NOUN FORMATION PROCESSES IN NDA'NDA'

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Abstract: This paper examines nouns formation processes in Nda'nda', a little-documented language spoken in Western Cameroon. My concern is to account for the various strategies used by the language to expand its vocabulary in the face of new realities. How are new words created? What are the linguistics transformations loanwords undergo when they enter the language? To answer these questions, data are collected with a wordlist, transcribed in IPA and analyzed in a structural approach. Four lexical enrichment processes are identified here, namely derivation, conversion, borrowing and compounding. Derivation mainly explores how suffixes function in Nda'nda' in the creation of new words. Conversion from verbs to nouns, though not very productive, is also examined. An analysis of loanwords highlights the phonological, morphological and semantic behavior of the latter in the language. Compounding studies the rules that govern the association of lexical items that exists independently in the Nda'nda' lexicon.

Key words: Nda'nda', Grassfields, structural approach, borrowing, derivation, compounding

1. Introduction

In order to adapt to its environment, a language must continuously expand its vocabulary through adequate morphological and syntactic processes since, as Mutaka & Tamanji (2000: 279) observe, “in the face of a new culture and new knowledge, the felt inadequacy is often the absence of appropriate lexical items to express the new concepts”.

Consequently, word formation processes are necessary to create these new lexemes. Word formation consists of producing new words either by modification of existing words or by complete innovation. Yule (1996: 64) defines word formation processes as “the study of the processes whereby new words come into being in a language [...]”. For Kortmann (1999: 58) they refer to those processes which enlarge the vocabulary and therefore create new lexemes. The various means that Nda’nda’ exploits to expand its vocabulary as discussed in this paper are derivation, conversion, borrowing and compounding.

Nda’nda’ is a Grassfields Bantu language spoken in the Nkam division of the Littoral Region and in the Nde and Koung-Khi divisions of the West Region of Cameroon. It is made up of two dialects: Undimeha (East Nda’nda’) and Ugameha (South and West Nda’nda’). My data were collected from Batoufam, an Est-Nda’nda’ dialect, referred to by native speakers as *yòm à tswáfáp*. According to Eberhard et al. (eds.) (2021), it is a Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam and Bamileke language. The language is spoken in Batoufam and the neighbouring villages either speak Nda’nda’ (Bandrefam, Bangwa and Bagang-Fokam) or Ghomala? (Bayangam and Bandjoun). Nda’nda’ is an SVO language with a highly agglutinative morphology.

There are a number of works that are relevant in understanding the structure of the language. Ngantchui Debana (1989), in discourse analysis, studies the preeminence of nominal structures in Nda’nda’. Gueche Fotso (2015) describes the grammar of Nda’nda’ as far as noun morphology, verb morphology and syntax are concerned. Gueche Fotso (2019) discusses multiverb constructions and the homorganic nasal in Nda’nda’ and argues that the homorganic nasal that is part of the tense marker, and the one that marks a sequence of verbs in a multiverb construction belong to the same syntactic category and cannot co-occur in the same construction since they are verbal affixes.

2. Derivation

In descriptive linguistics and traditional grammar, derivation is the formation of a word by changing the form of the base or by adding affixes to it. According to Widdowson (1996: 46), “derivation has to do with the way morphemes get attached as affixes to existing lexical forms or stems in the process of word formation”. Generally, noun derivation in Nda'nda' is generally deverbative. This is the type of derivation that consists in moving from a verb to a noun using a suffix. In Nda'nda', depending on the verb, the suffix can either be *-tsá* or *-ɲà*. The meaning of these two suffixes varies depending on the words they are used with as will be demonstrated in the analyses later. To analyze this phenomenon in Nda'nda', we will resort to the classification used by Harro (1989) in classifying verbal extensions in Yemba. This is because the suffixes that are used in deverbative derivation are identical to verbal extensions in Nda'nda'. In fact, Harro (1989) summarized derived verbs in Yemba in three formulas.

