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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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## **CERTIFICATION**

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

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# DEDICATION

**The Fon of Mbuk**



Mr Jam Paul & Mme Beri Nfor, and the personnel of NACALCO, CABTAL, ALDEC, ABTRALP and the Bum Bible Translation Team for their care. I acknowledge the SIL Misaje cluster team Mr Fali Elijah and Mme Bep Langhout for good working environment and for updating the SIL map of the cluster with Mbuk, Mbamlo and Fio.

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

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“Ghù kaam n tòm mè'è to ā? Kə lo tsoo miaan zən?” (Aghem) Haven't you finished writing? When shall it finish? My wife questioned whenever she can no longer control the children alone. My son cries, I want to see my *da* “Ñ so ñ kô' dà”. Thank you all for surmounting the challenges of my absence, taking care of mum and the children. “M kàhí là”. (Mbuk) I am done. A special thanks to my mum for her scholastic care. I honour my friends who positively with one heart have sustained me in this academic endeavour. We cannot succeed alone. I could not have reached this level without those of you who have not been mentioned here especially my mates of Government School (GS) Wum, Government High School (GHS) Wum, Lycée Bilingue Essos and the University of Yaounde I.

## 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 Beoid 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; record the scenery and speech acts, transcribes, annotates, notes metadata, analyses its wordlists alongside its varied 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 Mbuk speakers 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 are realised 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 different from 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, outcomes on the axis of description phonetically reveals 38 consonants, 15 oral vowels and 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 processes 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 gender 19/6a 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  $\tilde{N}$ -prefix generates gerunds while an inflectional high tone  $\acute{i}$ -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 while in 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 adpositions (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 Bebid. 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 presque 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 réalisée à 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, grâce à 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 événements 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’haplogogie, l’abaissement vocalique, l’épenthèse, la spirantisation, l’affrication, la dévocalisation la coalescence, la contraction, la déverbativisation – 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 connaît 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 (Ñ-), de tonalité basse génère des gérondifs tandis qu'un préfixe flexionnel de tonalité haute i- 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. Syntactiquement, 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 adpositions se 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	1 <sup>st</sup> sg subject pronoun	1SO	1 <sup>st</sup> sg object pronoun
2SG	2 <sup>nd</sup> sg subject pronoun	2SO	2 <sup>nd</sup> sg object pronoun
3SG	3 <sup>rd</sup> sg subject pronoun	3SO	3 <sup>rd</sup> sg object pronoun
3LOG	3 <sup>rd</sup> sg subject logophoric		
1P.EXCL	1 <sup>st</sup> pl exclusive subject	1POE	1 <sup>st</sup> plural exclusive object
1P.INCL	1 <sup>st</sup> pl inclusive subject	1POI	1 <sup>st</sup> pl inclusive object
1P.N	1 <sup>st</sup> pl neuter subject	1PON	1 <sup>st</sup> neutral object pronoun
2PL	2 <sup>nd</sup> pl subject pronoun	2PO	2 <sup>nd</sup> pl object pronoun
3PL	3 <sup>rd</sup> pl subject pronoun	3PO	3 <sup>rd</sup> pl object pronoun
1 (1-/1.)	NC 1, concord, pronoun	2 (2-/3.)	NC 2, concord, pronoun
3 (3-/3.)	NC 3, concord, pronoun	4 (4-/4.)	NC 4, concord, pronoun
5 (5-/5.)	NC 5, concord, pronoun	6 (6-/6.)	NC 6, concord, pronoun
7 (7-/7.)	NC 7, concord, pronoun	8 (8-/8.)	NC 8, concord, pronoun
9 (9-/9.)	NC 9, concord, pronoun	10 (10-	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	avertment 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	∅	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	KPAAMCAMA	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 pronoun	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,    | [dzö: jì ntʃù]    | “House of pot.”       |
|    |             | house AM pot      |                       |
|    | b. Bum,     | [ndâ: ø ntʃù]     | “House of pot.”       |
|    |             | house AM pot      |                       |
| 2) | a. Mbuk,    | [ù kwá:-kí lè]    | “He is recording it.” |
|    |             | 3S catch-PROG AF  |                       |
|    | b. English, | [ù record-kí lè]  | “He is recording it.” |
|    |             | 3S record-PROG AF |                       |

In example (1) above, the Mbuk word for pot is “kpáñè”, 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: [mbók~mb'ók], [mbò'ó~mbò'ó~mbòk'ó] and [bèmbò'ó]. 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. Tschonghongi) 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 spying out 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 wordlist as 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 Džai vən Bōka; chief is mfain vən Boka. Language is not intercomprehensible with Bum, Ngəŋ, Nkəm, 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:



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:ɲà)	2 <sup>nd</sup> Class	Bum Language	Living	Bum/Pidgin
2	Chung (Faat)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Chung Language	Living/Endangered	Bum/Pidgin
3	Jul (Konene)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Bum Language	Living	Bum/Pidgin
4	Mbamlo	3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Mbamlo Language	Dead	Bum/Pidgin
5	Mbuk	3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Mbuk	Living/Endangered	Bum/Pidgin
6	Mungong	3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Mungong	Living/Endangered	Bum/Pidgin
7	Saff	3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Saff Language	Dead	Bum/Pidgin
8	Sawi	3 <sup>rd</sup> 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 “kóbí” 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 Bebid 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 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](ʔ)". Below are Mbuk and Mbu' Comparative lexemes. The Mbu' words are drawn from, Blench (2005) where Mbu' is part of the Western Bebid languages. It is worth noting that, strangely, though Mbuk is one of the Bebid lects, it is not found amongst the set of languages of the Bebid Composite Survey Wordlist but its variant, Chung, is among the surveyed Eastern Bebid.

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

<i>Gloss</i>	Mbuk [mbók]	Mbu' [mbòʔ]	<i>Gloss</i>	Mbuk [mbók]	Mbu' [mbòʔ]
<i>head</i>	f <sup>w</sup> ú	k <sup>h</sup> u	<i>two</i>	fá	fiəŋ
<i>leg</i>	kākā	ʃəŋə	<i>five</i>	tī	gbe
<i>eye</i>	dʒíγó~dʒəγə	dzizə	<i>Eat</i>	dzí	za
<i>tree</i>	kpēn	kətə	<i>come</i>	dzə	ta
<i>bird</i>	fíŋēnī	fənyəŋ	<i>house</i>	dzö:	ənwə
<i>dog</i>	bʲə	k <sup>w</sup> a	<i>water</i>	ŋg <sup>w</sup> í	mgieŋ
<i>bone</i>	ńkōŋō	kok <sup>w</sup> avə	<i>person</i>	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).



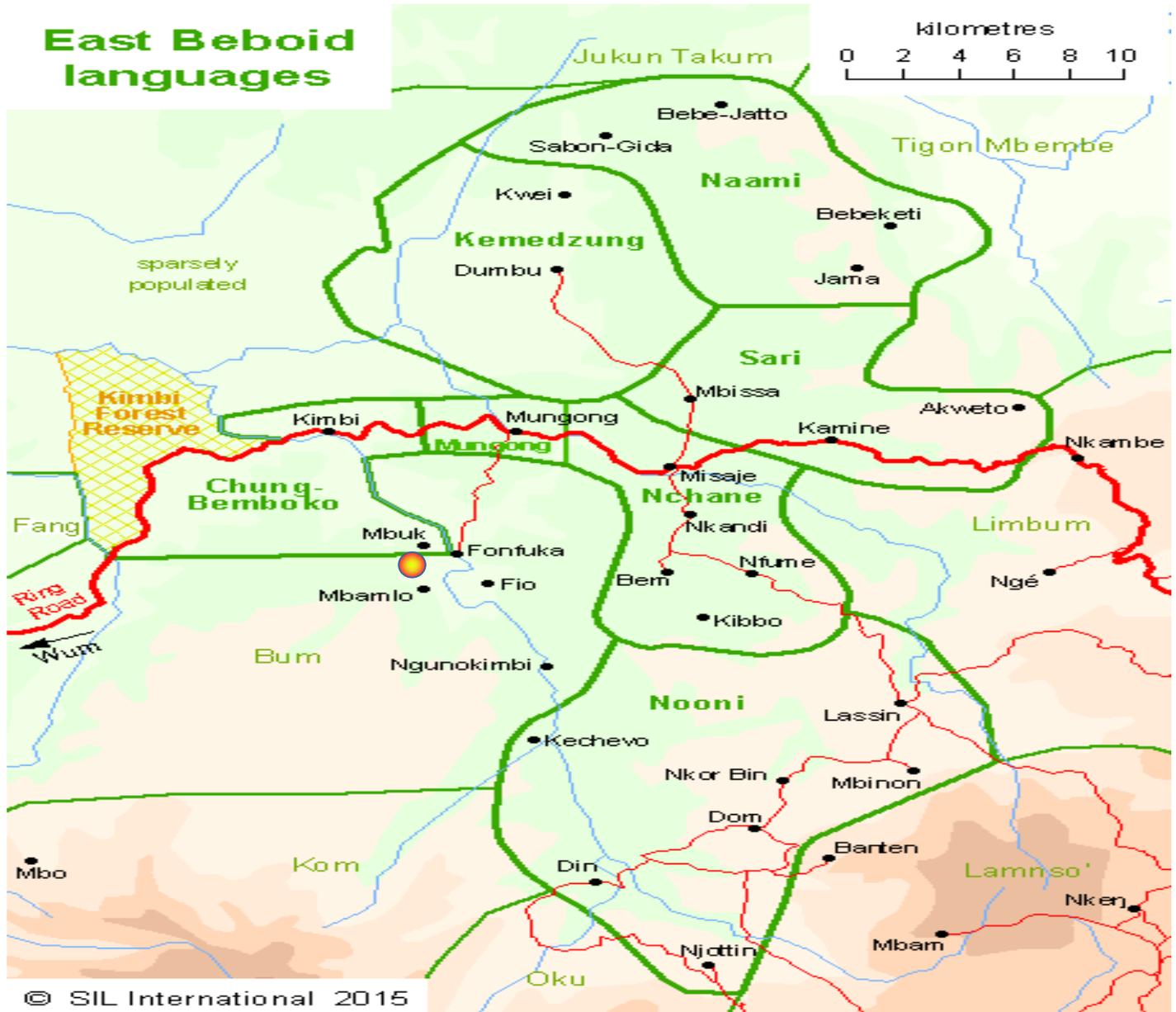
Above, the Fon of Mbuk is the inscription “Welcome to the Graduation Ceremony of the Chung Language First Batch (Mbuk)”. “We have been cajoled to learn Chung, when they ask us to come and listen to the parables of Jesus, I did not go there because they spoke but in Chung as if Mbuk is not important.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

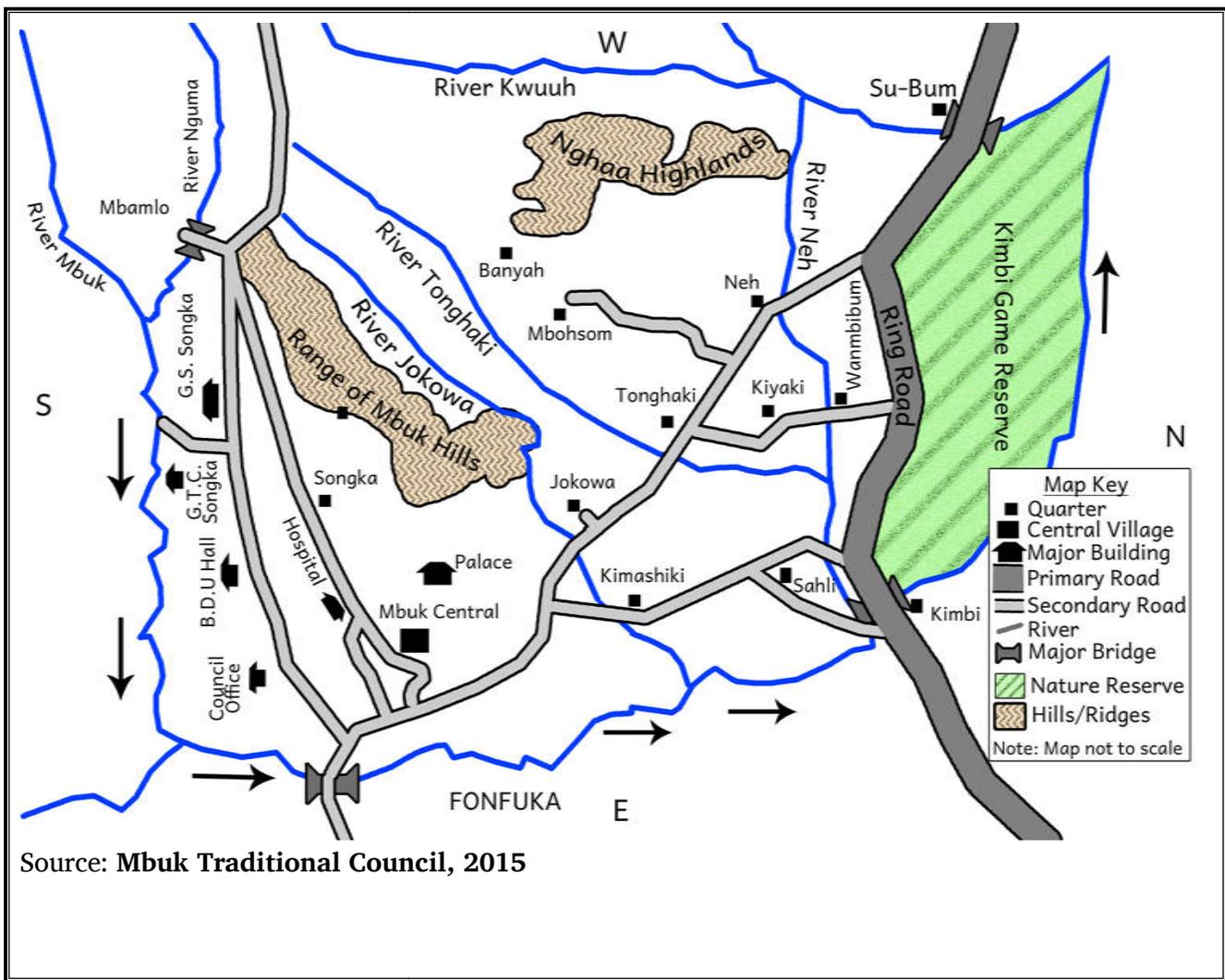


Figure 5: Map of Mbuk

## THE PEOPLE OF MBUK

The people refer to themselves as [b̀̀mb̀̀yó] meaning the people of Mbuk. The tribe is made up of four patrilines of which one, the [k̀̀mb̀̀l̀̀] is extinct. The patrilines still existing are: [b̀̀âj̀̀m], [b̀̀àb̀̀nt̀̀], and the [b̀̀nd̀̀:~b̀̀àb̀̀nd̀̀:]. [B̀̀à-] 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* [ŋk̀̀] assisted by the *Nji* [ndz̀̀] together with the compound head [tik̀̀l̀̀] and the quarter head [f̀̀ẁ̀d̀̀]. 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	<b>Cup</b>	X	One life goat offered to the <i>Fon</i>	40 litres of honeywine	Enough fufu for the population	Soup	Soup is given to the population
2	<b>Cap</b>	Two roosters	X	40 litres of honeywine	Enough fufu for the population	X	Confiscated till the levy is paid
3	<b>Shoes</b>	One rooster for the <i>Fon</i>	X	X	X	X	Taxed 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:

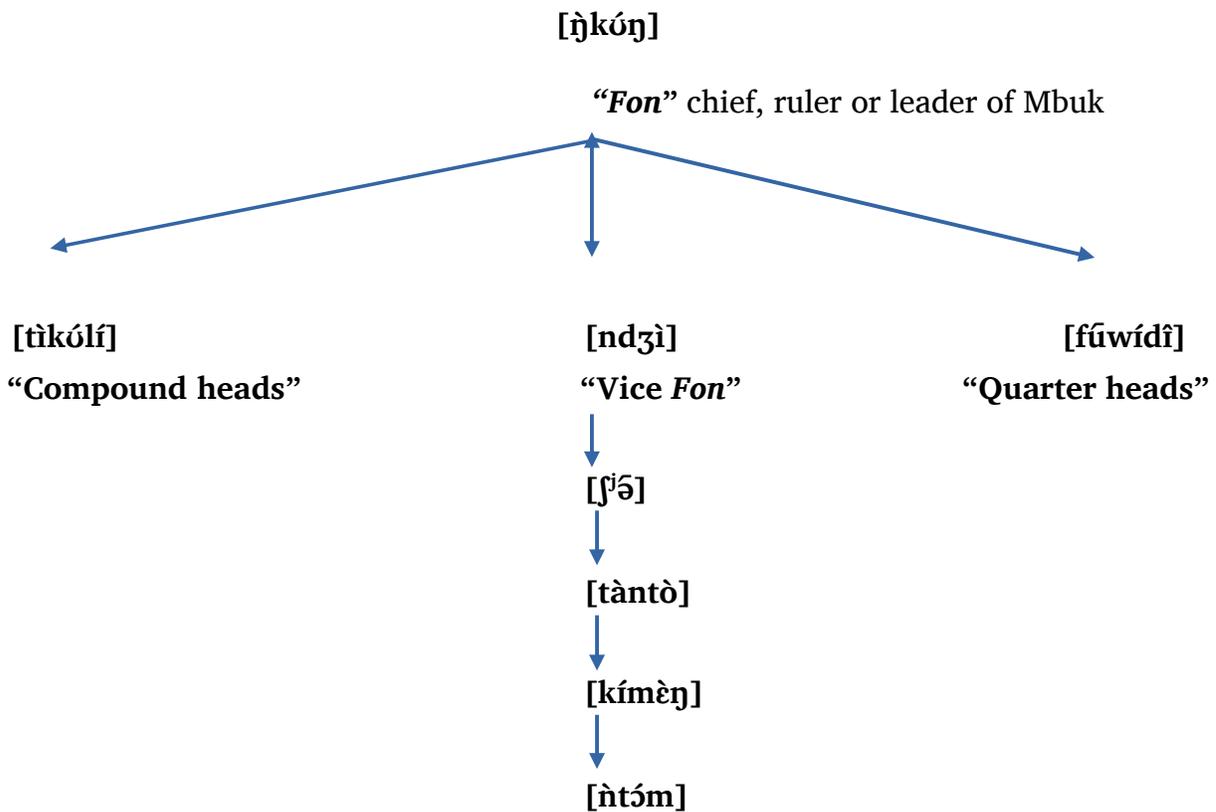


Figure 6: Hierarchical Mbuk Governance

Table 5: Mbuk Quarters and Quarterheads

	Quarters	Quarterheads		Quarters	Quarterheads
1	ntō	Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha	8	t̀ŋ̀kí	Patrick Muchi
2	d̀o:ŋgá	Nchua Henry Nchogho	9	mbóʒm	0
3	s̀ŋká	Abanda Simon	10	báŋà	0
4	d̀z̀ó'ówá	Tom Gwe	11	ndáŋàsí	Joseph Lenghachia
5	k̀mâ:ʃíkí	Ngong Augustin	12	né	Joseph Lenghachia
6	sá:lí	Genesis Bangchong	13	ẁŋmbìb̀ôm	0
7	k̀jâ:kì	Emmanuel Ntungmba	14	mfám̀b̀ób̀wú	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 [bʷâʒm] family led by Pa. Afrika Chie Nkambi
- The [bʷábántú:] family led by Pa. Nichodemus Bikem
- The [bʷábándõ:] 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
1 <sup>st</sup>	ηκóη~tǐdī	Ruler of the village	1
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ndzì	Vice fon, and king makers	3
3 <sup>rd</sup>	tâtò'	Takes care of spiritual aspects of the village	3
4 <sup>th</sup>	ʃéj	Assists the tanto	4
5 <sup>th</sup>	fúwíḍí	Takes care of their quarters	14 quarterheads
6 <sup>th</sup>	ntómwìηκóη	the messenger of he Fon	1
7 <sup>th</sup>	kìmàη	Assists the Shyey and Tantoh	1
8 <sup>th</sup>	tìkólí	Takes care of a particular family	3
9 <sup>th</sup>	ndzídžǔ	The successor of the father (responsible son of the father)	As many as possible

There are three *Nji*'s in Mbuk:

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

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

*The tantò:*

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

*The ʃéj:*

- ʃéj Jeremiah Kangli of Sónká

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

- *ʃéj* Samuel Kah of Ntō

- *ʃéj* Ngong Sam Bia

***The Ntómwìṅkúṅ*** (Túmtí):

- Ntóm Njiboh Reymond

***The Kìṁàṅ***:

- *Kìṁàṅ* Nkambi David Labaku

Assisting the above bodies following bodies: *kwifon*, the *Njis*, the compound head, and the quarter head in governance is the Mbuk Traditional Council (MTC) which is made up of the Fon as the head assisted by the *Nji*, the compound head, and the quarter head. The traditional council judges cases and solves other problems plaguing the community.

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

- [mbèṅ] appears during the day and at night with no xylophones, using the following instruments [ṅkóṅ, kìmbì:, nsì, kílóṅ, f<sup>w</sup>á, ṅgá:ní] used against witchcraft especially when going out of Mbuk etc)

- [màndzòṅ] has the following instruments: [góṅ, ṙ'ò, nsì:, kìntóm, mbèṅ, kìṁgbó'ò]

- [nt[ṽṅ] has as instruments: [nt[ṽṅ, kāsì, dẏín, 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 brought 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:

- [kìmfíli], instruments: [kìŋk<sup>w</sup>àhì, kìm̀bì, tʃǎŋ, nsəŋ]. 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 n̄əŋ-kí wāŋ, m̄ n̄əŋ f̄ēn fídzíńí, m̄ n̄əŋ ɲàm, f̄ēn fí dó<sup>v</sup>ó tʃâ: jê]  
*I want-PROG child, I want thing food, I want meat, thing of some not else*

- [mbəŋ] uses the instruments called [ndzàŋ] (xylophones) during the day and at night.
- [ndzòk] has as instruments: [nsì, kāsì] during funerals
- *Young Farmers*, made up of mostly youths of both sexes, male and female.
- [ndzàŋ], its instruments are: [nsì, kìm̀bì, kāsì, kìnsh<sup>w</sup>í, dzín, ŋkəŋ wí lè:]
- [ntʃóŋ] instruments: [kìm̀bì, kāsì] performed during the day and at night.
- [mándāndā] instruments: [g<sup>w</sup>ú, tʃ'ájìkěŋ] 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 [Kìmfíli] 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 Appellations and Periods

Order of festival	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Village	Mbuk	Chung	Fang	Koshin
Name of festival	fê: ~ kímfflì	fê:	kàmffènè	nèmngâ
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		tó <sup>v</sup> úbífi	bìdzúmbìmbú <sup>v</sup> únònm	tó <sup>v</sup> úbòm
2		bìmbúyúnònm	bìnònmngá	jéfwó
3		bìnòmtálí	bìdzúmbíkísí	nsáfwûn
4		bìnòmkpí	bíkísí	mìwûn
5	Small country Sunday	bìngú késí~kehí	bìnòmkpí	fúkéhí
6		jóŋ	bìtjòŋnì	ŋ <sup>w</sup> óŋkòmlì
7	[kímfflì] begins	jóŋwìbòlì	bìlòkólí	ŋènsá
8	[kímfflì] ends on country Sunday	jóŋwìlòkólí	bìmbúyúnònm	tó <sup>v</sup> úkpà

The ritual societies for women are:

[mbáŋnì wì mìkpàŋá], 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 [mb'éní]. She can be in the room for many weeks or a month, depending on the resources of the husband. She performs in public [mbílì~mb<sup>w</sup>íflí mìkpàŋá] 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.

-[mbʰə̀ wì wǎŋ], immediate celebration as soon as a woman gives birth. The husband gives a fowl [f̥ē] 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.

-[ndzɪ̀ wì wǎŋ], celebration and naming of the child. This involves the whole village once the family gets what is needed such as fowls [f̥é], groundnut [m̩tʃóŋní], corn [dzəŋ], corn of the child, [dzəŋ jì wǎŋ]. When these things are ready, the woman leader of [ndzàŋ wāŋ] or [ndzì wí wāŋ] now informs the rest of the women. This is done on market days [túʷóbíŋ] or on country Sundays [bínòmkpí].

-[mlə̀wìmǐ] 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 the table below.

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

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

In relation to the above table, Chung and Mbuk are two different 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 Beoid 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 Mbuk 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 *Kwifàn* 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 case of 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 (Himmelman 1998, 2006; Woodbury 2003, Austin 2006; Berge 2010; Bower 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”*. Bower (2011:481): *Language documentation is a record of the language which can be used in various ways*. According to Himmelman (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 system 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 property rights, access and usage rights. It is better to deposit data in an archive with restrictions than not to deposit at all. (2006:100)*

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

## **1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

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 documentary linguistics with its practice 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 (Himmelman 1998; Bird and Simons 2003; Woodbury 2003; Austin 2006, 2010; Thieberger 2009; Berge 2010) entails the following systematic and chronological undertakings: 1) data collection: audio recording; video recording; photography; field-notes, 2) metadata: filename; file format:-audio, video, photograph, 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.” Bownern (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 Bownern (2010:898): “Documentary research can be likened to “Emergent research (Dobrin 2010)” a research method in which the content of the research is shaped to a large extent by the research participants rather than being wholly determined by the researcher in advance.”

Himmelman (1998) says that, any format for language documentation will do as long as the documentary activity is kept separate from the analytic activity. Thus, any linguistic research that involves the collection of primary language data may, in principle, contribute to a language documentation, irrespective of the specific goal of the research. The only requirement is that the primary data be made available to other interested parties, which will always involve some editing in order to make the data accessible to the uninitiated.

He goes on to say 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    planned		
	exclamative	'ouch!' 'fire!'
	directive	'scalpel' greetings small talk
	conversational	Chat discussion interview
	monological	narrative description speech formal address
	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 and the principles of structuralism.

The Basic Linguistic Theory studies language as natural science in which empirical analysis are carried out. 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 accordance 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 category 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.

Himmelman 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 outcomes. 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 pace. The texts are identified according to the following criteria:

- Cultural and linguistic value: idiomatic use of language, culturally significant content, rich vocabulary, minimal code-switching.
- Diversity: folklore, personal narrative, public address, dialogue (greetings, discussion, instruction parent-child), song
- Recording quality: clear source recording, minimal background noise

Protocol for re-speaking and oral translation. The process requires two native speakers with specialised roles; the operator and the talker. The talker leaves the second recorder running the whole time and does not touch the controls. This recorder captures 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 (Kosin) together with those of Mbuk. Then in 2010 Pierpaolo and Tschonghongi 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 Beboid and a few sample will be examined 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

	Words							Groupings
Languages	tree	Bird	Head	two	rain	eat	water	
Fang	pun	bĩnɔnə	k <sup>h</sup> u	fe	bualə	zi	ndzia	Western Beboid
koshin	kpin	kĩŋwɛn	k <sup>h</sup> i	fi	dzaŋ	zi	ndi	Western Beboid
Misong	kite	Kimwa	Ifa	bifa	ibu	ndzənə	anyɛ	Western Beboid
Buu	kpon	kənyuwənə	Fa	bəfyɛ	dzəŋ	yi	ŋgin	Western Beboid
Mundabli	gban	ŋwan	fɔ	mfiə	dziŋ	yi	ŋgi	Western Beboid
Mashi	ati	uŋyɛnɛ	Fu	bifə	dzaŋ	nyɛə	ngwɔ	Western Beboid
Abar	kəti	ʃinyuŋ	ife	bifin	ibu	idzi	anya	Western Beboid
Mbuk	<b>kpən</b>	<b>fĩŋ'éní</b>	<b>Fú</b>	<b>fá</b>	<b>dzàŋ</b>	<b>dzí</b>	<b>ŋg<sup>w</sup>í</b>	<b>?</b>
Mungong	kátə	fánē	kəkfu	fée	dzàŋ	ndzə	dyùù	Eastern Beboid
Chung	kwɛŋ	finyiénjí	fúú	fáá	dzàŋ	dzɛ	múi	Eastern Beboid
Nooni	kete	fĩní	ɛfá	fée	yàŋ	díyə	yòò	Eastern Beboid
Ncane	kítə	Fìnjí	kékwéé	fée	dyàŋ	djí	dyòò	Eastern Beboid
Kemezung	kátú	Fìnjíní	fô	fée	dzàŋ	ndiá	ngóŋ	Eastern Beboid
Bebe	tíé	Fìnjíní	kūō	bífúé	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:

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
4)	a.	[ɔ́ / ú]	[tómí]	[túmí] “country”
	b.	[ɔ́ / ù]	[bóm]	[bùm] “accept”
	c.	[ɔ̀ / ù]	[mbòm]	[mbùm] “large”
	d.	[ɔ́ / ú]	[tóm]	[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 [é / í]

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
5)	a.	[é / i´]	[dɛ́]	[dí] “place”

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

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
6)	a.	[ə́ / á]	[dzə́ʷə́]	[dzáʷá] “talk”

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

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
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:

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
8)	a.	[ɔ́ / á]	[kínɔ́ŋɔ́]	[kínápá] “white-neck hawk”

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

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
9)	a.	[ə́ / ú]	[fəkə́]	[fúkú] “country”

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

		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
10)	a.	[ə́ / ɔ́]	[bǎ:]	[bɔ́ŋ] “call”

- b. [ə / ɔ̃] [bóní] [bóní] “greet”

There is also a modification of the vowel in (b) demonstrating some harmony whereby the [ə] take [ɪ] and the [ɔ̃] 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]

- |     |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i>     |
|-----|----|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| 11) | a. | [ə / i]     | [ásə]        | [ási] “as”       |
|     | b. | [ə / e ~ ɪ] | [nə]         | [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:

- |     |    | <i>Mbuk</i>        | <i>Chung</i>       | <i>gloss</i> |
|-----|----|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 12) | a. | [ŋgákí<br>[ə, i]   | [ŋgákə]<br>[a, ə]  | “trouble”    |
|     | b. | [tʃəkò<br>[ɔ̃, ɔ̃] | [tʃʷəkà]<br>[a, a] | “iron”       |

### 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 achieve linguistic sovereignty:

- |     |    | <i>Mbuk</i> | <i>Chung</i> | <i>gloss</i> |
|-----|----|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 13) | a. | [dz / g]    | [dzəŋ]       | [gəŋ] “corn” |
|     | b. | [j / n]     | [jə]         | [nə] “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)		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
a.	[tʃ / tʃʷ]	[tʃòkò]	[tʃʷàkà]	“iron”
b.	[k / kʷ]	[tìkólí]	[tìkʷílí]	“family head”
c.	[b / bʷ]	[bálí]	[bʷélí]	“waist”

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

15)		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
a.	[ɣ / gʲ]	[ɣá]	[gʲá]	“thing”
b.	[tʃ / kʲ]	[tʃó]	[kʲó]	“know”
c.	[b / bʲ]	[bí]	[bʲólí]	“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)		<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
a.	CV / CVCV	[wé]	[wélí]	“open”
b.	CV / CVCV	[tʃá]	[kòkò]	“tilt”
c.	CV / CVCV	[bí]	[bʲólí]	“follow”
d.	CV / CVCV	[jé]	[jélí]	“name”
e.	CV / CVCV	[dā]	[dólí]	“vagina”
f.	CVV / CVCV	[gbě:]	[gbélí]	“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)	<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>
a.	[tóm] “shoot”	[tóm] “put”
b.	[dzáʷá] “mouth”	[dzáʷá] “say/talk, mouth”
c.	[gəŋ] “carry”	[gəŋ] “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)	<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
a.	[fɪŋkóm]	[fɪkófí]	“knife”
b.	[dzóŋ]	[dzó]	“hire”
c.	[móŋní]	[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)	<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
a.	[dzǔ:]	[dzóŋ]	“house”
b.	[tóm]	[ntóm]	“message”
c.	[bá:]	[mbʷáŋ]	“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)	<i>Mbuk</i>	<i>Chung</i>	<i>gloss</i>
a.	[jǎ]	[nǎ]	“what”
b.	[fǎjí]	[nǎjí]	“where”
c.	[fǎlí]	[fǎŋní]	“tilt”
d.	[mbóŋwí]	[mbóŋmí]	“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.	<i>Chung Phonetics</i>	<i>Mbuk Phonetics</i>	<i>Mbuk Thesis Phonetic</i>
	i	[-si]	[-hi]	[-hi~-si~h~s]
	ii	[-ɣ-]	[-ɣ-]	[-ɣ- ~ -k-]
	iii	[ɔ]	[o]	[o~ɔ]
	iv	[-ɲ]	[-ɲ]	[-ɲ ~ <sup>j</sup> n ~ n]
	b.	[ <i>Chung Orth.</i>	<i>Chung Orth. (Mbuk)</i>	
	i	-si	-si	
	ii	-k-	-k-	
	iii	ɔ	ɔ	
	iv	<b>in</b>	<b>in</b>	

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

		<i>Orthographic accent</i>	<i>Natural Mbuk</i>	<i>gloss</i>
22)	i.	<b>h</b> <b>jakasi</b> <b>tásā</b>	[jà <sup>v</sup> àhí] [táhā]	“climb” “bowl”
	ii.	<b>y</b> <b>káká</b> <b>kōkō</b>	[ká <sup>v</sup> á] [kō <sup>v</sup> ō]	“leg” “camwood”
	iii.	<b>o</b> <b>fōkò</b> <b>bòkò</b>	[fò <sup>v</sup> ò] [bò <sup>v</sup> ò ~ bó <sup>v</sup> ò]	“axe” “stream”
	iv	<b>ɲ</b> <b>wáin</b>	[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 [bəfáj] 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 [kímffli] annual festival which the Mbuk brought from the Fang which is known as [kàmfnè] in the Fang language. The [kàmfnè] is celebrated by four chiefdoms; the Fang, Mbuk, Koshin and Chung. The cultural festival was born mystically in Fang as the origin gives. The [kàmfnè] 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 [kəm̀fəǹǹ] as a reward for a job well done. On giving the [kəm̀fəǹǹ] 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 [kəm̩fən̩] 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 al 2011) which Hombert (1980) refers to them as Western Beoid in direct opposite, he also refers to the other group as Eastern Beoid in the Noni areas. In this work, we will stick to the more recent renamed Western Beoid appellation known as Yemne-Kimbi while we simply refer to Eastern Beoids as Beoid. The comparative analyses begin with languages of Yemne-Kimbi of the Lower Fungom 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 Linguistic 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 al (2011:101-164). Mundabli (M'bli). The “∅” implies the absence the sound.

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

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

24)	<b>Mbuk</b>	[p]	[z~ r,t]	[ʔ]	[~v,w]	[kx]	[ɣ]	[h]	[ʃ]	[ɥ]	
	Bum		[r]				[ɣ]	[h]			
	Aghem	~p(kp)	[z]	∅	[ʔ]	[v]	[kx]	[ɣ]	[h]	[ʃ]	[ɥ]

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

#### 1.4.16 Comparable vowels

Another area that ties the languages together is the vowels, here we will look at lax vowels [ɪ, ʊ] as well as nasalised “ $\tilde{v}$ ” and super-high “ $\ddot{v}$ ” vowels since the other cardinal vowels are more universal, while “v:” represents phonemic long vowel, “ $^d v$ ” diphthongs and “ $v^{\text{h}}$ ” pharyngealised vowel.

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

The “super-high” vowels in Koshin by Good et al ( 2001:141) also 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 friction with the velar plosive [k] and in this case giving an impression of labialisation or affricate [kx]. If we are to rely on these two vowel qualities; super-high and nasalised vowels that both Mbuk and Koshin share, we can conclude that Mbuk is closest nephew of Mbuk. But we will need 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 Beoid 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	ê	∅	∅	∅	3
Fang	é	è	ē	ê	ě	∅	∅	∅	∅	3
Koshin	é	è	ē	ê	ě	∅	∅	é	∅	3
Naki	é	è	ē	ê	e					4
Ajumbu	é	è	ē	ê	∅	∅	∅			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]	[kpén / kēn]	“tree/trees”	(Mbuk)
	b.	[kp/k]	[kpô / kô]	“day/days”	(Koshin)

	c.	[kp/ts]	[kpīny / tsīny]	“firewood/firewoods”	(Koshin)
	d.	[kp/tsw]	[kpān / tswān]	“wood/woods/	(Mundabli)
29)	a.	[gb/gv]	[gbó / gvú]	“foot/feet”	(Mbuk)
	b.	[gb/dz]	[gbā / dzā]	“house/houses”	(Koshin)
	c.	[gb/dz]	[gbō / dzō]	“house/houses”	(Mundabli)
30)	a.	[w/bw]	[wáɲ / bwā]	“child/children”	(Mbuk)
	b.	[w/y, dʒ]	[wín / yín (dʒín)]	“tooth/teeth”	(Koshin)

### 1.4.19 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”	[ŋg <sup>wí</sup> ]	mwí	ndi	ŋgi	ndziam	ŋgwɔ	anye
”snake”	[dzúŋ]	dzúŋ	yɔŋ	dʒwɔ̃	yua	dzu	idzuŋ
”rain”	[dzàŋ]	dzàŋ	dzaŋ	dziŋ	bualə	dzaŋ	ibu
”eat”	[dzí]	dzí	ʒi	yi	ʒi	nyɛə	ndzəɲə
”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/m]	mi	mā	Ñ	mó	mi	mā/Ñ
2S	[wò~wə]	wɔ	wā	à	wê	wə	ā
3S	[wì~wù~ù]	wi	wū	wù	wó	lu	ù
1P.EXCL	[bə̀yá~bá]	bughu	sī	bī	tə̀	ki	sā
1P.INCL	[bə̀yân]	bughubweɪŋ	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
2P	[bēn]	bɛɪŋ	mbīny	bēn	nə̀	be	bēn
3P	[bó~bá]	bɔ	bó/bá	bó	bá	bu	bɔ́

### 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	∅-		∅-	∅-	∅-	∅-	ù/∅-
2	bə-		bə-	bə-	bə-	bu-	bə-
3	∅-		w-	w-	w-	∅-	ú-
4	∅-		y-	y-	y-		í- (4a/6)
5	∅-		∅-	∅-	∅-		ì-
6	kí- (7)		tɛ-(nc.13)	∅-(nc 7)	tə-(nc.13)	∅/-ŋ	a-/ (kə...cə,6)
7	kì-/∅-		kə-	∅-	∅/kə-	a-	kə-
8	bì-		bə-	∅-	bə-	bì-	bì-
9	`		`-	`-	`-	`-	ì
10	´		´-	´-	´-	´-	ì
19	fì-		fə(N)-	fì-	fə-	fì-	fì-
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-/ù-	ẁ	ẁ	ẁ	w-	ẁ	ẁ
2	b́-	b́	b́	b́	b-	b́	bɸ́-
3	ẃ-	ẃ	ẃ	ẃ	w-	ẃ	ɸ́-
4	ý- (ỳ-)	ý	ý	ý	y-		ý-
5	ẁ	ẁ	ẁ	ẁ	w-		ỳ-
6	k̀-	t̀ (cl.13)	k̀ (cl.7)	t- (cl.13)	ǹ	k̀	
7	k̀	k̀	k̀	k-	k̀	k̀	
8	b̀ /bʲ-	b̀	b́	b-	b̀	bʲ	
9	ỳ (ỳ)	ỳ	ỳ	y-	ỳ	ỳ	ỳ
10	ý (ỳ)	ý	ý	y-	ý	ý	ý
19	f̥-/f̥ʲ-	f̥	f̥	f-	f̥	f̥	f̥
6a	m-	ḿ	ḿ	m-	ḿ	mɸ́-	

### 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), Kemezong (Dumbo), Bebe (yama), Cung (Faat). The Comparable wordlist used has been provided by Richard Botwel from SIL archives, that is Beboid Composite Survey Wordlist for the above-mentioned languages and Hyman (1981:2) for some data on Noni.

### 1.4.24 Comparable Consonants

The Mbuk language is not part of the Bebid, 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 Bebid, that is, Eastern Bebid by Blench (2005) as shown below:

34) <b>Mbuk</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>r</b>	<b>(ʔ)</b>	<b>v</b>	<b>kx</b>	<b>ɣ</b>	<b>h</b>	<b>ʃ</b>	<b>ɥ</b>
Nsari	∅	∅	r	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	ʃ	∅
Noone	∅	∅	∅	(ʔ)	∅	∅	ɣ	∅	ʃ	∅
Ncane	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	ʃ	∅
Mungong	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	ʃ	∅
Kemezung	∅	∅	r	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	ʃ	∅
Bebe	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	ʃ	∅
Cung	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	ʃ	∅

### 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~dʒ~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~ε~ə~a~e] while the diphthong in Kemezung and the CVCV structure in Noone can be palatalised [ndʲǎ, dʲǎ] 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” [ɲgwí]	dzɔ̀̀	yò̀̀	dyò̀̀	dyù̀̀	ngɔ́̀̀	ngwí	mui
“snake” [dzóɲ]	ỳ̀	yo	ȳ	yì̀	yì̀	ȳ	dyũ
“rain” [dzàɲ]	dzà̀̀	yà̀̀	dyà̀̀	dʒà̀̀	dʒà̀̀	dyà̀̀	dʒà̀̀
“eat” [dzí]	dyé	díyè	djí	̀̀dzê	ndiá	dí	dʒē
“one” [mú]	kpáɲ	māɲ	mémà̀̀	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 Kemezong and Mashi are midway Beboid and Yemne-Kimbi.

33)           **Mbuk**   **Nsari**   **Noone**   **Ncane**           **Mungong**   **K'zung**           **Bebe**           **Cung**

BB “water” [ŋgwí]    dzòò    yòò    dyòò            dyùù            ngóŋ            ngwí    mui

34)           **Mbuk**           **Koshin**           **Mundabli**   **Fang**           **Mashi**           **Misong**

YK”water” [ŋgwí]            ndi            ŋgi            ndziam            ŋgwɔ            anye

35) Looking at more data closely:

BB”snake” [dzúŋ]            [yò]            [yo]            [yō]            [yiə]            [yō]    [dyǔ]

YK”snake” [dzúŋ]            [yɔŋ]            [dʒwɔ̃] [yua]            [dzu]            [idzuŋ]

YK”rain”    [dzàŋ]            [dzaŋ]            [dziŋ] [bualə            [dzaŋ]    [ibu]

BB”rain”    [dzàŋ]            [dzààŋ]            [yàŋ]    dyàŋ            [dʒàŋ]    [dʒàŋ]    [dyàŋ]    [dʒàŋ]

YK”eat”      [dzí]            [ʒi]            [yi]            [ʒi]    [nyɛə            [ndzənə]

BB”eat”      [dzí]            [dyé]            [díyà]            [dʒí] [̀ndʒə] [ndiá] [dí] [dʒē]

YK”one”      [mu]            [mɔ]            [mə] [mū]            [amu]            [kimu]

BB”one”      [mu]            [kpáŋ]            [māŋ] [mémàà] [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	-dèe	-dèe	-tèe	-dzì	'cry'
	é-ɸí	é-wí	é-wí*	ē-wíe	é-wée	ē-wí	ā-zúe	'nose'
	ká-bî	é-bî	ká-bî	é-bêe	kú-bèe	ká-bêe	a-bî	'thigh'
/i/	-ɸé	-ɸí	-ɸí	-ɸí-ā	-ɸī	-ɸím	-zì	'enter'
	dzəm	tsəm	dzəm	dzəm	dzəm	tʃəm	dʒəm	'back'
/ɸ/	-zó.mé	-zō.mê	-zó.mé	-zá.mé	-zōe.mā	-zée	dʒú.mí	'dry' v
	tó.ndzó	tō.ndzú	tó.ndzó	tó.ndzō	tó.ndzó	ɸ.dzó	ndzī.sí	'clothes'
/u/	-tóm	-tóm	-túm	-tum	-túm	-tóm	-túm	'send'
	ē-ɸóm	é-ɸóm	ē-ɸóm	ē-ɸóm	ē-ɸóm	ē-ɸóm	ī-wúm	'egg'
/o/	-dɔʔ.ɔ	-təʔ.ə	-dɔʔ.ɔ	-dɔʔ.ɔ	-dēʔ.é	-təʔ.ə	-dūʔ.í	'sit'
	ndzɔŋ	ndzɔŋ	ndzɔŋ	ndzɔŋ	ɸ.dzɔŋ	ɸ.dzɔŋ	ndzɔŋ	'moon'
/ɔ/	-kɔʔ	-kɔʔ	-kʷɔʔ	-kɔʔ	-kɔʔ	-kɔʔ	-kɔʔ	'ascend'
	ē-sɔŋ	é-sɔŋ	é-sɔŋ	e-sɔŋ	ē-sɔŋ	ē-séo	ī-sɔŋ	'tooth'
	-mɔʔ	'one'						
/a/	-bèe	-bàe	-bà:	-bà:	-bà:	-bàə	-bàɪɲ	hate
	-tèe	-tàe	-tà:	-tà:	-tà:	-tàə	-tàɪɲ	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		∅-	∅-	∅ <sup>(w)</sup> -	∅-	∅-
2		bə-	bɔ	ba-	bɛ-	bʌ-
3		∅-	∅ <sup>w</sup> -	∅ <sup>w</sup> -	∅ <sup>w</sup> -	∅ <sup>w</sup> -
4		∅-	∅-	∅-	∅-	—
5		∅-	e-	∅-	∅-	∅-
6		kí-	ɛ-	a-	—	∅-
7		kì-/∅-/kə-	ke-	ki-	ki-	kə-
8		bì-	bi-	bi-	bi-	bi-
9		∅-	∅̀-	∅̀-	∅̀-	∅̀-
10		∅-	∅́-	∅́-	∅́-	∅́-
19		fî-/fə	fe-	fi-	fi-	fə-
6a		N-	m-...m	N-	N-	m-
12		—	ɛ-	—	—	∅-
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 align 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	ẁ-	ẁ-	ẁ-	ẁ-	ŋg <sup>ẁ</sup> -
	2	b̀-	b̀-	b̀-	b̀-	b̀-
	3	ẃ-	ẃ-	ẃ-	ẃ-	ẃ-
	4	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-	—
	5	ẁ-	d <sup>ỳ</sup> -	č̀-	č̀-	l̀-
	6	k̀-	ε <sup>ỳ</sup> -	a <sup>ẁ</sup> -	---	ŋ̀-
	7	k̀-	k̀-	k̀-	k̀-	k̀-
	8	b̀-, b <sup>ỳ</sup> -	b <sup>ỳ</sup> -	b <sup>ỳ</sup> -	b <sup>ỳ</sup> -	b̀-
	9	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-	ŋĵ̀-
	10	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-	ỳ-
	19	f̀-, f <sup>ỳ</sup> -	f <sup>ỳ</sup> -	f <sup>ỳ</sup> -	f <sup>ỳ</sup> -	f̀-
	6a	Ǹ-	m̀-	m̀-	m̀-	m̀-
	12	—	k̀-	—	—	k̀-
	14	---	b <sup>ẁ</sup> -	b <sup>ẁ</sup> -	b <sup>ẁ</sup> -	—
	25	---	m̀-	m̀-	m̀-	—
	26	---	m <sup>ẁ</sup> -	m <sup>ẁ</sup> -	m <sup>ẁ</sup> -	m <sup>ẁ</sup> -
	27	—	d <sup>ỳ</sup> -	č̀-	—	—

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 Beboïd 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. ∅-/ kɪ- (5/6), **b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám / kíb<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** “cup/cups” corresponds to  
 b. ∅ / bi- (5/8), **b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám / bib<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** “cup/cups”

- c. ki-/bi- (7/8) **kí<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám / bí<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** “cup/cups”  
 d. ø-/ø- (9/10) **b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>y</sup>ám / b<sup>w</sup>á<sup>y</sup>ám** “cup/cups”

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

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

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

#### **1.4.28 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)	<b>Yemne-Kimbi</b>	<b>Mbuk</b>	<b>Beboid</b>
	<b>(Western Beboid)</b>	<b>(Central Beboid)</b>	<b>(Eastern Beboid)</b>
	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)	<b>Language</b>	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Concord</b>
	Abar	kə-... -Cə	ky'
	Ngun	kə-... -Cə	k'
	Biya	kə- ... -Cə	k'
	Buu	kə-.... -Cə	k' *
	Ajumbu	kə- ... (-lə)	k'
	Munken	kí-... -Cə	ky'
	Missong	kí-... -Cə	k'
	<b>Mbuk</b>	<b>kí-</b>	<b>k'</b>
	<u>Mundabli</u>	<u>ø-</u>	<u>k'</u>
	Nchanti	či-	č'
	Noni	yi-	dʷ'

The figure below shows the changes to the absence of the prefix in the diachronic view of the language. Its 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:

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

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

We observed that of the 9 languages having the k- plural concord, three of the singular classes have a w' concord and four of the languages have a zero prefix. Looking already, we can regroup the w' singular concords that of the Yemne-Kimbi by including Koshin, and Fang. The frame below presents the w- singular concord of the k- /t- plural concords of the Yemne-Kimbi:

42) <u>Language</u>	<b>Singular</b>			<b>Plural</b>		
	<b>class</b>	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Concord</b>	<b>class</b>	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Concord</b>
Koshin	5	∅-	w'	13	tɛ-	t'
Fang	5	∅-	w-	13	tə-	t-
Buu	3/5	∅-/w-	ẁ	6/7b	kà-.... -Cà	k̀
<b>Mbuk</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>∅-</b>	<b>w'</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>kí-</b>	<b>k'</b>
<u>Mundabli</u>	5	∅-	w'	7	∅-	k'

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

<b>Buu</b>	<b>Mundabli</b>	<b>Mbuk</b>	<b>Koshin</b>	<b>Fang</b>	<i>gloss</i>
yi	yi	dzi	zi	zi	eat
tyeə	tʃiə	tʃə	tsi	k <sup>h</sup> i	know
pi	pi	kpi	kpi	kfu	die
nduhe	dze	dza <sup>va</sup>	dzama	genə	say
ŋkɔŋə	nəŋ	nəŋ	niŋi	muŋkɔŋwə	want
mō	mu	Mu	mu	mu	drink
wɔ	wə	wo <sup>vo</sup>	wɔ	su	wash
tɛlə	gufu	gu <sup>vu</sup>	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):

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

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

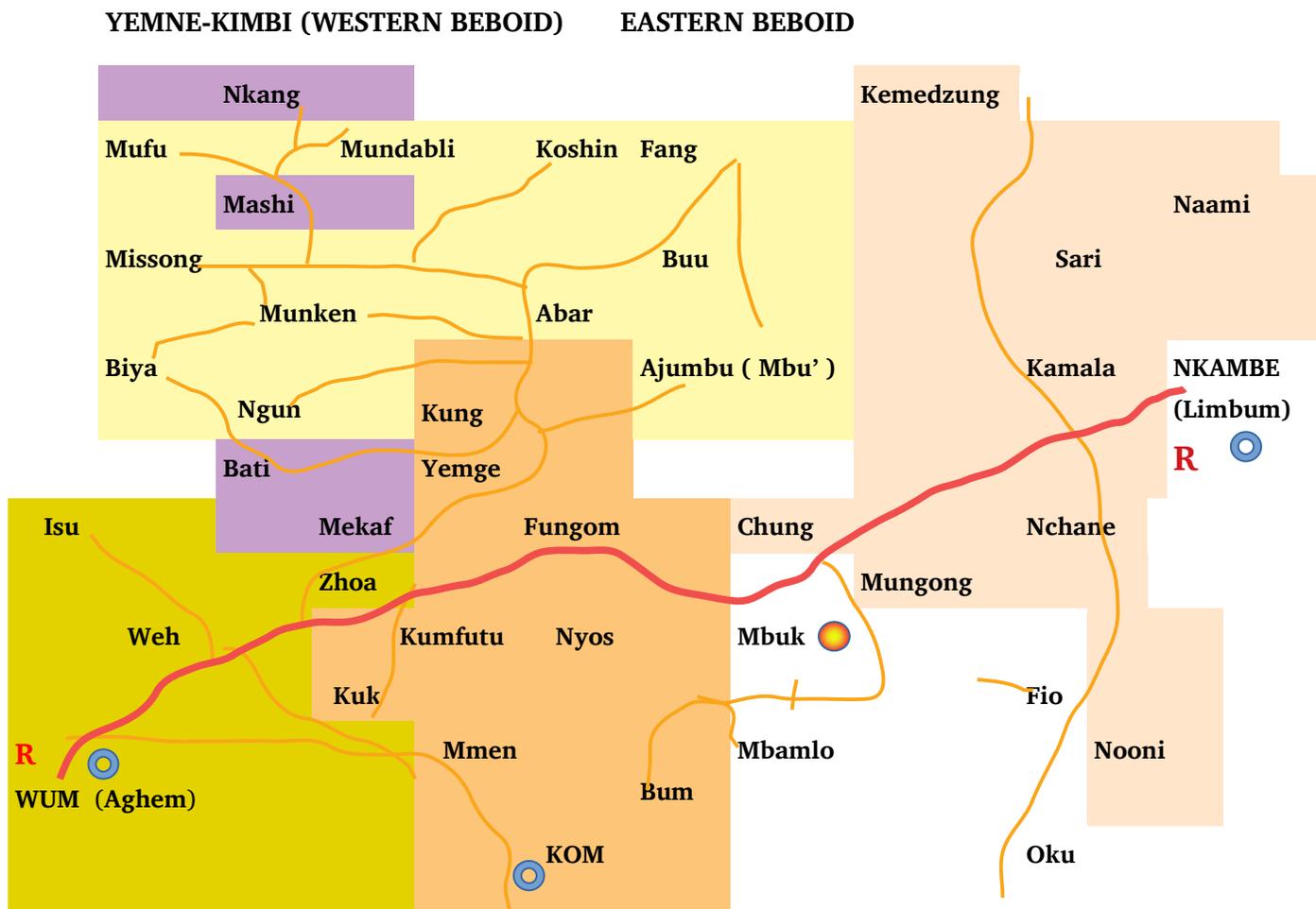


Figure 8: Mbuk within Yemne-Kimbi and Eastern Beboid

**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 Tschonghongi (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 discussed 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 kìnkwàp kì dzí:], 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 [ù] 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.

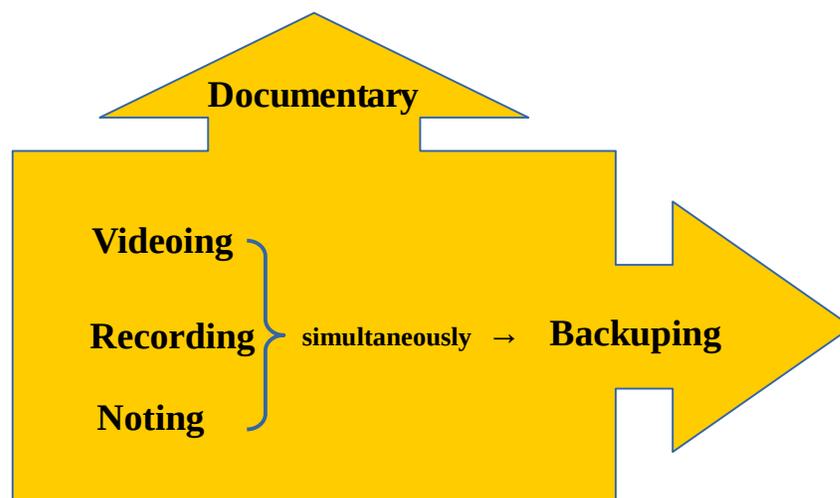


Figure 9: Documentary Events

### 2.2.1 Digital Archival

Digital archival 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 other traditional rulers of the village. Then, we went to the Mayor of the municipality, thence the Divisional Officer of the jurisdiction and also presents oneself 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 both of 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\_NT5\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407 of Mbuk*

Figure 10: 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 ,
- Irregular consultants,
- Occasional consultants,
- Accidental consultants,
- Peripheral consultants,
- Crowd/group/gathering/meeting

**Researcher/Consultant Contacts**

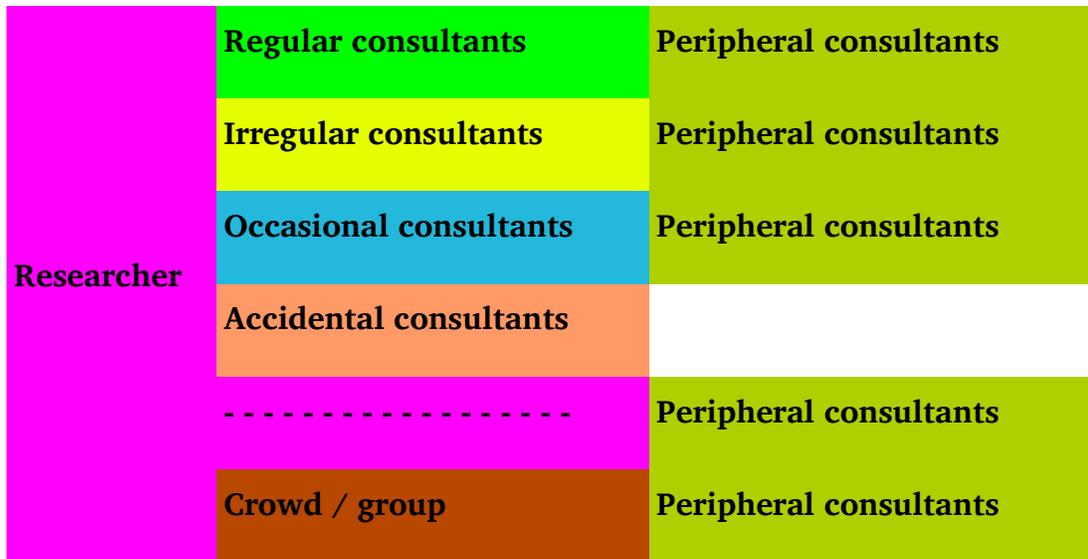


Figure 11: Researcher and Consultants' Interactions

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. Then I tried formatting the memory card (SD card or micro SD card) before recording again. Then 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 community 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 acquainted 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:

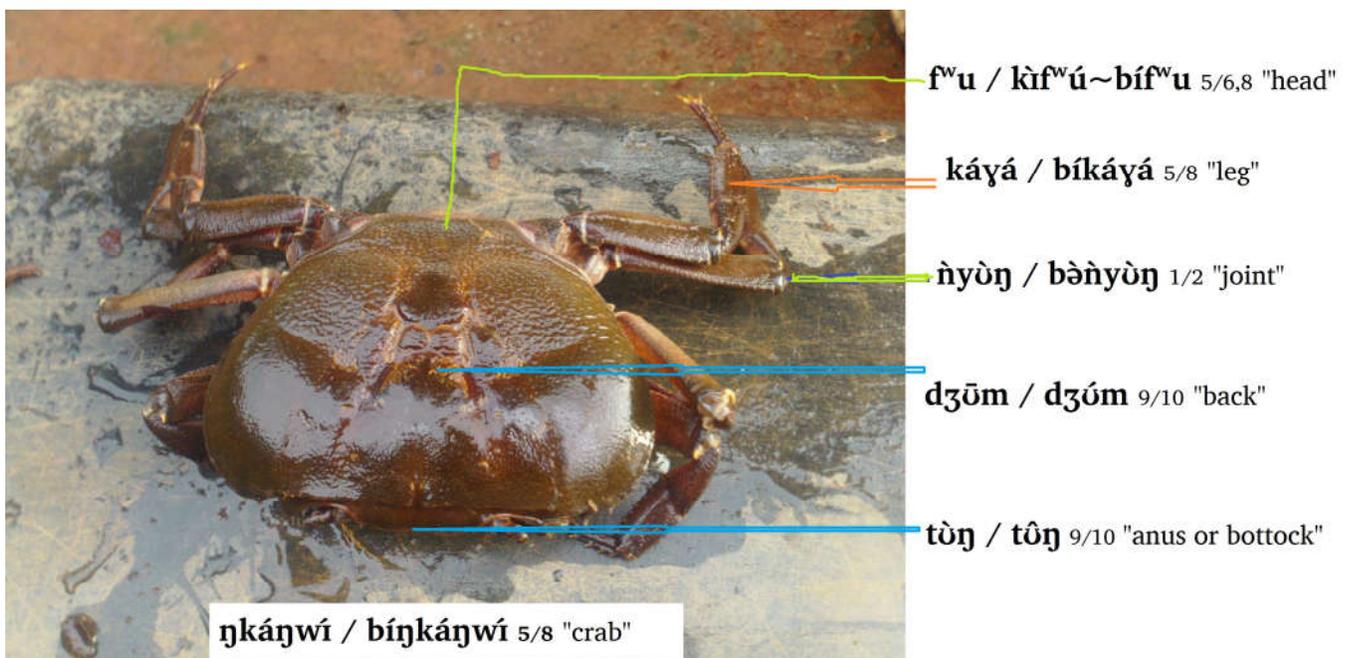


Figure 12: Mbuk Parts of a Crab

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. | [bə̀gʸó] | “money” | Consultant (A) |
|                   | b. | [kʷá]    | “money” | Consultant (B) |

In the recordings, consultant B says [bə̀gʸó] 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 electricity. 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 had a 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 backed up 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.

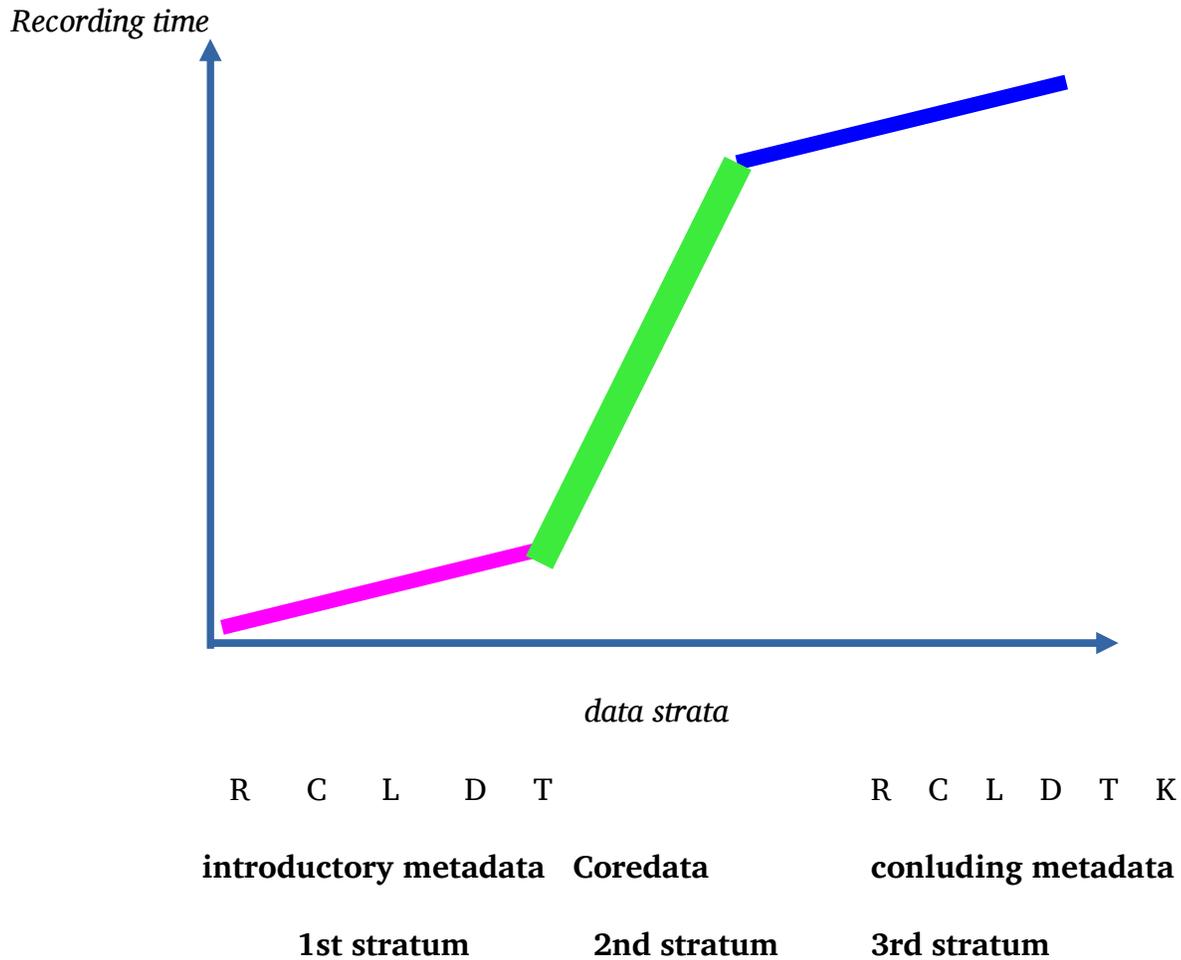
## **2.2.11 SD Card or Micro SD Card (Memory Card)**

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 trial 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 13: 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 unflinchingly 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 deleted our 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 we are 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 a 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 under a 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 acquaintance 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 find out 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 these places. If 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-elicited) 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-elicited 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 gave 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 made 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
- Occasional 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. Tschonghongi / 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 ~ bítɔŋ)
40	13/03/15	0041	02:18:24	2000	D	Numeral/Money
41		0070	08:03	200	Y	Song
42	16/03/15	0071	35:27	500	D	Interrogatives
					K	glossing
				<b>60.000</b>	<b>Consultants</b>	
				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 research activities) and finally an annual narrative account of the research. We wrote reports 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 guide us and track the research plan. It helps for proper weekly, monthly and yearly reports. 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, acronym of your name separated with hyphens or dashes. See the structure of a consultant 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:



**Figure 14:** 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 sociolinguistic interview guide from which got the sociolinguist profile of some members of the Mbuk community. This was also an opportunity thorough which we became closer to the people of Mbuk. We discorvered that there were three living distinct 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 so many others uttered a word in our research and we noted a total of over 100 consultants (appendix 5).

