative, "which" has two forms [ŋʷə́] and [N] thatseek to identify or differentiate one thing from the other. In (429), the use of [ŋʷə́] with an adjective:

429) a.   [kə́ ŋʷə́   kpēn wì nɔ́ŋ]   "Which good tree is it?"
            it   which tree of good

      b.   [bə́ˠə́ k�í   ŋʷə́ kpɛ́n]   "which tree is bad?"
            bad   PROG tree kpɛ́n

      c.   [kə́ ŋʷə̄   kpēn bə́ˠə́ní lə̀]   "Which bad tree is it?"
            it   which tree bad.NA AF

      d.   [kə́ ŋʷə̄   kpēn wú tsô:lə̄]   "Which bad tree is this?"
            it   which tree of   bad

The other face of "which" is a contracted form of [ŋwə́]. It functions as an emphatic interrogative pronoun (EIP).It is a homorganic nasal pronoun which blends with focus (emphatic) co-occurs and precedes a head noun pre-posed concord. In Mbuk, the emphatic interrogative pronoun (EIP) just as the determiners belongs to the noun phrase constituent as seen in the table 73 follwing in the next page.

Here, a cleft construction occurs with its goal to place certain ideas in focus. The [kə́] that precedes the pronoun is an optional copula element meaning in English "is". The head noun which by default is head intial becomes head final in the interrogative clauses in the absence of an adjective, Dik (1989:18), *"Whenever there is some overt difference between two constructions X and Y, start out on the assumption that this difference has some kind of functionality in the linguistic system. Rather than pressing X into the preconceived mould of Y, try to find out why X and Y are different, on the working assumption that such a difference would not be in the language unless it had some kind of task to perform."* Hence, [ŋʷə́] and [N]have two distinct relational roles to play in different contexts, compare 429 (a-d) above and 429 (e,f) below:

429) Mbuk, e.   [kə́ ŋ̀   w-ə̂   ø-ŋkúŋ]   "Which chief?"
                  COP **EIP**   1c-AM 1-chief

      f.   [kə́ m̀   b-ə̂   bə̀-ŋkúŋ]   "Which chiefs?"
                  COP **EIP**   2c-AM 2-chief

Table 73: Mbuk Emphatic Interrogative Pronoun

Optional Copula (COP)	Emphatic Interrogative Pronoun (EIP)	Concord (AG) / Associative Marker	Noun Classes	Example sentence
(kə́) COP	ŋ̀ EIP	w-ə̂ 1c-AM	ø-ŋkúŋ 1-chief	[kə́ ŋ̀ wə̂ ŋkúŋ] *which chief*
(kə́) COP	m̀ EIP	b-ə̂ 2c-AM	bə̀-ŋkúŋ 2-chiefs	[kə́ m̀ bə̂ bə̀ŋkúŋ] *Which chiefs?*
(kə́) COP	ŋ̀ EIP	w-ə̂ 3c-AM	ø-kpã̄ 3-hand	[kə́ ŋ̀ wə̂ kpã̂] *Which hand?*
(kə́) COP	[ŋ̀]	j-ə̂ 4c-AM	ø-kã̂ 4-hands	[kə́ ŋ̀ jə̂ kã̂] *Which hands?*
(kə́) COP	[ŋ̀] EIP	w-ə̂ 5c-AM	ø-gbâː 5-barn	[kə́ ŋ̀ wə̂ gbâː] *Which barn?*
(kə́) COP	[ŋ̀] EIP	k-ə̂ 6c-AM	kí-gbâː 6-barns	[kə́ ŋ̀ kə̂ kígbâː] *Which barns?*
(kə́) COP	[ŋ̀] EIP	k-ə̂ 7c-AM	kì-fí 7-pig	[kə́ ŋ̀ kə̂ kìfí] Which pig?
(kə́) COP	[m] EIP	bʲ-ə̂ 8c-AM	bì-fí 8-pig	[kə́ m̀ bʲə̂ bìfí] *Which pigs?*
(kə́) COP	[ŋ] EIP	j-ə̂ 9c-AM	ø-ʃʲə̄ 9-fowl	[kə́ ŋ̀ jə̂ ʃʲə̄] *Which fowl?*
(kə́) COP	[ŋ] EIP	j-ə̂ 10c-AM	ø-ʃʲə́ 10-fowls	[kə́ ŋ̀ jə̂ ʃʲə́] *Which fowls?*
(kə́) COP	[m] EIP	fʲ- ə̂ 19c-AM	fí-ɲéní 19-bird	[kə́ m̀ fʲə̂ fíɲéní] *Which bird?*
(kə́) COP	[m] EIP	m- ə̂ 6ac-AM	mí-ɲéní 6a-birds	[kə́ m̀ mə̂ míɲéní] *Which birds?*

6.2.3.8 The Interrogative How Many [māɲ]

Here, information is requested about countable nouns and thus the pronoun is often referred to as qualifying interrogatives. Whenever the particle [māɲ] is used, it is asking for an account or number of objects or things. The word "which" varies [māɲ~mān]. 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 linked to the head noun through a concord marker of the noun class of the head noun. The examples that follow are:

430) a. [ʃʲə̄   jí   māɲ]   "how many fowls"
           10.fowl 10c how.many

      b. [bìmwàní bí māɲ]   "how many plantain"
           8.plantain 8c how.many

      c. [kígbâː kí mān]   "how many ceilings"
           6.ceiling 6c how.many

      d. [bwā   bə́ mān]   "how many children"
           2.children 2c   how.many

6.2.3.9 The interrogative how much [dên]

The Mbuk language uses the same morpheme that is used for "how" [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 [kó] 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:

431) a. [dzə́ŋ kó dên]   "how much is corn?"
            corn is how.much

      b. [wə̀ tāŋní kí   dên   dzə́ŋ]   "how much are you selling corn?"
            2S sell   PROG how.much corn

6.2.3.10 **Interrogative Mismatch**

A cue to translation to be more alert and not trying to assume or rashly 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 "what" in the context below we see that example (b) is grammatical but semantically unaccepted:

432) a.   [ʒʲə́ wá kó ndə̀]
           name 2S be who
           "what is your name?"   (lit. your name is who?)

      b.   *[ʒʲə́ wá kó ɲʲə́]
           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 [ɲʲə́] also mean, how [dên] as a semantic what [**dên**] in English. Here are illustrative examples:

433) d.   [**dʒʷàbí kó dên**]
            time   is how
          "what time is it?" (lit. time is how)

      e.   *[**dʒʷàbí kó ɲʲə́**]
            time   is what
          "what time is it?" (lit. time is how)

6.2.3.11 **Interrogative Repetition**

Interrogative repetition is the request of information that was not understood or properly heard to be repeated. At times, it is 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:

434) B: [**wò kó ɲàm**]   "You are an animal"
           2S be animal

      A: [**ɲʲɔ́! or kɘ́!**]   "Pardon me!"
           that or that

      B: [**ɲʲɔ́ wò kó ɲàm**]   "That you are an animal"
           that 2S be animal

      A: [**Ndɘ̀ ko ɲàm**]   "Who is an animal?"
           who be animal

6.3 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; the emphatic interrogative pronoun has 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 POSS AT NM DEM for the following modifiers: possessive (POSS), attribute (AT), numeral (NM) and the demonstrative (DEM) 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 has 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 directional 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 regards restricted semantic domains, the attribute [mbɔm] has no restriction as to the head noun it can modify. Rather, unlike [kìmfáŋ/kìmgbáŋ] 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 [dʒūn] (a,b) and inanimate [kpū] (c,d) in the examples:

435) a.   **[bǐː jə́lə̄ í dʒǔn]**   "this goat is old"
                9.goat 9c.this 9c old

        b.   **[kpə̄ wǎŋ wì dʒǔn-nī]**   "my old wife"
                 1.wife 1c.my 1c old-AdjSX

        c.   **[kìfó ké̄lə̄ kō kí kpū]**   "this cap is an old cap"
                 7.cap 7c.this is 7c old

        d.   **[dzǔ   jī kpū]**   "an old house"
                9.house 9c old

There is also associativity of human versus non-human for the child of a human [wāɲ] and the child of an animal [f̧ǽɲ] in the upcoming example (b) cannot be said for an animal other than a human as illustrated below:

436) a. [ɓǎɲ fí kɔ̌ᵛɔ́] "child of fowl / a young cock"
child AM cock

b1. [ɓǎɲ fí bǐː] "child of a goat / a young goat"
child AM goat

*b2. [wàɲ bǐː] "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 SEVEN

MBUK ADVERBS, ADPOSITIONS, AND CONNECTIVES

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the morpho-syntax of adverbs, adpositions and connectives. The chapter is split into three sections: the first section (7.1) 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 (7.2) then the final section, (7.3) addresses the combination strategy amongst words, phrases and clauses.

7.1 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.

7.1.1 Adverb Structures

Structurally, Mbuk adverbs (ADV) have the following syllabic types; monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic for reduplicated adverbs. These are further grouped into open and closed syllables which we find some with labialised or palatalised onsets.

437) a. Monosyllabic: CV   [hí]   "already"
                            CGV   [fʲɛ̄̄]   "month"
                            CVC   [kɛ́n]   "still"
                            CV₁V₂   [wúó]   "slowly"
      b. Disyllabic: CVCV   [láhí]   "realy"
                            CVCVC   [kɛ́:ʃɔ̄m]   "patiently"
                            CVCCV   [fɔ́blí]   "hastily"
      c. Trisyllabic: CVCVCCV [kíˠáŋhí]   "very important"
                            CVCVCV   [wàˠàhí]   "less important"

The table below presents temporal (TEMP) adverbs, continuity, manner, connectives, value, quantity, restrictive, evaluative and locative adverbs in Mbuk.

Table 74: Mbuk Adverb Types

No.	Mbuk Adverbs	Gloss	Types
1	mgbʉ̀	yesterday	temporal (T.ADV)
2	hí	since, already	temporal
3	kɔ̄mhí ~ kāmhí	early	temporal
4	kāmhí	early	temporal
5	dʒʷàbí	time	temporal
6	mbʲə̀ŋkɔ́ŋ	o'clock (according to clock)	temporal
7	ʃísə̄	next	temporal
8	bʷə̂tʊ̄ˠʊ̄, ʃísə̄ʃísə̄ bʷə̂	after yesterday	temporal
9	dzǎ:	year	temporal
10	ʃī	week	temporal
11	bʷêtʊ̄ˠʊ̄ bí dzə̄ní, wìnìɲì	after tomorrow	temporal
12	ʃísə̄ʃísə̄ bʷə̂, bʷə̂tʊ̄ˠʊ̄	third day before	temporal

13	wìnìɲì	*third day after*	temporal
14	kɔ́mfì	*early*	temporal
15	f̀ɛ̄̃	*month*	temporal
16	ntúŋútúŋú	*early morning*	temporal
17	dʒʷābí tsə̄	*late*	temporal
18	dzá: tʃə̂ŋə̀	*since*	temporal
19	tʃú	*already*	temporal
20	tʃú dôŋ	*just*	temporal
21	hə̄	*before*	temporal
22	tí dôŋ	*about to, just*	temporal
23	ǹʃí tʃūŋ	*day time*	temporal
24	jùbìdòˠó	*sometime*	temporal
25	ǹʃí	*afternoon*	temporal
26	dzǎjìdzə̂ní ∼ dzǎjìdzèní	*next year*	temporal
27	nī	*later, after*	temporal
28	nà	*later, after*	temporal
29	ʃí	*always*	temporal
30	hə̄	*before, when*	temporal
31	ǎ	*before*	temporal
32	ʃísə̄	*after*	temporal
33	lô	*since*	temporal
34	bó	*before*	temporal
35	kɛ́n	*still, throughout*	continuity
36	kpɛ́nhí	*again*	continuity
37	túˠú	*again*	continuity
38	hə́	*go, continue*	continuity
39	há	*go, continue*	continuity
40	kɔ́mhí ∼ kàmhì	*quickly, fast*	manner (M.ADV)
41	ŋgá	*power*	manner
42	nâ	*very*	manner
43	bìnôŋ	*well, good*	manner
44	tə̂hə̀	*slowly*	manner
45	wúó	*slowly*	manner

46	fɔ́blí	*hastily*	manner
47	ŋgɔ̀nlì	*haphazard*	manner
48	ghá jí mú	*together (lit. one thing)*	manner
49	bə̀ŋgǎbə̀ŋgǎ	*roughly, anyhow*	manner
50	àtʃʷɛ̂hìtʃʷɛ̂hì	*bit-by-bit, gently*	manner
51	àtə́sə̀tə́sə̀ ~ tə̄sə̀tə̄sə̀	*gently*	manner
52	nə̀ˠə̀nínə̀ˠə̀ní	*quickly*	manner
53	láhí	*really*	manner
54	ɣájí mú	*together*	manner
55	kɑ́ː ʃɔ̄m	*patiently*	manner
56	núːní	*manners*	manner
57	jâŋhí	*smartly*	manner
58	kʷáhí kínʃɛ̄n	*look sad*	manner
59	tə̂hə̀tə̂hə̀ / tə̄sə̀tə̄sə̀	*gently*	manner
60	tsâː	*just, however*	manner
61	bɔ́ŋ	*even*	manner
62	àtʃʷɛ̂hì	*little, abit, small*	quantity
63	lánhí	*too much, over*	quantity
64	tsɛ́hí ~ tsɛ́kɛ́	*too much, over, a lot*	quantity
65	tə̂	*also, too*	connective
66	bɔ́ŋ, lānhí	*even, also,*	connective contrastive
67	lānhī	*ever, always*	habitual
68	sə̆ŋ	*only*	restrictive (R.ADV)
69	à	*just, on*	restrictive
70	kíˠáŋhí kə́	*very important*	evaluative
71	wàˠàhí	*less important*	evaluative
72	m̀fɑ́ (emphatic), fɑ́	*here*	locative (L.ADV)
73	m̀fî (emphatic), fî	*there*	locative
74	m̀fɔ́ˠɔ̀(emphatic), fɔ́ˠɔ̀	*there*	locative

438) *VideoRef: KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_FSW-1_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00406*

a.　[ɛ:　　　　ŋ̀kʷù　wì　kìmfílì　kí　bə̀mbòˠó,　à tʃâ: kí　dǎɲ,]

IJ (thinking) 1.libation 1.AM 7.kimfili 7.AM Mbuk.people, DS NEG 7.AM T.ADV

The rites of the Kimfili of the Mbuk people have not started today,

b.　[à kó kìmfílì　mā bə́ dzē jén à　kí fá ̄.]

　it is　7.Kimfili while we　come see　just 7.it L.ADV

it is something we grew up and saw here.

c.　[má m̄ tʃʲə́kí　　lə̀ ɣá　jə̂ m̀ kó í dzə́ˠə́ ʃĭ à　júó,　í　ŋ̀kʷù]

　as 1S know.PROG AF thing　that 1S can to say　on just T.ADV, for　1.libation

I should have known what to say now, on these things (instruments)

d.　[wì kìmfílì wə̄ ndʒúó kó fʲēn　　　má m̄ dzē jén à　fí　fá ̄]

　of　kimfili　this　because it.is 19.something that 1S come see　just 19.it L.ADV

of Kimifili ritual because it is something which I just came and　saw it here already existing.

7.1.2 Adverb Distributions

Distributively, with the verb as the deictic word, there are three categories of adverbs in Mbuk; (1) those that occur only before the verb with acronym "BFV", (2) those that occur after verb "AFV" and those that can find themselves on both sides of the verb "BAV" seen in (fig.20):

Before Verb (BFV)
After Verb (AFV)
Before and After Verb (BAV)
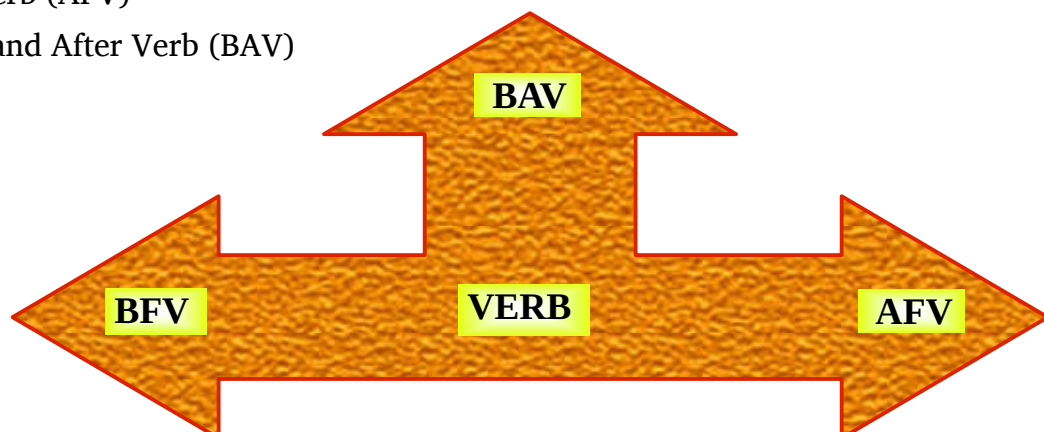
Figure 20: Adverb Verb Distribution

Where; V verb, ADV Adverb, N noun, S subject, O object:

439)   a.   AV BFV   **[Wàbùá kàmhì kō: dzə́ŋ]**   "Wabua harvested corn earlier"
             S   ADV   V   O
             Wabua early harvest corn

       b.   AV AFV   **[Ò ɲànì tə̂hə̀]**   "he walks slowly"
              S   V   ADV
              3S walk slowly

The same adverb occurs on either side of the verb. BAV; (BFV / AFV), [túˠú] "again / still":

440)   a.   AV BFV   **[kìkpə̀ wə̂   túˠú   dzə̄]**   "that lizard is coming again"
             S   DEM ADV   V
             lizard that still/again come

       b.   AV AFV   **[kìkpə̀ wə   dzə̄   túˠú]**   "that lizard is coming again"
              S   DEM V   ADV
              lizard that   come again

   BAV; (BAV / AFV), [hí] "already". In (a) below, the two adverbs encircle the verb with
the adverb [hí] being the BFV while the AFV being [tsɛ́hí]. But in example (b) both adverbs
now become AFVs in a progressive aspect:

441)   a.   **[wə̀ hí   dzí tsɛ̄hí]**   "you have eaten a lot"
              S ADV   V   ADV
              2S   already eat over

       b.   **[wə̀ dzí hí   tsɛ́hí-kí lə̀]**   "you are already eating a lot"
              S   V   ADV   ADV-PROG AF
              2S   eat already over PROG AF

A combination of BAV/BFV has not been seen. The preceding case is BAV/AFV.

7.1.3 Adverb Categorisations

This area describes adverbs with regard to their semantic and grammatical display within each clause. Two main groupings of adverbs are: verb-like adverbs and non-verb-like adverbs. Under these two subdivisions are other peculiarities manifested by some adverbs.

7.1.3.1 Verb-Like Adverbs

Mbuk adverbs have two bonds with tense aspect and mood. Those that take the TAM can be regarded as verb-like while those that do not take any TAM can be treated as non-verb-like.

The adverb takes the progressive aspect marker of the verb just as verbs do. When the adverb precedes the verb, BFV, it agrees with TAM if and only if it is a verb-like adverb:

442) a.   [**Wàbùà wùó kí   kôː-kí   lə̀ dzɪ́ŋ**]   "Wabua is slowly harvesting corn"
              S   ADV PROG V-PROG AF   O
              Wabua slowly PROG harvest-PROG AF corn

      b.   [**ʊ̀ láhí-kí   dzɪ́ː-kí   lə̀ dzɪ́ŋ**]   "he is really eating corn"
              S ADV-PROG V-PROG AF   O
              3S really-PROG eat-PROG AF corn

      c.   [**tʃùò lánhí-kí   fúlí-kí-lə̀**]   "the toilet is actually smelling"
              toilet actually-PROG smell-PROG-AF

7.1.3.1.1 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:

443) a.   [**Wàbùà fɔ́blí-kí-lə̀**]   "Wabua is in a haste"
              S   ADV.V-PROG-AF
              Wabua   haste-PROG-AF

b.　　　[**Wàbùà ŋgɔ̀nlì-kɪ́**]　　　　　"Wabua is haphazard"

　　　S　　ADV.V-PROG

　　　Wabua bend-bend-PROG

7.1.3.1.2 Non-verb-like adverbs

These are adverbs that do not take any tense, aspect or 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 already [hí] do not carry the grammatical markers imposed on verbs. Many of the adverbs fall in this category as shown:

444)　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 dzɔ́ŋ**]　"Wàbùà has harvested corn again"

　　　　　　Wàbùà harvest　still　　corn

　　d.　　　[**Wàbùà kǒ:　　túˠú dzɔ́ŋ**]　"Wàbùa has harvested corn again"

　　　　　　Wàbùà harvest　again corn

　　e.　　　[**bó nī　　dzɪ́**]　　　　　　"they will eat later/after"

　　　　　3P　later　eat

7.1.3.1.3 Copulative adverb

This is an adverb that needs a linking element or copula (COP) to glue it to the substance whose meaning it is to modify. In the case below, we have the copula "be" [kə́] that plays the role of bridging the adverb still [kɛ́n] to the verb, "alive" [wǒm]. 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:

445) a.   **[ʊ̀ kɛ́n kə́ wˇm]**   "he is still alive"

        S ADV COP V

        3S still be alive

The linking element below is expressed by a subject pronoun he [ʊ] 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 kên-kɪ́   ʊ̀ dzɪ̀ dzɪ́ŋ já]**   "Wabua is still eating your corn"

    S   IJ ADV-PROG S V O POSS

    Wabua   still-PROG 3S eat corn your

c.   **[Wàbùà á kên-kɪ́   ʊ̀ dzɪ̀ dzɪ́ŋ jə̂]**   "Wabua is still eating that corn"

    S   IJ ADV-PROG S V O DEM

    Wabua   still-PROG 3S eat corn that

7.1.3.1.4 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 (CNJ) 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:

446) b.   **[lɛ́ bə̂ ŋgá]**   "run with power"

    V CNJ O.ADV

    run with power

7.1.3.1.5 Double adverbs

Adverbs can modify adverbs/adjectives in Mbuk. The adjective well [nɔ̂ŋ] takes the plural prefix [bi-] and the adverb very [nâ] modifying the adjective adding more strength. The word [bìnɔ̂n] is an adverb though it takes a nominal prefix. The word [bìnɔ̂ŋ] modifies the verb eat though it is directly attached to the verb due to the presence of the noun corn [dzíŋ] while the adverb very [nâ] in turn modifies the adverb [bìnɔ̂ŋ]. 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:

447)   a.   [**Wàbùá dzí-kí   dzíŋ nâ   bìnɔ̂ŋ**]   "Wabua eats corn very well"
            S   V-PROG N   ADV ADJ
            Wabua   eat   corn very well

       b.   [**ù kên-kí   dzíː hâː   dzíní**]   "he is still continously eating"
            S ADV-PROG V   ADV   O
            3S still-PROG eat continue eat.NA

       c   [**m̀ tí   dôŋ   á   ɲʲə̀ má**]   "I am just about to going"
            S ADV ADV PREP V   PO

7.1.3.1.6 Idiomatic Adverbs

In Mbuk we have idiomatic constructions which is adverbial in meaning. The word "thing one" means "together" which in Mbuk is an adverb. This construction gives 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:

448)   a.   [**Tílì bô Kìtʃúá ɲánì kí   ɣaji mú**] "Tili and Kechua are walking together"
            S CNJ S   V   PROG O   NUM
            Tili and Kechua walk PROG thing one

The adverb, just "à" modifies the object by saying it is simply made up of bones:

b.　　**[m̀bê kə́ à ŋkóŋó]**　"the man is just bony" (the man is bone-bone).

　　　S　COP ADV　O.ADV

　　　fellow　be　just　boney

7.1.3.1.7 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 occurs only for adverbs that appear before the verb. As a result, in the case of the reduplication which occurs after the verb there is no TAM agreement. The adverb is an AFV reduplicated:

449)　a.　　**[ʊ̀ ɲànì kí bə̀ŋgǎbə̀ŋgǎ]**　　　　"he walks roughly (anyhow)"

　　　　S　V　PROG　ADV

　　　　3S walk PROG roughly

　　b.　　**[ʊ̀ dzí kí dzə́ŋ à tə̄sə̀tə̀sə̀]**　　"he is eating corn gently"

　　　　S　V PROG　O　CNJ　ADV

　　　　3S eat PROG corn with gently.gently

　　c.　　**[ʊ̀ dzí kí dzə́ŋ à tʃʷêhìtʃʷêhì]**　"he is eating corn bit-by-bit"

　　　　S　V　PROG O　　CNJ　ADV

　　　　3S eat　PROG corn with　bit-by-bit

7.1.3.1.8 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:

450)　a　　**[á mú hə̄ nə̀ᵛə̀nínə̀ᵛə̀ní]**　　"that you should drink up quickly"

　　　　CM　V　ADV ADV

　　　　that drink go　quickly

b   [á   ʊ̀   mù   hɘ̀   tɘ̂hɘ̀tɘ̂hɘ̀]   "that he should drink up gently"

        CM   S   V   ADV   ADV

        that 3S drink go   gently

c   [á   ʊ̀   mù   hɘ̀   tɘ̄sɘ̀tɘ̄sɘ̀]   "that he should drink up gently

        CM   S   V   ADV   ADV

        that 3S drink go   gently

7.1.4 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):

451)   a.   [**mì bí kɔ́mhì ɲánì lɘ̀**]   "I will walk rapidly (tomorrow)"

          S   F3 ADV   V   AF

          1S F3 quickly walk AF

       b   [**mì hí lānhī dzí: à   dzíŋ**]   "I always eat corn"

          S   P2 ADV   V   ADV   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: sɘ̆ŋ à   dzɘ́ŋ mgbʊ̀**]   "I ate only corn yesterday"

          S   P3 V   ADV ADV O   ADV

          1S P3 eat   only just corn yesterday

       d.   [**m̀ bí dzí: sɘ̆ŋ à   bìfí**]   "I will eat only pigs (tomorrow)"

          S   F3 V   ADV   ADV O

          1S F3 eat   only   just pigs

7.1.5 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 doubles as an adverb comes after the verbs triggers no extra marking on itself and 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 adverbs that signal imperfective events while the [lô] is also an adverb and also an indicator of perfective events. Some examples are given here:

452) a. [ʊ̀ kɔ́mhí ɲánì kí lə̀] "he is walking quickly"
          S ADV   V   PROG AF
          3S quickly walk PROG AF

    b. [wì hí   dz�í: lə̀] "he is already eating"
         3S already eat AF

    c. [wì tʃú   dzí: lə̀] "he is already eating"
         3S already eat AF

    e. [wì nì bíː   lô] "it has since allow it (long time ago)"
          S P4 V   ADV
          3S P4 stop since

    f   [wì nì dzə̄   lô] "he has since come (long time ago)"
         S P4 V   ADV
         3S P4 come since

7.1.6 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 [tʃâː] and the

same position holds true for the imperative imperfective negator [mà] in example (b):

453) a. **[mí hí tʃâ bɔ́ŋ dzíː tə̄]**   "I did not even eat as well"

    S P1 NEG ADV V   ADV

    1S P1 NEG even eat   also

    b. **[Bàːlî, mà tʃú mɔ̄m, wò nə́ŋ kí   dzí wò dzí, hə́ ká bó   ʒʲə́]**

     S   NEG ADV V   S V   PROG V S   V   CT CD ADV   V

     Baalih NEG again try   2S want PROG 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) even though

the adverb [tə́] 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. **[m̀ nà   bɔ́ŋ lānhí dzíː kə̄   tə́]**   "I will not even eat as well"

     S ADV ADV ADV   V   NEG ADV

     I will even even   eat   not   also/too

    d. **[m̀ nà   túˠú múː kə̄]**   "I will not drink again"

     S   ADV ADV V   NEG

     1S will again drink not

7.1.7 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 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 (454) BFV adverbs:

454) a. **[kɔ̀mhí dzí]**   "eat faster"

    ADV   V

    fast   eat

b. [**kɔ́mhí kō dzíŋ**]   "harvest corn faster"
    ADV   V   O
    rapidly harvest corn

c. [**tsâ: tsə̄ní**]   "just be going / however keep on going"
    just go.NA

In certain constructions, the term "kɔ́mhí" means "early" as given below in (d):

d. [**mì hí kɔ̀mhí fʲéní**]   "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. [**dzə̄ kísə́ʸə́**]   "come immediately/promptly"
    come immediately

f. [**dǔŋ à fɛ́n**]   "remain only there"
    sit   only there

7.1.8 Gerund Adverbs

Within the set of vocabulary that takes the [-nɪ] 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:

455) a. [**bə̀ nì dzíː kí dzíní hə̄ wò gbò**]
         we P4 eat PROG 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".

7.1.9 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 are followed by the time adverb tomorrow:

456) a. [ʊ̀ bí bîː là ʃísə̄ kə̀dʒʲēlí]   "he will stop after tomorrow"
        S F3 V AF ADV ADV
        3S F3 allow AF after tomorrow

     b. [ʊ̀ bí bîː là lǎ   kə̀dʒʲēlí]   "he will stop before tomorrow"
        S F3 V AF ADV ADV
        3S F3 allow AF before tomorrow

7.1.10   Three dimensional adverbs

Some adverbs occupy three different positions. This adverb again/still [tóˠʊ́] has a high

degree of distribution; it appears after verbs, before verbs and after time abverbials:

457) a. [wì bí tóˠʊ́ dzíː là kə̀dʒʲēlí]   "he will eat again tomorrow"
        S F3 ADV V   AF O.ADV
        3S F3 again eat AF tomorrow

     b. [wì bí dzíː là tóˠʊ́ kə̀dʒʲēlí]   "he will eat again tomorrow"
        S F3 V   AF ADV   O.ADV
        3S F3 eat AF again tomorrow

     c. [wì bí dzíː là kə̀dʒʲēlí tóˠʊ́]   "he will eat again tomorrow"
        S F3 V   AF O.ADV   ADV
        S F3 eat AF tomorrow again

7.1.11   Locative adverbs

The locative forms and indicating directions as well:

458) a. [dzə̀gʷǔ]   "up"   c.   [mfîː]   "there"
     b. [dzə̂ʃʲĭn]   "down"   d.   [tàːlì]   "level"

Here are some illustrative examples of locative adverbs:

459) a. [ʊ̀ ká dzə̀gʷǔ]   "he is up there"
        he is up

     b. [ʊ̀ ká dzə̂ʃʲĭn]   "he is down there"
        he is   down

c. [ʊ̀ ká mfíː ǹ-tàːlì]   "he is there at the level place"
    he is   there NA-leve

7.1.12   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. Sometimes, 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 a 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:

460) a. **[jàˠá]**   "upward"   i. **[dzə̄]**   "toward"
      b. **[ʃə̀ˠə́, ʃǐː]**   "downward"   y. **[nídʒʊ́m]**   "backward"
      c. **[tʃə̂ŋ]**   "straight"   k. **[kìmìˠə́]**   "left"
      d. **[nâ dên]**   "disorderly"   l. **[tāːlí]**   "level"
      e. **[ŋgɔ̀nlí]**   "haphazard, not straight" m. **[ɸēːlī̄]**   "go-round"
      f. **[tsə̄ ~ sə̄]**   "away"   n. **[dzìːní]**   "right"
      g. **[nīnʃîːn, hə̂]** "forward, hither" o. **[nǎ, kə̀bə̀]** "side"
      h. **[ímə́ˠá, íbílí]** "outward, remove from inside a container"

7.1.12.1   Upward

To indicate an upward direction of motion, the Mbuk language uses the verb, "up or climb" [jàˠá] whose tone is not actually fixed. It changes with respect to the environment. Furthermore, the verb can equally take a causative suffix if the upward motion is caused by someone or something:

461) a. **[gʊ́ˠʊ́ bili   jáˠáhí   dzə̄]**
          drag remove climb.up-CAUS toward
          "to pull out from a hole (toward puller)"

b.　[**gòˠú bílí　jáˠá**]　　"remove by pulling up"
　　drag　remove　up

c.　[**gòˠú jáˠáhí**]　　"pull upward"
　　 pull　go.up-CAUS

d.　[**ɲā　jāˠāhī**]　　"give go-up"
　　give　go.up-CAUS

e.　[**ù　jáˠá　kí　lə̀**]　　"he is going up"
　　3S　go.up PROG AF

7.1.12.2　**Downward**

A downward direction is pointed by the adverb "down"[ʃə̀ɣə́]. It also takes a causative

suffix [-hí] when the downward motion is supported by someone or something. The tone as

well is not fixed:

462)　a.　[**ɲà　ʃə́ˠə̀hí**]　　"give downward"
　　　　give go.down-CAUS

b.　[**gòˠú ʃə́ˠə̀hí**]　　"pull down"
　　pull　come.down-CAUS (go down)

In Mbuk, directional verbs are incorporated with movement plus direction. The verb

exemplified below is "go" plus a downward direction "descend" [ʃĭ]. 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　　[**m̀ dzáˠá bēn ʃí,　　ŋkúŋ dzə́ˠə́-kí**]
　　　　　 1S say　2P　go.down, Fon　talk-PROG
　　　　　"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_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00407*

01 KEN-92	[m̀,	kó	já˥à	lɔ́,	dʒʲɜ̌	lɜ̀	mó	tsɜ̄	kʊ́˥ʊ̀.	ậ:]
DI	IJ	COP	ADV	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."

7.1.12.3   Straight

The opposite of the not-straight, haphazard directions are expressed in Mbuk by the verb straight [tʃɜ̂ŋ]. The verb straight is acting as an adverb in specifying the motion is horizontal with no upward and downward movement and also without any right or left displacement. But straight can be forward/backward/left/right from a start off point without deviation:

463) a.   [gʊ̀˥ʊ́ tsâ: tʃɜ̂ŋ]   "pull along straight"
              pull   go   straight

7.1.12.4   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: dɛn] modifying the serial verb "pull go" as in this example:

464) a.   [gʊ̀˥ʊ̀ hɜ̄ nâ: dɛ̂n]   "drag any-how/in any manner (haphazard)"
               drag   go anyhow

      b.   [gʊ̀˥ʊ́ fɨ́:ní hɜ̄ nâ: dɛ́n]   "pull and turn anyhow"
               pull   turn go anyhow

Another expression word that expresses a haphazard direction is stated here, haphazard [ŋgɔ̀nlɨ́] which can literally go as "bend – bend" that is, not straight:

      c.   [ŋgɔ̀n-lɨ́]   "haphazard"
               bend-RP

7.1.12.5 **Towards**

This shows a direction towards the speaker. The speaker is the deictic centre attracting the motion towards him or her. The word "come" [dzə̄] 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:

465) a.   [**gʊ̀ˠú bílí   dzə̄**]   "pull and remove toward"
             pull   remove come

7.1.12.6 **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" [tsə̄] which carries motion and direction. This can also be expressed as going away:

466) a.   [**gʊ̀ˠú bílí   sə̄**]   "pull it away"
           drag   remove away

7.1.12.7 **Forward / Front**

The directional adverb [nīnʃî:n]gives a leading direction meaning "forward 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:

467) a.   [**tsə̄ hə̄ nínʃîn**]   "move forward"
            go   go PREP.forward

468) a.   [**dʊ̆ŋ   nìnʃî̂**]   "stand in front"
            stand PREP.front

     b.   [**dzə̄   nìnʃî̂**]   "come in front"
            come PREP.front

c.   [**dzə̄ də̄ í   nìnʃî̂**]   "come to the front"
           come come PREP PREP.front

In (c) the verb "come" has three forms; [dzə̄], [rə̄] and [də̄]. The [də̄] or [rə̄] are the grammaticalised forms of [dzə̄]. They are often used as a twin serial, same verb is used twice. The word "front" has an intrinsic preposition (PREP) [nìn-]attached to the root word [-ʃîn ~ ʃî̂] which results to [nìnʃî̂] "front or in front".