The first formula, **V => V-Suff [+SG]**, requires the following conditions:

- the derived verb originates from a simple verb,
- the simple verb still exists,
- the suffix conforms to the general meaning.

As for the second formula, **V => V-Suff [-SG]**, the suffix still conforms to the general meaning but the simple verb does not exist anymore.

The third formula recognizes the absence of any semantic correspondence between the simple and the derived verbs, although the radical of the latter is identical to that of the former as summarized by the formula **V≠V-Suff [+SG]**.

Harro's three formulas can be easily adapted to deverbative derivation in that, as earlier mentioned, Nda'nda' makes use of the identical “morphemes” for both verbal extensions and deverbative derivation. In Nda'nda', the suffixes *-tsá* and *-ɲà*, primary suffixes which are linked to verbs. They can therefore be used in two specific ways:

- as verbal extensions, they produce new verb stems,
- as nominal suffixes they play a key role in deverbative derivation, that is, transforming a verb into a noun.

Consequently, we can have two reinterpretations of Harro's formulas in relation to noun derivation:

- the derived noun originates from a verb and there is a clear semantic correspondence between both,
- the derived noun originates from a verb that does not exist in the language anymore.

2.1.1. Semantic correspondence between the derived noun and the verb

The derived noun and its verb are most of the time part of the same semantic field as illustrated in (1).

(1) Infinitive	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
<i>kwàk</i>	'to like'	<i>kwàkɲà</i>	'love'
<i>ɲwàʔ</i>	'to write'	<i>ɲwàʔɲà</i>	'book, studies'
<i>ɣòp</i>	'to speak'	<i>ɣòptsà</i>	'speech'
<i>nwɔʔ</i>	'to press'	<i>nwɔʔtsà</i>	'caress'

2.1.2. Disappearance of the verb after the derivation

In very few cases the original verb disappears after the derivation as the example (2) shows.

(2) Infinitive	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
<i>*kχɔʔ</i>	—	<i>kχɔʔtsà</i>	'cutting'
<i>*mvé</i>	—	<i>mvéɲà</i>	'gathering'

From the above example, it is obvious that *kχɔʔtsà* and *mvéɲà* are respectively derived from the verbs **kχɔʔ* and **mvé*, but the latter do not exist anymore. I assume that **kχɔʔ* and **mvé* were verbs because the suffixes *-tsà* and *-ɲà*, in Nda'nda', can only be attached to verb roots.

3. Conversion

According to Bauer (2015), conversion is a kind of word formation involving the creation of a word (of a new word class) from an existing word (of a different word class) without any change in form. Here, without any modification, the Nda'nda' verb changes into a noun, see (3).

(3) Infinitive	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>tʃʃàʔ</i>	'to forbid'	<i>tʃʃàʔ</i>	'banning'
<i>gyù</i>	'to laugh'	<i>gyù</i>	'laughter'
<i>yòpsà</i>	'to speak a lot'	<i>yòpsà</i>	'speech'
<i>kàʔtsà</i>	'to boast'	<i>kàʔtsà</i>	'boasting'
<i>tʃiʔtsà</i>	'to gather'	<i>tʃiʔtsà</i>	'gathering'
<i>tʃàʔtsà</i>	'to greet'	<i>tʃàʔtsà</i>	'greeting'