After studying the sociolinguistic profile of each consultant we frequently got data from those who were born in the village, live throughout their time in the village and from diverse background of activities. 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 consultant'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	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Fang, Pidgin
2	Rev. Lang George bya	RLG-2	1957 Mbuk	Rev Pastor	[b <sup>w</sup> ántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Nooni, Limbum, Bikom (Kom), Mundabli, Koshin, Dumbu, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English
3	Wabua Angelbert Ndicha	WAN-3	1990 Mbuk	Student	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English, French
4	Ngwang Rudolf Wabua	NRW-4	1977 Mbuk	Farmer	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin
5	Lenghaneh Prisca Kichua	KP-5	1973 Mbuk	Business	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Chung, Bum, Fang, Fulani, Pidgin
6	Chia Clementine Tili	TC-6	1970 Mbuk	Farmer	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung
9	Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha	NNN-9		Registrar	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin, English
10	Pa. Freeboy Ndang	FN-10	1944 Mbuk	Weaver, CDC	[b <sup>w</sup> ántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Mundabli, Bikom, Chung, Bafmen, Koshin, Fang, Mungong, Dumbu, Pidgin
11	Lang Elijah Ngwang	LE-11	1998 Mbuk	Student	[b <sup>w</sup> ántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Lamnso', Pidgin, English
12	Nji Ngong Philemon Foncha	NPF-12	1967 Mashi	Farmer	[b <sup>w</sup> óndõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Bikom, Bafmen, Mashi, Njikum, Pidgin, English
13	Tanto Nya Yambong Samuel	TNY-13	1954 Mbuk	Farmer	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Fulani (Fulfulde), Bikom, Bafmen, Fang, Dumbu
14	Nji Nchwaksi Simon Dam	NKS-14	1948 Mbuk	Weaver	[b <sup>w</sup> ántõ:]	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Bafang, Bikom, Bafmen, Mungong, Dumbu, Mundabli, Chung

15	Clement Lenghacha Nkwembo	CL-15	1950 Mbuk	Fishing	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Fang, Mashi, Bikom, Fulfulde, Pidgin
16	Wabua Blasius Samban	WBS-16	1983 Mbuk	Student	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English, French
17	Wango John Kumta	WJK-17	1998 Mbuk	Student	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English
18	Wabua Joseph Ntagha	WNJ-18	1952 Mbuk	Trader	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Bikom, Pidgin
19	Nji Nya Augustin Bia	NYA-60	1947 Mbuk	CDC	[b <sup>w</sup> âfóm]	Mbuk, Chung, Fang, Bikom, Dumbu, Mungong, Pidgin
20	Bikem Nestor Bikem	BN-31	1994 Mbuk	Student	[b <sup>w</sup> ántô:]	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 systematically extract the various components of language such as; words, phrases, clauses and sentences of Mbuk as well as its 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 pragmatic 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.

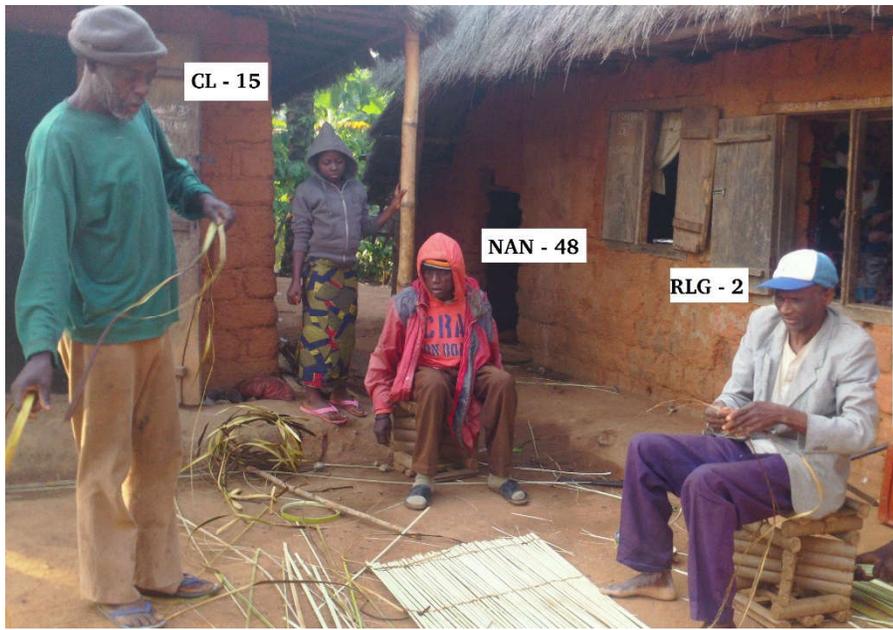
One pragmatic system for collecting words is moving around with the consultant as he names things round the village. Go to the hills and name plants and insects and animals that you come across. The naming is accompanied by a video image and photo of the element with supporting explanations or helpful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

Figure 15: Mbuk Arts and craft activity: Fishing basket

The pictures (fig.15) presents some artistic activities of the village from which words and literature was tapped. The partitioning 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" [lâ: bí lô:ní]. 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. The figure below shows our interaction with the group.



Figure 16: 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 marriage, funeral, festival, ordinary social group (Mbuk Young Farmers) and 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 humorous 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 lives 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 beneficial to lexicographers and grammarians as we tap lexemes and grammatical expressions from them.

These myths also help us to be informed about the universality of culture. In Aghem, there are several myths binding the product of corn beer, local calcium carbonate and including activities like hunting and fighting. A woman is forbidden 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 “sweet 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 approaches complement 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 information about 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 prepared wordlist and on the other hand, while moving round in the 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 incorrect 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



Figure 17: 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 its side, and 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 request 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 interrupted 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 FLEEx, and a text analysing computational program for called ELAN, the computer and backup external drives and other writing materials like books, pens, pencils and rulers. 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 and a 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 desperate event which you may miss 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 following 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 annotated in ELAN and even an ELAN wordlist or ELAN-Lexicon can be designed as the one in Mbuk.

Word-spacing bar, by default is 100 on a font size of 12. But when the font size is Adjusted to 24 the word-spacing bar 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 instead of a cameraman who is a foreigner. This is to avoid foreign languages in the recordings.

The screenshot displays the ELAN software interface for analyzing the video file 'KPAAMCAM-NCT-Mbuk-Song01-2014-12-09.eaf'. The main window shows a video of two women sitting outdoors. Below the video is a timeline and a text area with annotations. The text area is divided into several rows, each representing a different level of annotation:

Phonetic	tú: b'ê: wə b'ə'ə wī mā wī bí gāmdé nāndē oo	Wəŋ mi mù: wé ké ʃɔm má, sɔmi bə ná bɛn z'ə ndzɔŋ ɛ o
Mbx	tú'ú b'ê wə b'ə'ə wī mā wī bí gāmtí nān-ndə oo	?? ma
Mpb	day that you born him ?? he will help whosoever	child man one it be stomach in, youth ?? should you answer song
gl	tuku biə wə bwə wī, wī bí gāmti nandə oo	wain mi muu wī kə ʃɔm mə, sɔmi dain ma bɛin bɔm ndzɔŋɛ
Orth	The day that you will give birth to him, he will help everyone.	Someone's child is in the stomach, youths respond to the song.
tr	Assimilation: tɪ → nde / _ # n	semantics: synonyms, z'ə / bɔm; phonetics: ma/na
Cm	Grammatical element: Remote future tense, F4/F3 " bí "	hortative mood: should "ma" (needs verification)
gmie		

Figure 18: Mbuk Documentary Grammar and Semantics Annotations

### 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 “bàṅ” 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 wood. But in this event, the wood burns as if it is dried. That too is the mystery of burning undried wood. When the wood is burning, the fire is red and when people see from afar, they say the kwifoy is red meaning the kwifoy is on dancing.

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

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 documentary 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 be drilled to ask questions in their mother tongue to fellow country men in order to reduce 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 transcription except 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	i		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~dzín, bimbã:ŋ, ʃí]	“tooth, yaws, face”
	[ɪ]	[íkõŋ, nì, nìʸì]	“to love, on, slimy strands”
	[e]	[nténì, ʳfèlì, f'énkī]	“boundary of ridges, cricket, wing termite”
	[ɛ]	[ŋgéné, tsɛŋ~tsɛn, bìjé~b'ě~bìjé]	“worm, arm, dog”
	[ü]	[kínú, tsú, ttní]	“knee, spit, ear”
	[œ]	[lœjí]	“mulch”
	[ɨ]	[dzín~dzón, dzíʸə]	“corn, eye”
	[ə]	[b'èkà, tʃón, dzzə]	“sore, fat, road”
	[a]	[dʒ'áŋ, tsā, ndàŋ]	“illness, medicine, k.o tree, male name”
	[ɯ]	[yúfí~yáfí, tʃũŋwìgvú]	“yawn(n), heel”
	[u]	[fú, gvú, mū]	“head, foot, one”
	[ʊ]	[dzõm, dzú, mbók]	“back, houses, Mbuk village”
	[o]	[kìfó, ŋ'òk'hì, wòlì]	“cap, sweat, raffia nut shell”
	[ɔ]	[fíkóm, nóm, kìmò~kìmò]	“knife, birth pains, swelling”
	[ɒ]	[gón~gón]	“spear, cartridge”

### 3.1.2 Mbuk long vowels

The language has 10 long vowels:

45)	[i:]	[ím̀b̀ì:, b̀ì:]	“palm wine, goat”
	[ɪ:]	[b'ál̀f̀: s̄õm, b̀ì:]	“palm frond, allow”
	[ɛ:]	[m̄ɛ:, w̄ɛ:]	“lick, open”
	[ɨ:]	[dz̄ɨ:]	“thigh”
	[ə:]	[d̄ə:, mb̄ə:]	“trample (with foot), guinea fowl”
	[a:]	[l̄a:, fá:]	“intestine, read”
	[u:]	[f̄imb̄ú:, kf̄ú:]	“gall bladder, pour libation”
	[ʊ:]	[dz̄õ:, d̄õ:kál̀è]	“house, naming a child”
	[o:]	[ts̄ò:, l̄ò:l̀è]	“palm kernel, wear”
	[ɔ:]	[k̄ì m̄õ:, b̄õn̄ì:]	“brain, heal”

Exceptionally, [e:] and [ü:] have not featured amongst the lengthened vowels. Both vowels are very rare in the language. This is because the [e ~ ɪ] are in free variation and the [ɪ] has a higher frequency. For the [ü], it is in free variation in some speakers with the [ũ], which is, however, more frequent. The barred “i” [ī] 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. [u: / u] [dzǔ: / dzú] “house / houses”  
 b. [i: / i] [bí: / bí] “goat / goats”  
 c. [a / a:] ~ [kà / kà:] “basket / baskets”  
     [a: / a:] ~ [kâ: / kâ:] “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 singular 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. [u:] [kfù:] “raffia fruit”  
 f. [a] [tālī] “ladder”  
 g. [a:] [tā:lí] “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] [wáɪn] “child”  
 b. [ɛɪ] [tɛ́ɪn] “cut”  
 c. [ʊa] [dʒúá] “soup”  
 d. [ai] [k<sup>w</sup>áí] “pretend (v)”

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

- e. [aɲ] [wáɲ] “child”  
 f. [ɛɲ] [tɛ́ɲ] “cut”

In addition, the word, soup in (c) above is sometimes labialised giving rise to “dʒ<sup>w</sup>á”. While the nominal form for - pretend - witnesses the following pronunciation “ɲk<sup>w</sup>áɲi”. 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			ẽ			
Open-mid	ẽ					õ
Near-open						
Open			ã			

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

49a)	ĩ	[kĩkĩ~], [kəmfi], [kəŋgòmhi]	“bamboo chair, gun cotton. caricature”
	ẽ	[b'ékílè]	“hitting”
	ẽ	[ŋ'j'ẽ]	“palm cord”
	ã	[bá, mbá]	“palm nut, fufu biscuit”
	ũ	[dzù, ísũ]	“skin, to laugh”
	õ	[f'õ]	“call, bake (in ash)”
49b)	ĩ:	[kĩŋkĩ: / bĩŋkĩ:]	“bamboo chair”
	ẽ:	[tsǎ:, sǎ:, dǎ:]	“navel, thin, long-distance”
	ẽ:	[mkpẽ:, b'j'ẽ:]	“elbow, bundle”
	ã:	[kpà:, ítǎ:]	“hand, to tear. ”
	ũ:	[bũ:, fũ:]	“blood-sucking fly, insect k.o.”
	õ:	[ndʒ'ó:, bǒ:~bǎ:, b'w'ábèndǒ:]	“sweet, call, a family ”
	õ:	[k'ó:, ŋk'ó:ní]	“beehive, palm front cotton”

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

49c)	[ã]	[bá]	“palm nuts”
	[ã:]	[bá:]	“palm nut”
	[ẽ]	[tsǎ]	“navels”
	[ẽ:]	[tsǎ:]	“navel”

All nasal vowels occur in open CV syllables. Koshin, one of the Beboïd 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] [tsã̃] “monkey”
- b. [a] [ɱfà] “slave”  
       [ã:] [ɱfã:] “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, ʎ, 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, séptí~séptí~sōptí, tʃèpsí] “dress up someone, sharpen, maltreat”  
 [b] [bálí, kìbábâ, bō] “waist, hyena, tired”  
 [t] [tálí, ítōyólí, ítóm] “ladder, carry, to shoot”  
 [d] [dálí, dòyó, ídā:lī] “chin, some, to forget”  
 [k] [kúʷólí, kìŋkóʷ, kìtʃùʷ] “elder, bat, granary”  
 [g] [gáŋwì, gāmtī, ígâ:] “wall shelf, help, dish out”  
 [ʔ] [nàʔ, mbóʔ, ŋgòʔ] “female cattle, premature palm nut, gun trigger”  
 [kp] [kpà:, kpí, íkpä:] “day, die, to cook corn beer”  
 [gb] [gbò, gbáná, gbúʷ] “fall, young female goat, gun”

### 3.2.3 Nasals

52)	[m]	[mí, kíkôm, íwām]	“myself, horse, to tell lies”
	[n]	[nɛ̃n, nɔ́ʔkínāŋ, bíní]	“forbid, bedbug, dance (n)”
	[ɲ]	[kìɲá, ɲà:ní, ʰfɲ]	“gift, sojourn, blindness”
	[ŋ]	[nán, ɲàŋlí, kìɲóŋ]	“bed, crawling, buffalo”
	[ŋ]	[kìɲfín, ɲfà, ɲfá:]	“cocoyam, slave, cowpea”

### 3.2.4 Fricatives

53)	[β]	[βú]	“blood-sucking fly”
	[f]	[ífú, kifo, kífóm]	“fetish priest, cap, roofs”
	[v]	[vwɔ̃~wwɔ̃, vwô~wúò]	“screech owl, peeling”
	[s]	[ísəŋ, sɛ̃f, sō]	“to limp, carry, six (6)”
	[ʃ]	[ʃəʔ, ʃi, ʃɔm]	“wingless termite, market, heart”
	[ʒ]	[ʒóŋ, ízōm, ʒəʔ]	“k.o. song, to go far, sweep”
	[ɣ]	[ɣəfí, káʔá, íɣəʔ]	“yawn, leg, glowing (fire)”
	[h]	[ŋgɔ̃hɔ̃, 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]	[dzɔ̃ŋ, dzəʔ, dzɔ̃:]	“hunger, elephants, house”
	[tʃ]	[tʃóní, kítʃɔ̃m, kintʃəʔlí]	“k.o owl, story, heifer”
	[dʒ]	[dʒəʔ, dʒə̀mì, kídʒúá]	“eye, sister, soup”
	[kx]	[kxə]	“farm”
		[ŋkxòŋ]	“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 orthographically in the consonant sequences tf, kf, bv, dv, gv, mv, and vv. ... In a few cases labio-dentalization is observed before uu, e.g. kfùù [kfù:] ‘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. [dzzə] “road”  
 b. [dzə] “go”

### 3.2.6 Approximants

- 56) [j] [jètè] “k.o. snake”  
 [w] [wóní ] “tail”

### 3.2.7 Lateral Approximant (liquid)

- 57) [l] [kìlú] “gong (of 1m height)”

### 3.2.8 Trill (liquid)

- 68) [r] [ntórè ~ ntótò] “pepper”  
 [r] [kìlérí ~ kílétí] “calabash”  
 [r] [yèrì ~ yètì ] “viper”  
 [r] [môrà ~ 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 ~ b'á:ní] “islands”  
 b. [ʒ'ó ~ j'é] “name”  
 [kíj'ó ~ kíʒ'ó] “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.	[ʃ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ʃ <sup>w</sup> àjɪ], [ɲʃ <sup>w</sup> ájɪ]	“loosen”, “brick”
		[v <sup>w</sup> ]	[v <sup>w</sup> ɔ̂]	“screech owl”
		[m <sup>w</sup> ]	[m <sup>w</sup> á], [bəm <sup>w</sup> ám]	“blood”, “chaff (guinea corn)”
		[g <sup>w</sup> ]	[g <sup>w</sup> ájɪ]	“bamboo (pl.)”
		[ʃ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ʃ <sup>w</sup> ǎɲ]	“sheep”
		[ɲ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɲ <sup>w</sup> ɔ̂]	“cutlass”
		[ɲ <sup>w</sup> ]	[gájɲ <sup>w</sup> ɪ]	“wall shelf”

#### 3.2.11 Palatalised consonants

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

61)	[b <sup>j</sup> ]	[b <sup>j</sup> əlɪ, b <sup>j</sup> əvə]	“rib, cane rat”
	[d <sup>j</sup> ]	[d <sup>j</sup> ǎv]	“cook”
	[f <sup>j</sup> ]	[f <sup>j</sup> à]	“ankle”
	[m <sup>j</sup> ]	[m <sup>j</sup> ɛ]	“palm oil”
	[ʒ <sup>j</sup> ]	[ʒ <sup>j</sup> á]	“planting”
	[dʒ <sup>j</sup> ]	[dʒ <sup>j</sup> ǎ]	“put”
	[ɲ <sup>j</sup> ]	[ɲ <sup>j</sup> á]	“corn fufu”
		[tɛɲ <sup>j</sup> ɪ]	“cut”
	[ʃ <sup>j</sup> ]	[ʃ <sup>j</sup> ə]	“fowl”
	[t <sup>j</sup> ]	[t <sup>j</sup> ə]	“horn, cup”
	[l <sup>j</sup> ]	[l <sup>j</sup> ónɪ]	“laziness”
		[l <sup>j</sup> ókɔ]	“cassava”



### 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. [ŋg<sup>w</sup>] [ŋg<sup>w</sup>í, ŋg<sup>w</sup>əŋwətʃókəm] “water, second juju (behind the first)”  
 b. [ŋk<sup>w</sup>] [fíŋk<sup>w</sup>á] “hare”

Or prenasalisation being palatalised:

- c. [mb<sup>j</sup>] [mb<sup>j</sup>éní] “smallish palm nuts”  
 d. [nd<sup>j</sup>] [nd<sup>j</sup>è] ~ [nd<sup>j</sup>è] “rhizom fruit”

And prenasalised being velarised as seen in the examples below:

- e. [ŋg<sup>v</sup>] [ŋg<sup>v</sup>ókí, ŋg<sup>v</sup>è, kìŋg<sup>v</sup>è] “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. [n<sup>w</sup>] [kìŋf<sup>w</sup>á ] “nasal mucus (catarrh)”  
 b. [n<sup>j</sup>] [n<sup>j</sup>è] “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.



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 ~ ʒá:ní] “island, river deposits”

This case is more of an individual free variation than a uniform speech alternation amongst all the natives. Some speakers consistently used [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] [báʷân ~ bájə̀] “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.



### 3.2.19 Grammatical Tones

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

- 69) a. [bó dzí-kí-lè] “They are eating”  
3P eat.PROG.AF
- b. [bó dzí-kì-lè] “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. [Nt[ɔ̃ɔ̃ tʃâ: dzú] “Nchoko (male name) is not at home”  
Nchogho NEG houses
- d. [Nt[ɔ̃ɔ̃ tʃâ: dzǔ:] “Nchoko is not a house”  
Nchogho NEG house

In (c), when home (house) is negated, it takes the plural form for house, dzǔ:/dzú “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. [m̩ tǎŋ jì] “I have bought it “  
1S buy it
- b. [m̩ tǎŋ jí] “I am bargaining”  
1S buy it
- c. [m̩ tǎŋ jí] “I have bought many things (them)” iterative  
1S buy them

The [m̩] 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:



e.	CVC	[bóŋ, kēn, wāŋ]	“clothes, trees, child”
f.	CGVC	[ʃ <sup>w</sup> ǎŋ, f <sup>w</sup> ájŋ, tʃ <sup>w</sup> én]	“sheep, red feather bird, bitterleaf”
g.	CVV	[gǎ:, kà:, bú:]	“sharing, basket, wood ash”
h.	CVCV	[kpəŋə, dàlá, <sup>n</sup> sàlà]	“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-], [-ni]	the nominal prefix or verbal suffixes

The examples are:

V-	[í-]	[í-mā, í-ká:]	“to build, to clean broom”
C-	[m-]	[m̄-mús, m̄-ntē:nī]	“cat, palm rat”
CV-	[fi-]	[fi-mús, fi-ntē:nī]	“cats, palm rats”
-CV	[-ji]	[tāji, nāji]	“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 optional affixes 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 <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> (C)(V)	CV	
a.	V	∅-	-á-	-∅	“that”
b.	V	∅-	-m̄-	-∅	“1S”
c.	CV	∅-	-tsá-	-∅	“baboon”
d.	CGV	∅-	-ʃ̄ā-	-∅	“fowl”
e.	CV.CV.V	kí-	-gā:-	-∅	“mat”
f.	CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	∅-	tʃūō	-∅	diarrhoea
g.	CV.CVC	fī-	-mkāŋ-	-∅	“oath”
h.	V.CV.CV	í-	-nā-	-jí	“to ride”
i.	CV.CV.CV	kì-	-bábā-	-∅	“leopard”
k.	C.CV	m̄-	-ndzě	-∅	“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 [b<sup>w</sup>]. 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] / [g <sup>j</sup> ]	[gbí] / [gí~gí]	“hundred (one)/(two), net/nets”
	c.	[ʊ] / [u]	[gbú] / [g <sup>w</sup> ú]	“foot / feet”
	d.	[w] / [b <sup>w</sup> ]	[wáɲ] / [b <sup>w</sup> á]	“child / children”
	e.	[h] / [k]	[híkí] / [kíkí]	“nape (of neck)”
	f.	[kp] / [k]	[kpēn] / [kēn]	“tree / trees”
	g.	[kp] / [k]	[kpàŋá] / [bókáŋà]	“woman / women”
	h.	[kp] / [k]	[kpê] / [bókáŋà]	“wife”
	i.	[m] / [n]	[mì] / [bóní]	“person / people”
	j.	[ɲ] / [n]	[ɲò <sup>y</sup> ú] / [bónó <sup>y</sup> ò]	“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] / [b <sup>w</sup> ]
				[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/ɪ], [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 vowels 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 [g<sup>w</sup>] 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:



o → ɔ	[í-kō]	[kɔ̃jī]
	INF-harvest	harvest.ITV
e → ε	[í-lé]	[lě]
	INF-run	run.IMP
e → ε	[í-b <sup>w</sup> éhí]	[b <sup>w</sup> éhí]
	INF-resemble	resemble.IMP

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

[m <sup>j</sup> è] ~ [m <sup>j</sup> ě]	“oil”
[ílě] ~ [ilě]	“to run”
[í-b <sup>w</sup> éhí] ~ [íbwéhí]	“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] →	[túkà]	“come”
b.	[ə→ɪ]	[tán] →	[tí:kà]	“send”
c.	[a→ε]	[báɲ] →	[béc:kà]	“shine”
d.	[a→ɔ]	[tá] →	[tókà]	“kick”
e.	[ə→i]	[dzə] →	[dzì:kà]	“feed”

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

	Change	Perfective	Imperfective	Gloss
78) a.	[ʃ→s]	[ʃà] →	[səkà]	“tell”
b.	[b→g <sup>u</sup> ]	[búŋ] →	[g <sup>u</sup> ókà]	“pick”
c.	[g <sup>j</sup> →d]	[g <sup>j</sup> è] →	[dəkà]	“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 ([gbú/g<sup>w</sup>ú] “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,	[lɔpt̪]	“pet a child”
[lab] → [lap] / _s,	[lāpsí]	“dress up someone”
	[sáptí ~ séptí ~ sōpt̪]	“sharpen bamboo splint”
	[tʰəpsí]	“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. [kə-mgbáŋ] “very large”  
 e. [kì-fó] “cap”  
 f. [kə-mgbáŋ ø kì-fó]~  
 g. [kə-mgbáŋ kə ø-fó]/kəmgba kə 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 CV identical in form to its nominal prefix but when the modifier begins with a vowel, there is elision or assimilation of one of the vowels.

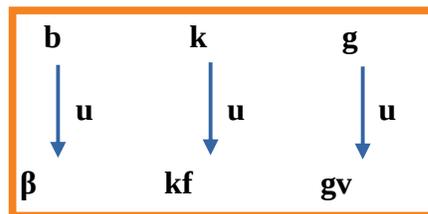




### 3.3.8 Mbuk Affrication

Affrication 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 triggered 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 → b <sup>w</sup> → b <sup>w</sup> r → β	k → k <sup>w</sup> → k <sup>w</sup> f → kf	g → g <sup>w</sup> → g <sup>w</sup> f → gv
B	b <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>
C	b <sup>w</sup> r	k <sup>w</sup> f	g <sup>w</sup> f
D	[β]	[kf]	[gv]
	Bilabial fricative	Voiceless labio-dental affricate	Voiced Labio-dental affricate
	[βú]	[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 / m̀ ẁ kx́ / → [mʲ̀ òkx́] “farmer”  
 1.person 1.of farm  
 “person of farm”

This implies that, [m̀ → mʲ] while [ẁ → ù]

Thus, two phonological processes occurred: palatalisation and vocalisation.

- b. Labialisation / bə-waɲ / → / bwaɲ / → / bwa / → [bʷá] ~ [bʷáʷá] “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 abate vowel lengthening. In other words, to replacement or compensate for the deleted [-ɲ] the coda of the singular, child “wāɲ” with the addition of [-ʷá] syllable. In addition, this gliding change the form of the class prefix [bə → bʷ-] leading to initial consonant mutation, Kießling (2010:2), “*similar processes of morphologisation 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 [b́-] 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” [bəkájà] from the singular “wife” [kpájà]. 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 [-jéní]. When a contraction occurs, it bears a syllabic nasal which resists homorganicity with the following consonant:

87)	a1.	[fí-jéní]	/	[ṁ-jéní] ~ [mí-jéní] ~ [mó-jéní]
		19-bird		6a-birds
	a2.	[fí-láŋ]	/	[ṁ-láŋ]
		19-clay pot		6a-clay pots
	a3.	[fí-mkār]	/	[ṁ-mkār]
		19-oath		6a-oaths
	a4.	[fí-ntē:nī]	/	[ṁ-ntē:nī]
		19-palm rat		6a-palm rats
	a5.	fí-ndəŋ	/	ṁ-ndəŋ
		19-fig tree		6a-fig trees

In the following sentence, birds [míjéní] is realised as [ṁ-jéní]:

b.	<b>m-</b>	[ṁ-jéní mí g <sup>w</sup> ú]	“the red bird”
		6a-birds 6a.AM DEF	

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

c.	<b>mɪ-</b>	[mí-jéní 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 / bəmbàɲ]	mbàɲ / bəmbàɲ	“fence”	1/2
		[mbəŋ / bəmbəŋ]	mbəŋ / bəmbəŋ	“stick”	1/2
		[ŋkəmnì / bəŋkəmnì]	ŋkəmnì / bəŋkəmnì	“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.	[mkpàʋà / bəmkpàʋà]	mkpàʋà / bəmkpàʋà	“scabies”	1/2
	[ntáŋní / bəntáŋní]	ntáŋní / bəntáŋní	“taylor”	1/2
	[nsəŋ / bənsəŋ]	nsəŋ / bənsəŋ	“bracelet”	1/2
	[ŋkúŋ / bəŋkúŋ]	ŋkúŋ / bəŋkúŋ	“chief”	1/2
	[kəŋkəblì / bìŋkəblì]	kəŋkəblì / bìŋkəblì	“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-sə̀ʋó] to-sieve	
2.	Bare root	The elision of [í-] 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.	-sə̀ʋó	↓
4.	Deverbal clitic	Deverbal nasal prefixation [ɲ̩-] with a built-in low tone and syllabicity.	[ɲ̩-] DVB	↓
5.	Right tone spread	The low tone from the nasal spreads to the root lowering it.	[ɲ̩-sə̀ʋə̀]	↓
6.	Deverbal noun	The low tone spreads to the right.	[ɲ̩sə̀ʋə̀]	↓
7.	Homorganicity	Homorganicity occurs and the nasal desyllabifies and loses its syllabic nature due to mutual assimilation with adjacent consonant and the loss of tone due to a drop in its sonority peak.	[nsə̀ʋə̀]	↓
8.	The kɪ- prefixation	The nominal prefixes are then prefixed to the deverbal stem “root” giving rise to a singular noun.	kì-nsə̀ʋə̀ 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-nsə̀ʋə̀ 8-DVB.sieve “sieves”	↓

Nurse & Phillipson (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-nsə̀və̀] “a sieve” and the plural form (step 9) [bì-nsə̀və̀] “sieves” for nouns. The fusing of infixes is the concern in Brown & Sarah (2009:287) “*You 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-kàŋ	ŋ-kɔŋ	fɪ-m-kàŋ
Phonetic form	ń-ndíŋ	ṁkàŋ, ṁkóm	ŋkɔŋ	fɪŋkàŋ
Remarks		contracted “mə~mɪ”	deverbative	nominalisation
Noun classes	6a	6a	1	19
Other examples	ń-ndíŋ “fig tree”	ṁkàŋ “oaths”	ŋkóŋ/bèŋkóŋ “admiration (s)”	fɪmkàŋ “oath”
		ṁkóm “knives”	nlò / bènìlò “pain / pains”	fɪkóm “knife (ø-nasal)”
		ńtáŋ “kites”	kìmbàŋ/bìmbàŋ “hatred (s)”	fíntáŋ “kite”

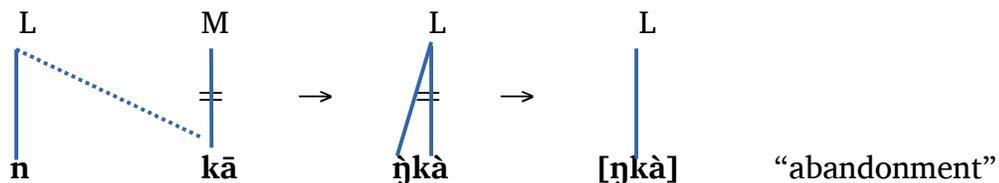
The absence of an illustrative example in set A is doubtful. We are still going through over and over to verify this typology. A word like, “bed/beds” [nāŋ/bínáŋ] with a nasal onset would fall on nasal type D which is zero syllabic and zero homorganic because it not attached to any consonant.

### 3.3.13 Tonal Movement

The tones in Mbuk can spread to neighbouring syllables in both directions; left or right.

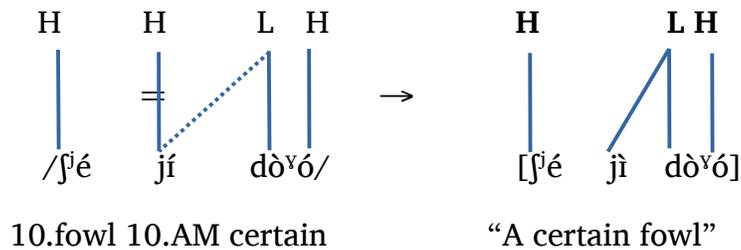
In 89a, the deverbatisation leads to the the lowering of the mid tone root of the verb:

#### 89) a. Right tone spread



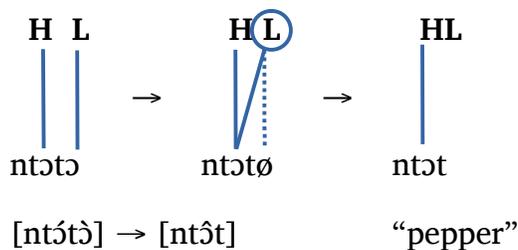
In 89b, the AM for class 10 is inherently high but becomes low before a low tone:

**b. Left tone spread**



**c. Floating tone**

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



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 contrast with 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 [p<sup>h</sup>] and [p] are allophones of the phoneme /p/. In contrast, Mandarin Chinese has pairs of words like [p<sup>h</sup>ā] ‘crouch’ and [pa] ‘eight’, and so [p<sup>h</sup>] and [p] clearly belong to two different phonemes, /p<sup>h</sup>/ and /p/, and these words are phonemically /p<sup>h</sup>ā/ 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/
	[m̄]	“spread”	[ítú]	“to hang”	[ʊ]	/ʊ/
(o, ʊ)	[f̄l̄]	“to throw”	[f̄t̄]	“to mow”	[o]	/o/
	[f̄l̄]	“to ban”	[f̄t̄]	“to hang”	[ʊ]	/ʊ/
(u, o)	[kū]	“clap”	[fú]	“itch”	[u]	/u/
	[k̄]	“harvest”	[f̄]	“rot”	[o]	/o/
(ə, a)	[n̄]	“mother”	[dz̄]	“corn”	[ə]	/ə/
	[n̄]	“cow”	[dz̄]	“rain”	[a]	/a/
(i, ɪ)	[m̄]	“person”	[k̄f̄]	“pig”	[i]	/i/
	[m̄]	“I, me”	[k̄f̄]	“knowledge”	[ɪ]	/ɪ/

Analogous Pairs	Minimal Pairs	Examples	Allophones	Phonemes		
91) (i, ɪ)	[d̄z̄]	“thief”	[d̄z̄]	“frontier”	[i]	/i/
	[k̄nd̄z̄]	“giant”	[d̄z̄]	“hoe”	[ɪ]	/ɪ/
(ɪ, ə)	[dz̄]	“eat”	[kp̄]	“death”	[ɪ]	/ɪ/
	[dz̄]	“go”	[k̄kp̄]	“lizard”	[ə]	/ə/
(ɛ, ə)	[kp̄n̄]	“able”	[mkp̄n̄]	“enough”	[ɛ]	/ɛ/
	[k̄kp̄]	“lizard”	[s̄kp̄]	“wrong”	[ə]	/ə/

### Complementary Pair

93) (e, ɛ)	[f̄n̄]	“return”	[b̄l̄]	“rib”	[e]	
	[f̄n̄~f̄n̄]	“bird”	[b̄n̄]	“you” (pl)	[ɛ]	/ɛ/

### Pseudo-minimal Pairs

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

94) (o, ɔ)	[t̄]~[t̄]	“reveal”	[m̄:]~[m̄:]	“little things”	/ɔ/
	[t̄]~[t̄]	“cut”	[m̄]~[m̄]	“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]~[kìfɒ]	“cap”
		[tó]~[tɔ́]~[tɒ]	“belly”
		*[gó] [gɔ́]~[gɒ]	“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]~[tóní]	“ear”
		[ɲú]~[ɲú]~[ɲó]	“knee”

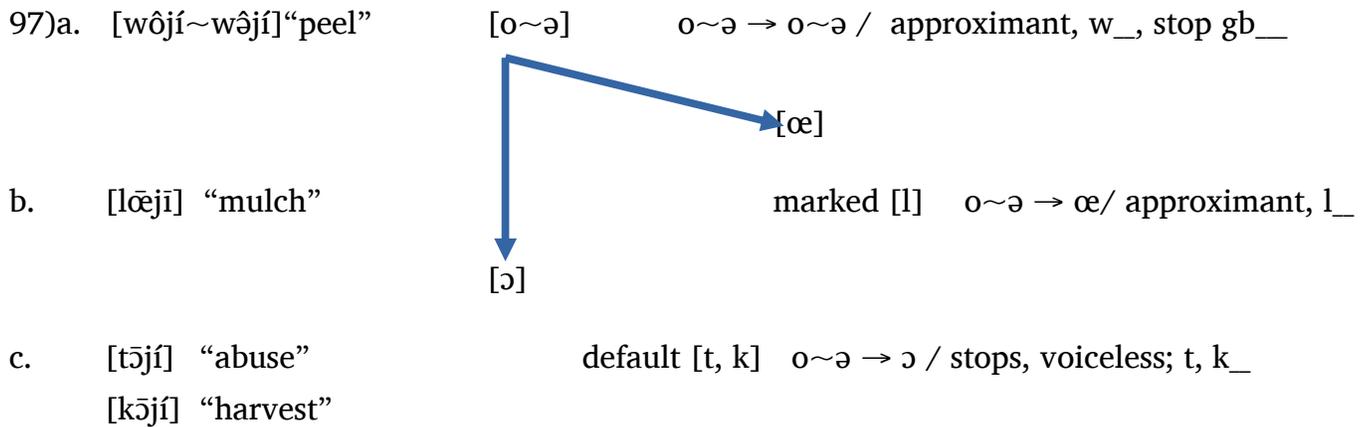
The data above gives the impression that all the sounds are phonemes. Apart from these minimal pairs, many occur in the analogous environment. While those that are in complementary distributions have been treated with one of the allophones resulting as the phoneme.

The [ü] and [u] are not found with an intervening [ɣ] at the intervocalic positions \*[ítʃúyú]. 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 /i/ are always in free variation and /i/ is more of a phonological trigger. The consonants with palatal property are a suitable environment for the /i/, thus, [i] 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.

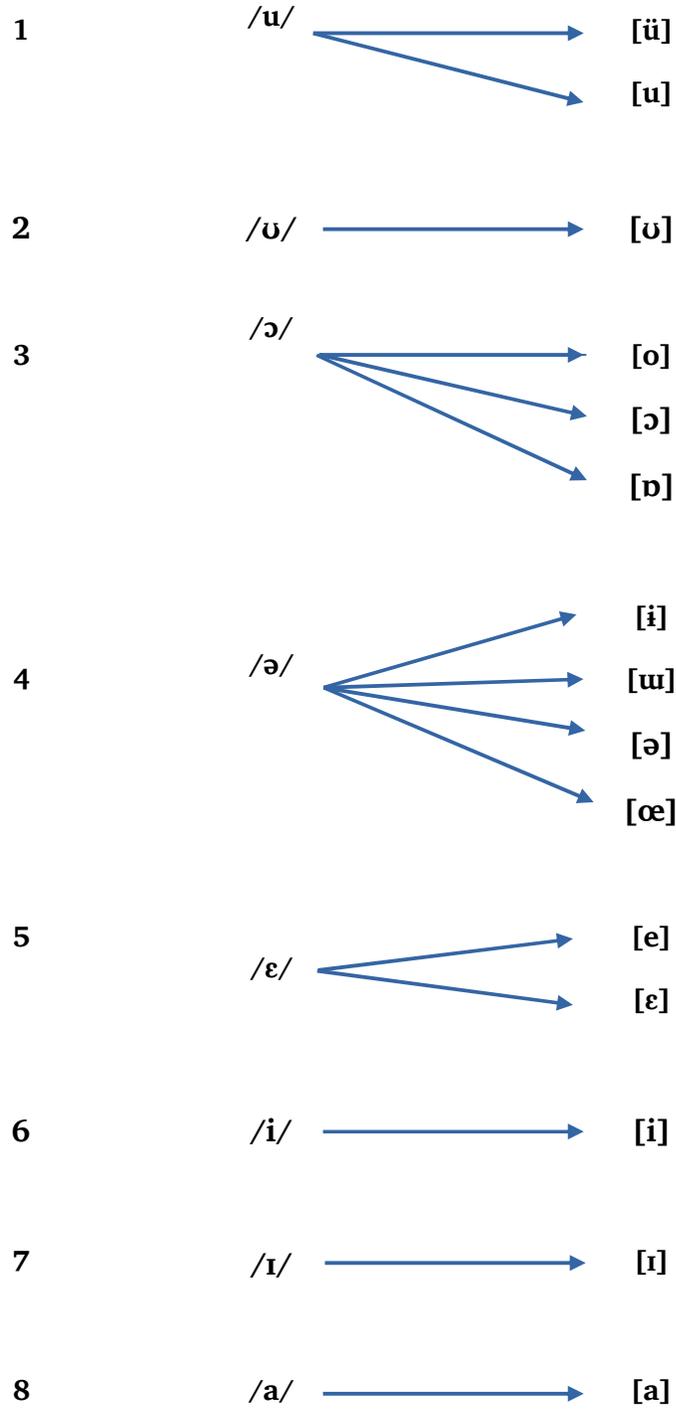
The rear [œ] results from [o~ə] when it is sandwiched between the lateral approximant [l] and [ji]. The [l] precedes [o~ə] while [o~ə] precedes [ji]. The [o~ə] in this instance has also generated the [ɔ] as shown in the diagram:



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



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	iu 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, i, 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. [báj] “cover (v)”                      c. [kám] “cliff river side”  
       [bá] “nail (v)”                                [ká] “hands”
- b. [bój] “clothes”  
       [bú~bb:] “wood ash”

They minimally contrast in the following pairs:

- d. [bā̄] “nail” (v)  
 [bā] “roast” (v)
- e. [fú̄] “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-] [íló] “to bury”

All other vowels do occur in open syllables after onset consonants. The intervocalic velar fricative excludes the following vowels [i, u, ɪ, ε, 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, ɪ, ε, e]: [dzá<sup>y</sup>á, bú<sup>y</sup>ú] “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	∅	[ndzíní] “fly”	[bǐ:] , [kǐfǐ] “goat” “pig”
2			ɪ	[ídzō] “to come”	[bìmfín] “cocoyam”	[bǐ:] , [kǐfǐ:] “allow” “knowledge”(pl)
3			e	∅	[f'éŋkí] “wing termite”	[m'è] “oil”
4			ɛ	∅	[kēn] [kìlétí] “tree” “calabash”	[mgbè] “plant”
5			æ	∅	[ílójǐ] “mulch”	∅
6			ü	∅	[túní] “ear”	[kínú] [tsü~tú~tǐjú] “knee” “spit”
7		Central	ɨ	∅	[kìndzìŋndzǐŋ] “picture”	[dǎŋtǐkǐ] “regalia”
8			ə	∅	[fɪ"səŋ] “ring”	[ídā] [gbā] “to cry” “partridge”
9			a	[a] That	[dáj] “today”	[dzá] [fílán] “year” “pot”
10		Back	ɯ	∅	[ɣúfǐ] “yawn (n)”	∅
11			u	∅	[ǐfǐ], [kúm] “beat” “python”	[mū] [ǐjú] “one” “tie”
12			ɯ	∅	[ítǐóm], [dzóŋ] “to dig” “snake”	[mô] [ídō] “blade” “to name”
13			o	∅	[m̀kōŋō] “bone”	[kǐfó] “cap”
14			ɔ	∅	[bìndəm] “gonorrhoea”	[bìndzə] “sugar”
15			ɒ	∅	[góŋ~gǐŋ] “spear”	∅

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:

	Bilabias	b_, m_, ...
$\mathbf{i} \rightarrow \mathbf{i} /$	Palatals	ʃ_, tʃ_, ...
	Labio-dentals	kf_, gv_, ...

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, [mí] 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 → ʊ / __Velars__		
[u]	[ʊ]	
*[gūɣū]	[gōɣō]	“drag / drive (car)”
*[būɣū]	[bōɣō]	“go out / exit”
*[tʃūɣū]	[tʃōɣō]	“knock (head)”
*[kūɣū]	[kōɣō]	“maintain child”
*[ʃūɣū]	[ʃōɣō]	“pour”

102)

ʊ → u / Palatals__-Velar		
[ʊ]	[u]	
*[ʃōfī]	[ʃūfī]	“beat bitterly”
*[tʃōfī]	[tʃūfī]	“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]	[kìff]	“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”	∅	1
		[β]	βú ~ “fly (n)”	∅	∅	2
		[p]	∅	lāpsí ~ lāfí “dress up”	∅	3
2	/t/	[t]	tálí “ladder”	ítá “to sting”	∅	4
		[r]	rā (dzā) “come”	ntórò “pepper”	∅	5
3	/d/	[d]	dàlá “redalia”	ídā “to build”	∅	6
4	/k/	[k]	kā “hatch”	íkū <sup>v</sup> ū “to nurse”	∅	7
		[kf]	kfú “abode (dead)”	ŋkfú “ancestor”	∅	8
		[ʔ]	∅	∅	nàʔ “cow”	9
5	/g/	[g]	gā “share”	ígò <sup>v</sup> ú “to drag”	∅	10
		[gv]	gvú “feet”	∅	∅	11
6	/kp/	[kp]	kpī “death”	íkpā “to light fire”	∅	12

7	/gb/	[gb]	gbí “net, 100frs”	ígbā “to harvest”	∅	13
<b>II NASALS: / m, n, ɲ, ŋ /</b>						
8	/m/	[m]	mà “or”	ímā “build”	fintám “fruit”	14
		[m̥]	m̥fá: “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)”	mìkpàŋá “woman”	fintáŋ “kite”	18
<b>III FRICATIVES: / f, s, ʃ, h, ʒ, ɣ /</b>						
12	/f/	[f]	fá “two”	ífá “to shave”	∅	19
13	/s/	[s]	sàŋ “hall”	ísàŋ “to disappear”	∅	20
14	/ʃ/	[ʃ]	ʃàŋwí “tree k.o”	íʃàŋá “to peel”	∅	21
15	/h/	[h]	híkī “nape (neck)”	táhā “bowl”	∅	22
16	/ʒ/	[ʒ]	ʒá:ní ~ jání “island”	íʒəʹə “to begin”	∅	23
17	/ɣ/	[ɣ]	ɣəfí ~ yífí “yawn(v)”	íʹəʹə “glowing”	∅	24
		[ɣf]	ɣfú “blue berry tree”	∅	∅	25
<b>IV AFFRICATES: / ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ, kx /</b>						
18	/ts/	[ts]	tsá “baboon”	∅	∅	26
19	/dz/	[dz]	dzàŋ “rain”	ídzá “to lack”	∅	27
		[dzz]	dzzē “road”	∅	∅	28

		[z]	zátō ~ dzátō “female name”	∅	∅	29
20	/tʃ/	[tʃ]	tʃá “tilt”	ítʃám “chew”(v)	∅	30
21	/dʒ/	[dʒ]	dʒáɲ “juju home”	ídʒâfí “mismanage”	∅	31
22	/kx/	[kx]	kxā “farm”	ílxá “to shave”	∅	32
V	APPROXIMANTS: / l, j, w, /					
23	/l/	[l]	lé “run”	kìlétí “calabash”	∅	33
24	/j/	[j]	jání ~ zá:ní “island”	íjàʷá “to ascend”	∅	34
25	/w/	[ɥ]	lɥí: “laziness”	∅	∅	35
		[w]	wé “open”	íwē “to open”	∅	36
		[v]	v <sup>w</sup> ḥ ~ wwḥ “screech owl”	∅	∅	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”	[tá]	“entertain”	/ t /
	[dā]	“build”	[dá]	“wet”	/ d /
(k, g)	[kā]	“plant”	[kūʷū]	“nurse a child”	/ k /
	[gā]	“share”	[gūʷū]	“drag”	/ g /
(kp, gb)	[kpā]	“cook”	[kpí]	“death”	/ kp /
	[gbā]	“harvest”	[gbí]	“net”	/ gb /
(b, d)	[íbāɲhī]	“to meet”	[bā]	“roast”	/ b /
	[ídāɲhí]	“to omit”	[dā]	“build”	/ d /

(k, kp)	[kâ]	“hands”	[ká]	“days”	/ k /
	[kpâ]	“hand”	[kpá]	“day”	/ kp /
(b, gb)	[bā]	“roast”	[bóʋó]	“exit”	/ b /
	[gbā]	“harvest palm”	[gbóʋó]	“gun”	/ gb /

**In complementary pairs:**

106)	(p, b)	[∅]	“no word”	[∅]	“no word”	[lāpsí]	“dress up”	[p]
		[bálí]	“waist”	[kìbábâ]	“hyena”	[kìŋkèblì]	“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 /kìŋkèb-/ 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] / kìŋkèp -lɪ/ [kìŋkèblì]

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 [-tɪ] is a suffix) with the [ʔ]:

(k, ʔ)	[ŋgɔʔ]	“gun trigger”	[nàʔ]	“cow”	[ʔ]
	[kóʋólí]	“elder”	[kwāktɪ]	“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	[íkōktī]	“to incubate”	[mbóʔ]	“premature palm nut”
	[íkwáktí]	“to think”	[ŋgòʔ]	“gun trigger”

### 3.4.6 Nasals

The nasal sounds [m, ɱ, n, ɲ, ŋ] form a huge number of words and they bear a pertinent contrast among each other with [ɱ] 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	[nōm]	“work	/m/
	[nā]	“ride	[bīnāŋ]	“beds	[mōn]	“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	[nō]	“sleep	[dān]	“burn incense	/n/
	[ɲā]	“give	[ɲō]	“honey	[dájɲ]	“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:

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitive</i>	<i>gerund</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>progressive</i>	<i>future</i>	<i>imperative</i>
c.	<i>sharpen</i>	[ífān]	[mfàɲ]	[fān]	fāɲkólè	fā:ɲlè	fáɲ
d.	<i>shine</i>	[íbān]	[mbàɲ]	[báɲ]	báɲkólè	báɲlè	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)	[nəŋ] “want”	[ntʃání] “raffia frond”	[bənèn] “forbid”	/n/
		[ŋə̄m] “open eye”	[nʃáŋá] “oil chaff”	[bənóŋ] “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)	[ɲám] “silently remove”	[kìɲóŋ] “buffalo”	[bàɲ] “shine”	/ɲ/
		[ŋə̄m] “open eye”	[ŋkōŋō] “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, ʧ, h] can be suspected among themselves in a permissible permutation such as (β, f), (β, v), (f, v), (f, s), (s, z), (s, ʃ), (ʧ, h):

108)a.	(β, f)	[βú] “blood-sucking fly”	[ø] “no entry”	/β/
		[fú] “head”	[ífu] “to itch”	/f/

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

b.	(β, v)	[βú] “blood-sucking fly”	[ø] “no entry”	/β/
		[v <sup>w</sup> ô] “screech owl”	[v <sup>w</sup> ô] “slowly, peeling”	/v/

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

c.	(f, v)	[fóvó] “axe”	[kìfó] “cap”	/f/
		[v <sup>w</sup> ô] “screech owl”	[v <sup>w</sup> ô] “slowly, peeling”	/v/

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

d.	(f, s)	[sə̄və̄] “sieve”	[ <sup>n</sup> fàhì] “plan”	/f/
		[fə̄və̄] “tell”	[ <sup>n</sup> sàfi] “judge”	/s/

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

e.	(s, z)	[sàŋ] “hall”	[bìsì:] “place”	/s/
		[záto] “female name”	[ø] “no entry”	/z/

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

f.	(s, ʃ)	[sàŋá] “weed”	[ <sup>n</sup> sàfi] “judge”	/s/
		[ʃáŋá] “peel”	[ <sup>n</sup> ʃáŋá] “palm oil chaff”	/ʃ/

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

g.	(s, ʒ)	[són] “long mouth rat”	[ísà <sup>v</sup> ó] “to sieve”	/s/
		[ʒón] “k.o song”	[íʒà <sup>v</sup> ó] “to sweep”	/ʒ/

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

h.	(ʃ, ʒ)	[ʃ <sup>v</sup> ó] “wingless termites”	[íʃūfi] “beat severely”	/ʃ/
		[ʒ <sup>v</sup> ó] “begin”	[íʒūm] “to go far off”	/ʒ/

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

i.	(ɣ, h)	[ɣəfi] “yawn”	[íʃə <sup>v</sup> əhí] “to bring down”	/ɣ/
		[híkí] “nape (neck)”	[ítóhè] “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”	[tsə] “pass”
	[dzà] “porcupine”	[dzə] “fall (rain)”

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

(ts, tʃ)	[tsĩ] “sorcerer”	[ítsə <sup>v</sup> əjí] “scarify”
	[tʃíní] “push in”	[ítʃə <sup>v</sup> ətí] “think”

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

(dz, dʒ)	[dzùŋ]	“antelope”	[dzəʋə]	“elephant”
	[dʒùm]	“tiger”	[dʒəʋə]	“kernel (corn)”

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

(kf, kx)	[kfú]	“abode (dead)”	[kfù:]	“hill”
	[kxó]	“shave”	[kxə]	“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)	[wé]	“open”	[íwəʋə]	“to listen”	[wóní]	“tail”	/w/
		[jé]	“name”	[íjəʋə]	“to lean”	[jání]	“island”	/j/

### 3.4.9 Lateral Approximant

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

111)	(l, j)	[lē]	“run”	[íláfí]	“to dress self”
		[jé]	“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.	[ntótò] ~ [ntórò]	“pepper”
	b.	[kəlétí] ~ [kəlérí]	“calabash”

and also phrasal allophone of [dz]

c.	[dzó dzə] ~ [dzó rə]	“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 articulation 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)	[kà:] “basket”	[híkī] “nape (neck)”	/k/
113)	[ɣá] “thing”	[íɣʻə̀] “to glow(fire)”	/ɣ/

The sound [k] and [ɣ] play a variational role in “think” where [ɣ] appears intervocalic:

<i>gloss</i>	<i>infinitive</i>	<i>gerund</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>progressive</i>	<i>future</i>	<i>imperative</i>
<i>think</i>	ík <sup>w</sup> àktí	ɪk <sup>w</sup> àktì	k <sup>w</sup> àktī	k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>v</sup> àtikí <sup>l</sup> è	k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>v</sup> àtí <sup>l</sup> è	k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>v</sup> àtí
	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 [híkī] 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 [kà:] 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-ɣʻə̀] “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)	[təff]	“advice”	[ítū]	“hang”
114)	[səff]	“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)	[bóm]	“accept”	[bí:]	“goat”
	[mbòm]	“large”	[mbí:]	“world”

The sound [b] and [mb] are in minimal pairs, they are phonemes, /b/ and /mb/:

stop/prenasalised(gb, mb)	[gbí]	“net”	[gbē]	“partridge”
	[mbí:]	“stone trap”	[mbè:]	“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, ŋ, 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]	[bìkám]	“lion”
b.	[dʒ...m]	[dʒúm]	“tiger”
c.	[nt...m]	[fintám]	“fruit”
d.	[mb...n]	[kìmbín]	“faeces”
d.	[ts...n]	[tsèn]	“arm”
e.	[t...ŋ]	[kìtàŋ]	“hut”

f.	[dz...ŋ]	[dzóŋ]	“antelope”
g.	[mb...ŋ]	[mbəŋ]	“k.o juju”
h.	[ts...ŋ]	[tsáŋ]	“tyre”
i.	[l...ŋ]	[filáŋ]	“clay pot”
j.	[ŋkw...ŋ]	[fíŋkwáŋ]	“deer”
k.	[ŋg...ʔ]	[ŋgəʔ]	“gun plug”
l.	[ŋgw...ʔ]	[ŋg <sup>w</sup> áʔ]	“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]	∅	∅	∅	/b/	
[b]	[ɪ]-	íbá	“to roasting (fowl)”		
[bʲ]	[ɪ]-	íbʲé	“to be done (cook)”		
[b <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	íb <sup>w</sup> ǎ	“to pierce”		
[t]	[ɪ]-	ítá	“to hit”	/ t /	
[d]	[ɪ]-	ídó:	“to be wet”	/ d /	
[k]	[ɪ]-	íkā	“to hatch”	/ k /	
[k <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	ík <sup>w</sup> á	“to catch”	/ k /	
[g]	[ɪ]-	ígâ:	“to dish out / share”	/ g /	
[gv]	∅	∅	∅	[ʔ] of /k/	
[ʔ]	∅	∅	∅		
[kp]	[ɪ]-	íkpǎ:	“to light fire”	/ kp /	
[gb]	[ɪ]-	ígbā	“to harvest (palm cone)”	/ gb /	
[m]	[ɪ]-	ímā	“to build (house)”	/ m /	
[m <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	ím <sup>w</sup> ā	“to beg”	/ m /	
[n]	[ɪ]-	íná	“ride (bicycle)”	/ n /	
[ɲ]	[ɪ]-	ínā	“to give”	/ ɲ /	

[ŋ]	[ɪ]-	íŋám	“to open eye”	/ ŋ /	
[ŋ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	íŋ <sup>w</sup> ǎ	“to pinch”	/ ŋ /	
[β]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
[f]	[ɪ]-	ífā	“to count”	/ f /	
[f <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	íf <sup>w</sup> âhí	“to loan”		
[v]	∅	∅		[v] / w /	∅
[s]	[ɪ]-	ísá <sup>v</sup> á	“to judge”	/ s /	
[z]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
[ʃ]	[ɪ]-	íʃá <sup>v</sup> àjí	“to demolish”		
[ʃ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	íʃ <sup>w</sup> ǎ	“to loosen”	/ ʃ /	
[ʃ̥]	[ɪ]-	íʃ̥ǎlí	“to compare”		
[ʒ]	[ɪ]-	íʒə <sup>v</sup> á	“to begin”	/ ʒ /	
[ʒ̥]	[ɪ]-	íʒ̥ə:ní	“to fill”	/ ʒ /	
[h]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
[ɣ]	[ɪ]-	í <sup>v</sup> ānní	“to wander about”	/ ɣ /	
[ɣf]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
[ts]	[ɪ]-	ítsá:	“to praise”	/ ts /	
[dz]	[ɪ]-	ídzə	“to fall (rain)”	/ dz /	
[tʃ]	[ɪ]-	ítʃà <sup>v</sup> á	“to check (trap)”	/ tʃ /	
[tʃ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	ítʃ <sup>w</sup> ālí	“to mix (raw corn beer)”	/ tʃ /	
[dʒ]	[ɪ]-	ídʒī	“to be heavy”	/ dʒ /	
[dʒ <sup>w</sup> ]	[ɪ]-	ídʒ <sup>w</sup> óm	“rub excess oil”	/ dʒ /	
[kx]	[ɪ]-	í <sup>v</sup> kxə	“to shave”	/ kx /	
[gɣ]	[ɪ]-	íg <sup>v</sup> əkī	“to suffer”	/ g /	
[kf]	[ɪ]-	í <sup>v</sup> kfū	“to pour libation”	/ k /	
[gv]	∅	∅	∅	/ g /	
[j]	[ɪ]-	íjə <sup>v</sup> á	“to start”	/ j /	
[w]	[ɪ]-	íwǎm	“to bark”	/ w /	
[l]	[ɪ]-	ílán	“to have joy”	/ l /	
[l̥]	[ɪ]-	íl̥ín	“to bewitch”	/ l /	
[r]	∅	∅	∅	/ t /	
[ndz]	[ɪ]-	índzàŋá	“to urinate”	/ dz /	
[ndʒ]	[ɪ]-	índʒúó	“be sweet”	/ dʒ /	
[ŋg]	[ɪ]-	íŋgú	“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	u	u	ʊ	o	ɔ	ɒ
_p	-	-	-	ɛp	-	-	-	əp	ap	-	-	-	-	ɔp	-
*p_	-	-	-	*pɛ	-	-	-	*pə	*pa	-	-	-	-	*pɔ	-
b_	bi	bɪ	-	bɛ	-	-	bi	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, yf] (§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 safeguarding an endangered language hence contrary to the expectations 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 pedagogy. 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 4.3 nouns 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 noun has a nominal affix (X) called the noun class affix attached to the noun which in turn generates a pronominal concord (X.AG) in the presence

of a noun modifier. 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 Peripheral, Momo and Ring generally referred to as the Western Grassfields. 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		Remarks
Noun Class	Noun Prefix	Concord	Noun Prefix	Concord	
1	ù (n)-	ù-	∅-	w`~ù-	Mbuk has a prenasalised syllable onset
1a	-	-	∅-	w`	Mbuk prenasalised onsets go here
2	bá-	bá-	bá-	b´	Same as Proto-Western Grassfields
3	ú-	ú-	∅-	w´	Absence of nasal prefix
3a	-	-	-	-	Noun class 3a not attested in Mbuk
4	í-	í-	∅-	j´ ~ í-	The concords are similar
5	í-	í-	∅-	w´	The concords differ
6	á-	gá-	∅-	∅-	No correspondence
6a	mà-	mà-	mə-	N-	Similar
7	kí-	kí-	kɪ~kə	k-	Similar
8	bí-	bí-	bi-	b-	Similar
9	ì(N)-	ì-	jì-	j´~ì	Quasi similar
10	í(N)-	Cí-	jí-	j´~í	Quasi similar
13	tí-	tí-	∅-	∅-	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 ∅-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-, bǎ-~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 [mǎ-~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 [kǎ-~kɪ-] plural prefix of Mbuk. Class 6 is a plural class with the following alternating prefixes [kǎ-~kɪ-] which can bear a low or a high tone. While in other languages, the [kǎ-~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 [kǎ-~kɪ-] plural class to fill a vacuum in numbering the Mbuk noun classes. This then forms the gender 5/6 (∅/kǎ-~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 concurring 7/8, [ntǔ:ní / ntǔ́:ní] “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, [mbễn]/[mbê̂n] “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	∅-		wì	L, M	ηkóη	bìkóm	chief, lion
	2	bə-	H, L	bó	H	bəηkóη	bəbìkóm	chiefs, lions
II	3	∅-		wí	H	kpá <sup>v</sup> á	dzín	co-wife, tooth
	4	∅-		jí	H	ká <sup>v</sup> á	dzín	co-wife, teeth
III	5	∅-		wí	H	gbâ	tā	ceiling, stone
	6	kɪ- ~ ∅	H, L, M	kí	H	kígbâ	kītā	ceilings, stones
IV	7	kɪ- ~ ∅-	H, L	kí	H	kəkpê	ntú:ní	lizard, ear
	8	bi- ~ ∅-	H, L	bí	H	bìkpê	ntú:ní	lizards, ears,
V	9	∅-		jì	L	ʃ <sup>w</sup> ǎη	gbā	sheep, partridge
	10	∅-		jí	H	ʃ <sup>w</sup> áη	gbá	sheep(s), partridges
VI	19	fɪ-	H, L	fí-	H	fɪŋ <sup>j</sup> éní	fɪláj	bird, clay pot
	6a	N-	H, L, M	N-	L, H	mìŋ <sup>j</sup> éní ~m̀ŋ <sup>j</sup> éní	m̀láj	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-between the head noun and the adnominals. In Mbuk the possessive can be used to differentiate the noun classes in cases of zero-prefix meanwhile in Missong, Munken, Ngun (Tschonghongi 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	Concord		Examples		Gloss	
			AM	Cd				
I	1	∅-	wì	w-̀	mì	nâ	wāŋ	“person, mother, child”
	2	bá-	bó	b-́	bóní:	bónâ	b <sup>w</sup> á	“people, mothers, children”
	1	∅-	wì	w-̀	∅-mbúŋ	∅-bìkám	ŋjǎ:	“cloth, lion, fats (sg.)”
	2	bà-	bó	b-́	bè-mbúŋ	bèbìkám	bèŋjǎ:	“cloths, lions, fats (pl.)”
II	3	∅-	wí	w-́	kpà	nsē:n	g <sup>w</sup> áŋ	“hand, friend, bamboo”
	4	∅-	jí	j-́	kà	nsé:n	g <sup>w</sup> áŋ	“hands, friends, bamboo(s)”
III	5	∅-	wí	w-́	b <sup>w</sup> ám	fē	dzúá	“cup, moon, soup”
	6	kí-	kí	k-́	kób <sup>w</sup> ám	kífē	kídzúá	“cups, moon(s), soup(s)”
IV	5	∅-	wí	w-́	gbâ:	ndzēní	fóʋó	“ceiling, leaf, pestle (fufu)”
	8	bì-	bí	b-́	bígbâ:	bìndzēní	bífóʋó	“ceilings, leaves, pestle (fufu)”
V	7	∅-	kí	k-́	fímí	jání	mbā	“he-goat, island, burnt fufu”
	8	bì-	bí-	b-́	bífímí	bìjání	bìmbā	“he-goats, islands, burnt fufu(s)”
	7	∅-	kí	k-́	bá:	là	ntjōŋō	“palm nut, intestine, hunchback”
	8	∅-	bí	b-́	bá:	là	ntjōŋó	“palm nuts, intestines, hunchbacks”
	7	kì-	kí	k-́	kífí	kìmbáŋhǐ	kìŋf <sup>w</sup> ā	“pig, tributary, phlegm”
	8	bì-	bì	b-̀	bìfí	bìmbáŋhǐ	bìŋf <sup>w</sup> ā	“pigs, tributaries, phlegm”
VI	9	∅-	jì	j-̀	jǐ	fānī	dzò:lí	“fowl, rung, mushroom”
	10	∅-	jí	j-́	jǐ	fání	dzó:lí	“fowls, rungs, mushrooms”
VII	19	fí-	fí	f-́	fíŋéní	fímbú	fíŋáŋ	“bird, gall bladder(bile), seed”
	6a	N-	N	N-́	ŋŋéní~ mìŋjéní	ŋŋmbú	ŋŋjáŋ	“birds, gall bladders(bile), seeds”

118) When class 5 uses [k-] as a concord, there is affixation of the nominal [ki]-prefix:

a. [dâ:] “bridge”

[kídâ: kí wó nà] “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. [dâ:] “bridge”  
 [dâ: bí wó nàʝ] “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:

	<i>[sg/pl ]</i>	<i>Concord</i>	<i>gloss</i>
120) a.	[ø-sōm]	w´	“palm tree”
	[ø-sóm]	k´ ~ b´	“palm trees”
b.	[ø-sōm]	w´	“palm tree”
	[kí-sōm]	[k´]	“palm trees”
c.	[ø-sōm]	[w´]	“palm tree”
	[bí-sóm]	[b´]	“palm trees”
121) a.	[ø-ntó:ní]	[k´]	“ear”
	[ø-ntó:ní]	[b´]	“ears”
b.	[ø-ntó:ní]	[k´]	“ear”
	[bì-ntó:ní]	[b´]	“ears”
c.	[kì-ntó:ní]	[k´]	“ear”
	[bì-ntó:ní]	[b´]	“ears”
122) a.	[ø-bá: ]	[k´]	“palm nut”
	[ø-bá: ]	[b´]	“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- / b́- (high tone)

Noun class 1 nouns have zero prefix and class 2 morphemes have a high tone CV- [b́-] and a low tone CV- [b̀-] form:

The enumerative concord (1c, 2c) for gender 1/2 with the high tone [b́-] prefix:

gender	NC	PX	root	stem	AM 1/2	1c/2c	gloss
1 / 2	1	∅-	-mì	mì	wì	ẁ-	person
	2	b́-	-nì	b́nî	b́	b̀-	people

123) Gender 1/2, ∅- / b́- (high tone)

a.	[mì / b́nî]	“person”	[wā̃n / bwá]	“child”
b.	[nê / b́nê]	“mother”	[bâ / b́bâ]	“father”
c.	[kpê ~ kpàŋá / b́káŋà]	“wife”	[mìŋùʸú / b́nùʸù]	“male”
d.	[ŋgàmì / b́ŋgámì]	“elder”	[ndzòdì / b́ndzódì]	“mediator”
e.	[tìbà / b́tífbà]	“grandfather”	[kélí / b́kélí]	“dead people”
f.	[ <sup>n</sup> fà / b́ <sup>n</sup> fà ~ <sup>n</sup> fâ:]	“slave”	[dʒí / b́dʒí]	“thief”
h.	[ŋúm ~ ŋùʸú / b́nùʸù]	“husband”	[mìkpàŋá / b́káŋà]	“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 [wā̃n / b<sup>w</sup>ā̃~b<sup>w</sup>á~b<sup>w</sup>éʸá] which is suppletive and lacks the prefix for both the singular and plural forms. It has two segmental variants in the plural [b<sup>w</sup>a~b<sup>w</sup>əʸa].