7.1.12.8   **Behind / Backward [nídʒúm]**

The position before the point of reference [nídʒúm]:

469) a.   [**tsə́ nídʒúm**]   "go behind"
          go   PREP.behind

     b.   [**dǔŋ nìdʒúm**]   "stay behind"
           stay PREP.behind

     c.   [**dzǔ kə́ nídʒúm**]   "the house is behind"
           house be PREP.behind

7.1.12.9   **Left side**

The sideward position or direction defined by the word [kə̀bə̀ kí kìmì ̬ə́] describes the position or direction at the left hand side with person at the deictic centre:

470) a.   [**tsə̄ í   kìbə̀: kí   tsɛ̄n jə̌ŋ jì kìmìŋə́**]   "Pass by my left hand side"
          go   PREP side PREP hand my AM left.hand

There is a patriclan variation in speech with; [kə̀bə̀ ~ kìbə̀], [kìmì ̬ə́ ~ kìmìŋə́].

7.1.12.10   **Right side**

The sideward direction or position of the right is defined by the word [kə̀bə̀ kí dzí:ní] meaning right side describing the position at the right-hand side with man at the deictic centre:

471) a.   [**tsə̄ í   tsɛ̀n jə̌ŋ jì dzī:nī**]   "Pass by my right-hand side"
          go PREP hand my AM right-hand

7.1.12.11   Level

A horizontal spatial or surface reference that is perceived as straight, not undulating or bending. The term [tā:lī̄] is referred to as "level":

472) a. **[gʊ̀ˠʊ́ tā:lī̄]**   "pull go level" (no climbing or descending)
            pull   go-level

      b. **[gʊ̀ˠʊ́ tā:lī̄   dzə̄]**   "drag go.level come"
            drag   go.level come

      c. **[gʊ̀ˠʊ́ tā:lí jáˠá dzə̄]**   "drag on level and come up"
            drag level up   come

7.1.12.12   Circular, go-round

The action that goes in the circular or round. This opposes to the action that moves straight. 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 [hə̂]:

473) a. **[gʊ̀ˠʊ́ fʲē:lī̄   ʃì: hə̂]**   "drag go-round then downward"
            drag go-round down go

7.1.12.13   Inclination

The term [nʊ̀hí] meaning "lean or incline" is used to describe the position of something.

474) a. **[mǎ   lô   kʊ́ˠʊ̀ nʊ̀hí í kìmbʊ̀ˠʊ̀ kí dzʊ̌   mə̄]**
            Do.not throw ground lean   to wall   of house on
            "Do not throw soil to lie onto the wall of the house."

7.1.12.14   Progress

This is mental displacement with no actual direction but is shows advancement. The particle that acts this role is a grammaticalised verb go [hə̂]. 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:

475) a. **[wò dzî̂ hə̂]**   "be eating" (no physical mortion)
            2S   eat go

7.1.12.15   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 signifies a past action [hî] which is sometimes heard as [hí].

Thence with the future, the same realisation surfaces with adverbs of later [nà] which is same as the future tense marker [nǎ], 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 [nàjí] 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 in turn 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 in (figure 21):

Ascendant :1		**verb**		
Descendants 1:	**adverb**	**adverb**	**tense**	**directionality**
Descendant :2	**tense**			
Routes:	**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**
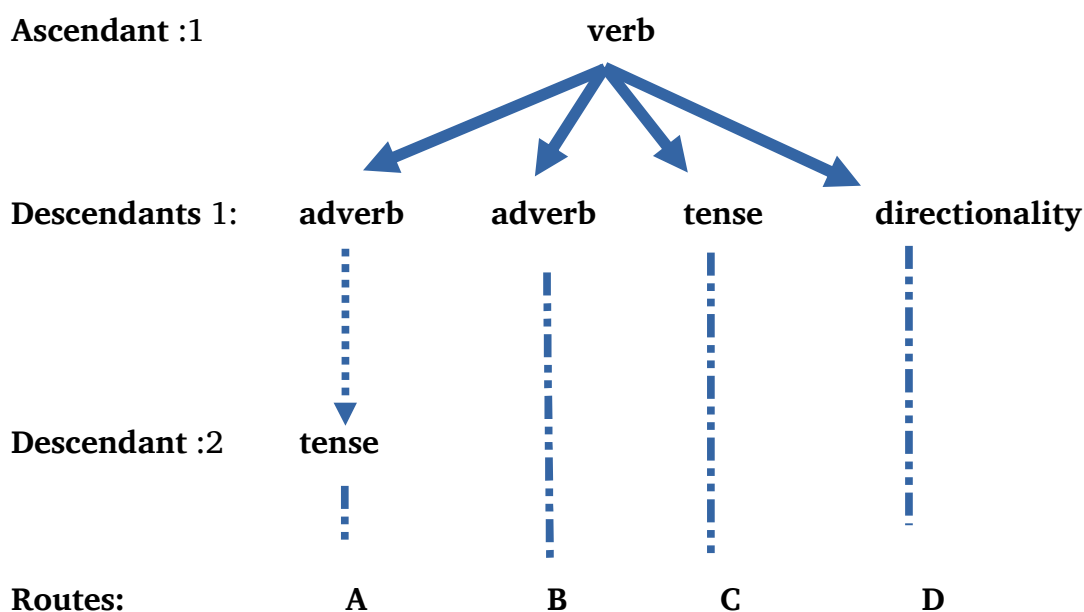
Figure 21: Gramaticalistion; Verb, Adverb, Tense, and Directionality

Route A example:

From an unknown verb to adverb and thence to tense:

476) a. [**hí**]   "already"

          [**hî ~ hí**]   P2 "past tense"

      b. [**nà**]   "later, after"

          [**nǎ ~ nà**]   F2 "future tense"

Route B example:

From a verb to adverb. The verb [hə̄] is more of an auxiliary because it does not take full verb markings while the verb [tsə̄] "go" is sometimes being pronounced as [sə̄] and also the verb "come" [dzə̄] is sometimes heard with an [r] as [rə̄]. Most of these reduced forms occur as directional markers or when modifying another verb where they function as adverbs as in these:

	verb	**adverb**
477) a.	[**hə̄**]	[**hə̄ ~ hâ**]
	"go"	"continue, go on, keep going"
b.1	[**tsə̄**]	[**tsə̄ ~ sə̄ ~ tsâː**]
	"go"	"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   [**gʊ̀ᵞʊ́ bɪ́lɪ́   sə̄**]   "drag and remove it away"
      drag   remove away/go

c.   [**dzə̄ →   rə̄**]
      "come"   "come"

When some verbs are adjacent to each other, they become manner adverbs:

      verb   ***adverb***

      [**kàhí →   kàhí**]   "finish, end"

478) a.   *KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00411.txt*

13 FSW-1   [**gə́ŋ kàhí dzə̄   m̀   dòᵛó mə̄ fɔ́ᵛɔ̀**]
        carry finish come 6a.c some that there
        Carry all the other one there and bring it

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:

        verb   *tense*

479) a.   [**kə́ ~ kó ~ kɨ́**   **kɨ́**]
        "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 grammaticalistion, thus, nourishing our understanding of the form and origin of some of the tense markers.

7.2 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, there are only a handful of them in Mbuk. Their distribution is captured in (fig.22):

Figure 22: Linear Adposition

7.2.1 Adposition Placement

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.

7.2.2 Mbuk Prepositions

The following prepositional elements are seen; [í, à, hí, jí, bə́, ŋ, kɔ̀mhí]. 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 tones. There can be rendered in English as:

480) **Syllabicity   Tone   Preposition   Gloss**

Syllabicity	Tone	Preposition	Gloss
V	H	[í]	"in, on, into, to, from"
V	L	[à]	"in the"
C	H	[ŋ́]	"used together with locative adverbs; there, here"
CV	H	[hí]	"at, under"
CV	H	[bə́]	"with"
CV	H	[jí]	"of" all noun class concords
CVC.CV	R	[kɔ̀mhí]	"near"

7.2.2.1 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 CAUS (cause-effect) is a causative:

481) a.   **[jàˠàhí   dzíŋ   í   gbâ:]**   "send up corn into the ceiling (barn)"
            send.CAUS 4.corn into 5.barn

      b.   **[jàˠàhí   bìmfín   í   gbâ:]**   "send up cocoyam into the ceiling (barn)"
            send.CAUS 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 [dzǒ] "house" with a rising tone is now having a high tone, it is being interpreted as [dzó] "home". Thus, [ɪ] 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 aconcord or an associative marker is halted from being propagated within the vicinity of a preposition:

c. [**mí kɑ̌ː kɪ́ bǐː jì kpèsìnì í dzʊ́**]   "I am having a lazy goat at home"
   1S have PROG goat AM lazy   at home

d. [**mí kɑ̌ kɪ́ kìkôm kì kpêsíní í dzʊ́**] "I am having a lazy horse at home"
   1S have PROG horse   AM lazy   at home

The tonal changes that occur with the word "house" does not apply to all nouns for instance the word [sàŋ] "hall" has not changed in tone, with a low tone noun, [sàŋ] "hall":

e. [**tʃɛ̄n wɪ́ í sàŋ**]   "look for it in the hall"
   look 3.it in hall

f. [**tʃɛ̄n kìfí í sàŋ**]   "look for the pig in the hall"
   look 7.pig in hall

Furthermore, the preposition is an inherent part of the verbs thus most verbs at the infinitive use it. We have opted writing the preposition together with the verb and it seems we are committing a word boundary crime here but we will remain faithful and consistent with it. Hence, each time the verb is following the preposition [í] they will be written as a single word which means the preposition is regarded as a verbal prefix:

g. [**tə́ wə́lə́ dʒīː gá ͪá mí íbə̀ ͪə́**]   "this stone is heavier than I can carry"
   stone this   heavy above me to.carry

Below, the [í]preposition comes between the gerund and the object (h):

h. [**ḿ lâː kɪ́ ŋ-kxə́ í kxə̄**] "I am going to the farm to be guiding it"
   1S go PROG NA-guide to farm

In some situations, the [í] means "from" as shown below:

i. [**ḿ wó ͪó í bǐː**]   "I heard from outside"
   1S hear from outside

7.2.2.2 **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:

482) a.   [ʊ̀ dʲə̂ kə̀   à ntʃìtʃʊ́ŋ]   "he cooks during the day period"
          3S cook PROG in day-time

      b.   [wì kí   dzí: kí   à wə̄dʒʷábí]   "he will be eating in the evening"
           3S F1.1 eat PROG in evening

      c.   [wì bí dzí: à kìdʒʲélí]   "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 emphasise 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):

483) a.   [wì nà dzí: à wəd̄ʒʷābí]   "he will eat in the evening"
            3S will eat in evening

      b.   [wì nà dzí: ø wəd̄ʒʷābí]   "he will eat in the evening"
           3S will eat ø evening

      c.   [bə̀ˠə   bí dzí: à dzǎ-jə̂-jáˠà]   "I will eat next year"
           we.EXCL F4 eat in year-AM-that

      d.   [bə̀ˠə   bí dzí: kə̀dʒʲēlí]   "I will eat tomorrow"
           we.EXCL F3 eat   tomorrow

Moreover, in cases of serial verbs or verbs linking to adverbs we observed that the [à] appears as emphatic when there is no spacing of the time or when it is just over. In some observations, the [à] translated as "just, immediate" it is a preposition "in":

e.   [**Bə̀ˠə̀ dzí káhí à júó**]   "we have just finished eating"
      we   eat finish in now

In addition, when the averment marker [lə̀] is present in the clause, the preposition [à] no longer appears, thus, they are mutually exclusive, thus, [à] exhibits a restrictive distribution:

484) a   [**wì dzí:-kì-lə̀   íjúó**]   "he will be eating now"
              3S eat-PROG-AF now

      c.   [**wì kì   dzí:-kì-lə̀   kə́sə́ˠə́**]   "he will be eating soon"
              3S F1.1 eat-PROG-AF soon

      b.   [**wò bí dzí:-lə̀ dzǎ-jə́-jáˠà**]   "will you eat next year"
              2S F4 eat-AF year-AM-next

Contrary, future tense, the past tense does not take an [a] preposition in perfective expressions:

485) a.   [**wì nî dzí mgbʊ̀**]   "he ate yesterday"
              3S F3 eat yesterday

7.2.2.3 **The [hí] preposition**

The preposition [hí] is scarce and has only been found with these two cases. Further research needs to see into the various contexts of occurrence. The particle CV [hí] has a high tone and be glossed as "at". It points to location:

486) a.   [**á   wì kə́ hí bí**]   "that he is at the compound"
              that he is at compound

      b.   [**á   bó kə́ hí bī**]   "that they are at the compound"
              that 3P are at compound

      c.   [**mí ká́:   kí   bǐ: jì   kpɛ̀sìnì hí bī**] "I am having a lazy goat outside"
              1S have PROG goat AM lazy   at compound

7.2.2.4 **The [bə́] Preposition**

The particle [bə́~bó] is linked to a noun. The tone can be modified from high to falling. It expresses the state of being:

487) a. [**wì lánhí kō lə̀   bə́   kìfú:**]   "he is very poor"
         3S very   be PROG with poor

   b. [**wò júmlí   bə̂ ndzə́ᵞə́**]   "you are a liar"
        2S bend-bend with talk

   c. [**wò tsə̄ wò kɔ́mhí bə́   ńdzə́**]   "when you return earlier"
        2S   go 2S   early   with NA.come

Furthermore, in expressions that express 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 [bə́] 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 ongoing:

488) a. [**bə̀ᵞə́ ʃí kí   à   bə́ nɔ̀m**]   "we are always working"
         1P.EXCL HAB PROG HAB with work

   b. [**wò kə̄ à   bə̄ ndɔ́m**]   "you are always with tears"
        2S be HAB with tears

7.2.2.5 **The [ɱ́] preposition**

The labio-dental nasal [ɱ́] 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 EMP, emphatic. The [ɱ́] ~ [m̀]. Here are the examples:

489) a. [dǔŋ là^j]   "sit down"
        sit   EMP

b. [dǔŋ là^j   ḿ fá:]   "sit down here"
        sit EMP on here

c. [dǔŋ ʃǐ: ḿ fá   lə̄]   "sit down here like this"
        sit   down on here like.this

c. [bʊ́ˠʊ́ là^j   ḿ fá   lə̄]   "go out of here like this", "go away from here"
        exit   EMP on here like.this

e. [bʊ́ˠʊ́ dzə̄ ḿ fá]   "come out here"
        exit   come on here

f. [ʊ̀ kə́ à   ḿ fā]   "he is here"
        3S be just on here

In (h) below, it should be noted that the verb "go" [tsə̄] is sometimes realised as [sə̄]. Secondly, the locative adverb has changed from here [fá] to there [fî:] with a falling tone and a long vowel as seen in the upcoming examples:

h. [bʊ́ˠʊ́ sə̄ ḿ fî:]   "go out there"
        exit   go on there

Another locative adverb that moves along with the nasal is [fɔ́ˠɔ̀] "there":

i. [bə́ bí ḿ fɔ́ˠɔ̀]   "there they are"
        they 8c on there

7.2.2.6 The [kɔ̂mhí] preposition

The preposition, near [kɔ̂mhí] is used before an object:

490) a. [ɲàní kɔ̂mhí mí]   "walk nearby me (closer to me)"
        walk near   me

7.2.2.7 The concord preposition

Concord prepositions [jí], [wì] and others are generated by the noun class. They can be followed by nouns or adjectives (a and b) below:

491) a.   [**mì   wì kǎː jí ʒʲə̀ː**]   "a man with empty hands"
           person AM hand of empty

      b.   [**kìfó kə́lə́ kō kí kpūː**]   "this cap is an old cap"
           cap   this is of old

7.2.3 Mbuk Postpositions

Postpositions (PO) locate themselves after an object. Here are Mbuk postpositions:

492) a.   [**wə̄**]   "in, on, at"   g.   [**kpə̄ŋ~kpěŋ**]   "near"
      b.   [**bēn**]   "on, top"   h.   [**nī dʒūm**]   "behind"
      c.   [**ní mə̄**]   "inside"   i.   [**kə̀ntə̂~kìntə̂**]   "inside"
      d.   [**ní tʃīn**]   "below, under"   j.   [**í bī**]   "outside"
      e.   [**ní bēn**]   "above"   k.   [**hī~sī**]   "near"
      f.   [**mā**]   "in the process of (after gerunds)"

7.2.3.1 The [wə̄] postposition

One of the postpositions in Mbuk is [wə̄] which is seen after nouns. It can be referred to as "in, at, on" depending on where the thing is placed. The tone: mid, high and lowis frequent:

493) a.   [**ù ko dzʊ́   wə̄**]   "he is at home"
           3S be home in

      b.   [**bə̀ˠə́   kō bíkxə̄ wə̄**]   "we are at the farms"
           1P.EXCL be farms in

      c.   [**dzíŋ kō kàː   wə́**]   "corn is in a basket"
           corn be basket in

      d.   [**dʒʲə̌ lúlà kíbàː wə́**]   "place a ruler in a bag"
           place ruler bag   in

e.   [lə́ᵛə́   kə̂   kìbà: wə́]   "send in hand in a bag"
     send.in.side hand bag   in

f.   [kēn jə̌ŋ jî   mbɔ̀m jí   fá: jə́lə́   kúlí   wə̄]
     4.tree my 4c.AM big   4c.AM 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] [ùkónāŋmbɛ́lē:]
     3S be bed on QP
     "Is he on the bed?"

7.2.3.2 The [bēn] postposition

The postposition appears at the end of the object and it is a mid or high tone:

494) a.   [dzíŋ kō kìmgbòᵛò bēn]   "corn is on the chair"
     corn be chair   on/top

b.   [wì kó kpén bén]   "he is on top of a tree"
     3S be tree top/on

c   [jí   kó kēn bén]   "they (monkeys) are on the trees"
     it.10c be tree on

d   [tsɛ́:   kó kpēn bén]   "Monkeys are on the trees"
     monkeys be tree on

e.   [nùsí ~ nùhí wāɲ nāŋ bēn]   "place the baby on the bed"
     place   child bed on

7.2.3.3 The [kpɛ̌ŋ] Postposition

The postposition [kpɛ̌ŋ] with a CVC structure, a high tone occurs after an object; noun or a locative adverb:

495) a. **[bə́ bí   m fɔ́ʸɔ̀   kpɛ̌ŋ]**   "there they are beside you"
            3P COP at there beside

7.2.3.4 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:

496) a. **[wì kó kìmgbòʸò tʃín]**   "he is under a chair"
             3S be chair   under

7.2.3.5 The [mā] Postposition

The postposition [mā~má] is aspectual in nature under the imperfective. It expresses an ongoing action 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:

497) a.1 **[índɔ́mhì]**   "to dream"

       a.2 **[índɔ́mhì má]**   "in dream / in dreaming"

       b.1 **[m̀ kə̄ ndʲə̀   má]**   "I am inside cooking"
             1S be NA.cook inside

       b.2 **[m̀ dʲə̀ː kí   lə̀]**   "I am cooking"
              1S cook PROG AF

498) a. **[m̀ lʲə̄   à   ǹtʷáɲ mā]**   "I have just entered into beatings"
             1S enter in   beating in

       b. **[wì dzə̄ lʲə́   à   ntʷáɲ 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:

499) a.   [**mà túˠú kám   mí kə̀ndɔ̀ŋ má**]   "do not press my neck"
          NEG 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:

500) a.   [**ḿ tí-dûŋ á ɲʲə̀ má**]   "I am just about to be going"
          1S about to go in

       b.   [**m̀ tʃú dûŋ á ɲʲə̀ má**]   "I am just to be going"
          1S just stay to go   in

       c.   [**ḿ ʃí   nɔ̄m má**]   "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 [ɪ] before

the time adverbial:

501) a.   [**ù̀ bí: dzí: lə̀ í dzǎːjáˠà mā**]   "he will eat next year"
          3S F4 eat AF in year.next in

       b.   [**ù̀ bí dzí: à dzǎjáˠà   kxə̄ wì wə̂ mā**] "he will eat next year in that his farm"
           3S F4 eat in year.next farm his that in

7.2.3.6 **The [mə̄] postposition**

The postposition [mə̄] appears after nouns to identify location:

502) a.   [**nʃʲǎ kó kɪ̀fí mə̄**] "there is fat in the pig"
           fat   be pig inside

       b.   *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00412.txt*

NCB-89   [**wàɲ bòlí bókí   lə̀ fˀɛ́n (kɪ̀ŋkʷàhɪ̀) mə̄, wì nà kɔ̂ŋ-kí   ɲā wâɲní**]
PO   N   ADJ V.PROG AF N   PO, 3S NEG V-PROG 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."

7.2.3.7 The [kə̀ntə̂~kìntə̂] postposition

The postposition, "inside" [kìntə̂] can occur after a noun or a pronoun:

503) a. **[tsə̄ tô:li   bə̀ᵞə̀   kìntə̂]**   "pass between us"
          pass in-between 1P.EXCL inside

7.2.4 Adpositions

Adpositions (ADPO) 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:

504) a. **[tʃɛ̀n kìfí í bóᵞò kə̀ntə̂]**   "search the pig inside the river/water"
          look pig in river inside

      b. **[tʃɛ̄n kìfí í sàŋ kpə̌ŋ]**   "look for the pig near the hall"
          look pig in hall near

      c. **[tʃɛ̄n kìfí í sàŋ dʒóm]**   "look at the pig in and behind the hall"
          look pig in hall behind

      d. **[mí kə́-kí kìkôm kì kpêsíní í kpén bén]** "I am having a lazy horse on a tree"
          1S have-PROG horse AM lazy on tree   on

      e. **[ɲʲə̄ í kpə́ŋə̀ mə̄]**   "fufu inside pot"
          fufu in pot   inside

      f. *KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00411.txt*

      FSW-1   **[m̀ dòᵞó kó lə̀ í   tébìlì tʃîn]**
      APO   6ac some is AF PREP table PO
      (PREP/PO) "There is some under the table."

7.2.4.1 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 other words, an adposition is an inherent discontinuous preposition and postposition as shown by this link [í . . . mə̄]:

505) a.   [**kpằ: wì wǎɲ**]   "a hand of a child"
         3.hand   9.AM   1.child

     b.   [**kpã wī wāŋ wì wō**]   "the hand of the child"
         3.hand   3.AM 1.child 1.c the

     c.   [**í kpằ: wī wáŋ wī wō mə̄**]   "in the hand of the child"
          in 3.hand   3.AM 1.child 1.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 head noun (house) cannot cross over the second head noun (child):

506) a.   [**dzǔ: jì wǎɲ**]   "a house of a child"
         house 9.AM 1.child

     b.   [**dzǔ: jì wāŋ wì wō**]   "the house of the child"
         9.house 9.AM 1.child 1.c the

     c.   [**í 9.dzǔ: jì wàŋ wì wō mə̄**]   "in the house of the child"
         in house   9.AM 1.child 1.c the in

7.2.4.2 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 this case thus, one is tempted to say there are prepositions in the language and we are to concentrate just on such a corpus. Tense and aspect marking are very minimal in the present and imperfective because the action is not yet over; it is ongoing:

507) a.   [**wè̀ kó kxə̄**]   "you are in the farm"
         2S be farm

b.   [**wì kó dzú**]   "he is in the house"

      3S   be home

c.   [**bàˠə́   kó bóˠò**]   "we are at the river"

      1P.EXCL be river

d.   [**bén kó ntō**]   "you (pl.) are at the palace"

       2P be palace

e.   [**bó kó Ndáŋàsî**]   "they are at Ndangasi (quarter of Mbuk)"

       3P be Ndangasi

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 plain speaking will seldom make use of adpositions:

508)   a.   [**wɜ̀ tsə̄ kí   kxə̄**]   "you are going to the farm"

           2S go   PROG farm

b.   [**wì lâ: kí   kxə̄**]   "he is going to the farm"

      3S go.work PROG farm

c.   [**wì tsə̄ kí   dzú**]   "he is going to the house"

      3S go PROG home

d.   [**bàˠə́   tsə̄ kí   bóˠò**]   "we are going to the stream"

      1P.EXCL go PROG river

e.   [**bén tsɜ̀ kí   ntō**]   "you are going to the palace"

       2P   go PROG palace

f.   [**bó tsə́ kí   Ndáŋàsî**]   "they are going to Ndáŋàsî"

      3P go PROG NP (quarter)

7.2.4.3 Nominal adposition

Nominal adposition, this is a noun plus location that functions as an adposition. The place, "under the mat" [kìgà:hî]. Here, the word for mat 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:

509) a.   **[ḿ tɔ̄hī gbǒ kìgà:hî]**   "I slide and fall under the mat"
         1S slide fall under.mat

     b.   **[ḿ tɔ̄hī gbǒ nāŋ tʃĩn]**   "I slide and fall under the bed"
         1S slide fall bed under

Associative markers are considered a preposition "of" phrases

510) a.   **[kə̀fú kə́ŋ kə́ bǐ:]**   c.   **[dzáˠá ǩŋ kə́ mú kə́ mbɔ̀m]**
       head my AM goat   mouth my AM one AM large
       "my heads of goat"   "my one large mouth"

     b.   **[dzáˠá ǩŋ kə̀ mbɔ̀m]**   d.   **[dzáˠá bʲĭŋ bí fá bì mbɔ̀m]**
       mouth my AM large   mouth my AM two AM large
       "my large mouth"   "my two large mouth"

7.3 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 diagramatise the above quote to easily explore its content in figure (23) below. A sentence is can be a compound sentence or complex sentence. The compound sentence is subdivided into four clauses: the co-ordination 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 have been found with all these typologies as epitomised in the diagram below.
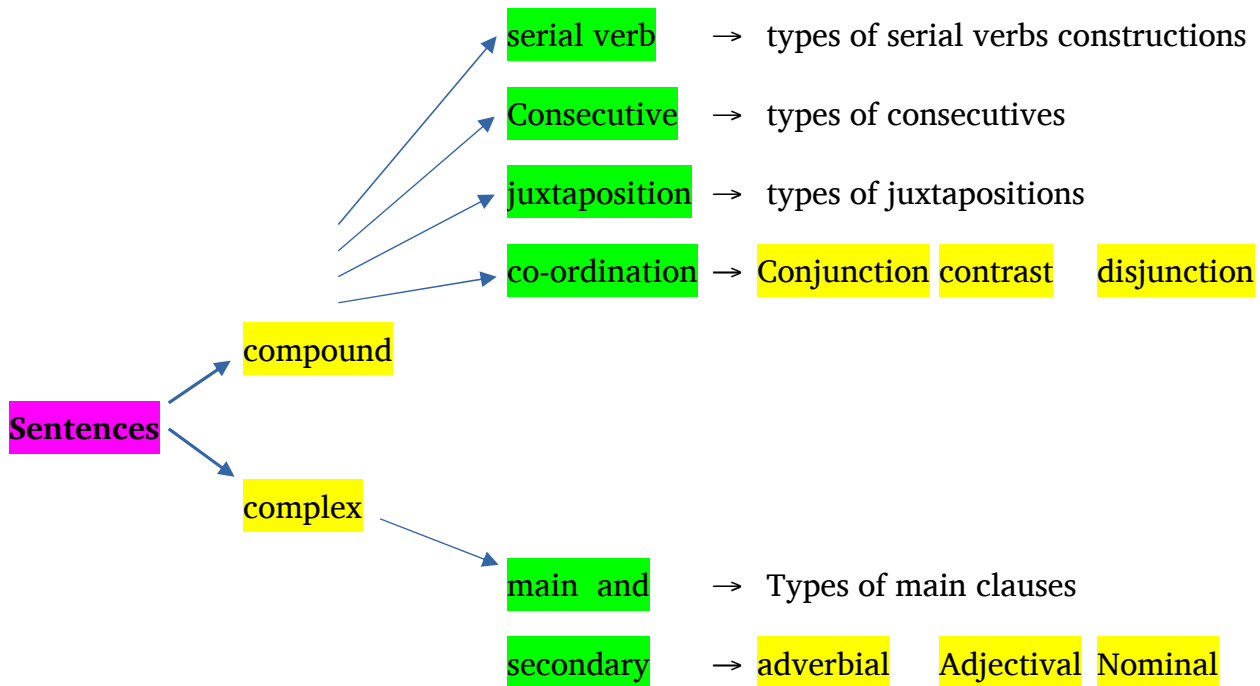
Figure 23: Compound and complex sentences

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's 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 use 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.

7.2.5 Connectives of Compound Sentences

Our discussion on compound sentences covers connectives within the following constructions; co-ordination, juxtaposition, consecutive, serial verbs and indirect speech.

7.2.5.1 Co-ordinating Connectives

The co-ordinating connective 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.

7.2.5.2 Connectives of Conjunctions

The connective of co-ordinating conjunction (AD) is [bə́~bó] with a non-rigid 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, [bə́ ~ bó] is used as in (a) to link two food stuff; corn and cocoyam elaborated under the category of non-human specifically plants:

511) a. **[dzíŋ bó bìmfín]**   "corn and cocoyam"
         corn AD cocoyam

In (b) the domain of plants and animal (of the class of birds) the connective is same:
   b. **[dzíŋ bó ʃʲə̌]**   "corn and fowl"
         corn AD fowl

In (c) a person and a fowl (bird) is combined with the same connector:
   c. **[ŋgʷáŋ bó tʃʲə̌]**   "Ngwang and fowl"
          PN   AD fowl

While in (d) a person and a pig (animal) are combined through the same conjunction:
   d. **[ŋgʷáŋ bó kìfí]**   "Ngwang and pig"
          PN   AD pig

Then (e) money or currency used the conjunction to add up:
   e. **[gbí bə́ báŋʃí]**   "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 ndè̀, mì   w-ə́ wì kó bə́ kìmbì]
AD   DS COP QW, 1.N   1-REL 3S COP **AD** 7.N
           it is   who, person that he is with drum
           "Who is the person who has the drum?"

7.2.5.3 **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:

512) a.   [m nà dzí: kə̄   dzíŋ, m̄ nà dzí: dôŋ kìmfín]
            1S will eat   NEG corn, 1S will eat   BT   cocoyam
           "I will not eat corn, I will eat but cocoyam"

7.2.5.4 **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:

513) a.   [dzíŋ mā ʃʲə̄]   "Corn or fowl?"
            corn OR fowl.QP

    b.   [ʃʲə̄ 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 kì-mfín 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   [ḿ wám lə̀ má, má kó àjáˠà sə̀ bə̀ɣə́bēn sí   tʃʲə̄   á]
OR   1S lie AF OR, OR is so   as 1P.INCL used.to know QP
"Have I lied or is it just as we used to do it?"

7.2.5.5 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:

514) a.   [mí dzíː-kí   wí mû]   "I am eating while he is drinking"
         1S eat-PROG 3S drink

    b.   [mì ní múː-kí   wí dzî]   "I was eating but he was drinking"
         1S P3 dring-PROG 3S eat

    c.   *KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07_00413.txt*

NCB-89   [wò bó, wò ɲá wáná   tʃâdə̀ká fˠɛ́n   fí   dòˠó mfa],
JX   2S V 2S V 1.N   NEG   19.N 19.AM ID   ADV
you tire, you give your.brother, not   thing of   some here

    [bó dzáˠá kó {kɔ́ntràkt} wì mi]
    3P V   COP 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.

7.2.5.6 **Consecutive connectives**

The use of serial verbs make it a feat to deduce consecutive constructions in Mbuk clauses. So more in-depth research and time are required to seek 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-ordinator occurs after the subject and it is different in form as well as the conjunction co-ordinator. The consecutive marker is illustrated in the examples below:

515) a. [**wì fá**]   "he count"
          he count

b. [**wì ká   ɲʲá**]   "he then give"
          he then give

c. [**bɘ́ ká dzō kpó   wə̄**]   "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 (labelled 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.*"

516) a. [**ò mê bó**]   *'he then hit (it)'*
          he CNS hit

b. [**ghé mê bó**]   *'they then hit (it)'*
          they CNS hit

7.2.5.7 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.*" In the following example, the three verbs "out, come, help" all relay to the same subject and tense:

517) a. **[bó ní búˠú dzə gàmtí wə̀]**
    3P FUT V   V   V   2S
    they will out   come help   you
    "*They will comeout and help you*"

    b. **[ɛ mbʷə́ dʒʲə́ mbì tsə́ ʃʷà ɲàm jɛ́ɲ á]**
    IJ N   V N V V N   in it
    IJ fellow put trap go loosen animal in it
    "*Hey Fellow, you lay a trap and went and untie an animal from it.*"

7.2.5.8 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:

518) a. Speech maker, direct speech made by Wabua:

    [mí tsə́-kə́-là í ʃì bɛ́n]   "*I am going to the market*"
    1S go-PROG-AF to market in

b.   Speech reporter, indirect speech is made by Bikem:

[**Wábúá dzə́ˠə́ á   wì tsə̌   í ʃì   bén**]
   PN   said   that 3S go.PFV to market in
"Wabua said that he (Wabua) has gone to the market"

Bikem is reporting what Wabua said about Wabua himself.

In indirect speech, the subject has changed from singular 1st person to 3rd 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 present 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:

519) a.   [**Wábúá hí dzə́ˠə́ á   wì ní tsə́   ʃì   bén**]
          PN   P2 said   that he P3 go.PFV market in
          "Wabua said he(Ngwang) has gone to the market"

7.2.6 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 add 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.

7.2.6.1 **Adverbial 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:

520) a.   [**o kì gàmtí kə̄ má wì kpí o**] *"Oh do not help when he is dead"*
          IJ NEG help   NEG 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" (7.4.2.3) below.

7.2.6.2 **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 [je] translated "that" as the relative connective. The connective overlaps as an adverbial manner linker as it is in the following subsequent case:

521) a.   [**kpó ndzɔ́ŋ-kí-lə, à bə́ˠə́-kí dzzə̄ jə̄ bə́ dzó tsə́ níŋ wì jén-a**]
          money good-PROG-AF, it bad-PROG road that they take go   look it see-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 betweenwhile the verb "look" being the core verb of the verb phrase with "take" and "go" acting as auxiliaries or adverbs.

7.2.6.3 **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.

So, the nominal connectors link the purpose clause or reason clause to the main clause. Furthermore, they bridge the main clause to evaluative comments which can either be in the affirmative or interrogative mood. There are two types of the complimentiser in Mbuk, that [má] and [á]. Their functional nuance is not yet known.

The sentence (a) below has two connectives, the explicit, that [má] (a1) and the implicit, ø (a2) (apostrophe):

522)   a.   [wè búˠú ɲànì tsɨ́ báŋ bí   má kítʃúmí ká   à   bí fə́ˠə ndə̀]
                   2S leave walk go stay outside that story   your DS F4 tell   who
                "Your sojourned and remained there that who shall tell your will."

   a1.   [{wè búˠú ɲànì tsɨ́ báŋ bí}   má {kítʃúmí ká   à   bí fə́ˠə ndə̀}]
                   PD   **ONP**
                {2S leave walk go stay outside} that {story   your DS F4 tell   who}

In (a1), the object noun phrase (ONP) contains the reason for the predicate (PD). The object argument is linked to the predicate through a connective, that [má]

   a2.   [{kítʃúmí ká} ø {à   bí fə́ˠə ndə̀}]
                   SNP   **PD**
                {story   your} ø {DS F4 tell   who}
                Who shall say your will (Your story, who shall say it)

In (a2), the subject noun phrase (SNP) "your story" is the overall argument of the predicate "who shall say it". The predicate bears the purpose of the exclamative subject argument. The subject argument and the predicate have no connective in-between them.

The other complementiser (CM) in Mbuk is, "that" [á] that links subordinate (complement clause (CM)) to the main clause (matrix clause):

523) a.   [ɪ́ dzɔ́ŋkɪ́ á   mì tsɔ́ jēn Fəndɔŋ]
            It good   that   I   go see Fundong
         MAIN   CM   SUBORDINATE
         PD   ONP (CM)
            "It is good that I should go and see Fundong"

7.2.7 Copula verb

A copular verb "be (is, was)" is a remote verb that has a restricted conjugation. According to Trask & Stockwell (2007:59), the copula is;

A specialized grammatical item, often a verb, which serves only to express identity or class membership. The English copula is be, and this verb has two main functions. First, as the verb in an equational sentence, it expresses identity and functions rather like an equal sign in mathematics: The largest planet in our solar system is Jupiter. Such a sentence can be readily reversed: Jupiter is the largest planet in our solar system. Second, as the verb in an ascriptive sentence, it ascribes some property to its subject, or, in other words, it assigns its subject to membership in some class: Susie is clever; Susie is sleepy; Susie is a woman with a red car. Here certain properties are being ascribed to Susie (cleverness, sleepiness, having a red car), or, equivalently, Susie is being assigned to the class of clever people, to the class of sleepy people, or to the class of car-owners.