4. Borrowings

Hoffer (2002) defines borrowing as the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time. When languages come into contact, either directly through the personal contact of the speakers of these languages, or indirectly through the media, as T'sou (2001) observes, one common outcome is the diffusion of cultural items across linguistic boundaries. Such cultural diffusion triggers the emergence of new lexical items in a recipient language known as borrowing. Nda'nda', like other languages, contains a good number of borrowings that result from the contact of its speakers with other people and other cultures. Talking about the social motivation of borrowing in Nda'nda', it is clear that, if the majority of lexical items are borrowed to fill a lexical gap, that is to express a concept or thought that is not available in the language, some linguistic items are borrowed simply for the sake of the prestige they carry even though an equivalent exists in the language. For instance, the meaning 'cigarette' is expressed by

both *ndàpá?* and *siké*. The former is a purely Nda'nda' word that has always existed in the language and the latter is an adaptation of the English word *cigarette*. This adaptation of every loanword is due to the fact that the new word has to conform to the grammatical, phonological, and/or semantic constraints that the recipient language necessitates. To discuss borrowings in Nda'nda', this section will draw inspiration from the presentation Biloa (2004) makes of loanwords. Consequently, the first part of this subsection will give an overview of loanwords in Nda'nda' with specific attention to their origins and the second will be dedicated to an intralinguistic study of the latter.

4.1. Source language of loanwords

Nda'nda' has mainly borrowed from two languages: French and Cameroonian Pidgin-English.

4.1.1. Loanwords from French

Loanwords from French are not very common in the language. In fact, among the three languages mentioned above, French is the closest to Nda'nda' since the village is in the part of Cameroon that uses French as official language. Paradoxically, very few French words are attested in the language as compared to loanwords from a language like English that has no historical ties with Nda'nda' speakers. French loanwords are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Loanwords from French

French		Nda'nda'	Gloss
Word	Transcription		
<i>chou</i>	<i>ʃu</i>	<i>ʃú</i>	'cabbage'
<i>lampe</i>	<i>lāp</i>	<i>lám̀bù</i>	'lamp'
<i>matelas</i>	<i>matla</i>	<i>mát̀lálá</i>	'mattress'
<i>avion</i>	<i>avjõ</i>	<i>ávj̀jèŋ</i>	'plane'
<i>tomate</i>	<i>tɔmat</i>	<i>tòmat</i>	'tomato'

4.1.2. Loanwords from Pidgin-English

After careful consideration, I came to the conclusion that Nda'nda' could only borrow from English through Pidgin-English. In fact, I was very puzzled by the bulk of English words in Nda'nda' and knowing that borrowing could only occur through contact between speakers of the source language and the recipient language, I could not understand how Nda'nda' speakers that had been only in contact with the French colonizers could have so many words from English. Actually, I would have expected French loanwords to be more numerous. After my investigation in the village, I found out that all the English words that are found in Nda'nda' actually originate from Pidgin-English that was widely spoken by natives before and after independence. This was corroborated by the presence in my corpus of words such as *ndzèkésí* that is an adaptation of *djakass*, a purely Pidgin-English word which means 'donkey'. In fact, the greatest part of the vocabulary of Pidgin-English comes from English, as Echu (2003) quoting Mbassi Manga (1973) specifies when he observes: "80% of CPE (Cameroon Pidgin English) lexicon was English-based, 14% came from indigenous languages, 5% from French and 1% from other languages". Echu (2004) latter adds: "Il est aussi intéressant de souligner que les emprunts provenant du pidgin-english camerounais font de plus en plus partie des réalités camerounaises". Table 2 presents loanwords from Pidgin-English.

Table 2

Loanwords from Pidgin-English

Pidgin-English		Nda'nda'	Gloss
Word	Transcription		
<i>djakass</i>	<i>djakas</i>	<i>ndzèkésí</i>	'donkey'
<i>bitterleaf</i>	<i>bitalif</i>	<i>mbítàlé</i>	'vegetable'
<i>moto</i>	<i>moto</i>	<i>màtwá</i>	'car'
<i>box</i>	<i>bòks</i>	<i>mbòksì</i>	'suitcase'
<i>bicycle</i>	<i>baisikl</i>	<i>mbáskù</i>	'bicycle'
<i>christmas</i>	<i>krismas</i>	<i>klísìmì</i>	'Christmas'