The root word harbours both register and contour tones. In free variation, some nouns do not take the [b́-] prefix, rather, the tone is modified to get the plural form (b). In addition, vowel length varies (a):

124) a.	[ŋfà / b̀əŋfà]	“slave/slaves”
b.	[ŋfâ:/ ŋfâ:]	“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 [bè-]. The words come from diverse semantic domains as illustrated (1a/2a):

#### 4.1.3 Noun class gender 1 / 2, ø- / bè- (low tone)

gender	nc	PX	root	stem	AM 1/2	1c/2c	gloss
1/ 2	1a	ø-	-mbúŋ	mbúŋ	wì	w-	cloth
	2a	bè-	-mbúŋ	bèmbúŋ	bé	b-	cloths

#### 125) Gender 1 / 2, ø- / bè- (Low tone)

a.	[mbúŋ / bèmbúŋ]	“cloth”	[fāŋwī / bèfāŋwī]	“frog”
b.	[tāsā / bètāsā]	“dish”	[g <sup>w</sup> àg <sup>w</sup> á / bèg <sup>w</sup> àg <sup>w</sup> á]	“duck”
c.	[ŋ <sup>w</sup> ô / bèŋ <sup>w</sup> ô]	“cutlass”	[ntáŋnì / bèntáŋnì]	“traitor”
d.	[bìkóm / bèbìkóm]	“lion”	[ <sup>n</sup> sèŋ / bè <sup>n</sup> sèŋ]	“bracelet”
e.	[mbàŋ / bèmbàŋ]	“stick”	[sèŋé / bè <sup>n</sup> sèŋé]	“whip”
f.	[ŋ <sup>w</sup> ò / bèŋ <sup>w</sup> ò]	“god”	[mkpà <sup>y</sup> à / bèmkpà <sup>y</sup> à]	“scabies”
g.	[mbàŋ / bèmbàŋ]	“fence”	[ŋkèmní / bèŋkèmní]	“wrist”
h.	[ntá <sup>y</sup> á / bèntá <sup>y</sup> á]	“shin”	[ <sup>n</sup> zúŋ / bè <sup>n</sup> zúŋ]	“knuckle”
i.	[ŋkòmsì / bèŋkòmsì]	“neighbour”	[tsí / bètsí]	“sorcerer”
j.	[ <sup>n</sup> sà <sup>y</sup> à / bè <sup>n</sup> sà <sup>y</sup> à]	“judge”	[ŋkùsà <sup>i</sup> / bèŋkùsà <sup>i</sup> ]	“ancestor”
k.	[ŋkúŋ / bèŋkúŋ]	“Fon, chief”	[dóŋè / bèdóŋè]	“okra”

In Mbuk, generally, gender 1/2 has more nouns with the low tone [bè-] prefix than the high tone [bé-] 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-	-kpen	kpen	wí	w-	tree
	4	ø-	-ken	kēn	jí	j-	trees

## 126) gender 3 / 4, ø- / ø-

a.	[dʒĩ / dʒí]	“tooth”	[dzĩŋ / dzín]	“corn cob”
b.	[g <sup>w</sup> āŋ / g <sup>w</sup> áŋ]	“bamboo”	[ŋgāsi / ŋgási]	“cowries”
c.	[mbēn / mbēn]	“breast”	[kpà / kã]	“hand”
d.	[gvū / gvú]	“foot”	[ŋgāŋ / ŋgán]	“root, vein”
e.	[nsēn / nsén]	“friend”	[kpá <sup>y</sup> á / ká <sup>y</sup> á]	“fellow-wife”
f.	[ŋgē / ŋgé]	“egg”	[gōŋ / góŋ]	“cartridge”
g.	[f <sup>w</sup> āŋ / f <sup>w</sup> áŋ]	“redfeather bird”	[dzí <sup>y</sup> è / dzí <sup>y</sup> è]	“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-	-b <sup>w</sup> á <sup>y</sup> ám	b <sup>w</sup> á <sup>y</sup> ám	wí	w-'	cup
	6	kí-	-b <sup>w</sup> á <sup>y</sup> ám	kíb <sup>w</sup> á <sup>y</sup> ám	kí	k-'	cups

## 127) gender 5 / 6, ø- / kí ~ kə, (kí ~ bi)

a.	[ná <sup>y</sup> è / kíná <sup>y</sup> è]	“grinding stone”	[zyó / kízzyó]	“name”
b.	[gbâ: / kíggbâ:]	“native ceiling”	[jĩ / kífí]	“week”
c.	[sōm / kísóm]	“palm tree”	[fyé / kífyé]	“month, moon”
d.	[kpáŋè / kíkpaŋè]	“pot”	[tjwén / kítjwén]	“bitter leaf”
e.	[tā / kītā]	“battery”	[nìŋ / kínìŋ]	“nyamanyama”
f.	[gón / kígón]	“spear”	[mù: / kìmù:]	“razor blade”
g.	[ndzú / kìndzú]	“nose”	[dʒwà / kídʒwà]	“soup”
h.	[tʃəŋ / kítʃəŋ]	“guitar”	[dʒíní / kídʒíní]	“belt”
i.	[kpún / kíkún]	“handle (hoe)”	[tón / kítón]	“fireside”
j.	[gbó <sup>y</sup> / kígbo <sup>y</sup> ]	“pestle (mortar)”	[b'áná / kíb'áná]	“flatstone”

The plural form [kí-] for all of the above can still be [bi-]. But some will be more appropriate with [kí-] than [bi-] and vice versa. Some speakers will not use [bi-] as it is not appropriate while others will not use [kí-] 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-	-mónɿ	kímónɿ	H H	kí	marrow (sg)
	8	bí-	-mónɿ	bímónɿ	H H	bí	marrow (pl)
7/8	7	kì-	-dzòm	kìdzòm	L L	kí	chest
	8	bì-	-dzòm	bìdzòm	L L	bí	chests

128) gender 7 / 8, kɪ- ~ kə- / bi- with concord (k- / b-)

- a. [kínũ / bɪnũ] “knee” kəŋkúlì / bɪŋkúlì “rat”  
 b. [kégá:lé / bígá:lé] “broom” [kìmbǎ:ŋ / bìmbǎ:ŋ] “yaw”  
 c. [kìndòŋ / bìndòŋ] “throat, goiter” [kífí / bìfí] “pig”  
 e. [kímgbǎ / bìmgbǎ] “giant” [kìntómì / bìntómì] “pillar”  
 f. [kéndzǎŋ / bìndzǎŋ] “stupid person” [kəkpə / bìkpə] “lizard”  
 g. [kámbugú / bímbugú] “hailstone” [kìŋkùmì / bìŋkùmì] “leprosy”  
 h. [kámgbê:lí / bímbê:lí] “native carrot” [kìmfín / bìmfín] “cocoyam”  
 i. [kántʃáʔnì / bíntʃáʔnì] “fruitless palm flower” [kìmbín / bìmbín] “faeces”

129) gender 7 / 8, ø- / ø- with concord (k- / b-) : ntõ:ní / ntõnì ~ 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	ʃĩ	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:	dzö:	R	jì	house
	10	ø´	-dzʊ	dzú	H	jí	houses

130) gender 9 / 10,  $\emptyset$ - /  $\emptyset$ - with concord ( j̣̀ / j̣́ )

a.	[bèʷè / b́éʷè]	“fish”	[ʃʷāŋ / ʃʷáŋ]	“sheep”
b.	[gvù / gvû]	“body”	[tsō / tsó]	“palm kernel”
c.	[bí: / bí]	“goat”	[bá: / bá]	“palm nut”
d.	[ʃìə / ʃì]	“fowl”	[fǔ: / fǔ]	“palm beetle”
e.	[tsèn / tsên]	“arm”	[b'ě ~ b'jé / b'jé]	“dog”
f.	[dʒūm / dʒúm]	“back”	[fyānī / fjánɪ]	“Native pin/nail”
g.	[bᵛᵛ / b́ᵛᵛ]	“stream”	[dzùŋ / dzúŋ]	“hair (of body)”
h.	[ʃàʷàlī / ʃáʷálí]	“liver”	[b'ǎlī / b'ǎlí]	“rib”
i.	[mb'āŋ / mb'áŋ]	“kidney”	[ʃōm / ʃóm]	“heart”
j.	[dzəʷə / dzəʷé]	“elephant”	[dzùŋ / dzúŋ]	“antelope”
k.	[tsᵛ / tsᵛ]	“navel”	[gbā / gbá]	“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:

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>nc</i>	<i>PX</i>	<i>stem</i>	<i>AG</i>	<i>phrase example</i>	
131)	“week”	9	[ $\emptyset$ -]	[ʃí]	[jì-]	[ʃí jì mù]	“one week”
	“weeks”	6	[kɪ-]	[kíʃí]	[kɪ-]	[kʲéʃí kʲí fá]	“two weeks”
	“weeks”	8	[bi-]	[bíʃí]	[bi-]	[bíʃí bí fá]	“two weeks”
	“weeks”	10	[ $\emptyset$ -]	[ʃí]	[jí]	[ʃí jí fá]	“two weeks”

Figure 19: 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. [ʃí jí fá] “two weeks”  
10.week 10AM two
- b. [kɔ́ʃí kɪ fá] “two weeks have passed”  
6.week 6.AM two
- c. [bíʃí 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 w̄ / k̄ ~ b̄ singular and plural respectively. The word “palm tree” is another polyplural term which speakers use all the forms interchangeably:

- 133) a. [∅-sóm / ∅-sóm] “palm tree / palm trees”  
b. [∅-sóm / ∅-sóm] “palm tree / palm trees”  
c. [kí-sóm / bí-sóm] “palm tree / palm trees”  
d. [∅-sóm / kɪ-sóm] “palm tree / palm trees”  
e. [∅-sóm / bí-sóm] “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	fi-	-kuni	fikúní	L H H	fi	k.o calabash
	6a	N-	-kuni	mkúní	H H H	N	k.o calabashes

135) **gender 19 / 6a, fi- ~ fǎ / N- ~ Ni- ~ Nə**-with concord ( f- / N- )

a.	[filáj / ñláj]	“k.o clay pot”	[fíndíj / ríndíj]	“fig tree”
b.	[fíntám / ñtám]	“fruit”	[fiŋkàj / ñkàj]	“oath”
c.	[fíŋkwáj / ñk <sup>w</sup> áj]	“deer”	[fíkóm / ñkóm]	“knife”
d.	[fi <sup>n</sup> jámbú / fi <sup>n</sup> jámbú]	“sand”	[fimbì / ñmbì]	“colanut”
e.	[fímbàj / ñbàj]	“nail”	[fikó <sup>v</sup> / ñkó <sup>v</sup> ]	“ankle”
f.	[fi <sup>n</sup> éní / ñ <sup>n</sup> éní]	“bird”	[fíndó <sup>j</sup> / ñndó <sup>j</sup> ]	“pimple”
g.	[fimús / ñmús]	“cat”	[fimbú / ñmbú]	“bile”
h.	[fínténí / ñténí]	“palm rat”	[fímb'áj / ñmb'áj]	“black wasp”
i.	[fíntáj / ñtáj]	“kite	[fiŋkwáj / ñk <sup>w</sup> áj]	“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.	[ŋgónì / bíŋgónì]	“earth worm”	[káʸá / bīkáʸá]	“leg”
b.	[ŋkónó / bíŋkónó]	“bone”	[tʃókó / bítʃókó]	“zinc”
c.	[bá: / bíbá:]	“palm nut”	[gá:lì / bígá:lì]	“pen”
d.	[ŋʃóné / bíŋʃóné]	“long mouth rat”	[nán / bínán]	“bed”
e.	[kóʸó / bíkóʸó]	“camwood”	[jí / bíjí]	“face”
f.	[ttní / bítt:ní]	“ear”	[dzáʸá / bídzáʸá]	“mouth”
g.	[máʸə / bímáʸə]	“neck”	[bálí / bíbálí]	“waist”
h.	[dólí / bídólí]	“cheek”	[sōm / bisōm] (5/6)	“palm tree”
i.	[dzóné / bídzóné]	“hole, trench”	[gbâ: / bígbâ:] (5/6)	“ceiling”
y.	[fún / bífún]	“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:]	[bũ:]	[b-]	“woodash”
	8	ø-	[-ŋga]	[ŋgá]	[b-]	“power”
	8	ø-	[-mǎ:]	[mǎ:]	[b-]	“cowpea”
	8	ø-	[-lɔuní]	[lɔúní]	[b-]	“laziness”
	8	ø-	[-bajnní]	[bàjnní]	[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	ki-	[-f <sup>w</sup> ã]	[kínf <sup>w</sup> á]	[k-]	“phlegm”
	6	ki-	[-mgbiji]	[kímgbîjí]	[k-]	“pus”
	6	ki-	[-ŋgəmnɪ]	[kíŋgómni]	[k-]	“shame”
	6	ki-	[-nsaŋli]	[kínsáŋlí]	[k-]	“happiness, joy”
	6	∅-	[-fəbi]	[fə̀bì]	[k-]	“soup”
	6	∅-	[-dza <sup>y</sup> a]	[dzá <sup>y</sup> á]	[k-]	“noise”

#### 4.1.15 Noun class 4 or 10 with concord of class 4c, 10c

Noun class 4 and 10 both have the [j-] concord for plural nouns.

	class	prefix	root	stem	concord	gloss
140)	4,10	∅-	[-f <sup>i</sup> ə <sup>y</sup> ə]	[f <sup>i</sup> ə <sup>y</sup> á]	[j-]	“wind, air”
	4,10	∅-	[-t <sup>f</sup> <sup>w</sup> a]	[t <sup>f</sup> <sup>w</sup> á]	[j-]	“dirt”
	4,10	∅-	[-ɲu]	[ɲù]	[j-]	“honey”
	4,10	∅-	[-ɲom]	[ɲòm]	[j-]	“dry season”
	4,10	∅-	[-ŋka <sup>y</sup> a]	[ŋkà <sup>y</sup> à]	[j-]	“salt”
	4,10	∅-	[-dzaŋ]	[dzàŋ]	[j-]	“rain”
	4,10	∅-	[-ndə]	[ndé]	[j-]	“cry”

#### 4.1.16 Gender 6a with concord of class 6a

	class	prefix	root	stem	concord	gloss
141)	6a	∅-	[-mbimsəm]	[mbîmsóm]	N-	“palm wine”
	6a	m-	[-kaɲ]	[m̀kàɲ]	N-	“gunpowder”
	6a	∅-	[-mu]	[m̀ù <sup>y</sup> ù ]	N-	“powder”
	6a	∅-	[-mbi:]	[m̀bî:]	N-	“juice”
	6a	m-	[-wa]	[m̀ <sup>w</sup> á]	N-	“blood
	6a	m-	[-jə]	[m̀ <sup>i</sup> ə]	N-	“oil”
	6a	m-	[-dzə]	[m̀ndzé]	N-	“saliva”
	6a	∅-	[-kaɲ]	[m̀kàɲ]	N-	“corn beer”

#### 4.1.17 Gender 1 with concord of class 1c

	<i>class</i>	<i>prefix</i>	<i>root</i>	<i>stem</i>	<i>concord</i>	<i>gloss</i>
142)	1	∅-	[ɲ <sup>w</sup> ò]	[ɲ <sup>w</sup> ò]	w-	“God”
	1	∅-	[-ɲkòksì]	[ɲkòksì]	w-	“respect, honour”
	1	∅-	[-mbò̃m]	[mbò̃m]	w-	“believe”
	1	∅-	[-mb <sup>w</sup> è]	[mb <sup>w</sup> è]	w-	“give birth”
	1	∅-	[-dʒ <sup>w</sup> ábí]	[dʒ <sup>w</sup> ábí]	w-	“menses”
	1	∅-	[-mf <sup>í</sup> ó̃]	[mf <sup>í</sup> ó̃]	w-	“lies”
	1	∅-	[-mgbá <sup>y</sup> ó̃]	[mgbá <sup>y</sup> ó̃]	w-	“blow”
	1	∅-	[-gbó <sup>y</sup> ú]	[gbó <sup>y</sup> ú]	w-	“betrothing”
	1	∅-	[ntʃísóm]	[ntʃísóm]	w-	“breakfast”

#### 4.1.18 Gender 3, 5 with concord of class 3c, 5c

143)	∅-	[f <sup>í</sup> é]	w-	“whitewash”
	∅-	[fú]	w-	“mbambara nut”
	∅-	[ɲó <sup>y</sup> ú]	w-	“catalyst (beer)”
	∅-	[gbó <sup>y</sup> ú]	w-	“tobacco”

#### 4.1.19 Gender pairing

The mapping of the singular with its plural counterparts:

Table 32: Noun Class Gender Pairing

genders	Prefixes		Concords	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1 / 2	∅-	bə-	w <sup>̀</sup>	b <sup>´</sup>
3 / 4	∅-	∅-	w <sup>´</sup>	j <sup>´</sup>
5 / 6	∅-	ki-	w <sup>´</sup>	k <sup>´</sup>
7 / 8	ki-, ∅-	bi- ∅-	k <sup>´</sup>	b <sup>´</sup>
9 / 10	∅-	∅-	j <sup>̀</sup>	j <sup>´</sup>
19 / 6a	fi-	N-	f <sup>´</sup>	N <sup>´</sup>

The concords have been determined from numerals.

- 144) a. [dzádzá / ndzádzá] 1/6a “k.o cricket (not eaten)” or  
 b. [dzádzá / bádzádzá] 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 bájǎ, wì bǎn, wì bó] and in definite expressions or as a subject marker (w-ì/1c-SM) in relative clauses. To ease our understanding and description, we

will annotate both pronominals as *w-/wì* (1c), *b-/bə* (2c) *k-/kɪ* (7c) and so forth. But where necessary, it would be presented alternatively as (*wì/1c.AM*) as for example:

- 145) Associative construction, **[ɲkúŋ wì mbòm]** “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 “∅”. 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. **[ɲkúŋ wì mù → ɲkúŋ wò mù → ɲkúŋ ò mù]** “one chief”  
 1.chief 1c.AM one
- b. **[ʃḁ jì mù → ʃḁ 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. **[kífí kí 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-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> 1c	-əη POSS	[ηκύη wǎη] <i>my chief</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>´</sup> 1c	-ələ DEM	[ηκύη wǎlé] <i>this chief</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> ~ ù-	mbɔm ATT	[ηκύη wì mbò̃m] <i>big chief</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> ~ ù-	do <sup>vo</sup> QNT	[ηκύη wì dó <sup>vo</sup> ] <i>a certain chief</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> ~ ù-	mu NUM	[ηκύη wì mù] <i>one chief</i>
3.4 Colour COL		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> 1c	bɔ <sup>vo</sup> li COL	[ηκύη wì bò <sup>vo</sup> li] <i>red chief</i>
4. Associative AM		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> 1c	ø-kòlí 5-N	[ηκύη wì kòlí] <i>chief of the village</i>
5. Relative REL		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>´</sup> ǎ wì 1c-REL 1c.SM	gbò V	[ηκύη wǎ wì gbò] <i>the chief who fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kǎ ñ w-ǎ COP EIP 1c-Q	ø-ηκύη 1-chief			[kǎ ñ wǎ ηκύη] <i>which chief?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	w- <sup>̀</sup> 1c	g <sup>w</sup> ú DEF	[ηκύη wì g <sup>w</sup> ú] <i>the chief</i>
8. Subject marker SM		ø-ηκύη 1-chief	∅ 1c.SM	kwá ø-bĩ V 9-N	[ηκύη kwá bĩ] <i>chief caught a goat</i>

## 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		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b̀- 2c	-əη POSS	[bəηkúη bəη] <i>my chiefs</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	-ələ DEM	[bəηkúη bələ] <i>these chiefs</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	mbɔm ATT	[bəηkúη bə mbɔm] <i>big chiefs</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	doʋo QNT	[bəηkúη bə dóʋo] <i>certain chiefs</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	fa NUM	[bəηkúη bə fá] <i>two chiefs</i>
3.4 Colour COL		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	bəʋɔli COL	[bəηkúη bə bəʋɔli] <i>red chiefs</i>
4. Associative AM		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b̀- 2c	ø-kùlí 5-N	[bəηkúη bə kùlí] <i>chiefs of the village</i>
5. Relative REL		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	gbô V	[bəηkúη bə bôgbô] <i>the chiefs who fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə m̩ b-ə COP EIP 2c-Q	bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs			[kə m̩ bə bəηkúη] <i>which chiefs?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	b́- 2c	gʷú DEF	[bəηkúη bə gʷú] <i>the chiefs</i>
8. Subject marker SM		bə-ηkúη 2-chiefs	∅ 2c.SM	kwá ø-bĩ V 9-N	[bəηkúη kwá bĩ] <i>chiefs caught a goat</i>

### 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-kpà 3-hand	w´ 3c	-əŋ POSS	[kpà wəŋ] <i>my hand</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-kpà 3-hand	w´ 3c	-ələ DEM	[kpà wələ] <i>this hand</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-kpà 3-hand	w` ~ù- 3c	mbɔm ATT	[kpà wù mbɔm] <i>big hand</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-kpà 3-hand	w` 3c	dɔʋo QNT	[kpà wì dɔʋó] <i>certain hand</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-kpà 3-hand	w´ 3c	mu NUM	[kpà wí mū] <i>one hand</i>
3.4 Colour COL		ø-kpà 3-hand	w` 3c	bɔʋɔlɪ COL	[kpà wì bɔʋóɪɪ] <i>red hand</i>
4. Associative AM		ø-kpà 3-hand	w´ 3c	ø-ŋkɔŋ 1-N	[kpà wì ŋkúŋ] <i>hand of chief</i>
5. Relative REL		ø-kpà 3-hand	w´ ə w´ í 3c-REL3c-SM	gbô V	[kpà wə wí gbô] <i>the hand which fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	ká ñ w-ê COP EIP 3c-Q	ø-kpà 3-hand			[ká ñ wê kpà] <i>which hand?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-kpà 3-hand	ɯ´ 3c	gʷú DEF	[kpà ú gʷú] <i>the hand</i>
8. Subject marker SM		ø-kpà 3-hand	∅ 3c.SM	kʷá ø-bĩ V 9-N	[kpà kʷá bí] <i>a hand caught a goat</i>

## 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-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	-əŋ POSS	[kâ jǝŋ] <i>my hands</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	-ələ DEM	[kâ jələ] <i>these hands</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	mbɔm ATT	[kâ jí mbòm] <i>big hands</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	do <sup>vo</sup> QNT	[kâ jí dɔ <sup>vo</sup> ] <i>certain hands</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	fa NUM	[kâ jí fá] <i>two hands</i>
3.4 Colour COL		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	bɔ <sup>vo</sup> lɪ COL	[kâ jí bɔ <sup>vo</sup> lɪ] <i>red hands</i>
4. Associative AM		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	ø-ŋkúŋ 1-N	[kâ jí ŋkúŋ] <i>hand of chief</i>
5. Relative REL		ø-kâ 4-hands	j-ə j-í 4c-REL 4c.SM	gbô V	[kâ jə jí gbô] <i>the hands which fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kó ñ j-ə COP EIP 4c-Q	ø-kâ 4-hands			[kó ñ jə kâ] <i>which hands?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-kâ 4-hands	j- 4c	g <sup>w</sup> ú DEF	[kâ jí g <sup>w</sup> ú] <i>the hands</i>
8. Subject marker SM		ø-kâ 4-hands	Ø 4c.SM	kwá ø-bí V 9-N	[kâ kwá bí] <i>hands caught a goat</i>

## 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-̀ 5c	-əŋ POSS	[gbâ wəŋ] <i>my barn</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	-ələ DEM	[gbâ wələ] <i>this barn</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	mbɔm ATT	[gbâ: wí mbɔm] <i>big barn</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	doʷo QNT	[gbâ: wí doʷo] <i>certain barn</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	mu NUM	[gbâ: wí mū] <i>two barn</i>
3.4 Colour COL		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	bɔʷɔlɪ COL	[gbâ: wí bɔʷɔlɪ] <i>red barn</i>
4. Associative AM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	ø-kùlí 5-N	[gbâ: wí kùlí] <i>barn of the village</i>
5. Relative REL		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ə w-í 5c-Rel 5c-SM	gbô V	[gbâ: wə wí gbô] <i>the barn which fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	ká ñ w-ê COP EIP 5c-Q	ø-gbâ: 5-barn			[ká ñ wê gbâ:] <i>which barn?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	w-´ 5c	gʷû DEF	[gbâ: wí gʷû] <i>the barn</i>
8. Subject marke SM		ø-gbâ: 5-barn	Ø 5c.SM	ká bé dzəŋ COP CNJ 4-N	[gbâ: ká bé dzəŋ] <i>a barn is with corn</i>

## 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` 6c	-əŋ POSS	[kígbâ: kəŋ] <i>my barns</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` 6c	-ələ DEM	[kígbâ: kələ] <i>these barns</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` ~ b` 6c	mbəm ATT	[kígbâ: bí mbəm] <i>big barns</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` ~ b` 6c	do <sup>v</sup> o QNT	[kígbâ: bì dō <sup>v</sup> o] <i>certain barns</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` ~ b` 6c	fa NUM	[gbâ: bí fá] <i>two barns</i>
3.4 Colour COL		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` 6c	bə <sup>v</sup> ɔlɪ COL	[kígbâ: bí bə <sup>v</sup> ɔlɪ] <i>red barns</i>
4. Associative AM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` 6c	ø-kòlí 5-N	[kígbâ: kì kòlí] <i>barn of the village</i>
5. Relative REL		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` ə k-í 6c-REL 6c-SM	gbô V	[kígbâ: kə kɪ gbô] <i>the barns which fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə ŋ k-ə COP EIP 6c-Q	kí-gbâ: 6-barns			[kə ŋ kə kɪgbâ:] <i>which barns?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	k` 6c	g <sup>w</sup> u DEF	[kígbâ: kɪ g <sup>w</sup> u] <i>the barns</i>
8. Subject marker SM		kí-gbâ: 6-barns	Ø 6c.SM	kə bə dzəŋ COP CNJ 4-N	[kígbâ: kə bə dzəŋ] <i>barns are with corn</i>

## 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 kǝŋ] <i>my pig</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	-ələ DEM	[kìfí kálə] <i>this pig</i>
3.1 Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- ~ k̀- 7c	mbəm ATT	[kìfí k̀ mbəm] <i>large pig</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	do <sup>vo</sup> QNT	[kìfí k̀ bò <sup>ólí</sup> ] <i>a certain pig</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c.	mu NUM	[kìfí k̀ mū] <i>one pig</i>
3.4 Colour COL		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- ~ k̀- 7c.	bɔ <sup>ólí</sup> COL	kìfí k̀ bò <sup>ólí</sup> <i>red pig</i>
4. Associative AM		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	ø-kulɪ 5-N	kìfí k̀ k̀ulí <i>village pig</i>
5. Relative REL		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- ə k̀-í 7c-REL 7c-SM	gbo V	[kìfí k̀ ə k̀í gbò] <i>the pig that fall</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə ŋ k-ə COP EIP 7c-Q	kì-fí 7-pig			[kə ŋ k-ə k̀fí] <i>which pig?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		kì-fí 7-pig	k̀- 7c	g <sup>w</sup> u DEF	[kìfí k̀ g <sup>w</sup> ú] <i>the pig</i>
8. Subject marker SM		kì-fí 7-pig	∅ 7c.SM	k <sup>w</sup> á ø-ʃə V 9-N	[kìfí k <sup>w</sup> á ʃə] <i>a pig caught a fowl</i>

## 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 bəŋ] <i>my pigs</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	-ələ DEM	[bìfí bələ] <i>these pigs</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	mbɔm ATT	[bìfí bí mbɔm] <i>large pigs</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	doyo QNT	[bìfí bí dóʋó] <i>certain pigs</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	fa NUM	[bìfí bí fá] <i>two pigs</i>
3.4 Colour COL		bì-fí 8-pig	b̀- 8c	bɔɔɔlɪ COL	[bìfí bì bɔɔlɪ] <i>red pigs</i>
4. Associative AM		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	ø-kulɪ 5-N	[bìfí bí kúlɪ] <i>village pigs</i>
5. Relative REL		bì-fí 8-pig	b́-əb- í 8c-REL 8c-SM	gbo V	[bìfí b́ə bígbō] <i>the pigs that fall</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə m b́-ə COP EIP 8c-Q	bì-fí 8-pig			[kə m b́ə bìfí] <i>which pigs?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		bì-fí 8-pig	b́- 8c	g <sup>w</sup> u DEF	[bìfí bí g <sup>w</sup> ú] <i>the pigs</i>
8. Subject marker SM		bì-fí 8-pig	Ø 8c.SM	k <sup>w</sup> á ø-ʃə V 9-N	[bìfí k <sup>w</sup> á ʃə] <i>pigs caught a fowl</i>

## 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-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	-əŋ POSS	[ʃ̄ə j̄əŋ] <i>my fowl</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	-ələ DEM	[ʃ̄ə j̄ələ] <i>this fowl</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	mbɔm ATT	[ʃ̄ə j̄i mbɔm] <i>large fowl</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	doʋo QNT	[ʃ̄ə j̄i dɔʋo] <i>a certain fowl</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	mu NUM	[ʃ̄ə j̄i mù] <i>one fowl</i>
3.4 Colour COL		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	bɔʋɔlɪ COL	[ʃ̄ə j̄i bɔʋɔlɪ] <i>red fowl</i>
4. Associative AM		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	ø-kulɪ 5-N	[ʃ̄ə j̄i kɔlɪ] <i>village fowl</i>
5. Relative REL		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄-əj̄-ì 9c-REL 9c-SM	gbo V	[ʃ̄əj̄ə j̄i gbɔ] <i>the fowl that fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə ŋ j̄-ə COP EIP 9c-Q	ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl			[kə ŋ j̄ə ʃ̄ə] <i>which fowl?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	j̄- 9c	g <sup>w</sup> u DEF	[ʃ̄ə j̄i g <sup>w</sup> u] <i>the fowl</i>
8. Subject marker SM		ø-ʃ̄ə 9-fowl	Ø 9c.SM	dzi ø-dzəŋ V 4-N	[ʃ̄ə dzi: dzəŋ] <i>fowl eats corn</i>

## 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-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j` 10c	-əŋ POSS	[ʃ'á jəŋ] <i>my fowls</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j´ 10c	-ələ DEM	[ʃ'á jələ] <i>these fowls</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j´ 10c	mbɔm ATT	[ʃ'á jí mbɔm] <i>large fowls</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j` 10c	doʋo QNT	[ʃ'á jì dɔʋo] <i>a certain fowls</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j´ 10c	fa NUM	[ʃ'á jí fá] <i>two fowls</i>
3.4 Colour COL		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j´ 10c	bɔʋɔlɪ COL	[ʃ'á jí bɔʋɔlɪ] <i>red fowls</i>
4. Associative AM		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j´ 10c	ø-kulɪ 5-N	[ʃ'á jí kólɪ] <i>village fowls</i>
5. Relative REL		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j` ə ji 10c-Rel. 10c.SM	gbo V	[ʃ'á jə jí gbɔ] <i>fowls that fell</i>
6. Interrogative	kə ŋ j´ə COP EIP 10c-Q	ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls			[kə ŋ jə ʃ'á] <i>which fowls?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	j` 10c	gʷu DEF	[ʃ'á jí gʷu] <i>the fowls</i>
8. Subject marker SM		ø-ʃ'á 10-fowls	∅ 10c.SM	dzi ø-dzín V 4-N	[ʃ'á dzi: dzín] <i>fowls eat corn</i>

## 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-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	-ɪŋ POSS	<b>[fíjéní fíŋ]</b> <i>my bird</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	-ələ DEM	<b>[fíjéní fíələ]</b> <i>this bird</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	mbɔm ATT	<b>[fíjéní fí mbɔm]</b> <i>big bird</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	doʋo QNT	<b>[fíjéní fí dɔʋó]</b> <i>a certain bird</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	mu NM	<b>[fíjéní fí mū]</b> <i>one bird</i>
3.4 Colour COL		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	bɔʋɪɪ COL	<b>[fíjéní fí bɔʋɪɪ]</b> <i>red bird</i>
4. Associative AM		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	∅-kpen 3-N	<b>[fíjéní fí kpɛn]</b> <i>bird of tree</i>
5. Relative REL		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí-ā fí 19c-REL 19c.SM	gbo V	<b>[fíjéní fíā fí gbō]</b> <i>the bird that fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə m fí-ə COP EIP 19c-Q	fí-jéní 19-bird			<b>[ká m fíə fíjéní]</b> <i>which bird?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		fí-jéní 19-bird	fí- 19c	g <sup>w</sup> u DEF	<b>[fíjéní fí g<sup>w</sup>û]</b> <i>the bird</i>
8. Subject marker SM		fí-jéní 19-bird	∅ 19c.SM	gwaŋ-kə lə V-PROG AF	<b>[fíjéní g<sup>w</sup>âŋ-kə-lə]</b> <i>a bird is sick</i>

## 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-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	-əŋ POSS	[míṛéní mǎŋ] <i>my birds</i>
2. Demonstrative DEM		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	-ələ DEM	[míṛéní málə] <i>these birds</i>
3. Adjective ADJ					
3.1 Attribute ATT		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	mbɔm ATT	[míṛéní mî mbɔm] <i>big birds</i>
3.2 Quantifier QNT		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	dɔʋo QNT	[míṛéní mí dɔʋó] <i>certain birds</i>
3.3 Numeral NUM		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	fa NM	[míṛéní mí fá] <i>two birds</i>
3.4 Colour COL		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	bɔʋɔlɪ COL	[mṛéní mí bɔʋɔlɪ] <i>red birds</i>
4. Associative AM		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	ø-kpɛn 5-N	[míṛéní mî kpɛn] <i>birds of tree</i>
5. Relative REL		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m- ǎm- ʋó 6ac-Rel.6ac.SM	gbo V	[míṛéní mǎ mó gbɔ] <i>the birds that fell</i>
6. Interrogative Q	kə m m-ə COP EIP 6ac-Q	mí-ṛéní 6a-birds			[ká m mǎ míṛéní] <i>which birds?</i>
7. Definite particle DEF		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	m-' 6ac	g <sup>w</sup> u DEF	[mṛéní mí g <sup>w</sup> û] <i>the birds</i>
8. Subject marker SM		mí-ṛéní 6a-birds	∅ 6ac.SM	g <sup>w</sup> ap-kə ləV-PROG AF	[mṛéní g <sup>w</sup> apkələ] <i>birds are sick</i>

The plural has been contracted from [mɪ-] to [m-]. The [mɪ-] is predominant in the variety of Chung while the [m-] is of the Mbuk variety. But some speakers who closer to Chung often use the non-contracted form [mɪ-]. Whenever there is a modifier in a phrase, the modifier takes the concord marker of its head noun:

- 147) a. [ʃʰə jɪ mbòm jì báɲní jí fá] “Two big white fowls.”  
 9.fowl 9c big 9c white 9c two
- b. [ʃʰə jələ kə jɪ mbòm jí báɲní jí fá] “These are two big white fowls.”  
 9.fowl 9c.this COP 9c big 9c white 9c two
- c. [ʃʰə jələ jɪ mbòm 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, fʰ]; for class 19 with high tone. It glides palatally (fʰ).

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: Concorde Summary

Associative	Concorde	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 concorde and variants are given in relation to their respective noun classes:

	noun class	prefix	concorde 1	concorde 2	speech concorde
148)	1	∅-	ẉ ~ w̄ ~ ∅ ẉ		ù
	2	bə-	ḅ ~ b̄	ḅ	ḅ
	3	∅-	ẉ	ẉ	ú
	4	∅-	j̣	j̣	í
	5	∅-	ẉ	ẉ	ú
	6	kɪ-	ḳ	ḳ	ḳ
	7	kɪ-	ḳ	ḳ	ḳ
	8	bi-	ḅ	ḅ	ḅ
	9	∅-	j̣	j̣	ì
	10	∅-	j̣	j̣	í
	19	fi-	f̣	f̣	f̣
	6a	N-	Ṇ	Ṇ	N-

Nouns whose nominal prefixes are 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-ntá:ní / bì-ntá:ní]	7/8	“k.o. insects”
	b.	[kə-ndzə̀v̀əlí / bì-ndzə̀v̀əlĩ]	7/8	“k.o insect”
	c.	[kə-ndzá: / bì-ndzá:]	7/8	“k.o grasshopper (for bab <sup>j</sup> fluency)”
	d.	[kə-mbúŋú / bí-mbúŋú]	7/8	“k.o insect”
	e.	[ø- <sup>n</sup> félì / bə- <sup>n</sup> félì]	1/2	“k.o insect”
	f.	[fə- <sup>n</sup> fintʃóŋ / m-ndzʲə̀ntʃóŋ]	19/6a	“k.o insect”
	g.	[ø-ŋkòŋkòŋ / bə-ŋkòŋkòŋ]	1/2	“k.o cockroach ( hitting/singing)”
	h.	[ø-fũ: / ø-fũ:]	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.	[b <sup>w</sup> én ~ b <sup>w</sup> é <sup>v</sup> én / kə~kí <sup>w</sup> én]	5/6	“mosquito”
	b.	[ndzíní / bíndzíní]	7/8	“housefly”
	c.	[ø-f̥ēŋkī / ø-f̥éŋkí]	9/10	“wing termite”
	d.	[βú: / βú]	9/10	“blood-sucking fly”
	e.	[ø-dzò <sup>v</sup> ú / ø-dzò <sup>v</sup> ú]	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.	[fíj'énéí ~ fíj'énéí / m̀j'énéí~m̀j'énéí]	19/6a	“bird”
	b.	[nʃàní / nʃánī]	9/10	“k.o bird”
	c.	[fəmgbàkì / m̀mgbàkì]	19/6a	“swallow”
	d.	[búŋwí / bíbúŋwí]	7/8	“k.o bird,
	e.	[fándzúŋú / m̀ndzúŋú]	19/6a	“k.o bird, eats guinea corn”
	f.	[bùŋ / b̀b̀b̀ùŋ]	1/2	“k.o bird”
	g.	[fántáj / m̀ntáj]	19/6a	“k.o bird”
	h.	[tʃ'wínní / b̀tʃ'wínní]	7/8	“witchbird (owl)”
	i.	[wwḏ̣ ~ vwḏ̣ / bíwwḏ̣]	7/8	“screech owl (witchbird)”
	y.	[gbā / gbá]	9/10	“partridge (bushfowl)”

It is common to find prefix and suffix germinate nasals in this language. This is due to the contraction of the m̄ə or m̄ɪ 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.	[fíntè:nī / n̄tē:ní]	19/6a	“palm rat”
	b.	[fɪŋʃ'ã / m̀ŋʃ'ã]	19/6a	“squirrel “
	c.	[fíŋk <sup>w</sup> ã / m̀k <sup>w</sup> ã]	19/6a	“deer”
	d.	[bìkóm / b̀b̀b̀ìkóm]	1/2	“lion”
	e.	[dzà: / dzâ:]	9/10	“porcupine”
	f.	[b'èyá / b'áyá]	9/10	“cane rat”
	g.	[dzùŋ / dzôŋ]	9/10	“antelope”
	h.	[tsā: / tsá:]	9/10	“monkey”
	j.	[kìbókó/b̀b̀b̀ìbókó]~ [kìbábā/b̀b̀b̀àbā]~[kìb <sup>w</sup> áyá/b̀b̀b̀wáyá/b̀b̀b̀wáyá]	7/8	“chimpanzee”

### 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:]	[mbé]	1
	L	[làŋ]	[dzòŋ]	1
	M	[ <sup>n</sup> ɔ̄m]	[kī́sáŋ]	1
	F	[b <sup>w</sup> ôm]	[bê]	1
	R	[b'ǎ:]	[lǎ:]	1
	HM	[làŋndzī:]	[nǎ:]	1

Mbuk male names make use of seven (7) vowels of its language: [a, ə, i, ɪ, u, ʊ, ɔ, ɛ] as well as some long ones. Here is the syllabic structure of male names:

	syllable	male	female
154)	CV	[ɲà]	CVCV [mbòkɔ̄ ~ mbò'ɔ̄]
	CCVV	[ŋká:, nsê:]	CCVCV [ŋkàmbî:, ŋkèmbò:]
	CGV	[tʃ'ə, b'ǎ]	CVCVC [bìkám, sàmbàŋ, fíndóŋ]
	CVC	[làŋ, ndàŋ, ɲɔ̄m]	CVCCGV [ntùŋbá, ʃɪŋ <sup>w</sup> ò]
	CGVC	[ŋg <sup>w</sup> áj]	CVCVCGV [lèŋètʃ'á]

### 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.	[ɲkà <sup>v</sup> à / bəɲkà <sup>v</sup> à]	1/2	“promise”
	b.	[ntəfi / bəntəfi]	1/2	“advice, teach”
	c.	[nláni / bənláni]	1/2	“learn”
	d.	[mbíki / bəmbíki]	1/2	“ask, request”
	e.	[ɲgúkúli / bəɲgúkúli]	1/2	“argue”
	f.	[mbónsi / bəmbónsi]	1/2	“bless”
	g.	[ɲkàɲ / bəɲkàɲ]	1/2	“swear”
	h.	[ɲjà <sup>v</sup> ási / bəɲjà <sup>v</sup> ási]	1/2	“praise”
	i.	[kijòɲni / bijòɲni]	7/8	“thank, congratulations”
	y.	[kimbíkə / bimbíkə]	7/8	“question” (variant of d. (ask, request))

In example (g), [ɲkàɲ / bəɲkàɲ] |mkàɲ/bəmkàɲ|, the homorganicity rule fails to apply.

Also in (h) one would have expected [ɲjà<sup>v</sup>ási / bəɲjà<sup>v</sup>ási] → |ɲjà<sup>v</sup>ási / bəɲjà<sup>v</sup>ási| and can even go further to harmonisation from [ɲj] 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-nôŋ/bì-fú-bí-nôŋ] → [fúwìnôŋ/bìfúbìnôŋ] 5/8 “luck”  
5.head-5.AM-good /8-head-AM-good
- b. [mì-wì-ntóm/bé-ní-bé-ntóm] → [mìwìntóm/bènîbèntóm] 1/2 “messenger”  
1.person-1.AM-DC.send / 2-people-AG-DC.send
- c. [kpè-ŋk<sup>wù</sup>/bé-káŋà-bè-ŋk<sup>wù</sup>] → [kpèŋk<sup>wù</sup>/békáŋàbèŋk<sup>wù</sup>] 1/2 “widow”  
1.wife-DC.dead/ 2-wife-2.AM-DC.dead
- d. [ɲòm-ŋk<sup>wù</sup> / bé-ɲòm-ŋk<sup>wù</sup> → ɲòmŋk<sup>wù</sup> / béɲòmŋk<sup>wù</sup>] 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 and 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)	[kìngbèmgbèlí / bìngbèmgbèlí]	7/8	“millipede”
b.	(L) L H	[kìngə̀ngə̀ / bìngə̀ngə̀]	7/8	“sugar cane”
c.	(L) L H	[g <sup>w</sup> àg <sup>w</sup> á / bə̀g <sup>w</sup> àg <sup>w</sup> á]	1/2	“duck”
d.	(L) H H	[kìmámá / bìmámá]	7/8	“caterpillar”
e.	(L) L H	[kìntòmótóm / bìntòmótóm]	7/8	“indian bamboo”
f.	(L) H H	[kìntáptáptá / bìntáptáptá]	7/8	“box”
g.	(L) L H	[kìnkà̀nkà̀ / bìnkà̀nkà̀]	7/8	“armpit”
h.	(L) L L (H)	[kìkà̀kà̀ / bìkà̀kà̀]	7/8	“ringworm”
i.	(L) H H	[kì <sup>n</sup> ʃ <sup>w</sup> áptáptá / bì <sup>n</sup> ʃ <sup>w</sup> áptáptá]	7/8	“pumpkin”
y.	(L) H H L L	[kpálákpà̀là̀ / bə̀kpálákpà̀là̀]	1/2	“bamboo mat”
k.	(L) L H H H	[kə̀mbèlémbéle / bìmbèlémbéle]	7/8	“butterfly”
l.	(L) H H H H	[fìyókóyókó / m̀yókóyókó]	19/6a	“k.o fruit flies”
m.	(L) L (H) M	[fìndèlìndè / m̀ndèlìndè]	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 [ʃ<sup>w</sup>, g<sup>w</sup>] 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 lax vowels. Nasal and long vowels are not characterised in this process of word formation.

As for the noun classes, one strange observation is that of the six noun class genders of Mbuk, only three genders take reduplicated roots; 1/2, 7/8, 19/6a with none of the gender 3/4, 5/6, 9/10. To account for this absence, first and foremost, these genders are zero prefix

genders. Though 6 has a prefix, it is not very productive in the language, the prefix occurs a lot 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-g<sup>w</sup>àg<sup>w</sup>á/bè-g<sup>w</sup>àg<sup>w</sup>á] “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. [ɲkà:ɲ] “very red”  
 b. [b<sup>w</sup>ú] “very white”  
 c. [ti:jk] “very black”  
 d. [lú:s] “smooth”  
 e. [mgbàm] “sound of someone falling”  
 f. [ɲkə̀:ɲ] “sound of something falling”  
 g. [wá:ɲ] “sound of something falling into a valley or a very high place”  
 h. [fá:ɲ] “sound of something moving with a high velocity”  
 i. [ká:ɲ] “sound of cutting something”  
 j. [ɲ<sup>w</sup>á:ɲ] “sound from a slap”  
 k. [ɲg<sup>w</sup>ímbóyō] “many” (of people, houses, vehicles)  
 l. [ʎ̣:ɲ, ʎ̣̣:ɲ] “describes a quiet scene”  
 m. [ḷ̣̣:m] “describes the overflow of a river”  
 n. [ɲ<sup>w</sup>à:ɲ] “light of light beam”  
 o. [ɲ<sup>w</sup>àɲɲ<sup>w</sup>àɲ] “light of lightening”

Most of the ideophones occur in clause final position:

- 159) a. [kíbá:ɲ kólē kólē lú:s] “This table is very smooth”  
 7.table 7.this be very.smooth  
 b. [bíbá:ɲ bílē kólē lú:s] “these tables are very smooth”  
 8.table 8.these be very.smooth  
 c. [ḅ̣:ɲ wálē bóyòkí lē ɲkà:ɲ] “this dress is very red”  
 1.cloth 1.this red.PROG AF very.red  
 d. [m ká:kí ḅ̣:ɲ wí ḅ̣yò (ḷ̣) ɲkà:ɲ] “I have a very red cloth”  
 1s have cloth 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. [sélékúkû: / ḅ̣sélékúkû:] 1/2 “cuckoo bird”  
 b. [kə̀ɲɔ̀ɲ / bíɲɔ̀ɲ] 7/8 “whiteneck hawk”  
 c. [kə̀k<sup>w</sup>ô: / bík<sup>w</sup>ô:] 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	→	[mb <sup>w</sup> ündàm]
	b.	g → N- / # _ , g → mgb,	guava	→	[fímgbábàŋ]
	c.	∅ → PX- / # _ , ∅ → bə̀-,	lamps	→	[bèlám]
	d.	# _ C # → # _ ∅ #,	plank	→	[plan]
	e.	CC → CVC, pl → mbəl,	plank	→	[mbèlân]
	f.	# _ n # → # _ ŋ#	plan	→	[mbèlání]
	g.	+ fricative → + plosive, v → b,	guava	→	[fímgbábàŋ]
	h.	CV → CVC, va → bání,	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 / òmgbábàŋ]	19/6a	“guava”	English
	b.	[tāsā / bètāsā]	1/2	“aluminium dish”	??
	c.	[mb̀̀láj / b̀̀mb̀̀láj]	1/2	“plank”	English
	d.	[mb̀̀úndàm / b̀̀mb̀̀úndàm]	1/2	“potato”	Mbouda
	e.	[lám / b̀̀lám]	1/2	“lamp”	English
	f.	[k̀̀fí / b̀̀k̀̀fí]	1/2	“coffee”	English
	g.	[májú / b̀̀májú]	1/2	“mango”	English
	h.	[mfóm / b̀̀mfóm]	1/2	“phone”	English
	i.	[lók / b̀̀lók]	1/2	“lock”	English
	j.	[p̀̀lóm / b̀̀p̀̀lóm]	1/2	“plum”	English
	k.	[k̀̀nánâs / b̀̀nánâs]	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 “sóm”, 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; 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, number; singular, plural including the noun classes. The subject pronouns can also be neutral, not in agreement with person, number or noun class. There are three types; the subject, object and the neutral pronouns.

### **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	[bə̀ʋən ~ bə̀ʋə̀bən]	“we”	first person plural inclusive subject pronoun
1P.EXCL	[bə̀ʋə̀]	“we”	first person plural exclusive subject pronoun
2P.INCL	[bən]	“you”(pl)	second person plural subject pronoun
3P	[bó ~ b́]	“they”	third person plural subject pronoun

163) The following text exemplifies the use of the 2P “bən” human subject pronoun in Mbuk:

The screenshot shows a video player interface with a timeline at the top ranging from 00:00:51.000 to 00:00:56.000. The main content area displays a subtitle in red text: "Second person plural subject pronoun, you (pl.), 2P "bən"". Below this, there are three lines of text in a light blue background:

- topic** [1]: bən dúŋ, bən dúŋ f́óyò. ɲā ŋkī, ɲā ŋkī.
- Mbk\_NKP-87** [9]: 2P stand, 2P stand there. Give chorus, give chours.
- GL\_NKP-87** [8]: You should stand there and give the choruses.
- FT\_NKP-87** [8]:

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	bó ~ bó
3	wí	4	jí
5	wí	6	kí
7	kí	8	bí
9	jì	10	jí
19	fí	6a	mó ~ 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	[wè]	“you”(sg)	second person singular object pronoun
3SO	[wì]	“him”	third person singular object pronoun
1POI	[bèʋán]	“us”	first person plural inclusive object pronoun
1POE	[bèʋá]	“us”	first person plural exclusive object pronoun
2PO	[bě̀n]	“you”(pl)	second person plural object pronoun
3PO	[bó ~ bó]	“them”	third person plural object pronoun

164) An example sentence for the first-person singular object pronoun, 1SO below:

[C]	Óo k̀ì-nú kwé b́é m̄ī
MBK_NNN-9	
[3]	IJT 7-sleep go.home CNJ 1SO
GL_NNN-9	
[3]	Oh sleep! Go home with me.
FT_NNN-9	
[3]	

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	ẁì	2	b́é ~ b́ó
3	ẃí	4	j́í
5	ẃí	6	ḱí
7	ḱí	8	b́í
9	J̀ì	10	j̀ì
19	F́í	6a	ḿó ~ ḿé ~ ḿí

#### 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	bɔ̃ʋ	bə̃ʋ	bə̃ʋ bɛ̃n	bə̃ʋ bó
you	bɛ̃n	bə̃ʋ wì	bɛ̃n	bɛ̃n
him	bɔ̃ʋ	Bó	bɛ̃n bó	bó
we INCL	báŋə̃	báŋə̃	báŋə̃	bɛ̃ʋ bó
we EXCL	bə̃ʋ	bə̃ʋ	bə̃ʋ	bə̃ʋ
you (PL)	bɛ̃n	bɛ̃n	bɛ̃n	bɛ̃n
they	bɛ̃n	Bó	bó	bó

The table above is expressed in the examples below:

- 165) a. [bɔ̃ʋ] “you and I”  
 b. [bɔ̃ʋ] “you and me”  
 c. [bə̃ʋ] “him and I”  
 d. [bó] “you and him”  
 e. [bə̃ʋ] “him and you”  
 f. [bə̃ʋ bó] “they and us”  
 g. [bə̃ʋ 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. [bɔ̃ʋ.ø] “you and I”  
 1S.2S.CNJ
- The juxtaposed is: b. [bə̃ʋ ø wì] “him and we”  
 1P.EXCL CNJ 3S
- Use of a conjunction: c. [wì bó bə̃ʋ] “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. [bəʋó wāŋ] “the child and me”  
1P.EXCL 1.child
- b. [bɛ̃n wāŋ] “the child and you”  
2P 1.child
- c. [bó wāŋ] “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	bəʋó “we/us”	bəʋó “I/me”
2P	bɛ̃n “you (pl.)”	bɛ̃n “you (sg.)”
3P	bó “they/them”	bó “he/him”

- d1. [wāŋ bə bəʋə] “the child and us”  
1.child CNJ 1P.EXCL
- d2. [wāŋ bə bəŋə] “the child and us”  
1.child CNJ 1P.INCL
- e. [bɛ̃n wāŋ] “the child and you”  
2P 1.child
- f. [wāŋbə 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. [b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>v</sup>ā b̄ mī] “the children and me”  
2.children CNJ 1SO
- [b̄<sup>v</sup>í b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>v</sup>ā] “the children and us”  
1PE 2.children
- ]wò b̄ b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>v</sup>ā] “the children and you”  
2S CNJ 2.children
- [w̄ b̄ b<sup>w</sup>ā<sup>v</sup>ā] “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 “b̄” meaning “we”. Apart from the two inclusive (b̄<sup>v</sup>η̄) and exclusive (b̄<sup>v</sup>ṽ) ~ (b̄<sup>v</sup>ḡ) subject pronouns, there is also a neutral one which stands in either the inclusive or the exclusive pronoun.

- 169) a. [b̄<sup>v</sup>η̄] “we” 1P.INCL inclusive
- b. [b̄<sup>v</sup>ṽ] “we” 1P.EXCL exclusive
- c. [b̄] “we” 1P.N Neuter

Moreover, for the non-human, the word “k̄” 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) [k̄ p̄<sup>j</sup> l̄] “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 ndə] “who is it?”  
 DS COP QW  
 it be who

#### 4.4.7 Reciprocal pronoun

Reciprocal action is the mutual interaction between things that act for each other. The reciprocal (RECP) element in Mbuk is [kí-g<sup>w</sup>û] which literally means body (itself). The word body is [g<sup>w</sup>û] and it acquires a nominal prefix [kí-] an invariable subject marker used to form the reciprocal. Normally, the word [g<sup>w</sup>û] has been assigned to noun class nine due to the absence of a prefix. But in reciprocity, the [g<sup>w</sup>u] 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-kə-lə] “they are quarreling”  
 3P quarrel-PROG-AF  
 b. [bó ndʒáŋ-kí í kí-g<sup>w</sup>ú:] “they are quarreling with each other”  
 3P quarrel-PROG CNJ RECP
- 173) a. [bó dʒúò-kə-lə] “They are fighting”  
 3P fight-PROG-AF  
 b. [bó dʒúò-kə-lə kí-g<sup>w</sup>û (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-g<sup>w</sup>û 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 [bàŋə] “ourselves”  
 2P [bēn] “yourselves”  
 3P [bó] “themselves”  
 3P [bì, m̀, 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 wó<sup>yó</sup> g<sup>w</sup>ù-jǎŋ] “I wash myself”  
 1S wash body-my.REFL  
 2S [wò wó<sup>yó</sup> g<sup>w</sup>ù-já] “You wash yourself”  
 2S wash body-your.REFL  
 3S [wì wó<sup>yó</sup> g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí] “He washes himself”  
 3S wash body-his.REFL  
 1P [bàŋə wó<sup>yó</sup> g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí-bàŋə] “We wash ourselves”  
 1P.EXCL wash body-our-us

2P	[bĕn wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-jî-bĕn]	“You wash yourselves”
	2P wash body-yours-your	
3P	[bō wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û 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→∅] somehow if this has to be an acceptable speech form in the language:

177)	1S	*[mí wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-jî-jĕŋ]	“I wash myself”
		1S wash body-me-my(REFL)	
	2S	*[wò wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-jî-já]	“You wash yourself”
		2S wash body-you-your(REFL)	
	3S	*[wì wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-jî-jî]	“He washes himself”
		3S wash body-him-his(REFL)	

On the contrary, the plural forms cannot be grammatical without the [ji]

178)	1P	*[bĕ <sup>vó</sup> wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-bĕ <sup>vó</sup> ]	“We wash ourselves”
		1P.EXCL wash body-us	
	2P	*[bĕn wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-bĕn]	“You wash yourselves”
		2P wash body-your	
	3P	*[bō wó <sup>vó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> û-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<sup>v</sup>ó g<sup>w</sup>û-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 mĩ:mĩ tó bóŋkí tʃ'ókí 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 [g<sup>w</sup>û] in its primary sense refers to body. Then through semantic extension, [g<sup>w</sup>û] bears a reflexive meaning “self” in the singular. But when in its plural, it undergoes a prefixal lexical derivation to form [kí-g<sup>w</sup>û] 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 [g<sup>w</sup>û] of noun class 9 with its possessive form [ji].

- 181) a. [Bikám kôŋ-ká-lè Kxê] “Bikem loves Khe.”  
 Bikem love-PROG-AF Khe
- b. [Bikám kôŋ-ká-lè ø-g<sup>w</sup>û jí] “Bikám loves himself.”  
 Bikem love-PROG-AF 9-body his
- c. [wì dʒúò-kí ø-g<sup>w</sup>û jí] “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. [Bikám bó Kxê kôŋ-ká-lè kí-g<sup>w</sup>û] “Bikám and Khe love themselves.”  
 Bikem and Khe love-PROG-AF 6-bodies
- e. [Bə<sup>v</sup>ə dʒúò-kí kí-g<sup>w</sup>û] “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-g <sup>w</sup> ù	jī	ø]	singular
	3S	fight-PROG	9-body	his		
	“He is fighting himself”					
b.	[bó	dʒúò-kí	kí-g <sup>w</sup> ù	kí	bó]	Plural
	3P	fight-PROG	9-body	their	they	
	“They themselves are fighting themselves”					
c.	[bó	dʒúò-kí	kí-g <sup>w</sup> ù	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	∅-g <sup>w</sup> ù / kí-g <sup>w</sup> ù	w <sup>-</sup> / k <sup>-</sup>	singular / plural
Nominal gender 9/10	∅-g <sup>w</sup> ù / ∅-g <sup>w</sup> ú	j <sup>-</sup> / j <sup>-</sup>	singular / plural
Reflexive gender 9/6	∅-g <sup>w</sup> ù / kí-g <sup>w</sup> ù	j <sup>-</sup> / k <sup>-</sup>	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 [tʃǝ] meaning self is used, lexicalised. For inanimates we have the following examples:

- 184) a. [gbâ: í b<sup>w</sup>íín tʃǝ]                      “The barn has broken itself or by itself”  
5.barn PFV break self
- b. [kígbâ: í b<sup>w</sup>íín tʃǝ]                      “The barns have broken themselves”  
6.barns PFV break self
- c. [mbúŋ wóʷó tʃǝ]                      “The dress has washed itself”  
1.dress wash self

Two variations feature here; break “b<sup>w</sup>íín ~ b<sup>w</sup>ín”, dress/cloth “mbúŋ ~ búŋ”.

Thence for the body part, we have as an example:

- 185) a. [kpâ wó<sup>y</sup>ó-kí tʃî-kí kpâ] “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 “tʃî”, we find the human actions using the morpheme as well:

- 186) a. [bó lání-ké lè] “they are studying”  
3P study-PROG AF
- b. [bó lání-kí tʃî-ké lè] “they are studying by themselves”  
3P study-PROG REFL/MV-PROG AF

The reflexive morpheme, [tʃî] 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. [kpâ wó<sup>y</sup>ó kpâ] “the hand washed itself”  
3.hand wash 3.hand
- or b. [Kpâ wó<sup>y</sup>ó-kí kpâ] “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 [g<sup>w</sup>ù], the middle voice morpheme [tʃ<sup>è</sup>], and the third person plural marker for plural nouns as seen in the following examples:

188)	nc 1	[wā̃p wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jī]	“The child washed himself”
		1.child wash body-his	
	nc 2	[bwá <sup>yá</sup> wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jī-bó]	“The children washed themselves”
		2.children wash body-thier-they	
	nc 3	[kpà wó <sup>yó</sup> ø-kpà]	“The hand washed itself”
		3.hand wash body-3.hand	
	or	[kpà wó <sup>yó</sup> tʃ <sup>è</sup> -kí kpà]	“The hand is washing itself”
		3.hand wash REFL-PROG 3.hand	
	nc 4	[kǎ wó <sup>yò</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jí-bó]	“The hands washed themselves”
		4.hands wash body-their-they	
	nc 5	[gbâ: (i) gbō tʃ <sup>è</sup> ]	“The barn fell itself (by itself)”
		5.barn PREP fall self	
	nc 6	[kígbâ: (i) gbō tʃ <sup>è</sup> ]	“The barns fell themselves”
		6.barns PPEP fall self	
	nc 7	[kífí wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jí]	“The pig washed itself”
		7.pig wash body-his	
	nc 8	[bífí wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jí-bó]	“The pigs washed themselves”
		8.pigs wash body-their-they	
	nc 9	[ʃǎ wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jī]	“The fowl washed itself”
		9.fowl wash body-his	
	nc 10	[ʃǎ wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jí-bō]	“The fowls washed themselves”
		10.fowls wash body-their-they	
	nc 19	[fíjéní wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-jí]	“The bird washed itself”
		19.bird wash body-his	
	nc 6a	[míjéní wó <sup>yó</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ù-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 “bó” is often left implicitly stated. When this happens, both the singular and the plural form becomes identical:

- 189) nc 7            [kìfí wóʋó g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí]            “A pig washed itself”  
                          7.pig wash.PFV body-his(REFL)
- nc 8                [bìfí wóʋó g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí]            “Pigs washed themselves”  
                          8.pigs wash.PFV body-their(REFL)
- nc 9                [ʃǎ wóʋó g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí]            “A fowl washed itself”  
                          9.fowl wash.PFV body-his(REFL)
- nc 10              [ʃǎ wóʋó g<sup>w</sup>ù-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.            [kpà ɪwóʋó-kí kpà]            “The hand was washing itself”  
                          3.hand PFVwash-PROG 3.hand
- b.                [ʃǎ ɪwóʋó g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí-bó]            “The fowls washed themselves”  
                          10.fowl PFVwash body-their-they(REFL)
- c.                [kpà wóʋó-kí ɪ-kpà]            “The hand is washing itself”  
                          3.hand wash-PROG PX-hand
- d.                [míjéní wóʋó ɪ-g<sup>w</sup>ù-jí-bó]            “Birds are washing themselves”  
                          6a.birds wash PX-body-their-they
- e.                [mí hí wóʋó ɪ-g<sup>w</sup>ù-jǎŋ]            “I had washed myself”  
                          1s P2 wash PX-body-my
- d.                [mí wóʋó ɪ-g<sup>w</sup>ù-jǎŋ]            “I washed myself”  
                          1s wash PX-body-my

The [i] before a verb is a perfective aspect or a contracted form of the [hi] past tense marker. If it is a perfective, then the verb is also marked simultaneously for progressive aspect, meaning the event was ongoing in the past. While the [i] after the verb could be the reassigned lost noun class prefix of class 9 or the neutral indefinite marker whose meaning is equivalent to the English indefinite marker [a]. Somehow, the [i] can be treated as an optional universal reflexive prefix in this work. Neutral indefinite in the sense that it does not take the concord of its preceding head noun. It 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, KPAAMCAMS\_Mbuk5\_TNY-13\_AnnualFestivalKwifan\_00024\_2015-08-08.eaf:

- 191) a.      m̀ì w̄ē w̄í d̄ǎŋ b̀ò'ò j̄â, b̄á f̄ɛn f̄ó k̄ìbà: k̄í m̄ē  
           NP   REL SM V   NP   DEM, CONJ NP   DEM NP   POSS PO  
           person who 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 ( $\emptyset$ -) and the consonant-vowel prefixes (CV-). Most of the zero prefix nouns have monosyllabic roots while those of the consonant-vowel prefix ranges from monosyllabic to over trisyllable roots.

The head nouns 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 [b<sup>j</sup>-] and [f<sup>j</sup>-] 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 its 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” [bə̀ʋá]; “2P” [bēn]; “3P” [bó] while those of non-human will vary according to the noun classes, class 1, [wì]; class 2, [bá]; 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, [bə̀ʋábēn]; the exclusive, [bə̀ʋá] and the neutral, [bá]. 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)  
                  i - 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:

$$\text{affix} + \text{root} = \text{stem}$$

The prefix expresses the nominal infinitive form of the verb while the suffix generates other verbs and also provides verbal grammatical elements.