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.

7.2.7.1 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:

524) a. [**wì ko mì   ò fūŋnī**]   "he is a fisherman"
            3S be person AM fishing

       b. [**ò kə mì   ò bʲíŋwǐ**]   "he is a hunter"
            3S be person AM hunting

       c. [**wì nì kó mì   ò kxə̌**]   "he is a farmer"
             3S ANT be person AM farming

       d. [**wì ko bâː   ∼ wì ko bâː   wə̌ŋ**]   "he is my father"
            3S be my.father ∼ 3S be my.father my

The equative construction (d) equates the subject to an inherent inalienable relation.

The stretegy of linking is syntactically; NP COP NP.

7.2.7.2 Predicate adjective

An adjectival phrase is turned to a predicate and gives an attribute to the subject:

525) a. [**wì də́ŋə̀ kí lə̀**]   "he is tall"
            3S tall   PROG AF

       b. [**wì ndzɔ̄ŋ kə́   lə̀**]   "he is good"
            3S good   PROG AF

Example (a, b) strategy use an adjectival verb as a copula; NP COP.

In (c) below, the copula verb is nominalised by the adjectival suffix -nɪ:

       c. [**kə́ ò də̂ní ∼ kə́ wì də̂ní**] "It is a tall one"
            be 3S tall ∼ be 3S tall

7.2.7.3 **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):

526) a.   [ɲʲə́ í   kə́ŋə̀ mə̄]   "fufu is in the pot"
              fufu in pot   inside

      b.   [nʃʲǎ ko kìfí mə̄]   "The pig has fat"
               fat   be pig inside

There exist an ambiguity between predicate nominal and predicate locative :

      c.   [ʊ̀   kó dzʊ́]   "he is a house or he is in the house"
               3S be house

7.2.7.4 **Existential construct**

The existential uses a copula verb in its predicate. Predicate locatives and existential overlap in sense:

527) a.   [fìmús kó nāŋ tʃín]   "There is a cat under the bed."
               cat   be bed under

      b.   [fʊ́ˠʊ́ kó dʒʊ́á kìntə̂:]   "There are ants in the soup."
               ants be soup inside

      c.   [í wáɲ kó mí ʃɔ̄m]   "A child is mine"
              A child be me stomach

7.2.7.4 **Possessive construct**

The possessor and the possessed are linked through a copula verb:

528) a.   [wáɲ kó~kə́ í   mǐ]   "The child is with me"
              child be   with me

      b.   [wáɲ ko ŋ̀wə̌ŋ]   "The child is mine"
               child be mine

7.3 CONCLUSION

Adverbs of Mbuk modify the meaning of events 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 Beboid 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 is 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 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 "bɔ́ ~ bó" form variation. Thence the "á" in conjoining both animate 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 to 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 use the copula "be" meanwhile, the predicate adjectives use 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 (PROG) 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 tapping (collection) and data analysis. The collection phase included audio recording, video recordings of the Mbuk language as well as taking pictures. The 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 Mbuks to use 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 heritage: language and cultural aspects that would be a monument for the Mbuk people and we advocate for the preservation of the Bum cultural wealth and that of Cameroon in general, Hill (2002:121):

> *I seek to bring to the reader a sense of urgency about the impending loss of our great linguistic treasure, and a sense of the priceless value the languages have, not only to the first Califomians and to linguists, but to all of us. Crystal writes that when endangered languages are no longer spoken, Everyone should be concerned, because it is everyone's loss. This kind of language is found as well in international documents; for instance, the preamble to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of 1992 states, The protection of the historic regional or minority languages of Europe ... contributes to the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions."*

For instance, in a few years to come, today's 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:

Actor: **Ngwang Sidony**
Codenam: **NGS**
Codenum: **81**
Action: **Removing jigger**
Relate: **Daughter of NRW - 4**

ŋkàyà "jigger"
      "dust jigger"
      "flesh jigger"

jigger removed

NGS - 81

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 the spell thus we had to give them a grammar of theirs to move them out of the stigmatisation then uplifting their spirit toward speaking, reading and learning their own innate language rather than do so in a foreign one which they

are forcefully engaged in. 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 put into the risk of lost by its unfortunate geographical location that eroded completely the Fio language, the Mbamlo Language, and even its own language and adopted the Saawi language. The Saaf lost their language from their lips just like the the Fio people, Mbamlo people whose languages are already dead such that we now referred to the Fio people as Bum speakers instead of Fio speakers as it follows suit. While Mbuk, Mungong and Chung are still undergoing abrasion in their culture, language and land. When language gets lost, it also loses 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 subordinate has lost its own inherent lingual refuge embedded in its sacred culture of secrecy and self-defence is now absolutely neutralised.

GENERAL FINDINGS

The results of "Mbuk Descriptive Grammar: A Documentary Approach" are in two folds: primary data collection and data analysis. The metadata and each field report have details of what has been researched which is stated in the appendix of this thesis. The table below presents some of the researched domains tapped and stored to be exploited by the Mbuk people and researchers.

Table 75**: Tapping Primary Data**

Audio	Video	Pictures	Fieldnotes
Sociolinguistic Interview Guide	Songs	Consultants	Hand-written notes
Consultants	Stories	Village scenery	
The Ron Moe 10.000 wordlist	Arts and Crafts	Arts and Craft Items	Each field
Other wordlists	Rites	rites	
Noun phrases	Trees	trees	
Verb phrases,	Plants	plants	narrative report Field quarterly reports
Clauses		insects	
Songs, stories			
Mbuk annual cultural festival			

Table 76: Secondary Data Analysed

The thesis contains the analysis of the Mbuk documentary grammar

Audios	Videos	Pictures	Fieldnotes
- Wordlist - nouns - noun classes - modifiers /determiners - verbs - verbs conjugations - verb classes - verbal extensions - tense, aspect, mood - adverbs, grammaticalisation - adpositions - connectives	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	Jottings of explanations and insights
- audios annotation illustrating grammatical categories			

The language of Mbuk is endowed with sounds just like any other human language thus, it needs to be safeguarded in the same way as other languages. So, saying that we are studying

a language means we, first of all, study the sounds the people use that drive a corresponding action carried out by whom the sound is designated to. So, the sound is the window to grammar, with grammar being bundles of segmented sounds that can be big or small; a single sound carries with it a grammatical element. The sounds and grammatical elements of Mbuk have been discussed. This shows that Mbuk has all the components of universal grammar, in this wise, it is a normal language with all the required prestige of a standard language.

In the world's bank of human sounds, some of the sounds articulated by Mbuk people are summarised in figure 25:

	bilabials	labiodens	alveolars	palatals	velars	glotals	**Points**

		S	N	G		F		S	F	N	L		F	A	G		S	N		S	F		*Manners*
vl		P	Ø	ø		f		t	s	ø	ø		ʃ	tʃ	ø		k	ø		ʔ	h		
vd		B	M	w		v		d	z	n	l		ʒ	dʒ	j		g	ŋ		ø	ø		

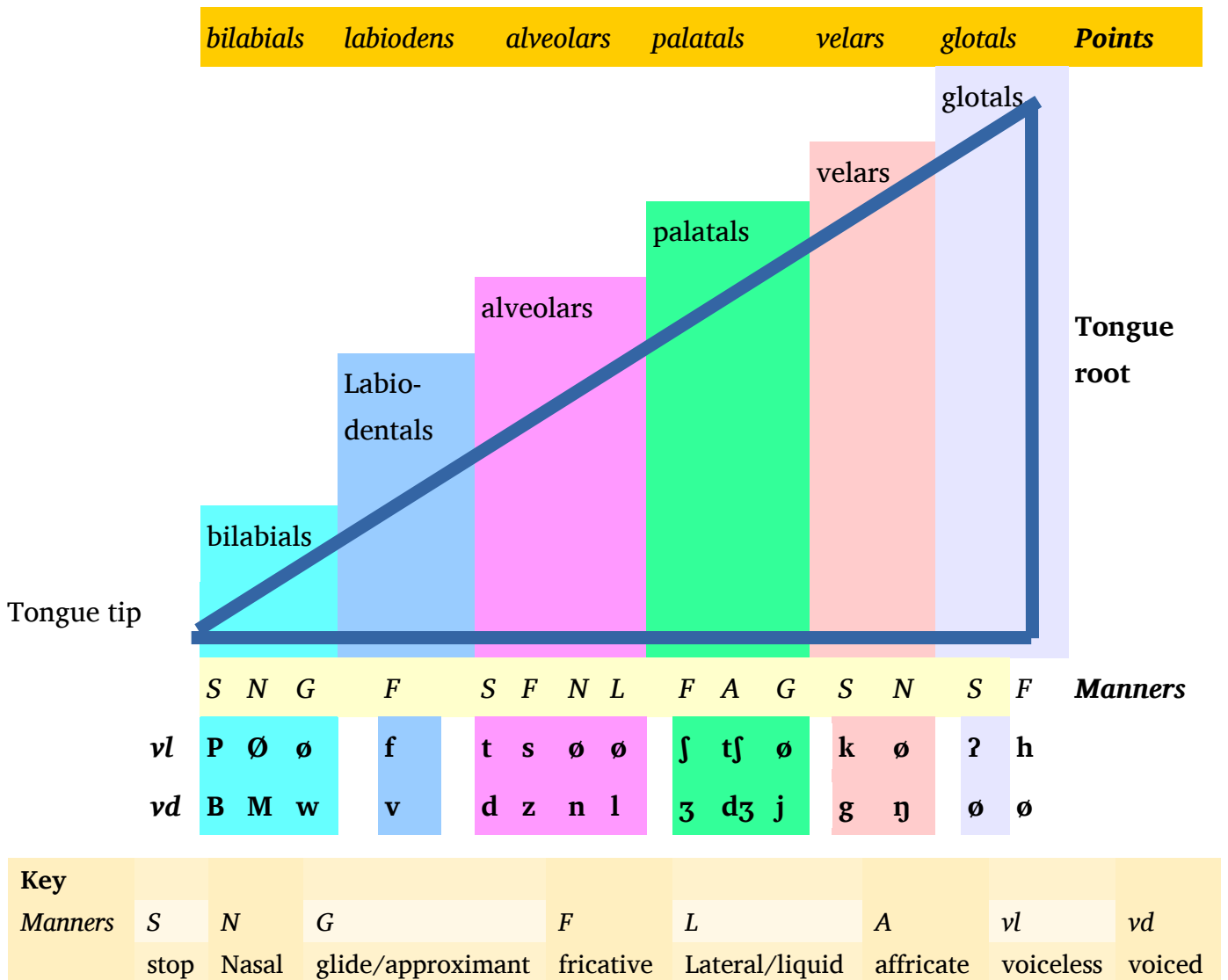| **Key**										
Manners	S	N	G		F	L		A	vl	vd
	stop	Nasal	glide/approximant		fricative	Lateral/liquid		affricate	voiceless	voiced

Figure 25: Consonant Triangle

Within the scope of this research, no special chapter has been dedicatedto the study of tones. However, some evidence has 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 levels and three contour tones. The four-level tones are illustrated with the [o] sound: (H) high [ó], (M) mid [ō], (C) central [ȯ], and (L) low [ò]. While the three contour tones exemplify with the [o] sound are: (F) falling [ô], (R) rising [ǒ], and the (HM) high-mid [ő] 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 employs; compounding, reduplication, alternation and suppletion. Thus, of the five morphological types of languages: 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, with morpheme boundaries which are easily identifiable.Generally, noun classes seem to pattern into two dichotomies: morphologically, on the one hand, and semantically on the other. It is a symmetrical prefixation system; 6 classes bear 6 segmental nominal prefixes out of the total of 12 prefixes resulting to 12 noun classes while the other 6 classes have 6 zero-prefixes of the 12 noun classes. The taxonomy of Mbuk noun classes have been based largely on the formal, that is, on the morphological background of affixes and on the most part, prefixes. The classification relied on the two main types of prefixes found: zero prefixes (ø- 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 sometimes 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 77: Concord Summary Labels

classes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	19	6a
prefixes	ø-	bə-	ø-	ø-	ø-	kɪ-	kɪ-	bi-	ø-	ø-	fɪ-	mɪ-
concords	ẁ-	b̀-	w̋-	j̋-	w̋-	k̋-	k̀-	b̀-	ĵ-	j̋-	f̀-	Ń-
labels	1c	2c	3c	4c	5c	6c	7c	8c	9c	10c	19c	6ac

The study of the phonological process and phonemics led to 8 vowels and 25 consonants phonemes. Spirantisation is one of the phonological procces which occurs before the high back vowel [u]: [b] → [β], [k] → [k] → [kf], [g→gv], [ɣ] → [ɣf]:

Table 78: Spirantisation			bilabial	velar	velar	Velar
		stops	B	k	g	
			↓	↓	↓	↓
		fricatives	β			ɣ
				↓	↓	↓
Spirantisation in Mbuk		**affricates**	(*bv)	kf	gv	ɣf

Nasals that seem to be prefixes in Mbuk have four outcomes or possible intepretations:

mb { + + }   (1)   the nasal can be syllabic and homorganic [m̀b]

mb { + - }   (2)   the nasal can be syllabic but non-homorganic [m̀t]

mb { - + }   (3)   the nasal can be non-syllabic but homorganic [**mb, nt**]

mb { - - }   (4)   the nasal can be non-syllabic and non-homorganic [**mt**]

In arts and crafts, during the research, objects whose names have been forgotten where retrieved such as the one below called [**sɔ́ː**], KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk2_FishingBasket_2014-12-30_HDV_2788.MP4; figure 26. The crafts aspect greatly facilitated the wordlist collection effort:

[**sɔ́ː**] "fishing basket without a lid"

Figure 26: Fishing basket without a 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.*

Summarily, 12 noun classes, 8 vowels and an SVO clause structure of Mbuk would be dead in the near future if not fully preserved. The present concord systems in relation to its head noun and adnominals has been presented in the following table. The data below summarises the pattern of onset of pronominal prefixes; concord marker in relation to the various adnominals and the subject marker: POSS, DEM, ADJ, ATT, QNT, NUM, COL, AM, REL, Q (which), DEF, and SM:

Table **79**: Concord Per Noun Class And Adnominals

NC	PX	POSS	DEM	ATT	QNT	NUM	COL	AM	REL	Q	DEF	SM
1	ø-	w-ˋ	w-´	w-ˋ	w-ˋ	w-ˋ	w-ˋ	w-ˋ	w-¯	w-´	w-ˋ	ø-
2	bə-	b-ˋ	b-´	b-´	b-´	b-´	b-ˋ	b-ˋ	b-´	b-´	b-´	ø-
3	ø-	w-ˋ	w-´	w-ˋ	w-´	w-´	w-ˋ	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	ø-
4	ø-	j-ˋ	j-´	j-¯	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-¯	j-´	j-´	j-´	ø-
5	ø-	w-ˋ	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	w-´	ø-
6	kɪ-	k-ˋ	k-´	k-´	k-ˋ	k-´	k-´	k-ˋ	k-´	k-´	k-´	ø-
7	kɪ-	k-ˋ	k-´	k-´	k-ˋ	k-´	k-´	k-ˋ	k-´	k-´	k-´	ø-
8	bi-	b-ˋ	b-´	b-´	b-´	b-´	b-ˋ	b-´	bʲ-´	bʲ-´	b-´	ø-
9	ø-	j-ˋ	j-´	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-ˋ	j-¯	j-ˋ	ø-
10	ø-	j-ˋ	j-´	j-´	j-ˋ	j-´	j-´	j-´	j-ˋ	j-¯	j-´	ø-
19	fɪ-	fʲ-´	fʲ-´	f-´	f-´	f-´	f-´	f-ˋ	fʲ-´	fʲ-´	f-´	ø-
6a	N-	m-´	m-´	m-´	m-´	m-´	m-´	m-ˋ	m-´	m-´	m-´	ø-

Palatalisation is noticed in the relative pronoun and the question word (content question) of class 8. Similar palatalisation is observed in class 6a with the following adnominals; possessives, demonstratives, relative pronoun and question word (Q).

Zero prefixes do generate segmental concord markers as seen in classes 1, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10.

Unlike like in Aghem where the subject marker (SM) occurs between a head noun and a verb, in Mbuk the subject marker do not link the head noun and the verb direct, the SM is zero (ø).

The research has also revealed that some tenses are borne through grammaticalisation of verbs.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

Three tributaries of problems flowed into the research; the problem of data collection, the problem of equipment 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, also was 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 returned from their farms. That in case of any reaction, she could shout or go out a call for rescue. After I had gone there for the third phase, the suspicions of the first phase were now narrated to others and to me as fun by the little daughter who ushered me to the 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, one camera and one cameraman (the researcher) who could not be at the same time everywhere in case of several diverse 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 asked the question and wanted answers in the Mbuk language, I had to always say it in the mother tongue and they found 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 things 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 funeral 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 interdiction was, who to 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 interviewees wanted to be seen alone by getting so closed to the camera lens such that he/she blocked the rest of the event by blocking the lens. They believed that the camera could get them when their faces were 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 equipment. The SD card and micro SD cards sometimes disappointed us when they failed to record or when the hard drive could not read it. The recorder broke 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 had batteries that ran down rapidly.

There was the breakdown of the laptop 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 caused 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 methodology and even if we did, we might have missed our set out primary goal of data collection and conservation.

Details about borrowing from neighbouring languages were not investigated as it was difficult to know who loaned and who did borrow. So, such a finding was not tenable giving the limited research time and funds to dig out who did borrow from whom. 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."

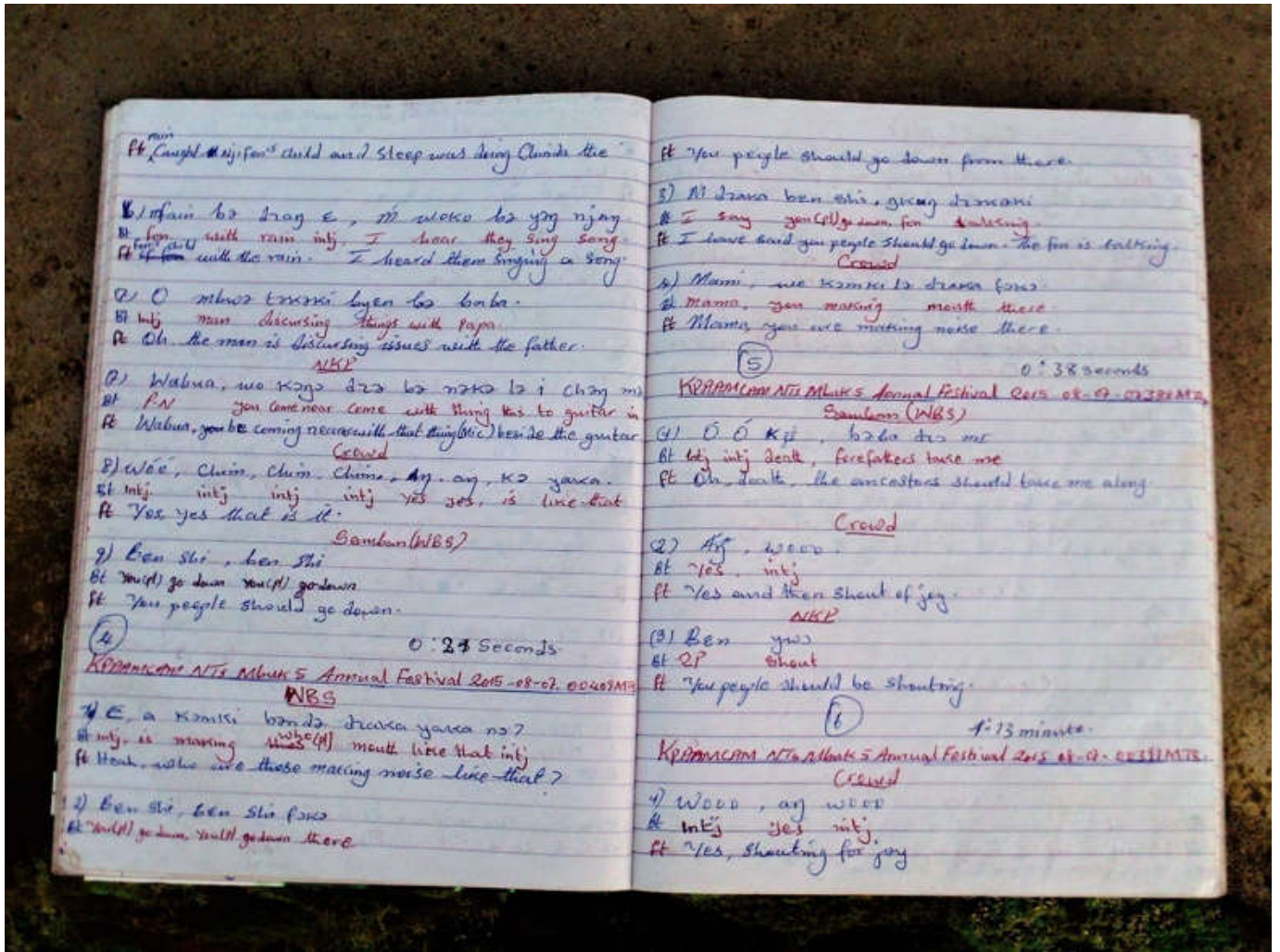Figure 27 figure below shows unfinished annotations:

Figure 27: Unannotated text

The process of electronic grammaticography could not appropriately mature since the duration of the resources was 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 minute 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 parts 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 handwrite before typing later in town was the absence of electricity in the community of research.

One of several difficulties which practised 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'scode? 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 field trip funds were stolen in a taxi around mile 4 park at Nkwen Bamenda. With the loss, the trip was aborted and we undertook the trip after a week with help from friends and cousins who donated the lost sum. Still, a phone, SAMSUNG GALAXY J5 PRO, IMEI N⁰. 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 150 palms, 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 a 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 other 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 2 or at most 3 letters 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 divergence 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 paragraph above, 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 fondoms, two separate governance, two separate core cultural values and not the least, two separate languages and thus by induction two sovereign alphabets or writing systems 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 Chung tenses are courtesy, Tabah (2015). The table below shows tense contrast between Mbuk and Chung.

Table 80: 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			
Sooner today	F1.1	kī	kí	F1	Later today
Evening	F2	nǎ	ní	F2	One or more days
Tomorrow	F3	bí	bi	F3	Next week
Next year	F4	bí			

The tense morphemes contrast for morning [**hɪ**] and [**si**] and for evening [**nǎ**] 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/FOC), 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 bit to fulfil the vision of the National Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism. In order to speed this ideology, the ELAN literacy component is used where learners naturally recorded data is annotated and used for teaching. A non-white dress should be worn to have a clear subtitle better than figure 28:

Mbuk – **nā** "four, 4"
Bum – **kihk** "four, 4"
English – **four** "four, 4"
French – **quatre** "four, 4"

Figure 28: ELAN Multilingual Literacy Component

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 to resolve the back rounded vowels confusion), phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, dialectology, psycholinguistics, ethnobotany, ethnozoology and ethnoarts.

More studies should 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. An orthography entitled Mbuk Orthography (and not Chung Orthography or Chung-Mbuk Orthography or Chungbemboko Orthography), would speed up the translation of books into Mbuk; replicate global knowledge.

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 vowelsdeduced from its 8 vowel phonemes:

Phonemes	Allophone	Graphemes	Alphabet	Examples	Gloss
/a/	[a]	a	a	nyàm	"animal"
	[ã]	an		bān	"palm nut"
/i/	[i]	i	i	mì	"person"
	[ĩ]	in		dzín	"teeth"
/ɪ/	[ɪ]	e	e	mé	"me"
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	ɛ	ɛ	tsɛ̀n	"arm"
	[ɛ̃]	ɛn		nwɛ̄n	"space"
/ə/	[ə]	ə	ə	nə̂	"mother"
	[ə̃]	ən		f'ə̄n	"light"
	[ɨ]	ə		dzə́ŋ	"corn"
	[œ]	ə		lœ̄jī	"mulch"
/u/	[u] ~ [ü]	u	u	fú	"head"
/ʊ/	[ʊ]	u		kúlé	"quarter"
	[ʊ̃]	un		dzŭn	"grass"
/ɔ/	[o]	o	o	gbō	"fall"
	[ɔ] ~ [ɒ]	o		góŋ	"spear"

Alternatively, the nasal vowels can be written as long vowels in the orthography.

Documentary linguistics is bound 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 equipment 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 as seen in figure 29:

`

Figure 29: The Fon's finger is pointing down to reinforce the deixis "this"

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 has 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. Figure 30 shows the Fon's hand up, as a sign for blessing his people.
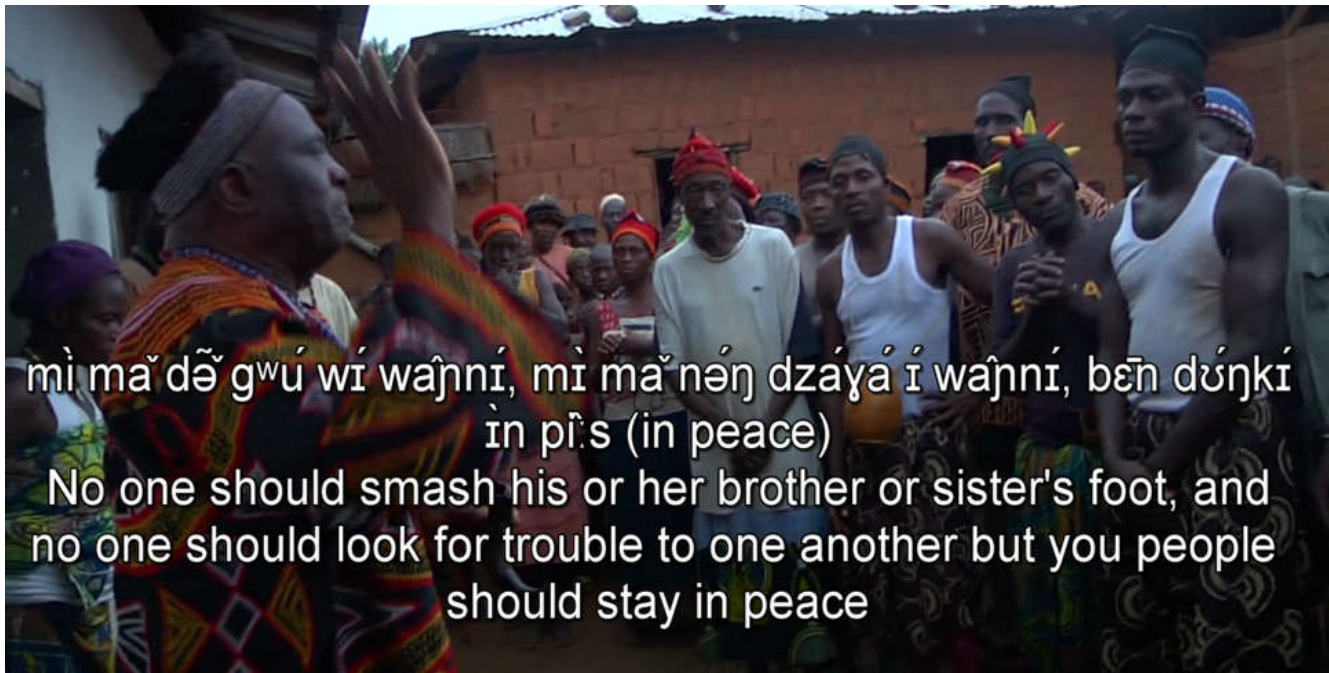
Figure 30: The Fon's hand is up blessing his subject to stay in peace (gestures)

We believe that the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation can create a digital server for the preservation of the documentation 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. Figure 31 shows the break-off point of Chung from Mbuk.
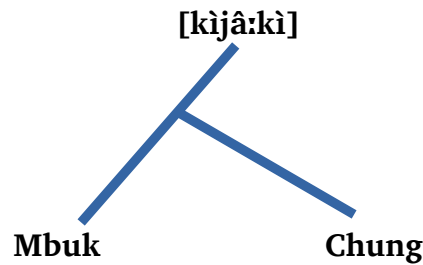
[kìjâːkì]

Mbuk   **Chung**

Figure 31: Mbuk-Chung Separation

At [kìjâːkì], there were five patriclans of Mbuk and one of them, the [bʷàbə̀ntɔ́ŋ] present-day Chung left leaving behind four patriclans that kept the name Mbuk: [bʷâʃɔ́m], [bʷàbə̀ntṹː], [bʷàbə̀ndǒː~bə̀ndǒː], [kìmbàːlí] (extinct). The [bə̀ndǒː] left as well, lived in Mundabli and returned recently on the request of the Fon. These movements have led to internal patriclan speech variations. Hence, the study of the variation of cognates in the entire Beboid and outside Beboid 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.

Mindful of the surface universality of culture and to some extent 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.

Some languages prefer lingual closure to lingual nakedness 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. 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 themselves 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 speak 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 give birth to 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 exists 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 relieve 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.

One 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, of course, 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 of 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 audio, video and pictures 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: Monolingual subtitled Mbuk documentary grammar.

Figure 33: A Figure 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, (Fig.34)

Figure 34: Mbuk Grammatical Elements in ELAN

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 reservoir of its speech and culture in audio, video and script format, hence the preservation of the linguistic and cultural diversity of Cameroon, Africa and the world at large. The aerial view of Mbuk palace, our main site of research, figure 35:

Figure 35: Aerial view of Mbuk palace and Fonfuka market

Finally, though documented stuff becomes 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 has not been in vain since it has not been invaded by the very technology that brings about the good works; a disseminated digitised Mbuk language and its tradition.

The entire research process has come up with a virtual reserve of Mbuk heritage preserved in hard drives and online storage sites for scholars while some of the annotated subtitled footages are circulating on WhatsApp, Telegram, Youtube, and Facebook pages among the Mbuk people and researchers making use of modern technology in the dissemination of the language. Hence, the sole repository of research artefacts is no longer wooden/metal library shelves; they can be stored in CDs and played in DVD recorders with the original native's voice heard without any perturbation of its sounds, tonal melodies, and its intonations.

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AUTHOR INDEX

SUBJECT INDEX

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: 90 Personal Mbuk Names

	Male and possible meaning	Female and possible meaning
1	báˠsí ~ báksí	bá:lî
2	bìkə́m	bàŋkìbó:
3	bʲǎ	bê:
4	fíndə́ŋ	dzɔ̀ŋ
5	fíndə́ŋ	dʒìlɔ̌: ~ dzə̂lɔ̌:
6	Gàbá	dʒíntàˠà
7	jámbɔ̀ŋ	dʒîntí check tone of ɪ
8	kə̀bá:	kə̀mfə́nə́
9	kígóˠʊ̀lì	kə̀tʃʷá
10	làbákʊ̀	kìmàʃə̀ˠə́
11	Làŋ	kīsáŋ
12	làŋndzî:	kìtʃúhì ~ kìtʃúsì
13	lə̀ŋə̀tʃʲá	kpǎ:tʃì
14	mbàdʒì	lʲə̂:
15	mbɔ̀kɔ́	lɔ̌:
16	mʲə̀ˠə̀	màdóˠó ~màdókó
17	Ndàŋ	máŋgàɲ
18	ndìtʃà	mbɛ́
19	nsə̂:	mbɛ̌:lʲə̂
20	nʃɔ̄m	mbɛ̀:nə́
21	ntàˠà	mbɛ́bà
22	ntàˠà	mbɛ́káŋ
23	ntʃìbó ~ ntʃìbɔ́	mbò: (use together with Bum)
24	ntʃɔ̀ˠɔ́	mbɔ̀ntàˠà ~ mbɔ̀ŋtàkà
25	ntʃʷà:	ndʒʲə̌:
26	ntʃʷàˠàhí	nə̀ŋkíbá ~ nə̀ŋkə̀bá
27	ntʃʷàˠàsí	nə̀ŋmbʷàˠà
28	ntʊ̀ŋbá	nə̂ŋtʃʷà
29	ntʊ̀ŋbá	nɛ́bà

30	ŋgʷáŋ	nègbǎ:	
31	ŋká:	ńɪ̋:	
32	ŋkàmbî:	níndʒì	
33	ŋkàmbî:	nìnì ~ nínì	
34	ŋkʷɛ̀mbɔ̀:	nítʃàˠà	
35	sàmbàɲ	ntà:	
36	sàmbàɲ	Ntám	
37	ʃìɲɲʷɔ̀	nfɪ:	
38	ʃʲə̀kʷú	ŋgàɲ	
39	tʃântàkà	tə́tə́	
40	tʃʲə̀	tílì	
41	tʃɔ̂ʔtô:	tʃû:	
42	wábʷá ~ wábʷáˠá	wə́nə̀ ~ wúónə̀	
43	lâ:kà: ~ ljákà	zàtō ~ dzàtō	
44	kìtú	ʒòŋə̀	
45	ɲà		
46	Sàmàndì		
47	mûɲā (from Fang)		

Appendix 2: Lexical differences between Mbuk and Chung

	Mbuk	Chung	Gloss	Variant element
1	kʷā	kɔ́bí	Forest	whole word
2	dúŋ	núm	sit, wait	whole word
3	tʃíŋə	kɔ́bí	if not	whole word
4	tʃâː	kɔ́kɔ́	Not	whole word
5	fálí	fáŋní	Tilt	nasal insertion
6	ʃíkə	ʃísí	lower	alveolar fricative vl
7	lêː	ntʃíŋ	small	whole word
8	lê	jɔ́kɔ́	Run	whole word
9	wɛ́	wɛli	open	disyllabic
10	káhí	kásí	finish	alveolar fricative vl
11	mbɔ̀m	mbʊ̀m	large	ʊ vowel change
12	bɔ́m	búm	accept	ʊ vowel change
13	ásə́	ásí	As	i vowel change
14	mə́ŋní	mání	unrecognised	a / nasal deletion
15	tʷáɲ	twɛ́ɲ	To beat/to wrap	ɛ vowel change
16	tɔ́m búˠʊ́	túm búˠʊ́	appear	ʊ vowel change
17	tɔ́mí	túmí	country	ʊ vowel change
18	tʃɔ̀kɔ̀	tʃwàkà	Iron	a / labialisation
19	ɣá	gʲá	thing	palatalisation
20	ŋgə́kí	ŋgákə́	trouble	vowel harmony
21	tɔ́m	mtʊ́m	message	prenasalisation
22	jə́ŋkə́	ɲísí	Start	whole word
23	fə́ˠə́	fʊ́ˠʊ́	Tell	ʊ vowel change
24	dzŭː	dʒʊ́ŋ	house	whole word
25	tʊ̀ŋjìdzú	tʃʊ́ŋkídʒʊ́ŋ	family	whole word
26	dɛ́	dí	place	i vowel change
27	bə́ŋ	bʊ́ŋ	Call	ɔ vowel change
28	báŋhí	baŋsi	lighting	alveolar fricative vl
29	ntʃʊ́ŋ	ŋkʊ́ŋ	truth	whole word
30	tʃə́	kyə́	know	palatalisation
31	tìkúlí	tíkwílí	family head	labialisation

32	dzɔ̀m	dʒúm	War	ʊ / palato-alveolar vd
33	nə́	né	mother	e vowel change
34	fómhí	fómsí	worrisome	alveolar fricative vl
35	sáŋhí	sáŋsí	Feed	alveolar fricative vl
36	bí	bʲəlí	follow	disyllabic
37	tɔ́ŋ	tʃɔ́ŋɔ́	buttocks	disyllabic
38	dā	dólì	vagina	disyllabic
39	jə́	túm	Put	whole word
40	tɔ́m	túm	shoot	ʊ vowel change
41	ŋgʷí	mwí	water	develarisation
42	kxə́	kə́	Farm	develarisation
43	nŭː	nɔ́	sleep	ɔ vowel change
44	wúní	wíní	Tail	ɪ vowel change
45	dʒú	dʒúlí	soak	disyllabic
46	ntúkú	ntʃɔ́kɔ́	night	ɔ vowel change
47	kɔ́kɔ́	kɔ́sí	cough	alveolar fricative vl
48	dzúŋ	dʒúŋ	snake	palato-alveolar vd
49	tə́jə́	tésí	Slow	i / alveolar fricative vl
50	kóní	kwéjí	Part of corn	whole word
51	dʒʷábí	dʒɔ́bí	time	delabialisation
52	dzúŋ	dzɔ́	Hire	ɔ/open syllable
53	fímús	fímúsì	Cat	i / suffixation
54	kìŋkɔ́kɔ́	kìŋkwáká	tortoise	a/ labialisation
55	bálí	bwélí	waist	e / labialisation
56	jə́	nə́	what	nasal onset
57	jɛ́	jɛ́lí	name	disyllabic
58	kpɛ́nhí	kpɛ́nsí	Add	alveolar fricative vl
59	dzɨ́ˠə́	dzə́ˠə́	Hoe	ə vowel change
60	tsɛ́hí	tsɛ́sí	translate	alveolar fricative vl
61	nɔ́mí	númí	Hide	ʊ vowel change
62	fàjí	nàjí	where	nasal onset
63	ŋgɔ́mhí / lwàhí	gɔ́msí / lwàhí	threaten	denasalisation
64	kāŋhí	kāŋsí	guest	alveolar fricative vl
65	bálí	bólí	Sky	o vowel change