End of table 2

Pidgin-English		Nda'nda'	Gloss
Word	Transcription		
<i>glass</i>	<i>gla:s</i>	<i>ŋglɛ̀sì</i>	'glass'
<i>kitchen</i>	<i>kitʃɪn</i>	<i>kíʃɪp</i>	'kitchen'
<i>teacher</i>	<i>ti:tʃə(r)</i>	<i>títʃɛ̀</i>	'teacher'
<i>pear</i>	<i>peə</i>	<i>pjɛ̀</i>	'pear'
<i>purse</i>	<i>pɜ:s</i>	<i>pósɛ̀</i>	'purse'
<i>school</i>	<i>sku:l</i>	<i>sàkú</i>	'school'
<i>soap</i>	<i>səʊp</i>	<i>só</i>	'soap'
<i>sock</i>	<i>sɔk</i>	<i>sítàk</i>	'sock'

The word *moto* is present in almost all the Bantu languages of Cameroon and many researchers have classified it under borrowing from English. As a matter of illustration, I can quote Ngué Um's (2006) study of Kwasio and Djomeni's (2007) works on Bàm̀bálà̀ that respectively classify *matúa* and *màtwá* under loanwords from English. However, unless I refer to a hypothetical semantic adaptation between English and Bantu languages, the word *moto* and the English word *motor*, though part of the same semantic field, are not synonymous. The Wakuna's Cameroonian Pidgin-English dictionary (Wakuna n.d.) which is an online dictionary defines *moto* as 'car', whereas the Oxford advanced learner's dictionary (Hornby & Turnbull 2010) of current English defines *motor* as "a device that uses electricity, petrol, gas, etc. to produce movement and make a machine, a vehicle, a boat, etc. work" with *engine* as a synonym. It therefore becomes clear that Nda'nda' and other Bantu languages borrowed their word referring to 'car' from Pidgin-English, when it had already undergone a complete semantic adaptation. In a nutshell, the Pidgin-English word *moto*, which has been extensively borrowed by Cameroonian Bantu languages, actually originates from the English word *motor* and via metonymy, the word shifted from referring to a part of the vehicle, which is the engine, to referring to the vehicle itself. The same applies to the word *box*.

4.2. Thematic classification of borrowing in Nda'nda'

Talking about the thematic classification of loanwords, Biloa (2004), paraphrasing Bitjaa Kody (2000), observes that the new items in the lexicon of African languages are predominant in the domains of food, religion, clothing, housing/household, administration, business and professions. Following this methodology, loanwords in Nda'nda' can also be patterned as shown on Table 3.

Table 3

Thematic classification of Nda'nda' borrowings

Food

Nda'nda'	Original word	Source language
<i>fú</i>	<i>chou</i>	French
<i>pjê</i>	<i>pear</i>	English

Religion

Nda'nda'	Original word	Source language
<i>tfôsì</i>	<i>church</i>	English
<i>klísìmì</i>	<i>Christmas</i>	English

Clothing

Nda'nda'	Original word	Source language
<i>sìtɔ́k</i>	<i>sock</i>	English
<i>tlòsí</i>	<i>trousers</i>	English

Housing/Household

Nda'nda'	Original word	Source language
<i>kɔ́pé</i>	<i>cupboard</i>	English
<i>wùndú</i>	<i>window</i>	English

Professions

Nda'nda'	Original word	Source language
<i>títɛ</i>	<i>teacher</i>	English
<i>ndòktè</i>	<i>doctor</i>	English

All the above words were borrowed out of necessity for they all express realities that came to the community through the colonizers.