### 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:

	<b>CV form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
192)	a. [fú]	“ich”
	b. [lā]	“go to work/farm”
	c. [tsó]	“go”
	d. [dē]	“cry”
	e. [kā̄]	“to hold (with hand)”

The closed syllabic root is presented with m, ŋ as the coda consonant:

	<b>CVC form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
193)	a. [tóm]	“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:

	<b>CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
194)	a. [íwě:]	“open”
	b. [fā:]	“read”
	c. [tū:]	“hang”
	d. [jí:]	“descend”
	e. [ká:]	“have”

Below, in diphthongs, CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>, two tonal melodies have been noted, the high and the mid. The diphthongs have a single direction where a high vowel moves to the low position. Two lower directions have been vertical and oblique. The [uo] from high [u] to low [o] at the same

point of articulation and an oblique one for the [ua] pattern going from high [u] back to low central [a] is here exemplified as follows:

		<b>CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
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 **CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>** category. Most of the **CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>** verb roots have a weak intervening voiceless velar fricative [ɣ] which is sometimes articulated as velar stop [k] by younger speakers or it has recently been influenced by the orthography of Chung which uses [k] in this position. Apart from the weak [ɣ] there is also the velar nasal [ŋ] that occurs intervocalically. Looking at the CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub> in (196), the echo vowel exhibits some vowel harmony. It is seldom different from the root vowel:

		<b>CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub> form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
196)	a.	[dzə <sup>v</sup> é]	“say, speak, talk”
	b.	[wɔ <sup>v</sup> ɔ]	“wash”
	c.	[sàŋà]	“weed”
	d.	[ndzàŋá]	“urinate”
	e.	[mí <sup>v</sup> î]	“blink”

But in CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>CV<sub>3</sub> structure both the root and echo vowel are different as seen in the “-li” verb class: **CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>CV<sub>3</sub> form**

197)	a.	[lō <sup>v</sup> ālí]	“miss target”
	b.	[bɛ <sup>v</sup> əlí]	“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):

		<b>CGV form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
198)	a.	[m <sup>w</sup> ā]	“beg”
	b.	[k <sup>w</sup> ó]	“sew with hand”
	c.	[b <sup>w</sup> ǎ]	“catch”
	d.	[b <sup>j</sup> é]	“done, cook”
	e.	[l <sup>j</sup> ē]	“enter”
	f.	[t <sup>j</sup> ē]	“know”

Some examples with glides in a closed syllable include:

		<b>CGVC form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
199)	a.	[t <sup>w</sup> ájɲ ]	“beat”
	b.	[b <sup>w</sup> ín]	“break”
	c.	[k <sup>w</sup> āŋ]	“carve”
	d.	[dʒ <sup>w</sup> óm]	“rub excess oil”
	e.	[b <sup>j</sup> ōŋ]	“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.	[tsá]	“go”	d.	[fá]	“count”
		b.	[ná]	“ride”	e.	[mú]	“drink”
		c.	[fó]	“rot”			
201)	mid,	a.	[dzē]	“come”	d.	[kū]	“clap”
		b.	[lū]	“ban from people”	e.	[fū]	“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.	[ĩ:]	“descend”
		c.	[dǎ:]	“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-tsé]   | “to go”                 |
|      |             | b. | [í-tán ]  | “to buy”                |
|      |             | c. | [-ɲómí]   | “to wake up from sleep” |
|      |             | d. | [í-nsàŋà] | “to weed”               |
|      |             | e. | [í-ʃ'éjí] | “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-fḗʷó]      | “to tell”     |
|      |       | b. | [í-tén]       | “to cut”      |
|      |       | c. | [í-dzḗʷó]     | “to speak”    |
|      |       | d. | [í-dzǐ́ ]     | “to jump”     |
|      |       | e. | [í-wḥʷó]      | “to wash”     |
| 205) | Mid,  | a. | [ītáŋnī]      | “to sell”     |
|      |       | b. | [ītǔ: ~ ītū:] | “to hang”     |
|      |       | c. | [īkōm]        | “to ring”     |
|      |       | d. | [īɲī]         | “to defecate” |

206)	Falling,	a.	[ɪ̀nà <sup>v</sup> á ~ ɪ̀nàká]	“to write”
		b.	[ɪ̀lě ~ ɪ̀lě]	“to run”
		c.	[ɪ̀wà <sup>v</sup> á]	“to rest”
		d.	[ɪ̀wě:]	“to open”
		e.	[ɪ̀nũ:~ ɪ̀nũ:]	“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 [-tɪ] suffix which is found with verbs of emotion, we still find words with the [-tɪ] 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. [tʰəʋəjī] “drip several times”  
 b. [kəjī] “select, fix vegetables”  
 c. [tsəʋəjī] “scarify”  
 d. [ʃəjī] “cut into slices”  
 e. [təjī] “abuse”  
 f. [kəjī] “harvest” pears  
 g. [tʃəʋəjī] “knock”

Examples of the voiced consonants taking the iterative -li suffix:

- 208) a. [gəʋəli] “drag, by two or more people”  
 b. [bəʋəli] “spoil, many times or by many people”  
 c. [dəli] “forget”  
 d. [dʒəʋəli] “massage”  
 e. [ləʋəli] “collect, rain water in a pot or show cup to get something”

Examples of the nasal consonants taking the iterative [-ni] suffix. A geminate is created in example (193c-h):

- 209) a. [nəŋni] “search”  
 b. [təŋni] “sell”  
 c. [mínní] “sink”  
 d. [nənni] “play”  
 e. [nəʋənni] “shake”  
 f. [tʃínni] “push in, send in”  
 j. [bɔːnni] “heal, well”  
 h. [kūnni] “crawl”

In every claim, there is often a leakage leading to an overlap or creating exceptions such that we find voiceless consonants taking the [-li] 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. [bēːji] “be calling”  
 b. [bəʋəji] “transport corn”  
 c. [ŋʷəjī] “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. [kɛ̃lɪ] “embrace”
- e. [kūlɪ] “exchange”
- f. [tālɪ] “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. [ɲōmlɪ] “smile”
- b. [sāŋlɪ] “be happy”
- c. [jōmlɪ] “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. [wəjɪ] “peel ripe banana”
- b. [tʃ<sup>w</sup>ālɪ] “mix raw corn beer during preparation”
- c. [lānɪ] “advise”

The disyllabic root taking the three iterative suffixes are [-ji, -lɪ, -nɪ] are:

- d. [fā<sup>v</sup>ājɪ] “remove palm nuts”
- e. [tʃ<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>lɪ] “respond”
- f. [tòŋònlɪ] “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. [wōjɪ] “knock several times”
- b. [mājɪ] “plastering a house, event is done over and over again”
- c. [tʃ<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>lɪ] “respond several times”
- d. [b<sup>w</sup>lɪ] “remove several times”
- e. [fū:nɪ] “mix fish in oil, stir”
- f. [k<sup>w</sup>ānɪ] “scratch again and again”

In multiple participants, many people do it once or several times:

- g. [gō<sup>v</sup>ōlī] “drag by several people at once” or  
“drag by one person repeatedly”
- h. [bə<sup>v</sup>ālī] “spoil by several people at once” or  
“spoil by one person repeatedly”
- i. [mbāji] “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. [bōŋjī] “harvest not enough as expected”  
b. [bōŋjī] “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 [dzī] 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. [dzījī] “eat several times a bit of food which is not enough”  
b. [dzījī] “eat by many people at once”  
c. [dzīnī] “eat several times enough”

The suffixes [-ji] and [-nī] express some nuances in iteratively. The [-ji] indicates that either the food is insufficient or the eating is not satisfactory while [-nī] 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:

	<i>Basic, once</i>	<i>Iterative -yi, several times</i>	<i>gloss</i>
216) a.	[bōŋ]	[bōŋjī]	“pick”
b.	[kō]	[kōjī]	“harvest”
c.	[tə̃və̃]	[tə̃və̃jī]	“drip”
d.	[gbō]	[gbōjī]	“fall”
e.	[k <sup>w</sup> ā]	[k <sup>w</sup> ājī]	“catch”

Furthermore, the iterative root has no corresponding meaning with that of the basic word in some words:

	<i>Basic, once</i>	<i>Iterative -[jī]</i>
217) a.	[wā <sup>v</sup> ā] “rest”	[wā <sup>v</sup> ājī] “harvest (corn)”
b.	[tō] “cut grass”	[tōjī] “abuse”

In addition, not all the basic verbs can be made iterative verbs as exemplified here:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Iterative -ji</i>
218) a.	[kēn] “live”	[*kenyi]
b.	[wām] “talk lie”	[*wāmji]
c.	[kōŋ] “love”	*[kōŋjī]

The suffixation of [-ji] to a basic word reverses the meaning of the word. The [-ji] functions as a semantic reversal suffix:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Iterative reversal -ji</i>
219) a.	[tāŋ] “buy”	[tāŋjī] “sell”

In other basic words, the suffixation of -yi gives a diminutive repetitive meaning:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Iterative diminutive -yi</i>
220) a.	[jəŋ] “sing”	[jəŋji] “sing a bit (several times)”
b.	[ʃə] “cut”	[ʃəji ] “cut into bits / slices (several times)”

The iterative suffix “-li” has the following pairing with its corresponding basic verbs as illustrated in the following examples:

	<i>Basic, once</i>	<i>Iterative -li, several times/by people</i>
221) a.	[kəŋ] “fry once”	[kəŋli] “fry several times”
b.	[gō <sup>v</sup> ō] “drag by one person”	[gō <sup>v</sup> ōli] “drag by many people”
c.	[bā <sup>v</sup> ā] “tear”	[bā <sup>v</sup> āli] “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:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Iterative -li</i>
222) a.	[dʒə <sup>v</sup> ə] “talk”	[dʒə <sup>v</sup> əlī] “join”
b.	[tʃō <sup>v</sup> ō] “knock head”	[tʃō <sup>v</sup> ōli] “response / reply”

Some of the iterative words do not have a basic root from which they are derived. They seem to be words of their own virtue that is, not derived as seen in these examples below:

	<i>basic</i>	<i>Iterative -lɪ</i>
223) a.	∅ “∅”	[tʃōʷōlī] “response / reply”
b.	∅ “∅”	[təʷəlī] “surprise”
c.	∅ “∅”	[səkəlī] “abandon”
d.	∅ “∅”	[kūlī] “change side”
e.	∅ “∅”	[tāʷālī] “make a baby sit between legs”

The iterative is derived from the basic form with the suffixation of [-nɪ]:

	<i>Basic, once</i>	<i>Iterative, repetition -nɪ</i>
224) a.	[bāŋ] “embrace”	[bāŋnī] “embrace”
b.	[jōŋ] “gather, join”	[jōŋnī] “gather, join”
c.	[tēŋ] “cut”	[tēŋnī] “cut”
d.	[fəʷə] “measure”	[fəʷənī] “measure”
e.	[mōm] “taste”	[mōmnī] “touch”

### 5.1.7 The suffix [-hɪ ~ -sɪ]

The suffix [-hɪ ~ -sɪ] 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:

	<i>Basic, by self</i>	<i>Causative -hi, by someone else</i>
225) a.	[dōŋ] “sit”	[dōŋhī] “put someone on seat”
b.	[dāŋ] “cross”	[dāŋhī] “help someone cross”
c.	[tsə] “pass”	[tsəhī] “give way”
d.	tʃəʋə] “polish”	[ʔtʃəʋəhī] “wipe, erase”
e.	[să:] “feed self”	[săhī] “feed someone”
f.	[gbō] “fail”	[gbōhī] “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:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Causative -hi (CAUS)</i>
226) a.	[wāʋā] “breathe”	[wāʋā-hī] “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:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Causative -hi</i>
227) a.	[*kək] “∅”	[kōkhī] “worship, respect”
b.	[*gək] “∅”	“[gōkhī] “end”
c.	[*ta] “∅”	[tāhī] “disturb”
d.	[bōvō] “∅”	[bōvōhī] “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 carry out the event by itself - Causative adverbial. The examples below are the root and derived causative form:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Causative -hi</i>	<i>Causative adverbial -hi</i>
228) a.	[jā <sup>v</sup> ā] “climb alone”	[jā <sup>v</sup> āhī ] “cause to climb”	[jā <sup>v</sup> āhī] “really climb by yourself, alone”
b.	[mōm] “try”	[mōmhī] “cause to try”	[mōmhī] “really or actually try alone”
c.	[gò <sup>v</sup> ó] “press pepper”	[gò <sup>v</sup> óhī] “press pepper for someone”	[gò <sup>v</sup> óhī] “really press pepper by yourself”

Below, not all the verbs can be expressed at the level of causative adverbial:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Causative -hi</i>	<i>Causative adverbial -hi</i>
229) a.	[nũ:] “sleep”	[nùhí] “cause baby to sleep”	[*nùhí]
b.	[gēn] “scape”	[gēnhī] “cause someone to escape”	[*gēnhī]
c.	[mě] “lick”	[mèhí] “feed someone with pap”	[*mèhí]

The “-hr” 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:

	<b>Basic</b>	<b>Causative -hr</b>
230) a.	[f <sup>v</sup> ǎ] “borrow, take”	[f <sup>v</sup> àhí] “loan, give”
b.	[lúá] “fear”	[lúàhí] “fighten”
c.	[fǐǎ <sup>v</sup> ǎ] “pregnant”	[fǐǎ <sup>v</sup> ǎhī] “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	[jà <sup>v</sup> á]	“go up by yourself”
a1.	L L H	[jà <sup>v</sup> àhí]	“help someone or something to get to the top”
b.	L H	[bè <sup>v</sup> ǎ]	“carry by yourself, carry alone”
b1.	L L H	[bè <sup>v</sup> àhí]	“help someone to put load on his head”
c.	L H	[jǎ <sup>v</sup> ǎ]	“putting down load by yourself”
c1.	L L H	[jǎ <sup>v</sup> àhí]	“help someone to put down his load”

### 5.1.8 The suffix -mī

The meaning of the [-mī] 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.	[nāmmī]	“self stretch”
b.	[nōmmī]	“self wake up”
c.	[nōmmī]	“self hide”
d.	[kōmmī]	“self hold head indicating bad news”
e.	[tjōmmī]	“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 -fi

The [-fi] suffix can be imagined to express “give away or let go” something:

- 233) a. [təfi] “teach, giving out knowledge”  
 b. [ʃūfi] “beat bitterly, sending out energy and transferring pains”  
 d. [wāfi] “hang, release something from your hand to keep somewhere”  
 c. [ɣīfi] “yawn, relaxing and releasing air”  
 e. [jūŋfi] “mad, let go conscience”

### 5.1.10 The suffix -ti

Most of the [-ti] suffix words relate to the choice determined by the state of the mind:

- 234) a. [tʃəʋətī] “think”  
 b. [gāmtī] “help”  
 c. [lōptī] “pet (child)”  
 d. [mōtī] “rest”  
 e. [jəŋtī] “remember”

Though there are some exceptions that do not relate to the state of the mind:

- f. səptī “sharpen stick”

### 5.1.11 The suffix -wi

The suffix [-wi] has been found only in a single word, hunting, thus its semantics cannot be determined with just one example:

- 235) a. [bʰəŋwī] “hunt”

### 5.1.12 The suffix -fi

The suffix [-fi] 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. [wāfi] “half-heat”  
 b. [wāfi] “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, its 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. [mōmsò] “westle”

Concluding, there are 9 verb suffixes of Mbuk: [-ji, -li, -ni, -hi, -ti, -fi, -mi, -bi, and -wi], 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 [-i] 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 [-wi, -mi, -fi, -bi, -fi] only attach to monosyllabic roots, while [-yi, -li, ni, -ti, -hi] takes both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. Example of suffixes that take only monosyllabic roots:

	<i>root</i>	<i>suffix</i>	<i>stem</i>	<i>gloss</i>
239) a.	[dʒâ-]	-fí	[dʒâfí]	“mismanage”
b.	[nôm-]	-mí	[nômmí]	“hide”
c.	[ta-]	-bī	[tābī]	“clot”
d.	[wâ-]	-ʃí	[wâʃí]	“half-heat”
e.	[bʲəŋ-]	-wí	[bʲəŋwí]	“hunt”

It should be noted that these roots seldom have any meaning of their own in the absence of the suffix.

Example of suffixes that take both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots:

	<i>roots</i>	<i>suffix</i>	<i>stems</i>	<i>gloss</i>
240) a.	[kā-]	-ji	[kājī]	“select (fix vegetables)”
b.	[bə <sup>v</sup> ə-]	-ji	[bə <sup>v</sup> əjī]	“transport (corn)”
a.	[tā]	-lī	[tālī]	“swim”
b.	[wō <sup>v</sup> ō-]	-lī	[wō <sup>v</sup> ōlī]	“wait”
a.	[dʒə̃ŋ-]	-hī	[dʒə̃ŋhī]	“swing”
b.	[lā <sup>v</sup> ā-]	-hī	[lā <sup>v</sup> āhī]	“announce”
a.	[kī-]	-nī	[kīnī]	“shift”
b.	[tō <sup>v</sup> ō]	-nī	[tō <sup>v</sup> ōnī]	“guide”
a.	[lōp-]	-tī	[lōptī]	“pet (child)”
b.	[bā <sup>v</sup> ā-]	-tī	[bā <sup>v</sup> ātī]	“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 subdivided 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 -li	iterative
	9,	suffix -ni	iterative
	10,	suffix -hi	causative
	11,	suffix -fi	give up / send away / release
	12,	suffix -ti	state of mind
	13,	suffix -mi	bound empty morpheme
	14,	suffix -bi	bound empty morpheme
	15,	suffix -ji	partial / part (incomplete)
	16,	suffix -wi	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	^ ´
M	mid	`	FL	falling low	^ `
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)

			Tonal Patterns								
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 HMM 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	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[fá]	“count”
	M	[gbō]	“fall”
	R	[bǎ:]	“call”
Group 2, Diphthongisation	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[dʒúó]	“fight”
	M	[wūō]	“crack, burst”
Group 3, Labialisation	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[m <sup>w</sup> á]	“beg”
	R	[ʃ <sup>w</sup> ǎ]	“loosen”
Group 4, Palatalisation	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[b <sup>j</sup> é]	“done (cook)”
	R	[ŋjǎ:]	“go / leave”
Group 5, Velarisation	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[k <sup>v</sup> á]	“appoint”
	M	[k <sup>v</sup> ǎ]	“harvest (herbs)”
	R	[l <sup>v</sup> á]	“announce”
Group 6, Simple close	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[táŋ]	“buy”
	M	[gǎŋ]	“lift up, yerk”
	R	[dǔŋ]	“sit”
	H M	[d <sup>a</sup> á:ŋ]	“protect farm with medicine”

Group 7, Suffix -ji	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[fá <sup>v</sup> éjǐ]	“fan”
	R	[bàjǐ]	“be weak”
	M H	[tǒjǐ]	“abuse”
	F H	[dâjǐ]	“cry”
Group 8, Suffix -li	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[bá <sup>v</sup> ólǐ]	“argue”
	R	[gò <sup>v</sup> òlǐ]	“drag”
	M H	[nǒmlǐ]	“smile”
	F H	[gâ:lǐ]	“divide”
	H M H	[bá <sup>v</sup> ǎlǐ]	“miscarriage”
	L M H	[wò <sup>v</sup> òlǐ]	“wait”
Group 9, Suffix -ni	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[ʒ <sup>j</sup> ónǐ]	“fill”
	R	[kìnǐ]	“shift”
	M H	[lānǐ]	“advise”
	F H	[jòŋnǐ]	“gather”
	F L	[tó <sup>v</sup> ònì]	“guige”
Group 10, Suffix -hi	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[ká:hǐ]	“finish”
	M	[ʃǎ <sup>v</sup> ǎhǐ]	“bring down something from up”
	R	[kènhi]	“fix”
	M H	[fǎ <sup>v</sup> ŋhǐ]	“anoint”
	F H	[f <sup>w</sup> âhǐ]	“loan”
Group 11, Suffix -fi	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	M H	[sǎfǐ]	“carry (cup)”
	F H	[lâfǐ]	“dress self”
Group 12, Suffix -ti	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H	[k <sup>w</sup> átǐ]	“get”
	M H	[bâ <sup>v</sup> âtǐ]	“transfer”
	F H	[jêŋtǐ ]	“remember”

Group 13, Suffix -mɪ	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	H H	[kómmí]	“hold head (sign of bad news)”
	M H	[nōmmí]	“hide”
	F H	[ɲōmmí]	“wake up (sleep)”
Group 14, Suffix -bɪ	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	M H	[tābí]	“clot”
Group 15, Suffix -ʃɪ	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	R	[wàʃí]	“half-heat”
Group 16, Suffix -wɪ	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	M H	[bʰəwí]	“hunt”
Group 17, Suffix -sò	<b>Tone</b>	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	F L	[mōmsò]	“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, li, ni, hi, mi, mo, ma, ti, fi, wi, so, ki], creating a word family for each of the root or lexeme that takes a combination of suffixes.

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)
[dzíjǐ]	“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	li	ni	hi	mi	Mo	ma	ti	fi	wi	so,ki	gloss
1	[f̄b̄ōm]	ji	∅	ni	∅	mi	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	accept
2	[f̄j̄àt̄ōv̄ō]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	allow
3	[f̄b̄f̄á]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	ask
4	[f̄k̄á/d̄úŋ]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	be
5	[f̄t̄áŋ]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	beat
6	[mb̄òm]	∅	∅	ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	be big
7	[d̄z̄í]	∅	li	ni	hi	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	be black
8	[f̄b̄w̄án]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	break
9	[f̄dz̄ō]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	bring
10	[f̄t̄áŋ]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	buy
11	[f̄b̄ǎ]	ji	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	call
12	[f̄t̄óv̄òní]	∅	li	ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	care
13	[f̄ḡáŋ]	ji	∅	ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	carry
14	[f̄k̄w̄āŋ]	ji	li	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	carve
15	[f̄b̄ī]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	cease/stop
16	[f̄k̄ūlí]	∅	li	ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	change
17	[f̄k̄w̄àv̄àt̄í]	∅	∅	ni	∅	∅	∅	∅	ti	∅	∅	∅	check/think
18	[f̄k̄ū]	ji	∅	ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	ti	fi	∅	∅	clap
19	[f̄j̄àv̄á]	ji	li	Ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	climb
20	[f̄f̄v̄á]	∅	∅	∅	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	cold
21	[f̄b̄áv̄át̄í]	∅	∅	Ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	ti	∅	∅	ki	collect
22	[f̄d̄ǎ]	ji	∅	Ni	∅	∅	mo	ma	∅	∅	∅	ki	cook
23	[f̄k̄ōŋō]	ji	∅	Ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	cough
24	[f̄b̄áŋ]	ji	∅	Ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	ki	cover
25	[f̄ŋàŋlí]	∅	li	Ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	fi	∅	∅	creep
26	[f̄d̄ê]	ji	li	Ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	ki	cry
27	[f̄f̄í:]	ji	li	Ni	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	descend
28	[f̄f̄ō]	ji	li	Ni	∅	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	do
29	[f̄t̄v̄əj̄í]	ji	li	Ni	hi	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	drip
30	[d̄z̄í]	ji	∅	Ni	hi	∅	mo	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	eat
31	[f̄d̄ōmh̄i]	∅	∅	∅	hi	∅	∅	ma	∅	∅	∅	∅	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-jɔ́]	→	[nɔ́-jɔ́tɛ̀]	→	[nɔ́-jɔ́njɛ̀]
	“voir”		“se voir à plusieurs reprises”		“s’écher”
b.	[anda]	→	[andisɛ̀]	→	[andisaβɛ̀]
	“acheter”		“vendre”		“être vendu”
c.	[sɪ̀ bɪ̀ŋtɪ̀]	→	[sɪ̀ bɪ̀ŋlɪ̀]	→	[sɪ̀ bɪ̀ŋsɪ̀]
	“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 + OBJ
<b>Verb</b>	<b>TAM 1</b>	<b>TAM 2</b>	<b>TAM 3</b>	<b>TAM 4</b>	<b>TAM 5</b>	<b>TAM 6</b>
<i>fold</i>	[f̄lō:]	[nlò]	[lō]	[lô:kílè]	[lô:lè]	[lō:]
<i>bury</i>	[f̄lǎ]	[nlǎ]	[lǎ]	[lǎ:kílè]	[lǎ:lè]	[lǎ]
<i>count</i>	[f̄fā]	[mfā]	[fā]	[fā:kílè]	[fā:lè]	[fā]
<i>ban</i>	[f̄lō]	[nlò]	[lō]	[lô:kǎlè]	[lô:lè]	[lō]
<i>clap</i>	[f̄kū]	[ŋkù]	[kū]	[kû:kílè]	[kû:lè]	[kū:]

The infinitive prefix is [f̄-], 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 [lǎ] which is sometimes written as a verb suffix when we fail to strictly keep the word boundary rules. The imperative (TAM 6) is as naked as the perfective (TAM 3) but differ in tone in some verb groups.

## 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 wḗ wí kḗ mā wî gbō] “the barn which has fallen”  
5.barn 5.REL 5.SM COP SP 5.SM fall
- b. [\*gbâ wḗ wí kḗ bḗ ø gbō] “the barn which has fallen”  
5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM COP CNJ 5c.SM fall
- 244) a. [gbâ wḗ wí kḗ bḗ tʃwǎ] “the barn which is dirty”  
5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM COP CNJ dirty
- b. [\*gbâ wḗ wí kḗ mā tʃwǎ] “the barn which is dirty”  
5.barn 5c.REL 5c.SM COP SP dirty
- c. [gbâ wḗ mā wí kḗ bḗ 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 [mā] and not [bḗ] while the verb dirty [tʃwǎ] can as well only take the particle [bḗ]. Any combination of [mā] and [tʃwǎ] is ungrammatical and this applies to [bḗ] 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 [wḗ]. 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 scalar 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 <sub>1</sub>	V	DO, N <sub>2</sub>	PREP	IO, N <sub>3</sub>	TSV
1a	Valency of one	One argument	subject	verb	∅	∅	∅	intransitive
2a	Valency of two	Two arguments	subject	verb	DO	∅	∅	(mono)transitive
2b	Valency of two	Two arguments	subject	verb	∅	PREP	IO	Intransitive
2c	Valency of two	Two arguments	subject	verb	∅	PREP	IO	transitive
3a	Valency of three	Three arguments	subject	verb	DO	∅	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 wóm] “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 gbō 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 dzí: kìnwàní] “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 ná mímbî: í ñkúŋ]  
 S DV DO PREP IO  
 3P give 6a.wine to 1.chief  
 “They have given wine to the chief.”
- b. [ñsē:n wǎŋ dʒə kìnʷàní í Bìkóm]  
 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 gbâ:kí î 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 ná mímbî: î ŋkúŋ] “They have given wine to the chief.”  
 S DV DO PREP IO  
 3P give 6a.wine to 1.chief
- b. [bô ná ŋkúŋ bé mîmbî:] “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 dzí: kìnʷàní] “he has eaten banana”  
 S TNS TR DO  
 1s P3 eat.PF 7.banana
- 251) a. [bə̃və bí:n-kó là] “we are dancing”  
 S IT-PROG AF  
 3PEXCL dance-IP AF
- b. [bə̃və bín-kí kìmfilì] “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. [bə̃və hí dzí í kúlí mə̃] “We ate in the compound”  
 S ITR PREP IO PO  
 1P.EXCL P2 eat PREP 5.compound PO
- b. [bə̃və nì dzí kúlí] “We inherited the compound” (Lit. ate compound)  
 1P.EXCL P4 eat 5.compound
- c. [bə̃və hí dzí híbì] “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. [Kxə 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. [kpəŋə dʒí:ká-lə] “Pot is black”  
5.pot black.ITR-PROG-AF
- b. [bó dʒi-hī kpəŋə] “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 construction in some languages (roughly corresponding to the direct/indirect object construction in English). An applicative affix on the verb encodes as objects a range of roles, such as benefactive and locative. The construction can be analysed as a type of voice, in which the focus is on the types of object rather than 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 has a derived suffix through which the valency is increased without the use 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” [wāŋ] in example (b):

- 255) a. [m̄ má mbên] “I have sucked breast”  
1s suck breast
- b. [m̄ má-hí wāŋ] “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. [m̄ kx̄é fú] “I have shaved”  
1S shave head
- b. [m̄ kx̄é fú bó m̄ú] “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. [ns̄ēn wǎŋ ná ɲ̄ʷ] “My friend has cooked fufu”  
friend my cook fufu
- b. [ns̄ēn wǎŋ nā ɲ̄ʷ í b̄èʷ] “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 nómì-kí g<sup>w</sup>û jí bó í gbâ mē**  
 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 jǎ kìmǫ́n] “he gave cocoyam”  
 3S P4 give 7.cocoyam
- b. [wì nì jǎ: kǐ] “he gave it”  
 3S P4 give 7c
- c. [wì nì jǎ kìmǫ́n í wǐ:] “he gave cocoyam to him”  
 3S P4 give 7.cocoyam PREP him
- d. [wì nì jǎ: kǐ í wǐ:] “he gave it to him”  
 3S P4 give 7c PREP him
- e. [wì nì jǎ: í wǐ: kìmǫ́n] “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. [rǐ dzí:-kǐ jǐǒ] “I am eating fufu.”  
 1s eat-PROG 8.fufu  
 ARG1 ARG2

- b. [m dzí:kí j'ě bí wǎj] “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. [bəʋó hí ʃwájí kʷù] “We have cut the rope”  
 1PE P2 loosen rope  
 b. [bəʋó hí ʃwájí tʃǐ] “We have cut ourselves”  
 1P.EXCL P2 loosen self.MV
- 262) a. [bó lání-ké-lè] “They are learning”  
 3P learn-PROG-AF  
 b. [bó lání-kí tʃǐ-ké-lè] “They are learning for/by themselves”  
 3P learn-PROG self-PROG-AF  
 c. [bó nɔ̃:m-kí tʃǐ-ké lè] “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. [bəʋó hí ʃwájí kʷù] “We have loosen the rope”  
 1P.EXCL P2 loosen rope  
 b. [kʷù ʃwájí tʃǐ] “The rope has loosened itself”  
 rope loosen self  
 c. [kʷù ʃwájí tʃǐ gʷù jí] “The rope has loosened itself”  
 rope loosen self body it

- 264) a. [bó tǝn k<sup>w</sup>ù] “They have cut the rope”  
3P cut rope
- b. [kwù ní tǝn] “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 [g<sup>w</sup>ù] 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. [Bikóm kǝŋ-kǝ-lǝ Kxǝ] “Bikem loves Khe”  
PN love-PROG-AF PN
- b. [Bikóm kǝŋ-kǝ-lǝ g<sup>w</sup>ù 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” [kíg<sup>w</sup>ù].

- 266) a. [bó dǝzúò-kǝ-lǝ] “They are fighting”  
3P fight-PROG-AF
- b. [bó dǝzúò-kí kíg<sup>w</sup>ù] “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.



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 20 is an overview of the systematic placement of the tense makers of Mbuk on a timeline:

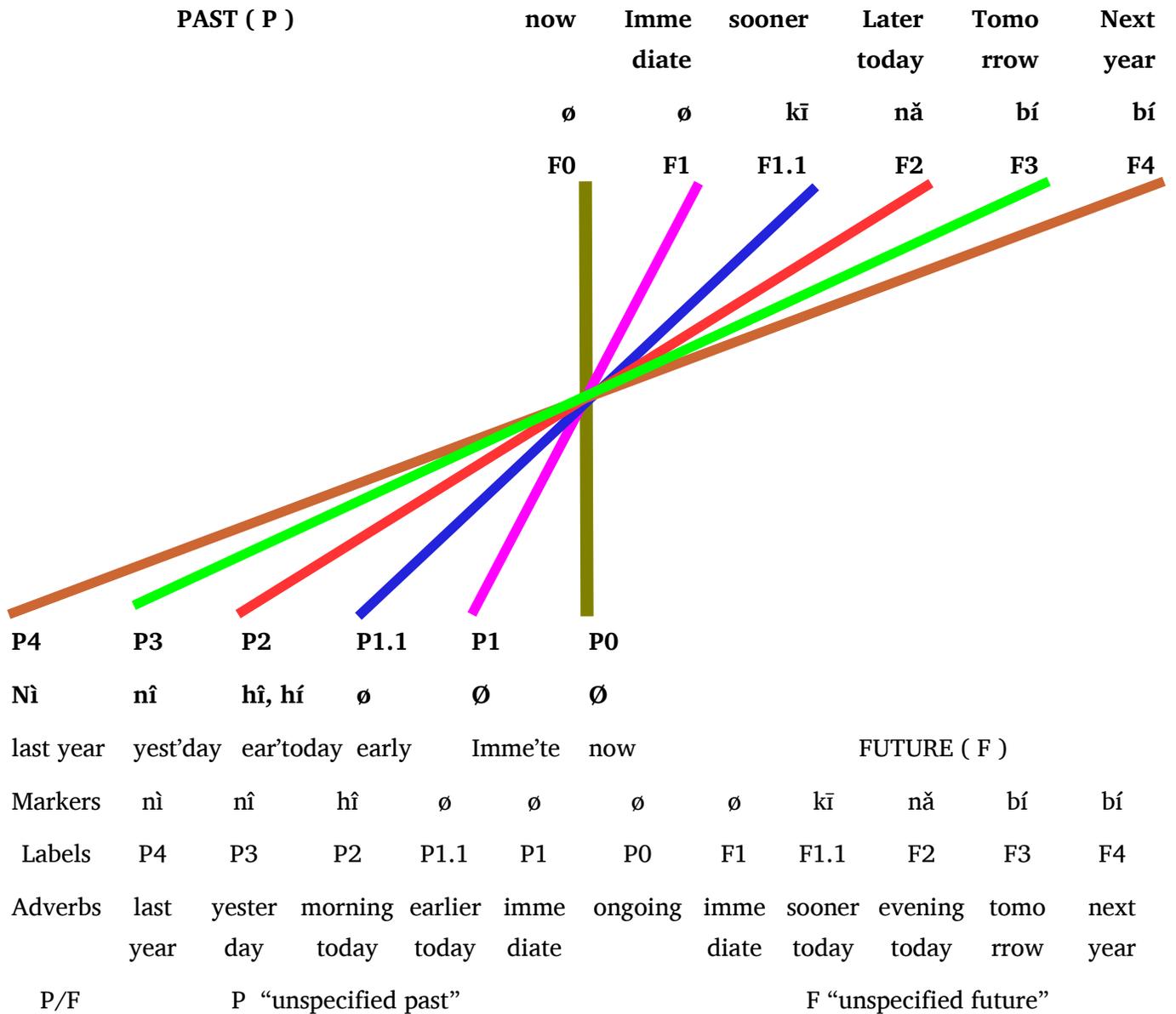


Figure 20: Mbuk Tense Crossbars

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	∅	[wì dzí]	“He ate.”
	Immediate past	P1	∅	[wì dzí]	“He ate.”
270)	Ongoing, now	P0	∅	[wì dzí:kí lè]	“He is eating.”
271)	Immediate future	F1	∅	[wì dzí:kì lè]	“He will eat.”
	Sooner today	F1.1	kī	[wì kī dzí: lè]	“He will eat.”
	Evening	F2	nă	[wì nă: dzí: lè]	“He will eat.”
	Tomorrow	F3	bí	[wì bí dzí: lè]	“He will eat.”
	Next year	F4	bí	[wì bí dzí: lè]	“He will eat.”

Looking at the past tense, grammatically there are four past tense markers; *nì*, *nî*, *hî*,  $\emptyset$  while adverbially there are five past tense distinctions; last year, yesterday, morning, earlier today, immediate past. With the grammatical tense marker is zero  $\emptyset$  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  $\emptyset$ . 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 [*lè*] which bears a low tone (b). Similar in form to the presence is immediate future which only differs from the presence by the tonal contrast on the

present participle. The present participle [kí] takes a high tone while the immediate future participle (FP) embedded with mitigated imperative mood [kì] takes a low tone (c) below:

- 273) a.P1 [wì dzí] “He has eaten” c.F1 [wì dzí:kì lə] “He will eat”  
 3S eat. 3S eat.PROG AF
- b.P0 [wì dzí:kì lə] “He is eating”  
 3S eat.PROG AF

Moving on to the future tense,

- |                       |      |       |                   |                |
|-----------------------|------|-------|-------------------|----------------|
| 274) Immediate future | F1   | [ø]   | [wì dzí:kìlə.]    | “He will eat.” |
| Sooner today          | F1.1 | [kī]  | [wì kì dzí:kìlə.] | “He will eat.” |
| Evening               | F2   | [nǎ:] | [wì nǎ: dzí:lə.]  | “He will eat.” |
| Tomorrow              | F3   | [bí]  | [wì bí dzí:lə.]   | “He will eat.” |
| Next year             | F4   | [bí]  | [wì bí dzí:lə.]   | “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 [lə] 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 hī 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:kìlè] “He will eat” immediately  
 b. F1.1 [wì hī dzí:lè] “He will eat” later today  
 c. F [wì dzí:lè] “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:lè]  
 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 *lè* and the lengthening of the verb root for progressive aspect. While (b) lacks both imperfective markers: the durative and the *lè*. The unspecified tense has two levels: that which has no limit which goes beyond today and that which has a limit, that does not go beyond today.

### 5.3.1.3 Temporal Adverbials

These are lexical elements that talk about tense by stating when an event occurred or will occur. Mbuk temporal (time) adverbials include:

278)	[íjúó ~ ízúó]	“now”
	[íjúójúó]	“immediately, very soon”
	[kásáʋá]	“soon”
	[mgbù]	“yesterday”
	[dân]	“today”
	[dzǎítsénní]	“last year”
	[kàntóŋùtóŋu]	“morning”
	[nǎí]	“afternoon”
	[wédzʷábí]	“evening”
	[kàdzǎí]	“tomorrow”
	[dzǎjáʋá]	“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 function like direct objects in that they are attached to the verb directly.

- 279) a. [bàʋə bí dzí: lə]  
 we.EXCL F3 eat.IPFV AF  
 “We will eat (tomorrow/next year)”
- b. [bàʋə bí dzí: kàdzǎí]  
 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 [lə] 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	[r̄m dzí:kí lè]	“I am eating”			
P1	[r̄m dzí]	“I ate”	F1	[r̄m dzí:kì lè]	“I will eat”
P1.1	[r̄m dzí]	“I ate”	F1.1	[r̄m k̄ dzí:kì lè]	“I will eat”
P2	[r̄m h̄ dzí]	“I ate”	F2	[m̄ nǎ: dzí: lè]	“I will eat”
P3	[m̄ n̄ dzí]	“I ate”	F3	[m̄ bí dzí: lè]	“I will eat”
P4	[m̄ n̄ dzí]	“I ate”	F4	[m̄ bí dzí: lè]	“I will eat”

In the table above, tonal changes occur in past tense and the future tense. All the subjects do change such as “we exclusive” for the future. Consider the subject I “1S” in both the past and the future. We see some tonal changes on 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 lè]	“You are eating”			
P1	[wǒ dzí]	“You ate”	F1	[wò dzí:kì lè]	“You will eat”
P1.1	[wò dzí]	“You ate”	F1.1	[wò k̄ dzí:kì lè]	“You will eat”
P2	[wò h̄ dzí]	“You ate”	F2	[wò nǎ: dzí: lè]	“You will eat”
P3	[wò n̄ dzí]	“You ate”	F3	[wò bí dzí: lè]	“You will eat”
P4	[wò n̄ dzí]	“You ate”	F4	[wò bí dzí: lè]	“You will eat”

Examining, he “3S” in both past and future, the tabling reveals that the subject “he” [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 lè]	“He is eating”			
P1	[wì dzí]	“He ate”	F1	[wì dzí:kì lè]	“He will eat”
P1.1	[wì dzí]	“He ate”	F1.1	[wì kì dzí:kì lè]	“He will eat”
P2	[wì hî dzí]	“He ate”	F2	[wì nà ~ nǎ: dzí: lè]	“He will eat”
P3	[wì nî dzí]	“He ate”	F3	[wì bí dzí: lè]	“He will eat”
P4	[wì nì dzí]	“He ate”	F4	[wì bí dzí: lè]	“He will eat”

The table below presents the subject of inclusive “we” 1P.INCL [bə̀və̀n] 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” [bə̀və̀n] 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	[bə̀və̀n dzí:kí lè]	“We are eating”			
P1	[bə̀və̀n dzí]	“We ate”	F1	[bə̀və̀n dzí:kìlè]	“We will eat”
P1.1	[bə̀və̀n dzí]	“We ate”	F1.1	[bə̀və̀n kì dzí:kìlè]	“We will eat”
P2	[bə̀və̀n hî dzí]	“We ate”	F2	[bə̀və̀n nà dzí:lè]	“We will eat”
P3	[bə̀və̀n nî dzí ]	“We ate”	F3	[bə̀və̀n bí dzí:lè]	“We will eat”
P4	[bə̀və̀n nì dzí]	“We ate”	F4	[bə̀və̀n bí dzí:lè]	“We will eat”

We now examine the subject of exclusive we 1p [bə̀və̀] 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	[bə̃ᵛə dzí:kí lə̀]	“We are eating”			
P1	[bə̃ᵛə́ dzí]	“We ate”	F1	[bə̃ᵛə́ dzí:kì lə̀]	“We will eat”
P1.1	[bə̃ᵛə́ dzí]	“We ate”	F1.1	[bə̃ᵛə́ kì dzí:kì lə̀]	“We will eat”
P2	[bə̃ᵛə́ hî dzí]	“We ate”	F2	[bə̃ᵛə́ nà dzí: lə̀]	“We will eat”
P3	[bə̃ᵛə́ nî dzí]	“We ate”	F3	[bə̃ᵛə́ bí dzí: lə̀]	“We will eat”
P4	[bə̃ᵛə́ nì dzí]	“We ate”	F4	[bə̃ᵛə́ 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	[bēn 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 lè]	“They are eating”			
P1	[bô dzí]	“They ate”	F1	[bó dzí:kì lè]	“They will eat”
P1.1	[bó dzí]	“They ate”	F1.1	[bó kì dzí:kì lè]	“They will eat”
P2	[bó hî dzí]	“They ate”	F2	[bó nà dzí: lè]	“They will eat”
P3	[bó nî dzí]	“They ate”	F3	[bó bí dzí: lè]	“They will eat”
P4	[bó nì dzí]	“They ate”	F4	[bó bí dzí: lè]	“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	∅	complete
	pluperfect	lô	complete
Perfect			
Imperfective	imperfective	-lè	not yet over or complete
	Progressive	-kɪ	progressive
	Continuity	-nɪ	continuous
	Locative	ma	In action
	habitual	ʃĩ	always
	habitual	lánhí	always
Others	iterative	-jɪ	repetitive
	repetition	tóʋó	again
	punctual	Lexical verb	instantaneous
	inceptive	jèʋó	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 ní 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 absent at the presence of the time adverbial. The pluperfect particle [lô] contrasts in the same position with the imperfective particle [lə] which, of course, is also optional:

- 283) a. [wì hî dzí: lô] “He has already eaten”  
 3S P2 eat.PFV PFV/ADV
- b. [wì nă dzí: -lè] “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 [lè] 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 to Comrie (1976:19), “*The perfective forms of some verbs, in particular of some stative verbs, can in fact be used to indicate the beginning of a situation (ingressive meaning)...., i.e. can in general refer either to the state or to entry into that state.*” The verb [ká] semantically means “begin” and when it is followed by a core verb, it modifies the core verb with the aspect of initiating of an event. In Mbuk, in the example below, the aspectual marker [ká] precedes the core verb, dance [bín]:

284) KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00412.txt

- 01 FSW-1 [wò sî tʃî, wò sî tʃî-kí á kí kó dʒòʷòwá,  
 2S PFV V 2S PFV V-PROG CM 7c COP N  
 you PFV know you PFV know that it is Joghowa,
- wó ká bē bín-kí fā ndʒʷò ɲʲɔ̃.]  
 2S IH PREP 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 [kí] and it is often accompanied by the lengthening of the root vowels of some verbs most especially verbs of group 1. It is suffixed to the preceding verb and cannot be separated from the verb because the grammar does not allow the insertion of any element in between the verb and the progressive aspect. The progressive aspect bears a high tone.

Illustrated by a verb of group 6, Simple closed. The after verb progressive (APG)

- 285) a. [wí nōm kxā wī] “He has worked his farm”  
3S work farm his
- b. [wì nōm-kí kxā] “He is working farm.”  
3S work-APG farm
- c. [wì nōm-kí lə kxā] “He is working farm”  
3S work-APG AF farm

Example (c) indicates that both the progressive and the general imperfective can co-occur with the progressive preceding the general imperfective marker.

### 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 [wê] with a falling tone. The before verb progressive (BPG) examples below:

- 286) a. [m̩ wê-dzē] “I am coming”  
1s PROG-come
- b. [m̩ dzê-kí lə] “I am coming”  
1s come-PROG AF
- c. [wì wê-dzē] “he is coming”  
he BPG-come

The particle [wê] contrasts with the definite marker that [kê]:

- 287) a. [kìkpè wê-dzē tóʋó] “(the) lizard is coming again”  
lizard BPG-come again
- b. [kìkpè kê dzē tóʋó] “that lizard has come again”  
7.lizard 7.that come again

Both wê 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 [hâ]. 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 dʒē hâ dʒē-ní] “Keep on cooking.”  
2S cook CT cook-NA  
(Lit. You should go on with your cooking)
- b. [wò nû: hâ nû:-ní] “Keep on sleeping.”  
2S sleep CT sleep-NA  
(Lit. You should just continue your sleep).
- c. [wò bin hâ bín-ní] “Keep dancing.”  
2S dance CT dance-NA  
(Lit. just be dancing and dancing).

Sometimes, continuative is expressed without repeating the verb, but using a different one. The verb that is normally repeated is instead prefixed nominalised and the tone of the verb changes from mid to low as shown in the subsequent example:

- 289) a      [Wò tsē hâ b́ n-d'è]      “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.      [M̂ kē n-dyè      má].      “I am in (the process of) cooking”  
               1S be NA-cook POSTP.LC
- b.      [M̂ d'è:-kí-lè]      “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 [ɣ̃ ... à] is a discontinuous, and another habitual marker [lánhí] both precede the verb while [lè] comes after a verb. At

times the habitual is marked by a combination of makers such as the unspecified future maker [nà] plus a the progressive [kí] and the averment mood [lè]

The habitual [ʃí] has a discontinuous vowel [a] which occurs after verb stems. The habitual follows both the past (b) and future (c) tense markers:

- 291) a. [ù ʃí tʃómí-à lə] “He is always sneezing”  
3S HAB sneeze-HAB AF
- b. [ù nī ʃí tʃómí-à lə] “He is always sneezing”  
3S P3 HAB sneeze-HAB AF
- c. [ù bí ʃí tʃómí-à lə] “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. [m lánhí nòm lə] “I am always working.”  
1S HAB work AF
- b. [m lánhí nóm má nòm-ní ] “I am always in work working.”  
1S HAB work LC work-NA
- c. \* [m lánhí nóm lə má nòm-ní.] “I am always working.”  
1S HAB work AF LC work-NA

Example (c) does not take the lè particle. In this case the verb has to be repeated as in (b) in order to keep away the [lè]. The particle [lè] has been regarded as a habitual in the absence of other habitual markers like: [ʃí] and [lánhí].

- 293) a. [m tʃʰə lə] “I always know.”  
1s know HAB
- b. [m tʃʰə-kí lə] “I know.”  
1s know-PROG AF
- c. [m tʃʰə-kí kə] “I do not know.”  
1s know-PROG NG

The presence of [l̩] and the absence of [l̩] have been contrasted to express the idea of habitual and non-habitual. The [l̩] gives emphasis in (b):

- 294) a. [wì dzí:-kí ɲǎ]            “he is eating fufu.”  
           3S eat-PROG fufu
- b. [wì dzí:-kí l̩ ɲǎ]            “He does eat fufu.”  
           3S eat-PROG AF eat
- c. [wì dzí: l̩ ɲǎ]                “He always eats fufu.”  
           3S eat HAB fufu

In (a) the [l̩] is absent and the clause expresses a progressive aspect with the presence [kí] and the vowel lengthening of the root vowel. In (b) the [l̩] together with [kí] is like a focus marker emphasising that he ate fufu. So, [l̩] 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 [l̩]. 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 [l̩] can render the expression as past habitual as is the case with (c):

- 295) a. [wì dzí:-kí l̩]                “He is eating”  
           3S eat-PROG AF
- b. [wì nà dzí:-kí l̩]            “He will be eating” (as long as he lives.)  
           3S F eat-PROG AF
- c. [mí ní dzóyǎ:-kí l̩]            “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, li, -ni] being attached to some verbs:

- 296) a. [ŋ<sup>w</sup>á] “pinch once”  
 b. [ŋ<sup>w</sup>ájí] “pinch several times”  
 a1. [kú] “change once”  
 b2. [kúlf] “change several times”  
 aa. [báj] “cover once”  
 bb. [bájɲf] “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 [ki] 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 [ki] 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 [lè] 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 modality as (Dixon 2009:96) points out,

*“It is important to carefully distinguish mood from modality. Mood—a property of the sentence—deals with speech acts of the three recurrent types declarative, imperative, and interrogative. Modality—which relates to a clause and 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 [l̈ə] 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 n̈əm-kí l̈ə] “I am working.”  
 1S work-PROG AF
- b. [mī n̈əm-kí k̈ə] “I am not working.”  
 1S work-PROG NEG

The averment mood can be followed by a time adverbial:

- c. [wì tʃú dzí: lè 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 nôm lè kədʒʲélí] “I will work tomorrow.”  
1s F3 work AF tomorrow
- e. [m̀ bí nôm kə 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 ká:-kí-lè ɲʲó] “I have fufu.”  
1s have-PROG-AF fufu
- g. [m̀ ká:-kí kə ɲʲó] “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 kə kó dzàŋ dzə-kə-lə] “it seems rain is coming.”  
It is as rain come-PROG-AF
- b. [n̄tʃùntʃúó dzǎŋ bán 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. [jùdò<sup>v</sup>ó bó ɲ<sup>ɪ</sup>ě íjúó] “maybe they have gone by now”  
 maybe 3P go now
- b. [dʒ<sup>w</sup>àbí údò<sup>v</sup>ó bó dzĩ] “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 bē ká: ŋgā, wò lă: kxē.]  
 2S CD with have power 2S go farm  
 “if you have power, you should go to farm.”
- b. [wò nâ ɲá mí bē gá:lī, m bí nà: tsē dzǔ í kəm̀wàktì]  
 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. [m ká: 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” [bē] is not the usual subject for “we” [báʋó] or [bèʋêñ]. 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. [bē bǔm á m dzí] “let us agree that I have eaten”  
 1p agree that 1s eat
- b. [bē dzó á m dzí] “let us consider that I have eaten”  
 1p take that 1s eat
- c. [dzō á m ká kí lè kùlérí] “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 [ki] 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 m ká: kí mbəŋ, má m wúó dzǔ]  
 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 ndómhì 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 ká kí kimbã, má dzàŋ tʃâ k<sup>w</sup>ā 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. [ɲkúŋ kó dzú] “chief is at home”  
 chief be home
- b. [ɲkúŋ kó dzǔ:] “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” [tsá] ~ [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 dǎ́ g<sup>w</sup>ú wí wǎŋní, mì mǎ nǎŋ dzáyá í  
 IM person do.not smash foot of his.brother/sister, person do.not find problem to  
 wǎŋní, bēn dúŋkí {in pí: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 [tʃâ:] is followed by the verb then the noun. The prepositions are seldom heard. But postpositions are common:

- 307) a. [m̄ n̄i tʃâ: ts̄ē í ʃī b̄én] “I did not go to the market.”  
1s P3 NEG go to market in
- b. [w̄i n̄i tʃâ: ts̄ē 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 [k̄ə] negates the object food [dz̄ēn] (a). While in (b) the verb is negated:

- 308) a. [w̄i k̄á k̄í k̄ə dz̄ēn] “He has no food.”  
3S have PROG NEG food
- b. [w̄i n̄à dz̄í: k̄ə] “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. [tʃâ:] “is not” verb-like negator  
b. [k̄ə] “not” non-verb-like negator  
c. [k̄ə ... k̄ə] “not” double non-verb-like negator  
c. [m̄à] “do not” imperative negator  
d. [tʃâ d̄əʋó] “not” emphatic negator  
e. [tʃâ ... d̄əʋó] “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 ηkóŋ] “my father is a chief”  
 my.father is chief
- bb. -ve [bâ: tʃâ: ηkóŋ] “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 phrase preceded by tense. Examples of both positive +ve (a) and negative -ve (b) statement, (c) is without a temporal adverb:

- 310) a. +ve [mí nî dzí: mgbù] “I did eat yesterday”  
 1s P3 eat yesterday
- b. -ve [mí nî tʃâ: dzí: mgbù] “I did not eat yesterday”  
 1s P3 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 [k̄] with a mid tone and it always comes after a verb as illustrated by the following sentences:

- 311) a. +ve [m̄ bí dzí: l̄ k̄d̄z̄'èl̄í] “I will eat tomorrow”  
1s F3 eat AF tomorrow
- b. -ve [m̄ bí dzí: k̄ k̄d̄z̄'èl̄í] “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 m̄ bí dzí: k̄ “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: [m̄ hí t̄j̄â: dzí] “I did not eat”  
1s P2 NEG eat
- b. progressive: [m̄ dzí:-kí k̄] “I am not eating”  
1s eat-PROG NEG
- c. imperfective: [m̄ n̄à dzí: k̄] “I will not eat”  
1s F eat NEG
- d. [\*m̄ dzí: k̄] “I will not eat” (ungrammatical)

### 5.5.2.2 Negation and Tense

It is dawn that the past tense uses [t̄j̄â] unless in the case of the past imperfective situation where the negator of a future tense [k̄] can intervene and displace that of the past tense: The past tense use of the negator [t̄j̄â:] and [t̄j̄â d̄è'ó] is exemplified. The negator is preceded by the past tense marker while the negator is followed by a verb:



The tense and negations categories are presented in figure (18):

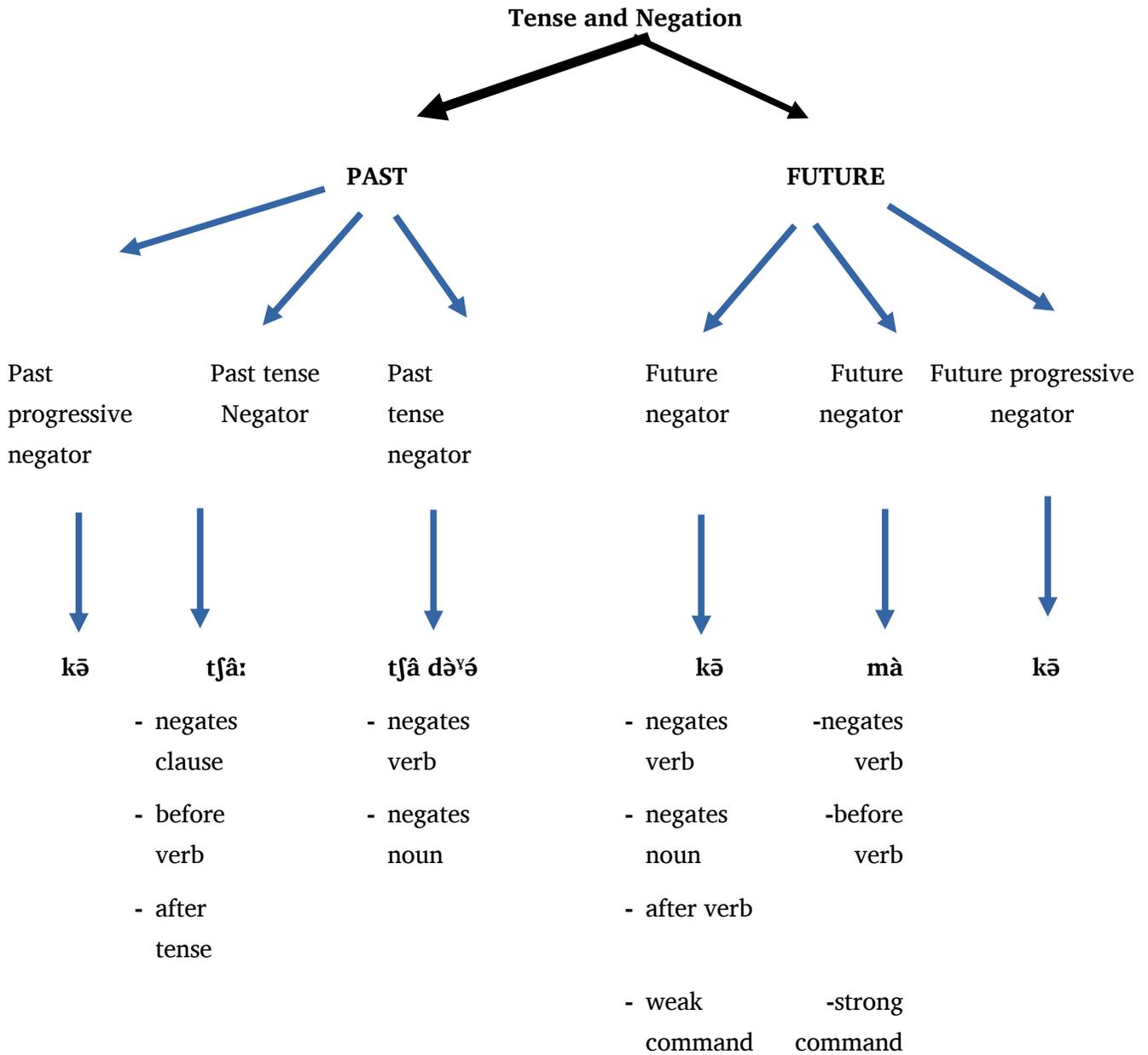


Figure 21: Schema of Negation and Tense

### 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 [k̄ə] plus the progressive aspect [kí] dominates the perfective negator [tʃâ:] in a sentence with a past tense marker P2 [hí]. Hence, an event happening in a progressive aspect in the past will take but an imperfective negator and not the perfective negator though with a past tense. In (a) where the tense is past, the negator is [tʃâ:] while in (b) with present tense and progressive the negator is [k̄ə]:

- 316) a. [wò hî tʃâ: dzí] “you did not eat”  
 2S P2 NEG eat
- b. [wò dzí: kí k̄ə] “you are not eating”  
 2S eat PROG NEG
- c. [wò hí dzí: kí k̄ə] “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. [wò kà m̀ z̄ə] “you did not eat”  
 2S NEG P2 eat
- b. [wò z̄ə-á j̄o] “you are eating”  
 2S eat-PROG NEG
- c. [wò m̀ z̄əa j̄o] “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 [nəŋ kó lə] “There is njamanjama (huckleberry soup)”  
 soup be AF
- ve [nəŋ 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: nəŋ] “Not nyamanyama (but something else)”  
 NEG soup

Another way to maintain the syntax in (c) above is to use the emphatic negator [tʃâ dèʋó]. The [dèʋó ~ dəkó] is an empty morpheme and cannot be used alone to articulate negation:

- d. [à tʃâ dèʋó nəŋ] “it is not huckleberry” (meaning it is something else).  
 It NEG NEG soup
- e. [mì tʃâ dèʋó] “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 [nī] and P4 [nì] we can predict a historical origin from the verb “do” which has been bleached to an auxiliary and a tense by forces of evolution. In natural text, the weak form is rare. The verb “do” in (b) is more of an auxiliary for it does undertake full verb conjugation. It is worthwhile stating that the command negator is more often intrinsically addressed to a second person singular “2S” and sometimes it includes the 2P without explicitly stating the subject pronoun:

- 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 dzí: ɲǎ] “don't eat fufu”  
NEG eat fufu
- d. [mǎ nī dzí: ɲǎ] “do not eat fufu”  
NEG do eat fufu
- e. [mà tsǎ ʃí] “do not go to market”  
NEG go market
- f. [mà lá kxǎ] “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:



- b. [ɲ<sup>h</sup>ə tʃâ dè<sup>v</sup>ə dzú] “there is no fufu in the house”  
fufu NEG NEG house
- c. [wì tʃâ ɲá: dè<sup>v</sup>ə] “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 [m ká: kí lə ɲə] “I have fufu”  
1s have PROG AF fufu
- b. -ve [m dzá: kí lə ɲə] “I lack fufu”  
1s lack PROG AF fufu
- c. -ve [m ká: kí kə ɲə] “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 [kpɛn wálə kó wí dâ:] “this tree is a tall one.”  
tree this is of tall
- b. -ve [kpɛn wālə kó wì dzòlî] “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 wóló dónhè kī lè] “this tree is tall”  
           tree this tall PROG AF
- b. -ve [kpén wóló dónhè kí kē] “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 ká:-kí-lè dʒúá jí dòʋò] “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. [m ká:-kí kē] “I do not have”  
           1S have-PROG NEG
- c. [ŋǎŋ, m ká:-kí kē] “no, I do not have”  
           no, 1s have-PROG NEG
- d. [ŋǎŋ] “no”
- e. [àí] “no”
- f. [â:ŋ] “yes”
- 327) a. [bâ wà kó ŋkú:ŋ] “Is your father a chief?”  
           father your is chief.QP
- Responses: b. [àí bâ wǎŋ tʃâ ŋkúŋ] “no, my father is not a chief”  
           no, father my NEG chief
- c. [ŋgāŋ] “no”
- d. [â:ŋ] “yes”

Above, the [ŋgáŋ] can take any tone depending on the situation. Apart from the refusal or acceptance, one part of the question clause can be repeated with a negative marker as in (c). In Mbuk as a norm, when [bâ] is used the possessive pronoun is not used. The use of the possessive pronoun is the effect of language contact. Note that length of [tjâ:] becomes short [tjâ] 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 are posed by the structural diversity of verbs. The semantic and structural features have an impact on the way tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are expressed in relation to the nature of the verb as we notice in the subsequent discussion on TAM. Here we have examined the three overlapping components: tense, aspect, mood of a verb that interplay in the description of the internal conduction of an event. These components have been the time (tense), state (aspect) and manner (mood/mode) with which the event unfolds. The time is expressed in structure, role and displacement by the use of tense markers and temporal lexemes such as adjuncts of time: now, today, yesterday, before, after and 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 quite grounded as further research is needed. This section is yet to look at negation across main and subordinate clauses since the topic on clauses is yet to be covered in subsequent research.

A summary of tense and negation has been put into a form of a schema in the pages above to vividly illustrate how negation tense and aspect works in the language. The goal of this chapter has been to explore the possible ways in which interrogatives are used in Mbuk and to document its forms and distributions.

## CHAPTER 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)	<b>NC 7</b>		<b>NC 8</b>	
1S	[kəkpê kǎŋ]	“my lizard”	[bìkpê b'ĩŋ]	“my lizards”
2S	[kəkpê ká]	“your lizard”	[bìkpê b'á]	“your lizards”
3S	[kəkpê wí]	“his lizard”	[bìkpê bí]	“his lizards”
1P.INCL	[kəkpê kə bə̀və̀n]	“our lizard”	[bìkpê bì bə̀və̀n]	“our lizards”
1P.EXCL	[kəkpê kə̀ bə̀v'ó]	“our lizard”	[bìkpê bí bə̀v'ó]	“our lizards”
2P	[kəkpê kə̀ bǎn]	“your lizard”	[bìkpê bí bǎn]	“your lizards”
3P	[kəkpê kì b'ó]	“their lizard”	[bìkpê bì b'ó]	“their lizards”

The patriclan variant form of 1P inclusive (1P.INCL) [bə̀və̀n]~[bə̀v'óbēn].

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 [-um] for 3S. It is a puzzle why 6a for 2S lacks the coda [-m] which is in class 2 for 2S. In the plural, they all combine the singular plus the plural marker to mark 1P, 2P and 3P.

There do exist inclusiveness and exclusiveness with 1P. Inclusive “our” is different from exclusive “our”. The table below gives possessive adjectives (POSS) for each noun class.

**Table 64: Possessive Adjectives**

	Person	1S	2S	3S	1P.INCL	1P.EXCL	2P	3P
<b>Noun Classes</b>	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>my</b> [-ǎŋ] [-íŋ]	<b>your</b> [-á] [-ám]	<b>his/her/its</b> [-í] [-óm]	<b>our inclusive</b> [bə̀və̀n]	<b>our exclusive</b> [bə̀və̀]	<b>your</b> [bən]	<b>their</b> “bo”
1	∅-	wǎŋ	wā	wī	ù bə̀və̀n	ù bə̀və̀	ù bən	wì bó
2	bə-	bǎŋ	bām	búm	bə́ bə̀və̀n	bə́ bə̀və̀	bə́ bən	bī bó
3	∅-	wǎŋ	wá	wí	ù bə̀və̀n	wí bə̀və̀	wù bən	wì bó
4	∅-	jǎŋ	já	Jí	jì bə̀və̀n	jí bə̀və̀	jí bən	kì bó
5	∅-	wǎŋ	wá	wí	ù bə̀və̀n	wú bə̀və̀	wí bən	wì bó
6	kɪ-	kǎŋ	ká	kí	kə́ bə̀və̀n	kə́ bə̀və̀	kə́ bən	kì bó
7	kɪ-	kǎŋ	ká	kí	kə́ bə̀və̀n	kə́ bə̀və̀	kə́ bən	kì bó
8	bi-	b'ǎŋ	b'á	Bí	bì bə̀və̀n	bí bə̀və̀	bí bən	kì bó
9	∅-	jǎŋ	jā	Jì	jì bə̀və̀n	jì bə̀və̀	jì bən	jì bó
10	∅-	jǎŋ	já	Jí	jí bə̀və̀n	jí bə̀və̀	jí bən	jí bó
19	fi-	f'ǎŋ	f'á	Fí	fì bə̀və̀n	fə́ bə̀və̀	fə́ bən	fí bó
6a	N-	mǎŋ	má	múm	mə́ bə̀və̀n	mə́ bə̀və̀	mə́ bən	mí bó

329) a. 1S [kə̀-kpə̀ k-ǎŋ] “my lizard”  
7-NP 7c.AM-POSS  
7.lizard 7.my

b. 1S [bì-kpə̀ b'ǎŋ] “my lizards”  
8-NP 8c.AM-POSS  
8.lizards 8.my

Above, possessive pronoun vowel harmony occurs: ə̀ → ɪ / b'ǎ\_ and ɪ → ə̀ / 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 [kə̀kpə̀ k-ì bó] “their lizards”  
N 7c-AM POSS

- b. 3P [bìkpâ 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	wǎŋ	<i>My</i>	ɲwǎŋ	<i>my own</i>
	2S	wā	<i>Your</i>	ɲwā	<i>your own</i>
	3S	wī	<i>His</i>	ɲwī	<i>his own</i>
nc. 2	1S	bǎŋ	<i>My</i>	m̄bǎŋ	<i>my own</i>
	2S	bām	<i>Your</i>	m̄bām	<i>your own</i>
	3S	Búm	<i>His</i>	m̄búm	<i>his own</i>

- 331) a. nc. 1 1S non-emphatic: [bìkóm wǎŋ] “my lion” (sg.)  
 1.lion my  
 nc. 1 1S emphatic: [ɲwǎŋ bìkóm] “my own lion” (sg.)  
 my.own 1.lion
- b. nc. 2 1S non-emphatic: [bìbìkóm bǎŋ] “my lions” (pl.)  
 2.lions 2.my  
 nc. 2 1S emphatic: [m̄bǎŋ bìbìkóm] “my own lions” (pl.)  
 2.my.own 2.lions

The word order for non-emphatic and the emphatic form compared:

- 332) a. 1S [ø-bìkóm w-ǎŋ] [ŋ-w-ǎŋ ø-bìkóm]  
 1-lion 1c-my EMP-1c-my 1-lion
- b. 1S [bì-bìkóm b-ǎŋ] [m̄-b-ǎŋ bì-bìkóm]  
 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-bìkóm w-ì bĕn] “your (pl.) lion”  
 1-lion 1c-AM your
- b. [wì bĕn ø-bìkóm] “your (pl.) own lion”  
 1c-AM your 1-lion
- 334) a. [bìkóm w-ì bə̀ʷə̀bĕn] “our lion” (inclusive non-emphatic)  
 1.lion 1c-AM our.INCL
- b. [w-ì bə̀ʷə̀bĕn bìkóm] “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	∅-	ḡwǎḡ	ḡwā	ḡwī	ù bə̀ʋə̀n	ù bə̀ʋə̀	ù bə̀n	wì bó
2	bə-	ḡbǎḡ	ḡbá	ḡbóm	bá bə̀ʋə̀n	bə̀ bə̀ʋə̀	bá bə̀n	bī bó
3	∅-	ḡwǎḡ	ḡwá	ḡwí	ù bə̀ʋə̀n	wí bə̀ʋə̀	wù bə̀n	wì bó
4	∅-	ḡjǎḡ	ḡjá	ḡjí	jì bə̀ʋə̀n	jí bə̀ʋə̀	jí bə̀n	jì bó
5	∅-	ḡwǎḡ	ḡwá	ḡwí	ù bə̀ʋə̀n	wó bə̀ʋə̀	wí bə̀n	wì bó
6	kɪ-	ḡkǎḡ	ḡká	ḡkí	kə̀ bə̀ʋə̀n	ká bə̀ʋə̀	ká bə̀n	kì bó
7	kɪ-	ḡkǎḡ	ḡká	ḡkí	kə̀ bə̀ʋə̀n	ká bə̀ʋə̀	ká bə̀n	kì bó
8	bi-	ḡbǎḡ	ḡbá	ḡbí	bì bə̀ʋə̀n	bí bə̀ʋə̀	bí bə̀n	kì bó
9	∅-	ḡjǎḡ	ḡjā	ḡjī	jì bə̀ʋə̀n	jì bə̀ʋə̀	jì bə̀n	jì bó
10	∅-	ḡjǎḡ	ḡjá	ḡjí ~ ḡjí	jì bə̀ʋə̀n	jí bə̀ʋə̀	jí bə̀n	jí bó
19	fɪ-	ḡfǎḡ	ḡfá	ḡfí	fì bə̀ʋə̀n	fá bə̀ʋə̀	fá bə̀n	fí bó
6a	N-	ḡmǎḡ	ḡmá	ḡmóm	m̀ bə̀ʋə̀n	m̀ bə̀ʋə̀	m̀ bə̀n	m̀ bó

Note that [ḡj] is different from [j]. 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 ká ḡmǎḡ]. Where [à] is the dummy subject, [kə̀] is the copula is, and [N] is a homorganic nasal referring to “I” while [mǎ] is the possessive adjective. Hence, a possessive pronoun is a subject pronoun N + a possessive adjective:

#### 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 22):

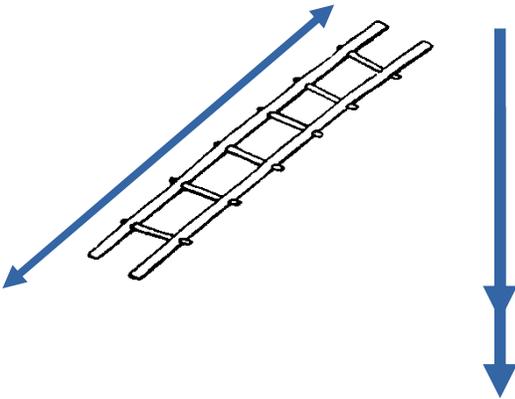
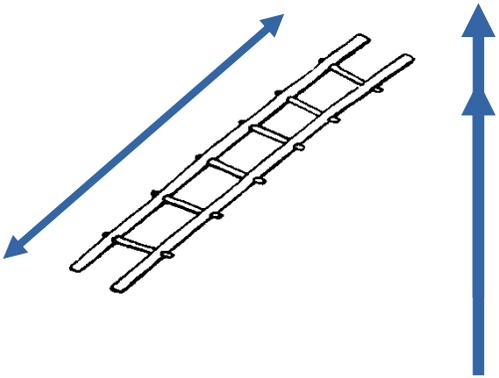
Alienable	inalienable
Can be repudiated or transferred to another	Cannot be repudiated or transferred to another
my child	my father
<p style="text-align: right;">ascendant</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>possessor "father"</b></p>  <p><b>possession "child" (not sure)</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">descendant</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">ascendant</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>possession "father"</b></p>  <p><b>possessor "child" (sure), (needy)</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">descendant</p>
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 22: 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 wǎŋ]
2S	[tʰǒ]	“your father” ~	2S	[bâ wā]
3S	[tǐ:]	“his father” ~	3S	[bâ wī]
1PI		~	1p	[bâ ù bə̀ʷǒŋ] “our father (INCL)”
1PE		~	1p	[bá ù bə̀ʷǒ] “our father (EXCL)”
2P	[bəná]	“your father”~	2P	[bə̀bâ wā]
3P	[bəní]	“their father”~	3P	[bə̀bâ wī ~ tǐ: ~ bâ ù bó] “their father”

336) *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00388.jpg{00:00:17.920-00:00:23.470}*

	18.000	00:00:19.000	00:00:20.000	00:00:21.000	00:00:22.000	00:00:23.000
	kinship possessive, inalienable "bə̀bâ:"					
<b>topic</b> [1]						
Mbk_WBS-16 [1]	Óó	kpí	bə̀bâ:		dzō	mí
GL_WBS-16 [1]	IJT death 2.my.fore.fathers take 1SO					
FT_WBS-16	Oh, death, my ancestors should take me along.					