66	fíŋkɔ́m	fìkɔ́fí	knife	suffixation
67	mbɔ̀m	kpálí	big (of person)	whole word
68	mbʊ́ŋwí	mbʊ́ŋmí	dove	nasal insertion
69	bɑ̃́ː	mbʲáŋ	Palm nut	whole word
70	dzūŋ	dzɔ̄ŋ	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 sets; (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 (PROG)

TAM 5, Future tense (FT)

TAM 6, Imperative (IM) +Object

No.	Gloss	IF	Gerund	Past	Ongoing	Future	IM +O
G1	Simple open; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, M, R)						
1H		TAM 1	TAM 2	TAM 3	TAM 4	TAM 5	TAM 6
1	*be heavy*	ídʒī		dʒī	dʒî:kílə̀	dʒî:lə̀	dʒí
2	*bow (down)*	íŋgǘ	ǹŋgǜ	ŋgṹ	ŋggkílə̀	íŋggnílə̀	ŋgǘ
3	*build (house)*	ímā		mā	mā:kílə̀	má:lə̀	má
4	*bury*	ílə́	ǹlə̀	lə̄	lə̂:kílə̀	lə̂:lə̀	lə́
5	*clean (broom)*	íkǻ:		kǻ:	kǻ:kə́lə̀	kǻ:lə̀	kǻ:
6	*clear (grass)*	ífǘ		Fǘ	fǘ:kílə̀	fũ:lə̀	ff:
7	*count*	ífā	ǹfà	fā	fâ:kílə̀	fâ:lə̀	fá
8	*cut (thatch grass)*	ítō		tō	tô:kílə̀	tô:lə̀	tó
9	*die (living thing)*	íkpí		kpī	kpí:kə́lə̀	kpí:lə̀	kpí:
10	*do*	ífə́		fə̄	fə̂kílə̀	fə̂lə̀	fə́
11	*dress (wear cloth)*	ílō		lō	lô:kílə̀	lô:lə̀	ló
12	*drink*	ímú		mú	mú:kə́lə̀	mú:lə̀	mú
13	*entertain*	ítə́		tə̄	tə̄:kə́lə̀	tə̄:lə̀	tə́ ～ tə̄
14	*excrete*	íɲī		ɲī	ɲî:kílə̀	ɲî:lə̀	ɲí
15	*fall (rain)*	ídzə̄		dzə̄	dzə̂kílə̀	dzə̂lə̀	dzə́
16	*feed*	ísə̄̃		sə̄̃	sə̄̃:kə́lə̀	sə̄̃:lə̀	sǻ:
17	*follow*	íbī		bī:	bî:kílə̀	bí:lə̀	bí:
18	*get (have)/own*	íkə̄̃		kə̄̃	kǻ:kə́lə̀	kǻ:lə̀	kǻ:
19	*give*	íɲā		ɲā	ɲā:kə́lə̀	ɲá:lə̀	ɲá
20	*grow*	íkó		kó:	kó:kílə̀	kó:lə̀	kó:
21	*harvest (palm cone)*	ígbā		gbā	gbâ:kílə̀	gbâ:lə̀	gbá
22	*hatch*	íkā		kā	kâ:kə́lə̀	ká:lə̀	ká:

23	*hit*	ítá		tā	tākə́lə̀	tá:lə̀	tá
24	*hocking (fishing)*	ílō		lō	lô:kílə̀	lô:lə̀	ló
25	*itch*	ífú		Fú	fú:kílə̀	fú:lə̀	fú
26	*lack*	ídzá		dzá	dzá:kílə̀	dzá:lə̀	dzá
27	*nail*	íbá̰		Bá	bā̰:kílə̀	bā̰:lə̀	bá
28	*offer*	íɲá		ɲá	ɲā:kílə̀	ɲá:lə̀	ɲá
29	*pass*	ítsə́		tsə̄	tsə̄kə́lə̀	tsə́lə̀	tsə́
30	*peel raw (plantaing)*	íká̰:		ká̰:	ká̰:kílə̀	ká̰:lə̀	ká̰:
31	*plant*	íkâ:		kā	kâ:kílə̀	kā:lə̀	ká
32	*rape*	íkā̰:	ǹkā̰:	kā̰:	ká̰:kílə̀	ká̰:lə̀	ká̰
33	*remain (not go)*	íbá̰:		bá̰:	bā̰:kílə̀	bá̰:lə̀	bá̰:
34	*ride (bicycle)*	íná		Ná	ná:kílə̀	ná:lə̀	ná
35	*rot*	ífō		fō	fô:kə́lə̀	fô:lə̀	fó
36	*run*	ílɛ̄		lɛ̄	lɛ́kə́lə̀	lɛ́:lə̀	lɛ́:
37	*scrape (clean) off*	íká̰:		ká̰:	ká̰:kə́lə̀	ká̰:lə̀	ká̰:
38	*shave (scissors)*	ífá		Fá	fá:kílə̀	fá:lə̀	fá
39	*stop*	ídʒí		dʒí	dʒí:kílə̀	dʒí:lə̀	dʒí
40	*suck*	ímá		má	má:kílə̀	má:lə̀	má
41	*swallow (food)*	ímə̄		mə̄	mə̂:kílə̀	mə̂:lə̀	mə́
42	*swell*	ímō		mō	mô:kílə̀	mô:lə̀	mó
43	*thatch*	ílú:		lú:	lú:kílə̀	lú:lə̀	lú:
44	*throw (away)*	ílō		lō	lô:kílə̀	lô:lə̀	ló
45	*tie*	íʃú		ʃú	ʃú:kílə̀	ʃú:lə̀	ʃú:
46	*wet*	ídə́:		də́:	də́:kílə̀	də́:lə̀	də́
1M							
47	*ban from people*	ílū	ǹlò	lū	lô:kə́lə̀	lṵ̄:lə̀	lū
48	*be better*	ílō	ǹlò	lǒ:	lô:kílə̀	lô:lə̀	lō:
49	*be tired*	íbó:		Bó	bó:kílə̀	bó:lə̀	bō
50	*clap*	íkū	ǹkù	kū	kû:kílə̀	kúlə̀	kū:
51	*clear*	ífṵ̄:		fṵ̄:	fṵ̄:kə́lə̀	fṵ́:lə̀	fṵ̄
52	*cook fufu*	íná		Ná	ná:kílə̀	ná:lə̀	nā
53	*cry*	ídə̄	ǹdə̀	də̄	də̂:kílə̀	də̂:lə̀	də̄:
54	*cut palm cone finger*	ífā		fā	fâ:kílə̀	fâ:lə̀	fā
55	*eat*	ídzí		dzí	dzí:kə́lə̀	dzí:lə̀	dzī
56	*fall*	ígbō		gbō	gbô:kə́lə̀	gbô:lə̀	gbō
57	*finish by itself*	íká		kā	kākílə̀	ká:lə̀	kā:
58	*fold*	ílō:	ǹlò	lō	lô:kílə̀	lô:lə̀	lō:

59	go (farm / work)	ílā		lā	lâ:kílə	lâ:lə	lā
60	hervest / pluck	íkō		kō	kô:kílə	kô:lə	kō
61	imprison	ífā		fā	fâ:kílə	fâ:lə	fā
62	jump	ídʒí:		dʒí:	dʒí:kílə	dʒí:lə	dʒí
63	lock (door)	ífā		fā	fâ:kílə	fâ:lə	fā
64	make	ífə		fə	fôkélə	fôlə	fə
65	mulch (farm)	ílə		lə	lâ:kə́lə	lô:lə	lə
66	name (child name)	ídū		dū	dô:kə́lə	dô:lə	dū
67	peel (mango)	ífā		fā	fâ:kílə	fâ:lə	fā
68	pick up	ídzō		dzō	dzô:kə́lə	dzô:lə	dzō
69	play (music)	íkū		kū	kû:kə́lə	kû:lə	kū
70	praise	ítsá:		tsá:	tsā:kílə	tsá:lə	tsā
71	pray to gods	ítsá:		tsā:	tsā:kílə	tsá:lə	tsā̄:
72	read	ífā		fā	fâ:kə́lə	fâ:lə	fā
73	rest	ímō		mō	mô:kə́lə	mó:lə	mō
74	roasting (fowl)	íbá		bā	bā:kə́lə	bá:lə	bā
75	scratch	ífú		Fú	fú:kílə	fú:lə	fū
76	spit	ítʃú		tʃú	tʃú:kílə	tʃú:lə	tʃū
77	stand up	ídzá:		dzá	dzá:kílə	dzá:lə	dzā
78	sting	ítá		Tá	tá:kílə	tá:lə	tā
79	take	ídzō		dzō	dzô:kílə	dzô:lə	dzō
80	trap	ítá̄:		tá̄:	tá̄:kə́lə	tá̄:lə	tā̄
81	undress	íbá		bā	bā:kílə	bá:lə	bā
82	uproot	íbá		bā	bā:kílə	bá:lə	bā
83	weave basket	ílō:	ǹlò	lō	lô:kílə	lô:lə	lō:
1R							
84	abandon	íkā	ǹkà	kǎ:	ká:kə́lə	ká:lə	kǎ:
85	allow	íbī	ǹbì	bí	bí:kílə	bǐ:lə	bǐ:
86	arrange	ímā	ǹmà	mǎ:	mā:kílə	mâ:lə	mǎ:
87	be small	ísə̃:		sə̃:	sə̂:kílə	sə̃:lə	sə̃:
88	build (bridge)	ídā	ǹdà	dǎ:	dâ:kílə	dǎ:lə	dǎ:
89	call	íbə́̃:		bə̌:	bə̂:kílə	bə̌:lə	bə̌:
90	carry child on back	ímǒ:		mō	mô:kílə	mǒ:lə	mǒ:
91	cook corn beer	íkpǎ:		kpā	kpâ:kílə	kpǎ:lə	kpǎ:
92	curse	íkǔ̃:	ǹkὺ̃	kū̃	kû:kílə	kǔ:lə	kǔ:
93	cut (fowl neck)	ísǔ		sǔ	sû:kílə	sǔ:lə	sǔ
94	descend	íʃǐ:		ʃǐ:	ʃî:kə́lə	ʃǐ:lə	ʃǐ:

#							
95	*dip (into liquid)*	ídʒú		dʒū	dʒú:kálà	dʒú:là	dʒǔ:
96	*dish out / share*	ígâ:		gā	gâ:kílà	gǎ:là	gǎ:
97	*grip (someone)*	íkã̄:		kã̄:	kã̄:kílà	kã̄:là	kǎ:
98	*hang (on hanger)*	ítū		tū	tū:kílà	tú:là	tǔ:
99	*hold*	íkã̄:		kã̄:	kã́:kálà	ká:là	kǎ
100	*laugh*	ísǔ̃		sū̃	sû̃:kílà	sǔ̃:là	sǔ̃/sùŋú
101	*leave (this world)*	íbǐ:		bī	bî:kílà	bǐ:là	bǐ:
102	*lick*	ímɛ̌:		mɛ	mɛ̄:kálà	mɛ́:là	mɛ̌:
103	*light fire*	íkpǎ:		kpā	kpâ:kílà	kpǎ:là	kpǎ:
104	*open*	íwɛ̌		wɛ:	wɛ̂:kílà	wɛ̌:là	wɛ̌:
105	*plant*	ígbɛ̌:		gbɛ̄	gbɛ̌:kálà	gbɛ̌:là	gbɛ̌:
106	*sleep*	ínǔ:		nū	nû:kílà	nǔ:là	nǔ:
107	*smash*	ídɔ̃̌:		dɔ̃̄	dɔ̃̂:kílà	dɔ̃̌:là	dɔ̃̌
108	*tear (torn)*	ítã̌:		tã̄	tã̂:kílà	tã̌:là	tã̌:
G2	**Diphthongisation; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, M)**						
2H							
109	*be sweet*	índʒṹȭ		ndʒū̃ȭ	ndʒṹókílà	ndʒṹólà	ndʒṹṍ
110	*fear*	ílúá		lúá	lūākálà	lúálà	lúá
111	*fight*	ídʒūō		dʒūō	dʒúòkílà	dʒúōlà	dʒúó
112	*kill*	íwúó	ǹwùò	wūō	wūōkálà	wúólà	wúó
2M							
113	*crack, burst*	íwūō	ǹwùò	wūō	wūōkálà	wúólà	wūō
114	*steal*	ítʃúó		tʃūō	tʃúókílà	tʃúólà	tʃūō
G3	**Labialisation form; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, R)**						
3H							
115	*be drunk*	íkʷá		kʷá	kʷá:kílà	kʷá:là	kʷá
116	*beg*	ímʷā	ǹmʷà	mʷā	mʷā:kílà	mʷá:là	mʷá
117	*catch*	íkʷá		kʷā	kʷákílà	kʷá:là	kʷá
118	*sew with hand*	íkʷó	ǹkʷò	kʷó	kʷójíkílà	kʷólà	kʷó
3R							
119	*bake (in ash)*	ífʷɔ̃̌	ǹfʷɔ̃̌	fʷɔ̃̌	fʷɔ̃̂:kílà	fʷɔ̃̌:là	fʷɔ̃̌:
120	*borrow*	ífʷā		fʷā	fʷâ:kílà	fʷâ:là	fʷǎ:
121	*loosen*	íʃʷǎ		ʃʷā	ʃʷâ:kílà	ʃʷǎ:là	ʃʷǎ:
122	*pierce*	íbʷǎ		bʷā	bʷâkálà	bʷǎ:là	bʷǎ:
123	*pinch*	íŋʷǎ		ŋʷā	ŋʷâkílà	ŋʷǎ:là	ŋʷǎ:

G4	**Palatalisation; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, R)**						
4H							
124	*dawn (cook)*	íbʲέ	ǹbʲὲ	bʲὲ	íbʲὲkílə̀	íbʲέːlə̀	bʲέ
125	*enter*	ílʲə̄		lʲə̄	lʲə̄kə́lə̀	lʲə́ːlə̀	lʲə́
4R							
126	*accuse*	dʒʲə̌		dʒʲə̄	dʒʲə̀ːkílə̀	dʒʲə̌ːlə̀	dʒʲə̌
127	*cook*	ídʲə̌ː		dyə̄	dʲə̀ːkílə̀	dʲə̌ːlə̀	dʲə̌
128	*go / leave*	íɲʲə̌		ɲʲə̄	ɲʲə̀ːkílə̀	ɲʲə̌ːlə̀	ɲʲə̌ː
129	*know / notice*	ítʃʲə̄		tʃʲə̄	tʃʲə̄ːkə́lə̀	tʃʲə́ːlə̀	tʃʲə̌
G5	**Velarisation**						
5H							
130	*appoint*	íkə́ˠə́		kə́ˠə́	kə́ˠə́kílə̀	kə́ˠə́lə̀	kə́ˠə́
131	*ask*	íbʲə̀ˠə́		bʲə̄ˠə̄	bʲə́ˠə́kílə̀	bʲə́ˠə́lə̀	bʲə́ˠə́
132	*blow (nose)*	ífə́ˠə́		fə̄ˠə̄	fə̄ˠə̄kə́lə̀	fə́ˠə́lə̀	fə́ˠə́
133	*brush (teeth)*	ítʃə́ˠə́		tʃə̄ˠə̄	tʃə̄ˠə̄kə́lə̀	tʃə́ˠə́lə̀	tʃə́ˠə́
134	*carry (water)*	ítóˠó	ǹtòˠò	tōˠō	tóˠòkílə̀	tóˠólə̀	tóˠó
135	*exit*	íbúˠú		būˠū	būˠūkə́lə̀	búˠúlə̀	búˠú
136	*judge*	ísáˠá		sāˠā	sāˠākə́lə̀	sáˠálə̀	sáˠá
137	*peel (plantain/corn)*	íʃáŋá		ʃāŋā	ʃáŋákílə̀	ʃáŋálə̀	ʃáŋá
138	*pluck corn*	íwáˠá		wāˠā	wāˠākílə̀	wáˠálə̀	wáˠá
139	*rear animals*	ítóˠó	ǹtòɣò	tóˠó	tóˠókílə̀	tóˠólə̀	tóˠó
140	*request*	íbíˠí		bīˠī	bíˠíkílə̀	bíˠílə̀	bíˠí
141	*rule*	ísáˠá		sāˠā	sáˠákə́lə̀	sáˠálə̀	sáˠá
142	*stammering*	ígə́ˠə́		gə̄ˠə̄	gə́ˠə̀kílə̀	gə̀ˠə́lí	gə́ˠə́
5M							
143	*harvest (herbs)*	íkə́ˠə́		kə̄ˠə̄	kə̄ˠə̄kílə̀	kə́ˠə́lə̀	kə̄ˠə̄
144	*hear*	íwóˠó		wóˠó	wóˠókílə̀	wóˠólə̀	wōˠō
145	*leak*	íbúˠú		būˠū	būˠūkílə̀	búˠúlə̀	būˠū
146	*mask*	ísúˠú		súˠú	sūˠūkə́lə̀	súˠúlə̀	sūˠū
147	*operate/tear (knife)*	íbáˠá		bāˠā	bāˠākə́lə̀	báˠálə̀	bāˠā
148	*peel elephant stalk*	íwáˠá		wáˠá	wāˠákílə̀	wáˠálə̀	wāˠā
149	*pound*	ítʃúˠú		tʃúˠú	tʃūˠūkə́lə̀	tʃúˠúlə̀	tʃūˠū
150	*remove feather*	íkpóˠó	ǹkpòɣò	kpóˠó	kpóˠókílə̀	kpóˠólə̀	kpōˠō
151	*remove from fire*	ímə́ˠá		mə́ˠá	mə́ˠáːkə́lə̀	mə́ˠálə̀	mə̄ˠā

	remove inside pot	ímə́ʸá		mə́ʸá	mə́ʸá:kə́lə̀	mə́ʸálə̀	mə̄ʸā
152	speak / say / talk	ídzə́ʸə́		dzə́ʸə́	dzə́ʸə́kílə̀	dzə́ʸálə̀	dzə̄ʸə̄
153	wonder	ígáʸá		gā̄ʸā	gā̄ʸākílə̀	gáʸálə̀	gā̄ʸā
5R							
154	announce	ílàʸá		lāʸā	láʸàkə́lə̀	làʸálə̀	làʸá
155	arrange (guitar)	ígòʸó		gòʸó	góʸòkílə̀	gòʸólə̀	gòʸó
156	ascend	íjàʸá		jāʸā	jáʸákə́lə̀	jáʸálə̀	jàʸá
157	be bad	íbə́ʸə́		bə̄ʸə̄	bə̄ʸə̄kílə̀	bə́ʸálə̀	bə̀ʸə́
158	be dirty	íɲōʸō		ɲōʸō	ɲúʸòkílə̀	ɲòʸólə̀	ɲòʸó
159	be lost	ílāʸá		lāʸā	láʸákílə̀	làʸálə̀	làʸá
160	be pregnant	íf'ə̀ʸə́		f'ə̄ʸə̄	f'ə́ʸə́kílə̀	f'ə̀ʸálə̀	f'ə̀ʸə́
161	be red	íbòʸó		bōʸō	bōʸōkílə̀	bòʸólə̀	bòʸó
162	be ripe	íbòʸó		bōʸō	bōʸōkílə̀	bòʸólə̀	bòʸó
163	be strong	ílə̀ʸə́		lə̄ʸə̄	lə́ʸə̀kílə̀	lə̀ʸálə̀	lə̀ʸə́
164	begin	íʒə̀ʸə́		ʒə̄ʸə̄	ʒə́ʸə̀kílə̀	ʒə̀ʸə́lə̀	ʒə̀ʸə́
165	breathe	íwàʸá		wāʸā	wáʸàkílə̀	wàʸálə̀	wàʸá
166	carry (death)	íbə̀ʸə́		bə̄ʸə̄	bə́ʸə̀kílə̀	bə̀ʸálə̀	bə̀ʸə́
167	carry hands on head	íbə̀ʸə́		bə̄ʸə̄	bə̄ʸə̄kílə̀	bə̀ʸálə̀	bə̀ʸə́
168	cease	ílòʸó		lōʸō	lóʸòkílə̀	lòʸólə̀	lòʸó
169	chain (someone)	íkàŋá		kāŋā	káŋàkílə̀	kàŋálə̀	kàŋá
170	check	ítʃə̀ʸə́		tʃə̄ʸə̄	tʃə́ʸə̀kílə̀	tʃə̀ʸálə̀	tʃə̀ʸə́
171	check (trap)	ítʃàʸá		tʃāʸā	tʃáʸàkílə̀	tʃàʸálə̀	tʃàʸá
172	climb	íjàʸá		yāʸā	jáʸákílə̀	jáʸálə̀	yàʸá
173	cough	íkōŋō		kōŋō	kōŋōkílə̀	kóŋólə̀	kòŋó
174	crack	ítʃòʸó		tʃōʸō	tʃóʸòkə́lə̀	tʃòʸólə̀	tʃòʸó
175	dance on toes	íɲàʸá		ɲāʸā	ɲáʸàkílə̀	ɲàʸálə̀	ɲàʸá
176	deliver	íbɨ̄ʸə̄		bɨ̄ʸə̄	bɨ̄ʸə̄:kílə̀	bɨ́ʸə̀lə̀	bɨ̀ʸə́
177	drag / drive (car)	ígòʸó		gōʸō	góʸòkílə̀	gòʸólə̀	gòʸó
178	fall (of rain excess)	íʃōʸō		ʃōʸō	ʃōʸōkílə̀	ʃòʸólə̀	ʃòʸó
179	fart	íʃə̀ŋə́		ʃə̄ŋə̄	ʃə́ŋə́kílə̀	ʃə́ŋálə̀	ʃə̀ŋə́
180	go out / exit	íbúʸó		bōʸō	búʸókə́lə̀	búʸólə̀	bòʸó
181	grind	ígōʸō		gōʸō	góʸòkílə̀	gòʸólə̀	gòʸó
182	jealous	íɣə̀ʸə́		ɣə̄ʸə̄	ɣə́ʸə̀kílə̀	ɣə̀ʸálə̀	ɣə̀ʸə́
183	knock (head)	ítʃòʸó		tʃōʸō	tʃóʸòkə́lə̀	tʃòʸólə̀	tʃòʸó
184	to raise a child	íkōʸō		kōʸō	kōʸōkílə̀	kóʸólə̀	kóʸó
185	point / elect	ísòʸó		sōʸō	sóʸòkílə̀	sòʸólə̀	sòʸó
186	pour	íʃòʸó		ʃōʸō	ʃóʸòkílə̀	ʃòʸólə̀	ʃòʸó

187	rest	íwàˠá		wāˠā	wáˠàkílə̀	wàˠálə̀	wàˠá
188	seize	ílòˠó		lōˠō	lóˠòkílə̀	lòˠólə̀	lòˠó
189	sex	ítòˠó	ǹtòɣò	tōˠō	tóˠòkílə̀	tòˠólə̀	tòˠó
190	shift (further)	íkòŋó		kōŋō	kóŋòkílə̀	kòŋólə̀	kòŋó
191	sieve	ísə̀ˠá		sə̄ˠā	sə́ˠəkílə̀	sə̀ˠálə̀	sə̀ˠá
192	start	íjə̀ˠá		jə̄ˠā	jə́ˠəkílə̀	jə̀ˠálə̀	jə̀ˠá
193	sweep	íʒə̀ˠá		ʒə̄ˠā	ʒə́ˠəkílə̀	ʒə̀ˠálə̀	ʒə̀ˠá
194	tell	ífə̀ˠá		fə̄ˠā	fə́ˠəkílə̀	fə̀ˠálə̀	fə̀ˠá
195	urinate	índzàŋá		ndzāŋā	ndzáŋàkə́lə̀	ndzàŋálə̀	ndzàŋá
196	weed grass	ísàŋá	ǹsàŋà	sāŋā	sáŋàkílə̀	sàŋálə̀	sàŋá
197	write	íɲàˠá		ɲāˠā	ɲáˠàkílə̀	ɲàˠálə̀	ɲàˠá
G6	**Simple closed**						
6H							
199	chew	ítsám	ǹtʃàm	tʃám	tʃāmkə́lə̀	tʃámlə̀	tʃá:m
200	deny	ínén		nén	nénkílə̀	né:nlə̀	nén
201	bark	íwăm		wăm	wá:mkə́lə̀	wámlə̀	wá:m
202	blow	ítɔ́ŋ		tɔ̄ŋ	tɔ́ŋkə́lə̀	tɔ́ŋlə̀	tɔ́ŋ
203	bite	ínɔ́m		nɔ̌m	nɔ́:mkílə̀	nɔ́mlə̀	nɔ́m
204	be big	ítʃə́ŋ		tʃə̄ŋ	tʃə́ŋkə́lə̀	tʃə̄ŋlə̀	tʃə́ŋ
205	buy	ítáŋ		tāŋ	tāŋkə́lə̀	táŋlə̀	táŋ
206	light / burn incense	ídān		dān	dâɲkílə̀	dâ:nlə̀	dá:n
207	break	íbʷǐn		bʷǐn	bʷínkílə̀	bʷínlə̀	bʷín
208	choose	íkāŋ		kāŋ	kâŋkílə̀	kâ:ŋlə̀	káŋ
209	carve	íkʷāŋ		kʷāŋ	kʷâŋkílə̀	kʷâŋlə̀	kʷáŋ
210	selfish	íɲúm		ɲúm	ɲú:mkílə̀	ɲúmlə̀	ɲúm
211	escape/ scape rain	ígēn		gēn	gè:ɲkílə̀	gê:nlə̀	gén
212	dance	íbín		Bín	bí:ɲkə́lə̀	bínlə̀	bí:n
213	chase away	íkɔ́ŋ		kɔ́ŋ	kɔ̄ŋkílə̀	kɔ́ŋlə̀	kɔ́:ŋ
214	find (look for)	ínə́ŋ		nə̄ŋ	nə̄ŋkílə̀	nə́ŋlə̀	nə́ŋ
215	test	ímɔ̄m		mɔ̄m	mɔ̂mkílə̀	mɔ̂mlə̀	mɔ́:m
216	get accident	íbén		bén	bénkílə̀	bénlə̀	bén
217	to be joyful	ílán		lāŋ	lāŋkílə̀	láŋlə̀	láŋ
218	kneel	ítɔ́m		tɔ́m	tɔ́:mkílə̀	tɔ́mlə̀	tɔ́:m
219	knock (door)	íkɔ̄m		kɔ̄m	kɔ̂mkílə̀	kɔ̂mlə̀	kɔ́:m
220	look for	ítʃén		tʃɛ̄n	tʃɛ̄nkílə̀		tʃɛ́:n
221	be come old	ídʒún		dʒūn	dʒwî:ɲkílə̀	dʒwî:nlə̀	dʒún

222	*point torch*	íkám		Kám	kāmkílə	ká:mlə	ká:m
223	*tear open*	íbwín		bwín	bwínkílə	bwínlə	bwí:n
224	*pay*	ígɔ̄m		gɔ̄m	gɔ̂:mkə́lə	gɔ̂:mlə	gɔ́m
225	*pick (lost)*	íbɔ́ŋ		bɔ́ŋ	bɔ́ŋkílə	bɔ́ŋlə	bɔ́ŋ
226	*remove silently*	íɲə́m		ɲə́m	ɲə́mkə́lə	ɲə́:mlə	ɲə́:m
227	*sharpen*	ífān		fān	fâɲkə́lə	fā:ŋlə	fáɲ
228	*shine*	íbān		báɲ	báɲkə́lə	báɲlə	báɲ
229	*send*	ífáɲ		fāɲ	fá:ŋkə́lə	fá:ŋlə	fá:ŋ
230	*squeeze*	íkám		Kám	kámkílə	kámlə	ká:m
231	*swear*	íkān		kān	kâŋkílə	ká:nlə	ká:n
232	*smelt*	íbʲɔ̄ŋ		bʲɔ̄ŋ	bʲɔ̂ŋkílə	bʲɔ́:ŋlə	bʲɔ́:ŋ
233	*be still (going on)*	íkén		kēn	kēnkə́lə	kénlə	kén
234	*touch*	íkɔ̄m		kɔ̄m	kɔ̂mkílə	kɔ̂:mlə	kɔ́:m
235	*taste*	ímɔ̄m		mɔ̄:m	mɔ̂mkílə	mɔ̂:mlə	mɔ́:m
236	*take (part of)*	ítʃɔ̄m		tʃɔ̄m	tʃɔ̂mkílə	tʃɔ́:mlə	tʃɔ́:m
237	*glue*	ígɔ̄m		gɔ̄m	gɔ̂mkílə	gɔ̂mlə	gɔ́m
238	*vomit*	íjān		yān	yâŋkílə	jáŋlə	já:n
239	*want*	ínə́ŋ		nə̄ŋ	nə̄ŋkílə	nə́ŋlə	nə́ŋ
240	*whistle*	ítɔ́ŋ		tɔ́ŋ	tɔ́:ŋkə́lə	tɔ́ŋlə	tɔ́:ŋ
241	*be white*	íbán		Bán	bá:ɲkə́lə	báɲlə	bá:n
242	*work*	ínɔ̄m		nɔ̄:m	nɔ̂mkílə	nɔ̂:mlə	nɔ́:m
6M							
243	*rub excess oil*	ídʒʷɔ́m		dʒʷɔ́m	dʒʷɔ́mkə́lə	dʒʷɔ̂mlə	dʒʷɔ̄m
244	*close*	íbáŋ		báŋ	báŋkílə	báŋlə	bāŋ
245	*do by hiding*	íɲə́m		ɲə̄m	ɲə̄mkə́lə	ɲə́mlə	ɲə̄m
246	*dig*	ítʃúm		tʃūm	tʃūmkílə	tʃúmlə	tʃū:m
247	*labour (birth)*	ínɔ́m		nɔ́m	nɔ́:mkílə	nɔ́mlə	nɔ̄m
248	*jerk, lift up*	ígə́ŋ		gə̄ŋ	gə̄ŋkílə	gə́ŋlə	gə̄ŋ
249	*light*	ídān		dān	dâ:nkílə	dâ:nlə	dān
250	*like / love*	íkɔ̄ŋ		kɔ̄ŋ	kɔ̄ŋkílə	kɔ́ŋlə	kɔ̄ŋ
251	*live*	íkén		kān	kānkə́lə	kénlə	kēn
252	*tell lies*	íwám		wām	wāmkə́lə	wámlə	wām
253	*limp*	ísə́ŋ		sə̄ŋ	sə̄ŋkílə	sə́:ŋlə	sə̄ŋ
254	*knit*	ítɔ́m		tɔ̄m	tɔ̄mkə́lə	tɔ́mlə	tɔ̄m
255	*to be troublesome*	ínām		nām	nâmkə́lə	nâmlə	nām
256	*build house (plaster)*	ímə́ɣəm		mə́ɣəm	mə̄ɣəmkə́lə	mə́ɣəmlə	mə̄ɣəm
257	*mould*	ímə́ɣám		mə́ɣám	mə̄ɣámkə́lə	mə́ɣámlə	mʷām

#	gloss						
258	*roll fufu (in palm)*	ímə́ˠə́m		mə́ˠə́m	mə̄ˠə̄mkə́lə̀	mə́ˠə́mlə̀	mə̄ˠə̄m
259	*disappear*	ísáŋ		Sáŋ	sā:ŋkílə̀	sá:ŋlə̀	sāŋ
260	*scatter people*	ísāŋ		sāŋ	sâ:ŋkə́lə̀	sâ:ŋlə̀	sāŋ
261	*open eye*	íŋə́m		ŋə̄m	ŋə́mkílə̀	ŋə́mlə̀	ŋə̄:m
262	*obstruct*	íbáŋ		Báŋ	báŋkílə̀	báŋlə̀	bāŋ
263	*labour push (birth)*	íkūn		kūn	kū:nkílə̀	kū:nlə̀	kūn
	dry	íwōm		wōm	wōmkílə̀	wómlə̀	wōm
264	*be quiet*	íʃɔm					
265	*querrel*	índzāŋ					
266	*refuse*	ínén		nēn	nēnkə́lə̀	né:nlə̀	nēn
267	*roast*	íwāŋ		wāŋ	wâŋkə́lə̀	wâŋlə̀	wāŋ
268	*refuse / deny*	ínén		nén	nēnkə́lə̀	né:nlə̀	nēn
269	*see*	íjén		jēn	jēnkə́lə̀	jēnlə̀	jēn
270	*shoot*	ítɔ́m		tɔ́m	tɔ́mkílə̀	tɔ́mlə̀	tɔ̄m
271	*bewitch*	ílʲíŋ		lʲíŋ	lʲíŋkílə̀	lʲíŋlə̀	lʲīŋ
272	*slaughter*	íkūm		kūm	kômkílə̀	kômlə̀	kūm
273	*shout*	íwám		wām	wāmkílə̀	wámlə̀	wām
274	*go (gone far off)*	íʒūm		ʒūm	ʒúmkílə̀	ʒô:mlə̀	ʒūm
6R							
275	*be*	ídūŋ		dūŋ	dúŋkílə̀	dúŋlə̀	dŭŋ
276	*accept*	íbɔ̄m		bɔ̄m	bɔ́mkə́lə̀	bômlə̀	bɔ̌:m
277	*cross*	ídăŋ		dāŋ	dâ:ŋkílə̀	dă:ŋlə̀	dă:ŋ
278	*be dark*	ídʒŭm		dʒūm	dʒūmkílə̀	dʒúmlə̀	dʒŭm
279	*happen*	ídūŋ		dūŋ	dúŋkílə̀	dúŋlə̀	dŭŋ
280	*omit*	ídă:ŋ		dāŋ	dâ:ŋkílə̀	dă:ŋlə̀	dă:ŋ
281	*sit*	ídūŋ		dūŋ	dūŋkílə̀	dúŋlə̀	dŭŋ
6HM							
282	*put medicine farm*	ídāŋ		dāŋ	dâŋkílə̀	dá:ŋlə̀	dá:ŋ
G7	**Suffix -ji (ji)**						
7H							
283	*fan*	ífə́ˠə̄jí		fə́ˠə̄jī	fə́ˠə́jíkílə̀	fə́ˠə́jílə̀	fə́ˠə́jí
7MH							
284	*abuse*	ítɔ̄jí		tɔ̄jī	tɔ́jíkílə̀	tɔ́jílə̀	tɔ̄jí
285	*bargain (price)*	ítāŋjí		tāŋjī	tāŋjīkə́lə̀	tāŋjílə̀	tāŋjí
286	*burst pepper*	wúójí		wúójí	wúójíkílə̀	wúójílə̀	wūōjí
287	*cane*	íʃə̄ŋə̄jí		ʃə̄ŋə̄jī	ʃə̄ŋə̄jíkílə̀	ʃə̄ŋə̄jílə̀	ʃə̄ŋə̄jí