However, as earlier mentioned, some other words were borrowed out of prestige in so much as the reality described by the latter already had a Nda'nda' appellation as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4

Borrowings motivated by prestige

Nda'nda' word	Loanword	Gloss
<i>ndàpá?</i>	<i>siké</i>	'cigarette'
<i>ɲkùp</i>	<i>mbóksì</i>	'suitcase, box'
<i>kókwi</i>	<i>ndzèkésì</i>	'ass'
<i>ndíp</i>	<i>sété</i>	'Satan'
<i>pík</i>	<i>màník</i>	'milk'

4.3. Adaptation strategies of loanwords in Nda'nda'

In order to conform to the phonetic and syllable structure of Nda'nda', loanwords are generally adapted, that is subjected to phonological and morphological restructuring. Here, phonetic/phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantic adaptations of borrowing in Nda'nda' will be discussed.

4.3.1. Phonetic and phonological adaptation

According to Kang (2011), "borrowed words usually undergo "adaptation" processes to conform to the structural constraints of the borrowing language phonology. Such adaptation affects all facets of phonological structure". Every word that enters the Nda'nda' language has to comply with its phonological structure. Before being part of the language, loanwords undergo a lot of phonological processes. Some of them are presented below.

Rephonalization is a process whereby the words of the source language are pronounced with the recipient language accent. In this particular case, English, pidgin-English and French words are pronounced with Nda'nda' accent. This is only possible thanks to the substitution of stress and accent for tones. To this effect, Biloa (2004)

says: “When English and French words leave their language, they acquire tones which are distinctive features of Bantu languages”. To have a clear picture of the phenomenon, let us consider the following example where a word is presented before and after being borrowed.

(4) **English** 'kitʃɪn
Nda'nda' kɪʃɪp

In the example (4) in English, the diacritic in front a syllable indicates that it is stressed and we see how the stress patterns of English are being replaced by the tones of Nda'nda'. The first syllable of *kitchen* that is not stressed bears a low tone in Nda'nda' and the other syllable that is stressed bears a high tone in the language.

Epenthesis is a type of cluster simplification which consists of inserting vowels to break consonant clusters coming from the donor language. This process is attested in Nda'nda' in certain loanwords from English as illustrated in the following examples.

(5) Loanword	Transcription	Nda'nda'
<i>school</i>	<i>sku:l</i>	<i>səkú</i>
<i>Christmas</i>	<i>krɪsmas</i>	<i>kɪlɪsimì</i>
<i>milk</i>	<i>mælk</i>	<i>mənɪk</i>

In the example (5), we notice that to move from the English [sku:l] to the Nda'nda' *səkú* the mid central vowel ə is inserted in the consonant cluster *sk*. In a similar manner, from the English [mælk] to the Nda'nda' *mənɪk*, the high central vowel ɪ is inserted to break the cluster *lk*.

Prothesis, as Mutaka & Tamanji (2000) observe, “involves the introduction of new sounds at word-initial position”. Let us consider the examples in (6).

(6) Word	Transcription	Nda'nda'	Gloss
<i>glass</i>	<i>glas</i>	<i>ɲgəlési</i>	‘glass’
<i>doctor</i>	<i>dɒktə</i>	<i>ndɔktɛ</i>	‘doctor, hospital’
<i>bicycle</i>	<i>baisɪkl</i>	<i>mbáskú</i>	‘bicycle’

In (6), the nasals *ŋ*, *m* and *n* are placed at the beginning of the Nda'nda' loanwords. This is because in the language *g*, *b* and *d*, at initial position, are most often preceded by a nasal (Gueche Fotso 2015).

Substitution, as on entering Nda'nda', many sounds are substituted for new sounds as examples in (7) illustrate.