In the preceding ELAN text above, the lexical tonal melody [bə̀bâ, mī] changes into a song tonal melody as seen in [bə̀bâ, 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	[nâ:]	“my mother”	1p	[ní ù bə <sup>v</sup> ón]	“our mother (inc)”	
				1p	[ní ù bə <sup>v</sup> á]	“our mother (exc)”	
	2S	[ná:]	“your mother”	2P	[ní ù bĕn]	“your mother”	
	3S	[ní:]	“his mother”	3P	[ní ù bó]	“their mother”	
338)	1S	[wónâ]	“my uncle”	1p	[wónâ ù bə <sup>v</sup> ân]	“our uncle (INCL)”	
				1p	[wónâ ù bə <sup>v</sup> á]	“our uncle (EXCL)”	
	2S	[wóná]	“your uncle”	2P	[wóná ù bĕn ]	“your uncle (PL)”	
		3S	[wóní]	“his uncle”	3P	[wóní ù bó]	“their uncle”

There is an inalienable term for paternal aunt and not for maternal aunt in the language:

339)	1S	[dʒə̀mífbá:]	“my aunt (paternal)”
	2S	[dʒə̀mítʃ]	“your aunt”
	3S	[dʒə̀mítĩ:]	“his/her aunt”
	1P.INCL	[dʒə̀mì jì tĩ: ù bə <sup>v</sup> ân]	“our aunt (INCL)” ~
		[dʒə̀mìbə <sup>v</sup> ón]	“our sister”
	1P.EXCL	[dʒə̀mì jì tĩ: ù bə <sup>v</sup> á]	“our aunt (EXCL)”
	2P	[dʒə̀mì tĩ ù bĕn]	“your aunt”
	3P	[dʒə̀mì tĩ ù 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) [-fɔʋɔ]

That, away from the speaker and audience [-jaʋa], 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		
1	∅-	w-`	Mì	w-əlē	mì wəlē “this person”	wó fɔʋɔ	wə jáʋà
2	bə-	b-´	bónî:	b-əlē	bónî: bəlē “these people”	bó fɔʋɔ	bó jáʋà
3	∅-	w-´	kpâ:	w-əlē	kpâ: wəlē “this hand”	wó fɔʋɔ	wó jáʋà
4	∅-	j-´	kâ:	j-əlē	kâ: jəlē “these hands”	jó fɔʋɔ	jó jáʋà
5	∅-	w-´	gbâ:	w-əlē	gbâ: wəlē “this ceiling”	wó fɔʋɔ	wó jáʋà
6	kɪ-	k-´	kígbâ:	k-əlē	kígbâ: kəlē “these ceilings”	kó fɔʋɔ	kó jáʋà
7	kɪ-	k-´	kìkpâ:	k-əlē	kìkpâ: kəlē “this lizard”	kó fɔʋɔ	kó jáʋà
8	bi-	b-´	bìkpâ:	bʲ-əlē	bìkpâ: bʲəlē “these lizards”	bʲó fɔʋɔ	bʲó jáʋà
9	∅-	j-`	ʃʷǎŋ	j-ēlē	ʃʷǎŋ jəlē “this sheep”	jə fɔʋɔ	jə jáʋà
10	∅-	j-´	ʃʷáŋ	j-əlē	ʃʷáŋ jəlē “these sheep”	jó fɔʋɔ	jó jáʋà
19	fi-	f-´	fīŋʲéní	fʲ-əlē	fīŋʲéní fʲəlē “this bird”	fʲé fɔʋɔ	fʲé jáʋà
6a	N-	N-´	ṁŋʲéní	m-əlē	ṁŋʲéní məlē “these birds”	mô fɔʋɔ	mó jáʋà

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 1<sup>st</sup> five numbers. In addition, the number ten is being left unpronounced for the number “eleven 11” sometimes. This is like taking a shortcut:

#### 370) Mbuk numerals and enumeration particle

figure	word	numerating (1 <sup>st</sup> )	numerating (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
1	[mú]	[í mú] “it is one (1)”	[mū]
2	[fá]	[í fá] “it is two”	[fá:]
3	[tālī]	[tālī]	[tālī]
4	[nā]	[nā]	[í nā]
5	[tī]	[í tī:]	[tī:]
6	[sō:]	[sō:]	[sō:]
7	[nānītā]	[nānītā]	[nānītā]
8	[náj]	[náj]	[ náj]
9	[bù:kâ]	[bù:kâ]	[bù:kâ]
10	[dʒó:fi]	[dʒó:fi]	[dʒó:fi]
11	[dʒó:fi ntʃòmù]	[ntʃòmù]	[ntʃòmù]
100	[gbí]		
200	[gí jí fá [gí:fá]		
1000	[ntʃùʸù]		

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 “∅” refers to zero concord. Concord 4 and 5 have falling tones. The concord wí can be heard as [wú ~ ú] 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”	[ŋgē̄ / ŋgě̄]	“egg”
1	[kìndzá: kó mū]	“one grasshopper”	[ŋgě̄ wí mū]	“one egg”
2	[bìndzá: bí fá]	“two grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ jí fá]	“two eggs”
3	[bìndzá: bí tālī]	“three grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ jí tālī]	“three eggs”
4	[bìndzá: bì nǎ:]	“four grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ jî nǎ:]	“four eggs”
5	[bìndzá: bì tī:]	“five grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ jî tī:]	“five eggs”
6	[bìndzá: bí sō:]	“six grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ jí sō:]	“six eggs”
7	[bìndzá: ∅ nánità]	“seven grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ ∅ nánità]	“seven eggs”
8	[bìndzá: ∅ nāŋ]	“eight grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ ∅ nāŋ]	“eight eggs”
9	[bìndzá: ∅ bù:kâ]	“nine grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ ∅ bù:kâ]	“nine eggs”
10	[bìndzá: ∅ ndzó:fi]	“ten grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ ∅ ndzó:fi]	“ten eggs”
11	[bìndzá: ∅ ntjòmù]	“eleven grasshoppers”	[ŋgě̄ ∅ ntjòmù]	“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 Bebid languages, Tschonghongi (2018). The presentation of numbers 1 to 5 with noun classes and concords:

Table 68: Numerals 1-5 Per Noun Class

NC	Noun(s)	1	2	3	4	5
1	mì	mì ù mù:				
2	bónî:		bónî bó fá:	bónî bó tālī	bónî bó ná:	bónî bó tī:
3	dzóŋ	dzóŋ ú mū				
4	dzóŋ		dzóŋ jí fá:	dzóŋ jí tālī	dzóŋ jí nǎ:	dzóŋ jí tī:
5	b <sup>w</sup> ám	b <sup>w</sup> ám ú mū				
6	kób <sup>w</sup> ám		b <sup>w</sup> ám bí fá:	b <sup>w</sup> ám bí tālī	b <sup>w</sup> ám bí nǎ:	b <sup>w</sup> ám bí tī:
7	kìkpílí	kìkpílíkí mū				
8	bìkpílí		bìkpílí bí fá:	bìkpílí bí tālī	bìkpílí bí nǎ	bìkpílí bí tī
9	f <sup>h</sup> éŋkī	f <sup>h</sup> éŋkí jí mù				
10	f <sup>h</sup> éŋkí		f <sup>h</sup> éŋkí jí fá	f <sup>h</sup> éŋkí jí tālī	f <sup>h</sup> éŋkí jí nǎ	f <sup>h</sup> éŋkí jí tī
19	fíntāŋ	fíntāŋ fí mū				
6a	m̄tāŋ		m̄tāŋ m̄ fá	m̄tāŋ m̄ tālī	m̄tāŋ m̄ nǎ	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 bó nɛŋ-kí yá jélɔ̄, má m dzá<sup>v</sup>à yá 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\_NT\_Song06\_2014-12-29\_HDV2779.MP4.txt*

[d<sup>j</sup>é kì-jùŋ-nì dzàì jì mù wó:, fì-néní ndzóŋ-kí kó wáŋ-néŋ 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 [dzǐ:lī], white [bǎŋnī] and red [bò<sup>v</sup>ólī]. The term red is used to refer to white in the case of a white man [mì ù bò<sup>v</sup>ólī] Literally “man of red”. The suffixal morphemes [-nī] and [-lī] are both adjectival and adverbial allomorphs of the

Mbuk language. In nasal medium, the [-li] appears [-ni] and elsewhere it remains [-li]. 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 [dʒí:lī]	Red [bòʔólī]	White [bǎɲnī]	Gloss
1	wāɲ]	ù dʒí:lī	ù bòʔólī	ù bǎɲnī	<i>child</i>
2	b <sup>w</sup> ā	bá dʒí:lī	bá bòʔólī	bā bǎɲnī	<i>children</i>
3	kpà	wò dʒí:lī	wí bòʔólī	wó bǎɲnī	<i>hand</i>
4	kà	jí dʒí:lī	jí bòʔólī	jí bǎɲnī	<i>hands</i>
5	gbâ:	wó dʒí:lī	ù bòʔólī	wò bǎɲnī	<i>ceiling</i>
6	kígbâ:	kí dʒí:lī	kí bòʔólī ~ bí bòʔólī	kí bǎɲnī	<i>ceilings</i>
7	kìkpê	kí dʒí:lī	ká bòʔólī	ká bǎɲnī	<i>lizard</i>
8	bìkpê	bì dʒí:lī	bì bòʔólī	bí bǎɲnī	<i>lizards</i>
9	ʃ <sup>w</sup> áɲ	jì dʒí:lī	jì bòʔólī	jì bǎɲnī	<i>sheep</i>
10	ʃ <sup>w</sup> áɲ	jí dʒí:lī	jí bòʔólī	jí bǎɲnī	<i>sheep (pl.)</i>
19	fəmgbəkì	fí dʒí:lī	fə bòʔólī	fí bǎɲnī	<i>swallow</i>
6a	m̩mgbəkì	m̩ dʒí:lī	m̩ bòʔólī	m̩ bǎɲnī	<i>swallows</i>

The root of the colours are monosyllabic for black and white 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. [dʒí:lī ~ dʒí:lī] “heavy”      b. [dʒí:lī ~ dʒí: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	∅-	wā	who/which
2	bá-	bâ	who/which
3	∅-	wâ	which
4	∅-	já	which
5	∅-	wâ	which
6	ki-	ká	which
7	ki-	ká	which
8	bi-	b'â	which
9	∅-	jè	which
10	∅-	jê	which
19	fi-	f'á	which
6a	N-	mâ	which

The tones are influenced by the preceding head noun. In addition, depending on the distance which the thing is found, [ja<sup>ya</sup>] or [fɔ<sup>y</sup>ɔ̃~mfɔ<sup>y</sup>ɔ̃] is used to after the relative pronoun. The examples show relative pronouns in relation to other grammatical elements below:

- 397) a. [ɲā: mī b́ m̀ wā ẁ kó dzó]  
 give me with 1.person REL 1c.SM COP 9.house  
 “Give me the person who is in the house”

- b. [ɲā: mī b́ó b́óní b́ê b́ó kó dzó]  
 give me with 2.people 2c.REL 2c.SM COP 9.house  
 “give me the people who are in the house”

A tonal patrician variation of the relative pronoun is noticed from noun classes 2 to noun class 12 between consultants. Some uses [b́ê ~ b́ó].

- 398) a. [ɲkúɲ w̄ē w̄ì gb̄ô] “The chief who fell”  
 1.chief 1c.REL 1c.SM fall
- b. [b̀èɲkúɲ b́é b́ó gb̄ō] “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. [f̄ê b́'ól̄é bí kó dáj f̄á]  
 8.festival 8.DEM 8.SM is T.ADV L.ADV  
*These instruments that are here present today,*
- b. [m̄ kwù kìmfilì, f̄'èn f̄é m̄ n̄éɲ-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 n̄éɲ-kí w̄āɲ, b́é ɲàm, f̄'èn f̄í 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
∅- 1	∅-ηkúŋ 1-chief	w-̀ 1c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[ηkúŋ wì g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the chief</i>
bə- 2	bə-ηkúŋ 2-chiefs	b-́ 2c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[bəηkúŋ bó g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the chiefs</i>
∅- 3	∅-kpā 3-hand	w-́ ~ ú 3c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[kpā́ ú g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the hand</i>
∅- 4	∅-kâ 4-hands	j-́ 4c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[kấ jí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the hands</i>
5	∅-gbâ: 5-barn	w-́ 5c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[gbâ: wí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the barn</i>
6	kí-gbâ: 6-ba	k-́ 6c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[kígbâ: kí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the barns</i>
7	kì-fí 7-pig	k-́ 7c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[kìfí kí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the pig</i>
8	bì-fí 8-pig	b-́ 8c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[bìfí bí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the pigs</i>
9	∅-j̄ā 9-fowl	j̄-́ 9c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[j̄ā́ jì g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the fowl</i>
10	∅-j̄á 10-fowls	j̄-́ 10c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[j̄á́ jí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the fowls</i>
19	fí-ńéní 19-bird	f-́ 19c	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[fíńéní fí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the bird</i>
6a	mí-ńéní 6a-birds	m-́ 6ac	g <sup>wû</sup> the	[míńéní mí g <sup>wû</sup> ] <i>the birds</i>

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, [g<sup>w</sup>û] 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 [i], it rather precedes the head noun and is independent of the concord influence of the head noun. It goes with singular nouns as illustrated below:

400) Noun class 1:	a.	[í ŋkúŋ] IDEF 1.chief	“a chief”
Noun class 3	b.	[í kpâ] IDEF 3.hand	“a hand”
Noun class 5	c.	[í gbâ:] IDEF 5.barn	“a barn”
Noun class 7	d.	[í kífí] IDEF7.pig	“a pig”
Noun class 9	e.	[í ʃǎ] IDEF 9.fowl	“a fowl”
Noun class 19	f.	[í fíjéní] IDEF 19.bird	“a bird”

This form is seldom used, the bare word, a bird or bird [fíjéní] is often used without [i].

### 6.1.7 Diminutives

A word that is formed with a circumfix such as [fí-...-ní] for the singular form and [fí-...-ní] 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 / ñ-kwô-nî]	19/6a “small toad”
b.	[fɛ:n] 19	“thing”	[fínáké / ñnáké]	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”	[fǎɲ / m <sup>w</sup> ǎɲ]	19/6a	“little children”
b.	[bâ:] 1	“father”	[fîbânî / ñbânî]	19/6a	“little father”
c.	[nê:] 1	“mother”	[fîñê:nî / ññê:nî]	19/6a	“little mother”
d.	[mì:] 1	“person”	[fîñî:nî / ññî:nî]	19/6a	“little person”

This term now becomes labialised, [wáɲ → m<sup>w</sup>ǎɲ]

The root word of the plural form of the base word is the one that undergoes diminution:

392) a.	[mì]	1	“person”	
b.	[bónî]	2	“people”	→[fîñî:nî / ññî:nî] 19/6a “small person”

Diminutiveness is ridicule, humiliation and abusive especially to human terms:

393) a.	[fîñî:nî / ññî:nî]	19/6a	“worthless person / worthless people”
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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

optional environment is yet to be known since both closed and open syllables do take the suffix [-nî]. On the other hand, the diminutive prefix can be prefixed to the prefix of the base word or the prefix of the base word can be substituted with that of a diminutive prefix. The prefixing of a diminutive prefix onto the base word prefix is prohibited in some words.

Table 72: Dininutive Noun Genders

NC	Gloss	Base Noun	Diminutive Noun	Diminutive Class	Gloss
1	<i>child</i>	wāŋ	fǎn	19	<i>little child</i>
2	<i>children</i>	b <sup>w</sup> ā	m <sup>w</sup> ǎn	6a	<i>little children</i>
3	<i>tree</i>	kpēn	fīkpēnnî	19	<i>little tree</i>
4	<i>trees</i>	kēn	m̄kēnnî	6a	<i>little trees</i>
5	<i>cup</i>	b <sup>w</sup> ám	fób <sup>w</sup> ámnî ~ fób <sup>w</sup> ám	19	<i>little cup</i>
6	<i>cups</i>	kíb <sup>w</sup> ám	ńb <sup>w</sup> ámnî ~ ńb <sup>w</sup> ám	6a	<i>little cups</i>
7	<i>lizard</i>	kìkpê	fīkìkpènî ~ fīkpènî	19	<i>little lizard</i>
8	<i>lizards</i>	bìkpê	m̄kìkpènî ~ mkpè:nî	6a	<i>little lizards</i>
9	<i>dog</i>	b'ě	fīb'énî	19	<i>little dog</i>
10	<i>dogs</i>	b'é	ńb'énî	6a	<i>little dogs</i>
19	<i>swallow</i>	fəmgbə̀və̀	fəmgbə̀və̀nî	19	<i>little swallows</i>
6a	<i>swallows</i>	m̄mgbə̀və̀	m̄mgbə̀və̀nî	6a	<i>little swallows</i>

The noun below has as based form the double prefixation, thus, it can no longer take a prefix. The word already has two [fi-]diminutive prefixes:

394) 19 [fīm̄fintʃóŋ] “k.o insects found below the earth with wing edible by Mbuk”

6a [m̄m̄fintʃóŋ] “k.o insects found below the earth with wing edible by Mbuk”

Normally, there does exist an independent term for small [lê] in the language but when the idea of small is so fused with hatred or abuse, they prefer using the circumfix [fi-...-nî] (diminutive prefix DPX and diminutive suffix DSX) rather than the word [lê] small:

395) a. [nāŋ] → [náj kí lê] “little bed”  
bed bed of small

- b. [nāŋ] → **[fí-nāŋ-ní]** “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 [-lí] (ASX). Thus, affixation is a circumfix [kì...-lí] 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:

	<b>base term</b>	<b>augment process</b>	<b>augmented term</b>
396) a.	[ŋg <sup>wí</sup> ] → water	<b>[kə-ŋg<sup>wí</sup>-lí]</b> APX-water-ASX	“watery soup (soup with excess water)”
b.	[dʒóá] → soup	<b>[kì-dʒóá-lí]</b> APX-soup-ASX	“much soup”
c.	[nāŋ] → bed	<b>[kí-nāŋ-lí]</b> APX-bed-ASX	“many beds”
d.	[b'ájá] → flat stone	<b>[kí-b'ájá-lí]</b> APX-flats.tone-ASX	“many flat stones (for sunning things)”
e.	[kpēn] → tree	<b>[kì-kèn-lí ~ bì-kèn-lí]</b> APX-trees-ASX	“many trees, sticks, much wood, big tree

- f. [ndzŭ] → [bì-ndzŭ-lí ~ k̀ndzŭlí] “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” [mb̀̀m, tʃ́əŋ, tʃ́əŋní,]  
 “big, huge” [k̀ìmgb́áŋ ~ k̀̀mgb́áŋ,]  
 “big, huge” [k̀ìmf́áŋ ~ k̀̀mf́áŋ]  
 “small” [fílê:, tʃ̀wêsi, fíntʃ́î, tʃ̀wàʃ]

	“medium”	[ĩkpenĩní]
	“thick”	[tʃámí (kílè)]
	“thin”	[jàŋhì (kílè)]
341) Length,	“tall, long”	[dê, dèŋè ~ ndèŋè]
	“short”	[ndzùlì ~ ndzùlì]
	“width”	[jämnĩ, mbòm]
	“depth”	[l'ó (kálè), dzǔ (kálè)]
342) Age,	“new”	[fífá]
	“old”	[fíkú, ndzũnnĩ, kú] (non-living things)
	“old”	[dzún] (for living things)
	“aged”	[tʃóʔ]
	“elder”	[ŋgámì]
	“young”	[sómì]
	“fade”	[múhĩ]
343) Weight,	“light”	[jàŋhì]
	“heavy”	[ndzì, dzí:lĩ]
344) Manner,	“good”	[nôŋ, ndzón, ndzŋnĩ, índzón]
	“bad”	[chù, bə̀və̀]
	wickedess	[mbə̀və̀]
	“nice”	[ndzón]
	“terrible”	[gómì]
345) Colour,	“black”	[ndzĩ, dzí:lĩ]
	“white”	[mbáŋ, báŋnĩ]
	“red”	[mbò̀vò̀ ~ mbò̀vò̀, bə̀vò̀lĩ]
	“redden”	[bó̀vò̀hí ~ bó̀vò̀sí]
346) Strength,	“strong”	[nlə̀və̀]
	“hard”	[nlə̀və̀]
	“power”	[ŋgǎ:]
	“weak”	[bó:, kimpèŋ, jólí, kpêhĩ ]
	“tiredness”	[mbó]
	“lazy”	[kpêsi]
	“laziness”	[mgbêni, mkpêsi, lufĩ]
	“soft”	[mbó]

347)	State	“rich”	[nàtóm, mbòm]
		“worthy”	[mkpénnì]
		“poverty”	[kìfû:]
		“blind”	[ntòhì]
348)	Taste	“sweet”	[mfǒm, ndz <sup>w</sup> ó,]
		“tasteless”	[tùsì, ntùsì]
		“bitter”	[lò:, nlò:] (bitterleaf, salt)
		“sour”	[mgbáṛnì]
		“rawness”	[ɲkk ~ ɲk <sup>w</sup> ú] (unripe)
349)	Shapes,	“round”	[l'óṅ]
		“flat”	[sâṅlī]

### 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.	[mbòm, kìm fáṅ, kìmgbáṅ]	“large, big”
	b.	[fintʃî, lê, fintʃ <sup>w</sup> àʃ]	“small, little”
	c.	[dʒùlî]	“short”
	d.	[tʃí:ṅ]	“fat”
	e.	[tʃù]	“bad, wicked”
	f.	[m̀kpénnì]	“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. Deverbatisation 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.	[ígbáṅ]	[-gbaṅ]	[kì-m-gbáṅ]	[kìmgbáṅ]
	empty morph	∅	double prefixation	largeness

b.	[faŋ]	[-faŋ]	[kə-m-faŋ]	[kəmfaŋ]
	∅	∅	double prefixation	largeness
c.	[íkɸí]	[-kɸí]	[kɪ-m-kɸɪ-lɪ]	[kìmkɸí:lí]
	“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	[dʒĩ]	→	[n-dʒĩ]	“blackness”
b.	red	[bòʋó]	→	[m-bòʋò]	“redness”
c.	large	tʃóŋ]	→	[n-tʃóŋ]	“largeness”
d.	tire	[bó]	→	[m-bó]	“tireness”
e.	strong	[lìʋí]	→	[n-lìʋì]	“strongness/hardness”
e.	heavy	[dʒì]	→	[n-dʒì]	“heaviness”

Illustrative phrase. The [wì] associative marker generated by the gerund, verbal noun vocalises to [ù]. The nominalised adjectives become members of class noun class 1:

353) a.	[ndʒĩ: ù kìfó kálē ndzón-ké lè]	“The blackness of this cap is good”
	blackness of cap this good-PROG AF	
b.	[mbòʋò ù kìfó kálē gómèkó lè]	“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.	[kəmfaŋ ké dzö:]	“A very large house”
	7-N.ADJ 7c-AM 9.HN	
	very.large of house	

- b. [m̄fóm (wì) kìm<sup>w</sup>àní gómíkílè] “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. [dzǔ jì mbòm] “big house”  
 9.HN 9.AM ADJ  
 house of big
- b. [dzǔ jì wó t[óŋ-ké-lè] “the house is big”  
 9.HN 9.AM DEF ADJ-PROG-AF  
 9.house of the big-PROG-AF
- c. [dzǔ jì lè j-ólē] “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 [fíntŋí] which is also embedded with the sense of minimising the head noun and is often regarded as abusive:

- 356) a. [fí-dzú fí-ntŋí] b. [fí-dzú fí-ntŋí fj-ólē]  
 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-ntŋí fj-ólē fí-ndzón-kí-lè]  
 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)

	00:00:37.000	00:00:38.000	00:00:39.000	00:00:40.000	00:00:41.000	00:00:42.000	00:00:43.000
<b>topic</b> [2]	Mbuk Quantifier, all, whole " tʃí "						
Mbk_NKP-87 [9]	tʃā túyú {láìn} yáyà lé. Bēn bán dzzē yì tʃí.						
GL_NKP-87 [8]	NEG still line like.that so. 2P cover 9.road 9c QNT						
FT_NKP-87	That is not yet a line again. You should cover all the road.						

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 mbòm] “A big tree”  
3.tree 3c.AM big
- b. [dzũ jì mbòm] “A big house”  
9.house 3c.AM big
- c. [kəmgbòyò kə dzùlí] “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 [-HI] causative suffix is absent:

- 359) a. [mbòm bì nǎŋ] “Width of the bed”  
 large 8c.AM bed
- b. [dâ bì nǎŋ] “length of the bed”  
 long 8c.AM bed
- c. [dʒòlí dzzǎ] “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 [mbòm] “big” but from the word “beds” [bi-naŋ]. If on the contrary, then we can reanalyse it as such:

- 360) a. [mbòm bì-nǎŋ] “Width of the bed”  
 large 8-bed
- b. [dâ 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. [dʒùlí bǎ nsì:] “what a short drum!”  
short XG drum
- b. [ŋgòmì bǎ nsì:] “what a drum/what a frightful drum! (size or design)”  
frightful XG 1.drum
- c. [à dèŋǎ bǎ mì:] “what tall man!”  
EI! tall XG 1.person
- d. [à dʒùlí bǎ mì:] “what a short man!”  
EI! short XG 1.person
- e. [à sǎ bǎ mì] “what a small man!”  
EI! small XG 1.person
- f. [à tʃi:ŋ bó mì:] “what a fat man!”  
EI! fat XG 1.person
- g. [à tʃi:ŋ bó kpēn] “what a big tree!”  
EI! fat XG 3.tree
- h. [à tʃi:ŋ bó bwám] “what a big cup!”  
EI! fat XG 5.cup

The word [bǎ] 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):



- 366) a. [bó<sup>v</sup>ò-hí kî-fó] “reddden the cap”  
red-CAUS 7-cap
- b. [dʒì-sí kî-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 kî-fó] “I am blackening the cap (now)”  
1S black-CAUS-PROG 7-cap
- b. [Mí dʒí-sì-kì-lè kî-fó] “I am going to blacken the cap (sooner)”  
1S black-CAUS-PROG-AF 7-cap
- c. [Mí dʒí-sí-kí-lè kî-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. [tó wí dʒí:-lɪ] “heavy stone”  
5.stone 5c.AM heavy-SX
- b. [tó 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 [-ki] suffix of the imperfective progressive aspect. The example is given below:

- 369) a. [kìnsà ndzɔŋ-kí kə̃]  
 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 [kə̃ ~ 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 [kə̃ ~ kó] 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. [dzǔ jǎŋ tʃáŋ kə̃ lǎ jì Ntsò'ò]  
 9.house 9c.my big be SY 9c.AM PN  
 “My house is big like that of Nchogho”

- b. [dzǔ jǎŋ jì mbòm kó lǎ jì Ntsòvò]  
 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. [Kâ? fǎn fǎ dû: kó tò kâ? fǎ Ntʃà]  
 19.tree 19.this 19.SM big just SY (19.tree) 19.AM PN  
 “The tree is big like that of Nchia’s own”
- d. [Kâ? fǎn fǎ dû: kó tò fǎ Ntʃà fò]  
 19.tree 19.this 19.SM big just SY 19.AM PN RD  
 “The tree is big like that of Nchia’s own”
- e. [Kâ? fǎn ló kó tò kâ? fǎ Ntʃà]  
 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 jǎŋ tʃǎŋ kǎ lǎ (dzǔ) jì Ntsòvò]  
 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 [tsǎŋǎ]. The different lexemes can be considered as adverbs of adjectives. The [án]

and [ná:] comparative adverbs precede the adjective they modify while the [tséŋé] is preceded by the adjective it is describing. The three differential morphemes (DY) are [án], [ná], [tséŋé]:

- 375) a. [tʃwàì] “small”  
 b. [án tʃwàì] “more or very small” or “smaller/smallest”  
 c. [kǎŋ kìmwaní ko an tʃwàì] “mine plantain is smaller”  
 mine 7.plantain is DY small
- 376) a. [mbòm] “big”  
 b. [ná: mbòm] “more or very big” or “bigger/biggest”  
 XC big
- c1. [kǎŋ kìmwaní kó ná: kì mbòm] “mine plantain is bigger”  
 mine 7.plantain is DY 7c.AM big
- c2. [b'ĩŋ bìmwaní kó ná: bì mbòm] “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 [tséŋé] within a clause:

- 377) a. [Kífó kǎŋ tʃéŋ-kí tséŋé-kí-lè kì Ntsòʋó ]  
 7.cap 7c.my big-PROG DY-PROG-AF 7c PN  
 “My cap is bigger than Nchoko’s cap”
- b. [Dzǔ jǎŋ tʃéŋ-kí tséŋé-kí-lè dzǔ jì Ntsòʋó]  
 9.house 9c.my big-PROG DY-kí-lè 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:

	<b>Verb</b>		<b>Noun</b>		<b>Adjective</b>
378) a.	[báp] / “be white”	/	[mbáp] / “whiteness”	/	[báp-nī] “white”
b.	[bóʋò] / “be red”	/	[mbòʋò] / “redness”	/	[bòʋó-lī] “red”
c.	[dʒí] / “be black”	/	[ndʒí] / “blackness”	/	[dʒí:-lī] “black”
d.	[líghì] / “be strong”	/	[nlìʋì] / “strongness”	/	[lìʋí-lī] “strong”
e.	[bó] / “be tired”	/	[mbó] / “tireness”	/	[bó-lī] “tire”
f.	[dʒon] / “be old	/	[ndʒòn] / “oldness”	/	[dʒǒn-nī] “old”
379) a1.	[dzǔ jì bǎnní jólē ndzón-ká lè] 9.house 9c.AM white 9.this good-PROG AF “this white house is good”				
380) f1.	[mǐ dʒǔn]		“I am old” 1S old		
f2.	[mì wì dʒǔn-nī]		“an old man” 1S AM Old-ADJS		
f3.	[wǐ dʒǔn]		“he is old” 3S old		
f4.	[wí lànhí dʒǔn]		“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 ù lɪʔ-lɪ] “a strong man”  
 d2. [mì wóló lɪʔ-kí-lə] “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. [bəʔ bō :] “we are tire”  
 e2. [m̀bó ndɔŋ-kí kə] “tiredness is not good”  
 tiredness good-PROG NEG  
 e3. [bǐ jì bǔ:lɪ] “tired goats”  
 9.goat 9.AM N.ADJ  
 e4. bǐ jì bó:lɪ “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 lāhī 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. [m̀tótò wì bəʔ-lɪ] “a red pepper”  
 1.pepper 1.AM red-SX  
 b. [m̀tótò wì bəʔ] “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-álē bɔ̀v̀-ki kə] “this cap is not red”  
 7-HN 7c-DEM ADJ-PROG NEG  
 cap this red-IP not
- b. [bì-fó bj-álē bɔ̀v̀-ki kə] “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. [mbòm] “big, large, huge”
- b. [tʃù~tʃû] “bad, ugly, wicked”
- c. \*[lànhí tʃú-kí-lə] “very bad”
- d. [lànhí ká-kí-lə 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 [ká].

As opposed to the preceding observations, some of the [-lɪ ~ -nɪ] suffix is inherent with some adjectives. That is, we cannot detach the root from the suffix, if we do so, the segmental root units become an empty morph. Here are some examples:

- 385) a. [lɥín-nī] → [lɥínní] “lazy”
- b. [mbáŋ-nī] → [mbàŋnì] “sour”
- c. [jǎm-nī] → [jǎmnī] “width”

The tonal system for (a) and (b) fails to comply with the suffix mid tone and the root [lɥín, mbáŋ, jǎm] 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

21<sup>st</sup> century 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. [nɔ̃ŋ] / [ndzɔ̃ŋ] / [ndzɔ̃ŋ-nĩ] “good”

The verb “good” is under a puzzle as to the phonological process because [nɔ̃ŋ] and [ndzɔ̃ŋnĩ] paradigmatically substitutes for each other for the same sense. The examples are:

387) a. [mì wì nɔ̃ŋ] “A good man”

b. [mì wì ndzɔ̃ŋ-nĩ] “A good man”

### 6.1.9.12 Adjectival constraints

The term “large” [mbòm] can modify every noun. Its modification tendency is not limited to certain categories of nouns. While [mbòm] is a general term for large, its synonymous term large [kìmfán, kìngbán] is restricted to modify only certain semantic domains. This is true for most of the adjectives. They do have an inherent selection for which noun they can modify and forbidding others. Illustratively, [kìmfán] cannot be used to describe the largeness of a stream or a hill. Perhaps it is ungrammatical using it with natural features since these adjectives themselves seems to be ideophones. They are more exclamations in meaning unlike [mbòm] which is not derived and it is not an ideophone, this gives it a universal qualifying quality.

There exist pure adjectives in the language such as [mbòm, kìmfán] because it cannot take the imperfective marker [-kíló]. 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 [tʃáŋ], the root of the verb can be suffixed with an imperfective aspect maker [-kíló]. 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. [tʃǎŋ-kíló] “being large”  
 b. [n̩-tʃǎŋ] “largeness”

Distributively, “mbòm” can occur both after the head noun which is, however, the default order and the adjective also occurs before the head noun, thus, the marked word order. The default is more frequent and also involves majority of the nouns.

Comparatively, the [mbòm] can be used to express 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” [kòm → kòm kòm] “really”  
 c. “darkness” [kólóm → lóm kəlóm] “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 modify 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:





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 bìmffín] “corn and cocoyam” Assertion  
corn and cocoyam
- b. [dzíŋ má bìmffín 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 [bèʋó wòʋó bʷám] “we have washed a cup”  
1P.EXCL wash cup
- Question [bèʋó wòʋó bʷâ:m] “we have washed a cup?”  
1P.EXCL wash cup.QP
- c. Assertion [wò kǎ:-kó lè dzéŋ] “you do have corn”  
2S have-PROG AF corn
- Question [wò kǎ:-kó lè dzê: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 ʃǒ] “corn and fowl”  
corn and fowl
- b. [dzíŋ mā ʃǒ] “corn or fowl?”  
corn or fowl.QP

Below, the lengthening is obvious and the tone moves from high to falling:

- 411) a. [kólè ko kìm<sup>w</sup>àní ~ kìŋ<sup>w</sup>àní] “this is banana.”  
this is banana
- b. [kólè ko kìm<sup>w</sup>àní:ʔ] “this is banana a?”  
this is banana.QP

With a progressive aspect, the interrogative particle comes before the averment:

- 412) a. Assertion [m̄ kōmhī-kī fê-kí-lè] “I am doing it faster”  
1S fast-PROG do-PROG-AF
- b. Question [wò kōmhī-kī fê-kí-à-lè] “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 [bē bē mū mkǎŋ í dzǎ̀ ló jì mù, sē nùò ná b'ēn bí dzíní í  
we we drink corn.beer in voice so of one, as God give things of eating to  
bə̀'ə̀bēn í dzǎ̀: jálē wē]  
1POIPREP year DEM PO

*We should drink corn beer in unity as God has given us food this year (STATEMENT)*

Crowd [wē jì mù]  
USC IJ of one (*in unity*)

FSW-1 [à tʃâ sē m tʃ'ókí lè má bēn tʃ'ók á n'ē tó]  
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 [mbè: kó já̀v̀à mbè:]  
yes Fon is.it so Fon  
*Fon, it is. That is it, Fon (AFFIRMATION)*

414) a. [Ntùmbá dzí-kì lè. À kó àjáv̀á? À kó àjáv̀à.]

PN eat-PROG.F1 AF it is so? It is so.

“Ntumba will eat. Is he?” He is.

b. [Ntùmbá dzí-kì lè. À kó àjáv̀á? À tʃâ: àjáv̀à.]

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.      | [ŋ <sup>w</sup> ə̀] | “which”   |            |
|         | b.     | [b <sup>w</sup> in] | “when”  | g.                  | [dɛ̀n]    | “how”      |
|         | c.     | [nàŋ, fàŋ]          | “where” | h.                  | [mān~māŋ] | “how many” |
|         | d.     | [ɲ <sup>i</sup> ə̀] | “what”  | i.                  | [dɛ̀n]    | “how much” |
|         | e.     | [ɲ <sup>i</sup> ə̀] | “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 dzə̀ 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. [wəlè 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 [èè, à kôm-kí b́ ndè dzáʋá jáʋà nõ:]  
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 [bʷɪn]

The interrogative, when [bʷɪn] 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 dzê kí bʷɪn] “when is he coming?”  
3S come PROG when
- b. [ù bí jʰê bʷɪn] “when will he go?”  
3S F3 go when
- c. [wè nǎ: dzê bʷɪn] “when will you come?”  
2S will come when





- 425) a. [Bê kîfí kǎŋ kó mbòm nâŋ] “Where is my big pig?”  
 FOC 7.pig 7.my 7c.AM big where
- b. [Bé bìfí bǎŋ bí fá nâŋ] “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. [kîfí kǎŋ kó mbòm nâŋ] “Where is my big pig?”  
 7.pig 7.my 7c.AM big where
- d. [bìfí bǎŋ bí fá nâŋ] “Where are my two pigs?”  
 8.pig 8.my 8c.AM two where

#### 6.2.3.4 The interrogative why [ɲʲǎ]

The interrogative “why” [ɲʲǎ] 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 [wə]. The interrogative example for why [ɲʲǎ] is:

- 426) a. [wə dâ kí ɲʲǎ] “why are you crying?”  
 2S cry PROG why
- b. [wə dzí kí ɲʲǎ] “why are you eating?”  
 2S eat PROG why

#### 6.2.3.5 The interrogative what [ɲʲǎ]

The questioning word, “what” [ɲʲǎ] finds information relating to a noun (what is your name?) or a verb (what are you doing?). The interrogative of form CGV [ɲʲǎ] is the same form with the interrogative why [ɲʲǎ]. But there is a difference as we are going to present below. In Expression (b) it reveals that the interrogative pronoun is not the foremost grammatical

element to the right, meaning that other elements such as locative adverbs still go further than any question word . In (c) a cleft construction occurs while displacing the interrogative pronoun from the far right to be followed by the second person singular objection pronoun 2S [wò] while the interrogative now gains a mid tone instead of a high mid:

- 427) a. [wì dzâ kí dzá fə j'ə] “what is he coming to do?”  
3S come PROG come do what
- b. [wì dzá ká fə j'ə mfá] “what is he coming to do here?”  
3S come PROG do what here
- c. [à lô kí j'ə 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. [kén kí dʒúá dên] “how is the soup made?”  
make PROG soup how
- d. [kì tʃəŋə kí dên] “how does the thing looks like?”  
it look PROG how

#### 6.2.3.7 The interrogative which [ŋʷə] ~ [N]

The interrogative, “which” has two forms [ŋʷə] and [N] that seek to identify or differentiate one thing from the other. In (429), the use of [ŋʷə] with an adjective:

- 429) a. [kǎ η<sup>w</sup>ǎ kpēn wì nǒη] “Which good tree is it?”  
it which tree of good
- b. [bǎ<sup>v</sup>ǎ kí η<sup>w</sup>ǎ kpén] “which tree is bad?”  
bad PROG tree kpén
- c. [kǎ η<sup>w</sup>ǎ kpēn bǎ<sup>v</sup>ǎní lǎ] “Which bad tree is it?”  
it which tree bad.NA AF
- d. [kǎ η<sup>w</sup>ǎ kpēn wú tsô:lǎ] “Which bad tree is this?”  
it which tree of bad

The other face of “which” is a contracted form of [ηwǎ]. 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 following in the next page.

Here, a cleft construction occurs with its goal to place certain ideas in focus. The [kǎ] that precedes the pronoun is an optional copula element meaning in English “is”. The head noun which by default is head initial 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, [η<sup>w</sup>ǎ] 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. [kǎ ñ w-ǎ ø-ηkúη] “Which chief?”  
COP EIP 1c-AM 1-chief
- f. [kǎ ñ b-ǎ bǎ-ηkúη] “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
( ká ) COP	ṅ	w-ê 1c-AM	ø-ṅkúṅ 1-chief	[ká ṅ wê ṅkúṅ] <i>which chief</i>
( ká ) COP	m̄	b-ê 2c-AM	bè-ṅkúṅ 2-chiefs	[ká m̄ b̄ è ṅkúṅ] <i>Which chiefs?</i>
( ká ) COP	ṅ	w-ê 3c-AM	ø-kpā 3-hand	[ká ṅ wê kpā̂] <i>Which hand?</i>
( ká ) COP	[ṅ]	j-ê 4c-AM	ø-kâ 4-hands	[ká ṅ jê kâ̂] <i>Which hands?</i>
( ká ) COP	[ṅ]	w-ê 5c-AM	ø-gbâ: 5-barn	[ká ṅ wê gbâ:] <i>Which barn?</i>
( ká ) COP	[ṅ]	k-ê 6c-AM	kí-gbâ: 6-barns	[ká ṅ kê kígbâ:] <i>Which barns?</i>
( ká ) COP	[ṅ]	k-ê 7c-AM	kì-fí 7-pig	[ká ṅ kê kífí] <i>Which pig?</i>
( ká ) COP	[m]	b <sup>j</sup> -ê 8c-AM	bì-fí 8-pig	[ká m̄ b <sup>j</sup> ê bìfí] <i>Which pigs?</i>
( ká ) COP	[ṅ]	j-ê 9c-AM	ø-ḟ̄ 9-fowl	[ká ṅ jê ḟ̄̄] <i>Which fowl?</i>
( ká ) COP	[ṅ]	j-ê 10c-AM	ø-ḟ̄́ 10-fowls	[ká ṅ jê ḟ̄́́] <i>Which fowls?</i>
( ká ) COP	[m]	ḟ̄- ê 19c-AM	fí-ṅéní 19-bird	[ká m̄ ḟ̄ê fíṅéní] <i>Which bird?</i>
( ká ) COP	[m]	m- ê 6ac-AM	mí-ṅéní 6a-birds	[ká m̄ m̄ê míṅéní] <i>Which birds?</i>

### 6.2.3.8 The Interrogative How Many [māŋ]

Here, information is requested about countable nouns and thus the pronoun is often referred to as qualifying interrogatives. Whenever the particle [māŋ] is used, it is asking for an account or number of objects or things. The word “which” varies [māŋ~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. [ʃə́ jí māŋ] “how many fowls”  
10.fowl 10c how.many
- b. [bìmwàní bí māŋ] “how many plantain”  
8.plantain 8c how.many
- c. [kígba: kí mān] “how many ceilings”  
6.ceiling 6c how.many
- d. [bwā bó 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. [dzóŋ kó dên] “how much is corn?”  
corn is how.much
- b. [wè tāŋní kí dên dzóŋ] “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. [ʒʲó wá kó ndə̃]  
 name 2S be who  
 “what is your name?” (lit. your name is who?)
- b. \*[ʒʲó wá kó ɲʲó̃]  
 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 [ɲʲó̃] also mean, how [dễn] as a semantic what [dễn] in English. Here are illustrative examples:

- 433) d. [dʒʷàbí kó dễn]  
 time is how  
 “what time is it?” (lit. time is how)
- e. \*[dʒʷàbí kó ɲʲó̃]  
 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: [ɲʲɔ! or kó!] “Pardon me!”  
       that or that
- B: [ɲʲɔ wò kó ɲàm] “That you are an animal”  
       that 2S be animal
- A: [Ndè 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 as strong, hard and difficult. Just as the word for big, rich and greatness. All these combined cannot fit into a single directional syntax; thus we have a two ways 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 [mbòm] has no restriction as to the head noun it can modify. Rather, unlike [kìmfáj/kìmgbáj] 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 [dʒõn] (a,b) and inanimate [kpõ] (c,d) in the examples:

- 435) a. [bĩ: jálē í dʒõn] “this goat is old”  
9.goat 9c.this 9c old
- b. [kpē wǎŋ wì dʒõn-nī] “my old wife”  
1.wife 1c.my 1c old-AdjSX
- c. [kífó kálē kō kí kpõ] “this cap is an old cap”  
7.cap 7c.this is 7c old
- d. [dzǒ jī kpõ] “an old house”  
9.house 9c old

There is also associativity of human versus non-human for the child of a human [wāŋ] and the child of an animal [fǎŋ] in the upcoming example (b) cannot be said for an animal other than a human as illustrated below:

- 436) a. [fáŋ fí kɔ́ɔ] “child of fowl / a young cock”  
 child AM cock
- b1. [fáŋ fí bí:] “child of a goat / a young goat”  
 child AM goat
- \*b2. [wàŋ bí:] “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	[fḗ]	“month”
		CVC	[kén]	“still”
		CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	[wúó]	“slowly”
b.	Disyllabic:	CVCV	[láhí]	“realy”
		CVCVC	[ká:ʃóm]	“patiently”
		CVCCV	[fóblí]	“hastily”
c.	Trisyllabic:	CVCVCCV	[kíʋáŋhí]	“very important”
		CVCVCV	[wàʋàhí]	“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	mgbù	<i>yesterday</i>	temporal (T.ADV)
2	hí	<i>since, already</i>	temporal
3	kōmhí ~ kāmhí	<i>early</i>	temporal
4	kāmhí	<i>early</i>	temporal
5	dʒʷàbí	<i>time</i>	temporal
6	mbʲəŋkəŋ	<i>o'clock (according to clock)</i>	temporal
7	ʃísə	<i>next</i>	temporal
8	bʷət̪v̪v̪, ʃísəʃísə bʷə	<i>after yesterday</i>	temporal
9	dză:	<i>year</i>	temporal
10	ʃī	<i>week</i>	temporal
11	bʷət̪v̪v̪ bí dzəní, wìnì	<i>after tomorrow</i>	temporal
12	ʃísəʃísə bʷə, bʷət̪v̪v̪	<i>third day before</i>	temporal

13	wìnjì	<i>third day after</i>	temporal
14	kómfi	<i>early</i>	temporal
15	fě	<i>month</i>	temporal
16	ntónútónú	<i>early morning</i>	temporal
17	dʒ <sup>w</sup> ábí tsē	<i>late</i>	temporal
18	dzá: tʃêŋè	<i>since</i>	temporal
19	tʃú	<i>already</i>	temporal
20	tʃú dôŋ	<i>just</i>	temporal
21	hē	<i>before</i>	temporal
22	tí dôŋ	<i>about to, just</i>	temporal
23	ñjí tʃūŋ	<i>day time</i>	temporal
24	jùbìdò <sup>vó</sup>	<i>sometime</i>	temporal
25	ñjí	<i>afternoon</i>	temporal
26	dzăjìdzêní ~ dzăjìdzèní	<i>next year</i>	temporal
27	nī	<i>later, after</i>	temporal
28	nà	<i>later, after</i>	temporal
29	ʃí	<i>always</i>	temporal
30	hē	<i>before, when</i>	temporal
31	ă	<i>before</i>	temporal
32	ʃísē	<i>after</i>	temporal
33	lô	<i>since</i>	temporal
34	bó	<i>before</i>	temporal
35	kén	<i>still, throughout</i>	continuity
36	kpénhí	<i>again</i>	continuity
37	tú <sup>vó</sup>	<i>again</i>	continuity
38	hə	<i>go, continue</i>	continuity
39	há	<i>go, continue</i>	continuity
40	kómhí ~ kàmhì	<i>quickly, fast</i>	manner (M.ADV)
41	ŋgá	<i>power</i>	manner
42	nâ	<i>very</i>	manner
43	bìnôŋ	<i>well, good</i>	manner
44	têhè	<i>slowly</i>	manner
45	wúó	<i>slowly</i>	manner



438) VideoRef: KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_FSW-1\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00406

a. [ɛ:            ñk<sup>w</sup>ù      wì kìmfilì kí      b̀̀mbò<sup>v</sup>ó,      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 kìmfilì      mā b́́ dzē jén à      kí fá̄.]

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 tʃáki            lè yá      jê m̄ kó í dzé<sup>v</sup>é ʃi à      júó,      í ñk<sup>w</sup>ù]

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 kìmfilì wē ndzúó kó      f̄ēn            má m̄ dzē jén à      fí fá̄]

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)

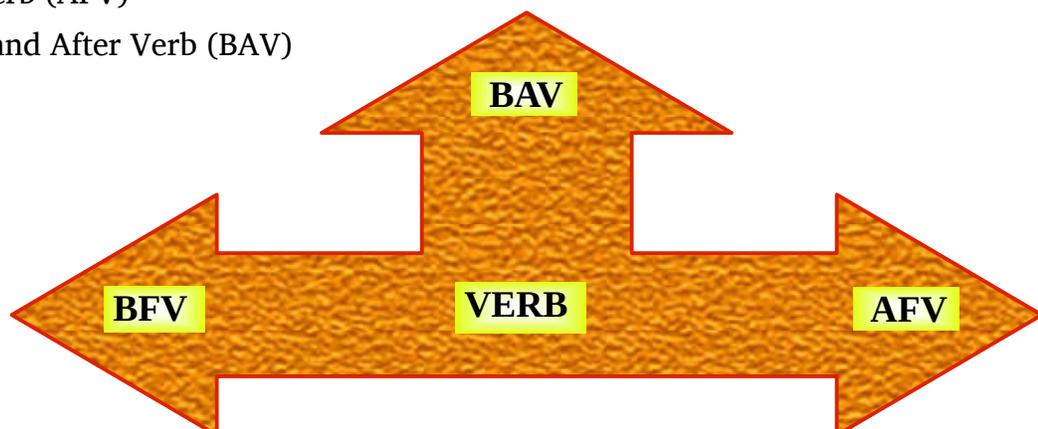


Figure 23: Adverb Verb Distribution

Where; V verb, ADV Adverb, N noun, S subject, O object:

- 439) a. AV BFV [Wàbùá kàmhì kō: dzóŋ] “Wabua harvested corn earlier”  
 S ADV V O  
 Wabua early harvest corn
- b. AV AFV [Ò ɲàni tēhè] “he walks slowly”  
 S V ADV  
 3S walk slowly

The same adverb occurs on either side of the verb. BAV; ( BFV / AFV ), [túú] “again / still”:

- 440) a. AV BFV [kìkpè wê túú dzē] “that lizard is coming again”  
 S DEM ADV V  
 lizard that still/again come
- b. AV AFV [kìkpè wə dzē túú] “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 [tséhí]. But in example (b) both adverbs now become AFVs in a progressive aspect:

- 441) a. [wè hí dzí tséhí] “you have eaten a lot”  
 S ADV V ADV  
 2S already eat over
- b. [wè dzí hí tséhí-kí lè] “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 kô:-kí lè dzín] “Wabua is slowly harvesting corn”  
 S ADV PROG V-PROG AF O  
 Wabua slowly PROG harvest-PROG AF corn
- b. [ò lánhí-kí dzí:-kí lè dzín] “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-lè] “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 fɔ̀blí-kí-lè] “Wabua is in a haste”  
 S ADV.V-PROG-AF  
 Wabua haste-PROG-AF

- b. [Wàbùà ṅ̀g̀ǹl̀i-kí] “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. [m̀i ní dzí: m̀gb̀ò] “I ate yesterday”  
 1S P3 eat yesterday
- b. [m̀i hí dzí] “I have already eaten”  
 1S already eat
- c. [Wàbùà kǒ: kpénhí dzóŋ] “Wàbùà has harvested corn again”  
 Wàbùà harvest still corn
- d. [Wàbùà kǒ: tóʋ dzóŋ] “Wàbùà has harvested corn again”  
 Wàbùà harvest again corn
- e. [bó nī dzí] “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” [kó] that plays the role of bridging the adverb still [kén] 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. [ù kén kó wǒm] “he is still alive”  
 S ADV COP V  
 3S still be alive

The linking element below is expressed by a subject pronoun he [u] 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-kí ù dzì dzíŋ 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-kí ù dzì dzíŋ jê] “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 “ngá” 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. [lé bê ngá] “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 [nôŋ] takes the plural prefix [bi-] and the adverb very [nâ] modifying the adjective adding more strength. The word [bìnôn] is an adverb though it takes a nominal prefix. The word [bìnôŋ] 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 [bìnôŋ]. 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 bìnôŋ] “Wabua eats corn very well”  
 S V-PROG N ADV ADJ  
 Wabua eat corn very well
- b. [ò kên-kí dzí: hâ: dzíní] “he is still continuously eating”  
 S ADV-PROG V ADV O  
 3S still-PROG eat continue eat.NA
- c. [m tí dôŋ á ɲ'è 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. [Tíli bô Kìtjúá ɲánì kí ɣaji mú] “Tili and Kechua are walking together”  
 S CNJ S V PROG O NUM  
 Tili and Kechua walk PROG thing one



- b [á ù mù hè t̃hèt̃hèt̃] “that he should drink up gently”  
 CM S V ADV ADV  
 that 3S drink go gently
- c [á ù mù hè t̃sèt̃sèt̃] “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 kómhì jánì lè] “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: s̃ŋ à dzóŋ mgbù] “I ate only corn yesterday”  
 S P3 V ADV ADV O ADV  
 1S P3 eat only just corn yesterday
- d. [m̀ bí dzí: s̃ŋ 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. [ò kómhí jánì kí lè] “he is walking quickly”  
 S ADV V PROG AF  
 3S quickly walk PROG AF
- b. [wì hí dzí: lè] “he is already eating”  
 3S already eat AF
- c. [wì tʃú dzí: lè] “he is already eating”  
 3S already eat AF
- e. [wì nì bí: lô] “it has since allow it (long time ago)”  
 S P4 V ADV  
 3S P4 stop since
- f. [wì nì dzē 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 [tʃâ:] and the same position holds true for the imperative imperfective negator [mà] in example (b):

- 453) a. [mí hí tʃâ bój dzí: tē] “I did not even eat as well”  
 S P1 NEG ADV V ADV  
 1S P1 NEG even eat also
- b. [Bà:lí, mà tʃú mōm, wò nój kí dzí wò dzí, hó ká bó ʒíé] “Baalih, don't try again, if you want to eat, eat before you continue to sing”  
 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 [tá] is acting on the preceding verb. With respect to BFV adverbs, they are in opposite direct with the imperfective aspect negator as shown in (c, d):

- c. [m̀ nà bój lānhí dzí: kē tá] “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 tóʋó mú: kē] “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. [kòmhí dzí] “eat faster”  
 ADV V  
 fast eat

- b. [kómhí kō dzín] “harvest corn faster”  
 ADV V O  
 rapidly harvest corn
- c. [tsâ: tsēní] “just be going / however keep on going”  
 just go.NA

In certain constructions, the term “kómhí” means “early” as given below in (d):

- d. [mì hí kòmhí féní] “I had earlier returned”  
 1S F1.1 early return

In addition, the imperative adverbs that features after the verb AFV are illustrated.

Though the case of (f) carries two adverbs:

- e. [dzē kísá'ó] “come immediately/promptly”  
 come immediately
- f. [dǒŋ à fén] “remain only there”  
 sit only there

### 7.1.8 Gerund Adverbs

Within the set of vocabulary that takes the [-ní] suffix are verbal nouns, gerunds (GR). When the verbal noun occurs simultaneously with its verb counterpart, the verbal noun acts like an adverb to the verb. The verbal portion of the verbal noun is the replica of the core verb in the example below:

- 455) a. [bè nì dzí: kí dzíní hē 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. [ù bí bî: lè jísə kədʒ'ɛlɪ] “he will stop after tomorrow”  
 S F3 V AF ADV ADV  
 3S F3 allow AF after tomorrow
- b. [ù bí bî: lè lǎ kədʒ'ɛlɪ] “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 [túʋú] has a high degree of distribution; it appears after verbs, before verbs and after time adverbials:

- 457) a. [wì bí túʋú dzí: lè kədʒ'ɛlɪ] “he will eat again tomorrow”  
 S F3 ADV V AF O.ADV  
 3S F3 again eat AF tomorrow
- b. [wì bí dzí: lè túʋú kədʒ'ɛlɪ] “he will eat again tomorrow”  
 S F3 V AF ADV O.ADV  
 3S F3 eat AF again tomorrow
- c. [wì bí dzí: lè kədʒ'ɛlɪ túʋú] “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. [dzəg<sup>w</sup>ǔ] “up” c. [mfɪ:] “there”  
 b. [dzəʒ'ɪn] “down” d. [tà:lì] “level”

Here are some illustrative examples of locative adverbs:

- 459) a. [ù kə dzəg<sup>w</sup>ǔ] “he is up there”  
 he is up
- b. [ù kə dzəʒ'ɪn] “he is down there”  
 he is down

- c. [ò kó mfi: ñ-tà:lì] “he is there at the level place”  
 he is there NA-level

### 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. | [jà <sup>v</sup> á]         | “upward”                                  | i. | [dzē]                 | “toward”   |
| b.      | [ʃə <sup>v</sup> é, ʃi:]    | “downward”                                | y. | [nídʒóm]              | “backward” |
| c.      | [tʃêŋ]                      | “straight”                                | k. | [kìmi <sup>v</sup> é] | “left”     |
| d.      | [nâ dên]                    | “disorderly”                              | l. | [tā:lí]               | “level”    |
| e.      | [ŋgənlí]                    | “haphazard, not straight”                 | m. | [fē:lī]               | “go-round” |
| f.      | [tsē ~ sē]                  | “away”                                    | n. | [dzì:ní]              | “right”    |
| g.      | [nīnʃi:n, hê]               | “forward, hither”                         | o. | [nă, kəbè]            | “side”     |
| h.      | [ímə <sup>v</sup> á, 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” [jà<sup>v</sup>á] 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. [gó<sup>v</sup>ó bili já<sup>v</sup>áhí dzē]  
 drag remove climb.up-CAUS toward  
 “to pull out from a hole (toward puller)”

- b. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó bílí já<sup>v</sup>á] “remove by pulling up”  
drag remove up
- c. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó já<sup>v</sup>áhí] “pull upward”  
pull go.up-CAUS
- d. [ná já<sup>v</sup>āhī] “give go-up”  
give go.up-CAUS
- e. [ù já<sup>v</sup>á kí lè] “he is going up”  
3S go.up PROG AF

### 7.1.12.2 Downward

A downward direction is pointed by the adverb “down” [ʃə̀yá]. 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. [ná ʃə̀və́hí] “give downward”  
give go.down-CAUS
- b. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó ʃə̀və́hí] “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” [ʃí]. 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 [m dzá<sup>v</sup>á bēn ʃí, ŋkúŋ dzə̀və́-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\_NT5\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00407*

01 KEN-92 [m̩, kó jáʷà ló, dʒʲǎ̀ lè mó tsē kóʷù. ǎ:]

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 [tʃɛŋ]. 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. [gòʷó tsâ: tʃɛŋ] “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. [gòʷò hɛ nâ: dɛn] “drag any-how/in any manner (haphazard)”

drag go anyhow

b. [gòʷó fí:ní hɛ nâ: dɛn] “pull and turn anyhow”

pull turn go anyhow

Another expression word that expresses a haphazard direction is stated here, haphazard

[ŋgɛ̀n-lí] which can literally go as “bend – bend” that is, not straight:

c. [ŋgɛ̀n-lí] “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” [dzē] has with it direction which is embedded in the verb. So the verb has two semantic components; (1) the component of movement and (2) the component of direction toward the actor:

- 465) a. [gòʷó bílí dzē] “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” [tsē] which carries motion and direction. This can also be expressed as going away:

- 466) a. [gòʷó bílí sē] “pull it away”  
 drag remove away

### 7.1.12.7 Forward / Front

The directional adverb [nīnʃi: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. [tsē hē nīnʃīn] “move forward”  
 go go PREP.forward
- 468) a. [dǒŋ nīnʃī] “stand in front”  
 stand PREP.front
- b. [dzē nīnʃī] “come in front”  
 come PREP.front

- c. [dzə də í nìnʃî] “come to the front”  
come come PREP PREP.front

In (c) the verb “come” has three forms; [dzə], [rə] and [də]. The [də] or [rə] are the grammaticalised forms of [dzə]. They are often used as a twin serial, same verb is used twice. The word “front” has an intrinsic preposition (PREP) [nìn-] attached to the root word [-ʃî ~ ʃî] which results to [nìnʃî] “front or in front”.

#### 7.1.12.8 Behind / Backward [nídzóm]

The position before the point of reference [nídzóm]:

- 469) a. [tsə nídzóm] “go behind”  
go PREP.behind
- b. [dǔŋ nìdzóm] “stay behind”  
stay PREP.behind
- c. [dzǔ ké nídzóm] “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 kìmìʷó] describes the position or direction at the left hand side with person at the deictic centre:

- 470) a. [tsə́ í kìbè: kí tsən jǎŋ jì kìmìŋó] “Pass by my left hand side”  
go PREP side PREP hand my AM left.hand

There is a patriclan variation in speech with; [kə̀bə̀ ~ kìbè], [kìmìʷó ~ kìmìŋó].

#### 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. [tsə́ í tsən jǎŋ jì dzí: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:lī] is referred to as “level”:

- 472) a. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó tā:lī]                      “pull go level” (no climbing or descending)  
          pull go-level
- b. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó tā:lī dzē]                  “drag go.level come”  
          drag go.level come
- c. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó tā:lí já<sup>v</sup>á dzē]            “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 [hê]:

- 473) a. [gò<sup>v</sup>ó fē:lī jī: hê]                “drag go-round then downward”  
          drag go-round down go

### 7.1.12.13 Inclination

The term [nòhí] meaning “lean or incline” is used to describe the position of something.

- 474) a. [mă lô kú<sup>v</sup>ò nòhí í kimbò<sup>v</sup>ò kí dzö mē]  
          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 [hê]. The grammaticalised and the ungrammaticalised form of the verb is the same that is, there is no change in syllabicity and no suppletion as well has happened:

- 475) a. [wò dzí hê]                      “be eating” (no physical motion)  
          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 24):

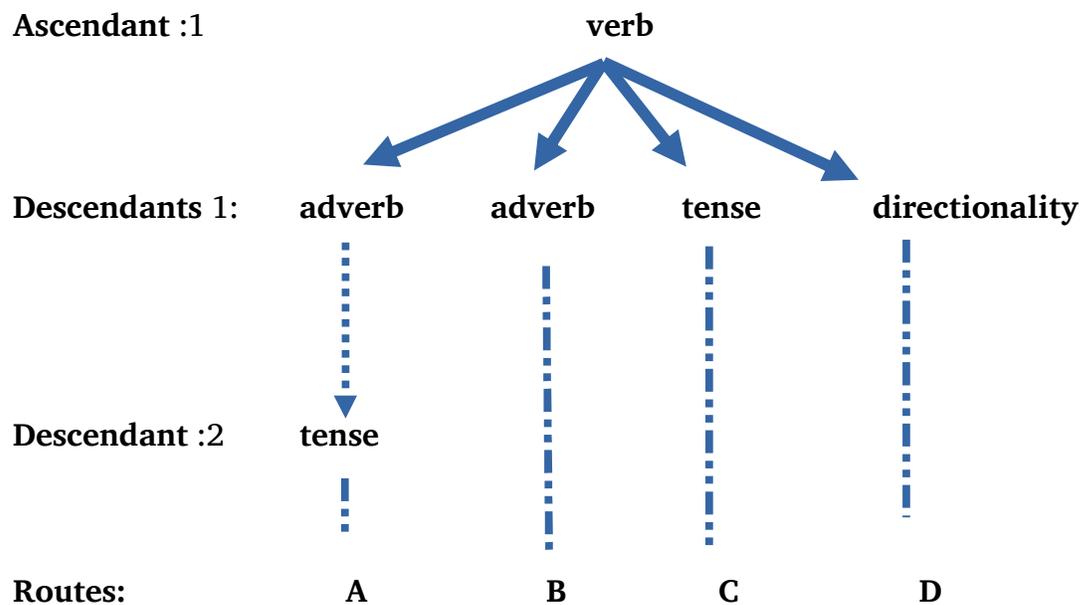


Figure 24: Grammaticalisation; Verb, Adverb, Tense, and Directionality

**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”  
           [nă ~ nà] F2 “future tense”

**Route B example:**

From a verb to adverb. The verb [hē] is more of an auxiliary because it does not take full verb markings while the verb [tsē] “go” is sometimes being pronounced as [sē] and also the verb “come” [dzē] is sometimes heard with an [r] as [rē]. Most of these reduced forms occur as directional markers or when modifying another verb where they function as adverbs as in these:

- |         | <b>verb</b>   | <b>adverb</b>                               |
|---------|---------------|---|
| 477) a. | [hē]<br>“go”  | [hē ~ hâ]<br>“continue, go on, keep going”  |
| b.1     | [tsē]<br>“go” | [tsē ~ sē ~ tsâ:]<br>“away, go on, go away” |

The word “go” can be used now as an adverb or a directional marker after deaffrication giving rise to a sibilant (b2) or a “rhotacised” consonant (c). These spirants are illustrated here:

- b2 [gò<sup>v</sup>ó bílí sē] “drag and remove it away”  
 drag remove away/go
- c. [dzē → rē]  
 “come” “come”

When some verbs are adjacent to each other, they become manner adverbs:

- | <b>verb</b> | <b>adverb</b> |               |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| [kàhí →     | kàhí]         | “finish, end” |

478) a. *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00411.txt*

13 FSW-1 [góŋ kàhí dzē ì dò<sup>v</sup>ó mē fɔ<sup>v</sup>ò]  
 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:

	<i>verb</i>	<i>tense</i>
479) a.	[kɔ̃ ~ kó ~ kí “be / is”	kí] F1.1 future tense of later or sooner

This section on adverbs has uncovered three distributive properties of Mbuk adverbs. Some of the adverbs had verb-like portraits by taking tense, aspect, and mood markings. It has also examined the diachronic / synchronic dichotomy of its adverbs under grammaticalisation, thus, nourishing our understanding of the form and origin of some of the tense markers.