288	*carve (hair on face)*	ímə̄jí		mə̄jī	mə̄jíkə́lə̀	májílə̀	mə̄jí
289	*clean (sppon)*	íkã̄jí		kã̄jī	kã́ːjíkílə̀	kã́ːjílə̀	kã̄jí
290	*clear little or a bit*	ífū̃jí		fū̃jī	fū̃ːjíkə́lə̀	fú̃ːjílə̀	fū̃ːjí
291	*cut into slices*	íʃʲējí		ʃʲējī	ʃʲējíkílə̀	ʃʲējílə̀	ʃʲējí
292	*drip*	ítə̄ᵛəjí		tə̄ᵛəjī	tə̄ᵛəjíkílə̀	tá̄ᵛəjílə̀	tə̄ᵛəjí
293	*harvest (corn)*	íwáᵛājí		wāᵛājī	wāᵛājīkílə̀	wáᵛájílə̀	wāᵛājí
294	*hit*	ítájí		tājī	tājíkílə̀	tájílə̀	tājí
295	*horn*	ítɔ̄ŋjí		tɔ̄ŋjī	tɔ̄ŋjíkílə̀	tɔ́ŋjílə̀	tɔ̄ŋjí
296	*yerk (several times)*	ígə̄ŋjí		gə̄ŋjī	gə̄ŋjíkílə̀	gə̄ŋjílə̀	gə̄ŋjí
297	*loosen*	íʃʷājí		ʃʷājī	ʃʷâjìkə́lə̀	ʃʷâjílə̀	ʃʷājí
298	*nail*	íbã́jí		bã̄jī	bã̂ːjíkə́lə̀	bã̂ːjílə̀	bã̄jí
299	*pluck (feather grave)*	íbājí		bājī	bájíkə́lə̀	bájílə̀	bājí
300	*ride*	ínājí	ǹnàjì	nājī	nājíkílə̀	nájílə̀	nājí
301	*scarify*	ítsə̄ᵛəjí		tsə̄ᵛəjī	tsə̄ᵛəjíkílə̀	tsə̄ᵛəjílə̀	tsə̄ᵛəjí
302	*sew (with hand)*	íkʷōjí		kʷōjī	kʷójíkílə̀	kʷójílə̀	kʷōjí
303	*sex*	íbʷāŋjí		bʷāŋjī	bʷâŋjìkílə̀	bʷâŋjílə̀	bʷāŋjí
304	*shout*	íwāmjí		wāmjī	wāmjìkílə̀	wámjílə̀	wāmjí
7R							
305	*arrange headhouse*	íbʷə̃̄jí		bʷə̃̄jī	bʷə̃̂jìkílə̀	bʷə̃̂ːjìlə̀	bʷə̃̄jí
306	*be weak*	íbɔ̄jí		bɔ̄jī	bɔ́jíkə́lə̀	bɔ́jílə̀	bɔ̀jí
307	*demolish/scatter*	íʃáᵛàjí		ʃāᵛājī	ʃáᵛàjìkílə̀	ʃáᵛàjílə̀	ʃàᵛàjí
7FH							
308	*be calling*	íbə̃̂ːjí		bə̃̄ːjī	bə̃̂ːjìkílə̀	bə̃̂ːjílə̀	bə̃̂ːjí
309	*cry*	ídə̄jī		də̄jī	də̄jìkílə̀	də̂jílə̀	də̂jí
310	*deceive*	ífṹjí		fṹːjí	fṹːjìkílə̀	fṹːjílə̀	fṹːjí
311	*fall (sevel times)*	ígbōjí		gbōjī	gbôjìkílə̀	gbôjílə̀	gbôjí
312	*harvest (pears)*	íkɔ̀jí		kɔ̄jī	kɔ̀jìkílə̀	kɔ̀jílə̀	kɔ̂jí
313	*knock*	ítʃúᵛòjí		tʃū̄ᵛūjī	tʃū̄ᵛūjìkílə̀	tʃúᵛòjí	tʃúᵛòjí
314	*mud (plaster house)*	ímâjí		mājī	màjīkílə̀	màjílə̀	mâjí
315	*mulch*	ílœ̃jí		lœ̃jī	lœ̃jìkílə̀	lœ̃jílə̀	lœ̃jí
316	*peel (cook cocoyam)*	íwôjí		wōjī	wôjìkílə̀	wôːjílə̀	wôjí
317	*peel (ripe banana)*	íwə̂jí		wə̄jī	wə̂jìkə́lə̀	wə̂jílə̀	wə̂jí
318	*pinching*	íŋʷâjì		ŋʷājī	ŋʷâjìkílə̀	ŋʷâjílə̀	ŋʷâjí
319	*remove (palmnuts)*	ífáᵛàjí		fāᵛājī	fáᵛàjìkílə̀	fáᵛàjílə̀	fáᵛàjí
320	*select (vegetables)*	íkājí		kājī	kâjìkílə̀	kâjílə̀	kâjí
321	*transport (corn)*	íbə́ᵛəjí		bə̄ɣəjī	bə́ᵛəjìkílə̀	bə́ᵛəjílə̀	bə́ᵛəjí

G8	Suffix - li					
8H						
322	*argue*	íbá˅əlí		bə̄˅əlī	bə̄˅əlìkílə	bá˅əlílə	bá˅əlí
323	*embrace*	íkê:lí		kē:lī	ké:líkílə	ké:lílə	ké:lí
324	*exchange*	íkūlī	ǹkùlì	kūlī	kú:líkílə	kúlílə	kú:lí
8MH						
325	*be happy*	ísāŋlí	ǹsàŋlì	sāŋlī	sāŋlákə́lə	sáŋlílə	sāŋlí
326	*be short*	ídʒòlí		dʒūlī	dʒúlíkílə	dʒúlílə	dʒūlí
327	*by pass (diff. roads)*	ítsē̄lí		tsē̄lī	tsē̄líkílə	tsē̄lílə	tsē̄lí
328	*carry*	ítō˅ōlí		tō˅ōlī	tō˅ōlíkílə	tō˅ōlílə	tō˅ōlí
329	*change*	íkû:lí		kū:lī	kūlíkə́lə	kúlílə	kū:lí
330	*collect (rain in pot)*	ílō˅ōlí		lō˅ōlī	lō˅ōlíkílə	ló˅ólílə	lō˅ōlí
331	*compare*	íʃʲə̄lí		ʃʲə̄lī	ʃʲə̄líkílə	ʃʲə̄lílə	ʃʲə̄lí
332	*destroy, spoil*	íbá˅ə́lí		bá˅əlī	bá˅ə́líkílə	bá˅ə́lílə	bə̄˅əlí
333	*forget*	ídā:lī		dā:lī	dā:líkílə	dá:lílə	dā:lí
334	*hurry*	ífɔblī		fɔblī	fɔ́blíkílə	fɔ́blílə	fɔblí
335	*imitate*	íʃʲə̄lí		ʃʲə̄lī	ʃʲə̂:líkílə	ʃʲə̄lílə	ʃʲə̄lí
336	*lean*	íjə̀˅ə́lí		jə˅ə̄lī	jə˅ə̄líkə́lə	jə˅ə̄lílə	jə˅ə̄lí
337	*listen*	íwō˅ōlí		wō˅ōlī	wó˅ólíkílə	wó˅ólílə	wō˅ōlí
338	*massage*	ídʒə̄˅ə̄lí		dʒə̄˅ə̄lī	dʒə́˅ə́líkílə	dʒə́˅ə̀lílə	dʒə̄˅ə̄lí
339	*mix (raw corn beer)*	ítʃʷālí		tʃʷālī	tʃʷālíkílə	tʃʷálílə	tʃʷā:lí
340	*press*	ídʒə̄˅ə̄lí		dʒə̄˅ə̄lī	dʒə́˅ə́líkílə	dʒə́˅ə́lílə	dʒə̄˅ə̄lí
341	*quarrel*	bɨ́˅ə́lì		bɨ̄˅ə̄lī	bɨ́˅ə́líkílə	bɨ́˅ə́lílə	bɨ̄˅ə̄lí
342	*quarrel*	íjɔ́lì					
343	*roll fufu (in hand)*	ítʃʷālí		tʃʷālī	tʃʷālíkílə	tʃʷálílə	tʃʷā:lí
344	*show cup (to take)*	ílō˅ōlí		lō˅ōlī	lō˅ōlíkílə	ló˅ólílə	lō˅ōlí
345	*smile*	íɲūmlī		ɲūmlī	ɲúmlíkílə	ɲṹ:mlílə	ɲūmlí
8HMH						
346	*destroy*	íbá˅ə̀lí		bə̄˅ə̄lī	bá˅ə̀līkílə	bá˅ə̀lílə	bá˅ə̀lí
347	*frustrate*	íbá˅ə̀lí		bə̄˅ə̄lī	bá˅ə̀līkílə	bá˅ə̀lílə	bá˅ə̀lí
348	*miscarriage*	íbá˅ə̀lí		bə̄˅ə̄lī	bá˅ə̀līkílə	bá˅ə̀lílə	bá˅ə̀lí
8FH						
349	*divide*	ígâ:lí		gā:lī	gâ:lìkə́lə	gâ:lílə	gâ:lí
350	*eat slimmy soup*	ídʒɔ̂mlí		dʒūmlī	dʒɔ̂mlìkílə	dʒɔ̂mlílə	dʒɔ̂mlí
351	*fly*	ífû:lí		fū:lī	fû:lìkílə	fû:lílə	fû:lí
352	*labour (birth)*	ídʒɔ̂mlí		dʒūmlī	dʒɔ̂mlìkílə	dʒɔ̂mlílə	dʒɔ̂mlí
353	*level*	ítá˅àlí		tā˅àlī	tá˅àlìkílə	tā˅àlílə	tá˅àlí

354	*measure*	ífɔ́ᵛə̀lí		fɔ̄ᵛə̄lī	fɔ́ᵛə̀lìkɔ́lə̀	fɔ́ᵛə̀lílə̀	fɔ́ᵛə̀lí
355	*miss target*	ílūᵛālí		lūᵛālī	lúᵛàlīkílə̀	lúᵛàlílə̀	lúᵛàlí
356	*not truthful (talk)*	íyōmlí		yūmlī	yômlìkílə̀	yômlílə̀	jômlí
357	*reduce, decrease*	ígâ:lí		gā:lī	gâ:lìkɔ́lə̀	gâ:lílə̀	gâ:lí
358	*scatter heap*	ítáᵛàlí		tāᵛālī	táᵛàlìkílə̀	tāᵛàlílə̀	táᵛàlí
359	*sex*	ítóᵛòlí		tōᵛōlī	tóᵛòlīkílə̀	tòᵛòlílə̀	tóᵛòlí
360	*transform (spirit)*	ízōmlí		ʒūmlī	ʒômlìkílə̀	yô:mlílə̀	jômlí
361	*turn (in dancing)*	ízōmlí		ʒūmlī	ʒômlìkílə̀	ʒômlílə̀	ʒômlí
		ígômlì					
8R							
362	*drag*	ígóᵛòlí		gōᵛōlī	góᵛòlìkílə̀	góᵛòlílə̀	gòᵛòlí
363	*fry*	íkāŋlí		kāŋlī	káŋlíkílə̀	káŋlílə̀	kàŋlí
364	*heat*	íʃílí		ʃīlī	ʃílíkílə̀	ʃílílə̀	ʃìlí
365	*remove , take out*	íbʷílí		bʷīlī	bʷílíkɔ́lə̀	bʷílílə̀	bʷìlí
366	*respond, reply*	ítʃòᵛòlí		tʃūᵛūlī	tʃūᵛūlíkílə̀	tʃūᵛūlílə̀	tʃòᵛòlí
367	*smell*	ífūlí		fūlī	fúlíkílə̀	fúlílə̀	fùlí
368	*swim*	ítālí		tālī	tálíkílə̀	tálílə̀	tàlí
369	*level*	ítá:lí	ǹtà:lì	tā:lī	tá:líkílə̀	tá:lílə̀	tá:lí
8LMH							
370	*wait*	íwóᵛólí		wōᵛōlī	wóᵛólíkílə̀	wóᵛólílə̀	wòᵛōlí
G9	**Suffix - ni**						
9H							
371	*fill*	íʒʲə́:ní		ʒʲə̄:nī	ʒʲə́:níkɔ́lə̀	ʒʲə̂:nílə̀	ʒʲə́ní
372	*fold*	íbōᵛōní		bōᵛōnī	bōᵛōníkílə̀	búᵛónílə̀	búᵛóní
373	*push in, send in*	ítʃīní		tʃīnī	tʃíníkɔ́lə̀	tʃínílə̀	tʃíní
374	*talk*	dzáᵛə́ní					
9MH							
375	*advise*	ílāní		lānī	lánikɔ́lə̀	lánílə̀	lāní
376	*argue*	íkə̄mní		kə̄mnī	kə́mníkílə̀	kə́mnílə̀	kə̄mní
377	*be ashame*	íŋgə̄mní		ŋgə̄mnī	ŋgə́mníkílə̀	ŋgâmnílə̀	ŋgə̄mní
378	*be dumb*	ítʃĩní		tʃĩnī	tʃĩnìkɔ́lə̀	tʃĩnílə̀	tʃĩní
379	*be sour*	ímgbēní		mgbēnī	mgbēníkílə̀	mgbénílə̀	mgbēní
380	*crawl*	íkúní		kūnī	kúnìkílə̀	kúnìlə̀	kūní
381	*decide*	ísānní		sānnī	sānníkílə̀	sánnílə̀	sānní
382	*heal, well*	íbɔ̄:ní		bɔ̄:nī	bɔ̄:níkílə̀	bɔ̄:nílə̀	bɔ̄:ní

383	*join (people)*	ítʃə̄ŋní		tʃə̄ŋnī	tʃə́ŋníkə́lə̀	tʃə́ŋnílə̀	tʃə̄ŋní
384	*joke, play*	ínēnní		nēnnī	nénníkílə̀	nénnílə̀	nēnní
385	*learn*	ílāní		lānī	láníkə́lə̀	lánílə̀	lāní
386	*mix fish / oil, stir*	ífū:ní		fū:nī	fú:níkə́lə̀	fú:nílə̀	fū:ní
387	*return*	ífⁱēní		fⁱēnī	fⁱéníkílə̀	fⁱénílə̀	fⁱēní
388	*scratch*	íkʷāní		kwānī	kwáníkílə̀	kwánílə̀	kwā:ní
389	*search*	ínə̄ŋní		nə̄ŋnī	nə̄ŋníkílə̀	nə́ŋnílə̀	nə̄ŋní
390	*sell*	ítāŋní		tāŋnī	táŋníkə́lə̀	táŋnílə̀	tāŋní
391	*sink*	ímíní		míní	míníkílə̀	mínílə̀	mīní
392	*wander about*	íɣānní	ŋ̀ɣánnì	ɣā:nnī	ɣánníkílə̀	ɣánnílə̀	ɣānní
9FH							
393	*be long*	ídə́ŋə̀ní		də̄ŋə̄nī	də́ŋə̀nìkílə̀	də́ŋə̀nílə̀	də́ŋə̀ní
394	*bring-up (child)*	ítòŋòní		tòŋònī	tóŋònìkílə̀	tóŋònílə̀	tóŋòní
395	*colide*	ítʃő̄ʸő̄ní		tʃő̄ʸő̄nī	ítʃő́ʸ ŏ̀nìkílə̀	tʃő́ʸŏ̀nílə̀	tʃő́ʸŏ̀ní
396	*gather*	íjòŋní		jūŋnī	jôŋnìkílə̀	jôŋnílə̀	jôŋní
397	*greet*	íbə̄̂:ní		bə̄̂:nī	bə̄̂:nīkílə̀	bə̄̂:nílə̀	bə̄̂:ní
398	*measure*	ífə́ʸə̀ní		fə̄ʸə̄nī	fə́ʸə̀nìkílə̀	fə́ʸə̀nílə̀	fə́ʸə̀ní
399	*mix soft/strong shar*	ífûnní		fūnnī	fûnnīkílə̀	fûnnílə̀	fûnní
400	*nod head (agree)*	ínə́ʸə̀nì		nə̄ʸə̄nī	ná́ʸə̀nìkílə̀	ná́ʸə̀nílə̀	ná́ʸə̀ní
401	*prostitute*	íɲânnì		ɲānnī	ɲânnìkə́lə̀	ɲânnílə̀	ɲânní
402	*shake*	ínə́ʸə̀nì		nə̄ʸə̄nī	ná́ʸə̀nìkílə̀	ná́ʸə̀nílə̀	ná́ʸə̀ní
403	*stir*	ínə́ʸə̀nì		nə̄ʸə̄nī	ná́ʸə̀nìkílə̀	ná́ʸə̀nílə̀	ná́ʸə̀ní
404	*touch*	ímɔ̀mní					
405	*travel*	íɲànì		ɲānī	ɲànìkìlə̀	ɲânílə̀	ɲâní
9FL							
406	*guide*	ítóʸònì		tōʸōnī	tōʸōnìkílə̀	tōʸōnílə̀	tóʸònì
9R							
407	*shift*	íkìní		kīnī	kínìkílə̀	kînílə̀	kìní
G10	**Suffix - hi**						
10H							
408	*dress someone*	ílápsí~-hí		lāpsī	lápsíkílə̀	lápsílə̀	lápsí
409	*finish*	íkāhí		kāhī	káhíkílə̀	ká:hílə̀	ká:hí
10M							
410	*bring down*	íʃə̄ʸə̄hí		ʃə̄ʸə̄hī	ʃə̄ʸə̄hìkílə̀	ʃə̄ʸə̄hílə̀	ʃə̄ʸə̄hī
411	*extinguish*	íɲūmhí		ɲūmhī	ɲúmhíkílə̀	ɲūmhílə̀	ɲūmhī
10MH							

412	*add, join*	íkpēnhí		kpēnhī	kpēnhíkílə̀	kpénhílə̀	kpēnhí
413	*anoint*	ífʲāŋhí		fʲāŋhī	fʲáŋhíkílə̀	fʲáŋhílə̀	fʲāŋhí
414	*be quick*	íkāmhí		kāmhī	kámhíkílə̀	kámhílə̀	kāmhí
415	*be weary*	ífūmhí		fūmhī	fúmhīkílə̀	fúmhílə̀	fūmhí
416	*bend*	ŋgǔhí		ŋgǔhī	ŋgghīkílə̀	ŋgghílə̀	ŋgǔhí
417	*breastfeed*	ímāhí		māhī	māhīkílə̀	máhílə̀	māhí
418	*cause child to play*	ínēnhí		nēnhī	nēnhíkílə̀	nēnhílə̀	nēnhí
419	*cry*	ídə̄hí		də̄hí	də̄híkílə̀	də́hílə̀	də̄hí
420	*disappear*	ísáŋhí		sāŋhī	sāŋhíkílə̀	sáŋhílə̀	sāŋhí
421	*feed*	ísā̃:hí		sá̃:hī	sã̄:híkílə̀	sã̄:hílə̀	sã̄:hí
422	*finish*	íwə́hí		wə̄hī	wə̄híkílə̀	wə̄hílə̀	wə̄hí
423	*frighten*	ílúáhí		lùàhí	lúáhíkə́lə̀	lúáhílə̀	lūāhí
424	*impregnate*	ífʲə̄ˠhí		fʲə̄ˠhī	fʲə́ˠáhíkílə̀	fʲə́ˠáhílə̀	fʲə̄khí
425	*inherit*	índūɣūhí		ndūɣūhī	ndūɣūhíkílə̀	ndúɣúhílə̀	ndūɣūhí
426	*injure*	íbēnhí		bēnhī	bénhíkílə̀	bénhílə̀	bēnhí
427	*lift up*	ígə̄ŋhí		gə̄ŋhī	gə̄ŋhíkə́lə̀	gə́ŋhílə̀	gə̄ŋhí
428	*meet (collide)*	íbāŋhí		bāŋhī	báŋhíkə́lə̀	báŋhílə̀	bāŋhí
429	*omit*	ídâŋhí		dāŋhī	dâŋhīkílə̀	dâŋhílə̀	dāŋhí
430	*perspire*	íjūˠūhí		jùˠùhī	júˠúhíkílə̀	júˠúhílə̀	jūˠūhí
431	*put down*	íʃə́ˠəhí		ʃə̄ˠəhī	ʃə́ˠəhìkílə̀	ʃə́ˠəhílə̀	ʃə̄ˠəhí
432	*put off light*	íɲōmhí		ɲōmhí	ɲōmhíkílə̀	ɲómhílə̀	ɲōmhí
433	*resemble*	íbʷēhí		bʷēhī	bʷēhīkə́lə̀	bʷêhílə̀	bʷēhí
434	*ride (a bike)*	ílɛ̄hí		lɛ̄hī	lɛ́híkə́lə̀	lɛ́hílə̀	lɛ̄hí
435	*rub*	ífʲā̄ˠahí		fʲāˠahī	fʲāˠahīkílə̀	fʲáˠáhílə̀	fʲāˠahí
436	*sew*	ítāhí		tāhī	tāhíkílə̀	táhílə̀	tāhí
437	*slide*	ítɔ̄hí		tɔ̄hī	tɔ́híkə́lə̀	tɔ̂hílə̀	tɔ̄hí
438	*spend (the day)*	íʃīhí		ʃīhī	ʃíhíkílə̀	ʃíhílə̀	ʃīhí
							ɣāŋhí
							wāˠahí
10R							
439	*fix*	íkɛ̄nhí	ǹkɛ̀nhì	kɛ̄nhī	kênhikɪlə	kénhílə̀	kɛ̀nhí
440	*full turn object 360°*	íbə̂nhí̄		bə̄nhī̄	bə̂nhìkílə̀	bə̂nhílə̀	bə̀nhí
441	*half turn object 180°*	ímgbáˠàhí		mgbāˠāhī	mgbáˠáhíkíl ə̀	mgbáˠáhíl ə̀	mgbàˠàhí
442	*reduce*	íjāhí		jāhī	jāhíkílə̀	jáhílə̀	yàhí
443	*think*	ímə́ˠəhí		mə́ˠəhí	mə́ˠəhīkə́lə̀	mə́ˠəhílə̀	mə̀ˠəhí
10FH							

444	*agree*	íkɛ̄nhí		kɛ̄nhī	kênhìkílə̀	kênhílə̀	kênhí
445	*align*	íkɛ̀nhí		kɛ̄nhī	kênhīkílə̀	kênhílə̀	kênhí
446	*announce (talk loud)*	íláˠàhí		láˠāhī	láˠàhìkílə̀	láˠàhílə̀	láˠàhí
447	*arrange (xylophone)*	íkɛ̄nhí		kɛ̄nhī	kênhìkílə̀	kênhílə̀	kênhí
448	*be light (weight)*	íjâŋhí		jāŋhī	jâŋhìkílə̀	jâŋhílə̀	jâŋhí
449	*clear with hoe*	ísàhí		sāhī	sàhīkílə̀	sâhílə̀	sâhí
450	*cultivate*	íkâhí		kāhī	kâ:hìkílə̀	kâhílə̀	kâhí
451	*deny by head nod*	ídʒə̄ŋhī		dʒə̄ŋhī	dʒə̂ŋhìkílə̀	dʒə̂ŋhílə̀	dʒə̂ŋhí
452	*end*	ígɔ́ˠɔ̀hí		gɔ̄ˠɔ̄hī	gɔ́ˠɔ̀hìkílə̀	gɔ́ˠɔ̀hílə̀	gɔ́ˠɔ̀hí
453	*fill*	ídʒɔ́ˠə̀hí		dʒə̄ˠə̄hī	dʒɔ́ˠə̀hìkílə̀	dʒɔ́ˠə̀hílə̀	dʒɔ́ˠə̀hí
454	*guess*	íkâŋhí		kâŋhí	kâŋhìkílə̀	kâŋhílə̀	kâŋhí
455	*inherit a widow*	ínôhí		nōhī	nôhīkílə̀	nôhílə̀	nôhí
456	*loan*	ífʷâhí		fʷāhī	fʷâhìkílə̀	fʷâhílə̀	fʷâhí
457	*lost something*	íláˠàhí		láˠāhī	láˠàhìkílə̀	láˠàhílə̀	láˠàhí
458	*minimise (thing/gift)*	ísɛ̂nhí		sɛ̄nhī	sênhīkílə̀	sênhílə̀	sênhí
459	*minimise person*	ídʒînhí		dʒīhī	dʒînhīkílə̀	dʒînhílə̀	dʒînhí
460	*prune palm tree*	íkɛ̂nhí		kɛ̄nhī	kênhīkílə̀	kênhílə̀	kênhí
461	*put on (light)*	ídʒômhí		dʒūmhī	dʒômhīkílə̀	dʒômhílə̀	dʒômhí
462	*reply*	ífìsí~_hí		fīsī	fìsìkílə̀	fìsílə̀	fìsí
463	*scrape*	íkʷôhí		kʷōhī	kʷôhīkílə̀	kʷôhílə̀	kʷôhí
464	*show*	ítʃʷîhí		tʃʷīhī	tʃʷîhìkílə̀	tʃʷîhílə̀	tʃʷîhí
465	*spy (listen secretly)*	ífáˠə̀hí		fə̄ˠə̄hī	fáˠə̀hílkílə̀	fáˠə̀hílə̀	fáˠə̀hí
466	*swing*	ídʒə̂ŋhí		dʒə̄ŋhī	dʒə̂ŋhìkílə̀	dʒə̂ŋhílə̀	dʒə̂ŋhí
467	*try, test*	ímɔ̂mhí		mɔ̄mhī	mɔ̂mhīkílə̀	mɔ̂mhílə̀	mɔ̂mhí
468	*turn (cooked huckleberry in a pot)*	ífìsí~ífîhí		fīsī	fìsìkílə̀	fìsílə̀	fìsí
G11	**Suffix - fi**						
11MH							
469	*advise*	ítə́fí		tə́fī	tə́fíkílə̀	tə́fílə̀	tə́fí
470	*be head off (mad)*	íjūŋfí		jūŋfī	júŋfíkílə̀	júŋfílə̀	jūŋfí
471	*beat bitterly*	íʃūfí		ʃūfī	ʃúfíkílə̀	ʃúfílə̀	ʃūfí
472	*carry (cup)*	ísə́fí		sə̄fī	sə̄fíkílə̀	sə̄fílə̀	sə̄fí
473	*hang*	íwāfí		wāfī	wáfíkílə̀	wáfílə̀	wā:fí
474	*mismanage*	ídʒâfí		dʒāfī	dʒâfīkílə̀	dʒâfílə̀	dʒâfí
475	*peak*	ítʃūfí		tʃūfī	tʃufɪkílə̀	tʃúfílə̀	tʃūfí
476	*teach*	ítə́fí		tə́fī	tə́fíkílə̀	tə́fílə̀	tə́fí

477	*yawn*	íɣífí		ɣī:fī	ɣí:fíkílə	ɣí:fílə	ɣī:fí
11FH							
478	*dress self*	íláfí		lāfī	láfíkílə	lāfílə	lâfí
G12	**Suffix - ti**						
12H							
479	*get*	íkʷātí		kʷātī	kʷātíkílə	kʷátílə	kʷátí
12MH							
480	*arrange matters*	íbāᵛātí		bāᵛātī	báᵛátíkílə	báᵛátílə	bāᵛātí
481	*help*	ígâmtí		gāmtī	gâ:mtìkílə	gâmtílə	gāmtí
482	*incubate (egg)*	íkūᵛūrī		kūᵛūrī	kúᵛúríkílə	kúᵛúrílə	kūᵛūrí
	incubate (egg)	íkūktī		kūktī	kūktíkílə	kūktílə	kūktí
483	*pack*	íbáᵛátí		bāᵛātī	báᵛátìkílə	báᵛátílə	bāᵛātí
484	*pet (child)*	ílɔ̄ptī		lɔ̄ptī	lɔ̄ptíkə́lə	lɔ́ptílə	lɔ̄ptí
485	*rest*	ímótì		mōtī	mótíkílə	môtílə	mōtí
486	*sharpen stick*	ísə̄ptí		sə̄ptī	sə̄ptíkílə	sə́ptílə	sə̄ptí
487	*think*	ítʃə̄ᵛə̄tí		tʃə̄ᵛə̄tī	tʃə́ᵛə́tìkílə	tʃə́ᵛə́tílə	tʃə̄ᵛə̄tí
488	*transfer*	íbàᵛàtí		bāᵛātī	báᵛátíkílə	báᵛátílə	bāᵛātí
489	*turn into evil spirit*	íbúᵛútí		bōᵛōtī	búᵛútìkílə	búᵛútílə	bōᵛōtí
12FH							
490	*remember*	íjə̄ŋtí		jə̄ŋtī	jə̂ŋtīkə́lə	jə̂ŋtílə	jə̂ŋtí
491	*think*	íkʷâktí		kʷāktī	kʷáᵛàtìkílə	kʷáᵛàtílə	kʷāᵛàtí
G13	**Suffix - mɪ**						
13H							
492	*hold head(sign of bad news)*	íkūmmí		kūmmī	kúmmíkílə	kúmmílə	kúmmí
13MH							
493	*groan*	ídʒɔ̂mmí		dʒū̄mmī	dʒúmmìkílə	dʒô̄mmílə	dʒū̄mmí
494	*hide*	ínɔ̂mmí		nɔ̄mmī	nɔ̄mmìkílə	mɔ̂mmílə	nɔ̄mmí
495	*stretch*	ínâmmí		nāmmī	nāmmìkə́lə	nâmmílə	nāmmí
13FH							
496	*be thick*	ítʃɔ̂mmí		tʃū̄mmī	tʃɔ̂mmìkílə	tʃɔ̂mmílə	tʃɔ̂mmí
497	*wake up (sleep)*	íɲɔ̂mmí		ɲɔ̄mmī	ɲɔ̂mmìkə́lə	ɲɔ̂mmílə	ɲɔ̂mmí
G14	**Suffix - bɪ**						
14							

MH							
498	*clot, coagulate*	ítābī		tābī	tābíkílə	tábílə	tābí
499	*fix (njamanjama)*	ísābī		sābī	sābíkílə	sábílə	sābí
G15	**Suffix - ʃí**						
15R							
500	*break–huge part fufu*	íwâʃí		wāʃī	wâʃìkílə	wâʃílə	wàʃí
501	*heat partially*	íwâʃí		wāʃī	wâʃìkílə	wâʃílə	wàʃí
G16	**Suffix - wɪ**						
16 MH							
502	*hunt*	íbʲəŋwí		bʲəŋwī	bʲəŋwíkílə	bʲəŋwílə	bʲəŋwí
G17	**Suffix - sò**						
17FL							
503	*wrestle*	ímɔ̂msò		mɔ̄msò	mɔ̂:mkísò mɔ̂mkílə̀sò	mɔ̂mlə̀sò:	mɔ̂msò:
G18 504	**Compound verbs**						
18H 505	*awake (death)*	ídzá: kpī mā		dzá: kpī mā	dzá:kílə kpī: mā	dzá:lə̀ kpì: mā	dzá: kpī: mā
18 MHM 506	*be fast*	íkɔ̄mhī fə̄		kɔ̄mhī fə̄	kɔ̄mhīkí fə̄:kílə	kɔ́mhífə̂lə̀	kɔ̄mhífə̄
M 507	*be well done*	ífə̄ bìnɔ̂ŋ		fə̄ bìnɔ̂ŋ	fə̂kílə bìnɔ̂ŋ	fə̂lə̀ bìnɔ̂ŋ	fə̄ bīnɔ̂ŋ
508	*do same*	íbɔ́ŋ fə̄		bɔ́ŋ fə̄	bɔ́ŋkə̀ fə́kə̀lə̀ bɔ́ŋká fə̂kálə̀	bɔ́ŋ fə̂lə̀	bɔ́ŋ fə́
509	*give date*	ídū tūᵞū					
600	*harvest honey*	ídzí ɲǔ		dzī ɲǔ:	dzī:kílə ɲǔ:	dzí:lə̀ ɲǔ	dzí ì ɲǔ
601	*imprison*	ítsə̄ nsə̀ŋ		tsə̄ nsə̀ŋ	tsə̄kálə̀ nsə̀ŋ	tsə̄lə̀ nsə̀ŋ	tsə́ nsə̀ŋ
602	*keep standing*	ídūŋ bɑ́		dūŋ bɑ́ mbēn	dúŋkí bɑ́kí mbēn	dúŋ mbɑ́ á mbēn	dǔŋ bɑ́: mbēn
607	*liberate, set free*	íjà tóᵞó		yā tóɣó	yâkí tóɣókálə̀	yâ tóɣólə̀	yâ tōɣō
608	*lie down*	ínâmmí gù		nāmmī gù	nāmmìkálə̀ gù	nâmmílə̀ gù	nāmmí gù
609	*miscarriage*	íbáᵞəlí tō		bəᵞəlī tō	báᵞəlīkálə̀ tō	báᵞəlílə̀ tō	báᵞəlí tō
610	*mismanage property*	ítʃín bə̀ᵞəlí		tʃīn bə̀ᵞəlī	tʃīn	tʃīn	tʃín

					bā̌ᵛəlīkə́lə̀	bə̀ᵛəlílə̀	bə̀ᵛəlí
611	*mulch*	íbáŋkí túŋ					
612	*pull out*	ígóᵛú bílí		gōᵛū bīlə̀	góᵛúkí bílíkílə̀	góᵛú bílílə̀	gòᵛú bílí
613	*remain*	íbǎ́ndʒí		bā̃:ndʒí	bá́:kìndʒíkìlə̀	bá́:ndʒílə̀	bá́:ndʒí
614	*tell lies*	íwám ntə̀ᵛə		wām ǹtə̀ᵛə	wā:mkə́lə̀ ǹtə̀ᵛə	wámlə̀ ǹtə̀ᵛə	wám ǹtə̀ᵛə
615	*give thank*	íɲá kìjɔ̀ŋní		ɲá kìjɔ̀ŋní	ɲákílə̀ kìjɔ̀ŋní	ɲálə̀ kìjɔ̀ŋní	ɲá kìjɔ̀ŋní
616	*vex, get angry*	íbóᵛòhí tō		bòᵛòhì tó	bóᵛòhìkílə̀ tó	bóᵛòhílə̀ tó	bóᵛòhí tō
617	*warn*	ídzō: fí					
G	**Suffix - hə**						
adverb	*be slow*	ítə́hə̀		tə́hə̀	tə́hə̀tə́hə̀	tə́hə̀	tə́hə̀

Appendix 4: Some Mbuk Nouns according to recording order

		Mbuk Words, according to recorded order; Mbuk4Nn-31MAY2015-NT-1-ZM33.MP3 (01/06/15)				
No.	*Record time*	Noun: Singular/Plural	Prefixes Sg / pl	Concord sg / pl	N. class sg / pl	*gloss*
00001	*00:56*	**gbē̄ / gbə́]**	ø- / ø-	j̄- / j́-	9 / 10	*bushfowl, partridge*
00002	*01:11*	**ḿkōŋō / ḿkóŋó** (19:14rep)	ø- / ø-	ḱ- / b́-	7 / 8	*bone*
00003	*01:27*	**kìtàŋ / bìtàŋ**	kì- / bì-	k̀- / b̀-	7 / 8	*hut*
00004	*01:36*	**gbóˠó / kìgbóˠó**	ø- / kì-	ẃ- / b̀-	5 /7a, 5/8	*gun*
00005	*01:42*	**káká / bìkáká** (18:25rep)	ø- / bì-	ḱ- / b́-	7 / 8	*leg*
00006	*01:51*	**tsèn / tsê:n**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*arm*
00007	*01:58*	**dzō̄ˠō / dzóˠó**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*penis*
00008	*02:06*	**fìláŋ / m̀láŋ**	fì- / m̀-	f́- / m̀-	19 / 6a	*clay pot*
00009	*02:16*	**dā / bīdā**	ø- / bī-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	*vagina*
00010	*02:24*	**gbú / gʷú**	ø- / ø-	ẃ- / j́-	3 / 4	*foot*
00011	*02:33*	**kígá:lí / bígá:lí**	kí- / bí-	ḱ- / b́-	7 / 8	*broom*
00012	*02:42*	**nə̀: / bənə̀:**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*mother*
00013	*03:00*	**ŋgēnì / bíŋgēnì**	ø- / bí-	ḱ- / b́-	7 / 8	*earth worm*
00014	*03:08*	**bâ: / bəbâ:**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*father*
00015	*03:15*	**nə́kə̀ / kínə́kə̀**	ø- / kí-	ẃ- / k̀-	5 / 7a (27)	*grinding stone*
00016	*03:24*	**tsǎ: / tsǽ:**	ø̌- / ǿ-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*tyre (car)*
00017	*03:33*	**fìntām / m̄tām**	fì- / m̄-	f́- / m-	19 / 6a	*fruit*
00018	*03:39*	**dʒ̀ùm / dʒôm**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*tiger*
00019	*03:46*	**bìkə̄m / bəbìkə̄m**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*lion*
00020	*03:52*	**dzùŋ / dzôŋ**	ø- / ø-	j- / j-	9 / 10	*antelope*
00021	*03:57*	**fìmkwǽ̃ / m̄mkwǽ̃**	fì- / m̄-	f́- / m-	19 / 6a	*deer*
00022	*04:03*	**dzə̀kə̀ / dzə̂kə̀**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*hippopotamus*
00023	*04:10*	**kìbókó / bìbókó**	kì- / bì-	k- / b̀-	7 / 8	*chimpanzee*
00024	*04:19*	**tsā: / tsá:**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*baboon*
00025	*04:25*	**bjə̄kə̄ / bjə́kə́**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*cane-rat*
00026	*04:32*	**kūm / kúm**	ø- / ø-	j̀- / j́-	9 / 10	*python*