(7) Word	Transcription	Nda'nda'	Gloss
<i>kitchen</i>	<i>kitʃɪn</i>	<i>kɪʃɪp</i>	'kitchen'
<i>fashion</i>	<i>fəʃən</i>	<i>fási</i>	'fashion'
<i>car</i>	<i>moto</i>	<i>màtwá</i>	'car'
<i>trousers</i>	<i>trauzəz</i>	<i>tálɪsí</i>	'trousers'

Here, the consonants *tʃ* and *f* are respectively substituted for *ʃ* and *s* and the vowels *o* and *a* respectively becomes *a* and *ɛ*. Substitution also occurs when the source language contains a sound that is not attested in the target language and the latter replaces the said sound by another. As a matter of illustration, *r* in the English word *trousers* is replaced by *l* in *tálɪsí* because the trilled alveolar is not present in any Nda'nda' word since it is not attested in the language. In like manner *Christmas* and *strangers* will respectively become *klísìmì* and *tlèndzè*. This substitution is not done at random; it is also a simplification process both for consonants and vowels. For consonants, we move from an affricate *tʃ* to a fricative *ʃ*, and from a post-alveolar *ʃ* to an alveolar *s*. For vowels this substitution is mostly related to vowel fronting in that most of the time front or central vowels are preferred to back vowels in the language (Gueche Fotso 2015). That is why, observes the back vowel *o* becomes the central *a* (from *moto* to *màtwá*) and *a* becomes the front *ɛ* (from *djakass* to *ndzèkésì*).

Epithesis is a process whereby the high front vowel *i* is added at the end of every loanword that ends with the fricative *s*. Remember that *i* is a default vowel in the language. Examples in (8) give us a clear illustration of the phenomenon.

(8) Loanword	Trancription	Nda'nda'	Gloss
<i>church</i>	<i>tʃə:tʃ</i>	<i>tʃʒsì</i>	‘church’
<i>glass</i>	<i>glas</i>	<i>ɲglésì</i>	‘glass’
<i>watch</i>	<i>wɔtʃ</i>	<i>wésì</i>	‘watch’

Vowel simplification is a very productive phenomenon in Nda'nda' where English diphthongs are simplified into monophthongs as exemplified in (9).

(9) Loanword	Trancription	Nda'nda'	Gloss
<i>bicycle</i>	<i>baisikl</i>	<i>mbásàkù</i>	‘bicycle’
<i>soap</i>	<i>səʊp</i>	<i>só</i>	‘soap’
<i>table</i>	<i>teibl</i>	<i>ntépàlè</i>	‘table’
<i>trousers</i>	<i>trauzəz</i>	<i>tàlósí</i>	‘trousers’

In the above examples, the diphthongs *ai*, *əʊ*, *ei* and *au* respectively become *á*, *ó*, *é* and *ó*.

At the end of this study of phonological adaptations of loanwords in Nda'nda', it is clear that on entering the language, loanwords totally comply with the phonological structure of the language. This adaptation is not only phonological, but it is also morphosyntactic.

4.3.2. Morphosyntactic adaptation

The morphosyntactic adaptation of loanwords in Nda'nda' is achieved through their integration in the various noun classes of the language and the agreement they trigger in phrases and sentences. To better understand this section, it is indispensable to summarize Gueche Fotso's (2015) studies on noun classes in the language. In fact, in Nda'nda', the identity of noun classes is not morphologically marked and the only context in which the full range of noun classes can be differentiated in the language is in the observed concord of possessive and/or demonstrative determiners. The language therefore has six classes illustrated in (10)–(15).

(10) Class 1, concord prefixes: Ø-, w-

a. [sɔ́gà wɔ́]

sɔ́k Ø-à w-ɔ́
bird CL1-my CL1-this

‘this bird that is mine’

b. [ŋgíp wɔ̀ wì]

ŋgíp w-ɔ̀ w-ì
hen CL1-our CL1-that

‘that hen that is ours’

(11) Class 2, concord prefixes: p-

a. [sɔ́k pìgà pɔ́]

sɔ́k p-ìgà p-ɔ́
birds CL2-your CL2-these

‘these birds that are yours’

b. [ŋgíp pɔ̀ pì]

ŋgíp p-ɔ̀ p-ì
hen CL2-our CL2-that

‘that hen that is ours’

(12) Class 3, concord prefixes: Ø-, j-¹

a. [súbá jɔ́]

súp Ø-à j-ɔ́
needle CL3-my CL3-this

‘this needle that is mine’

b. [kχwə̀ ʒìgà jɔ́]

kχwə̀ ʒ-ìgà j-ɔ́
foot CL3-your CL3-this

‘this foot that is yours’

¹ The second prefix j-, by a phonological process of spirantisation becomes ʒ- in front of the unrounded front vowels *i* and *ɪ*.