## 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 25: 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, b́, ɲ, k̀mhí]. 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
V	H	[í]	“in, on, into, to, from”
V	L	[à]	“in the”
C	H	[ɲ́]	“used together with locative adverbs; there, here”
CV	H	[hí]	“at, under”
CV	H	[b́]	“with”
CV	H	[jí]	“of” all noun class concords
CVC.CV	R	[k̀mhí]	“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. [jà<sup>v</sup>àhí dzíɲ í gbâ:] “send up corn into the ceiling (barn)”  
 send.CAUS 4.corn into 5.barn
- b. [jà<sup>v</sup>àhí b̀imfín 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 [dzǔ] “house” with a rising tone is now having a high tone, it is being interpreted as [dzú] “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 a concord or an associative marker is halted from being propagated within the vicinity of a preposition:

- c. [mí ká: kí bǐ: jì kpèsìnì í dzú] “I am having a lazy goat at home”  
1S have PROG goat AM lazy at home
- d. [mí ká kí kíkôm kì kpêsíní í dzú] “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. [tʃēn wí í sàŋ] “look for it in the hall”  
look 3.it in hall
- f. [tʃēn kífí 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. [tó wálé dzí: gáʼá mí íbèʼó] “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. [mí lâ: kí ŋ-kxó í kxə] “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. [mí wóʼó í bǐ:] “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. [ù dʒ̂ kə̀ à ntʃitʃóŋ] “he cooks during the day period”  
3S cook PROG in day-time
- b. [wì kɪ́ dzí: kɪ́ à wə̀dʒ̂wábí] “he will be eating in the evening”  
3S F1.1 eat PROG in evening
- c. [wì bí dzí: à kɪ̀dʒ̂jélí] “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 (∅). 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 wə̀dʒ̂wābí] “he will eat in the evening”  
3S will eat in evening
- b. [wì nà dzí: ∅ wə̀dʒ̂wābí] “he will eat in the evening”  
3S will eat ∅ evening
- c. [bə̀və̀ bí dzí: à dzǎ-jə̀-já̀və̀] “I will eat next year”  
we.EXCL F4 eat in year-AM-that
- d. [bə̀və̀ bí dzí: kə̀dʒ̂jélí] “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. [Bè<sup>v</sup>è dzí káhí à júó] “we have just finished eating”  
 we eat finish in now

In addition, when the averment marker [lè] is present in the clause, the preposition [à] no longer appears, thus, they are mutually exclusive, thus, [à] exhibits a restrictive distribution:

- 484) a. [wì dzí:-kì-lè íjúó] “he will be eating now”  
 3S eat-PROG-AF now
- c. [wì kì dzí:-kì-lè kósó<sup>v</sup>ó] “he will be eating soon”  
 3S F1.1 eat-PROG-AF soon
- b. [wò bí dzí:-lè dză-jé-já<sup>v</sup>à] “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 mgbò] “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 kó hí bí] “that he is at the compound”  
 that he is at compound
- b. [á bó kó hí bī] “that they are at the compound”  
 that 3P are at compound
- c. [mí ká: kí bī: jì kpèsìnì hí bī] “I am having a lazy goat outside”  
 1S have PROG goat AM lazy at compound

### 7.2.2.4 The [b́] Preposition

The particle [b́~b́] 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 lè b́ kífú:] “he is very poor”  
3S very be PROG with poor
- b. [wò júmlí b̂ ndzə́] “you are a liar”  
2S bend-bend with talk
- c. [wò tsē wò kómhí b́ ndzə́] “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 [b́] 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. [b̂ə́ jí kí à b́ nòm] “we are always working”  
1P.EXCL HAB PROG HAB with work
- b. [wò kē à b̂ ndóm] “you are always with tears”  
2S be HAB with tears

### 7.2.2.5 The [ń] preposition

The labio-dental nasal [ń] is used alongside the locative marker such that it can be considered as a single word but in this work we keep them separate. The nasal carries a high tone and it homorganic in nature and because all the locative have the same onset it is difficult to assess the homorganicity of the nasal if not just relying on the empirical phonetic utterance.

Where EMP, emphatic. The [ń] ~ [ń]. Here are the examples:

- 489) a. [dǔŋ làʲ] “sit down”  
sit EMP
- b. [dǔŋ làʲ ń fā:] “sit down here”  
sit EMP on here
- c. [dǔŋ ʃi: ń fā lǎ] “sit down here like this”  
sit down on here like.this
- c. [bóʋó làʲ ń fā lǎ] “go out of here like this”, “go away from here”  
exit EMP on here like.this
- e. [bóʋó dzǎ ń fā] “come out here”  
exit come on here
- f. [ù kǎ à ń fā] “he is here”  
3S be just on here

In (h) below, it should be noted that the verb “go” [tsǎ] is sometimes realised as [sǎ]. Secondly, the locative adverb has changed from here [fā] to there [fi:] with a falling tone and a long vowel as seen in the upcoming examples:

- h. [bóʋó sǎ ń fi:] “go out there”  
exit go on there

Another locative adverb that moves along with the nasal is [fǎʋǎ] “there”:

- i. [bǎ bí ń fǎʋǎ] “there they are”  
they 8c on there

### 7.2.2.6 The [kǎmhí] preposition

The preposition, near [kǎmhí] is used before an object:

- 490) a. [ɲàní kǎmhí 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 ká: jí ʒ'ǎ:] “a man with empty hands”  
 person AM hand of empty
- b. [kìfó káló kō kí kpō:] “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. [wā] “in, on, at” g. [kpāŋ~kpěŋ] “near”  
 b. [bēn] “on, top” h. [nī dzōm] “behind”  
 c. [ní mā] “inside” i. [kàntâ~kìntâ] “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 [wā] postposition

One of the postpositions in Mbuk is [wā] 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 low is frequent:

- 493) a. [ù ko dzú wā] “he is at home”  
 3S be home in
- b. [bà'á kō bíkxā wā] “we are at the farms”  
 1P.EXCL be farms in
- c. [dzíŋ kō kà: wá] “corn is in a basket”  
 corn be basket in
- d. [dz'ǎ lúlà kífà: wá] “place a ruler in a bag”  
 place ruler bag in

- e. [lɔ́ʋ kâ kɪ̀bà: wɔ́] “send in hand in a bag”  
send.in.side hand bag in
- f. [kɛ̀n jǎŋ jɪ̀ mbòm jí fá: jóló kúlí wə́] “These my two big trees at the compound.”  
4.tree my 4c.AM big 4c.AM two 4c.these compound in

In the presence of an interrogative particle [a], the coda nasal of the postposition [bɛ̀n] 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 bɛ̀n ā] [ùkónāŋmbéle:]  
3S be bed on QP  
“Is he on the bed?”

### 7.2.3.2 The [bɛ̀n] postposition

The postposition appears at the end of the object and it is a mid or high tone:

- 494) a. [dzíŋ kō kɪ̀ngbòʋò bɛ̀n] “corn is on the chair”  
corn be chair on/top
- b. [wì kó kpɛ̀n bɛ̀n] “he is on top of a tree”  
3S be tree top/on
- c. [jí kó kɛ̀n bɛ̀n] “they (monkeys) are on the trees”  
it.10c be tree on
- d. [tsá: kó kpɛ̀n bɛ̀n] “Monkeys are on the trees”  
monkeys be tree on
- e. [nùsí ~ nùhí wāŋ nāŋ bɛ̀n] “place the baby on the bed”  
place child bed on

### 7.2.3.3 The [kpěŋ] Postposition

The postposition [kpěŋ] with a CVC structure, a high tone occurs after an object; noun or a locative adverb:

- 495) a. [bḗ bí m fṵṵ kpěŋ]                    “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 kìmgbòṵò 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 [índómhì]                                    “to dream”  
       a.2 [índómhì má]                                “in dream / in dreaming”  
       b.1 [m̄ kḗ ndḗḗ má]                            “I am inside cooking”  
           1S be NA.cook inside  
       b.2 [m̄ dḗḗ: kí lḗ]                                “I am cooking”  
           1S cook PROG AF
- 498) a. [m̄ lḗ à ñt<sup>w</sup>áj m̄]                            “I have just entered into beatings”  
           1S enter in beating in  
       b. [wì dzḗ lḗ à nt<sup>w</sup>áj m̄]                    “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 tóú kám mí kèndòŋ 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. [m̄ tí-dûŋ á ɲʰè má] “I am just about to be going”  
 1S about to go in
- b. [m̄ tʃú dûŋ á ɲʰè má] “I am just to be going”  
 1S just stay to go in
- c. [m̄ ʃí nōm 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. [ù bí: dzí: lè í dzǎ:ǰáʷà mā] “he will eat next year”  
 3S F4 eat AF in year.next in
- b. [ù bí dzí: à dzǎǰáʷà kxē wì wê 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 [m̄] postposition

The postposition [m̄] appears after nouns to identify location:

- 502) a. [nʃǎ kó kífí m̄] “there is fat in the pig”  
 fat be pig inside

b. *KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00412.txt*

- NCB-89 [wàŋ bòlí bókí lè ǰɛn (kìŋkʷàhì) m̄, wì nà kòŋ-kí ɲā wàŋnì]  
 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 [kàntê~kìntê] postposition

The postposition, “inside” [kìntê] can occur after a noun or a pronoun:

- 503) a. [tsē tō:li bə̀və̀ kìntê] “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. [tʃèn kífí í bó̀vò kàntê] “search the pig inside the river/water”  
look pig in river inside
- b. [tʃèn kífí í sàŋ kpěŋ] “look for the pig near the hall”  
look pig in hall near
- c. [tʃèn kífí í sàŋ dʒóm] “look at the pig in and behind the hall”  
look pig in hall behind
- d. [mí ká-kí kíkôm kì kpésíní í kpén bén] “I am having a lazy horse on a tree”  
1S have-PROG horse AM lazy on tree on
- e. [ɲʲə́ í kpáŋə̀ mə̀] “fufu inside pot”  
fufu in pot inside
- f. *KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00411.txt*
- FSW-1 [m̩ d̀òó kó lə̀ í tébìlì tʃín]  
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 . . . mē]:

- 505) a. [kpā̀: wì wǎŋ] “a hand of a child”  
 3.hand 9.AM 1.child
- b. [kpā wī wāŋ wì wō] “the hand of the child”  
 3.hand 3.AM 1.child 1.c the
- c. [í kpā̀: wī wāŋ wī wō mē] “in the hand of the child”  
 in 3.hand 3.AM 1.child 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 wǎŋ] “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 wāŋ wì wō mē] “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. [wè kó kxē] “you are in the farm”  
 2S be farm

- b. [wì kó dzú] “he is in the house”  
3S be home
- c. [bèʋé kó bóʋò] “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 Ndánàsî] “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. [wè tsē kí kxē] “you are going to the farm”  
2S go PROG farm
- b. [wì lâ: kí kxē] “he is going to the farm”  
3S go.work PROG farm
- c. [wì tsē kí dzú] “he is going to the house”  
3S go PROG home
- d. [bèʋé tsē kí bóʋò] “we are going to the stream”  
1P.EXCL go PROG river
- e. [bén tsè kí ntō] “you are going to the palace”  
2P go PROG palace
- f. [bó tsé kí Ndánàsî] “they are going to Ndánàsî”  
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. [m̄ t̄hī gb̄õ k̄ìgà:h̄í] “I slide and fall under the mat”  
1S slide fall under.mat
- b. [m̄ t̄hī gb̄õ n̄āŋ t̄j̄in] “I slide and fall under the bed”  
1S slide fall bed under

Associative markers are considered a preposition “of” phrases

- 510) a. [k̄èf̄ú k̄əŋ k̄é b̄í:] c. [dzá'á k̄əŋ k̄é mú k̄é mb̄òm]  
head my AM goat mouth my AM one AM large  
“my heads of goat” “my one large mouth”
- b. [dzá'á k̄əŋ k̄è mb̄òm] d. [dzá'á b̄j̄ŋ b̄í fá b̄ì mb̄òm]  
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 diagrammatise the above quote to easily explore its content in figure (23) below. A sentence 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.

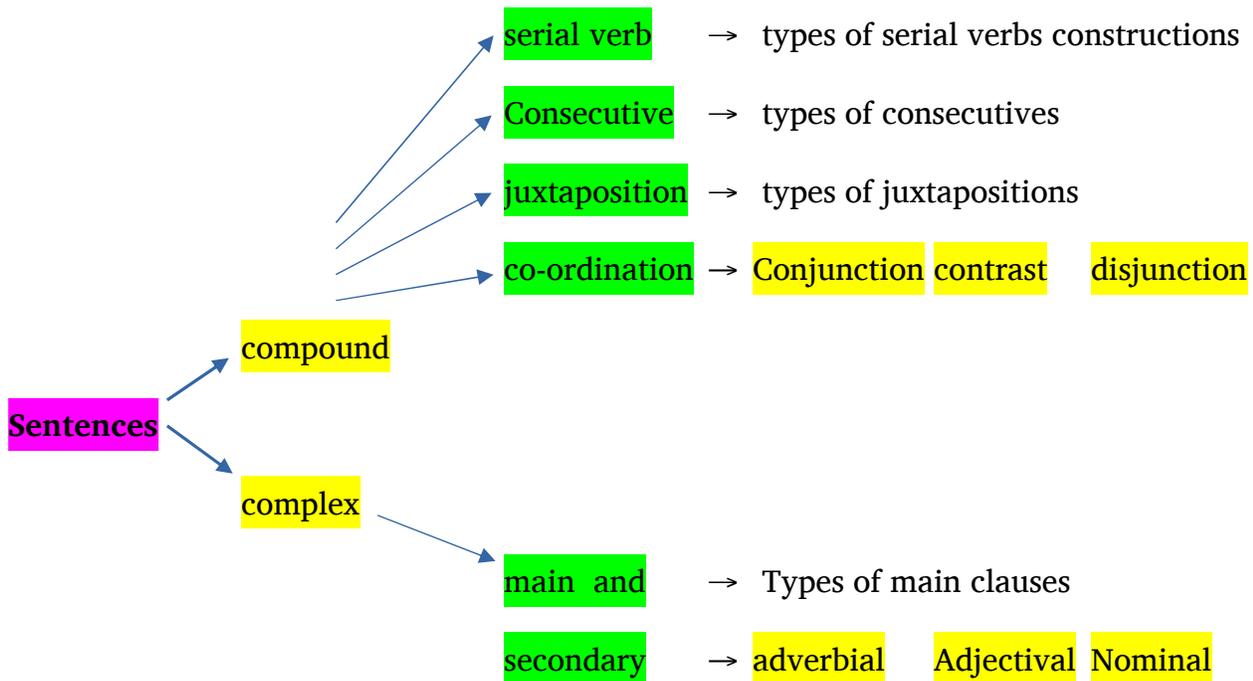


Figure 26: Compound and complex sentences

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 [bá~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, [bá ~ 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. [dzín bó bímfín]            “corn and cocoyam”  
           corn AD cocoyam

In (b) the domain of plants and animal (of the class of birds) the connective is same:

- b. [dzín bó ʃǎ]                “corn and fowl”  
           corn AD fowl

In (c) a person and a fowl (bird) is combined with the same connector:

- c. [ŋg<sup>w</sup>án bó tʃǎ]            “Ngwang and fowl”  
           PN    AD fowl

While in (d) a person and a pig (animal) are combined through the same conjunction:

- d. [ŋg<sup>w</sup>án bó kífí]            “Ngwang and pig”  
           PN    AD pig

Then (e) money or currency used the conjunction to add up:

- e. [gbí bó bánjí]            “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 ndà, mì w-é wì kó b́ k̀mb̀ì]  
 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: kē dzíŋ, ín nà dzí: dôŋ k̀m̀f̀ín]  
 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 preceding 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 ʃ̣ē] “Corn or fowl?”  
 corn OR fowl.QP  
 b. [ʃ̣ē má dzíŋ ā] “fowl or corn?”  
 fowl OR corn QP

But a following low tone on a prefix has no effect on the disjunctive co-ordinator. The tone of the root is the determining force thus should not be mistaken for a polar tone:

c. [dzíŋ má k̀-m̀f̀ín 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 lè má, má kó àjáʔà sè bə̀ʔə̀bēn sí tʃ̥é 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. [ḿ dzí:-kí wí mû] “I am eating while he is drinking”  
 1S eat-PROG 3S drink

b. [m̀ ní mú:-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 já wáná tʃádəké f̥ēn fí dòʔó 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 dzáʔá kó {kóntràkt} 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.



### 7.2.5.7 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 bʊʊ dzə gàm tí wə]

3P FUT V V V 2S

they will out come help you

“*They will come out and help you*”

b. [ɛ mbʷə dʒʲə mbì tsə ʃʷà jàm jén 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 tsə-kə-lə í ʃì bén] “*I am going to the market*”

1S go-PROG-AF to market in

- b. Speech reporter, indirect speech is made by Bikem:

[Wábúá dzǎʋó á wì tsǎ 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 1<sup>st</sup> person to 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular. The aspect of the verb has changed from progressive imperfective aspect to the perfective aspect. The perfective verb form has a rising tone and the tense has changed from 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 dzǎʋó á wì ní tsó 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 gàm tí kē 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 ndzón-kí-lə, à bə́və́-kí dzzə́ jə́ bə́ dzó tsé 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 coordinator in between while 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,  $\emptyset$  (a2) (apostrophe):

- 522) a. [wè bówú nàni tsē bán bí má kíťjómí ká à bí fówè ndè]  
 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 bówú nàni tsē bán bí} má {kíťjómí ká à bí fówè ndè}]  
 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. [{kíťjómí ká}  $\emptyset$  {à bí fówè ndè}]  
 SNP PD  
 {story your}  $\emptyset$  {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. [í dzóŋkí á mì tsó 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 ù fōŋnī] “he is a fisherman”  
 3S be person AM fishing
- b. [ù kə mì ù b'íŋwĩ] “he is a hunter”  
 3S be person AM hunting
- c. [wì nì kó mì ù kxǎ] “he is a farmer”  
 3S ANT be person AM farming
- d. [wì ko bâ: ~ wì ko bâ: wǎŋ] “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 strategy 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 dǎŋə kǐ lə] “he is tall”  
 3S tall PROG AF
- b. [wì ndzɔŋ kə lə] “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. [kə ù dǎní ~ kə wì dǎní] “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. [ɲʰē í kǎŋè mǎ] “fufu is in the pot”  
 fufu in pot inside
- b. [ɲʰǎ ko kǐfí mǎ] “The pig has fat”  
 fat be pig inside

There exist an ambiguity between predicate nominal and predicate locative :

- c. [ù kó dzú] “he is a house or he is in the house”  
 3S be house

### 7.2.7.4 Existential construct

The existential uses a copula verb in its predicate. Predicate locatives and existential overlap in sense:

- 527) a. [fímús kó nǎŋ tʃín] “There is a cat under the bed.”  
 cat be bed under
- b. [fúʷú kó dzúá kǐntǎ:] “There are ants in the soup.”  
 ants be soup inside
- c. [í wǎŋ kó mí jǔm] “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. [wǎŋ kó~kǎ í mǐ] “The child is with me”  
 child be with me
- b. [wǎŋ ko ŋwǎŋ] “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 “bá ~ 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 Mbuk 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 Californians 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:



Figure 27: 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	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
- nouns			
- noun classes			
- modifiers /determiners			
- verbs			
- verbs conjugations			
- verb classes			
- verbal extensions			
- tense, aspect, mood			
- adverbs, grammaticalisation			
- adpositions			
- connectives			
- 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 28:

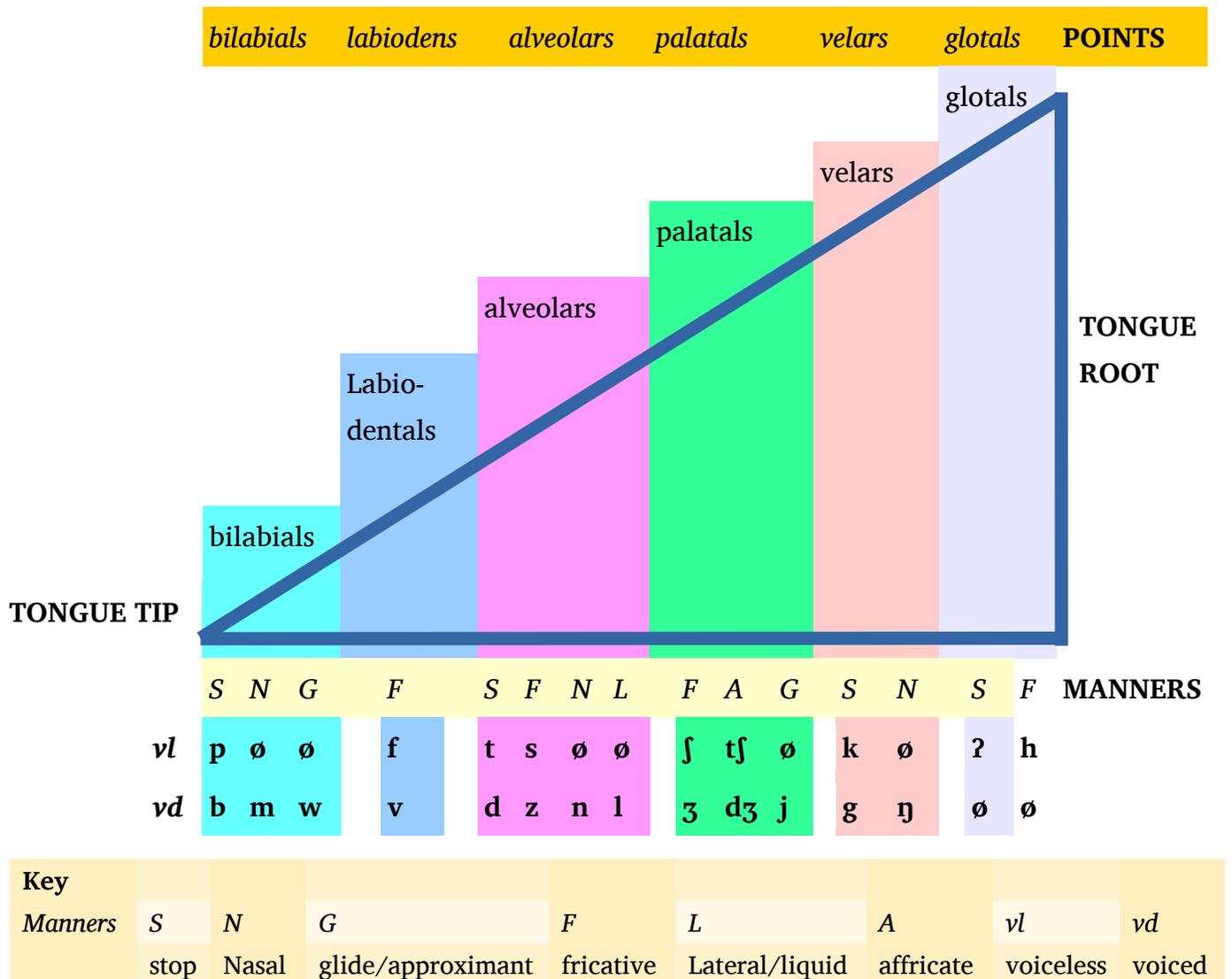


Figure 28: Consonant Triangle

Within the scope of this research, no special chapter has been dedicated to 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 [ó], 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 [ô] 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 (∅- 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	∅-	bə-	∅-	∅-	∅-	kɪ-	kɪ-	bi-	∅-	∅-	fɪ-	mɪ-
concords	ẁ-	b̀-	ẁ-	j̀-	ẁ-	k̀-	k̀-	b̀-	ɟ̀-	j̀-	f̀-	Ǹ-
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 processes 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 interpretations:

- mb { + + } (1) the nasal can be syllabic and homorganic [ḿb]
- mb { + - } (2) the nasal can be syllabic but non-homorganic [ḿt]
- 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 were retrieved such as the one below called [sũ:], KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk2\_FishingBasket\_2014-12-30\_HDV\_2788.MP4; figure 29. The crafts aspect greatly facilitated the wordlist collection effort:



[sũ:] “fishing basket without a lid”

Figure 29: 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



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 ( $\emptyset$ ).

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 carry out 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 30 figure below shows unfinished annotations:

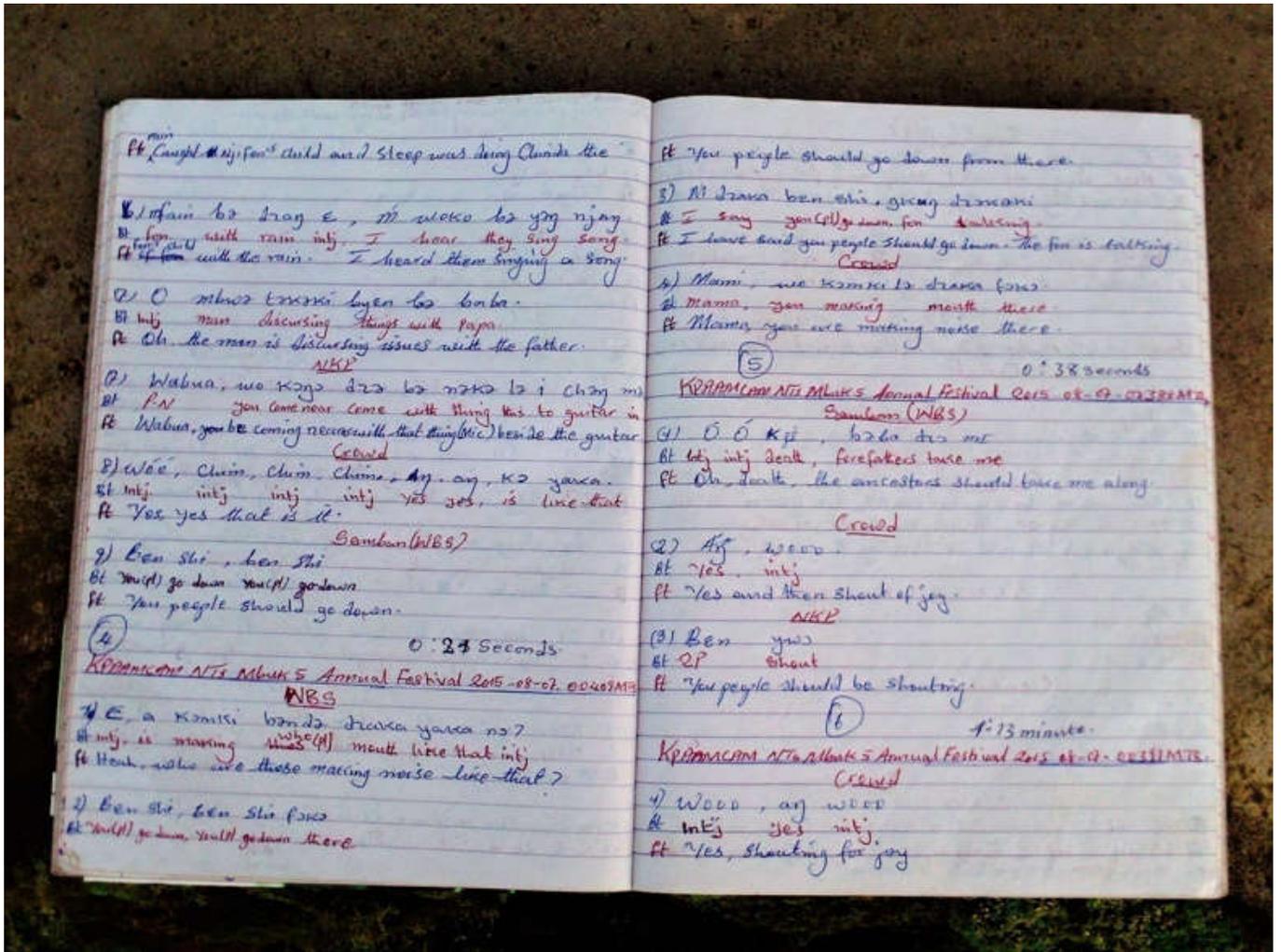


Figure 30: Unannotated text

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's code? Or
- c) Giving the annotated text without time lapse?
- d) Just giving the annotation plus the filename?
- e) Giving the annotation as an image shot?

Another difficulty though the last, was that half of the 2nd 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 N<sup>o</sup>. 357476/08/139845/6 was offered to ease

Internet research but was stolen on 12Feb2018, a week after the offer, thus frustrated and delayed the completion of the thesis. The serial number is here in order to trace the phone.

After my Masters in 2013, I became a farmer and planted 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 order to better comprehend the classification.

In the ELAN, in order to have more data annotated, and due to gross 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 fiondoms, 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	∅	∅	P0	just happened
Immediate past	P1	∅			
Ongoing, now	P0	∅			
Immediate future	F1	∅			
Sooner today	F1.1	kī	kí	F1	Later today
Evening	F2	nă	ní	F2	One or more days
Tomorrow	F3	bí	bi	F3	Next week
Next year	F4	bí			

The tense morphemes contrast for morning [hī] and [sī] and for evening [nă] and [nī]. 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 31:



Mbuk – **nā** “four, 4”  
 Bum – **kihk** “four, 4”  
 English – **four** “four, 4”  
 French – **quatre** “four, 4”

Figure 31: 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 vowels deduced from its 8 vowel phonemes:

Phonemes	Allophone	Graphemes	Alphabet	Examples	Gloss
/a/	[a]	a	a	nyàm	“animal”
	[ã]	an		bãn	“palm nut”
/i/	[i]	i	i	mì	“person”
	[ĩ]	in		dzín	“teeth”
/ɪ/	[ɪ]	e	e	mé	“me”
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	ɛ	ɛ	tsèn	“arm”
	[ẽ]	ɛn		nwẽn	“space”
/ə/	[ə]	ə	ə	nê	“mother”
	[ẽ]	ən		fẽn	“light”
	[i]	ə		dzəŋ	“corn”
	[œ]	ə		lœjĩ	“mulch”
/u/	[u] ~ [ü]	u	u	fú	“head”
/ʊ/	[ʊ]	u		kúlé	“quarter”
	[ũ]	un		dzũn	“grass”
/ɔ/	[ɔ]	o	o	gbō	“fall”
	[ɔ] ~ [ɒ]	o		gón	“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 32:



Figure 32: 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 33 shows the Fon's hand up, as a sign for blessing his people.

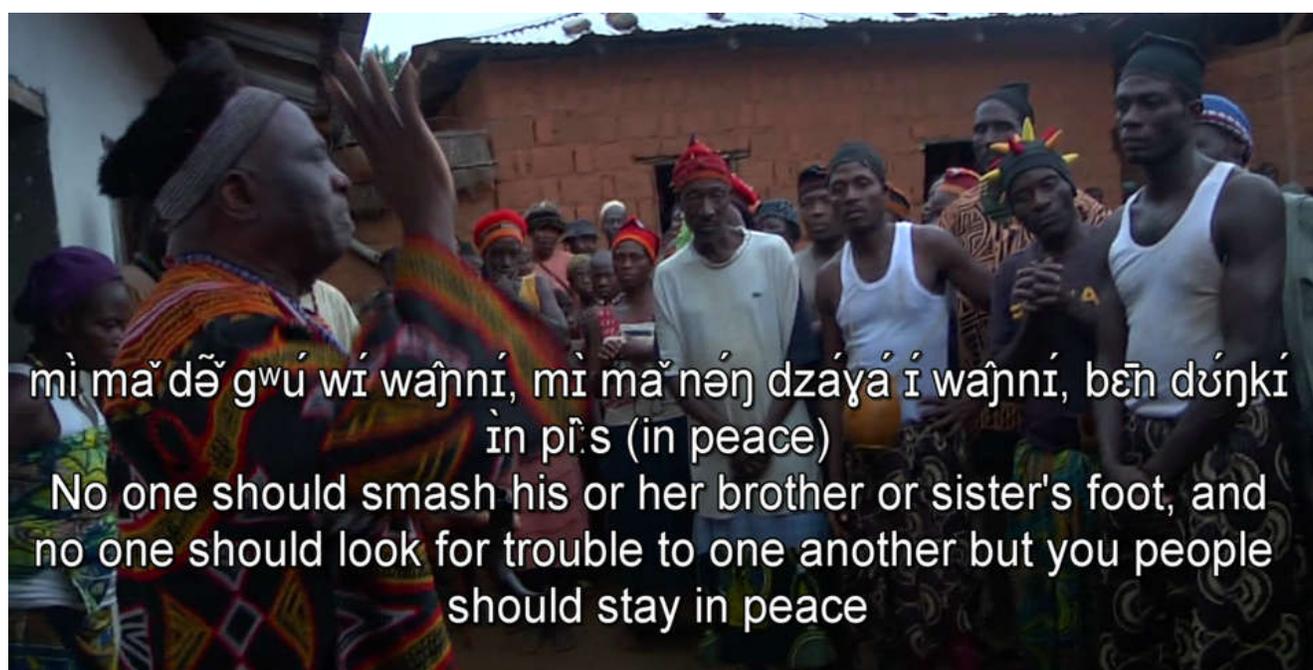


Figure 33: The Fon's hand is up blessing his subject to stay in peace (gestures)

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 34 shows the break-off point of Chung from Mbuk.

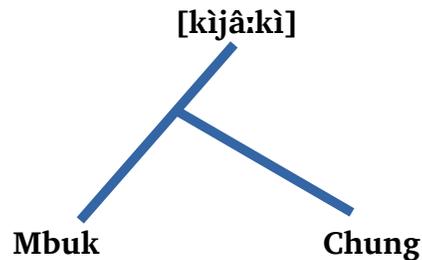


Figure 34: Mbuk-Chung Separation

At [kìjâ:kì], there were five patrilineal clans of Mbuk and one of them, the [b<sup>w</sup>àbèntón] present-day Chung left leaving behind four patrilineal clans that kept the name Mbuk: [b<sup>w</sup>â]óm], [b<sup>w</sup>àbèntú:], [b<sup>w</sup>àbèndǒ:~bèndǒ:], [kìmbà:lí] (extinct). The [bèndǒ:] left as well, lived in Mundabli and returned recently on the request of the Fon. These movements have led to internal patrilineal 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 35: Monolingual Subtitled Mbuk Documentary Grammar.



Figure 36: Subtitled Bilingual Mbuk Documentary 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.37)

The screenshot shows the ELAN 4.9.4 interface. The top menu bar includes File, Edit, Annotation, Tier, Type, Search, View, Options, Window, and Help. The main window is divided into several sections:

- Video View:** Displays a video of a festival scene with people in traditional attire.
- Audio Controls:** Includes Volume (set to 100) and Rate (set to 100) sliders, and Mute/Solo buttons.
- Timeline:** Shows a selection range from 00:00:39.888 to 00:00:43.447 (3559 frames).
- Grid:** A table of linguistic annotations for the sentence "Who is the person with the drum?".

Topic	Annotation
[4]	Interrogative pronoun, Question Word (QW)
Mbk_FSW-1 [12]	à kó ndà, mì wé wì kó bé kimbì
GL_FSW-1 [12]	DS COP QW, person REL 3S COP CNJ drum
FT_FSW-1	Who is the person with the drum?

Figure 371: 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 38: 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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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: 90 Personal Mbuk Names

	Male and possible meaning	Female and possible meaning
1	báʷsí ~ báksí	bá:lí
2	bìkóm	bàṅkibó:
3	b'ǎ	bê:
4	fíndóṅ	dzòṅ
5	fíndóṅ	dzìlǒ: ~ dzêlǒ:
6	Gàbá	dzíntàʷà
7	jám̀b̀d̀ṅ	dzîntí check tone of ɪ
8	k̀è̀b̀á:	k̀è̀mf̀é̀ǹé
9	kíḡúʷlì	k̀è̀tʃʷá
10	làbákù	kìməʃ̀èʷá
11	Làṅ	kīsáṅ
12	làṅndzí:	kìtʃ̀úhì ~ k̀ìtʃ̀ú̀s̀ì
13	l̀è̀ṅ̀è̀tʃ̀á	kpǎ:tʃ̀ì
14	mbàdzì	l'ê:
15	mb̀ò̀k̀ó	lǒ:
16	m'èʷè	màdúʷú ~màdúkú
17	Ndàṅ	máṅgàṅ
18	nd̀ìtʃ̀à	mbé
19	nsê:	mbě:l'ê
20	nʃ̀õm	mbè:né
21	ntàʷà	mbébà
22	ntàʷà	mbékáṅ
23	ntʃ̀ìb̀ó ~ ntʃ̀ìb̀ó	mbò: (use together with Bum)
24	ntʃ̀òʷò	mb̀ò̀ṅ̀t̀àʷà ~ mb̀ò̀ṅ̀t̀àk̀à
25	ntʃ̀ʷà:	ndz'è:
26	ntʃ̀ʷàʷàhí	nèṅkífbá ~ nèṅkèbá
27	ntʃ̀ʷàʷàsí	nèṅmbʷàʷà
28	nt̀ù̀ṅ̀b̀á	nêṅtʃ̀ʷà
29	nt̀ù̀ṅ̀b̀á	nébà

30	ŋg <sup>w</sup> áŋ	nègbǎ:
31	ŋká:	ní:
32	ŋkàmbî:	níndzì
33	ŋkàmbî:	nìni ~ níni
34	ŋk <sup>w</sup> èmbò:	nítʃà <sup>v</sup> à
35	sàmbàŋ	ntà:
36	sàmbàŋ	Ntám
37	ʃɪŋŋ <sup>w</sup> ò	ní:
38	ʃèk <sup>w</sup> ú	ŋgàŋ
39	tʃântàkà	tété
40	tʃè	tíli
41	tʃɔʔtò:	tʃú:
42	wáb <sup>w</sup> á ~ wáb <sup>w</sup> á <sup>v</sup> á	wónè ~ wúónè
43	lâ:kà: ~ ljàkà	zàtō ~ dzàtō
44	kító	zòŋè
45	ɲà	
46	Sàmàndì	
47	mûŋā (from Fang)	

## Appendix 2: Lexical differences between Mbuk and Chung

	Mbuk	Chung	Gloss	Variant element
1	k <sup>w</sup> ā	kóbí	Forest	whole word
2	dúŋ	núm	sit, wait	whole word
3	tʃíŋə	kóbí	if not	whole word
4	tʃâ:	kókó	Not	whole word
5	fálí	fáŋní	Tilt	nasal insertion
6	ʃíkə	ʃísí	lower	alveolar fricative vl
7	lê:	ntʃíŋ	small	whole word
8	lê	jókó	Run	whole word
9	wé	weli	open	disyllabic
10	káhí	kásí	finish	alveolar fricative vl
11	mbòm	mbòm	large	ɔ vowel change
12	bóm	bóm	accept	ɔ vowel change
13	ásə	ásí	As	i vowel change
14	máŋní	mání	unrecognised	a / nasal deletion
15	t <sup>w</sup> áŋ	twéŋ	To beat/to wrap	ɛ vowel change
16	tóm bú <sup>v</sup> ú	tóm bú <sup>v</sup> ú	appear	ɔ vowel change
17	tómí	tómí	country	ɔ vowel change
18	tʃòkò	tʃwàkà	Iron	a / labialisation
19	ɣá	g <sup>j</sup> á	thing	palatalisation
20	ŋgákí	ŋgákə	trouble	vowel harmony
21	tóm	mtóm	message	prenasalisation
22	jəŋkə	ɲísí	Start	whole word
23	fə <sup>v</sup> ə	fú <sup>v</sup> ú	Tell	ɔ vowel change
24	dzũ:	dzúŋ	house	whole word
25	tùŋjìdzú	tʃúŋkídʒúŋ	family	whole word
26	dé	dí	place	i vowel change
27	bəŋ	bóŋ	Call	ɔ vowel change
28	báŋhí	baŋsi	lighting	alveolar fricative vl
29	ntʃúŋ	ŋkóŋ	truth	whole word
30	tʃə	kyə	know	palatalisation
31	tìkólí	tíkwílí	family head	labialisation

32	dzòm	dʒóm	War	ʊ / palato-alveolar vd
33	nə	né	mother	e vowel change
34	fúmhí	fúmsí	worrisome	alveolar fricative vl
35	sáŋhí	sáŋsí	Feed	alveolar fricative vl
36	bí	b'ólí	follow	disyllabic
37	tón	tʃónó	buttocks	disyllabic
38	dā	dólì	vagina	disyllabic
39	jə	túm	Put	whole word
40	tóm	túm	shoot	ʊ vowel change
41	ŋg <sup>w</sup> í	mwí	water	develarisation
42	kxə	kə	Farm	develarisation
43	nǔ:	nó	sleep	ɔ vowel change
44	wúní	wíní	Tail	ɪ vowel change
45	dʒú	dʒúlí	soak	disyllabic
46	ntúkó	ntʃókó	night	ɔ vowel change
47	kókó	kósí	cough	alveolar fricative vl
48	dzún	dzún	snake	palato-alveolar vd
49	tájə	tésí	Slow	i / alveolar fricative vl
50	kóní	kwéjí	Part of corn	whole word
51	dʒ <sup>w</sup> ábí	dʒóbí	time	delabialisation
52	dzún	dzó	Hire	ɔ/open syllable
53	fímús	fímúsì	Cat	i / suffixation
54	kìŋkókó	kìŋkwáká	tortoise	a/ labialisation
55	bálí	bwélí	waist	e / labialisation
56	jə	nə	what	nasal onset
57	jé	jélí	name	disyllabic
58	kpénhí	kpénsí	Add	alveolar fricative vl
59	dzɪ <sup>v</sup> ə	dzə <sup>v</sup> ə	Hoe	ə vowel change
60	tséhí	tsésí	translate	alveolar fricative vl
61	nómí	nómí	Hide	ʊ vowel change
62	fàjí	nàjí	where	nasal onset
63	ŋgómhí / lwàhí	gómsí / lwàhí	threaten	denasalisation
64	kāŋhí	kāŋsí	guest	alveolar fricative vl
65	bálí	bólí	Sky	o vowel change

66	fíkóm	fíkófi	knife	suffixation
67	mbòm	kpálí	big (of person)	whole word
68	mbúwí	mbúwímí	dove	nasal insertion
69	bá:	mb'áj	Palm nut	whole word
70	dzōŋ	dzōŋ	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)  $\pm$  Object

No.	Gloss	IF	Gerund	Past	Ongoing	Future	IM $\pm$ O
<b>G1</b>	<b>Simple open; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, M, R)</b>						
<b>1H</b>		<b>TAM 1</b>	<b>TAM 2</b>	<b>TAM 3</b>	<b>TAM 4</b>	<b>TAM 5</b>	<b>TAM 6</b>
1	<i>be heavy</i>	ídzī		dzī	dzî:kílè	dzî:lè	dzí
2	<i>bow (down)</i>	íngú	nggù	ngū	nggkílè	nggnílè	ngú
3	<i>build (house)</i>	ímā		mā	mā:kílè	má:lè	má
4	<i>bury</i>	ílá	nlè	lā	lā:kílè	lā:lè	lá
5	<i>clean (broom)</i>	íká:		ká:	ká:kálè	ká:lè	ká:
6	<i>clear (grass)</i>	ífú		Fú	fú:kílè	fú:lè	ff:
7	<i>count</i>	ífā	nfā	fā	fā:kílè	fā:lè	fá
8	<i>cut (thatch grass)</i>	ítō		tō	tō:kílè	tō:lè	tó
9	<i>die (living thing)</i>	íkprí		kpī	kpí:kálè	kpí:lè	kpí:
10	<i>do</i>	ífā		fā	fā:kílè	fā:lè	fá
11	<i>dress (wear cloth)</i>	ílō		lō	lō:kílè	lō:lè	ló
12	<i>drink</i>	ímú		mú	mú:kálè	mú:lè	mú
13	<i>entertain</i>	ítá		tā	tā:kálè	tā:lè	tá ~ tā
14	<i>excrete</i>	íjī		jī	jī:kílè	jī:lè	jí
15	<i>fall (rain)</i>	ídzē		dzē	dzē:kílè	dzē:lè	dzé
16	<i>feed</i>	ísā		sā	sā:kálè	sā:lè	sá:
17	<i>follow</i>	íbī		bī:	bī:kílè	bī:lè	bí:
18	<i>get (have)/own</i>	íkā		kā	kā:kálè	kā:lè	ká:
19	<i>give</i>	ínā		nā	nā:kálè	nā:lè	ná
20	<i>grow</i>	íkó		kó:	kó:kílè	kó:lè	kó:
21	<i>harvest (palm cone)</i>	ígbā		gbā	gbā:kílè	gbā:lè	gbá
22	<i>hatch</i>	íkā		kā	kā:kálè	kā:lè	ká:

23	<i>hit</i>	ítá		tā	tākólè	tá:lè	tá
24	<i>hocking (fishing)</i>	ílō		lō	lô:kíflè	lô:lè	ló
25	<i>itch</i>	ífú		Fú	fú:kíflè	fú:lè	fú
26	<i>lack</i>	ídzá		dzá	dzá:kíflè	dzá:lè	dzá
27	<i>nail</i>	íbá		Bá	bā:kíflè	bā:lè	bá
28	<i>offer</i>	íná		ᵐá	ᵐā:kíflè	ᵐá:lè	ᵐá
29	<i>pass</i>	ítsó		tsō	tsōkólè	tsólè	tsó
30	<i>peel raw (plantaing)</i>	íká:		ká:	ká:kíflè	ká:lè	ká:
31	<i>plant</i>	íkâ:		kā	kâ:kíflè	kâ:lè	ká:
32	<i>rape</i>	íkā:	̀̀kà:	kā:	ká:kíflè	ká:lè	ká:
33	<i>remain (not go)</i>	íbá:		bá:	bā:kíflè	bá:lè	bá:
34	<i>ride (bicycle)</i>	íná		Ná	ná:kíflè	ná:lè	ná
35	<i>rot</i>	ífō		fō	fô:kólè	fô:lè	fó
36	<i>run</i>	ílē		lē	lékólè	lé:lè	lé:
37	<i>scrape (clean) off</i>	íká:		ká:	ká:kólè	ká:lè	ká:
38	<i>shave (scissors)</i>	ífá		Fá	fá:kíflè	fá:lè	fá
39	<i>stop</i>	ídzí		dzí	dzí:kíflè	dzí:lè	dzí
40	<i>suck</i>	ímá		má	má:kíflè	má:lè	má
41	<i>swallow (food)</i>	ímā		mā	mâ:kíflè	mâ:lè	mó
42	<i>swell</i>	ímō		mō	mô:kíflè	mô:lè	mó
43	<i>thatch</i>	ílú:		lú:	lú:kíflè	lú:lè	lú:
44	<i>throw (away)</i>	ílō		lō	lô:kíflè	lô:lè	ló
45	<i>tie</i>	ífú		ᶑú	ᶑú:kíflè	ᶑú:lè	ᶑú:
46	<i>wet</i>	ídá:		dá:	dá:kíflè	dá:lè	dá
<b>1M</b>							
47	<i>ban from people</i>	ílū	̀̀lù	lū	lô:kólè	lú:lè	lū
48	<i>be better</i>	ílō	̀̀lò	lō:	lô:kíflè	lô:lè	lō:
49	<i>be tired</i>	íbó:		Bó	bó:kíflè	bó:lè	bō
50	<i>clap</i>	íkū	̀̀kù	kū	kú:kíflè	kú:lè	kū:
51	<i>clear</i>	ífū		fū:	fū:kólè	fú:lè	fū
52	<i>cook fufu</i>	íná		Ná	ná:kíflè	ná:lè	nā
53	<i>cry</i>	ídā	̀̀dā	dā	dâ:kíflè	dâ:lè	dā:
54	<i>cut palm cone finger</i>	ífā		fā	fâ:kíflè	fâ:lè	fā
55	<i>eat</i>	ídzí		dzí	dzí:kólè	dzí:lè	dzī
56	<i>fall</i>	ígbō		gbō	gbô:kólè	gbô:lè	gbō
57	<i>finish by itself</i>	íká		kā	kākíflè	ká:lè	kā:
58	<i>fold</i>	ílō:	̀̀lò	lō	lô:kíflè	lô:lè	lō:

59	<i>go (farm / work)</i>	ílā		lā	lā:kíflè	lā:lè	lā
60	<i>hervest / pluck</i>	íkō		kō	kō:kíflè	kō:lè	kō
61	<i>imprison</i>	ífā		fā	fā:kíflè	fā:lè	fā
62	<i>jump</i>	ídǒí:		dǒí:	dǒí:kíflè	dǒí:lè	dǒí
63	<i>lock (door)</i>	ífā		fā	fā:kíflè	fā:lè	fā
64	<i>make</i>	ífā		fā	fā:kíflè	fā:lè	fā
65	<i>mulch (farm)</i>	ílā		lā	lā:kíflè	lā:lè	lā
66	<i>name (child name)</i>	ídū		dū	dū:kíflè	dū:lè	dū
67	<i>peel (mango)</i>	ífā		fā	fā:kíflè	fā:lè	fā
68	<i>pick up</i>	ídzō		dzō	dzō:kíflè	dzō:lè	dzō
69	<i>play (music)</i>	íkū		kū	kū:kíflè	kū:lè	kū
70	<i>praise</i>	ítsá:		tsá:	tsá:kíflè	tsá:lè	tsá
71	<i>pray to gods</i>	ítsá:		tsá:	tsá:kíflè	tsá:lè	tsá:
72	<i>read</i>	ífā		fā	fā:kíflè	fā:lè	fā
73	<i>rest</i>	ímō		mō	mō:kíflè	mō:lè	mō
74	<i>roasting (fowl)</i>	íbá		bā	bā:kíflè	bā:lè	bā
75	<i>scratch</i>	ífú		Fú	fú:kíflè	fú:lè	fú
76	<i>spit</i>	ítǒú		tǒú	tǒú:kíflè	tǒú:lè	tǒú
77	<i>stand up</i>	ídzá:		dzá	dzá:kíflè	dzá:lè	dzá
78	<i>sting</i>	ítá		Tá	tá:kíflè	tá:lè	tá
79	<i>take</i>	ídzō		dzō	dzō:kíflè	dzō:lè	dzō
80	<i>trap</i>	ítá:		tá:	tá:kíflè	tá:lè	tá
81	<i>undress</i>	íbá		bā	bā:kíflè	bā:lè	bā
82	<i>uproot</i>	íbá		bā	bā:kíflè	bā:lè	bā
83	<i>weave basket</i>	ílō:	ñlò	lō	lō:kíflè	lō:lè	lō:
<b>1R</b>							
84	<i>abandon</i>	íkā	ñkà	kǎ:	ká:kíflè	ká:lè	kǎ:
85	<i>allow</i>	íbī	ñbì	bí	bí:kíflè	bí:lè	bí:
86	<i>arrange</i>	ímā	ñmà	mǎ:	mā:kíflè	mā:lè	mǎ:
87	<i>be small</i>	ísǒ:		sǒ:	sǒ:kíflè	sǒ:lè	sǒ:
88	<i>build (bridge)</i>	ídā	ñdà	dǎ:	dā:kíflè	dā:lè	dǎ:
89	<i>call</i>	íbǎ:		bǎ:	bǎ:kíflè	bǎ:lè	bǎ:
90	<i>carry child on back</i>	ímǒ:		mō	mō:kíflè	mō:lè	mǒ:
91	<i>cook corn beer</i>	íkpǎ:		kpā	kpā:kíflè	kpā:lè	kpǎ:
92	<i>curse</i>	íkǔ:	ñkù	kū	kū:kíflè	kū:lè	kǔ:
93	<i>cut (fowl neck)</i>	ísǔ		sū	sū:kíflè	sū:lè	sǔ
94	<i>descend</i>	ífí:		fí:	fí:kíflè	fí:lè	fí:

95	<i>dip (into liquid)</i>	ídʒú		dʒū	dʒú:kálè	dʒú:lè	dʒù:
96	<i>dish out / share</i>	ígâ:		gā	gâ:kíflè	gâ:lè	gǎ:
97	<i>grip (someone)</i>	íkā:		kā:	kā:kíflè	kā:lè	kǎ:
98	<i>hang (on hanger)</i>	ítū		tū	tū:kíflè	tū:lè	tù:
99	<i>hold</i>	íkā:		kā:	ká:kálè	ká:lè	kǎ
100	<i>laugh</i>	ísǔ		sū	sū:kíflè	sū:lè	sǔ/sùŋú
101	<i>leave (this world)</i>	íbĩ:		bī	bĩ:kíflè	bĩ:lè	bĩ:
102	<i>lick</i>	ímě:		mē	mē:kálè	mē:lè	mě:
103	<i>light fire</i>	íkǎ:		kǎ	kǎ:kíflè	kǎ:lè	kǎ:
104	<i>open</i>	íwě		wē:	wê:kíflè	wě:lè	wě:
105	<i>plant</i>	ígbě:		gbē	gbě:kálè	gbě:lè	gbě:
106	<i>sleep</i>	ínũ:		nū	nũ:kíflè	nũ:lè	nũ:
107	<i>smash</i>	ídǎ:		dǎ	dǎ:kíflè	dǎ:lè	dǎ
108	<i>tear (torn)</i>	ítǎ:		tǎ	tǎ:kíflè	tǎ:lè	tǎ:
<b>G2</b>	<b>Diphthongisation; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, M)</b>						
<b>2H</b>							
109	<i>be sweet</i>	índʒúúó		ndʒūō	ndʒúókíflè	ndʒúólè	ndʒúúó
110	<i>fear</i>	íluá		lúá	lūākálè	lúálè	lúá
111	<i>fight</i>	ídʒūō		dʒūō	dʒúókíflè	dʒúólè	dʒúó
112	<i>kill</i>	íwúó	ñwùò	wūō	wūōkálè	wúólè	wúó
<b>2M</b>							
113	<i>crack, burst</i>	íwūō	ñwùò	wūō	wūōkálè	wúólè	wūō
114	<i>steal</i>	ítʃúó		tʃūō	tʃúókíflè	tʃúólè	tʃūō
<b>G3</b>	<b>Labialisation form; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, R)</b>						
<b>3H</b>							
115	<i>be drunk</i>	ík <sup>w</sup> á		k <sup>w</sup> á	k <sup>w</sup> á:kíflè	k <sup>w</sup> á:lè	k <sup>w</sup> á
116	<i>beg</i>	ím <sup>w</sup> ā	ñm <sup>w</sup> à	m <sup>w</sup> ā	m <sup>w</sup> ā:kíflè	m <sup>w</sup> ā:lè	m <sup>w</sup> á
117	<i>catch</i>	ík <sup>w</sup> á		k <sup>w</sup> ā	k <sup>w</sup> ákíflè	k <sup>w</sup> á:lè	k <sup>w</sup> á
118	<i>sew with hand</i>	ík <sup>w</sup> ó	ñk <sup>w</sup> ò	k <sup>w</sup> ó	k <sup>w</sup> ójíkíflè	k <sup>w</sup> ólè	k <sup>w</sup> ó
<b>3R</b>							
119	<i>bake (in ash)</i>	íf <sup>w</sup> ǎ	ñf <sup>w</sup> è	f <sup>w</sup> ǎ	f <sup>w</sup> â:kíflè	f <sup>w</sup> ǎ:lè	f <sup>w</sup> ǎ:
120	<i>borrow</i>	íf <sup>w</sup> ā		f <sup>w</sup> ā	f <sup>w</sup> â:kíflè	f <sup>w</sup> ā:lè	f <sup>w</sup> ǎ:
121	<i>loosen</i>	íf <sup>w</sup> ǎ		f <sup>w</sup> ā	f <sup>w</sup> â:kíflè	f <sup>w</sup> ǎ:lè	f <sup>w</sup> ǎ:
122	<i>pierce</i>	íb <sup>w</sup> ǎ		b <sup>w</sup> ā	b <sup>w</sup> âkálè	b <sup>w</sup> ǎ:lè	b <sup>w</sup> ǎ:
123	<i>pinch</i>	íŋ <sup>w</sup> ǎ		ŋ <sup>w</sup> ā	ŋ <sup>w</sup> âkíflè	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ǎ:lè	ŋ <sup>w</sup> ǎ:

<b>G4</b>	<b>Palatalisation; High, Mid, Rising tone (H, R)</b>						
<b>4H</b>							
124	<i>dawn (cook)</i>	fbʲé	nbʲè	bʲē	fbʲékílè	fbʲé:lè	bʲé
125	<i>enter</i>	fʲā		fʲā	fʲākálè	fʲá:lè	fʲá
<b>4R</b>							
126	<i>accuse</i>	dʒʲǎ		dʒʲā	dʒʲǎ:kíflè	dʒʲǎ:lè	dʒʲǎ
127	<i>cook</i>	ídʲǎ:		dyā	dʲǎ:kíflè	dʲǎ:lè	dʲǎ
128	<i>go / leave</i>	ɲʲǎ		ɲʲā	ɲʲǎ:kíflè	ɲʲǎ:lè	ɲʲǎ:
129	<i>know / notice</i>	ítʲǎ		tʲǎ	tʲǎ:kálè	tʲǎ:lè	tʲǎ
<b>G5</b>	<b>Velarisation</b>						
<b>5H</b>							
130	<i>appoint</i>	íkáʲá		káʲá	káʲákíflè	káʲá:lè	káʲá
131	<i>ask</i>	fbʲǎʲá		bʲǎʲā	bʲǎʲákíflè	bʲǎʲá:lè	bʲǎʲá
132	<i>blow (nose)</i>	ífáʲá		fǎʲā	fǎʲákálè	fǎʲá:lè	fǎʲá
133	<i>brush (teeth)</i>	ítʲǎʲá		tʲǎʲā	tʲǎʲákálè	tʲǎʲá:lè	tʲǎʲá
134	<i>carry (water)</i>	ítóʲó	ntòʲò	tōʲō	tóʲókíflè	tóʲó:lè	tóʲó
135	<i>exit</i>	íbúʲú		būʲū	būʲūkálè	búʲú:lè	búʲú
136	<i>judge</i>	ísáʲá		sāʲā	sāʲákálè	sáʲá:lè	sáʲá
137	<i>peel (plantain/corn)</i>	íʃǎǰá		ʃǎǰā	ʃǎǰákíflè	ʃǎǰá:lè	ʃǎǰá
138	<i>pluck corn</i>	íwáʲá		wāʲā	wāʲákíflè	wáʲá:lè	wáʲá
139	<i>rear animals</i>	ítóʲó	ntòʲò	tóʲó	tóʲókíflè	tóʲó:lè	tóʲó
140	<i>request</i>	íbɪʲí		bɪʲī	bɪʲíkíflè	bɪʲí:lè	bɪʲí
141	<i>rule</i>	ísáʲá		sāʲā	sáʲákálè	sáʲá:lè	sáʲá
142	<i>stammering</i>	ígáʲá		gǎʲā	gǎʲákíflè	gǎʲá:lí	gǎʲá
<b>5M</b>							
143	<i>harvest (herbs)</i>	íkáʲá		kǎʲā	kǎʲákíflè	káʲá:lè	kǎʲā
144	<i>hear</i>	íwóʲó		wóʲó	wóʲókíflè	wóʲó:lè	wōʲō
145	<i>leak</i>	íbúʲú		būʲū	būʲūkíflè	búʲú:lè	būʲū
146	<i>mask</i>	ísúʲú		súʲú	sūʲūkálè	sóʲú:lè	sūʲū
147	<i>operate/tear (knife)</i>	íbáʲá		bāʲā	bāʲákálè	báʲá:lè	bāʲā
148	<i>peel elephant stalk</i>	íwáʲá		wáʲá	wāʲákíflè	wáʲá:lè	wāʲā
149	<i>pound</i>	ítʲóʲú		tʲóʲú	tʲōʲūkálè	tʲóʲú:lè	tʲōʲū
150	<i>remove feather</i>	íkpóʲó	ñkpòʲy ò	kpóʲó	kpóʲókíflè	kpóʲó:lè	kpōʲō
151	<i>remove from fire</i>	ímáʲá		máʲá	máʲákálè	máʲá:lè	mǎʲā

	<i>remove inside pot</i>	ímóʼá		máʼá	móʼá:kólè	máʼálè	məʼā
152	<i>speak / say / talk</i>	ídžáʼé		dzáʼé	dzáʼékíflè	dzáʼálè	dzəʼə
153	<i>wonder</i>	ígáʼá		gāʼā	gāʼākíflè	gáʼálè	gāʼā
<b>5R</b>							
154	<i>announce</i>	ílàʼá		lāʼā	láʼákólè	làʼálè	làʼá
155	<i>arrange (guitar)</i>	ígùʼú		gùʼú	gùʼúkíflè	gùʼúlè	gùʼú
156	<i>ascend</i>	íjàʼá		jāʼā	jáʼákólè	jáʼálè	jàʼá
157	<i>be bad</i>	íbáʼé		bəʼə	bəʼəkíflè	báʼálè	bəʼé
158	<i>be dirty</i>	ínǔʼǔ		nǔʼǔ	nǔʼúkíflè	nǔʼúlè	nǔʼú
159	<i>be lost</i>	ílāʼá		lāʼā	láʼákíflè	làʼálè	làʼá
160	<i>be pregnant</i>	íǰəʼé		ǰəʼə	ǰəʼékíflè	ǰəʼélè	ǰəʼé
161	<i>be red</i>	íbòʼó		bōʼō	bōʼókíflè	bòʼólè	bòʼó
162	<i>be ripe</i>	íbòʼó		bōʼō	bōʼókíflè	bòʼólè	bòʼó
163	<i>be strong</i>	íləʼé		lāʼā	láʼákíflè	làʼálè	làʼé
164	<i>begin</i>	ízəʼé		zəʼə	zəʼəkíflè	zəʼélè	zəʼé
165	<i>breathe</i>	íwàʼá		wāʼā	wáʼákíflè	wàʼálè	wàʼá
166	<i>carry (death)</i>	íbəʼé		bəʼə	bəʼəkíflè	bəʼélè	bəʼé
167	<i>carry hands on head</i>	íbəʼé		bəʼə	bəʼəkíflè	bəʼélè	bəʼé
168	<i>cease</i>	ílòʼó		lōʼō	lóʼókíflè	lòʼólè	lòʼó
169	<i>chain (someone)</i>	íkàŋá		kāŋā	kāŋákíflè	kàŋálè	kàŋá
170	<i>check</i>	ítʃəʼé		tʃəʼə	tʃəʼəkíflè	tʃəʼélè	tʃəʼé
171	<i>check (trap)</i>	ítʃàʼá		tʃāʼā	tʃáʼákíflè	tʃàʼálè	tʃàʼá
172	<i>climb</i>	íjàʼá		yāʼā	jáʼákíflè	jáʼálè	yàʼá
173	<i>cough</i>	íkōŋō		kōŋō	kōŋókíflè	kóŋólè	kōŋó
174	<i>crack</i>	ítʃùʼú		tʃǔʼǔ	tʃùʼúkólè	tʃùʼúlè	tʃùʼú
175	<i>dance on toes</i>	ínàʼá		nāʼā	náʼákíflè	nàʼálè	nàʼá
176	<i>deliver</i>	íbɪʼé		bɪʼə	bɪʼə:kíflè	bɪʼəlè	bɪʼé
177	<i>drag / drive (car)</i>	ígùʼú		gùʼú	gùʼúkíflè	gùʼúlè	gùʼú
178	<i>fall (of rain excess)</i>	íʃǔʼǔ		ʃǔʼǔ	ʃǔʼǔkíflè	ʃùʼúlè	ʃùʼú
179	<i>fart</i>	íʃəŋé		ʃəŋə	ʃəŋəkíflè	ʃəŋélè	ʃəŋé
180	<i>go out / exit</i>	íbúʼú		bǔʼǔ	búʼúkólè	búʼúlè	búʼú
181	<i>grind</i>	ígōʼō		gōʼō	góʼókíflè	gòʼólè	gòʼó
182	<i>jealous</i>	íɣəʼé		ɣəʼə	ɣəʼəkíflè	ɣəʼélè	ɣəʼé
183	<i>knock (head)</i>	ítʃùʼú		tʃǔʼǔ	tʃùʼúkólè	tʃùʼúlè	tʃùʼú
184	<i>to raise a child</i>	íkǔʼǔ		kǔʼǔ	kǔʼǔkíflè	kúʼúlè	kúʼú
185	<i>point / elect</i>	ísòʼó		sōʼō	sóʼókíflè	sòʼólè	sòʼó
186	<i>pour</i>	íʃùʼú		ʃǔʼǔ	ʃùʼúkíflè	ʃùʼúlè	ʃùʼú