00027	04:38	kīgá: / bígá:	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	mat
00028	04:46	mbə̀ŋ / bə̀mbə̀ŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	walking stick, staff
00029	04:53	dzǔ: / dzű	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	snake
00030	04:58	kìkpə̂: / bìkpə̂:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	lizard
00031	05:02	kīmgbê:mgbèlí / bīmgbê:mgbèlí	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	millipede
00032	05:12	gbâ: / kígbâ:	ø- / kí-	ẃ̗- / ḱ-	5 / 7a (27)	ceiling
00033	05:17	tʃɔ̄ᵞɔ̄ / tʃɔ́ᵞɔ́	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	zinc
00034	05:29	kʷā / kʷá (47:37)	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	forest
00035	05:36	fīⁿʃāⁿbú / m̄ⁿʃāⁿbú	fī- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	sand
00036	05:42	tə̄: / kītə̄:	ø- / kī-	ẃ̗- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	batteries
00037	05:48	kībá̄ⁿ / bībá̄ⁿ	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	table
00038	05:53	bʷám / kíbʷám	ø- / kí-	ẃ̗- / ḱ-	5 / 7a (27)	cup
00039	05:59	kífó / bífó	kí- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	cap
00040	06:06	bá̄: / bíbá̄:	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	palm nut
00041	06:14	sɔ̄m / kīsɔ̄m	ø- / kī-	ẃ̗- / ḱ-	5 / 7a (27)	palm tree
00042	06:21	kìⁿgə̀ⁿgə́ŋ / bìⁿgə̀ⁿgə́ŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	sugarcane
00043	06:27	fùlúwà / bə̀fùlúwà	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	flower
00044	06:33	bjǎ / bjə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	dog
00045	06:39	kpə̄ŋə̀ / kīkə̄ŋə̀	ø- / kī-	ẃ̗- / ḱ-	5 / 7a (27)	pot
00046	06:48	kìⁿtàkà / bìⁿtàkà	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	spoon
00047	06:53	kìⁿʃàkà / bìⁿʃàkà (01:02:51)	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	comb
00048	06:59	fīⁿbā̄ŋ / m̄ⁿbā̄ŋ	fī- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	nail
00049	07:06	fʲā̄nī / fʲání	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	pin, nail
00050	07:15	gā:lì / bīgā:lì	ø- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 10	pen
00051	07:22	nʃə̄ŋə̄ / bĭnʃə́ŋə́	ø- / bĭ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	long-mouth-rat
00052	07:30	kìŋkúlì / bìŋkúlì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	rat
00053	07:35	dâ: / kídâ: ~ bídâ:	ø-/ kí- ~ bí-	w-/k-~k- /b-	5/7a ~ 7/8	bridge
00054	07:48	nā̄ŋ / bīnā̄ŋ ~ kīnā̄ŋ	ø-/ bī- ~ kí-	k-/b-~w- /k-	7/8 ~ 5/7a	bed

00055	08:02	kɔ̄kɔ̄ / bìkɔ̄kɔ̄ [kɔ̄ᵛɔ̄]	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	camwood
00056	08:08	bǐː / bí (14:01 repeats)	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	goat
00057	08:14	bə̀kə̀ / bə̂kə̀ [bə̀ᵛə̀/bə̂ᵛə̀]	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	fish
00058	08:19	ʃʲə̄ / ʃʲə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	fowl
00059	08:24	ŋ̀ŋgə̄sí / ŋgə́sí	ø- / ø-	w̋- / j́-	3 / 4	cowries
00060	08:51	dzǔː / dzú	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	house
00061	08:56	ǹʃʷə̄ɲ / ɲ́ʃʷáɲ	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	ground, soil
00062	09:02	gʷù / gʷûː (15:30 repeats)	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	body
00063	09:07	dʒũ̄m / dʒṹm (17:31 repeat)	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	back
00064	09:13	dzù / dzôː (15:35 repeats)	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	skin
00065	09:19	bò ᵛò / bó ᵛò ~ bó ᵛò	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	stream, river
00066	09:24	ʃʷǎŋ ~ (ʃʷā̄ŋ) / ʃʷáŋ	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	sheep
00067	09:34	ʃī / ʃí	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	market
00068	09:40	dzə̄ŋə̄ / dzə́ŋə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	hole
00069	09:48	dzʲə̄ː / dzʲə́ {diff.come}	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	road
00070	09:53	fīɲēnī ~ fīɲēnī / m̄ɲēní	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	bird
00071	09:59	fīmús / m̀mús	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	cat
00072	10:03	fīntēːnī / m̄ntēːnī	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	palm rat
00073	10:08	kpɛ̄n / kɛn	ø- / ø-	w̋- / j́-	3 / 4	tree
00074	10:19	dʒín / dʒín vf.tone	ø- / ø-	w̋- / j́-	3 / 4	tooth
00075	10:25	dzə́ŋ / dzə̃́ŋ	ø- / ø-	w̋- / j́-	3 / 4	corn
00076	10:29	gʷáɲ / gʷɑ̃́ɲ	ø- / ø-	w̋- / j́-	3 / 4	bamboo
00077	10:35	gʷàgʷá / bə̀gʷàgʷá	ø- / bə̀-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	duck
00078	10:43	mì ː / bə́nîː	ø- / bə́-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	person
00079	10:52	ɲúò / bə̀ɲúòː	ø- / bə̀-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	cutlass
00080	10:58	ɲùò / bə̀ɲùò	ø- / bə̀-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	gods
00081	11:07	tāsā~tāhā / bə̀tāhā	ø- / bə̀-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	dish
00082	11:24	búŋ~mbúŋ / bə̀búŋ	ø- / bə̀-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	dress, cloth
00083	11:29	wāɲ / bʷā (11:36 repeat)	ø- / ø-	w̏- / b̏-	1 / 2	child
00084	11:40	kìlə̀kpə́ / bìlə̀kpə́	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	potato
00085	11:53	kìkɔ̄Kɔ̄ / bìkɔ̄kɔ̄	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	bat

00086	12:03	kìⁿgbókò / bìⁿgbókò	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	chair
		kìgbòˠò / bìmⁿgbòˠò				
00087	12:11	kìŋʷàní / bìŋʷàní	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	plantain
00088	12:16	kìŋʷàktì / bìŋʷàktì (58:40)	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	book
00089	12:22	kìmàmá / bìmàmá	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	caterpillar
00090	12:26	lùŋgá / bèlùŋgá	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	bucket
00091	12:32	fìmfí̋ / m̀mfí:	fì- / m̀-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	underwear
00092	12:38	mblâŋ / bèmblâŋ	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / bè-	1 / 2	blanks
00093	12:48	fìndə̄ŋ / m̄ndə̄ŋ	fì- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	fig tree
00094	12:54	fìmkā̄ŋ / m̄mkā̄ŋ	fì- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	oath
00095	12:59	fìmkā̄ŋ / m̄mkā̄ŋ	fì- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	k.o tree
00096	13:07	ndzēní / bìndzēní	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b-	5 / 8	leaf
00097	13:15	tsá: / bítsá: (24:01repeat)	ø- / bī-	j́- / b-	4 / 8	medicine
00098	13:22	fìⁿgbǎ:bàŋ/m̀ⁿgbǎ:bàŋ	fì- / m̀-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	guava
00099	13:28	mbǎ:ɲ / bèmbǎ:ŋ	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	fence
00100	14:07	mbùⁿdàm/bèmbùmdàm	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	potato(syn.)(58:54)
00101	14:13	ŋgóɲ / kíŋgóŋ	ø- / kí-	ẃ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	spear
00102	14:17	kìtɔ́tɔ́m/bìtɔ́tɔ́m~kìntɔ́mtɔ́m	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	indian bamboo
00103	14:22	lâm / bèlâm	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	lamp
00105	14:27	kìntáɲtáɲ / bìntáɲtáɲ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	box
00106	14:32	kɔ̀fí / bèkɔ̀fí	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	coffee
00107	14:38	fíkɔ́m / m̀kɔ́m	fí- / m̀-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	knife
00108	14:44	kìnánâs / bìnánâs	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	pinapple
00109	14:53	má:ŋgù / bèmá:ŋgù	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	mangoe
00110	14:58	mfúm / bèmfúm	ø- / bè-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	phone
00111	15:02	mìkpàɲá / bákáŋà	ø- / bá-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	wife
00112	15:09	fìmbì / m̀mbì:	fì- / m̀-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	colanut
00113	15:15	kīmbá̋: / bīmbá̋:	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	umbrella
00114	15:23	fìndzə̀ə̀ / m̀ndzə̀ə̀	fì- / m̀-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	clitoris
00115	15:41	ʃí / bìʃí ~ kìʃí (hh > lh)	ø- / bì- ~ kì-	k- / b-	7/8 ~ 5/7a	face

00116	*15:58*	**ⁿdzǔ: / kìⁿdzǔ:**	ø- / kì- ~ bì-	w᷄- / k᷄-	5/7a ~ 7/8	*nose*
00117	*16:12*	**ⁿtṓ:ní / bìⁿtṓ:ní**	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*ear*
00118	16:22	**dὲ:lí / bìdὲ:lí**	ø- / bì-	w᷄- / b᷄-	5 / 8	*cheek*
00119	*16:29*	**dzáká / bídzá˟á**	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*mouth*
00120	*16:33*	**ǹnɔ̄:mí / bìnɔ̄:mí**	ø- / bì-	w᷄- / b-	5 / 8	*tongue*
00121	*16:38*	**kìⁿbǎ:ŋ / bìⁿbǎ:ŋ**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*jaw*
00122	*16:42*	**mākə̀ / bímākə̀**	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*neck*
00123	16:48	**dὲ:lí / kìdὲ:lí**	ø- / bi- (ki-)	w- / b-	5 / 8 (5/7a)	*beard*
00124	16:53	**kìdʒʊ̀m / bìdʒʊ̀m**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*chest*
00125	*16:58*	**mbὲ̄:n / mbê:n**	ø- / ø-	w᷄- / j᷄-	3 / 4	*breast*
00126	*17:09*	**bālī / bíbālī**	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*waist*
00127	*17:15*	**tsə̌: / tsə̄́:**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j᷄-	9 / 10	*navel*
00128	17:22	**tó / bìtó ~ kító**	ø- / bì-	w- / b-	5/8 ~ 5/7a	*stomach*
00129	*17:38*	**tʊ̀ŋ / tôŋ**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j᷄-	9 / 10	*buttocks*
00130	*17:49*	**kìŋkàŋkáŋ / bìŋkàŋkáŋ**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*armpit*
00131	*17:57*	**ŋ̀kə̀mnì / bə̀ŋkə̀mnì**	ø- / bə̀-	w᷆- / b᷆-	1 / 2	*wrist*
00132	*18:03*	**kpà̄: / kà̄:**	ø- / ø-	w᷄- / j᷄-	3 / 4	*hand*
00133	*18:09*	**kìŋkò / bìŋkò**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*boxing*
00134	*18:15*	**njʊ̀ŋ / bə̀njʊ̀ŋ**	ø- / ø-	w᷆- / b᷆-	1 / 2	*knuckle*
00135	*18:25*	**kākā / káká (01:42 rep)**	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*leg*
00136	*18:34*	**dzə̄̀ŋ / dzə́ŋ**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j᷄-	9 / 10	*thigh, lap*
00137	*18:38*	**kìɲū / bìɲū**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*knee*
00138	*18:44*	**ntākā / bə̀ntākā**	ø- / bə̀-	w᷆- / b᷆-	1 / 2	*shin*
00139	*18:53*	**fīkɔ̄kɔ̄ / m̄kɔ̄kɔ̄**	fī- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*ankle*
00140	19:03	**gʷūf / gʷúf**	ø- / ø-	w᷄- / j᷄-	3 / 4	*foot*
00141	*19:14*	**mkōŋō / bímkōŋō**	ø- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*bone*
00142	*19:17*	**kímɔ́ŋ / bímɔ́ŋ**	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*bone marrow*
00143	*19:22*	**bjēlí / bjélí**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j᷄-	9 / 10	*rib*
00145	*19:28*	**kímɔ́ŋ / bímɔ́ŋ**	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*brain*
00146	*19:32*	**ʃɔ̄m / ʃɔ́m**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j᷄-	9 / 10	*heart*
00147	*19:37*	**ʃākālī / ʃákálí**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j᷄-	9 / 10	*liver*

00148	*19:50*	**mbjã̀ / mbjá̃**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*kidney*
00149	*19:58*	**là / lâ**	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*intestine*
00150	*20:09*	**fīmbú / m̄mbú**	fi- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*gall bladder*
00151	*20:19*	**mgbáŋ / ŋgáŋ**	ø- / ø-	ẃ- / j́-	3 / 4	*vein*
00152	*20:25*	**m̄ndzə̂ŋ**	m̄-	m-	6a	*saliva*
00153	*20:33*	**kìnʃʷã̄ / bìnʃʷã̄**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*phlegm*
00154	*20:40*	**kìnʃʷã̄ / bìnʃʷã̄**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*nasal mucus*
00155	*20:46*	**ŋgáŋ / ŋgáŋ**	ø- / ø-	ẃ- / j́-	3 / 4	*root*
00156	*20:55*	**fīndɔ́m / m̄ndɔ́m**	fi- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*tears*
00157	*21:23*	**fīmbú / m̄mbú**	fi- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*bile, gall*
00158	*21:30*	**ndzáŋànī / bíndzáŋànī**	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*semen*
00159	*21:37*	**kìmbín / bìmbín**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	faeces
00160	*21:44*	**mɔ́m / bə̀mɔ̀m**	ø- / bə̀-	ẃ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*taste*
00161	*21:51*	**ŋkʷòŋ / bə̀ŋkʷòŋ**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*mountain*
00162	*21:56*	**ŋàŋlì / bə̀ŋàŋlì**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*crawl*
00163	*22:01*	**fíndɔ́ŋɔ̀ / ḿndɔ́ŋɔ̀**	fí- / ḿ-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*pimple*
00164	*22:13*	**kǎɲnī / bìkǎɲnī**	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*barren woman*
00165	*22:20*	**kìmfî̃ / bìmfî̃**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*blind*
00166	*22:30*	**kìntʃìnì / bìntʃìnì**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*deaf*
00167	*22:36*	**mʲè ~ mjè** (*01:03:09*)	m-	m-	6a	*oil*
00168	22:40	**ŋ̄kākā** (58:35 repeats)	ŋ-	j́-	4	*salt*
00169	*22:45*	**ŋ̄kākā / ŋ́káˠá**	ŋ-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*jigger*
00170	22:54	**mʷá**	m-	m-	6a	*blood*
00171	22:57	**dzàŋ**	ø-	j́-	4	*rain*
00172	*23:01*	**dʒʷàɲ / dʒʷâɲ**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*disease, sickness*
00173	*23:07*	**ntʃōŋō / ntʃóŋó**	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*hunchback*
00174	*23:14*	**kìŋkəblì / bìŋkəblì**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*cripple*
00175	*23:25*	**mìwìdʒòlî / bə́níbə̄dʒōlî**	ø- / bə́-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*dwarf*
00176	*23:34*	**kìmgbáŋ / bìmgbáŋ**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*giant*
00177	*23:42*	**kìndʒíŋ / bìndʒíŋ**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*stupid person*
00178	*23:47*	**mìwìdzǎ:lī / bə̄nî:bə̄dzǎ:lī**	ø- / bə́-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*mad person*

00179	23:55	ntʃúkú / bàntʃúkú	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*heal / cure*
00180	24:08	ndʒónì / bìndʒónì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*abscess*
00181	24:15	kìmò: / bìmò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*swelling*
00182	24:24	mfí / bàmfí	ø- / bà-	ø- / b-	7 / 8	*burn*
00183	24:56	kìndɔ̀ŋ / bìndɔ̀ŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*goiter*
00184	25:01	bjə̀ká / bjə́ká	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*wound, sore*
00185	25:08	kímgbɨ́: / bímgbɨ́:	kí- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*pus*
00186	25:15	kìmò: / bìmò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*elephantiasis*
00187	25:23	kìkàkàlí / bìkàkàlí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*ringworm*
00188	25:30	kìŋkùmmì / bìŋkùmmì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*leprosy*
00189	25:37	gʷùf / gʷùf	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*fever*
00190	25:42	nlò / bànlò	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*pain*
00191	25:47	njàɲ / bànjàɲ	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*vomit*
00192	25:52	fʷū / bìfʷū	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	*headache*
00193	25:59	tʃūō / tʃúó (01:13:43)	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*diarrhoea*
00194	26:05	mkpàkà / bàmkpàkà	ø- / ø-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*scabies*
00195	26:10	dʒʷàbí / bìdʒʷàbí	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b̀-	5 / 8	menstrual period
00196	26:25	tó / bìtó	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	*pregnant*
00197	26:29	mbə̀ˠə̀lì / bàmbə̀ˠə̀lì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*miscarriage*
00198	26:33	mbáˠə̀ / bàmbáˠə̀	ø- / bà	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*give birth*
0199	26:38	sə̀mì / sə́mì	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*young / youth*
00200	26:46	kpɨ̄ / kpíjí	ø- / -jí	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	*death*
00201	26:52	ŋkʷàktì / bàŋkʷàktì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*think*
00202	26:59	mbɔ̂m / bàmbɔ̂m	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*believe*
00203	27:08	mbɔ̀:m	ø-	b-	8	*size*
00204	27:14	nlànì / bànlāní	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*teach*
00205	27:20	kìnsàŋlí / bìnsàŋlí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*happy/joy*
00206	27:28	nsùŋú / bànsùŋù	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*laugh*
00207	27:34	nʃέ:n	ø-	j́-	4	*sad*
00208	27:40	ndə̀: / bàndə̀:	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*cry*
00209	27:44	nʃí:n	ø-	j́-	4	*sorrow*

00210	27:50	**kìŋgə́:mnì / bìŋgə́:mnì**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	shame
00211	27:59	**nlúá / bə̀nlúá**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	fear
00212	28:14	**ŋgɔ̀mì / bə̀ŋgɔ̀mì**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	frighten
00213	28:19	kìɣàŋhí / bìɣàŋhí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	proud
00214	28:27	ŋkɔ́khì / bə̀ŋkɔ́khì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	respect
00215	28:33	ŋkɔ́khì / bə̀ŋkɔ́khì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	honour
00216	28:39	kìŋkɔ̀ŋ / bìŋkɔ̀ŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	love
00217	28:43	kìmbàɲní / bìmbàɲní	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	hatred
00218	28:53	kìmbàɲ / bìmbàɲ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	hatred
00219	28:58	nsɛ̀nhì / bə̀nsɛ̀nhì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	neglect
00220	29:06	nə́ŋ / bə̀nə́ŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	desire, want
00221	29:13	bá̃ / bə̀mbá	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	choose
00222	29:19	mbám / bə̀mbám	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	abstain
00223	29:25	**mbì: / bə̀mbì:**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	allow, permit
00224	29:31	**nɛ́:n / bə̀nɛ́n**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	forbid
00225	29:39	**nsánnî / bə̀nsánnî**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	plan, decide
00226	29:46	**mɔ̀mhí / bə̀mɔ̀mhì**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	try
00227	29:50	**ntsə̄ / bə̀ntsə̄**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	succeed
00228	29:55	**mgbò / bə̀mgbò**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	fail
00229	29:59	**ŋkwā:jì / bə̀ŋkwā:jì**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	pretend
00230	30:14	**nnô:ní / bìnnô:ní**	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	kind
00231	30:23	**ŋɲá / bìnɲá (ɲá:ní)**	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	generous
00232	30:46	**ŋɲúm / bə̀nɲúm**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	selfish
00233	30:57	**ŋɲōmní**	ø-	b-	8	selfish
00234	31:04	**ntʃúó / bə̀ntʃúó**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	honest
00235	31:09	**mbə̄kə̄lì / bə̀mbə̄kə̄lì**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	corrupt
00236	31:13	**ntúkú / bə̀ntʃúkú**	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	pound
00237	31:21	**tʃù:**	ø-	b-	8	wicked
00238	31:25	**ndzāŋ / ndzáŋ**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	fierce
00239	31:33	**kìɣə̀kə̀ / bìɣə̀kə̀**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	jealousy
00240	31:40	**ʃɔ̄:m / ʃɔ́m**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	courageous

00241	31:45	lᶣí:	ø-	b-	8	laziness
00242	31:51	ŋkànà ʃɔ́m / bə̀ŋkànà ʃɔ́m	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	patience
00243	31:56	nlə̀ˠə fú / bə̀nlə̀ˠə fú	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	stubborn
00244	32:01	kìfò: / bìfò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	hardship, poor
00245	32:08	bìlòŋ	bi-	b̀-	8	hardship
00246	32:18	ntʃòkòlì / bə̀ntʃòkòlì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	respond, reply
00247	32:23	ŋgʏ̄kí / bə̀ŋgʏ̄kí	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	suffer
00248	32:30	ntàhì / bə̀ntàhì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	obstruct
00249	32:37	ŋgʏ̄kí / bə̀ŋgʏ̄kí	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	danger
00250	32:42	ŋgʏ̄kí / bə̀ŋgʏ̄kí	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	problem
00251	32:48	mì: / bə́nî	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	human being
00252	32:56	mī	ø-	ẁ-	1	self
00253	33:02	ɲòkú / bə́ɲókò	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	man/male
00254	33:18	wān / bə́ˠá	ø- / bə́-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	fetus
00255	33:29	wáɲ / bə́ˠá	ø- / bə́-	ẁ- / b́-	1 / 2	baby
00256	33:36	kìntɔ́mnì / bìntɔ́mnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	twin
00257	33:44	wān / bʷə̄ˠā	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	child
00258	33:53	wāɲɲókòní/bʷábə́ɲókòní	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	boy
00259	34:00	wāɲkáɲàní/bə́ˠàbə́káɲàní	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	girl
00260	34:18	kòkúlī	Ø	b-	8	adult
00261	34:23	ŋgāmì / bə́ŋgāmì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	elder
00262	34:29	mìwìdʒᶣīnī / bə́níbə̀dʒᶣīnī	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	old person
00263	34:36	tùŋjìdzǔ: / tôŋjídzǔ:	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	relative
00264	34:49	ŋkʷósà / bə̀ŋkʷósà	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	ancestor
00265	34:58	tǐ:bâ: / bə̀tǐ:bâ:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	grandparent
00266	35:03	bâ: / bə̀bâ:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	father
00267	35:06	wàɲnə́ŋ / bʷábə́nə́ŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	brother
00268	35:12	dʒə̀mì / dʒə́mì	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	sister
00269	35:18	wúnə̂ / bə̀wúnə̂:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	uncle
00270	35:24	wàɲnínə̂ / bʷábə́níbə́nə̂:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	aunt, mother's sister

00271	35:40	**wàɲníbâ: / bʷə́ˠàbə̀níbə́bá:** **wàɲníbâ: / bʷə́ˠàbə̀níbâ:**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*aunt, father's sister*
00272	36:02	**wâɲdʒə̀mì / bə́ˠábə́dʒə̂mí**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*cousin*
00273	36:11	**kìmbʷə̂: / bìmbʷə̂:**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*descendant*
00274	36:28	**wâɲwáɲ / bʷə́ˠábə́bʷə́ˠá**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*grandchild*
00275	36:39	**wâɲdʒə̀mì / bə́ˠábə́dʒə̂mí**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*nephew*
00276	36:45	jʲə̄ / bíjʲə̄	ø- / bi-~kɪ	wˊ- / kˊ-	5 / 7a	name
00277	36:55	**kʷì / bə̀kʷì**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*name sake*
00278	37:00	**mjə̀kə̀ / bə̀mjə̀kə̀**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*in-law*
00279	37:07	**kpáká / káká**	ø- / ø-	wˊ- / jˊ-	3 / 4	*fellow-wife*
00280	37:14	**níkpàɲá / bə̀níkàɲà**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*sister-in-law*
00281	37:34	**ɲômwāɲ / nóˠùbə̀bʷă:**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*son-in-law*
00282	37:44	**kpə̀ŋkʷù / bə́káɲàbə̀ŋkʷŭ:**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*widow*
00283	37:50	**ɲômŋkʷû / bə̀ɲômŋkʷû**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*widower*
00284	37:58	**tɔ́mí / bìtɔ́mí**	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*clan*
00285	38:06	**tùɲjìdzŭ: / tûɲjídzŭ:**	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / jˊ-	9 / 10	*family*
00286	38:12	**nsē̄:n / nsé:n**	ø- / ø-	wˊ- / jˊ-	3 / 4	*friend*
00287	38:37	**ŋkɔ̀mhí / bə̀ŋkɔ̀mhí**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*neighbour*
00288	38:42	**kìmbàɲní / bìmbàɲní**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*enemy*
00289	38:50	**ntáŋnì / bə̀ntáŋnì**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*traitor*
00290	38:55	**dʒí / bə̀dʒí**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*thief*
00291	38:58	**mìwìntɔ́m / bə́nî:bə́ntɔ́m**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*messenger*
00292	39:04	**kìɲjòɲní / bìɲjòɲní**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*crowd*
00293	39:09	**ŋkóɲ / bə̀ŋkóɲ**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*chief, Fon*
00294	39:13	**mfà: / bə̀mfà:**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*slave*
00295	39:17	**mìwìkxə́: / bə́nî:bə́kxə́:**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*farmer*
00296	39:22	**mìwìbjíɲwǐ:/bə́nîbábjíɲwǐ:**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*hunter*
00297	39:40	**nʃānì / nʃánì (kínʃánì)**	ø- / ø-	wˊ- / kˊ-	5 / 7a	*weaver*
00298	39:49	**mīwīkūmní / bə́nî:bə́kômní**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*butcher*
00299	40:01	**wâɲwìnɔ̌m / bʷə́ˠábə́nɔ̌m**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*servant*
00300	40:09	**mbòˠòkífó / bə̀mbòˠòkífó**	ø- / bə̀-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	*gendarme*

00301	40:16	mbòˠòfú / bàmbòˠòfú	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	gendarme
00302	40:22	mìwìtsǎ: / bénî:wìtsǎ:	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	traditional healer
00303	40:34	tsíʲ / bàtsíʲ	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	sorcerer
00304	40:51	tsǐʲ / bàtsǐʲ	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	witchcraft
00305	41:11	mbāŋhí / bàmbáŋhì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	meet
00306	41:17	nlàkà / bànlàkà	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	invite
00307	41:21	mbì: / bàmbì:	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	abandon
00308	41:25	gé:n/bàŋgèn, ŋgèn/bàŋgèn	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	flee, escape
00309	41:51	mjùgóˠùní/bénî:bágóˠùní múkóŋ / bámúkúŋ	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	drive
00310	42:03	ljíŋ	ø-	ẃ-	4	same
00311	42:16	tʃí	ø-	b-	8	different
00312	42:19	kìmbwéhì / bìmbwéhì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	resemble
00313	42:28	nʃjəlì / bànʃjəlì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	initiate
00314	42:33	ŋkɔ̀ŋ / bàŋkɔ̀ŋ	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	admire
00315	42:38 43:10	kìntʃɔ̂:ŋnì / bìntʃɔ̂:ŋnì kìndzóŋ / bìndzóŋ kìndʒɔ̀ŋnì / bìndʒɔ̀ŋnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	admiration
00316	43:18	mkpén / bàmkpén	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	befit, suit
00317	43:25	dʒjâ / bídzjâ ~ kídzjâ	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	language
00318	43:38	dʒjà / dʒjâ	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	word
00319	43:44	ndzākā / bàndzākā	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	say, talk
00320	43:50	dʒjà / dʒjâ	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	voice
00321	43:56	ndzākəjì / bàndzākəjì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	whisper
00322	44:03 44:12	ŋwúlì / bàŋwílì wùlí / wúlí ~ kìwúlí	ø- / bà- ø- / kɪ-	ẁ- / b̀- ẁ- / ḱ-	1 / 2 5 / 7a	shout, cry out
00323	44:22	ntākā / bàntākā	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	chat
00324	44:30	ntākā	ø-	b-	8	lies
00325	44:40	ntʃúŋ	ø-	j́-	4 or 10	lies telling
00326	44:43	mfjɔ́:ŋ	ø-	ẁ-	1	quiet
00327	44:48	mbɛ̀: / bàmbɛ̀:	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	call someone

00328	44:54	nlàkà / bànlàkà	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	announce
	45:03	ntsɛ̄:hì / bàntsɛ̄:hì				
00329	45:12	ntɔ̄m / bàntɔ̄m	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	news
00330	45:17	mfə̀kə̀ / bàmfə̀kə̀	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	explain
00331	45:31	ntə̂fì / bàntə̂fì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	advice
00332	45:36	ntə̂fì / bàntə̂fì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	teach
00333	45:41	nlānì / bànlānì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	learn
00334	45:44	ntʃʊ́ŋ	ø-	j́-	4	gossip
00335	45:52	ɲɲélí / kìɲɲélí	ø- / kì-	ẃ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	gossip
00336	46:01	mbíkə́ / bàmbíkə́	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	ask
00337	46:09	mbíkə́ / bàmbíkə́	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	request
00338	46:13	ntsá / bàntsá	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	plead
00339	46:19	ntʃʊ́kʊ́lì / bàntʃʊ́kʊ́lì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	answer
00340	46:23	kìjɔ̀ŋnì / bìjɔ̀ŋnì	kì- / bì-	k̀- / b̀-	7 / 8	thanks
00341	46:28	mbɔ̂m / bàmbɔ̂m	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	answer
00342	46:33	ŋkàkà / bàŋkàkà	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	promise
00343	46:37	m̀kǎːɲ	m-	m-	6a	corn beer, shar
00344	46:41	mkàɲ / bàmkàɲ	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	swear
00345	46:44	ntɔ̄jí / bàntɔ̂jì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	insult, abuse
00346	46:51	nʃɔ́ːŋ	ø-	j́-	4	slander
00347	47:08	nʃə̀ŋ	ø-	j́-	4	slander
00348	47:13	mfáhì / bàmfáhì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	threaten
00349	47:19	mfáhì / bàmfáhì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	plan
00350	47:26	ŋgɔ̀mhì / bàŋgɔ̀mhì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	threaten
00351	47:37	kʷá / bìkʷá ~ kwā / kwá	ø- / bì-	k̀- / b̀-	7 / 8	forest
00352	47:42	bāː / bá:	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j́-	9 / 10	space
00353	47:46	gbɛ̌ː ~ mgbɛ̂ / bàmgbɛ̀	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	plant
00354	47:53	ŋgʊ̀ᵛʊ̀lì / bàŋgʊ̀ᵛʊ̀lì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	argue
00355	47:57	nsʊ́ŋjì / bànsʊ́ŋjì	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	grumble
00356	48:03	nnɛ̌ːn / bànnɛ̌ːn	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	contradict
00357	48:07	nnɛ̌ːn / bànnɛ̌ːn	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	deny

00358	*48:10*	**mbɔ̀m / bàmbɔ̀m**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*admit*
00359	*48:13*	**kìmbʲíkɔ́ / bìmbʲíkɔ́**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*question*
00360	*48:18*	**njáˠásì / bènjáˠásì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*praise*
00361	*48:29*	**mbɔ́hì / bàmbɔ́hì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*bless*
00362	*48:36*	**kìjɔ̀ŋnì / bìjɔ̀ŋnì**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*congratulate*
00363	*48:42*	**mfə̀kɛ̀ / bàmfə̀kɛ̀**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*recount*
00364	*48:51*	**mfə̀kɛ̀ / bàmfə̀kɛ̀**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*pastor*
00365	*48:56*	**kìtʃɔ̌:m / bìtʃɔ̌:m**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*story*
00366	*49:00*	**ŋgɘ̀fì / bàŋgɘ̀fì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*yawn*
00367	*49:14*	**ndzɔ́kɔ́wìfí:/bàndzɔ́kɔ́bɔ́fí:**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*proverb*
00368	*49:18*	**ndzɔ́kɔ́ / bàndzɔ́kɔ́**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*speech*
00369	*49:22*	**mbáŋnì / bàmbáŋnì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*embrace*
00370	*49:27*	**má / bàmá**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*kiss*
00371	*49:32*	**ntɔ̀kɔ̀ / bàntɔ̀kɔ̀**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*have sex*
00372	*49:38*	**máhì / bàmáhì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*suckle, nurse*
00373	*49:45*	**ŋɘ̀ŋlì / bàŋɘ̀ŋlì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*tickle*
00374	*49:56*	**ntʷáɲ / bàntʷáɲ**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*spank, beat*
00375	*50:02*	**ʃɘ̀ŋɔ́ / bànʃɔ́ŋɘ̀**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*whip*
00376	*50:08*	**ŋgàmtì / bàŋgàmtì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*help*
00377	*50:11*	**mfjíɲ / bàmfjíɲ**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*help*
00378	*50:16*	**tɔ̀ŋɔ̀ní / bàntɔ̀ŋɔ̀nì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*protect*
00379	*50:21*	**ŋkókú / bàŋkókú**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*bring up a child*
00380	*50:25*	**ntsɔ́:ŋǎ: / bàntsɔ́:ŋā:**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*dominate*
00381	*50:32*	**kìlá:ŋ / bìlá:ŋ**	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*order, law*
00382	*50:39*	**ntʃí / bàntʃí**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*order, law*
00383	*50:46*	**nɔ̀m / bànɔ̀m**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*duty, obligation*
00384	*50:55*	**mfáŋ / bàmfáŋ**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*send*
00385	*50:58*	**ntɔ̀kɔ̀nì / bàntɔ̀ˠɔ̀nì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*lead, guide*
00386	*51:06*	**mbì: / bàmbì:**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*follow*
00387	*51:11*	**njáˠáhì / bènjáˠáhì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*obey*
00388	*51:19*	**mfú:lì / bàmfú:lì**	ø- / bà-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*satisfy*

00389	51:23	mfʊ̀ŋjì / bə̀mfʊ̀ŋjì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	deceive
00390	51:27	ndzáŋ / bə̀ndzáŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	quarrel
00391	51:31	dʒʊ́ò / bídʒʊ́ò	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	fight
00392	51:39	mbʷæ̀ / bə̀mbʷæ̀	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	stab
00393	51:54	mwʊ́ó / bə̀mwʊ́ó	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	kill, murder
00394	52:04	ntúkʊ́lì / bə̀ntʃókʊ́lì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	take revenge
00395	52:09	ntʃɔ̄ŋ̄ / bíntʃɔ̄ŋ̄	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	ticks
00396	52:20	ŋkā:hì / bə̀ŋkà:hì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	resolve, settle
00397	52:30	ŋkènhì / bə̀ŋkènhì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	resolve, settle
00398	52:36	ntíhì / bə̀ntíhì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	resolve, settle
00399	52:57	ndzò:ɗî / bə̀ndzò: ɗ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	mediator
00400	53:00	ntʃʊ́ó / bə̀ntʃʊ́ó	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	stealing
00401	53:04	nsàkà / bə̀nsàkà	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	judge
00402	53:10	ntʃə̀phì / bə̀ntʃə̀phì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	punish, penalty
00403	53:28	nô:ní / bínô:ní	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	dwell, inhabit
00404	53:42	nsə̀ŋ / bə̀nsə̀ŋ (01:01:23)	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	bracelet, bangle
00405	53:50	dàlá / bə̀dàlá	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	robe, man's gown
00406	53:55	ntò: / bə̀ntò:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	pierce
00407	53:59	nlò: / bə̀nlò:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	plait, braid (hair)
00408	54:06	lɔ̂k / bə̀lɔ̂k	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	lock
00409	54:20	fúwínɔ́ŋ / bìfúbínɔ́ŋ	ø- / bì-	ẃ- / b́-	5 / 8	luck
00410	54:32	fjɛ̄̃ / kífjɛ̄̃	ø- / kɪ-	ẃ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	month
00411	54:40	ʃī / kíʃī	ø- / kí-	ĵ- / ḱ-	9 / 7a	week
00412	54:56	mbjə́ŋə́ / bə̀mbjə́ŋə́	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	hour
00413	55:05	fímbjə́ŋə̀ / ḿmbjə́ŋə̀	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	black wasp
00414	55:12	kìŋkʷáɲ / bìŋkʷáɲ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	wasp
00415	55:18	ɲàkà / bə̀ɲàkà	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	writing
00416	55:21	mfà: / bə̀mfà:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	read
00417	55:23	kìmfín / bìmfín	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	cocoyam
00418	55:28	tʃʷɛ́n / kítʃʷɛ́n	ø- / kí-	ẃ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	bitterleaf