(13) Class 4, concord prefixes: *m-*

a. [súp mè mój]

<i>súp</i>	<i>m-è</i>	<i>m-ój</i>
needles	CL4-my	CL4-these

‘these needles that are mine’

b. [ɲkχwə̀ mīgə̀ mój]

<i>N-kχwə̀</i>	<i>m-ìgə̀</i>	<i>m-ój</i>
PL-foot	CL4-your	CL4-this

‘these feet that are yours’

(14) Class 5, concord prefixes: *ts-*

a. [kpák tsù tsój]

<i>kpák</i>	<i>ts-ù</i>	<i>ts-ój</i>
ring	CL5-your	CL5-this

‘this ring that is yours’

b. [tsój tsìgə̀ tsój]

<i>tsój</i>	<i>ts-ìgə̀</i>	<i>ts-ój</i>
eye	CL5-you	CL5-this

‘this eye that is yours’

(15) Class 6, concord prefixes: *ts-*

a. [lòŋgɛ̀ tsùp tsój]

<i>lòŋgɛ̀</i>	<i>ts-ùp</i>	<i>ts-ój</i>
buckets	CL6-their	CL6-these

‘these buckets (that are theirs)’

b. [vàp tsə̀]

<i>vàp</i>	<i>ts-ə̀</i>
stomach	CL6-her/his

‘her/his stomach’

All the noun classes of Nda'nda' contain loanwords as the examples in (16) illustrate.

(16) a. [títʃɛ̀]

títʃɛ̀ Ø-ɛ̀
teacher CL1-my
‘my teacher’

c. [mbóksì jò]

mbóksì j-ò
suitcase CL2-our
‘our suitcase’

e. [pjé tsùp]

pjé ts-ùp
pear CL5-their
‘their pear’

b. [títʃɛ̀ pɛ̀]

títʃɛ̀ p-ɛ̀
teacher CL2-my
‘my teachers’

d. [mbóksì mò]

mbóksì m-ò
suitcases CL4-our
‘our suitcases’

In the above example, the loanwords *títʃɛ̀*, *mbóksì* and *pjé* trigger agreement on determiners like ordinary class 1, class 2 and class 3 nouns. A few examples of loan words per class in Nda’nda’ are presented in Table 5.

Loanword	Original word	Transcription	Gloss	Source language
Class 1 loanwords				
<i>ndzèkésí</i>	<i>donkey</i>	<i>dɔŋki</i>	‘donkey’	Pidgin-English
<i>ndòkfáwó</i>	<i>duck</i>	<i>dak</i>	‘duck’	Pidgin-English
<i>kèsáŋgɛ̀</i>	<i>cassava</i>	<i>kəsavə</i>	‘cassava’	Pidgin-English
<i>títʃɛ̀</i>	<i>teacher</i>	<i>títʃər</i>	‘teacher’	English ²
<i>màtwá</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>kar</i>	‘car’	Pidgin-English
Class 3 loanwords				
<i>bótlè</i>	<i>bottle</i>	<i>bɔt(ə)l</i>	‘bottle’	English
<i>kíʃp</i>	<i>kitchen</i>	<i>kɪʃ(ə)n</i>	‘kitchen’	English
<i>ŋglési</i>	<i>glass</i>	<i>glas</i>	‘glass’	English
<i>sàkú</i>	<i>school</i>	<i>skul</i>	‘school’	English
<i>ntéplè</i>	<i>table</i>	<i>teɪb(ə)l</i>	‘table’	English

² As mentioned, through Pidgin-English.