187	<i>rest</i>	íwàʼá		wāʼā	wáʼàkíflè	wàʼálè	wàʼá
188	<i>seize</i>	ílòʼó		lōʼō	lóʼòkíflè	lòʼólè	lòʼó
189	<i>sex</i>	ítòʼó	ntòyò	tōʼō	tóʼòkíflè	tòʼólè	tòʼó
190	<i>shift (further)</i>	íkòṅó		kōṅō	kóṅòkíflè	kòṅólè	kòṅó
191	<i>sieve</i>	ísàʼé		sāʼē	sáʼèkíflè	sàʼélè	sàʼé
192	<i>start</i>	íjàʼé		jāʼē	jáʼèkíflè	jàʼélè	jàʼé
193	<i>sweep</i>	ízàʼé		zāʼē	záʼèkíflè	zàʼélè	zàʼé
194	<i>tell</i>	ífàʼé		fāʼē	fáʼèkíflè	fàʼélè	fàʼé
195	<i>urinate</i>	índzàṅá		ndzāṅā	ndzāṅàkálè	ndzàṅálè	ndzàṅá
196	<i>weed grass</i>	ísàṅá	nsàṅà	sāṅā	sāṅàkíflè	sàṅálè	sàṅá
197	<i>write</i>	íṅàʼá		ṅāʼā	ṅáʼàkíflè	ṅàʼálè	ṅàʼá
<b>G6</b>	<b>Simple closed</b>						
<b>6H</b>							
199	<i>chew</i>	ítsám	ntʃám	tʃám	tʃām kálè	tʃámlè	tʃá:m
200	<i>deny</i>	ínén		nén	nén kíflè	né:nlè	nén
201	<i>bark</i>	íwǎm		wǎm	wá:m kálè	wámlè	wá:m
202	<i>blow</i>	ítóṅ		tōṅ	tóṅ kálè	tóṅlè	tóṅ
203	<i>bite</i>	ínóm		nóm	nóm kíflè	nómlè	nóm
204	<i>be big</i>	ítʃóṅ		tʃōṅ	tʃóṅ kálè	tʃōṅlè	tʃóṅ
205	<i>buy</i>	ítáj		tāj	tāṅ kálè	táṅlè	táj
206	<i>light / burn incense</i>	ídān		dān	dāṅ kíflè	dā:nlè	dá:n
207	<i>break</i>	íbwín		bwín	bwín kíflè	bwínlè	bwín
208	<i>choose</i>	íkāṅ		kāṅ	kāṅ kíflè	kā:ṅlè	kāṅ
209	<i>carve</i>	íkʷāṅ		kʷāṅ	kʷāṅ kíflè	kʷāṅlè	kʷāṅ
210	<i>selfish</i>	íṅúm		ṅúm	ṅúm kíflè	ṅúmlè	ṅúm
211	<i>escape/ scape rain</i>	ígēn		gēn	gè:ṅ kíflè	gè:nlè	gén
212	<i>dance</i>	íbín		Bín	bí:ṅ kálè	bínlè	bí:n
213	<i>chase away</i>	íkóṅ		kóṅ	kōṅ kíflè	kóṅlè	kó:ṅ
214	<i>find (look for)</i>	ínóṅ		nōṅ	nōṅ kíflè	nóṅlè	nóṅ
215	<i>test</i>	ímōm		mōm	mōm kíflè	mōmlè	mó:m
216	<i>get accident</i>	íbén		bén	bén kíflè	bénlè	bén
217	<i>to be joyful</i>	íláj		lāj	lāj kíflè	lájṅlè	láj
218	<i>kneel</i>	ítóm		tóm	tóm kíflè	tómlè	tó:m
219	<i>knock (door)</i>	íkōm		kōm	kōm kíflè	kōmlè	kó:m
220	<i>look for</i>	ítʃén		tʃēn	tʃēn kíflè		tʃé:n
221	<i>be come old</i>	ídzún		dzūn	dzwí:ṅ kíflè	dzwí:nlè	dzún

222	<i>point torch</i>	íkám		Kám	kām kílè	ká:mlè	ká:m
223	<i>tear open</i>	íbwín		bwín	bwín kílè	bwínlè	bwí:n
224	<i>pay</i>	ígōm		gōm	gō:mkálè	gō:mlè	góm
225	<i>pick (lost)</i>	íbóŋ		bóŋ	bóŋ kílè	bóŋlè	bóŋ
226	<i>remove silently</i>	íjám		jám	jám kálè	já:mlè	já:m
227	<i>sharpen</i>	ífān		fān	fāŋ kálè	fā:ŋlè	fāŋ
228	<i>shine</i>	íbān		bān	bāŋ kálè	bāŋlè	bān
229	<i>send</i>	ífáŋ		fāŋ	fá:ŋ kálè	fá:ŋlè	fá:ŋ
230	<i>squeeze</i>	íkám		Kám	kám kílè	kámlè	ká:m
231	<i>swear</i>	íkān		kān	kān kílè	kā:nlè	ká:n
232	<i>smelt</i>	íb'ōŋ		b'ōŋ	b'ōŋ kílè	b'ō:ŋlè	b'ō:ŋ
233	<i>be still (going on)</i>	íkén		kēn	kēn kálè	kénlè	kén
234	<i>touch</i>	íkōm		kōm	kōm kílè	kō:mlè	kó:m
235	<i>taste</i>	ímōm		mō:m	mōm kílè	mō:mlè	mó:m
236	<i>take (part of)</i>	ítšōm		tšōm	tšōm kílè	tšō:mlè	tšó:m
237	<i>glue</i>	ígōm		gōm	gōm kílè	gōmlè	góm
238	<i>vomit</i>	íjān		yān	yān kílè	jānlè	já:n
239	<i>want</i>	ínáŋ		nāŋ	nāŋ kílè	náŋlè	náŋ
240	<i>whistle</i>	ítóŋ		tóŋ	tó:ŋ kálè	tóŋlè	tó:ŋ
241	<i>be white</i>	íbán		Bán	bá:ŋ kálè	bāŋlè	bá:n
242	<i>work</i>	ínōm		nō:m	nōm kílè	nō:mlè	nó:m
<b>6M</b>							
243	<i>rub excess oil</i>	ídž'ó:m		dž'ó:m	dž'ó:m kálè	dž'ō:mlè	dž'ōm
244	<i>close</i>	íbāŋ		bāŋ	bāŋ kílè	bāŋlè	bāŋ
245	<i>do by hiding</i>	íjám		jām	jām kálè	jámlè	jām
246	<i>dig</i>	ítšōm		tšōm	tšōm kílè	tšōmlè	tšō:m
247	<i>labour (birth)</i>	ínóm		nóm	nó:m kílè	nómlè	nōm
248	<i>jerk, lift up</i>	ígáŋ		gāŋ	gāŋ kílè	gáŋlè	gāŋ
249	<i>light</i>	ídān		dān	dān kílè	dā:nlè	dān
250	<i>like / love</i>	íkōŋ		kōŋ	kōŋ kílè	kóŋlè	kōŋ
251	<i>live</i>	íkén		kēn	kēn kálè	kénlè	kēn
252	<i>tell lies</i>	íwām		wām	wām kálè	wámlè	wām
253	<i>limp</i>	ísáŋ		sāŋ	sāŋ kílè	sá:ŋlè	sāŋ
254	<i>knit</i>	ítóm		tōm	tōm kálè	tómlè	tōm
255	<i>to be troublesome</i>	ínām		nām	nām kálè	nāmlè	nām
256	<i>build house (plaster)</i>	ímá'ám		má'ám	mā'ám kálè	má'ámlè	mā'ām
257	<i>mould</i>	ímá'ám		mā'ám	mā'ám kálè	má'ámlè	m'ām

258	<i>roll fufu (in palm)</i>	ímá'ám		má'ám	mā'āmkálè	má'ámlè	mā'ām
259	<i>disappear</i>	ísán̄		Sán̄	sā:ŋkíflè	sá:ŋlè	sāŋ
260	<i>scatter people</i>	ísāŋ		sāŋ	sā:ŋkálè	sā:ŋlè	sāŋ
261	<i>open eye</i>	íŋám		ŋām	ŋámkíflè	ŋámlè	ŋā:m
262	<i>obstruct</i>	íbán̄		Bán̄	bán̄kíflè	bán̄lè	bāŋ
263	<i>labour push (birth)</i>	íkūn		kūn	kū:nkíflè	kū:nlè	kūn
	<i>dry</i>	íwōm		wōm	wōmkíflè	wómlè	wōm
264	<i>be quiet</i>	íjōm					
265	<i>querrel</i>	índzāŋ					
266	<i>refuse</i>	ínén		nēn	nēnkálè	né:nlè	nēn
267	<i>roast</i>	íwāŋ		wāŋ	wāŋkálè	wāŋlè	wāŋ
268	<i>refuse / deny</i>	ínén		nén	nēnkálè	né:nlè	nēn
269	<i>see</i>	íjén		jēn	jēnkálè	jēnlè	jēn
270	<i>shoot</i>	ítóm		tóm	tómkíflè	tómlè	tōm
271	<i>bewitch</i>	íl'íŋ		l'íŋ	l'íŋkíflè	l'íŋlè	l'íŋ
272	<i>slaughter</i>	íkōm		kōm	kōmkíflè	kōmlè	kōm
273	<i>shout</i>	íwám		wám	wámkíflè	wámlè	wām
274	<i>go (gone far off)</i>	ízūm		zūm	zúmki flè	zú:mlè	zūm
<b>6R</b>							
275	<i>be</i>	ídūŋ		dūŋ	dūŋkíflè	dúŋlè	dūŋ
276	<i>accept</i>	íbōm		bōm	bómki flè	bōmlè	bō:m
277	<i>cross</i>	ídāŋ		dāŋ	dā:ŋkíflè	dā:ŋlè	dā:ŋ
278	<i>be dark</i>	ídzūm		dzūm	dzūmkíflè	dzúmlè	dzūm
279	<i>happen</i>	ídūŋ		dūŋ	dūŋkíflè	dúŋlè	dūŋ
280	<i>omit</i>	ídā:ŋ		dāŋ	dā:ŋkíflè	dā:ŋlè	dā:ŋ
281	<i>sit</i>	ídūŋ		dūŋ	dūŋkíflè	dúŋlè	dūŋ
<b>6HM</b>							
282	<i>put medicine farm</i>	ídāŋ		dāŋ	dāŋkíflè	dā:ŋlè	dā:ŋ
<b>G7</b>	<b>Suffix -ji (ji)</b>						
<b>7H</b>							
283	<i>fan</i>	ífā'ájí		fā'ájí	fā'ájíki flè	fā'ájílè	fā'ájí
<b>7MH</b>							
284	<i>abuse</i>	ítōjí		tōjí	tójíki flè	tójílè	tōjí
285	<i>bargain (price)</i>	ítāŋjí		tāŋjí	tāŋjíki flè	tāŋjílè	tāŋjí
286	<i>burst pepper</i>	wúójí		wúójí	wúójíki flè	wúójílè	wūójí
287	<i>cane</i>	íjāŋājí		jāŋājí	jāŋājíki flè	jāŋājílè	jāŋājí

288	<i>carve (hair on face)</i>	ímājí		mājí	mājíkálè	májílè	mājí
289	<i>clean (spon)</i>	íkājí		kājí	kājíkílè	kájílè	kājí
290	<i>clear little or a bit</i>	ífūjí		fūjí	fūjíkálè	fújílè	fūjí
291	<i>cut into slices</i>	íʃ'ējí		ʃ'ējí	ʃ'ējíkílè	ʃ'ējílè	ʃ'ējí
292	<i>drip</i>	ítā'ājí		tā'ājí	tā'ājíkílè	tā'ājílè	tā'ājí
293	<i>harvest (corn)</i>	íwá'ājí		wā'ājí	wā'ājíkílè	wá'ājílè	wā'ājí
294	<i>hit</i>	ítájí		tājí	tājíkílè	tájílè	tājí
295	<i>horn</i>	ítōnjí		tōnjí	tōnjíkílè	tōnjílè	tōnjí
296	<i>yerk (several times)</i>	ígōnjí		gōnjí	gōnjíkílè	gōnjílè	gōnjí
297	<i>loosen</i>	íʃ'w'ājí		ʃ'w'ājí	ʃ'w'ājíkálè	ʃ'w'ājílè	ʃ'w'ājí
298	<i>nail</i>	íbájí		bājí	bājíkálè	bājílè	bājí
299	<i>pluck (feather grave)</i>	íbājí		bājí	bājíkálè	bájílè	bājí
300	<i>ride</i>	ínājí	hñàjì	nājí	nājíkílè	nájílè	nājí
301	<i>scarify</i>	ítsā'ājí		tsā'ājí	tsā'ājíkílè	tsā'ājílè	tsā'ājí
302	<i>sew (with hand)</i>	ík'ōjí		k'ōjí	k'ōjíkílè	k'ójílè	k'ōjí
303	<i>sex</i>	íb'w'ānjí		b'w'ānjí	b'w'ānjíkílè	b'w'ānjílè	b'w'ānjí
304	<i>shout</i>	íwāmjí		wāmjí	wāmjíkílè	wámjílè	wāmjí
<b>7R</b>							
305	<i>arrange headhouse</i>	íb'w'ājí		b'w'ājí	b'w'ājíkílè	b'w'ājílè	b'w'ājí
306	<i>be weak</i>	íbōjí		bōjí	bōjíkálè	bójílè	bōjí
307	<i>demolish/scatter</i>	íʃ'á'ājí		ʃ'ā'ājí	ʃ'á'ājíkílè	ʃ'á'ājílè	ʃ'á'ājí
<b>7FH</b>							
308	<i>be calling</i>	íbê:jí		bê:jí	bê:jíkílè	bê:jílè	bê:jí
309	<i>cry</i>	ídājí		dājí	dājíkílè	dājílè	dājí
310	<i>deceive</i>	ífūjí		fūjí	fūjíkílè	fújílè	fūjí
311	<i>fall (several times)</i>	ígbōjí		gbōjí	gbōjíkílè	gbōjílè	gbōjí
312	<i>harvest (pears)</i>	íkòjí		kòjí	kòjíkílè	kòjílè	kòjí
313	<i>knock</i>	ítʃ'ó'òjí		tʃ'ó'òjí	tʃ'ó'òjíkílè	tʃ'ó'òjí	tʃ'ó'òjí
314	<i>mud (plaster house)</i>	ímājí		mājí	mājíkílè	mājílè	mājí
315	<i>mulch</i>	ílōejí		lōejí	lōejíkílè	lōejílè	lōejí
316	<i>peel (cook cocoyam)</i>	íwōjí		wōjí	wōjíkílè	wōjílè	wōjí
317	<i>peel (ripe banana)</i>	íwējí		wējí	wējíkálè	wējílè	wējí
318	<i>pinching</i>	ín'w'ājí		n'w'ājí	n'w'ājíkílè	n'w'ājílè	n'w'ājí
319	<i>remove (palmnuts)</i>	ífá'ājí		fá'ājí	fá'ājíkílè	fá'ājílè	fá'ājí
320	<i>select (vegetables)</i>	íkājí		kājí	kājíkílè	kájílè	kājí
321	<i>transport (corn)</i>	íbá'ājí		bā'ājí	bá'ājíkílè	bá'ājílè	bá'ājí

<b>G8</b>	<b>Suffix - li</b>						
<b>8H</b>							
322	<i>argue</i>	fbáʋálf		bāʋālī	bāʋālikílfè	báʋálfífè	báʋálf
323	<i>embrace</i>	fkê:lf		kē:lī	ké:líkfífè	ké:lífífè	ké:lf
324	<i>exchange</i>	fkūlī	ñkùlì	kūlī	kú:líkfífè	kúlífífè	kú:lf
<b>8MH</b>							
325	<i>be happy</i>	ísāŋlf	ñsāŋlì	sāŋlī	sāŋlókálfè	sāŋlífífè	sāŋlf
326	<i>be short</i>	ídʒùlf		dʒùlī	dʒùlíkfífè	dʒùlífífè	dʒùlf
327	<i>by pass (diff. roads)</i>	ítsēlf		tsēlī	tsēlíkfífè	tsēlífífè	tsēlf
328	<i>carry</i>	ítōʋōlf		tōʋōlī	tōʋōlíkfífè	tōʋōlífífè	tōʋōlf
329	<i>change</i>	fkū:lf		kū:lī	kūlíkfálfè	kúlífífè	kū:lf
330	<i>collect (rain in pot)</i>	ílōʋōlf		lōʋōlī	lōʋōlíkfífè	lóʋólfífè	lōʋōlf
331	<i>compare</i>	íʃʌlf		ʃʌlī	ʃʌlíkfífè	ʃʌlífífè	ʃʌlf
332	<i>destroy, spoil</i>	fbáʋálf		bāʋālī	báʋálikílfè	báʋálfífè	bāʋālf
333	<i>forget</i>	ídā:lī		dā:lī	dā:líkfífè	dá:lífífè	dā:lf
334	<i>hurry</i>	ífɔblī		fɔblī	fɔblíkfífè	fɔblífífè	fɔblf
335	<i>imitate</i>	íʃʌlf		ʃʌlī	ʃʌ:líkfífè	ʃʌlífífè	ʃʌlf
336	<i>lean</i>	íjəʋálf		jəʋālī	jəʋālikálfè	jəʋálfífè	jəʋālf
337	<i>listen</i>	íwōʋōlf		wōʋōlī	wóʋólikílfè	wóʋólfífè	wōʋōlf
338	<i>massage</i>	ídʒəʋálf		dʒəʋālī	dʒəʋálikílfè	dʒəʋálfífè	dʒəʋālf
339	<i>mix (raw corn beer)</i>	ítʃʷálf		tʃʷālī	tʃʷálikílfè	tʃʷálfífè	tʃʷā:lf
340	<i>press</i>	ídʒəʋálf		dʒəʋālī	dʒəʋálikílfè	dʒəʋálfífè	dʒəʋālf
341	<i>quarrel</i>	bɪʋálf		bɪʋālī	bɪʋálikílfè	bɪʋálfífè	bɪʋālf
342	<i>quarrel</i>	íjɔlì					
343	<i>roll fufu (in hand)</i>	ítʃʷálf		tʃʷālī	tʃʷálikílfè	tʃʷálfífè	tʃʷā:lf
344	<i>show cup (to take)</i>	ílōʋōlf		lōʋōlī	lōʋōlíkfífè	lóʋólfífè	lōʋōlf
345	<i>smile</i>	íjɔmlī		jɔmlī	jóumlíkfífè	jɔ:mlífífè	jɔmlf
<b>8HMH</b>							
346	<i>destroy</i>	fbáʋálf		bāʋālī	báʋálikílfè	báʋálfífè	báʋālf
347	<i>frustrate</i>	fbáʋálf		bāʋālī	báʋálikílfè	báʋálfífè	báʋālf
348	<i>miscarriage</i>	fbáʋálf		bāʋālī	báʋálikílfè	báʋálfífè	báʋālf
<b>8FH</b>							
349	<i>divide</i>	ígâ:lf		gâ:lī	gâ:likálfè	gâ:lífífè	gâ:lf
350	<i>eat slimmy soup</i>	ídʒɔmlf		dʒɔmlī	dʒɔmlíkfífè	dʒɔmlífífè	dʒɔmlf
351	<i>fly</i>	ífû:lf		fû:lī	fû:likílfè	fû:lífífè	fû:lf
352	<i>labour (birth)</i>	ídʒɔmlf		dʒɔmlī	dʒɔmlíkfífè	dʒɔmlífífè	dʒɔmlf
353	<i>level</i>	ítáʋálf		tāʋālī	táʋálikílfè	tāʋálfífè	táʋálf



383	<i>join (people)</i>	ítʃəŋní		tʃəŋnī	tʃəŋníkálè	tʃəŋnílè	tʃəŋní
384	<i>joke, play</i>	ínēnní		nēnnī	nénníkílè	nénnílè	nēnní
385	<i>learn</i>	ílāní		lānī	láníkálè	lánílè	lāní
386	<i>mix fish / oil, stir</i>	ífū:ní		fū:nī	fú:níkálè	fú:nílè	fū:ní
387	<i>return</i>	íʔēní		ʔēnī	ʔéníkílè	ʔénílè	ʔēní
388	<i>scratch</i>	íkʷāní		kwānī	kwáníkílè	kwánílè	kwā:ní
389	<i>search</i>	ínəŋní		nəŋnī	nəŋníkílè	nəŋnílè	nəŋní
390	<i>sell</i>	ítāŋní		tāŋnī	tāŋníkálè	tāŋnílè	tāŋní
391	<i>sink</i>	ímíní		míní	míníkílè	mínílè	mīnī
392	<i>wander about</i>	íyānní	ɲyānnì	yā:nnī	yānníkílè	yānnílè	yānní
<b>9FH</b>							
393	<i>be long</i>	ídəŋəní		dəŋənī	dəŋəníkílè	dəŋənílè	dəŋəní
394	<i>bring-up (child)</i>	ítòŋòní		tòŋònī	tóŋònikílè	tóŋònílè	tóŋòní
395	<i>colide</i>	ítʃúʋòní		tʃúʋònī	ítʃúʋònikílè	ítʃúʋònílè	ítʃúʋòní
396	<i>gather</i>	íjòŋní		jòŋnī	jòŋníkílè	jòŋnílè	jòŋní
397	<i>greet</i>	íbē:ní		bē:nī	bê:níkílè	bê:nílè	bē:ní
398	<i>measure</i>	ífəʋəní		fəʋənī	fəʋənikílè	fəʋənílè	fəʋəní
399	<i>mix soft/strong shar</i>	ífûnní		fûnnī	fûnníkílè	fûnnílè	fûnní
400	<i>nod head (agree)</i>	ínəʋə̀nì		nəʋə̀nī	nəʋə̀nikílè	nəʋə̀nílè	nəʋə̀ní
401	<i>prostitute</i>	íjânnì		jânnī	jânníkálè	jânnílè	jânní
402	<i>shake</i>	ínəʋə̀nì		nəʋə̀nī	nəʋə̀nikílè	nəʋə̀nílè	nəʋə̀ní
403	<i>stir</i>	ínəʋə̀nì		nəʋə̀nī	nəʋə̀nikílè	nəʋə̀nílè	nəʋə̀ní
404	<i>touch</i>	ím̀d̀mní					
405	<i>travel</i>	íj̀à̀nì		j̀à̀nī	j̀à̀nikílè	j̀à̀nílè	j̀à̀ní
9FL							
406	<i>guide</i>	ítóʋòní		tóʋònī	tóʋònikílè	tóʋònílè	tóʋòní
<b>9R</b>							
407	<i>shift</i>	íkìní		kīnī	kíníkílè	kínílè	kìní
<b>G10</b>	<b>Suffix - hi</b>						
<b>10H</b>							
408	<i>dress someone</i>	ílápsí~-hí		lāpsī	lāpsíkílè	lāpsílè	lāpsí
409	<i>finish</i>	íkāhí		kāhī	kāhíkílè	ká:hílè	ká:hí
10M							
410	<i>bring down</i>	íʃəʋəhí		ʃəʋəhī	ʃəʋəhíkílè	ʃəʋəhílè	ʃəʋəhī
411	<i>extinguish</i>	íj̀ò̀mhí		j̀ò̀mhī	j̀ò̀mhíkílè	j̀ò̀mhílè	j̀ò̀mhī
<b>10MH</b>							



444	<i>agree</i>	íkènhí		kēnhī	kēnhìkílè	kēnhílè	kēnhí
445	<i>align</i>	íkènhí		kēnhī	kēnhìkílè	kēnhílè	kēnhí
446	<i>announce (talk loud)</i>	íláʷàhí		lāʷāhī	láyàhìkílè	láyàhílè	láyàhí
447	<i>arrange (xylophone)</i>	íkēnhí		kēnhī	kēnhìkílè	kēnhílè	kēnhí
448	<i>be light (weight)</i>	íjāṅhí		jāṅhī	jāṅhìkílè	jāṅhílè	jāṅhí
449	<i>clear with hoe</i>	ísàhí		sāhī	sāhìkílè	sāhílè	sāhí
450	<i>cultivate</i>	íkāhí		kāhī	kā:hìkílè	kāhílè	kāhí
451	<i>deny by head nod</i>	ídzəṅhī		dzəṅhī	dzəṅhìkílè	dzəṅhílè	dzəṅhí
452	<i>end</i>	ígóʷhí		góʷhī	góʷhìkílè	góʷhílè	góʷhí
453	<i>fill</i>	ídzəʷhí		dzəʷhī	dzəʷhìkílè	dzəʷhílè	dzəʷhí
454	<i>guess</i>	íkāṅhí		kāṅhī	kāṅhìkílè	kāṅhílè	kāṅhí
455	<i>inherit a widow</i>	ínòhí		nòhī	nòhìkílè	nòhílè	nòhí
456	<i>loan</i>	ífʷāhí		fʷāhī	fʷāhìkílè	fʷāhílè	fʷāhí
457	<i>lost something</i>	íláʷàhí		lāʷāhī	láyàhìkílè	láyàhílè	láyàhí
458	<i>minimise (thing/gift)</i>	ísēnhí		sēnhī	sēnhìkílè	sēnhílè	sēnhí
459	<i>minimise person</i>	ídzīnhí		dzīhī	dzīnhìkílè	dzīnhílè	dzīnhí
460	<i>prune palm tree</i>	íkēnhí		kēnhī	kēnhìkílè	kēnhílè	kēnhí
461	<i>put on (light)</i>	ídzòmhí		dzòmhī	dzòmhìkílè	dzòmhílè	dzòmhí
462	<i>reply</i>	ífí sí ~_hí		fí sí	fí síkílè	fí sílè	fí sí
463	<i>scrape</i>	íkʷòhí		kʷòhī	kʷòhìkílè	kʷòhílè	kʷòhí
464	<i>show</i>	ítʃʷíhí		tʃʷíhī	tʃʷíhìkílè	tʃʷíhílè	tʃʷíhí
465	<i>spy (listen secretly)</i>	ífəʷhí		fəʷhī	fəʷhìkílè	fəʷhílè	fəʷhí
466	<i>swing</i>	ídzəṅhí		dzəṅhī	dzəṅhìkílè	dzəṅhílè	dzəṅhí
467	<i>try, test</i>	ímòmhí		mòmhī	mòmhìkílè	mòmhílè	mòmhí
468	<i>turn (cooked huckleberry in a pot)</i>	ífí sí ~ ífíhí		fí sí	fí síkílè	fí sílè	fí sí
<b>G11</b>	<b>Suffix - fi</b>						
<b>11MH</b>							
469	<i>advise</i>	ítəfí		təfí	təfíkílè	təfílè	təfí
470	<i>be head off (mad)</i>	íjòṅfí		jòṅfí	jòṅfíkílè	jòṅfílè	jòṅfí
471	<i>beat bitterly</i>	íʃúfí		ʃúfí	ʃúfíkílè	ʃúfílè	ʃúfí
472	<i>carry (cup)</i>	ísəfí		səfí	səfíkílè	səfílè	səfí
473	<i>hang</i>	íwāfí		wāfí	wāfíkílè	wāfílè	wā:fí
474	<i>mismanage</i>	ídzāfí		dzāfí	dzāfíkílè	dzāfílè	dzāfí
475	<i>peak</i>	ítʃúfí		tʃúfí	tʃúfíkílè	tʃúfílè	tʃúfí
476	<i>teach</i>	ítəfí		təfí	təfíkílè	təfílè	təfí

477	<i>yawn</i>	íyíffí		yī:fí	yí:fí:kíflè	yí:fíflè	yī:fí
<b>11FH</b>							
478	<i>dress self</i>	íláffí		lāfí	láfí:kíflè	lāffíflè	lāffí
<b>G12</b>	<b>Suffix - ti</b>						
<b>12H</b>							
479	<i>get</i>	ík <sup>w</sup> átí		k <sup>w</sup> ātī	k <sup>w</sup> átí:kíflè	k <sup>w</sup> átíflè	k <sup>w</sup> átí
<b>12MH</b>							
480	<i>arrange matters</i>	íbā <sup>v</sup> ātí		bā <sup>v</sup> ātī	bā <sup>v</sup> átí:kíflè	bā <sup>v</sup> átíflè	bā <sup>v</sup> ātí
481	<i>help</i>	ígām <sup>tí</sup>		gām <sup>tí</sup>	gā:m <sup>tí</sup> :kíflè	gām <sup>tí</sup> flè	gām <sup>tí</sup>
482	<i>incubate (egg)</i>	íkū <sup>v</sup> ōrī		kū <sup>v</sup> ōrī	kū <sup>v</sup> ōrī:kíflè	kū <sup>v</sup> ōrīflè	kū <sup>v</sup> ōrī
	<i>incubate (egg)</i>	íkō <sup>k</sup> tī		kō <sup>k</sup> tī	kō <sup>k</sup> tī:kíflè	kō <sup>k</sup> tīflè	kō <sup>k</sup> tī
483	<i>pack</i>	íbā <sup>v</sup> átí		bā <sup>v</sup> ātī	bā <sup>v</sup> átí:kíflè	bā <sup>v</sup> átíflè	bā <sup>v</sup> ātí
484	<i>pet (child)</i>	ílō <sup>p</sup> tī		lō <sup>p</sup> tī	lō <sup>p</sup> tí:kálè	lō <sup>p</sup> tíflè	lō <sup>p</sup> tí
485	<i>rest</i>	ímó <sup>tí</sup>		mō <sup>tí</sup>	mó <sup>tí</sup> :kíflè	mō <sup>tí</sup> flè	mō <sup>tí</sup>
486	<i>sharpen stick</i>	ísē <sup>p</sup> tí		sē <sup>p</sup> tī	sē <sup>p</sup> tí:kíflè	sē <sup>p</sup> tíflè	sē <sup>p</sup> tí
487	<i>think</i>	ítʃə <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>tí</sup>		tʃə <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>tí</sup>	tʃə <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>tí</sup> :kíflè	tʃə <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>tí</sup> flè	tʃə <sup>v</sup> ə <sup>tí</sup>
488	<i>transfer</i>	íbā <sup>v</sup> à <sup>tí</sup>		bā <sup>v</sup> ātī	bā <sup>v</sup> átí:kíflè	bā <sup>v</sup> átíflè	bā <sup>v</sup> ātí
489	<i>turn into evil spirit</i>	íbó <sup>v</sup> útí		bó <sup>v</sup> ūtī	bó <sup>v</sup> útí:kíflè	bó <sup>v</sup> útíflè	bó <sup>v</sup> ūtí
<b>12FH</b>							
490	<i>remember</i>	íjə <sup>ŋ</sup> tí		jə <sup>ŋ</sup> tī	jə <sup>ŋ</sup> tí:kálè	jə <sup>ŋ</sup> tíflè	jə <sup>ŋ</sup> tí
491	<i>think</i>	ík <sup>w</sup> á <sup>k</sup> tí		k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>k</sup> tī	k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>k</sup> à <sup>tí</sup> :kíflè	k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>k</sup> à <sup>tí</sup> flè	k <sup>w</sup> á <sup>k</sup> à <sup>tí</sup>
<b>G13</b>	<b>Suffix - mɪ</b>						
<b>13H</b>							
492	<i>hold head(sign of bad news)</i>	íkō <sup>m</sup> mí		kō <sup>m</sup> mī	kō <sup>m</sup> mí:kíflè	kō <sup>m</sup> míflè	kō <sup>m</sup> mí
<b>13MH</b>							
493	<i>groan</i>	ídʒō <sup>m</sup> mí		dʒō <sup>m</sup> mī	dʒō <sup>m</sup> mí:kíflè	dʒō <sup>m</sup> míflè	dʒō <sup>m</sup> mí
494	<i>hide</i>	ínō <sup>m</sup> mí		nō <sup>m</sup> mī	nō <sup>m</sup> mí:kíflè	nō <sup>m</sup> míflè	nō <sup>m</sup> mí
495	<i>stretch</i>	ínā <sup>m</sup> mí		nā <sup>m</sup> mī	nā <sup>m</sup> mí:kálè	nā <sup>m</sup> míflè	nā <sup>m</sup> mí
<b>13FH</b>							
496	<i>be thick</i>	ítʃō <sup>m</sup> mí		tʃō <sup>m</sup> mī	tʃō <sup>m</sup> mí:kíflè	tʃō <sup>m</sup> míflè	tʃō <sup>m</sup> mí
497	<i>wake up (sleep)</i>	íj <sup>ɔ</sup> mmí		j <sup>ɔ</sup> mmī	j <sup>ɔ</sup> mmí:kálè	j <sup>ɔ</sup> mmíflè	j <sup>ɔ</sup> mmí
<b>G14</b>	<b>Suffix - bɪ</b>						
<b>14</b>							

<b>MH</b>							
498	<i>clot, coagulate</i>	ítābī		tābī	tābíkílè	tábílè	tābí
499	<i>fix (njamanjama)</i>	ísābī		sābī	sābíkílè	sábílè	sābí
<b>G15</b>	<b>Suffix - jí</b>						
<b>15R</b>							
500	<i>break–huge part fufu</i>	íwājí		wājí	wājíkílè	wájílè	wàjí
501	<i>heat partially</i>	íwājí		wājí	wājíkílè	wájílè	wàjí
<b>G16</b>	<b>Suffix - wí</b>						
<b>16</b>							
<b>MH</b>							
502	<i>hunt</i>	íb'əŋwí		b'əŋwī	b'əŋwíkílè	b'əŋwílè	b'əŋwí
<b>G17</b>	<b>Suffix - sò</b>						
<b>17FL</b>							
503	<i>wrestle</i>	ímōmsò		mōmsò	mō:mkísò mōmkíflèsò	mōmlèsò:	mōmsò:
<b>G18</b>	<b>Compound verbs</b>						
504							
<b>18H</b>	<i>awake (death)</i>	ídzá: kpī		dzá: kpī	dzá:kílè kpī:	dzá:lè kpì:	dzá: kpī:
505		mā		mā	mā	mā	mā
<b>18</b>	<i>be fast</i>	íkōmhī fē		kōmhī fē	kōmhīkí fē:kílè	kómhífēlè	kōmhífē
<b>MHM</b>							
506							
<b>M</b>	<i>be well done</i>	ífē bìnōŋ		fē bìnōŋ	fēkílè bìnōŋ	fēlè bìnōŋ	fē bìnōŋ
507							
508	<i>do same</i>	íbóŋ fē		bóŋ fē	bóŋkè fēkèlè bóŋkà fēkálè	bóŋ fēlè	bóŋ fē
509	<i>give date</i>	ídū tōyō					
600	<i>harvest honey</i>	ídzí nǔ		dzī nǔ:	dzī:kílè nǔ:	dzí:lè nǔ	dzí ì nǔ
601	<i>imprison</i>	ítsē nsəŋ		tsē nsəŋ	tsəkálè nsəŋ	tsəlè nsəŋ	tsé nsəŋ
602	<i>keep standing</i>	ídōŋ bá		dōŋ bá mbēn	dóŋkí bákí mbēn	dóŋ mbá á mbēn	dōŋ bá: mbēn
607	<i>liberate, set free</i>	íjà tóyó		yā tóyó	yákí tóyókálè	yā tóyólè	yā tōyō
608	<i>lie down</i>	ínāmmí gù		nāmmī gù	nāmmíkálè gù	nāmmílè gù	nāmmí gù
609	<i>miscarriage</i>	íbá'əlí tō		bə'əlí tō	bá'əlíkálè tō	bá'əlílè tō	bá'əlí tō
610	<i>mismanage property</i>	ítjín bə'əlí		tjín bə'əlí	tjín	tjín	tjín

					bə̃vəlɪkólə̀	bə̃vəlɪfələ̀	bə̃vəlɪf
611	<i>mulch</i>	íbáŋkí tóŋ					
612	<i>pull out</i>	ígúú bílí		gū̃vū bílā	gúúkí bílíkí	gúú bílí	gúú bílí
613	<i>remain</i>	íbándzǐ		bā̃.ndzǐ	bá:kìndzíkìl è	bā̃.ndzǐlè	bā̃.ndzǐ
614	<i>tell lies</i>	íwám ntə̃və̀		wām ntə̃və̀	wā:mkólə̀ ntə̃və̀	wámlə̀ ntə̃və̀	wám ntə̃və̀
615	<i>give thank</i>	íjǎ kǐjǝŋní		jǎ kǐjǝŋní	jǎkí kǐjǝŋní	jǎl kǐjǝŋní	jǎ kǐjǝŋní
616	<i>vex, get angry</i>	íbóvòhí tō		bòvòhì tó	bóvòhìkí tó	bóvòhí tó	bóvòhí tō
617	<i>warn</i>	ídzō: fí					
<b>G</b>	<b>Suffix - hə</b>						
adverb	<i>be slow</i>	ítə̀hə̀		tə̀hə̀	tə̀hətə̀hə̀	tə̀hə̀	tə̀hə̀

### Appendix 4: Some Mbuk Nouns according to recording order

<i>Mbuk Words, according to recorded order; Mbuk4Nn-31MAY2015-NT-1-ZM33.MP3 (01/06/15)</i>						
No.	Record time	Noun: Singular/Plural	Prefixes Sg / pl	Concord sg / pl	N. class sg / pl	gloss
00001	00:56	gbā / gbá]	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	bushfowl, partridge
00002	01:11	ńkōŋō / ńkóŋó (19:14rep)	∅- / ∅-	k'- / b'	7 / 8	bone
00003	01:27	kìtàn / bìtàn	kì- / bì-	k'- / b'	7 / 8	hut
00004	01:36	gbó'ú / kìgbó'ú	∅- / kì-	w'- / b'	5 / 7a, 5/8	gun
00005	01:42	káká / bìkáká (18:25rep)	∅- / bì-	k'- / b'	7 / 8	leg
00006	01:51	tsèn / tsê:n	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	arm
00007	01:58	dzō'ō / dzó'ó	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	penis
00008	02:06	filán / mlán	fì- / m-	f- / m'	19 / 6a	clay pot
00009	02:16	dā / bīdā	∅- / bī-	w'- / b'	5 / 8	vagina
00010	02:24	gbú / g'wú	∅- / ∅-	w'- / ǰ'	3 / 4	foot
00011	02:33	kígá:lí / bígá:lí	kí- / bí-	k'- / b'	7 / 8	broom
00012	02:42	nā: / bānā:	∅- / bā-	w'- / b'	1 / 2	mother
00013	03:00	ŋgānì / bíŋgānì	∅- / bí-	k'- / b'	7 / 8	earth worm
00014	03:08	bā: / bābā:	∅- / bā-	w'- / b'	1 / 2	father
00015	03:15	nókà / kínókà	∅- / kí-	w'- / k'	5 / 7a (27)	grinding stone
00016	03:24	tsǎ: / tsá:	∅' / ∅'	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	tyre (car)
00017	03:33	fīntām / mntām	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	fruit
00018	03:39	džòm / džòm	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	tiger
00019	03:46	bīkām / bābīkām	∅- / bā-	w'- / b'	1 / 2	lion
00020	03:52	dzòŋ / dzòŋ	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	antelope
00021	03:57	fīmkwā / mīmkwā	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	deer
00022	04:03	dzàkà / dzàkà	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	hippopotamus
00023	04:10	kībókó / bībókó	kì- / bì-	k- / b'	7 / 8	chimpanzee
00024	04:19	tsā: / tsá:	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	baboon
00025	04:25	bjākā / bjáká	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	cane-rat
00026	04:32	kūm / kúm	∅- / ∅-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	python

00027	04:38	kīgā: / bīgā:	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	mat
00028	04:46	mbəŋ / bəmbəŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	walking stick, staff
00029	04:53	dzǔ: / dzú	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	snake
00030	04:58	kīkpā: / bīkpā:	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	lizard
00031	05:02	kīmgbê:mgbèlí / bīmgbê:mgbèlí	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	millipede
00032	05:12	gbā: / kígbā:	ø- / kí-	w- / k-	5 / 7a (27)	ceiling
00033	05:17	tʃɔ̃ʋ / tʃɔ̃ʋ	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	zinc
00034	05:29	kʷā / kʷá (47:37)	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	forest
00035	05:36	fīʷjāʷbú / m̄ʷjāʷbú	fī- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	sand
00036	05:42	tā: / kītā:	ø- / kī-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	batteries
00037	05:48	kībā <sup>ɔ̃</sup> / bībā <sup>ɔ̃</sup>	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	table
00038	05:53	bʷám / kíbʷám	ø- / kí-	w- / k-	5 / 7a (27)	cup
00039	05:59	kífó / bífó	kí- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	cap
00040	06:06	bá: / bībá:	ø- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	palm nut
00041	06:14	sōm / kīsōm	ø- / kī-	w- / k-	5 / 7a (27)	palm tree
00042	06:21	kīʷgəʷgəŋ / bīʷgəʷgəŋ	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	sugarcane
00043	06:27	fùlówà / bəfùlówà	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	flower
00044	06:33	bjə / bjé	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	dog
00045	06:39	kpəŋə / kīkəŋə	ø- / kī-	w- / k-	5 / 7a (27)	pot
00046	06:48	kīʷtākà / bīʷtākà	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	spoon
00047	06:53	kīʷfākà / bīʷfākà (01:02:51)	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	comb
00048	06:59	fīʷbāŋ / m̄ʷbāŋ	fī- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	nail
00049	07:06	fānī / fání	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	pin, nail
00050	07:15	gā:lì / bīgā:lì	ø- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 10	pen
00051	07:22	ŋfəŋə / bīŋfəŋə	ø- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	long-mouth-rat
00052	07:30	kīŋkólì / bīŋkólì	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	rat
00053	07:35	dā: / kídā: ~ bídā:	ø- / kí- ~ bī-	w-/k-~k- /b-	5/7a ~ 7/8	bridge
00054	07:48	nāŋ / bīnāŋ ~ kīnāŋ	ø- / bī- ~ kí-	k-/b-~w- /k-	7/8 ~ 5/7a	bed

00055	08:02	kākō / bikākō [kōʷ]	ø- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	camwood
00056	08:08	bī: / bí (14:01 repeats)	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	goat
00057	08:14	bəkək / bəkək [bəʷə/bəʷə]	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	fish
00058	08:19	ǰā / ǰá	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	fowl
00059	08:24	ŋŋgəsí / ŋgəsí	ø- / ø-	w- / ǰ-	3 / 4	cowries
00060	08:51	dzö: / dzú	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	house
00061	08:56	ñʷāŋ / ñʷáŋ	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	ground, soil
00062	09:02	gʷù / gʷú: (15:30 repeats)	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	body
00063	09:07	dzüm / dzóm (17:31 repeat)	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	back
00064	09:13	dzù / dzú: (15:35 repeats)	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	skin
00065	09:19	bòʷò / bóʷò ~ bóʷò	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	stream, river
00066	09:24	ʃʷǎŋ ~ (ʃʷāŋ) / ʃʷáŋ	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	sheep
00067	09:34	ǰī / ǰí	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	market
00068	09:40	dzəŋə / dzəŋə	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	hole
00069	09:48	dzǎ: / dzǎ {diff.come}	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	road
00070	09:53	fǰpēnī ~ fǰpēnī / mǰpēnī	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	bird
00071	09:59	fímós / mímós	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	cat
00072	10:03	fǰntē:nī / mǰntē:nī	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	palm rat
00073	10:08	kǰpēn / kēn	ø- / ø-	w- / ǰ-	3 / 4	tree
00074	10:19	dzín / dzín vf.tone	ø- / ø-	w- / ǰ-	3 / 4	tooth
00075	10:25	dzəŋ / dzəŋ	ø- / ø-	w- / ǰ-	3 / 4	corn
00076	10:29	gʷáŋ / gʷáŋ	ø- / ø-	w- / ǰ-	3 / 4	bamboo
00077	10:35	gʷàgʷá / bəgʷàgʷá	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	duck
00078	10:43	mì: / bəní:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	person
00079	10:52	ǰúò / bəǰúò:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	cutlass
00080	10:58	ǰùò / bəǰùò	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	gods
00081	11:07	tāsā~tāhā / bətāhā	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	dish
00082	11:24	búŋ~mbúŋ / bəbúŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	dress, cloth
00083	11:29	wāŋ / bʷā (11:36 repeat)	ø- / ø-	w- / b-	1 / 2	child
00084	11:40	kǰləkǰ / bǰləkǰ	kǰ- / bǰ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	potato
00085	11:53	kǰkōKō / bikōkō	kǰ- / bǰ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	bat

00086	12:03	kì <sup>n</sup> gbókò / bì <sup>n</sup> gbókò kìgbò <sup>v</sup> ò / bìm <sup>n</sup> gbò <sup>v</sup> ò	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	chair
00087	12:11	kìŋ <sup>w</sup> àní / bìŋ <sup>w</sup> àní	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	plantain
00088	12:16	kìŋ <sup>w</sup> àkti / bìŋ <sup>w</sup> àkti (58:40)	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	book
00089	12:22	kìmàamá / bìmàamá	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	caterpillar
00090	12:26	lùŋgá / bəlùŋgá	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	bucket
00091	12:32	fìmfí: / ìmfí:	fì- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	underwear
00092	12:38	mblāŋ / bəmbblāŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	blanks
00093	12:48	fīndəŋ / ìndəŋ	fī- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	fig tree
00094	12:54	fìmkāŋ / ìmkāŋ	fì- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	oath
00095	12:59	fìmkāŋ / ìmkāŋ	fì- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	k.o tree
00096	13:07	ndzēní / bìndzēní	ø- / bì-	w- / b-	5 / 8	leaf
00097	13:15	tsá: / bítsá: (24:01repeat)	ø- / bī-	j- / b-	4 / 8	medicine
00098	13:22	fì <sup>n</sup> gbǎ:bàŋ / ì <sup>n</sup> gbǎ:bàŋ	fì- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	guava
00099	13:28	mbǎ:ŋ / bəmbǎ:ŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	fence
00100	14:07	mbù <sup>n</sup> dàm / bəmbù <sup>n</sup> dàm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	potato(syn.)(58:54)
00101	14:13	ŋgóŋ / kíŋgóŋ	ø- / kí-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	spear
00102	14:17	kítótóm / bìtótóm ~ kintómtóm	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	indian bamboo
00103	14:22	lām / bəlām	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	lamp
00105	14:27	kìntáptáŋ / bìntáptáŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	box
00106	14:32	kəfí / bəkəfí	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	coffee
00107	14:38	fíkóm / ìkóm	fí- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	knife
00108	14:44	kìnánás / bìnánás	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	pinapple
00109	14:53	má:ŋgù / bəmə:ŋgù	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	mangoe
00110	14:58	mfóm / bəmfóm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	phone
00111	15:02	mìkpàŋá / bəkáŋá	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	wife
00112	15:09	fìmbì: / ìmbì:	fì- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	colanut
00113	15:15	kīmbā: / bìmbā:	kī- / bī-	k- / b-	7 / 8	umbrella
00114	15:23	fìndzəŋə / ìndzəŋə	fì- / ì-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	clitoris
00115	15:41	jí / bíjí ~ kījí (hh > lh)	ø- / bì- ~ k-	k- / b-	7/8 ~ 5/7a	face

00116	15:58	<sup>n</sup> dzǔ: / kǐ <sup>n</sup> dzǔ:	ø- / kǐ- ~ bì-	w' / k'	5/7a ~ 7/8	<i>nose</i>
00117	16:12	<sup>n</sup> tǔ:mí / bì <sup>n</sup> tǔ:mí	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>ear</i>
00118	16:22	dè:lí / bìdè:lí	ø- / bì-	w' / b'	5 / 8	<i>cheek</i>
00119	16:29	dzáká / bídzá <sup>v</sup> á	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>mouth</i>
00120	16:33	h̄nō:mí / bì <sup>n</sup> ō:mí	ø- / bì-	w' / b-	5 / 8	<i>tongue</i>
00121	16:38	kǐ <sup>n</sup> bǎ:ŋ / bì <sup>n</sup> bǎ:ŋ	kǐ- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>jaw</i>
00122	16:42	mākà / bí <sup>m</sup> ākà	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>neck</i>
00123	16:48	dè:lí / kǐdè:lí	ø- / bi- (ki-)	w- / b-	5 / 8 (5/7a)	<i>beard</i>
00124	16:53	kǐdzòm / bìdzòm	kǐ- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>chest</i>
00125	16:58	mbē:n / mbē:n	ø- / ø-	w' / j'	3 / 4	<i>breast</i>
00126	17:09	bālī / bí <sup>b</sup> ālī	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>waist</i>
00127	17:15	tsǎ: / tsǎ:	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	<i>navel</i>
00128	17:22	tó / bìtó ~ kító	ø- / bì-	w- / b-	5/8 ~ 5/7a	<i>stomach</i>
00129	17:38	tòŋ / tóŋ	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	<i>buttocks</i>
00130	17:49	kǐŋkǎŋkǎŋ / bìŋkǎŋkǎŋ	kǐ- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>armpit</i>
00131	17:57	h̄kǎmni / b̄h̄kǎmni	ø- / b̄-	w̄- / b̄-	1 / 2	<i>wrist</i>
00132	18:03	kpà: / kà:	ø- / ø-	w' / j'	3 / 4	<i>hand</i>
00133	18:09	kǐŋkò / bìŋkò	kǐ- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>boxing</i>
00134	18:15	nǐjòŋ / b̄nǐjòŋ	ø- / ø-	w̄- / b̄-	1 / 2	<i>knuckle</i>
00135	18:25	kākā / káká (01:42 rep)	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>leg</i>
00136	18:34	dzǎŋ / dzǎŋ	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	<i>thigh, lap</i>
00137	18:38	kǐŋpō / bìŋpō	kǐ- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>knee</i>
00138	18:44	ntākā / b̄ntākā	ø- / b̄-	w̄- / b̄-	1 / 2	<i>shin</i>
00139	18:53	f̄ikōkō / m̄kōkō	f̄i- / m̄-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	<i>ankle</i>
00140	19:03	g <sup>w</sup> ūf / g <sup>w</sup> ūf	ø- / ø-	w' / j'	3 / 4	<i>foot</i>
00141	19:14	mkōŋō / bí <sup>m</sup> mkōŋō	ø- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>bone</i>
00142	19:17	kímōŋ / bí <sup>m</sup> ōŋ	kǐ- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>bone marrow</i>
00143	19:22	bjélí / bjélí	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	<i>rib</i>
00145	19:28	kímōŋ / bí <sup>m</sup> ōŋ	kǐ- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>brain</i>
00146	19:32	ǰōm / ǰōm	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	<i>heart</i>
00147	19:37	ǰākālī / ǰākālí	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ'	9 / 10	<i>liver</i>

00148	19:50	mbjǎ́ / mbjá	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ́-	9 / 10	<i>kidney</i>
00149	19:58	lǎ / lá	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>intestine</i>
00150	20:09	fǐmbú / mǐmbú	fǐ- / mǐ-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	<i>gall bladder</i>
00151	20:19	mgbǎ́ŋ / ŋǎ́ŋ	ø- / ø-	w´ / ǰ́-	3 / 4	<i>vein</i>
00152	20:25	mǐndzǎŋ	mǐ-	m-	6a	<i>saliva</i>
00153	20:33	kǐŋf´wǎ́ / bǐŋf´wǎ́	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>phlegm</i>
00154	20:40	kǐŋf´wǎ́ / bǐŋf´wǎ́	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>nasal mucus</i>
00155	20:46	ŋǎ́ŋ / ŋǎ́ŋ	ø- / ø-	w´ / ǰ́-	3 / 4	<i>root</i>
00156	20:55	fǐndóm / mǐndóm	fǐ- / mǐ-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	<i>tears</i>
00157	21:23	fǐmbú / mǐmbú	fǐ- / mǐ-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	<i>bile, gall</i>
00158	21:30	ndzǎŋǎnǐ / bǐndzǎŋǎnǐ	ø- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>semen</i>
00159	21:37	kǐmbín / bǐmbín	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>faeces</i>
00160	21:44	móm / bǎmòm	ø- / bǎ-	w` / b`-	1 / 2	<i>taste</i>
00161	21:51	ŋk`òŋ / b`èŋk`òŋ	ø- / b`-	w` / b`-	1 / 2	<i>mountain</i>
00162	21:56	ŋǎŋlǐ / b`èŋǎŋlǐ	ø- / b`-	w` / b`-	1 / 2	<i>crawl</i>
00163	22:01	fǐndóŋò / mǐndóŋò	fǐ- / mǐ-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	<i>pimple</i>
00164	22:13	kǎŋnǐ / bǐkǎŋnǐ	ø- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>barren woman</i>
00165	22:20	kǐmfǐ / bǐmfǐ	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>blind</i>
00166	22:30	kǐntǐŋnǐ / bǐntǐŋnǐ	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>deaf</i>
00167	22:36	m`è ~ mjè (01:03:09)	m-	m-	6a	<i>oil</i>
00168	22:40	ŋkākā (58:35 repeats)	ŋ-	ǰ́-	4	<i>salt</i>
00169	22:45	ŋkākā / ŋkǎ`á	ŋ-	ǰ- / ǰ́-	9 / 10	<i>jigger</i>
00170	22:54	m`á	m-	m-	6a	<i>blood</i>
00171	22:57	dzǎŋ	ø-	ǰ́-	4	<i>rain</i>
00172	23:01	dz`ǎŋ / dz`ǎŋ	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ́-	9 / 10	<i>disease, sickness</i>
00173	23:07	ntǐŋò / ntǐŋó	ø- / ø-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>hunchback</i>
00174	23:14	kǐŋkǎblǐ / bǐŋkǎblǐ	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>cripple</i>
00175	23:25	mǐwǐdzòlǐ / bǎnǐbǎdzòlǐ	ø- / bǎ-	w` / b`-	1 / 2	<i>dwarf</i>
00176	23:34	kǐmgbǎ́ŋ / bǐmgbǎ́ŋ	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>giant</i>
00177	23:42	kǐndzǐŋ / bǐndzǐŋ	kǐ- / bǐ-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>stupid person</i>
00178	23:47	mǐwǐdzǎ:lǐ / bǎnǐ:bǎdzǎ:lǐ	ø- / bǎ-	w` / b`-	1 / 2	<i>mad person</i>

00179	23:55	ntʃúkú / bəntʃúkú	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	heal / cure
00180	24:08	ndzónì / bìndzónì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	abscess
00181	24:15	kìmò: / bìmò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	swelling
00182	24:24	mǎí / bəmǎí	ø- / bə-	ø- / b-	7 / 8	burn
00183	24:56	kìndòŋ / bìndòŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	goiter
00184	25:01	bjàkǎ / bjǎkǎ	ø- / ø-	ǎ- / ǎ́-	9 / 10	wound, sore
00185	25:08	kímgbǎ: / bímgbǎ:	kí- / bí-	k- / b-	7 / 8	pus
00186	25:15	kìmò: / bìmò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	elephantiasis
00187	25:23	kìkàkàlǎ / bìkàkàlǎ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	ringworm
00188	25:30	kìŋkòmǎ / bìŋkòmǎ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	leprosy
00189	25:37	g̃w̃ùf / g̃w̃ùf	ø- / ø-	ǎ- / ǎ́-	9 / 10	fever
00190	25:42	nìlò / bènìlò	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	pain
00191	25:47	njàŋ / bènjàŋ	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	vomit
00192	25:52	f̃w̃ū / bìf̃w̃ū	ø- / bì-	w̃- / b̃-	5 / 8	headache
00193	25:59	tʃūō / tʃúó (01:13:43)	ø- / ø-	ǎ- / ǎ́-	9 / 10	diarrhoea
00194	26:05	mkpàkà / bəmkpàkà	ø- / ø-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	scabies
00195	26:10	dʒw̃àbí / bìdʒw̃àbí	ø- / bì-	w̃- / b̃-	5 / 8	menstrual period
00196	26:25	tó / bitó	ø- / bì-	w̃- / b̃-	5 / 8	pregnant
00197	26:29	mbə̀və̀lì / bə̀mbə̀və̀lì	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	miscarriage
00198	26:33	mbə́və́ / bə̀mbə́və́	ø- / bə	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	give birth
0199	26:38	sòmì / sómì	ø- / ø-	ǎ- / ǎ́-	9 / 10	young / youth
00200	26:46	kpǎ / kpǎjí	ø- / -jí	ǎ- / ǎ́-	9 / 10	death
00201	26:52	ŋk̃w̃àktì / bə̀ŋk̃w̃àktì	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	think
00202	26:59	mbôm / bə̀mbôm	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	believe
00203	27:08	mbò:m	ø-	b-	8	size
00204	27:14	nlanì / bə̀nlaní	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	teach
00205	27:20	kìnsàŋlǎ / bìnsàŋlǎ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	happy/joy
00206	27:28	nsòŋú / bə̀nsòŋù	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	laugh
00207	27:34	ŋf̃é:n	ø-	ǎ́-	4	sad
00208	27:40	ndə̀: / bə̀ndə̀:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	cry
00209	27:44	ŋf̃ín	ø-	ǎ́-	4	sorrow

00210	27:50	κἰγγῶ:mnì / βἰγγῶ:mnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>shame</i>
00211	27:59	nlóá / bènulóá	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>fear</i>
00212	28:14	ηγγῶmì / βἠγγῶmì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>frighten</i>
00213	28:19	κἰγγᾶηή / βἰγγᾶηή	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>proud</i>
00214	28:27	ηκῶkḥì / βἠηκῶkḥì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>respect</i>
00215	28:33	ηκῶkḥì / βἠηκῶkḥì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>honour</i>
00216	28:39	κἰηκῶη / βἰηκῶη	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>love</i>
00217	28:43	kìmbàrḥnì / bìmbàrḥnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>hatred</i>
00218	28:53	kìmbàrḥ / bìmbàrḥ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>hatred</i>
00219	28:58	nsènḥì / bènnsènḥì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>neglect</i>
00220	29:06	náη / bènónη	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>desire, want</i>
00221	29:13	bǎ / bəmbá	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>choose</i>
00222	29:19	mbám / bəmbám	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>abstain</i>
00223	29:25	mbì: / bəmbì:	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>allow, permit</i>
00224	29:31	né:n / bènén	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>forbid</i>
00225	29:39	nsánnì / bènnsánnì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>plan, decide</i>
00226	29:46	mḍmhí / bḍmḍmhì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>try</i>
00227	29:50	ntsā / bəntsā	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>succeed</i>
00228	29:55	mgbò / bəmgbò	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>fail</i>
00229	29:59	ηkwā:jì / βἠηkwā:jì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>pretend</i>
00230	30:14	nnô:ní / bḥnnô:ní	ø- / bì-	ẉ- / ḅ-	5 / 8	<i>kind</i>
00231	30:23	ηrᾶ / βἠηrᾶ (rᾶ:ní)	ø- / bì-	ẉ- / ḅ-	5 / 8	<i>generous</i>
00232	30:46	ηróm / βἠηróm	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>selfish</i>
00233	30:57	ηrōmnì	ø-	b-	8	<i>selfish</i>
00234	31:04	ntʃúó / bḥntʃúó	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>honest</i>
00235	31:09	mbākēlì / bḥmbākēlì	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>corrupt</i>
00236	31:13	ntókú / bḥntʃókú	ø- / bə-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	<i>pound</i>
00237	31:21	tʃù:	ø-	b-	8	<i>wicked</i>
00238	31:25	ndzāη / ndzāη	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	<i>fierce</i>
00239	31:33	κἰγγᾶkè / βἰγγᾶkè	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>jealousy</i>
00240	31:40	ʃḥ:m / ʃḥm	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	<i>courageous</i>

00241	31:45	lúí:	ø-	b-	8	<i>laziness</i>
00242	31:51	ηkàṅà jóm / b̀ηkàṅà jóm	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>patience</i>
00243	31:56	nlà <sup>v</sup> è fú / b̀nlà <sup>v</sup> è fú	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>stubborn</i>
00244	32:01	kífù: / b̀ífù:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>hardship, poor</i>
00245	32:08	bilòṅ	bi-	b̀-	8	<i>hardship</i>
00246	32:18	ntf̀òk̀k̀lì / b̀èntf̀òk̀k̀lì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>respond, reply</i>
00247	32:23	ηgỳǎk̀í / b̀ηgỳǎk̀í	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>suffer</i>
00248	32:30	ntàhì / b̀èntàhì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>obstruct</i>
00249	32:37	ηgỳǎk̀í / b̀ηgỳǎk̀í	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>danger</i>
00250	32:42	ηgỳǎk̀í / b̀ηgỳǎk̀í	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>problem</i>
00251	32:48	mì: / b̀ónì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>human being</i>
00252	32:56	mī	ø-	ẁ-	1	<i>self</i>
00253	33:02	ṅòk̀ú / b̀áṅòk̀ú	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>man/male</i>
00254	33:18	wān / b̀á <sup>v</sup> á	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>fetus</i>
00255	33:29	wáṅ / b̀á <sup>v</sup> á	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>baby</i>
00256	33:36	k̀intóm̀nì / b̀intóm̀nì	k̀ì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>twin</i>
00257	33:44	wān / b̀ẁ <sup>v</sup> ā	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>child</i>
00258	33:53	ẁāṅṅòk̀ùní / b̀ <sup>w</sup> áb̀āṅṅòk̀ùní	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>boy</i>
00259	34:00	ẁāṅk̀áṅàní / b̀ <sup>v</sup> áb̀āṅk̀áṅàní	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>girl</i>
00260	34:18	k̀òk̀ólì	∅	b-	8	<i>adult</i>
00261	34:23	ηgāmì / b̀ηgāmì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>elder</i>
00262	34:29	m̀ìẁìdz̀q̀íṅì / b̀ónìb̀èdz̀q̀íṅì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>old person</i>
00263	34:36	t̀òṅj̀ìdz̀ù: / t̀òṅj̀ìdz̀ù:	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	<i>relative</i>
00264	34:49	ηk̀ <sup>w</sup> úsà / b̀èηk̀ <sup>w</sup> úsà	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>ancestor</i>
00265	34:58	t̀í:b̀á: / b̀èt̀í:b̀á:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>grandparent</i>
00266	35:03	b̀á: / b̀èb̀á:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>father</i>
00267	35:06	ẁāṅṅǹé / b̀ <sup>w</sup> āb̀áné	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>brother</i>
00268	35:12	dz̀èṁì / dz̀éṁì	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	<i>sister</i>
00269	35:18	ẁónà: / b̀èẁónà:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>uncle</i>
00270	35:24	ẁāṅṅínè / b̀ <sup>w</sup> āb̀ánìb̀ánè:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>aunt, mother's sister</i>

00271	35:40	wàṛnńíbà: / bʷáʷàbèńíbáá: wàṛnńíbà: / bʷáʷàbèńíbà:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	aunt, father's sister
00272	36:02	wáṛdʒəmì / bʷáʷábédʒəmí	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	cousin
00273	36:11	kimbʷə: / bimbʷə:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	descendant
00274	36:28	wáṛwáṛ / bʷáʷáábábʷáʷá	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	grandchild
00275	36:39	wáṛdʒəmì / bʷáʷábédʒəmí	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	nephew
00276	36:45	jǎ / bíjǎ	ø- / bi-~kɪ	w̃- / k̃-	5 / 7a	name
00277	36:55	kʷí / bəkʷí	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	name sake
00278	37:00	mǎkə / bəmǎkə	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	in-law
00279	37:07	kpáká / káká	ø- / ø-	w̃- / j̃-	3 / 4	fellow-wife
00280	37:14	níkpaṅá / bèníkpaṅá	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	sister-in-law
00281	37:34	ṛómwáṛ / nóʷòbèbʷá:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	son-in-law
00282	37:44	kpaṅkʷù / bákáṅàbèṅkʷù:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	widow
00283	37:50	ṛómṅkʷù / bəṛómṅkʷù	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	widower
00284	37:58	tómí / bítómí	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	clan
00285	38:06	tòṅjídʒò: / tòṅjídʒò:	ø- / ø-	j̃- / j̃-	9 / 10	family
00286	38:12	nsē:n / nsé:n	ø- / ø-	w̃- / j̃-	3 / 4	friend
00287	38:37	ṅkòmḥí / bèṅkòmḥí	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	neighbour
00288	38:42	kimbàṛnńí / bimbàṛnńí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	enemy
00289	38:50	ntáṅnì / bèntáṅnì	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	traitor
00290	38:55	dʒí / bədʒí	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	thief
00291	38:58	mìwìntóm / bóní:béntóm	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	messenger
00292	39:04	kìṅjòṅnì / bìṅjòṅnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	crowd
00293	39:09	ṅkúṅ / bèṅkúṅ	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	chief, Fon
00294	39:13	mfà: / bəmfà:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	slave
00295	39:17	mìwìkxá: / bóní:bákxá:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	farmer
00296	39:22	mìwìbjíṅwí:/bóní:bábjíṅwí:	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	hunter
00297	39:40	ṅfānì / ṅfānì (kínfānì)	ø- / ø-	w̃- / k̃-	5 / 7a	weaver
00298	39:49	mìwìkòmńí / bóní:bákòmńí	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	butcher
00299	40:01	wáṛwìnčm / bʷáʷáábónčm	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	servant
00300	40:09	mbòʷòkífó / bəmbòʷòkífó	ø- / bə-	w̃- / b̃-	1 / 2	gendarme

00301	40:16	mbòʋòfú / bəmbòʋòfú	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	gendarme
00302	40:22	mìwìtsǎ: / bóní:wìtsǎ:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	traditional healer
00303	40:34	tsí / bətsí	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	sorcerer
00304	40:51	tsí / bətsí	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	witchcraft
00305	41:11	mbāŋhí / bəmbāŋhì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	meet
00306	41:17	nlàkà / bənlàkà	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	invite
00307	41:21	mbì: / bəmbì:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	abandon
00308	41:25	gɛ:n/bəŋgɛn, ŋgɛn/bəŋgɛn	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	flee, escape
00309	41:51	mjùgúʋòní/bóní:bógúʋòní múkɔŋ / bámúkɔŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	drive
00310	42:03	ljíŋ	ø-	w-	4	same
00311	42:16	tjí	ø-	b-	8	different
00312	42:19	kìmbwáhi / bìmbwáhi	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	resemble
00313	42:28	ŋjǎli / bəŋjǎli	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	initiate
00314	42:33	ŋkòŋ / bəŋkòŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	admire
00315	42:38 43:10	kìntʃó:ŋni / bìntʃó:ŋni kìndzɔŋ / bìndzɔŋ kìndzòŋni / bìndzòŋni	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	admiration
00316	43:18	mkrén / bəmkren	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	befit, suit
00317	43:25	dʒjá / bídzjá ~ kídzjá	ø- / bì-	w- / b-	5 / 8	language
00318	43:38	dʒjà / dʒjá	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	word
00319	43:44	ndzǎkə / bəndzǎkə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	say, talk
00320	43:50	dʒjà / dʒjá	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	voice
00321	43:56	ndzǎkəji / bəndzǎkəji	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	whisper
00322	44:03 44:12	ŋwúli / bəŋwúli wúli / wúli ~ kìwúli	ø- / bə- ø- / kɪ-	w- / b- w- / k-	1 / 2 5 / 7a	shout, cry out
00323	44:22	ntǎkə / bəntǎkə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	chat
00324	44:30	ntǎkə	ø-	b-	8	lies
00325	44:40	ntʃúŋ	ø-	ʃ-	4 or 10	lies telling
00326	44:43	mʃjɔ:ŋ	ø-	w-	1	quiet
00327	44:48	mbə: / bəmbə:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	call someone

00328	44:54 45:03	nlàkà / bènllàkà ntsə:hì / bəntsə:hì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	announce
00329	45:12	ntōm / bəntōm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	news
00330	45:17	mfəkə / bəmfəkə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	explain
00331	45:31	ntəfi / bəntəfi	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	advice
00332	45:36	ntəfi / bəntəfi	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	teach
00333	45:41	nlāni / bənlāni	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	learn
00334	45:44	ntʃóŋ	ø-	ʃ-	4	gossip
00335	45:52	ŋpélí / kɪŋpélí	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	gossip
00336	46:01	mbíkə / bəmbíkə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	ask
00337	46:09	mbíkə / bəmbíkə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	request
00338	46:13	ntsá / bəntsá	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	plead
00339	46:19	ntʃókúli / bəntʃókúli	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	answer
00340	46:23	kɪjòŋni / biɔjòŋni	kɪ- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	thanks
00341	46:28	mbôm / bəmbôm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	answer
00342	46:33	ŋkàkà / bəŋkàkà	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	promise
00343	46:37	m̀kă:ŋ	m-	m-	6a	corn beer, shar
00344	46:41	mkàŋ / bəmkàŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	swear
00345	46:44	ntɔji / bəntɔji	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	insult, abuse
00346	46:51	ŋʃɔ:ŋ	ø-	ʃ-	4	slander
00347	47:08	ŋʃəŋ	ø-	ʃ-	4	slander
00348	47:13	mfáhì / bəmfáhì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	threaten
00349	47:19	mfáhì / bəmfáhì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	plan
00350	47:26	ŋgòmhi / bəŋgòmhi	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	threaten
00351	47:37	kʷá / bikʷá ~ kwā / kwá	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	forest
00352	47:42	bā: / bá:	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	space
00353	47:46	gbě: ~ mgbè / bəmgbè	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	plant
00354	47:53	ŋgòvòli / bəŋgòvòli	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	argue
00355	47:57	nsóŋji / bənsóŋji	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	grumble
00356	48:03	nně:n / bənně:n	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	contradict
00357	48:07	nně:n / bənně:n	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	deny