00419	55:33	nèŋ / kínêŋ	ø- / kí-	wˊ- / kˊ-	5 / 7a	vegetable
00420	55:40 55:46	ntɔ́tɔ̀ / bəntɔ́tɔ̀ ~ ntɔ́rɔ̀ / bəntɔ́rɔ̀	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	pepper
00421	55:52	bjâː / bəbjâː	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	pear
00422	55:55	lʌ́ːkò / bəlʌ́ːkò	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	cassava
00423	56:06	kínʃâɲʃàɲ / bínʃâɲʃàɲ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	pumpkin
00424	56:13	plɔ̂m / bəplɔ̂m	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	plum
00425	56:24	dzà / dzâ	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / jˊ-	9 / 10	porcupine
00426	56:28	kìkʷôː / bìkʷôː	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	toad
00427	56:38	ʃàŋwí / bəʃàŋwí	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	frog
00428	56:42	fíntám / m̄mtám	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	cocoa
00429	56:46	fímbî / m̄mbîː	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	orange
00430	56:52	nsèŋ / bənsèŋ	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	handle
00431	56:56	nsèŋ / bənsèŋ	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	tap wine
00432	57:00	nsàlà / bənsàlà	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	needle
00433	57:04	fíntʃóm / m̄tʃóm	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	shoe needle
00434	57:11	bjākā / bjáká	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / jˊ-	9 / 10	traditional basket
00435	57:20	kàː / kâː	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / jˊ-	9 / 10	basket
00436	57:35	ŋgɔ̀m / bəŋgɔ̀m	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	payment
00437	57:38	kìndʒìŋndʒíŋ / bìndʒìŋndʒíŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	picture
00438	57:44	wêlì / bíwêlì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	peeling
00439	57:54	níʃjə̄ / bəníʃjə̄	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	hen
00440	58:17	kɔ́kɔ̀ / bíkɔ́kɔ̀	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	cock
00441	58:21	fímfíntʃɔ́ŋ / m̄mfíntʃɔ́ŋ	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	insect
00442	58:28	ntání / bìntání	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	grasshopper
00443	58:32	mbíː / bəmbíː	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	world
00444	58:44	fiŋkúmì / m̀ŋkúmì	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	chameleon
00445	58:48	mfəkə̀ / bəmfəkə̀	ø- / bə-	wˋ- / bˋ-	1 / 2	measuring meter
00446	58:58	kímgbêːlí / bímgbêːlí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	native carrot

00447	59:02	fīntʃɔ́ɲní / m̄ntʃɔ́ɲní	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	groundnut
00448	59:08	bə́:	ø-	j-	4	egusi
00449	59:17	ntsāɲtsāɲ	ø-	j-	4	egusi
00450	59:31	mkpə̀kə̀	ø-	ẁ-	1	blow (clean nose)
00451	59:40	ɲɲjə̀: / bə̀ɲɲə̀:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	move away
00452	59:47	dzɔ̀m / dzɔ̄m	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	grave
00453	59:53	ŋgàŋlì / bə̀ŋgàŋlì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	cliff
00454	59:59	tɔ̄mí / bìtɔ̄mí	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	country, ethnic
00455	01:00:09	dʒî / bídʒî:	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	frontier
00456	01:00:19	kùlí / bìkùlí	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	village
00457	01:00:24	nlò: / bə̀nlò:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	dressing
00458	01:00:29	mbá: / bə̀mbá:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	undress
00459	01:00:33	tùŋjìjʲə́ / tóɲòjíjʲə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	naked
00460	01:00:39	búŋwìbʷɛ̌:n/bə̀búŋbə́bʷɛ́n	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	trouser
00461	01:00:48	búŋwìbʷɛ̌:n/bə̀búŋbə́bʷɛ́n búŋòbʷɛ̌:n	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	loin cloth
00462	01:01:01	dáɲtʃíkí / bə̀dáɲtʃíkí	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	robe traditional
00463	01:01:11	dzò / dzô	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	shoe, sandal
00464	01:01:26	fìnsə̀ŋ / m̀nsə̀ŋ	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	ring
00465	01:01:41	kìntằ: / bìntằ: (01:11:31)	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	tattoo, incision
00466	01:02:06	ŋwókó / bə̀ŋwókó	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	bathe
00467	01:02:10	ndì:jì / bə̀ndì:jì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	apply
00468	01:02:20	nsóˠ / bə̀nsóˠ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	wipe off excreta
00469	01:02:32	ntéɲjì / bə̀ntéɲjì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	cut
00470	01:02:40	mfá: / bə̀mfá:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	shave
00471	01:02:44	mô: / kímô:	ø- / kí-	ẃ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	razor
00472	01:02:56	kìntʃíkí / bìntʃíkí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	toothbrush
00473	01:03:02	dzɛ̄n / bídzɛ̄n	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	food
00474	01:03:12	ɲàm / ɲám	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	meat
00475	01:03:26	nʃjǎ: / bə̀nʃjǎ:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	fat

00476	01:03:31	dʒóá / kídʒóá	ø- / kí-	w᷄- / k᷄-	5 / 7a	soup, broth
00477	01:03:42	dʒōō /dʒóó	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	pap, mushy food
00478	01:03:58	kìmbín / bìmbín	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	excreta
00479	01:04:01	ɲō / ɲó	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	honey
00480	01:04:13	môkù		m-	6a	cornflour
00481	01:04:27	ŋkʷáʃɔm / bə̀ŋkʷáʃɔm	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	breakfast
00482	01:04:35	kìnláŋ / bìnláŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	feast
00483	01:04:41	bə̀ká / bə̀mbákə̀	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	spoil
00484	01:04:46	mbə̀: / bə̀mbə̀:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	guinea corn
00485	01:04:52	mfùmtì / bə̀mfùmtì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	mould
00486	01:04:56	mbê:n / mmbê:n	ø- / ø-	w᷄- / ĵ-	3 / 4	milk
00487	01:05:04	mbî: / kímbî:	ø- / kí-	w᷄- / k᷄-	5 / 7a	beer
00488	01:05:12	ndjə̀ / bə̀ndjə̀	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	prepare
00489	01:05:21	ŋkámhì / bə̀ŋkámhì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	tiny
00490	01:05:42	mbə́ˠálì / bə̀mbə́ˠálì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	cut open fruit
00491	01:06:00	nʃjéjì / bə̀nʃjéjì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	slice
00492	01:06:04	mfùnnì / bə̀mfùnnì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	mix
00493	01:06:09	nə̀ŋə̀ní / bə̀nə̀ŋə̀nì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	stir
00494	01:06:17	ŋgɔ̀kɔ̀ / bə̀ŋgɔ̀kɔ̀	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	grind
00495	01:06:23	ŋgɔ̀kɔ̀ / bə̀ŋgɔ̀kɔ̀	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	seed
00496	01:06:37	mbájì / bə̀mbájì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	uproot
00497	01:06:42	ŋwàŋ / bə̀ŋwàŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	roast
00498	01:06:50	ŋkáŋ / bə̀ŋkáŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	fry
00499	01:06:55	mfő / bə̀mfő	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	bake (in ashes)
00500	01:07:13	ɲùkú / bə̀ɲùkù	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	smoke
00501	01:07:13	nʃílì / bə̀nʃìlì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	boil (water)
00502	01:07:33	fíŋgá:lí / ḿŋgá:lí	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	garden egg
00503	01:07:38	kìntáhì / bìntáhì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	eye
00504	01:07:59	dʒìkə̀ / dʒíkə̀	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ-	9 / 10	hoe
00505	01:08:04	fíndʒóŋó / mndʒóŋó	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	dove

00506	01:08:09	tʃōō / tʃóó	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j̋-	9 / 10	latrine
00507	01:08:16	fìnsə̀ŋ / m̀nsə̀ŋ	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	motorbike
00508	01:08:31	kʷù / bə̀kʷù	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	rope
00509	01:08:34	nsòɣ̀ò / bə̀nsòˠò	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	bottle
00510	01:08:42	nsòɣ̀ò / bə̀nsòˠò	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	point at someone
00511	01:08:47	fìndzóɲə́ / m̀ndzóɲə́	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	saucer
00512	01:08:54	nà / bə̀nà	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	cow
00513	01:08:58	tʃə̌:ŋ / kìtʃə̌:ŋ	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	guitar
00514	01:09:04	tʃə̄ŋnī / kítʃə̄ŋnī	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	belt
00515	01:09:10	kìkṹ:m / bìkṹ:m	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	horse
00516	01:09:15	kíɡã́: / bíɡã́:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	mat
00517	01:09:19	dzóɣ̀ò / bídzóɣ̀ò	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	yam
00518	01:09:24	ndʒ́ĩ́ / bíndʒ́ĩ́ ~ kíndʒ́ĩ́:	ø- / bí ~ kɪ-	w̋- / b̋- ~ k̋-	5 / 7a	sweet yams
00519	01:09:32	kìntʃ̀ò̀ / bìntʃ̀ò̀	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	river
00520	01:09:37	nʃwá ᶦn / nʃwã́ᶦn	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j̋-	9 / 10	brick
00521	01:09:47	f́ɔ́ˠɔ́ / bíf́ɔ́ˠɔ́ ~ (kíf́ɔ́kɔ́)	ø- / bi-	w̋- / k̋-	5 / 8	axe
00522	01:09:55	dzǒ:	ø-	ĵ-	9	thatching grass
00523	01:10:03	tsǎ: / tsã́:	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j̋-	9 / 10	vehicle
00524	01:10:08	ŋkə́m / bə̀ŋkə́m (mkə́m)	ø- / bə̀	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	carriage
00525	01:10:18	kpálákpàlà/bə̀kpálákpàlà	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	bamboo mat
00526	01:10:25	kìntò: / bìntò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	sickle
00527	01:10:29	kīŋḱ́ĩ́: / bīŋḱ́ĩ́:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	bamboo chair
00528	01:10:36	fúˠú / bífúˠú	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	soldier ants
00529	01:10:43	dzɔ̄m / dzɔ́m	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j̋-	9 / 10	war
00530	01:10:56	fìmgbà / m̀mgbà	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	she-goat
00531	01:11:00	fímí / bìfímí	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	he-goat
00532	01:11:05	bjə̌ / bjé ~ bjə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j̋-	9 / 10	dog
00533	01:11:11	wá / bìwá	wi- / bi-	w̋- / b̋-	5 / 8	sanction cane
00534	01:11:18	kìŋgə̀: / bìŋgə̀: ~	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	calabash (carry

		kìŋgˠə̀ / bìŋgˠə̀				*shar)*
00535	01:11:37	ŋgā	ø-	b-	8	*power*
00536	01:11:41	kìɲő / bìɲő	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	*knee*
00537	01:11:44	fíndóŋɔ̀ / ḿndóŋɔ̀	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*pimple*
00538	01:11:49	ntàm / bə̀ntàm	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*metre*
00539	01:11:55	kìntʃìnì / bìntʃìnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	*deaf person*
00540	01:11:59	mjùdzǎ:lī/bə́níbə́dzǎ:lī	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*mad person*
00541	01:12:05	kìndʒíŋ / bìndʒíŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	*stupid person*
00542	01:12:10	bjə̀ˠə́ / bjə́ˠə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ́-	9 / 10	*wound*
00543	01:12:16	kìndɔ̀ŋ / bìndɔ̀ŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	*goiter*
00544	01:12:23	kàm / kâm	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ́-	9 / 10	*concave rivercliff*
00545	01:12:36	kàm / bə̀kàm	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*front juju*
00546	01:12:41	bə́ˠə̀ / bíbə́ˠə̀	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*calabash*
00547	01:12:49	bő:	ø-	b-	8	*wood ash*
00548	01:12:55	kúnì / bíkúnì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*stick corn*
00549	01:13:04	nsə̄fí / bə̀nsə̄fí	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*calabash (sharing shar)*
00550	01:13:12	ndāŋ / bə̀ndāŋ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*k.o tree*
00551	01:13:18	dzò:lí / dzú:lí	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ́-	9 / 10	*mushroom*
00552	01:13:24	bjə̄ŋə̄ / bjə́ŋə́ ~ bíbjə̄ŋə̄	ø- / ø- ~ bi-	ẁ- / b̀-	5 / 8	*net basket (fish)*
00553	01:13:38	bò ˠ ò jìg ʷ á ʲ n/bókòjíg ʷ a ʲ n	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ́-	9 / 10	*raffia bush*
00554	01:13:57	kìkàkàlí / bìkàkàlí	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	*ringworm*
00555	01:14:04	kʷǔ: / bìkʷǔ:	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*raffia nuts*
00556	01:14:10	ḿbî:	m-	m-	6a	*raffia wine*
00557	01:14:26	ʃə̀ˠə̀ / bíʃə̀ˠə̀ (01:14:49)	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	*bamboo stalk*
00558	01:14:37	ʃə̀ˠə̀ / ʃə́ˠə́	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ́-	9 / 10	*wingless termites*
00559	01:15:02	fjēŋkī / fjéŋkí ~ fjéŋkí	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / ĵ́-	9 / 10	*termites*
00560	01:15:07	fìnʃáŋ / m̀ʃáŋ	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	*seed*
00561	01:15:17	nténnì / bə̀nténnì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	*ridge boundary*
00562	01:15:34	wólí / kīwólí	ø- / kɪ-	ẃ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	*furrow*

00563	01:15:43	ndʒòkó / ndʒókó	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j-	9 / 10	elephant stalk
00564	01:15:50	bɔ́mí / bìbɔ́mí	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	ridge
00565	01:16:01	fú	ø-	w-	3 or 5	mbambara groundnuts
00566	01:16:05	ɲɔ̀ɔ̀	ø-	ẁ-	1	god
00567	01:16:14	mbã̂ / bīmbã̂	ø- / bi-	k- / b-́	7 / 8	fufu biscuit
00568	01:16:23	gbâ: / kɪ́gbâ:	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	ceiling
00569	01:16:28	nsǒ: / kìnsǒ:	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	fireside stone
00570	01:16:37	kpóŋ / kíkpóŋ	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	hoe handle
00571	01:16:42	kìlétí / bìlétí	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	calabash (cook fufu)
00572	01:16:51	kìnsɔ̀mhì / bìnsɔ̀mhì	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	stick soup (spoon)
00573	01:17:06	fɔ́kɔ́ / bífɔ́kɔ́	w-́ / b-́	w-́ / b-́	5 / 8	stick fufu (pestle)
00574	01:17:15	tɔ́ŋ / kítɔ́ŋ	ø- / kí-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	fireside
00575	01:17:19	ŋkɔ̀ŋ / kìŋkɔ̀ŋ	ø- / kì-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	love
00576	01:17:27	kìntìŋgɔ̀ŋ / bìntìŋgɔ̀ŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	Amaranthus
00577	01:17:34	dáŋə̀ / bədáŋə̀	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	okra
00578	01:17:28	kìnsə̀kə̀ / bìnsə̀kə̀	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	sieve
00579	01:17:44	gə̂kɔ́lì / bígə̂kɔ́lì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	egusi calabash
00580	01:17:56	kìmbáŋhì̂ / bìmbáŋhì̂	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	tributary
00581	01:18:02	jání / bìjání	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	river island
00582	01:18:09	ntʃáŋá / bíntʃáŋá	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	swampy area
00583	01:18:16	kā:hì / bíkāhì	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	non-swampy area
00584	01:18:26	fwá / bífwá	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	juju rattle
00585	01:18:35	kâhì / bíkâhì	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	calabash rattle
00586	01:18:46	fjānī / fjání	ø- / ø-	ĵ- / j-	9 / 10	Rungs (ladder)
00587	01:18:54	kìmbáŋhì̂ / bìmbáŋhì̂	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	road junction
00588	01:19:09	fjɛ̃̄	ø-	w-	3	whitewash

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.

	Mbuk Language Consultants for the Mbuk Documentary Grammar,Oct.2014 – Sept.2016		
	FullName	**CodeName**	**Language description**
1	Fon. Wango Solomon Nkambi 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 Ndʒang 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 Ɖam	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	MS-20	Fang, Mbuk, Koshin, Pidgin (Native of Fang)
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 (Kemezung), 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	TS-43	Bum, Pidgin ??? (Met at the Subum Market)
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. Tschonghongei	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, Nooni, Bafmen, Bikom, Pidgin
93	Jude Wabua	JUW-93	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin
94	Njicha Novert Njieh	NNJ-94	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin
95	Pertiter Jintagha	PJT-95	Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin
96	Novert 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 6: KPAAMCAM Metadata Template

A.   Field Trips

1 – Field trip reference (1st, 2nd, 3rd …)   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's provenance

4 – Consultant's languages   21 – Spouse's languages

5 – Place of interview   22 – children's languages

6 – Audio file name   23 – Father of spouse's provenance

7 - Questionnaire type (Sociolinguistic profile) 24 – Father of spouse's languages

8 – Paternal name

9 – Maternal name

10 – Other names

11 – Residence

12 – Main linguistic identity

13 – Year of birth

14 – Gender

15 – Occupation

16 – Paternal affiliation

17 – Consultant father's languages

25 – Mother of spouse's provenance

26 – Mother of spouse's languages

27 – Number of lects

28 – Number speaks

29 – Degree of competence (5,4,3,2,1)

30 – where did you learn it?

31 – When do you use it?

32 – Advantages of knowing it?

33 – Performance in special occasions?

D.   Session

1 – Field trip reference

2 – Session name

3 – Session title

4 – Session date

5 – Session description

6 – Country of location

7 – Region of location

8 – Address of location

9 – Content, genre

10 – Subgenre

11 – subjects

12 – Communication context (Involvement)

13 – Communication context (Social context)

14 - Communication context (Event structure)

15 – Language description

16 – Video file   17 – Audio file

18 – Other files

19 – Other resources

20 - Duration

21 – Recording devices

22 - Notes

22 – Actor 1, Role

23 – Actor 2, Role (participant)

This guided us in balancing our consultants according their various families and when there is a public event, we interviewed members of the three (3) families. It also helped us to know who was a Mbuk and who has been in the villages and who has been living out of the village for sometime. It helped us on whom we would like to meet for a certain type of data.

Appendix 7: Mbuk Literary Tradition

These texts are natural speech data of Mbuk tapped during the 2015 Annual Festival. They were recorded by the project audiovisual technician Mr. Ikom Christopher and the researcher Nelson C. Tschonghongei. Thence Nelson C. Tschonghongei 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**   **kìŋkʷàsì tʃâ: á**   **bí kʷâsì, wò lɔ́ á**   **tsɔ̄**
CM   **CM**   **CM**   **CM**
        easy **that**   rattle   NEG **that**   F3 play   2S so **that**   go

        {last} túɣú bʲɘ̂ bɔ́ dʒʲɘ̂kí kìmfílì
                     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   **ŋgáŋ mì**   **bó-kí lɘ̀ wì ɲá wâní**
3S   no   person tire-PROG AF **3S** give brother
        No! anyone who gets tired should hand it to the brother

03 KEN-92   **wò bó, wò ɲā hɘ̄ ā ɲá-ní, wò ɲá hɘ̄ ā ɲá-ní**
VN   2S V   2S V   V AV **V-NA**   2S V   V **ADVV-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" [ADV](ADV)
cm: verbal noun, gerund (VN), -NA nominal affix, -suffix

04 FSW-1   **bɘ̄ wōɣō, bɘ̄ wōɣō, m̀ ká wóˠó, wò kwàsì ndzɔ́ŋ kɘ̄**
CD   3P hear   3P hear   1S **if** hear   2S play   good NEG
RF   **m dzɘ dzaɣa a ɲa mɪ, mɪ wɘ m tʃʲɘkɪ**
        1S come say   that give **me 1SO** that 1S know
        wò ɲá tsɘ̄, wò ɲá tsɘ́ à ɲání
        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   bə́ ~ bó

05 WNJ-18   **bó bó bó wóˠó-kí   lə̀   mbɛ̀**
3P   3P 3P 3P hear-PROG   AF   Fon
             Fon, they are understanding you.

06 FSW-1   **dzə́ɣə́ tsə̄ jáɣà,   {since} sə bɛn ndzaŋ-kɪ   ndzaŋ-nɪ**
2P   talk   go   like.that   since   as   2P   quarrel-PROG quarrel-NA

 NEG   **bɛn kɔŋ kə {reason} a   əŋhə**
             2P   love NEG 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 kwîfə̀n wì bə̀mbòɣó   wì wàɲ Mfʷáɣántàɣá,**
002 gl   Oh kwifon of   Mbuk.people of child Mfwantagha
003 ft   Oh Kwifon of Mbuk people of Mfwantagha's child

006 mbk   **wì dúŋ   fǎ   hí   tóɣò yúó, nâːsə́ bə́   tʃí   lə̄ː, wì nôː kí, wì nôːkí   bɛ̄n bɛ̄n**
007 gl   he stand here this yard now,   as   we   gather so, 1S stay-PROG, 1S stay-PROG   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 dèː   mì,   á lə̂ ká   bə̀mbòɣó   bə́ wóː lə̂**
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 PROG is absent on the verb

023 mbk   **bə́ nì dúŋkí   fǎ‾ lə,   dì   bʲə́lə́ dʒíɣə̀ ləː bí jáɣà tʃʊ̀ˠʊ̀lì hə́ nūːlə,   bə́   bó này**
024 gl   3P P4 stand-PROG 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   /bə́ bó nây/ "where are they" , /bə́ wì nây/ "where is he" What is the meaning of /bə́/?

028 mbk   **Kwífə̀n dzə́ɣə́, ntúní kó nâː   tʃʷêsì, bì nà   wóˠó lə̀   bə́nî**
       Kwifon say,   ear   is even small   it will hear   AF people
         bə́ dòɣó kó nâ   nʊ̀ː mɛn àjáɣà, bó hí tʃʲə̄kí kə̄,   jí líɣə̀kí   lə
       2c some is very far even so,   3P P2 know NEG, it difficult.PROG AF
         í kʷátí bə́nî   yúó, kwífə̀n tʃʷín   dzə́ɣə́ ɣâ   â̂
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 hì dzǐ là "they always eat", bó hí dzíkílà "they were eating."

033 gc　ntuni /ear/ stands for people /metonymy/

035 mbk　　**oo wì waɲ mfʷǎ ntàɣà**

036 gl　　　IJ of child PN　PN

037 ft　　　oh Kwifon of Mfwa Ntagha's child.

039 mbk　**wǐ nǔ: dāɲ ɲánìɲà kífóm kí dzǔ:　kífóm kí dzǔ:, wí tʃên wí tʃên wí tʃên wí tʃên.**

040 gl　　3S slep 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 **fɔ̄　wì bɔ̀mbòɣó wɔ́lɔ̄　lɔ̄, fɔ̄ wí bwâ ʃɔ́m wɔ́lɔ̄,**

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 fɨ́ēn fí dzíní, á dôŋ wáɲ, á dô:ŋ ɲàm**

048 gl　　it is thing of eating, it is　child, it is　animal

049 ft　　*It is food, **child, meat***

059 mbk　**fí dòɣó kó lɔ̄,　　í bʲén　bʲɔ́lɔ̄ mɔ̄ bí tālī sɔ̀ ḿ fā:　lɔ̄,**

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　**ḿ náŋ fí dòɣó tʃâ yɔ̂. hêy!　　háp, kó hɔ̄ bɔ̀mbòɣó　sáɣá jáɣà-lɔ́**

068 gl　　1S find 11c some NEG 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 hɔ̄ bɔ̀mbòɣó hī (used.to) sáɣá jáɣà-lɔ́

080 mbk　**á　bɔ̄ nɔ̄ŋkí wāɲ,　bɔ̄　nɔ̂ŋ ɲàm,　bɔ́ fɨ́ēn 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　fɨ́ēn fí dzíní bɔ́ ɲàm á bɔ̄ sɔ̀hí wáɲ yɔ́ɲ wɔ̄

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　**ɛ̄: kwífɔ̀n wì bɔ̀mbòɣó wì wó wì wàɲ mfʷǎ ntàɣá**

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 sə̄ bə̄   dúŋjí   fá⁻ lə: wì fə́ɣə̀kí dzə̄kí fə́ɣə̀ní**
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   fə́ɣə̀ní {gerund form}

110 mbk   **wì fə́ɣə̀kí dzə̄kí fə́ɣə̀ní á mì   wə̄ wǐ dǎ:ŋ bòɣò bə́   fýēn fí f̪ə̂**
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 dzə̂kí í dzə̄ mɔ̀m yēn kwîfə̀n, kwîfə̀n nô:kí   kə̄ kínʉ́,**
115 gl   he coming to come test see kwifon,   kwifon sleeping NEG sleep
116 ft   *who is coming to try the Kwifon, The kwifon is not sleeping.*
122 ge   nominal derivation /kínʉ́/

123 mbk   **à   fýēn f̪ə̂ í kìbà kí kə́ mā, sə̄   wì dzə̄ í ɲʲə̌ fá⁻,**
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   **hə́   wì dzǎ í ɲʲə̌: fá⁻ hítóɣò lə̄,**
132 gl   before he come to leave here yard   in fact
133 ft   *in fact, before the person leaves this place*

135 mbk   **á f̪ɛn fí fí wō fí míní bǎ́ á kìbà: kí mā, má wì f̪éní kʷɛ: bə́ fí wì dzʉ́**
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 wə̄ wǐ dǎŋ bòɣò yə̂, bə́   fýēn f̪ə́ kìbà: kí mā**
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: dzə̄ ɲá fá⁻, á bə̄ dzá: mì   fá⁻,**
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 bə̄ dzá: mì   yén wə̄, á kwîfə̀n 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 "because" in some contexts, 164 ge   the definite pronoun /wó/ "the"

165 mbk   **ɪnī   sə́ búɣú mā   dʒʷābí wə̂ sí kɔ́ŋɔ̀ ʃì   sə́ lə̄**
166 gl   before go reach while sun   that is shift down go IJ

167 ft   *Before the sun will be setting down*

169 mbk   **fɣɛ̄n fí wō kɛ̂:n kìbà: kí mì   wì wō wā,**

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   **ndʒō bə̄ɣā fə̂ wə́lə̄ fə̂kí kā wí, bə̄ɣā fíkə̀lìkí fə̂kí kā, nàsàlí tʃʲə́kí lə̀**

174 gl   because we do this doing NEG it, we secretly doing NEG, government knowing AF

175 ft   *Because we are not secretly carrying out the occasion, the government knows it.*

177 mbk   **bē dzə̂kí í dzā fə̄ wí, bā dzô kìŋʷàktì í nàsàlí.**

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 Kʷîfə̄n kə̂̄ rights í gòˠʊ̀jí dzā bə́ mì wì wó í tsā í nàsàlí, wò ní gbʷílí dzā bə́ fí fén wê**

182 gl   and kwifon have rights to drag come with person 1.P the to go to governmnet, 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 fɣɛ̄n, á fí fō   í   kìbà: kí mì   wì wó mā**

186 gl   that it thing, that it rotten PREP bag   of   person 1.P the PO

187 ft   *that the thing should get rotten in the person's bag*

189 mbk   **kwîfə̄n nə́ŋkí   mì,   tʃə̀ŋə̀ lô   â   wì dzá: mì   dòɣó**

190 gl   kwifon want.PROG person, NEG instead that he lack person some

191 ft   *Kwifon needs people. Not that he should instead lost somebody*

197 mbk   **mì   ko í ɲʲə̀ túɣó bí mā ɲùò nì dʒʲə̀, bə̀mbòɣó nì bə̌ fə̂   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 (fə̂) "Mbuk annual festival"

206 mbk   **tʃâ: kpí jì mì dòɣó bā də̂:kí, kó**

207 gl   NEG death of person some they crying, it is

208 ft   *it is not someone's death they are crying, it is*

210 mbk   **bʲɛ̄n   bʲā bə́tǐ,   bə̀nì bə́ wó nì dzō bí í kìkpú mə́**

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 dôŋ bìɲɔ̀tō, bēn dzə̀ fʲénì   yúó á, á   bí nà dóŋkí fá̄**

215 gl   it be   foetus, 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 dzə̀ bə́ tsā jí á wì dzā wúó mì yén á bā dzàɣá, { à mò lə̂mì mbʲúk yə̂}**

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 Mbukfestival.*

221 cm   { à mò lə̂mì mbʲúk yə̂ } speech in Bum language (code switch).

223 mbk   **bə̀ɣə́ něn ɣá jí wō, á kwífə̀n dzáɣá, á wì, á mì wì wó làɣá ɲùó.**

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 sə̄ bə̄ dzə̄ɣə̄kí lə̄, í dzə̄ búɣú bə́dʒʷábí,   í bə̀mbʲə̀ŋə̀ mə̄ bə́ tī:**

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   **bə̄   ní gò̀ᵛ ̀ùjí dzə̄ bə̄   mì   wì wó fá̄ hítóɣò lə́**

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   hítóɣò ~ tóɣò "yard", bə́dʒʷábí ~ hídʒʷábí "evening"

240 mbk   **bə̄ dzə̀ɣə́ í wǐ, á í yə̀ɣə́ dáɲ tsə̄ nìnʃ̂î**

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 bə̂ yén wò, á gvú wá fá̄ mbò̀ɣó,   á   wí bí   tʃə́kìtʃū tòlì kə̄**

245 gl   that we see you,that foot your here Mbuk, that it should never pass NEG

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   **kìkò: dzə́ɣə́   kítʃúmì**

250 gl   juju   talk   ???

251 ft   *We swear the juju Kìkò:*

253 mbk   **á kʷîfə̀n nén, wì fʲémníkí lə̀, ɣá jì gʷû fʲémnìní,   á   jí   dzɔ̄ŋkí kə̄**

254 gl   that kwifon deny,he frowning AF, thing it the frowning that it.is good   NEG

255 ft   *The kwifon frownly denies the thing that it is not good*

257 mbk   **bə́nî   kpí:kí lə̄,   bə́nî tʃʲə̂ yén tʃīn, à   jí ɣá̄   làɣá   ɲùó**

258 gl   people dying like.this, people know it   under, that the thing disappears forever

259 ft   *people are dying while others are aware of their death secretly, the thing should disappear forever*

265 mbk   **à jí ɣá̄   làɣá   ɲùó,   mfə̄ŋní   dzá: nǔ jáɣà**

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   **ɲànìlə́ ɲànìlə́, à nì tʃá̄ â dúŋkí bʲɛ̄n bì bə̀ɣə̂n bì kừlí mā bí lyə̌ í mʷá mə̄,**

274 gl   walk   walk, if P4 NEG 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 ɲʲɘ̆ m̀fə̄ŋ í dzə̄ búγú fá⁻, bēn tʃʲɘ́ká à kɔ̄ bɘ̀áwà bɘ̀máì bɘ́ máí**

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 **sɘ̀ wì dzə̂kí kìnsàŋlí**

282 gl NEG he coming joy

283 ft *Is he not coming to rejoice with us?*

285 ge Rhetorical question

286 mbk **wì dzə̂kí kìnsàŋlí kí, wì fʲèní kʷɛ̄: tó ló wì, fú bóγó 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 nô:ní kí nỗŋ, ŋgáŋ. bēn ló tóγó nô: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 nò:nì kì tʃù. sə̄ wì dzɘ́γɘ́ dzə̂kí fá⁻ lə̄, ɔ́làí, bɔ̄ wóγólí bɘ́dʒʷábí**

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 fʲɛ̄n kên í kìbà: kí mì wì wó mə̄, bɘ̀ nǎ: gù̀γù̀jí tsɘ́ bɘ́ wò fá⁻,**

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 dʒù̀m-wə̄, wò nǎ: dzɘ́γɘ́ lɘ̀ tyə̄ fēn-wɘ̂. á bɘ́nî kìntə̂.**

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 tʃâ: á bɘ́ nɘ́ŋ-kɪ γá jɘ́lɘ̄,**

CM if NEG CM 2P want-PROG 9.thing 9.this

If not that we want it.

FSW-1 **má ḿ dzáγà γá jí fā**

NM like 1S say 10.thing 10c NM

I should have only said two things.

FSW-1 **ɛ: ŋkwù wì kìmfílì kí bɘ̀mbò̀γó**

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 dǎɲ, à kó kìmfílì mā bə́ dzə̄ jén à   kí fá¯.**
L.ADV   is NEG 7c today, it is 7.Kimfili while we come see just 7.it LADV
The Kimfili has not started today, it is something we came saw here.
mbè "yes Fon"
cataphoric pronoun kɪ (7c)

FSW-1   **má m̄ tʃʲə́kí lə̀ ɣá jə̂ ḿ kó í dzə́ɣə́ ʃǐ à júó í ŋ̀kʷù wì**
like 1s know AF thing that 1s can to say   on just now in pouring of

kìmfílì wə̄ ndʒúó kó fʲɛ̄n   má m̄ dzə̄ jén à fí fá¯
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   **ɣá   yə́ m̀ kó dzə́ɣə́ kɔ̀m   kìmfílì, sə̄ bĕn tʃʲə́kí {wédá} bĕn tʃʲə́kí kə̄**
CNJ   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 mǐ: mī   tə́ bɔ́ŋkí tʃʲə́kí kó á, kìmfílì kə́lə̄ lə́, nô:ní kí kìmfílì kə́lə̄ 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 sə̄ ɲùò ɲá dzə̄ bʲɛ̄n bí dzíní í wǒ, bə̀ɣə́bɛ̄n dzə̄ yùŋní bə̀ kpǎ ḿkàɲ**
    t   hat 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   **bə̀ɣə́bɛ̄n tə́mí   kí-wō kí tʃī, bə̄ tʃə̀ŋní bə́ mú lə́ bə́ 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   **bə̄ sáŋlíkí í tʃùsí á bə̀ɣə̂n kó fʲɛ̄n lə̄ 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 dè̠ɣə́ ɣá   jí dòɣó yə̂ jí kó, jí tʃʊ̀sɪ̀   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 dòɣó {or} à kó ndʒàŋ wì dòɣó á bā nǎ fàlí   bə́ ʃʲə̌

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   ŋgáŋ sī   kó àlàɪ̀ bè̠ɣə́bēn dzā yʊ̀ŋní bā   kító   kí nɔ́ŋ

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   bā bā mū mkăɲ í dʒʲà lə́ jì mù, sā ɲùò ɲá bʲɛ́n bí dzíní í bè̠ɣə́běn í dzǎ: yə́lə̄ wā

Crowd   wā   jì 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 sā ḿ tʃʲə́kí lə̀ *(Tag question)*   má bēn tʃʲə́k á ɲʲə̄ tə́

Crowd   {mbɛ̀:}   {kó jáɣà mbɛ̀:} *(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", tʃʲə́kɪ (tʃʲə́k) elision of ɪ in fast speech

FSW-1   è̠ŋhə̂   è̠ŋhə̂

Crowd   kó (à)jáɣà mbɛ̀:

   {is like.that Fon}   yes   yes

   it is, Fon.   Yes

FSW-1   {so} í   dāɲ

    so   PP today

      as a result, today,

cm   the adverb today [dáɲ] can take optional [ɪ]preposition to mark emphasis

ge   Sociolinguistic (Multilingualism), the use of the English word [so]

FSW-1 sā bè̠ɣə́bēn   kó fá⁻ntō,   sā bā há dzó dzā bə́ fə̀ kɪ̀ bè̠mbò̠ɣó,

        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   dzā   bə́ bí

   come with them

   and has brought them

FSW-1   **bí   kó mì nʃî yúó sə̀ bə́ dzó dzə̄   bə́   bí   á   ḿ ʃʊ̀ɣú ḿmbî yén   wə̄**

they are my front now as they take come with them that 1s pour   wine   inside on

They are in front of me now so that I should perform the ritual of pouring wine

cm   instead of corn beer the general name for any drink has been used "ḿmbî"

FSW-1   **à   sə́ bə̀ bâ: nì ʃʊ̀ᵛʊ̀-kí, à   sə́ bə̀ bâ: nì ʃʊ̀ᵛʊ̀kí,**

just as 3Pancestors P4 pour-PROG, just as 3Pancestors P4 pour-PROG,

         í yə̀ɣə́ dzə̄ dzǎ yə̄ wə̄ bə̄ nì dzó: kí

         to start come year those in 3P P4take it

To do just as our ancestors used to perform in those days that the Kimfili started.