00358	48:10	mbòm / bəmbòm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	admit
00359	48:13	kimb'íká / bimb'íká	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	question
00360	48:18	njá'ási / bənjá'ási	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	praise
00361	48:29	mbóhì / bəmbóhì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	bless
00362	48:36	kijòṅnì / bijòṅnì	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	congratulate
00363	48:42	mfəkè / bəmfəkè	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	recount
00364	48:51	mfəkè / bəmfəkè	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	pastor
00365	48:56	kìtʃü:m / bìtʃü:m	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	story
00366	49:00	ṅgəfi / bəṅgəfi	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	yawn
00367	49:14	ndzəkəwifì:/bəndzəkəbáfì:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	proverb
00368	49:18	ndzəká / bəndzəká	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	speech
00369	49:22	mbáṅnì / bəmbáṅnì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	embrace
00370	49:27	má / bəamá	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	kiss
00371	49:32	ntòkò / bəntòkò	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	have sex
00372	49:38	máhì / bəmáhì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	suckle, nurse
00373	49:45	ṅəṅlì / bəṅəṅlì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	tickle
00374	49:56	nt <sup>w</sup> ájɲ / bənt <sup>w</sup> ájɲ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	spank, beat
00375	50:02	ʃəṅá / bəṅʃəṅə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	whip
00376	50:08	ṅgàmti / bəṅgàmti	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	help
00377	50:11	mfjíg / bəmfjíg	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	help
00378	50:16	təṅəní / bəntəṅəní	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	protect
00379	50:21	ṅkókú / bəṅkókú	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	bring up a child
00380	50:25	ntsə:ṅgá: / bəntsə:ṅgá:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	dominate
00381	50:32	kílá:ṅ / bìlá:ṅ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	order, law
00382	50:39	ntʃí / bəntʃí	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	order, law
00383	50:46	nəm / bənəm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	duty, obligation
00384	50:55	mfájɲ / bəmfájɲ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	send
00385	50:58	ntòkə̀nì / bəntə̀və̀nì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	lead, guide
00386	51:06	mbì: / bəmbì:	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	follow
00387	51:11	njá'áhì / bənjá'áhì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	obey
00388	51:19	mfú:lì / bəmfú:lì	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	satisfy

00389	51:23	mfùŋjì / bəm̀fùŋjì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>deceive</i>
00390	51:27	ndzáŋ / b̀̀ndzáŋ	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>quarrel</i>
00391	51:31	dʒúò / bídʒúò	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>fight</i>
00392	51:39	mbʷà / b̀̀mbʷà	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>stab</i>
00393	51:54	mwóó / b̀̀mwóó	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>kill, murder</i>
00394	52:04	ntókólì / b̀̀ntʃókólì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>take revenge</i>
00395	52:09	ntʃõŋõ / bíntʃõŋõ	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>ticks</i>
00396	52:20	ŋkà:hì / b̀̀ŋkà:hì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>resolve, settle</i>
00397	52:30	ŋkènhi / b̀̀ŋkènhi	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>resolve, settle</i>
00398	52:36	ntíhi / b̀̀ntíhi	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>resolve, settle</i>
00399	52:57	ndzò:dfi / b̀̀ndzò: df	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>mediator</i>
00400	53:00	ntʃúó / b̀̀ntʃúó	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>stealing</i>
00401	53:04	nsàkà / b̀̀nsàkà	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>judge</i>
00402	53:10	ntʃə̀phì / b̀̀ntʃə̀phì	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>punish, penalty</i>
00403	53:28	nô:ní / bíno:ní	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i> dwell, inhabit</i>
00404	53:42	nsə̀ŋ / b̀̀nsə̀ŋ (01:01:23)	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>bracelet, bangle</i>
00405	53:50	dàlá / b̀̀dàlá	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>robe, man's gown</i>
00406	53:55	ntò: / b̀̀ntò:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>pierce</i>
00407	53:59	nlò: / b̀̀nlò:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>plait, braid (hair)</i>
00408	54:06	lók / b̀̀lók	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>lock</i>
00409	54:20	fúwínóŋ / bìfúwínóŋ	ø- / bì-	ẁ- / b̀-	5 / 8	<i>luck</i>
00410	54:32	fjē / kífjē	ø- / kí-	ẁ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	<i>month</i>
00411	54:40	fī / kífī	ø- / kí-	ǰ- / ḱ-	9 / 7a	<i>week</i>
00412	54:56	mbjə̀ŋə / b̀̀mbjə̀ŋə	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>hour</i>
00413	55:05	fímbjə̀ŋə / mímbjə̀ŋə	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	<i>black wasp</i>
00414	55:12	kìŋkʷáŋ / bìŋkʷáŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>wasp</i>
00415	55:18	ŋàkà / b̀̀ŋàkà	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>writing</i>
00416	55:21	mfà: / b̀̀mfà:	ø- / b̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	<i>read</i>
00417	55:23	kìmfín / bìmfín	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	<i>cocoyam</i>
00418	55:28	tʃʷén / kíʃʷén	ø- / kí-	ẁ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	<i>bitterleaf</i>

00419	55:33	nəŋ / kínəŋ	ø- / kí-	w´ / k´	5 / 7a	vegetable
00420	55:40	ntótò / bəntótò ~	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	pepper
	55:46	ntórò / bəntórò				
00421	55:52	bjá: / bəbjá:	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	pear
00422	55:55	lál:kò / bəlál:kò	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	cassava
00423	56:06	kínʃàŋʃàŋ / bínʃàŋʃàŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	pumpkin
00424	56:13	plóm / bəplóm	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	plum
00425	56:24	dzà / dzâ	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ´	9 / 10	porcupine
00426	56:28	kìkʷô: / bìkʷô:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	toad
00427	56:38	ʃàŋwí / bəʃàŋwí	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	frog
00428	56:42	fíntám / m̄mtám	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	cocoa
00429	56:46	fímbí: / m̄mbí:	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	orange
00430	56:52	nsəŋ / bənsəŋ	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	handle
00431	56:56	nsəŋ / bənsəŋ	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	tap wine
00432	57:00	nsàlà / bənsàlà	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	needle
00433	57:04	fíntʃóm / m̄tʃóm	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	shoe needle
00434	57:11	bjākā / bjáká	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ´	9 / 10	traditional basket
00435	57:20	kà: / kâ:	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ´	9 / 10	basket
00436	57:35	ŋgòm / bəŋgòm	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	payment
00437	57:38	kìndzìŋndzìŋ / bìndzìŋndzìŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	picture
00438	57:44	wèlì / bíwèlì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	peeling
00439	57:54	nífjə / bənífjə	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	hen
00440	58:17	kókò / bíkókò	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	cock
00441	58:21	fímfíntʃóŋ / m̄mfíntʃóŋ	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	insect
00442	58:28	ntání / bìntání	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	grasshopper
00443	58:32	mbí: / bəmbí:	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	world
00444	58:44	fìŋkómì / m̄ŋkómì	fì- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	chameleon
00445	58:48	mfəkə / bəmfəkə	ø- / bə-	w` / b`	1 / 2	measuring meter
00446	58:58	kímgbè:lí / bímgbè:lí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	native carrot

00447	59:02	fɪntʃóŋní / mntʃóŋní	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	groundnut
00448	59:08	bá:	ø-	ǰ-	4	egusi
00449	59:17	ntsāntsāŋ	ø-	ǰ-	4	egusi
00450	59:31	mkrə̀kə̀	ø-	ẁ-	1	blow (clean nose)
00451	59:40	ŋɪjə̀: / bə̀ŋɪjə̀:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	move away
00452	59:47	dzəm / dzəm	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	grave
00453	59:53	ŋgàŋlì / bə̀ŋgàŋlì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	cliff
00454	59:59	təmí / bìtəmí	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	country, ethnic
00455	01:00:09	dʒí: / bídʒí:	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	frontier
00456	01:00:19	kòlí / bìkòlí	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	tùŋjìjìʒ / túŋjìjìʒ	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	naked
00460	01:00:39	búŋwìbʷɛ:n/bə̀búŋbábʷɛn	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	trouser
00461	01:00:48	búŋwìbʷɛ:n/bə̀búŋbábʷɛn búŋùbʷɛ:n	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	loin cloth
00462	01:01:01	dántʃíkí / bə̀dántʃíkí	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	robe traditional
00463	01:01:11	dzò / dzò	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	shoe, sandal
00464	01:01:26	fɪnsə̀ŋ / mnsə̀ŋ	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	ring
00465	01:01:41	kìntà: / bìntà: (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	ndi:jì / bə̀ndi:jì	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	apply
00468	01:02:20	nsóʷ / bə̀nsóʷ	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	wipe off excreta
00469	01:02:32	ntéŋjì / bə̀ntéŋjì	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-	ẁ- / ḱ-	5 / 7a	razor
00472	01:02:56	kìntʃíkí / bìntʃíkí	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	toothbrush
00473	01:03:02	dzɛn / bídzɛn	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	food
00474	01:03:12	ɲàm / ɲàm	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	meat
00475	01:03:26	ɲjǎ: / bə̀ɲjǎ:	ø- / bə̀-	ẁ- / b̀-	1 / 2	fat

00476	01:03:31	dzúá / kídžúá	ø- / kí-	w´ / k´	5 / 7a	soup, broth
00477	01:03:42	dzūō / dzúó	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ´	9 / 10	pap, mushy food
00478	01:03:58	kimbín / bimbín	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	excreta
00479	01:04:01	ɲū / ɲú	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ´	9 / 10	honey
00480	01:04:13	mòkù		m-	6a	cornflour
00481	01:04:27	ŋkʷáfɔ̃m / bəŋkʷáfɔ̃m	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	breakfast
00482	01:04:35	kìnláŋ / bìnláŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	feast
00483	01:04:41	bəká / bəmbəkà	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	spoil
00484	01:04:46	mbà: / bəmbà:	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	guinea corn
00485	01:04:52	mfòm̀tì / bəmfòm̀tì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	mould
00486	01:04:56	mbê:n / mmbê:n	ø- / ø-	w´ / ǰ´	3 / 4	milk
00487	01:05:04	mbî: / kimbî:	ø- / kí-	w´ / k´	5 / 7a	beer
00488	01:05:12	ndjə / bəndjə	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	prepare
00489	01:05:21	ŋkámhì / bəŋkámhì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	tiny
00490	01:05:42	mbəʋáɫì / bəmbəʋáɫì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	cut open fruit
00491	01:06:00	ɲǰéǰì / bəɲǰéǰì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	slice
00492	01:06:04	mfòm̀nì / bəmfòm̀nì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	mix
00493	01:06:09	nəŋə̀nì / bənəŋə̀nì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	stir
00494	01:06:17	ŋgək̀k̀ / bəŋgək̀k̀	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	grind
00495	01:06:23	ŋgək̀k̀ / bəŋgək̀k̀	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	seed
00496	01:06:37	mbáǰì / bəmbáǰì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	uproot
00497	01:06:42	ŋwàŋ / bəŋwàŋ	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	roast
00498	01:06:50	ŋkág / bəŋkág	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	fry
00499	01:06:55	mfú / bəmfú	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	bake (in ashes)
00500	01:07:13	ɲòkù / bəɲòkù	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	smoke
00501	01:07:13	ɲǰì / bəɲǰì	ø- / bə-	wˀ- / bˀ-	1 / 2	boil (water)
00502	01:07:33	fíŋgá:lí / míŋgá: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	dzíkə / dzíkə	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ´	9 / 10	hoe
00505	01:08:04	fíndžóǰú / mndžóǰú	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	dove

00506	01:08:09	tʃūō / tʃúó	ø- / ø-	ʃ̣- / ʃ̣'	9 / 10	latrine
00507	01:08:16	fɪnsə̀ŋ / m̩nsə̀ŋ	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	motorbike
00508	01:08:31	kʷù / bəkʷù	ø- / bə̀-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	rope
00509	01:08:34	nsòyò / bə̀nsòyò	ø- / bə̀-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	bottle
00510	01:08:42	nsòyò / bə̀nsòyò	ø- / bə̀-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	point at someone
00511	01:08:47	fɪndzópá / m̩ndzópá	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	saucer
00512	01:08:54	nà / bənà	ø- / bə̀-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	cow
00513	01:08:58	tʃǎ:ŋ / kɪtʃǎ:ŋ	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	guitar
00514	01:09:04	tʃǎŋnī / kɪtʃǎŋnī	ø- / kɪ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	belt
00515	01:09:10	kikú:m / bikú:m	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	horse
00516	01:09:15	kígá: / bígá:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	mat
00517	01:09:19	dzóyò / bídzóyò	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	yam
00518	01:09:24	ndzǐ: / bíndzǐ: ~ kíndzǐ:	ø- / bí ~ kɪ-	ẉ- / ḅ' ~ ḳ'	5 / 7a	sweet yams
00519	01:09:32	kɪntʃùò / bɪntʃùò	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	river
00520	01:09:37	ɲwá'ɲ / ɲwá'ɲ	ø- / ø-	ʃ̣- / ʃ̣'	9 / 10	brick
00521	01:09:47	fóyó / bífóyó ~ (kífókó)	ø- / bi-	ẉ- / ḳ'	5 / 8	axe
00522	01:09:55	dzǔ:	ø-	ʃ̣-	9	thatching grass
00523	01:10:03	tsǎ: / tsá:	ø- / ø-	ʃ̣- / ʃ̣'	9 / 10	vehicle
00524	01:10:08	ŋkám / bə̀ŋkám (mkám)	ø- / bə̀	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	carriage
00525	01:10:18	kpálákpàlà/bək̀pálákpàlà	ø- / bə̀-	ẉ- / ḅ-	1 / 2	bamboo mat
00526	01:10:25	kɪntò: / bɪntò:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	sickle
00527	01:10:29	kɪŋkí: / bɪŋkí:	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	bamboo chair
00528	01:10:36	fóyó / bífóyó	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	soldier ants
00529	01:10:43	dzɔ̃m / dzóm	ø- / ø-	ʃ̣- / ʃ̣'	9 / 10	war
00530	01:10:56	fɪmgbà / m̩mgbà	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	she-goat
00531	01:11:00	fímí / bífímí	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	he-goat
00532	01:11:05	bjǎ / bjé ~ bjá	ø- / ø-	ʃ̣- / ʃ̣'	9 / 10	dog
00533	01:11:11	wá / bìwá	wi- / bi-	ẉ- / ḅ'	5 / 8	sanction cane
00534	01:11:18	kɪŋgà: / bɪŋgà: ~	kì- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	calabash (carry)

		kìngʷə / bìngʷə				shar)
00535	01:11:37	ŋgā	ø-	b-	8	power
00536	01:11:41	kìrú / bìrú	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	knee
00537	01:11:44	fíndóŋə / ríndóŋə	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	pimple
00538	01:11:49	ntàm / bəntàm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	metre
00539	01:11:55	kìntʃìni / bìntʃìni	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	deaf person
00540	01:11:59	mjùdzä:lī/bóníbádzä:lī	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	mad person
00541	01:12:05	kìndzìŋ / bìndzìŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	stupid person
00542	01:12:10	bjəʷə / bjəʷə	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	wound
00543	01:12:16	kìndəŋ / bìndəŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	goiter
00544	01:12:23	kàm / kām	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	concave rivercliff
00545	01:12:36	kàm / bəkàm	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	front juju
00546	01:12:41	bəʷə / bíbəʷə	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	calabash
00547	01:12:49	bú:	ø-	b-	8	wood ash
00548	01:12:55	kóni / bíkóni	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	stick corn
00549	01:13:04	nsəfí / bənsəfí	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	calabash (sharing shar)
00550	01:13:12	ndāŋ / bəndāŋ	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	k.o tree
00551	01:13:18	dzò:lí / dzó:lí	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	mushroom
00552	01:13:24	bjəŋə / bjəŋə ~ bíbjəŋə	ø- / ø- ~ bi-	w- / b-	5 / 8	net basket (fish)
00553	01:13:38	bəʷəjìgʷa¹n/bókòjìgʷa¹n	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	raffia bush
00554	01:13:57	kìkàkàlí / bìkàkàlí	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	ringworm
00555	01:14:04	kʷú: / bìkʷú:	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	raffia nuts
00556	01:14:10	mbi:	m-	m-	6a	raffia wine
00557	01:14:26	ʃəʷə / bíʃəʷə (01:14:49)	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	bamboo stalk
00558	01:14:37	ʃəʷə / ʃəʷə	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	wingless termites
00559	01:15:02	fjəŋkí / fjəŋkí ~ fjəŋkí	ø- / ø-	ʃ- / ʃ-	9 / 10	termites
00560	01:15:07	fínʃán / mʃán	fi- / m-	f- / m-	19 / 6a	seed
00561	01:15:17	nténni / bənténni	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	ridge boundary
00562	01:15:34	wólí / kíwólí	ø- / kí-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	furrow

00563	01:15:43	ndzòkó / ndzókó	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	elephant stalk
00564	01:15:50	bómí / bìbómí	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	ridge
00565	01:16:01	fú	ø-	w-	3 or 5	mbambara groundnuts
00566	01:16:05	ɲùò	ø-	w-	1	god
00567	01:16:14	mbā / bīmbā	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	fufu biscuit
00568	01:16:23	gbâ / kígbâ:	ø- / ki-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	ceiling
00569	01:16:28	nsǔ / kǐnsǔ:	ø- / ki-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	fireside stone
00570	01:16:37	kpóŋ / kíkpóŋ	ø- / ki-	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	kǐnsòmhi / bìnsòmhi	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	stick soup (spoon)
00573	01:17:06	fókó / bífókó	w- / b-	w- / b-	5 / 8	stick fufu (pestle)
00574	01:17:15	tóŋ / kítóŋ	ø- / kí-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	fireside
00575	01:17:19	ŋkòŋ / kǐŋkòŋ	ø- / kǐ-	w- / k-	5 / 7a	love
00576	01:17:27	kǐntǐŋgòŋ / bìntǐŋgòŋ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	Amaranthus
00577	01:17:34	dǎŋə / bədǎŋə	ø- / bə-	w- / b-	1 / 2	okra
00578	01:17:28	kǐnsəkə / bìnsəkə	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	sieve
00579	01:17:44	gǎkǎlì / bígǎkǎlì	ø- / bì-	k- / b-	7 / 8	egusi calabash
00580	01:17:56	kǐmbáŋhǐ / bìmbáŋhǐ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	tributary
00581	01:18:02	jání / bijání	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	river island
00582	01:18:09	ntfǎŋá / bíntfǎŋá	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	kāhì / bíkāhì	ø- / bi-	k- / b-	7 / 8	calabash rattle
00586	01:18:46	fǎnī / fǎní	ø- / ø-	ǰ- / ǰ-	9 / 10	Rungs (ladder)
00587	01:18:54	kǐmbáŋhǐ / bìmbáŋhǐ	kì- / bì-	k- / b -	7 / 8	road junction
00588	01:19:09	fjē	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.

<b>Mbuk Language Consultants for the Mbuk Documentary Grammar, Oct. 2014 – Sept. 2016</b>			
	<b>FullName</b>	<b>CodeName</b>	<b>Language description</b>
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 Ndžang Samban	LNS-8	Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin
9	Ngwang Nicholas Ndicha	NNN-9	Mbuk, Bum, Pidgin, English
10	Pa. Freeboy Ndang	FN-10	Mbuk, Bum, Mundabli, Bikom, Chung, Bafmen, Koshin, Fang, Mungong, Dumbu, Pidgin
11	Lang Elijah Ngwang	LE-11	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Lamnso', Pidgin, English
12	Ngong Philemon Foncha	NPF-12	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Bikom, Bafmen, Mashi, Njikum, Pidgin, English
13	Tanto Nya Yambong Samuel	TNY-13	Mbuk, Bum, Fulani (Fulfulde), Bikom, Bafmen, Fang, Dumbu
14	Nji Nchwaksi Simon Dam	NKS-14	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Bafang, Bikom, Bafmen, Mungong, Dumbu, Mundabli, Chung
15	Clement Lenghacha Nkwembo	CL-15	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Mungong, Fang, Mashi, Bikom, Fulfulde, Pidgin
16	Wabua Blasius Samban	WBS-16	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Pidgin, English, French
17	Wango John Kumta	WJK-17	Mbuk, Bum, Chung, Pidgin, English
18	Wabua Joseph Ntagha	WNJ-18	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Fulfulde, Bikom, Pidgin
19	Ntagha Baali	NB-19	Mbuk, Bum, Fang, Chung, Pidgin, French
20	Mbi Sylvester Ketung	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. Tschonghongi	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 (1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ...) | 5 – Number of video files |
| 2 – Field trip timeframe (1 month, 2 months )                                      | 6 – Number of audio files |
| 3 – Field trip goal  | 7 – Number of photos      |
| 4 – Total number of files  | 8 – Number of ELAN files  |

### B. Actors

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

### C. Metadata Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1 - Consultant                                   | 18 – Consultant’s mother’s languages |
| 2 – Code name                                    | 19 – Maternal affiliation            |
| 3 – Date of interview                            | 20 – Spouse’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                  | 25 – Mother of spouse’s provenance     |
| 9 – Maternal name                  | 26 – Mother of spouse’s languages      |
| 10 – Other names                   | 27 – Number of lects                   |
| 11 – Residence                     | 28 – Number speaks                     |
| 12 – Main linguistic identity      | 29 – Degree of competence (5,4,3,2,1)  |
| 13 – Year of birth                 | 30 – where did you learn it?           |
| 14 – Gender                        | 31 – When do you use it?               |
| 15 – Occupation                    | 32 – Advantages of knowing it?         |
| 16 – Paternal affiliation          | 33 – Performance in special occasions? |
| 17 – Consultant father’s languages |  |

#### **D. Session**

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

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. Tschonghongi. Thence Nelson C. Tschonghongi did the ELAN annotations alongside the dynamic translation with the assistance of Mr. Wabua Angelbert Ndicha (WAN-3) providing the literal and pragmatic meaning of Mbuk speech. The individual tiers have been preserved here for quick reference.

### TEXT 1: KPAAMCAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00414.txt

01 FSW-1    **bóní á      kìn̩kʷàsì tʃá: á      bí kʷàsì, wò ló á      tsē**  
 CM                      CM                      CM                      CM  
 easy **that**    rattle    NEG **that**    F3 play    2S so **that**    go

{last} tóyó b'ê b́ d̩z'êkí kìmfilì

REL

last    day    **that** 3P putting dance

*The rattle is not something easy that you will be the only one to be playing until the last day.*

02 FSW-1    **ngán̩ m̀      bó-kí lè      wì ná wání**  
 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 ná hē ā      ná-ní, wò ná hē ā      ná-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](#)

cm: verbal noun, gerund (VN), -NA nominal affix, -suffix

04 FSW-1    **bē wōyō, bē wōyō, m̀ ká wó'ó, wò kwàsì ndzón̩ kē**  
 CD            3P hear    3P hear    1S if hear    2S play    good NEG

RF            **m dzə dzaya a      ná m̀, m̀ wə m tʃ'èkɪ**

1S come say    that give me 1SO that 1S know

**wò ná tsē, wò ná tsé à      nání**

2S give go    2S give go    just giving

*If they hear or I hear that you are not playing it the right way and I come and ask you who can better do it, you should just be giving.*

cm            b́́ ~ b́́

05 WNJ-18    **b́́ b́́ b́́ ẃ́ó-<sup>v</sup>ó-kí lè mbè**  
 3P            3P 3P 3P hear-PROG AF Fon  
*Fon, they are understanding you.*

06 FSW-1    **dzáýá tsē jáyà, {since} sē ben ndzaŋ-kí ndzaŋ-ní**  
 2P            talk go like.that since as 2P quarrel-PROG quarrel-NA

NEG           **ben kəŋ 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 kwífən wì b̀̀mb̀̀òyó wì wàŋ Mf<sup>w</sup>áyántàýá,**

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 fá hí tóyò yúó, ǹ̀: s̀̀ b́́ tjí l̄̀:, wì ǹ̀: kí, wì ǹ̀: kí b̀̀n b̀̀n**

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 d̀̀: mì, á l̄̀ ká b̀̀mb̀̀òyó b́́ wó: l̄̀**

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    **b́́ ǹ̀ dúŋkí fá<sup>-</sup> l̄̀, d̀̀ b́́l̄̀ dzíyè l̄̀: bí jáyà t̄̀v̀̀l̄̀l̄̀ há ǹ̀:l̄̀, b́́ b́́ ǹ̀y**

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      /b́́ b́́ ǹ̀y/ "where are they", /b́́ wì ǹ̀y/ "where is he" What is the meaning of /b́́/?

028 mbk    **Kwífən dzáýá, ntóní kó ǹ̀: t̄̀<sup>w</sup>èsi, bì ǹ̀ ẃ́ó<sup>v</sup>ó lè b́́nì**

Kwifon say, ear is even small it will hear AF people

**b́́ d̀̀yó kó ǹ̀ ǹ̀: m̀̀n àjáyà, b́́ hí t̄̀<sup>j</sup>èkí k̄̀, jí líyàkí l̄̀**

2c some is very far even so, 3P P2 know NEG, it difficult.PROG AF

**í k<sup>w</sup>átí b́́nì yúó, kwífən t̄̀<sup>w</sup>ín dzáýá yá â**

029 gl      to get people now, Kwifon summarise say things yes

- 030 ft *Kwifon should talk, no matter the number of people, they will hear. Others are far from here because they were not aware. It is not easy to gather people now, thus, Kwifon should summarise whatever he has for the people.*
- 031 cm P2 /hî/ becomes /hí/ in progressive aspect, bó hî dzí “they ate”, bó hí dzí “they are eating”, bó hî dzí là “they always eat”, bó hí dzíkílà “they were eating.”
- 033 gc ntuni /ear/ stands for people /metonymy/
- 035 mbk **oo wì wàŋ mf<sup>w</sup>ǎ ntàyà**
- 036 gl IJ of child PN PN
- 037 ft *oh Kwifon of Mfwa Ntagha's child.*
- 039 mbk **wǐ nǔ: dāŋ ɲánìɲà kífóm kí dzǔ: kífóm kí dzǔ:, wí tǝn wí tǝn wí tǝn wí tǝn.**
- 040 gl 3S slept today walking.around roofs of houses roofs of houses, 3S watch 3S watch 3S watch
- 041 ft *The Kwifon slept at night walking around from roof to roof watching and watching.*
- 043 mbk **fǎ wì bǝmbòyó wálǎ lǎ, fǎ wí bwâ ʃóm wálǎ,**
- 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 fǝn fí dzíní, á dǔŋ wǎŋ, á dǔ: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 dǔyó kó lǎ, í bǝn bǎlǎ mǎ bí tālǐ sǝ m fǎ: lǎ,**
- 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 **m̄ nǝŋ fí dǔyó tǝŋ yǎ. hǝy! hǎp, kó hǎ bǝmbòyó sáyá jáyà-lǎ**
- 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 hǎ bǝmbòyó hǐ (used.to) sáyá jáyà-lǎ
- 080 mbk **á bǎ nǝŋkí wǎŋ, bǎ nǝŋ ɲàm, bǎ fýēn 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 **fýēn fí dzíní bǎ ɲàm á bǎ sǎhí wǎŋ yǎŋ wǎ**
- 093 gl thing of eating and meat that they feed child with it
- 094 ft *food and meat that they feed the child with it*
- 096 ge COMPLEMENTIZER /á/
- 097 mbk **ē: kwífǝn wì bǝmbòyó wì wó wì wǎŋ mf<sup>w</sup>ǎ ntàyá**
- 098 gl IJ kwifon of Mbuk.people of the of child Mfwa Ntagha

- 099 ft *The kwifon of the Mbuk people of Mfwa Ntagha's child.*
- 101 mbk **yén á sē bē dúnjǐ fá̄ lə: wì fáyǎkí dzākí fáyǎní**  
 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 fáyǎní {gerund form}
- 110 mbk **wì fáyǎkí dzākí fáyǎní á mì wē wǐ dǎ:ŋ bōyò bā fýēn fí fē**  
 111 gl he saying coming telling that person who he cross river with thing his that  
 112 ft *he is warning that the person who has crossed the river with that his poison*
- 114 mbk **wì dzākí í dzē mòm yēn kwífēn, kwífēn nū:kí kē kínú,**  
 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 /kínú/
- 123 mbk **à fýēn fē í kùbà kí ká mē, sē wì dzē í ɲ'ǎ fá̄,**  
 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 **hó wì dzǎ í ɲ'ǎ: fá̄ hítóyò lē,**  
 132 gl before he come to leave here yard in fact  
 133 ft *in fact, before the person leaves this place*
- 135 mbk **á fēn fí fí wō fí míní bá á kùbà: kí mē, má wì féní k'ε: bā fí wì dzó**  
 136 gl that thing his the it sink remain only bag his in, so.that he return home with it to his house  
 137 ft *That thing of his should only remain in his bag and he should return home with it.*
- 139 mbk **mì wē wǐ dǎŋ bōyò yē, bā fýēn fē kùbà: kí mē**  
 140 gl person who he cross river that, with thing that bag his in  
 141 ft *The person who has crossed that river, with that thing (poison) in his bag*
- 147 mbk **á wì nǎ: dzē ɲá fá̄, á bē dzá: mì fá̄,**  
 148 gl that he will come give here, that they lack person here  
 149 ft *that he will come and poison someone with it here, that they should loss a person here,*
- 155 mbk **á bē dzá: mì yén wē, á kwífēn yén mì wì wó**  
 156 gl that they lack person in it, that kwifon see person 1.P the (DA)  
 157 ft *that they should lost a someone because of it, that kwifon has seen the person*  
 158 cm yén “because” in some contexts, 164 ge the definite pronoun /wó/ “the”
- 165 mbk **mī sá bóyú mā dʒ'ábí wē sí kónò fí sá lē**  
 166 gl before go reach while sun that is shift down go IJ

- 167 ft *Before the sun will be setting down*
- 169 mbk **fýēn fí wō kē: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 **ndzō bāyā fā wálā fākí kē wí, bāyā fíkàlikí fākí kē, nàsàlí tʃ'ókí là**  
 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 dzākí í dzā fā wí, bā dzō kìnʷàktì 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 Kʷífān kâ rights í gù'ùjì dzā bā mí wì wó í tsā í nàsàlí, wò ní gbʷílí dzā bā fí fén wā**  
 182 gl and kwifon have rights to drag come with person 1.P the to go to government, you will remove come with it there at  
 183 ft *and the kwifon has the rights to report the person to the government, and there you will bring out the thing.*
- 185 mbk **á fí fýēn, á fí fō í kìbà: kí mì wì wó mō**  
 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 **kwífān nāḡkí mì, tʃəḡè lô â wì dzá: mì dōyó**  
 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 n'ǎ tóyú bí mē nùò nì dz'ǎ, bəmbòyó nì bǎ fā wí bó**  
 198 gl person is to go day his on God P4 keep, Mbuk.people F4 call Kimfili 1.P their  
 199 ft *a person is to die on his appointed day by God, The Mbuk people called for their festival*  
 204 cm kimifili (fā) “Mbuk annual festival”
- 206 mbk **tʃá: kpí jì mì dōyó bā dā: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 **b'ēn b'ā bātī, bənì bā wó nì dzō bí í kìkpú mē**  
 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 dōḡ bìḡnètō, bēn dzə fēnì yúó á, á bí nà dūḡkí 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 dzə bā tsā jí á wì dzā wúó mì yén á bā dzàyá, { à mò lāmì mb'ók yə̄ }**  
 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 lâmì mb'ók yê } speech in Bum language (code switch).
- 223 mbk **bèyá nèn yá jí wō, á kwífən dzáyá, á wì, á mì wì wó làyá nùó.**
- 224 gl we deny thing 10c the, that kwifon say, that he, that person 2c the lost forever
- 225 ft *We the kwifon have deny the evil and that the person should disappear from her forever*
- 227 mbk **à yúó sē bē dzēyākí lā, í dzē búyú bádɔ́wábí, í bēmb'əŋə mē bē 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 **bē ní gò<sup>v</sup>ùjí dzē bē mì wì wó fá<sup>-</sup> hítóyò lā**
- 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 hítóyò ~ tóyò “yard”, bádɔ́wábí ~ hídɔ́wábí “evening”
- 240 mbk **bē dzəyá í wī, á í yəyá dáj tsē nìnjī**
- 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 bē yén wò, á gvú wá fá<sup>-</sup> mbòyó, á wí bí tɔ́kítɔ́ tòlì kē**
- 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: dzəyá kítɔ́mì**
- 250 gl juju talk ???
- 251 ft *We swear the juju Kìkò:*
- 253 mbk **á k<sup>w</sup>ífən nèn, wì fémnìkí lə, yá jì g<sup>w</sup>ù fémnìní, á jí dzəŋkí kē**
- 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 **bónî kpí:kí lā, bónî tɔ́jə yén tɔ́jīn, à jí yá<sup>-</sup> làyá nùó**
- 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 yá<sup>-</sup> làyá nùó, mfəŋní dzá: nŭ jáyà**
- 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 **ɲànìlɔ́ ɲànìlɔ́, à nì tɔ́jā â dúŋkí b'ēn bì bəyən bì kùlí mā bí lyə í m<sup>w</sup>á mē,**
- 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 ɲ'ə̀ m̄fə̀ŋ í dzə́ búyó fá̄, bēn tʃ'ə́ ká à kṑ bə̀áwà̀ bə̀máí bó 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 sè̀ wì dzə́kí kìn̄sàŋlí  
 282 gl NEG he coming joy  
 283 ft Is he not coming to rejoice with us?  
 285 ge Rhetorical question

286 mbk wì dzə́kí kìn̄sàŋlí kí, wì f̄èní k'wē: tó ló wì, fú bóyó wì,  
 287 gl he coming rejoicing his, he return go.home stomach ache him, head ache him  
 288 ft he is coming for him to rejoice, but returns home with stomach ache and headache  
 290 ge juxtaposition, absence of /and/ to line stomach ache and headache

291 mbk à kó n̄:ní kí n̄ŋ, ŋgáŋ. bēn ló tóyó n̄:ní kí wō  
 292 gl it is 5.fashions 5c good, no. 2P throw away 5.fashion 5c the  
 293 ft it is a good fashion? No. You people should stop it.  
 296 ge (tag question)???

297 mbk kó n̄:ni kì tʃù. sḕ wì dzə́yá dzə́kí fá̄ lā, ʃlái, bē wó'ólí bádʒ'ábí  
 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 f̄ēn kēn í k̄bà: kí m̄i wì wó m̄ə̀, bə̀ n̄: gù'ùjì tsé́ bó wò fá̄,  
 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 dz̄òm-wə̀, wò n̄: dzə́'á lè tyə̀ fēn-wə̀. á b̄n̄i k̄int̄ə̀.  
 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 tʃá: á bó n̄ŋ-kí yá jálā,  
 CM if NEG CM 2P want-PROG 9.thing 9.this  
 If not that we want it.

FSW-1 má m̄ dzə́'á yá jí fā  
 NM like 1S say 10.thing 10c NM  
 I should have only said two things.

FSW-1 ɛ: ŋkwù wì k̄imf̄ilì kí b̄ə̀mbò'ó  
 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 tʃá: kí dǎn, à kó kìmfilì mǎ bó dzā jén à kí fá̄.**

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 kí (7c)

FSW-1 **má m̄ tʃʰákí lè yá jê m̄ kó í dzáyó ʃí à júó í ñkʷù wì**  
like 1s know AF thing that 1s can to say on just now in pouring of

**kìmfilì wā ndzúó kó f̄ēn má m̄ dzā jén à fí fá̄**

kimfili in because is something that 1s come see just it here

*I should have known what to say on these things(instruments) in the*

*Kimifili ritual because it is something which I just came and saw here already existing*

Crowd **mbè:**

RSP Yes, Fon

FSW-1 **yá yó m̄ kó dzáyó kòm kìmfilì, sē b̄ēn tʃʰákí {wédá} b̄ēn tʃʰákí kē**

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 m̄: m̄ tó b̄ŋkí tʃʰákí kó á, kìmfilì kálē lā, n̄: n̄: kí kìmfilì kálē kó**

RF as 1s myself also also know is that, Kimfili this so, fashion of kimfili this is

*As I myself is also aware of, is that, this Kimfili like this, The tradition of this Kimfili is*

cm reflexive 1st person pronoun, ge reflexive pronoun repetition of 1S 1S

FSW-1 **á sē j̄ùò ná dzā b̄ēn bí dzíní í w̄, b̄əyá b̄ēn dzā yùŋní b̄ k̄p̄á m̄kàn**

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 **b̄əyá b̄ēn tómí kí-wō kí tʃí, b̄ə tʃəŋní b̄é mú lā b̄é 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 **b̄ə sánlíkí í tʃùsí á b̄əyān kó f̄yēn lā fí m̄**

Crowd **fí: m̄ (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 dèyá yá jí dòyó yê jí kó, jí tʃùsì á  
 is not not thing of some that it is, it showing that  
*It is not something of, it is obvious that.*

FSW-1 á à kó kpó wì dòyó {or} à kó ndzàṅ wì dòyó á bē nǎ fàlí b́é ʃǎ  
 that it is money of some or it is song of some that they will offer.money with fowl  
*It is not a money making event or the offering of fowls to the dancers.*

FSW-1 ṅgáṅ sī kó àlàì b̀yáábēn dzē ỳùṅní bē kító kí ńṅ  
 1PI no! it.always is that we.inc come gather with 6.bellies 6.good  
*No! It is always that we come together in good hearts.*

FSW-1 bē bē mū mkǎṅ í dzǎ̀à lé jì mù, sē ǹùò ná b́ēn bí dzíní í b̀yáábēn í dzǎ̀: yálē wē  
 Crowd wē 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 sē m tʃ'ákí lè (Tag question) má bēn tʃ'ák á n'ǎ tó  
 Crowd {mbè:} {kó jáyà mbè:} (Tag affirmative)  
 QT is not as 1s know so? {yes Fon} or 2p know that what also? {is so Fon}  
*Is it not what I know? Fon, it is. Or What do you people know also? it is, Fon*  
 cm alternate conjunction, or “má”, tʃ'ákí (tʃ'ək) elision of ɪ in fast speech

FSW-1 èṅhê èṅhê  
 Crowd kó (à)jáyà mbè:  
 {is like.that Fon} yes yes  
*it is, Fon. Yes*

FSW-1 {so} í dāṅ  
 so PP today  
*as a result, today,*  
 cm the adverb today [dāṅ] can take optional [ɪ]preposition to mark emphasis  
 ge Sociolinguistic (Multilingualism), the use of the English word [so]

FSW-1 sē b̀yáábēn kó fá̄ ntō, sē bē h́é dzó dzē b́é f̄è k̀ì b̀mbòvó,  
 as we.inc are here palace, as they go take come with kimfili of Mbuk.people  
*As we are here in this palace, since they have gone and brought the Kimfili of the Mbuk people*

FSW-1 dzē b́é bí  
 come with them  
*and has brought them*



FSW-1 **wāŋ mbòyòlí tʃ'ákí là kònrú (control)**

IP child Mbuk know AF control

*I know that the Mbuk children know the laws of Kimfili. (Rhetorical Q)*

FSW-1 **sā kìmfilì kó, bē sí dzúó kē kìmfilì wē, bē sí ndzáŋ kē kìmfilì wē**

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 quarrel during the Kimfili*

FSW-1 **àn (and) kìmfilì kálē lá, sā kì kó í mī nǝ́ 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 fē, è:m n̄ nǝ́kí yén fýēn fýē kìmfilì kálē kó fá́ tóyò yúó bǝ́yǝ́bēn nǝ́n 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 **dzē lǝ́ mbǝ́vè**

come so man

*Please, come*

Crowd

**ǝ́ŋhǝ́**

yes

WBS-16 **bǝ́ n̄mbí mǝ́ nǝ́n**

DS wine that where

*Where is that wine? {this is really the time}*

FSW-1 **mó kēnkí dzô:**

Crowd

it.is still house

*Is the wine still the house?*

cm

wǝ́ “are”, wē “in,on, at”

**bē wǝ́ dzē mbè, bē dzǝ́kí là, ǝ́:**

they are come Fon, they coming, yes

*Fon, they are bringing it. yes*

NYA-60 **bǝ́n dzē bǝ́n dzē bǝ́ nǝ́vǝ́ kǝ́**

2P come 2P come with thing that

*You people should bring that container of wine.*

WBS-16 **bǝ́ kǝ́ŋgǝ́ kǝ́ nǝ́n**

DS calabash that where?

*Where is the traditional calabash of wine?*

- VisitorW      **wó t̃̀h̃̀ñ̀ñ̀ b̃́ ñ́ỹ́ k̃́h̃́ m̃́mb̃́ ñ́h̃́k̃́ ts̃́ k̃́ỹ̀**  
 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            **b̃́ñ́ dz̃́ dz̃́ b̃́ k̃́ ñ́ỹ́ k̃́ k̃́l̃́**  
 2P take come with it thing of village  
*You people should bring it (the traditional calabash)*
- VisitorW      **à̃y dz̃́ ñ́ỹ́ k̃́ k̃́l̃́ m̃́b̃́ỹ̀**  
 ITJ take thing of village man  
*No! Take but the traditional calabash this man] Wait!*
- cm            ná'á “thing (Chung)”, ñ́ỹ́ “thing(Mbuk)”. The participant is a native of Mungong who  
 code mixes between Chung and Mbuk

**TEXT 4: KPAAMCAM\_NT's\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-08\_00006**

- NNN-9        **k̃́ñ́ k̃́ñ́ b̃́ỹ́ (ts̃́) ñ̀**  
 shift shift go.out (go) there  
*shift and go that way.*
- CM            ñ̀ “there “/ k̃́ñ́ “shift” new terms surface in the documentary
- TC-6            **ko ki l̃́ // I d̃́h̃́k̃́ s̃́m̃́ / na l̃́ / na l̃́ // mi t̃́ja ko d̃́zen / ko d̃́zen**  
 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 {nd̃́ñ́} b̃́ỹ́ñ́ ja:(k̃́)l̃́ nt̃́ñ́ / b̃́ w̃́ỹ́o g̃́h̃́ ỹ́ Nd̃́zi k̃́ā̃k̃́ i d̃́ỹ́.**  
 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        **nd̃́zi / ay**  
 yes.Nji / no  
 Yes Nji. No
- Crowd        **I b̃́'áñ́ji, Nji**  
 Is children, yes, yes Nji  
*Children Nji*
- KPK-54        **nd̃́zi**  
 yes.Nji  
*yes Nji.*
- NNN-9        **Nd̃́zi / Nd̃́zi yi nd̃́z̃́h̃́k̃́ a / wo dz̃́ỹ́ t̃́'esi i d̃́z̃́ỹ́ yi b̃́m̃́b̃́ỹ́ m̃́ /**

Nji / Nji it good that / you talk small in language of Mbuk in /  
**wo dzəyə kası / i dzay yi nasalı ma (wə) / sə bəni bələ woyo.**  
 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 summarisem 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 dza<sup>ʔ</sup>a / dza<sup>ʔ</sup>a no / wɛ:**  
 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 **Ndzi / a jiti dzə<sup>ʔ</sup>ə dɔŋ dzajji kɔli 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 “dɔŋ”
- NYA-60 **oke/ m yiti dzəyə dzəyə dzay yi kɔli mə no /**  
 ok / I first talk first language of village PO IJ  
*All right, I should first of all speak in Mbuk*
- Crowd **dzay yi kɔli, dzay yi kɔli 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 ni lɔki mi / ɣa yi doyo ka mi 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 wɔŋ wə / wɪ ni k<sup>w</sup>atɪ / bɛni sə bə / ni bɛnsɪki dâ b'ə //**  
 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 **m yɛn wì fá (wə) / ʃóm jəŋ ʃì**  
 I see him here place / heart my go.down  
*I have seen him here and worries are over.*
- NYA-60 **{bɛt} gha yi doyo kolə / a bə kpɪkɪ bikɪ / wo kpɪ bi / b<sup>w</sup>a 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 fɛni dzə lə / wo / ni yɛn / mi wə wɪ / kã bi nɔŋ /**  
 you / go turn come AF / you / F3 see / person who he / have of good /  
**wo / ni 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 **ndʒù m (ko mam tʃu) / si tʃʼə-lə si yə yi ni fə**  
 because I ( ) / F2 knowing place that it P3 do  
**sə waŋ wə kã bɛni bʲə.**  
 so.tha child that have accident that  
*because I already know the cause of that child's accident.*

NYA-60 **{an} m sɪ / dzəyəkɪ a / m dzə dɔŋ mboyo / m dzəyə / kə bə kumkɪlə / mɪ a bə kum //**  
 and I F2 / saying that / I come today Mbuk / I talk / whether they slaughtering/ me that  
 they slaughter //  
*And I was thinking that I should come to Mbuk today and talk, whether they are slaughtering me,  
 they should go ahead and slaughter.*

NYA-60 **a m dzəʷəkɪ i bəmboʷo kɪntə a lo /**  
 that I talking to Mbuk.people inside that IJ/  
*I am talking amidst Mbuk people that*

NYA-60 **gha jə ji / ni 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 **{bet} bə / dɔŋ ni lʲə / dzu bəmboʷo bə wo / bo dzəʷə 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: gɔyɔsɪki sɔmɪ yələ ndʒu yi koki dzəkɪlə kɪdʒʲəlɪ/i dzə fə a/bəmboyo dɔ:kə lə.**  
 we not crush / youths these / because they grow coming tomorrow / to come do that /  
 Mbuk.people increase so // *We should not be crushing these youths because they are growing and  
 coming tomorrow to make the Mbuk population to increase.*

NYA-60 **a fa dɔ:kɪ bʷa ma dɔ:kɪ bəyə a**  
 just here more children or more us QP

*Are they children who are more here or us*

GE alternative conjunction “ma” / Question Particle, QP “a”

Crowd **ɪ dɔ:kɪ b<sup>w</sup>aya**

it more children

*There are more children*

NYA-60 **àá**

IJ

*thinking*

NYA-60 **{su} m kã: kə ya yi ((doyo bæ nga yi dzəyə)) duli i dzəyə //**

so I have not thing of (( )) much to say //

So, I donot have much to say

NYA-60 **kɪyɔŋɪ kɪ bɛn / sə bɛn yaya dzə fa //**

thank of you/ as you climb come here //

thank you people for coming up here.

NYA-60 **a nɪ dzəyə / bəmboyo a bæ / k<sup>w</sup>a dʒ<sup>j</sup>ə / mɪ a / m dzəyəkɪ / i bɛn kɪntə lə / hə m dzəyəkɪ / 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 dzəyə) m ko fa yuo /m yaya/m yaya lə /{lai} dʒwo yaya, kɾəŋə mə / kəm 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 dzəyə 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 dzəyəkɪ / ndə woɔ mɪ / so / a ko / m ko bæ kɪŋsɔŋɪ**

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 dzəyəkə kə / bæ nga / ŋkɔŋ wɪ / bæyən dzəyə <<< 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 / tʃɪni wəpni {sute:} / kɪmfɪli kələ / ni 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 **kɪmfɪli kələ ko / kɪmfɪli ki nəŋ /ki ni tʃusɪ / dzaya mgbu**

festival this is / festival of good / it was show / mouth yesterday

*This festival is a good one. It revealed itself yesterday*

NYA-60 **{bet} bəyə nəŋ / a ki ni tʃusɪ / dzaya i dʒ<sup>w</sup>abi / wə bə nəŋki/hə leyə kɪmfɪli /**

but we want / that it will show / mouth by time/ that they want / go put.in kimfili /

*We want that it should also do same by the time they will go and return it (kimfili).*

NYA-60 **a duŋ ntsa / wɪ bəyə / mə jaya / {su} m kākɪ kə / ɣa ji dɔli / i dzəyə.**

it be prayer / of we / in like.that / so I have not / thing of much / to say

*and that is our prayer like that. I do not have many things to talk.*

NYA-60 **kɪnsaŋli ko a {la} / se m jəŋki bən lə / m dʒɪ fɔli**

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 **dələ wələ m lo mi wə / {bet} wɪ tʃəŋki tsəyəkɪlə mi**

robe this I wear I on / but it big pass me

*this traditional robe on me, is bigger than me*

NYA-60 **{bet} m k<sup>w</sup>aya m məyəki juo a m tʃəŋki tsəyəki lə dala wɪ wo ndʒ<sup>w</sup>o bən no**

but I think I thinking now that I big more.than robe it the because you IJ(isn't it)

*but to my knowledge now, I am very sure that I am bigger than the robe because of you people. Isn't it?*

NYA-60 **{su} ki jəŋni ki bən**

so thank of you

So, I thank you people.

NNN-9 **wo dzəyəkɪlə tʃ<sup>w</sup>esi/i dʒay yi/nasalɪ mə/gha yə wo dzəyə/ma bəni bələ woyo**

you talk a.bit/in language of/English in/thing that you said/so.that people these hear

*You should talk a bit in English what you have said so that these people can hear.*

NNN-9 **bən / bən woyoli lai mb<sup>w</sup>ə**

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  
bet na one by one bip go came.**  
 CM Mbuk proverb.  
 NYA-60 **but a sure say the beep them don di came**  
 NTs-79 **krɔŋnɪ ben**  
*thank you*  
 NTs-79 **Thank you all**  
 NYA-60 **So I no get plenty for talk, thank wuna for wuna welcome**  
 NYA-60 **krɔŋnɪ**  
 NYA-60 *thank*  
 Crowd **Ndʒi, ndʒi**  
 CM The quarterhead giving the research team directives on the festival  
 NNN-9 **so that next point the nature of wuna work i go only be for palace**

**TEXT 5: KPAAMCAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-07\_00413.txt**

- NCB-89 **wò bó, wò ná wáná tʃádèkó f̣ɛ̃n fí d̀òyó mf̣á,**  
 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 dzáyá kó {kóntràkt} wì m̀ì**  
 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: KPAAMGAM\_Nts\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-08\_00000(Tones to be transcribed)**

- 01 NNN-9    **O m təʋə bʼen bə kpi. kinu ndzəŋ mi.**  
 CNJ        IJ 1S discuss things CNJ death sleep doing 1SO  
*I discussed issues with death. I am sleepy.*
- 04 NNN-9    **o boʋo gəŋ tumŋga, o m woʋo bə yɔli**  
 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    **éhéhè wo lo    ʃɔm, wo kʷa kʷɛ        bə wəŋ 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    **ɛhéhe 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    **ɛhéhe / bə kobʼa ni ko ki / bə ʃi bə yɔli a //**  
 IJ/ the PN F3 is beneath / 3P always 3P quarrel IJ //  
*Eh, the household of the Kobia's are beneath the earth, and they were always quarreling.*
- 17 NNN-9    **o mbete / {ŋɡunu} ɲam {fu ka} ni gen 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 woʋo bə tsaŋ //**  
 IJ IJ rain // IJ 1S hear 3P talking //  
*Oh rain. I heard them talking.*
- 24 NKP-87    **ben binkɪ**  
 2P    dancing  
*you should be dancing*
- 27 WEY-33    **kɪŋkʷahɪ / kɪŋkʷahɪ**  
 bamboo rattle / bamboo rattle  
*Play the rattle, play it.*

30 LON-71 **ben nə fa / ben nə hə nɪdʒom / ben 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 **ben 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 mɸan bə nùò**  
 IJ Fon of gods  
*Oh the Fon of gods.*

**TEXT 7: KPAAMGAM\_NTs\_Mbuk5\_AnnualFestival\_2015-08-08\_00002.txt**

01 WGM-34 **a mbanj wɪ sanj // o ba dzo mɪ o / o kɸɪ na kɪnə**  
 that very.big corn// IJ father take me IJ,/ IJ death give blessing//  
**o m woɣo ma bə hi yɔli // o dʒan k<sup>w</sup>a mɪ tʃ<sup>w</sup>a //**  
 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 **ben koŋo bəni bə k<sup>w</sup>unɪ bələ kɸəŋ// tʃɛn na / duŋ bə mkan 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 **ben duŋ bə mkan mə // dʒ<sup>j</sup>ə mkàŋ mə kúyú //**  
 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 **a:ŋ // a ko ndʒan jaya //**  
 yes // it is song like.that //  
*Yes. It is song like that. (17 cm full meaning of the utterance not clear)*

18 LSW-70 **a tɔyɔ mɪ / a tɔyɔ mɪ // wɪ dzaya / a bə fəki na den / hə bə hi 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 documentary 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



Figure 39: Palm oil collection calabash in Mbuk, *kiléri* ~ *kilétí* "calabash"



Figure 40: Arts & craft, Fitting the ceiling at the Mbuk palace, 31<sup>st</sup>December2014



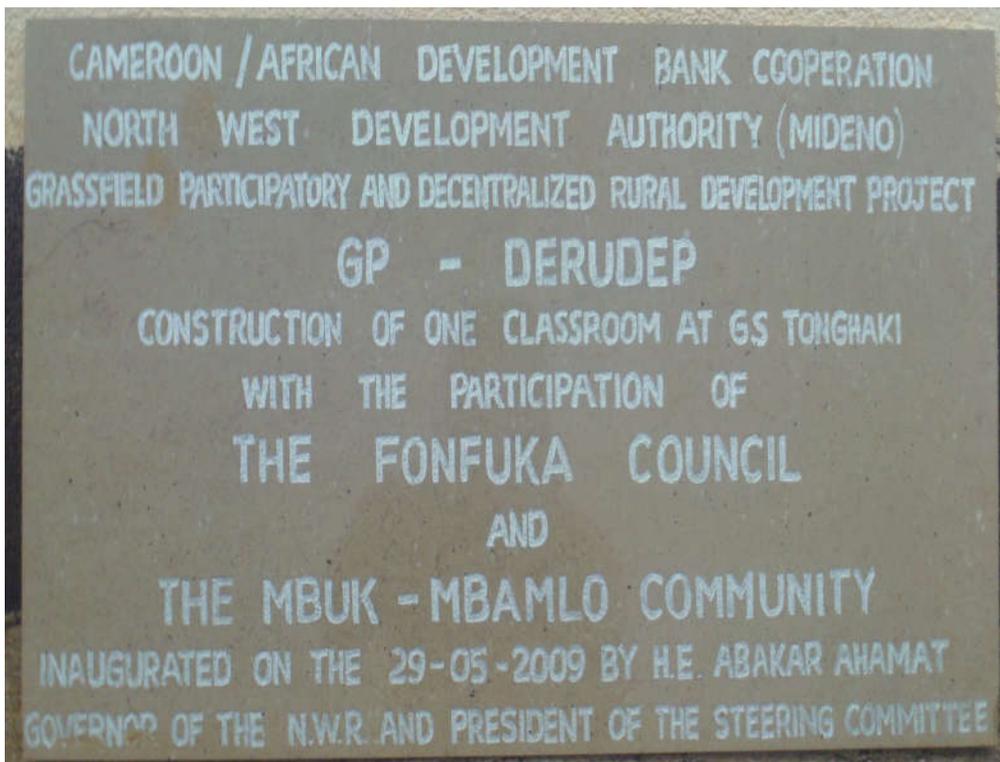
*Figure 41: Making the roofs that would be thatched*



*Figure 42: Lifting the roofs on to the house top*



*Figure 43: Inspecting and Admiring the Roof*



**Figure 44: Government Constructs a Primary School in one of Mbuk's quarters ( Tonghaki)**



Figure 45: *kómbê:lí* rare Mbuk food near extinction



Figure 46: Governor of the North West Region, Lele Lafrigue visits GTC Fonfuka in Mbuk - 24Feb2015



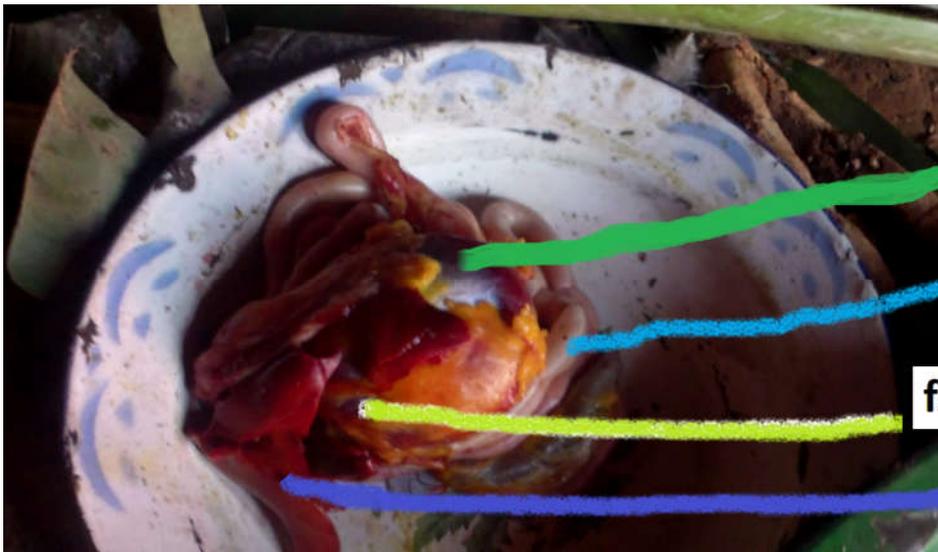
*Figure 47: Numeracy in bed making*



*Figure 48: Numeracy in mat making*



*Figure 49: Palace entrance compound: our lodge for the research (the middle house behind)*



**j̄ayàlì** "gizzard"

**lâ:** "intestine"

**fĩmbú** "gall bladder"

**j̄m** "liver"

*Figure 50: Fowl dissection and parts' naming in tapping words*



*Figure 51: Arts & Crafts: plaited intestines*



*Figure 52: Food for a newly a newly built house; fufu and fowl mixed with palm oil*



*Figure 53: Drinks for a newly built house; corn beer mixed with honey*



*Figure 54: Mbuk trumpet, calabash + animal horn (antelope) + cloth*



*Figure 55: Honouring wine/corn-beer servant, the left fingers on the right arm to get drinks*



Figure 56: Mbuk Baptist Church Choir Posture



Figure 57: Mbuk Annual Festival Dance Posture



*Figure 58: Festival taken from the shrine and moving to the palace*



*Figure 59: Leading the festival to the palace (Nji Nchwaksi, NKS-14)*



*Figure 60: Mbuk festival instruments and players, playing the melody to the Fon*



*Figure 61: The Fon about to receive the festival and launch it*



Figure 62: Handing the festival (kimfili, fe) to the Fon at the palace



Figure 63: The Fon welcomes and addressing his subjects



*Figure 64: The Fon blessing the instruments*



*Figure 65: The Fon taking corn-beer in his cup which must overflow to the ground*



*Figure 66: Subjects confirm Fon's speech by putting their palms together and bowing down*



*Figure 67: The Fon shares the wine to his special subjects (players of instruments – quarter-head)*



Figure 68: The Fon shares the wine to his special subjects (players of the instruments)

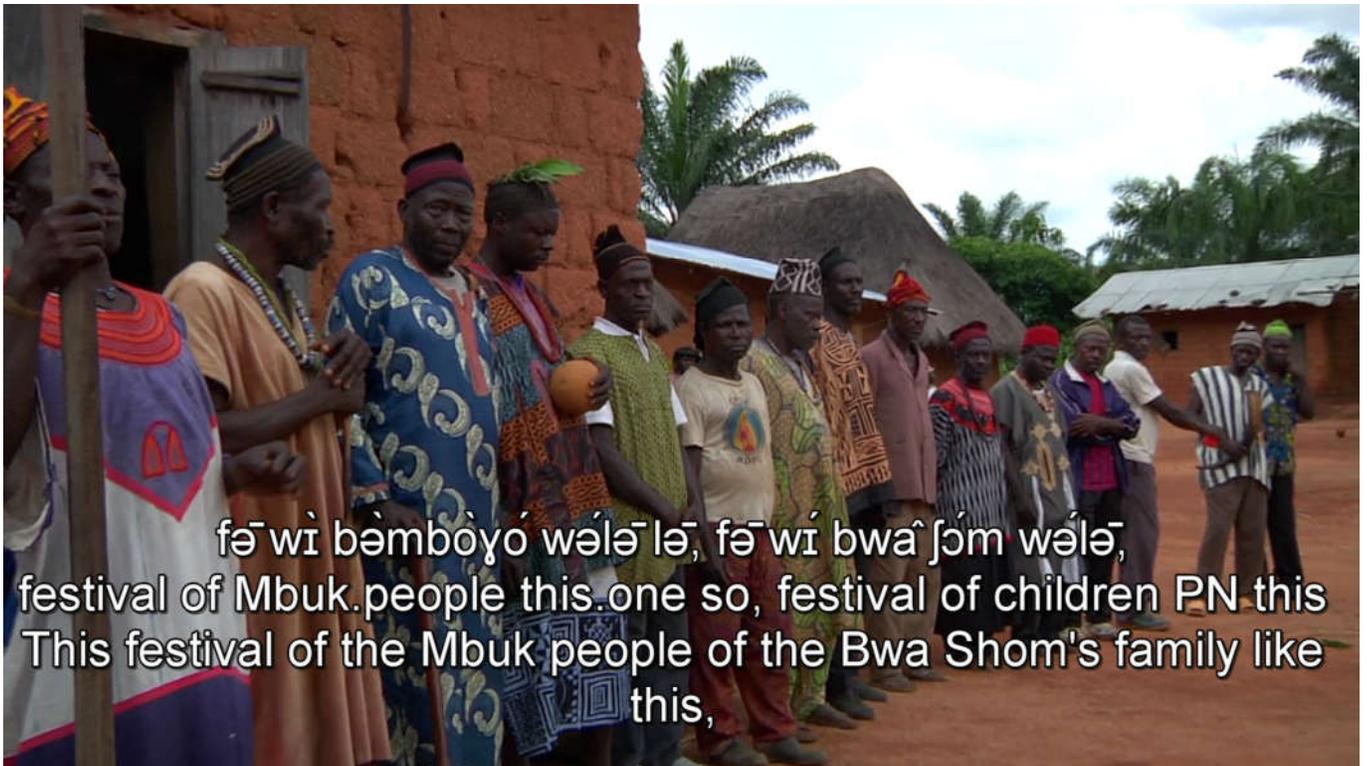


Figure 69: The Kwifon of Mbuk addressing the people



Figure 70: The people listening to the Kwifon of Mbuk



Figure 71: Paying attention to the Kwifon of Mbuk



Figure 72: Speech and grammar analysis; documentary grammar



Figure 73: The Logo of the Mbuk People

**Appendix 10: Mbuk Related Languages (Yemne-Kimbi) 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)

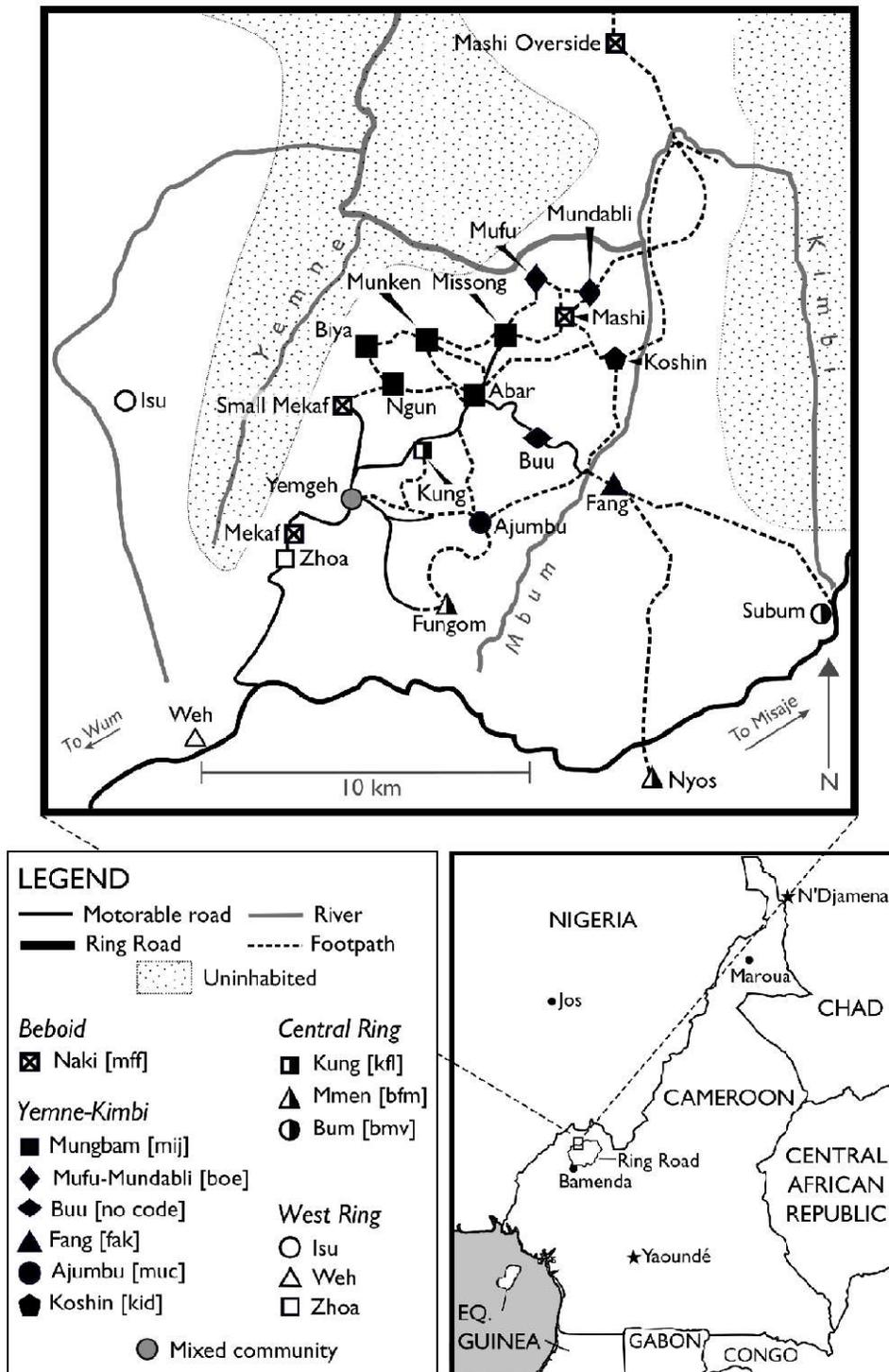


Figure 74: Mbuk Related Languages (Yemne-Kimbi) and Villages of Lower Fungom