FSW-1   **ḿ nì tʃʲə̄kí kə̄ á bí dúŋkí túɣú bì dòɣó bí dôŋ í mí nʃî**

1s P4 know not that will be day of some they be in   me   front

I never knew that they shall be standing one day in front of me.

FSW-1   **ɲʊ̀ò dzə̄ dzáɣá bí bí dôŋ lə̀ í mí nʃî   dzə̄ kpēn dāɲ.**
Crowd   **nʃî   lôm ɲàm   tʃámàfò**

         God come say they shall be AF in me   front come reach today

                                          front   big animal   great one

And God accepted that they shall ever be in front of me, and here they are today.

                                    in front, lion,   great king

cm   they /bí/ refers to the instruments, bí /F4/,

Crowd   **wey wey wey   dʒó sí kə́t**
FSW-1   **à kó jáɣà à   bʲɛ̄n bʲə́lə̄ bí tʃī bí kó í mí nʃî   dáɲ lə̄ m̀ nì tʃʲə̄kí kə̄**

         it is so   that things these 8c all 8c are in me front today so 1S P4 know not

it is true that all these things are in front of me today, I never knew.

cm Fang language: /wey wey wey/ shout of joy,   dʒó "day", sí "has", kə́t "reach" "the day has come"

FSW-1   **sə̄ ḿ dzáɣə́kí ḿ dzáɣə̄ dzə̀   lə́, fýēn fʲə̀ ḿ náŋkí í kìmfìlì kə́lə̄ wə̄**
ADPO as 1S saying   1S say   come so, thing that 1S wanting in Kimfili this   in

As I am talking to you people like this, the thing I want in this Kimfili;

FSW-1   **mì   mǎ də̌   gvú wí wâɲní,   mì   mǎ   néŋ dzáɣá í**
NEG   person do.not smash foot of his.brother/sister, person do.not find problem to

         wâɲní,   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.

FSW-1 **wâɲ mbòɣòlí tʃʲə́kí lə̀ kɔ̀ntrû (control)**

IP child Mbuk know AF control

I know that the Mbuk children know the laws of Kimfili. (Rhetorical Q)

FSW-1 **sə̄ kìmfílì kó, bə̄ sí dʒúó kə̄ kìmfílì wə̄, bə̄ sí ndzáŋ kə̄ kìmfílì wə̄**

HAB as kimfili COP, 3P HAB fight NEG Kimfili PO, 3P HAB quarrel NEG Kimfili PO

According to the laws of kimfili*, they never fight, and they never quarrelduring the* Kimfili

FSW-1 **àn (and) kìmfílì kə́lə̄ lə́, sə̄ kì kó í mī nʃî yúó**

DEM and kimfili this so, as it is in me front now

and this Kimfili like this, as the kimfili *is in front of me now*

FSW-1 **fýēn fʲə̄, èːm ḿ nə́ŋkí yén fýēn fýə̄ kìmfílì kə́lə̄ kó fá ̄tóɣò yúó bə̀ɣə́bēn nə̀ŋ fí**

REL thing that ITJ 1s wanting in thing that kimfili this is here yard now we.inc want it

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.

FSW-1 **dzə̄ lə̄ m̀bə́ˠə̀**

come so man

Please, come

Crowd **ə̀ŋhə̂**

yes

WBS-16 **bə́ ḿmbî mə̂ nàɲ**

DS wine that where

Where is that wine? {this is really the time}

FSW-1 **mó kēnkí dzô:**

Crowd **bə̄ wə́ dzə̄ mbè, bə̄ dzə̂kí lə̀, ằ:**

it.is still house they are come Fon, they coming, yes

Is the wine still the house? Fon, they are bringing it. yes

cm wə́ "are", wə̄ "in,on, at"

NYA-60 **bě̌n dzə̄ bě̌n dzə̄ bə́ nə́ˠə́ kə̂**

2P come 2P come with thing that

You people should bring that container of wine.

WBS-16 **bə́ kìŋgə̀ kə̂ náɲ**

DS calabash that where?

Where is the traditional calabash of wine?

VisitorW   **wó tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nì bə́ nə́ɣə́ kə̂ ḿmbî nə́ŋkí tsə̄ kúɣ̀ù**
               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   **bē̄n dzó dzə̄ bə́ kí nə́ɣə́ kí kúlí**
        2P take come with it thing of village
         You people should bring it (the traditional calabash)

VisitorW   **ày dzō náɣá kì kùlí m̀bə́ɣə̀**
           ITJ take thing of village man
           No! Take but the traditional calabash this man] Wait!

cm   ná^ɣá "thing (Chung)", nə́ɣə́ "thing(Mbuk)". The participant is a native of Mungong who
         code mixes betweenChung and Mbuk

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NNN-9   **kíní kíní búɣú (tsə́) 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 dʋŋkɪ 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} bəɣən ɲa:(kɪ)lə ntunɪ / bə woɣo gha yə Ndʒi kã̄kɪ i dəɣə.**
         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 bʷáNji, Nji**
         Is children, yes, yes Nji
         Children Nji

KPK-54   **ndʒi**
         yes.Nji
         yes Nji.

NNN-9   **Ndʒi / Ndʒi yi ndzɔŋkɪ a / wo dzəɣə tʃʷɛsi i dʒay yi bəmboɣo mə /**

Nji / Nji it good that / you talk small in language of Mbuk in /

wo dzəɣə 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 summariseam 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 dzaˠa / dzaˠa no / wɛː**

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 jiti dzəˠə dʊŋ dʒajji kʊlɪ 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 "dʊŋ"

NYA-60   **okɛ/ m yiti dzəɣə dzəɣə dʒay   yi kʊlɪ 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 kʊlɪ, dʒay   yi kʊlɪ mə no**

language of village, language of village in   IJ

In the Mbuk language, In the Mbuk language isn't it

NYA-60   **{yes / bɛt} ɣa yə yi nɪ lokɪ mɪ / ɣa   yi doɣo 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   **{bɛt} m yɛn waɲ wə / wɪ nɪ kʷatɪ / bɛnɪ sə bə / nɪ bɛnsɪkɪ dâ bʲə //**

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   **ḿ yén wì fá (wə̀) / ʃɔ́m jə̌ŋ ʃì**

I see him here place / heart my go.down

I have seen him here and worries are over.

NYA-60   **{bɛt} gha yi doɣo kolə / a bə kpɪkɪ bikɪ / 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 f�ˀɛnɪ dzə lə / wo /nɪ yɛn / mi wə wɪ   / kã bi nɔŋ /**
you / go turn come AF / you / F3 see / person who he / have of good /
wo / nɪ jɛn / 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   **ndʒὺ   m (ko mam tʃu) / si tʃʲə-lə   si   yə yi nɪ fə**
because I   (   ) / F2 knowing place that it   P3 do
sə   waŋ wə   kã   bɛnɪ   bʲə.
so.tha child that have accident that
because I already know the cause of that child's accident.

NYA-60 **{an} m sɪ / dzəɣəkɪ a / m dzə daŋ mboɣo / m dzəɣə / kə bə kʊmkɪlə / mɪ a bə kʊm //**
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 dzəɣəkɪ i bəmboɣo   kɪntã a   lo /**
that I   talking   to Mbuk.people inside that IJ/
I am talking amidst Mbuk people that

NYA-60   **gha jə ji   / nɪ tsə fi   / si yi da jə   / ji 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   **{bɛt} bə / dʊŋ nɪ lʲə / dzʊ bəmboɣo bə wo / bo dzəˠə gha //**
but they / be will enter / hoouse Mbuk.people them/ they talk things //
But the Mbuk people shall enter their judgement house and talk on the issue.

NYA-60 **bə ma: gɔɣɔsikɪ sɔmɪ yələ ndʒu yi kokɪ dzəkɪlə kɪdʒʲəlɪ/i dzə fə a/bəmboɣo dʊ̂: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 dʊ:kɪ   bʷa   ma dʊ:kɪ bəɣə a**
just here more children or more us   QP

Are they children who are more here or us

GE alternative conjunction "ma" / Question Particle, QP "a"

Crowd **ɪ dʊːkɪ bʷaɣa**

it more children

There are more children

NYA-60 **àá**

IJ

thinking

NYA-60 **{su} m kã: kə ɣa yi ((doɣo bə ŋga yi dzəɣə)) duli i dzəɣə //**

so I have not thing of (( )) much to say //

So, I donot have much to say

NYA-60 **kɪyɔŋnɪ kɪ bɛn / sə bɛn yaɣa dzə fa //**

thank of you/ as you climb come here //

thank you people for coming up here.

NYA-60 **a nɪ dzəɣə / bəmboɣo a bə / kʷa dʒʲə / mɪ a / m dzəɣəkɪ / i bɛn kɪntə̃ lə / hə m dzəɣəkɪ / i bɛn lə**

it was say / mbuk.people that they / catch put / me that / I talking / to you inside so / as I talk / to you so

They are the Mbuk people who decided that I should be enthroned so that I should be talking among you people as just as I am talking to you now.

NYA-60 **(m dzəɣə) m ko fa yuo /m yaɣa/m yaɣa lə /{lai} dʒwo yaɣa, kpəŋə mə / kɔm bɛn**

( ) I is here now / I rising / I rising so / like rice rise / pot in / because you(pl)

I am now really rising as rice used to rise in the pot because of you people.

GE postposition [mə]

NYA-60 **bɛn tʃa / m na dzəɣə sɪ mə**

you not / I not talk place in

If you people where not, I could not talk somewhere

GE negators "tʃa" and "na"

NYA-60 **m na dzəɣəkɪ / ndə woɣo mɪ / so / a ko / m ko bə kɪŋsaŋlɪ**

I will talk / who hear me / so / it is / I is with joy

If I speak who would listen to me? That is why I am filled with joy.

Crowd < < < kahɪ fi > > >

NYA-60 **m dzəɣəkə kə / bə ŋga / ŋkʊŋ wɪ / bəɣən dzəɣə < < < kahɪ fi > > > //**

I talk not / with power / Fon of / us talk < < < > > >

I will not talk much, our Fon said everything over there (at the palace).

GE   completed by the audience < < < > > > "audience participation" (USC)

NYA-60   **mi ma / tʃɪnɪ waɲnɪ {suteː} / kɪmfɪlɪ 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 hyperbole of the word "fight". "hypobole" is opposite of "hyperbole"

NYA-60   **kɪmfɪlɪ kələ ko / kɪmfɪlɪ kɪ nɔŋ /kɪ nɪ tʃusɪ / dzaɣa mgbʊ**
                festival this is / festival of good / it was show / mouth yesterday
                This festival is a good one. It revealed itselft yesterday

NYA-60   **{bɛt} bəɣə nəŋ / a kɪ nɪ tʃusɪ / dzaɣa i dʒʷabi / wə bə nəŋkɪ/hə leɣə kɪmfɪlɪ /**
                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 dʊŋ ntsa / wɪ bəɣə / mə jaɣa / {su} m kãkɪ kə / ɣa ji dʊlɪ / i dzəɣə.**
                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   **kɪnsaŋlɪ ko a {la} / se m jɛŋkɪ bɛn lə / m dzɪ fʊlɪ**
                joy is just like / as I see you so / I eat satij
                My joy is that when I see you people like this, I am satisfied.

NYA-60   **dàlá wələ m lo mɪ wə / {bɛt} wɪ tʃəŋkɪ tsəɣəkɪlə mɪ**
                robe this I wear I on / but it big pass me
                this traditional robe on me, is bigger than me

NYA-60   **{bɛt} m kʷaɣa m məɣəkɪ juo a m tʃəŋkɪ tsəɣəkɪ lə dala wɪ wo ndʒʷo bɛn 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} kɪjɔŋnɪ kɪ bɛn**
                so   thank   of you
                So, I thank you people.

NNN-9   **wo dzəɣəkɪlə tʃʷɛsi/i dʒay yi/nasalɪ mə/gha yə wo dzəɣə/ma bənɪ bələ woɣo**
                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   **bɛn / bɛn woɣolɪ 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 bip wey de dey for forest you bringam bɛt na one by one bip go came.
CM	Mbuk proverb.
NYA-60	but a sure say the beep them don di came
NTs-79	kɪyɔŋnɪ bɛn
	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 ɲá wáná tʃâdəkə́ f͇ɛn fí dòɣó mfã́,
JX/CN	2S V 2S V 1.N NEG 19.N 19.P IQ ADV
	you tire, you give your.brother, not thing of some here,
	bó dzáɣá kó {kɔ́ntràkt} wì mì
	3P V COP 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: KPAAMCAM_Nts_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-08_00000*(Tones to be transcribed)*

01 NNN-9   **O m təˠə bʲɛn bə   kpɪ. kɪnʊ ndʒəŋ mɪ.**
CNJ   IJ 1S discuss things **CNJ** death sleep doing 1SO
                 I discussed issues with death. I am sleepy.

04 NNN-9   **o   boˠo gəŋ tumŋga, o   m woˠo bə yɔlɪ**
CNJ ø   IJ water carry PN,   IJ 1S hear   3P quarrel
                 Oh a river carried Mr. Tumnga and I hear them quarreling

07 NNN-9   **ɛ́hɛ́hɛ̀ wo lo   ʃɔm, wo kʷa kʷɛ   bə waŋ ɲam**
                 IJ   2S   angry heart, 2S catch go.home CNJ child animal
                 Eh, if you want to show how angry you are, you should catch home the child of an animal.

10 NNN-9   **ɛhɛhɛ wo lo   ʃɔm ma, ʃɔm kʷɛ   bə wo**
                 IJ   2S   angry heart IJ, heart go.home CNJ 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   **ɛhɛhɛ / bə kobʲa nɪ ko kɪ / bə ʃi bə yɔlɪ 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 mbɛtɛ / {ŋgʊnʊ} ɲam {fu ka} nɪ gɛn 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   {ngunu, fu ka} are not Mbuk words, certainly Fang language

21 NNN-9   **o o dzaŋ // o m woɣo bə tsaŋ //**
                 IJ IJ rain // IJ 1S hear 3P talking //
                 Oh rain. I heard them talking.

24 NKP-87   **bɛn binkɪ**
                 2P   dancing
                 you should be dancing

27 WEY-33   **kɪŋkʷahɪ / kɪŋkʷahɪ**
                 bamboo rattle / bamboo rattle
                 Play the rattle, play it.

30 LON-71 **bɛn ɲə fa / bɛn ɲə hə nɪdʒʊm / bɛn 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 **bɛn 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 mbaŋ wɪ saŋ // 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 dzaŋ 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 **bɛn koŋo bəni bə kʷunɪ bələ kpəŋ// tʃɛn na / dʊŋ bə mkaɲ mə.**

2P shift people AM playing these front. look so, wait with corn beer that

You people should shift in front of the instruments. Look, you should wait with that corn beer

10 WBS-16 **bɛn dʊŋ bə mkaɲ mə // dʒʲə mkàɲ mə́ kúɣú //**

2P wait with corn beer 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 **aːŋ // a ko ndʒaŋ jaɣa //**

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 tɔɣɔ mɪ / a tɔɣɔ mɪ // wɪ dzaɣa / a bə fəkɪ na dɛn / hə bə hɪ fə//**

just love me/ just love me//3S say/ that 1PNT doing anyhow/as 1PNT used do

Just in a loving style, just in a loving style. He said that we should be doing as we used to do.

Appendix 8: **Some video samples of tapped data**

KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_JN_HarvestingPalmCone3_2014-11-05.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_NRW_DogSoupSpice_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_NT_PeelingCorn_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_CommunityWork_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_MbukAnnualFestivalOrigin_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_MbukAttrition_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_MbukChungRelationship_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_MbukOrigin_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_MbukTraditionalCouncil_2014-11-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_CL_Fishes_2014-11-12.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_FND_MbukOrigin_2014-11-11.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_J&M_MbukFangRelation_2014-11-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_A&E_TraditionalOilMill1_2014-11-12.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_CL_MbukRiverWorm_2014-11-12.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_CouncilJudgementSeats__2014-11-12.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_ManjongWineSharerRespect_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_FSW_ManjongFonSpeech_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_TNY_ManjongResearchSpeech_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_WBS_ManjongResearchPermission_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_AnimalHusbandry_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_TermiteCatch1_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_ManjongWinePot_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_HouseFoundationCommunityWork_2014-10-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_LPF&FishNetTrap_2014-10-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_LPF_FarmFurrow_2014-10-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk1_LPN_AnimalNaming_2014-10-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_CornBeerPreparation_2015-01-01.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FireIncidence_2015-01-01.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FowlDissection_2015-01-01.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FSW_FonBlessing2015_2015-01-01.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FSW_YoungFarmerDance_2015-01-01.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FangBasketry_2015-01-03.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_GarryMaking_2015-01-03.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_CutlassSheath_2015-01-03.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_SpearType_2015-01-04.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_GroupDiscussion_2015-01-04.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_BroomMaking_2015-01-04.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_CapName_2015-01-04.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_RLG_LakeNyosVictim_2015-01-05.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_K&T_StoryTelling_2015-01-05.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_K&T_AjunDiscussion_2015-01-05.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_CookingCornFufu_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_LA_StoneCornFlour_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_ElephantstalkSoup_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_KP_Song_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_BrushBroom_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_TT_TrapMaking_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_TalkingNewlyBornBaby_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_SqueezeFufuEat_2015-01-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_K&T_AnnualFestivalProhibitions_2015-01-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_K&T_BurialRite_2015-01-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_KP_BlindFetchWater_2015-01-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_TownCrierGong_2015-01-12.MP4

KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_MythAbstinence_2015-01-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_K&T_MourningSong_2015-01-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_K&T_Lullaby_2015-01-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_CL_MatLeafTree_2015-01-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_RLG_PalmHarvestSafety_2015-01-14.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FSW_BaboonMonkey_2014-12-25.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_HoneyCornBeer_2014-12-22.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FSW_LeopardRite_2014-12-25.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_NewHouseRites_2014-12-22.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FangSubumBoundary_2014-12-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_KoshinMundabliConflict_2014-12-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_NGN_MatMaking_2014-12-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_NGN_StoneCarriage_2014-12-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_MbukFonfukaRiverBank_2014-12-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_NRW_CutlassSharpeningStick_2014-12-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_PigDissection_2014-12-28.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FishBasketDiscussion_2014-12-29.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk2_FishingBasket_2014-12-30.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_N&T_LawsOilMaking_2015-03-03.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_N&T_PalmOilSieving_2015-03-02.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_BumLanguageLiteracy_2015-03-04.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_TC_JiggerMedicine_2015-03-04.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_JM_RoofMaking_2015-03-06.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_ThatchingLadder_2015-03-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_RoofPlacingHouse_2015-03-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_VST_ThatchingHouse_2015-03-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_ManjongDay_2015-03-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_RoofRope_2015-03-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_MarriageFeast_2015-03-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_MbukChungLanguageCommittee_2015-03-09.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_BumFuneralDance_2015-03-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_FuneralGraveRoom_2015-03-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_FunerealCorpseWelcome_2015-03-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_K&T_InsectSong_2015-03-17.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_K&T_PumpkinLeafSong_2015-03-17.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_SubumKoshinFangFire_2015-03-18.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_FangOilCarriage_2015-03-18.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_BT_MbukYouthMeeting_2015-02-20.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_RLG_BuffaloLanguageRescue_2015-02-20.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_RLG_RiverLanguageRescue2015-02-20.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk3_TalkingInsect_2015-02-27.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk4_PalmOilMachine_2015-05-25.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk4_SoupSpice_2015-05-26.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk4_HighestHill_2015-11-13.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestival_2015-08-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestivalKwifan_2015-08-08.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_AnnualFestivalSpeech_2015-08-07.MP4
KPAAMCAM_NTs_Mbuk5_WAN_ChurchChoir_2015-08-07.MP4

APPENDIX 9 : Mbuk in Images *(figures numbering shall be fixed later)*

Figure 48: *Palm oil collection calabash in Mbuk,* **kìlérí ~ kìlétí** "calabash"

Figure 49: Arts & craft, Fitting the ceiling at the Mbuk palace, 31ˢᵗDecember2014

Figure 50: Making the roofs that would be thatched

Figure 51: Lifting the roofs on to the house top

CAMEROON / AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK COOPERATION
NORTH WEST DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (MIDENO)
GRASSFIELD PARTICIPATORY AND DECENTRALIZED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
GP - DERUDEP
CONSTRUCTION OF ONE CLASSROOM AT GS TONGHAKI
WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF
THE FONFUKA COUNCIL
AND
THE MBUK - MBAMLO COMMUNITY
INAUGURATED ON THE 29-05-2009 BY H.E. ABAKAR AHAMAT
GOVERNOR OF THE N.W.R. AND PRESIDENT OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE
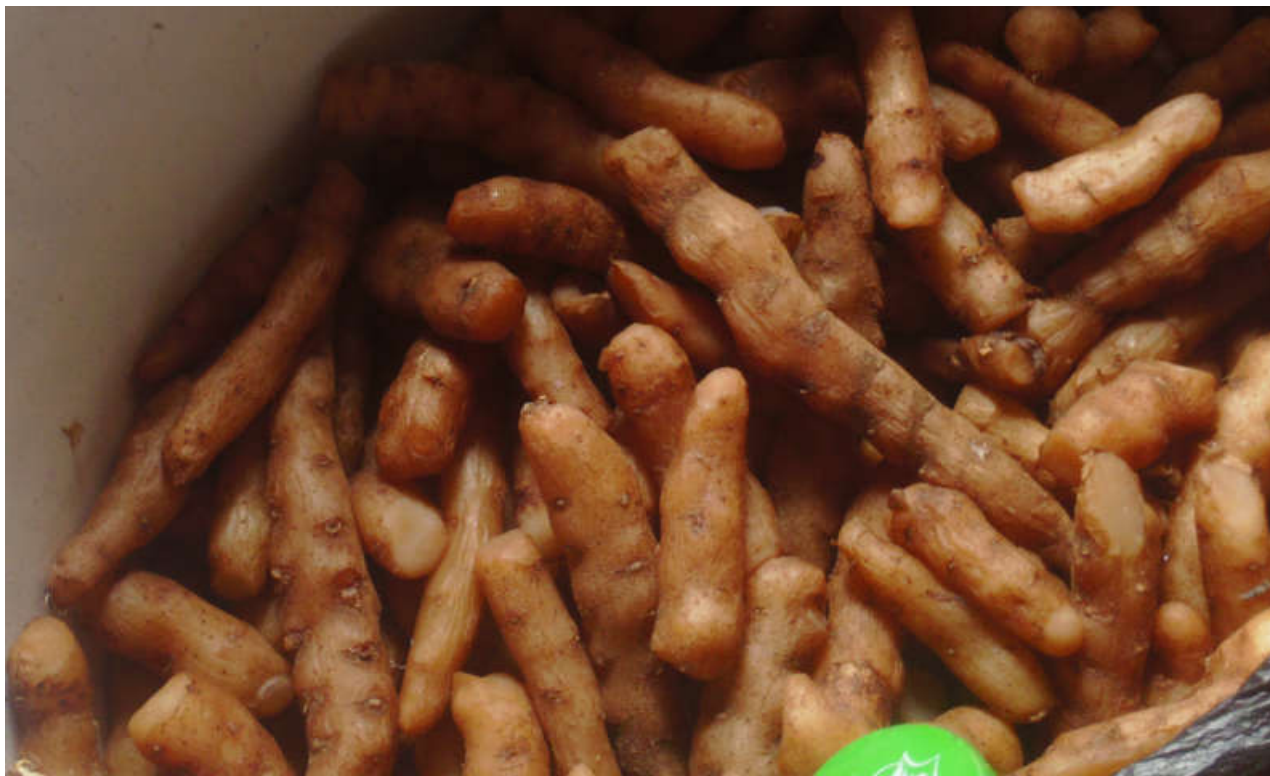
*Figure 52:***kɔ́mgbɛ̂:lí** *rare Mbuk food near extinction*

Figure: Governor of the North West Region, Lele Lafrigue visits GTC Fonfuka

Figure 53: Numeracy in bed making

Figure 54: Numeracy in mat making

Figure 55: Palace entance compound: our lodge for the research (the middle house behind)
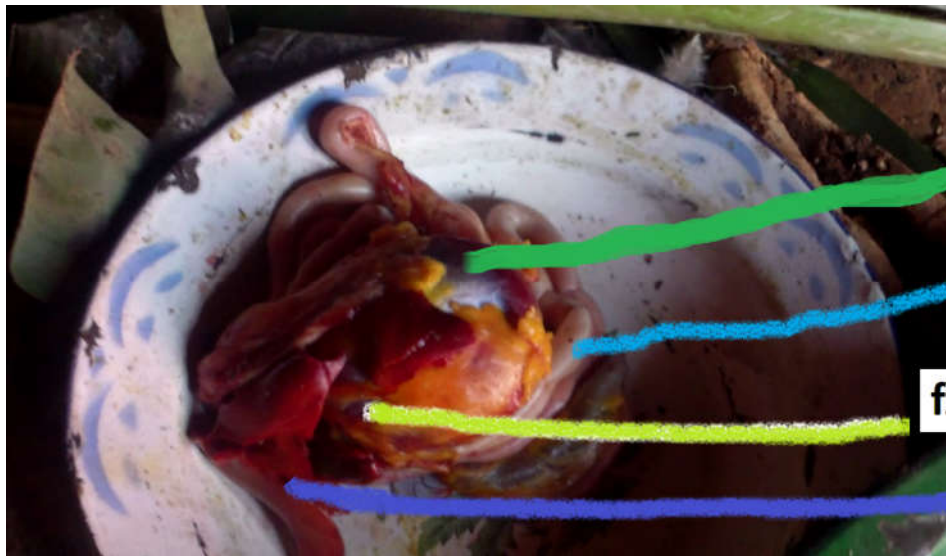
ʃàyàlɪ́ "gizzard"

lâ: "intestine"

fìmbú "gall bladder"

ʃɔ̄m "liver"

Figure 56: Fowl dissection and parts' naming in tapping words

Arts & Crafts: plaited intestines

Figure 57: Food for a newly a newly built house; fufu and fowl mixed with palm oil

Figure 58: Drinks for a newly built house; corn beer mixed with honey

Figure 59: Mbuk trumpet, calabash + animal horn (antelope) + cloth

Figure 60: Honouring wine/corn-beer servant, the left fingers on the right arm to get drinks

Figure 61: Mbuk Baptist Church Choir Posture

Figure 62: Mbuk Annual Festival Dance Posture

Figure 63: Festival taken from the shrine and moving to the palace

Figure 64: Leading the festival to the palace (Nji Nchwaksi, NKS-14)

Figure 65: Mbuk festival instruments and players,playing the melody to the Fon

Figure 66: The Fon about to receive the festival and launch it

Figure 67: Handing the festival (kimfili, fe) to the Fon at the palace

Figure 68: The Fon welcomes and addressing his subjects

Figure 69: The Fon blessing the instruments

Figure 70: The Fon taking corn-beer in his cup which must overflow to the ground

Figure 71: Subjects confirm Fon's speech by putting their palms together and bowing down

Figure 72:The Fon shares the wine to his special subjects (players of the instruments – quarter-head)

Figure 73: The Fon shares the wine to his special subjects (players of the instruments)
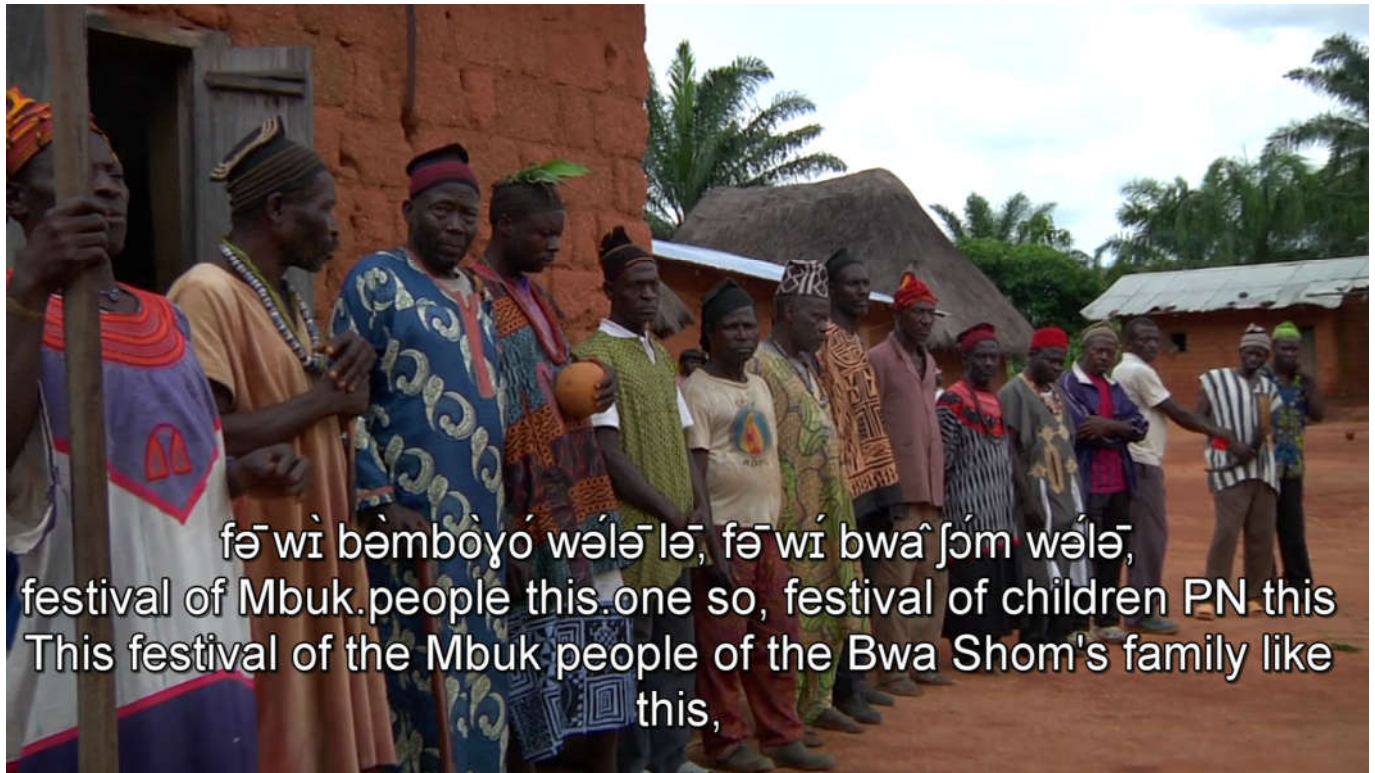
Figure 74: The Kwifon of Mbuk addressing the people

Figure 75: The people listening to the Kwifon of Mbuk

Figure 76: Paying attention to the Kwifon of Mbuk

Figure 77: Speech and grammar analysis; documentary grammar

Figure 78: The Logo of the Mbuk People

Appendix 10: Mbuk Related Languages and Villages of Lower Fungom

Mbuk Matrilineal Heritage, most wives of Mbuk came from Fang, Mundabli and Koshin in ancient days.This map is courtesy of Good et al (2011:104)
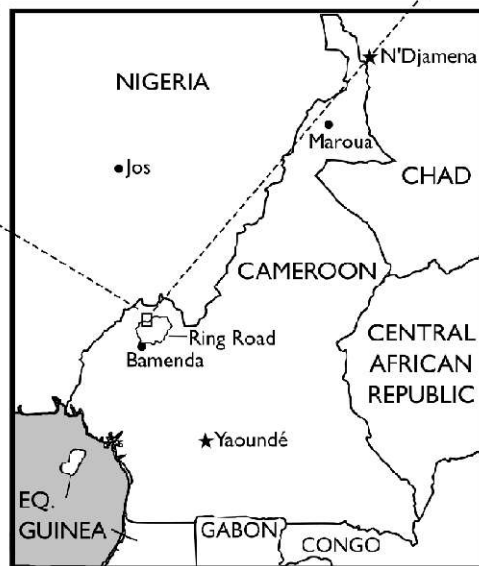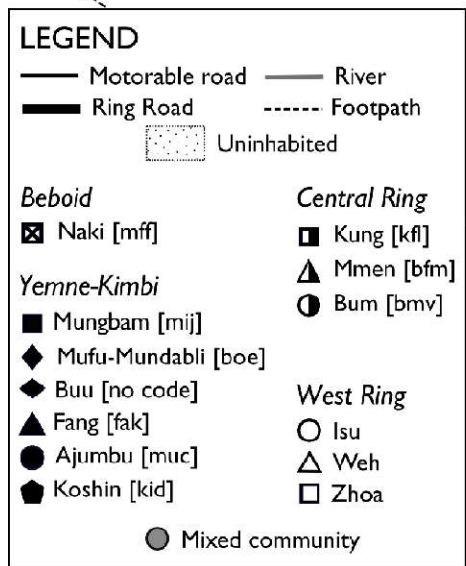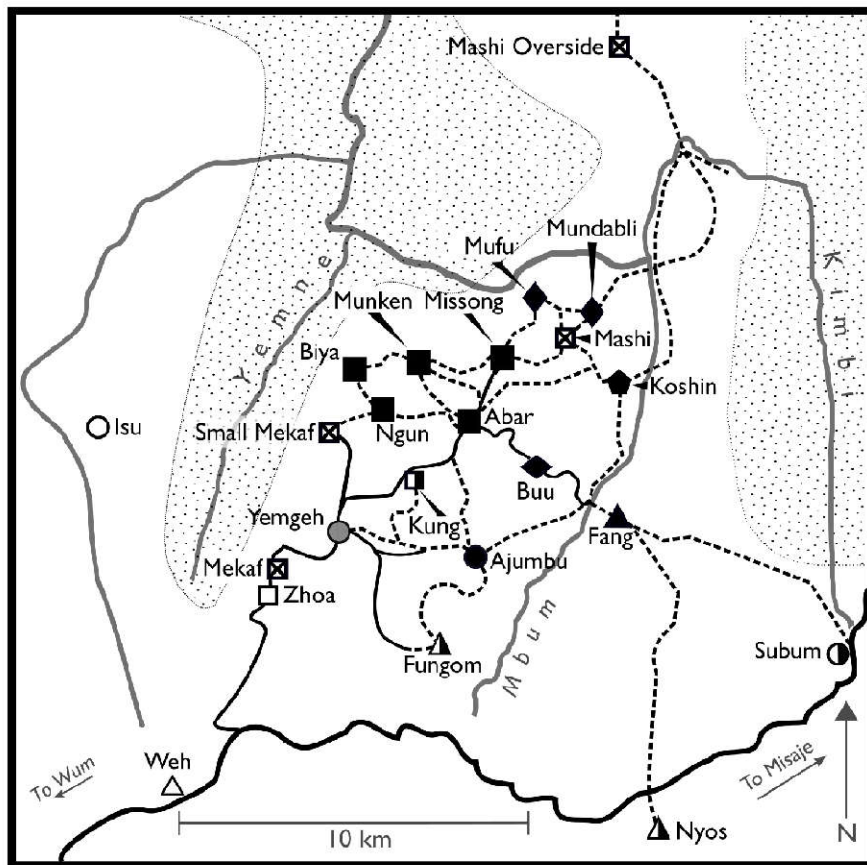

Figure 79: Mbuk Related Languages (Yemne-Kimbi) and Villages of Lower Fungom