Loanword	Original word	Transcription	Gloss	Source language
Class 5 loanwords				
<i>sò</i>	<i>soap</i>	<i>səʊp</i>	‘soap’	English
<i>kóp</i>	<i>cup</i>	<i>kʌp</i>	‘cup’	English
<i>wéglési</i>	<i>scarf</i>	<i>skaf</i>	‘scarf’	Pidgin-English
<i>kí</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>ki</i>	‘key’	English
<i>pjé</i>	<i>pear</i>	<i>pɛ</i>	‘pear’	English

4.3.3. Semantic extension

Even if the majority of loanwords in Ndaʔndaʔ preserve traces of the meaning they had in the source language (semantic integration), some of them have undergone semantic extension. In other words, the meaning of some words has evolved on entering Ndaʔndaʔ. This is the case of *ndóktè* ‘doctor, hospital’. Initially the word was borrowed from the English *doctor* and obviously refers to a medical doctor or to anybody working in a hospital. In Ndaʔndaʔ, *ndóktè* does not only refer to anybody working in a hospital but to the hospital itself. The semantic adaptation this loanword has undergone is the result of a metonymy that has gradually extended the signified from the medical doctor to the place he works in. It is therefore very common, in Ndaʔndaʔ, to hear people say (17).

(17) a. [mâ jí m̀ ndóktè]

m̀k â jì m̀ ndóktè
I PST go to hospital

‘I went to the hospital.’

b. [p̀ntíḡâ kp̀k ndóktè]

p̀ntík â kp̀k ndóktè
people PST die hospital

‘People have died in the hospital.’

5. Compounding

Nda'nda' like many other languages enrich its vocabulary through compounding. For Lieber (2009), "compounds are words that are composed of two (or more) bases, roots, or stems. It is the combination of two free forms, or words that have an otherwise independent existence". In Nda'nda' this process is very productive in so much as almost all the parts of speech associate to form new lexical items.

5.1. Noun + Noun compounds

Noun + Noun compounds are the most common types of compound words in Nda'nda'. Such a compound is the result of the association of two autonomous nouns. Let us consider the examples in (18).

(18) a.	<i>tswápfú</i> 'finger'	<	<i>tswá</i> 'head', <i>pfú</i> 'hand'
b.	<i>ngàkní</i> 'vein'	<	<i>ngàk</i> 'root', <i>ní</i> 'body'
c.	<i>mvàmó</i> 'ash'	<	<i>mvà</i> 'powder', <i>mó</i> 'fire'
d.	<i>súngwí</i> 'hoe'	<	<i>sú</i> 'friend', <i>ngwí</i> 'farm'

The foregoing examples are noun+noun compounds that result from the association of two independent nouns. In such compounds, the importance of the second noun is both semantic and syntactic. Semantically, it gives a particular quality to the first noun, hence the term *qualificative nouns*, and syntactically it determines the noun class of the compound, as shown in the examples (19) and (20), where compounds in (19c) and (20c) have the same noun classes as their second parts in (19b) and (20b).

(19) a.	[tswá tsɛ]	b.	[pfwà]
	<i>tswá</i>		<i>pfú</i>
	head		hand
	CL5-my		CL3-my
	'my head'		'my hand'

- c. [tswəpfwà]
tswəpfú Ø-à
 finger CL3-my
 'my finger'

- (20) a. [mvə jɔ́]
mwə j-ɔ́
 powder CL3-this
 'this powder'

- b. [mó wɔ́]
mó w-ɔ́
 fire CL1-this
 'this fire'

- c. [mvə mó wɔ́]
mvə mó w-ɔ́
 ash CL1-this
 'this ash'

From the foregoing examples, the second word is the one determining agreement in the noun phrase. In (20b) above, the first noun of the compound *mvə*, comes from class 3 and the second noun *mó* is in class 1 and when both nouns are put together as a compound and modified by a determiner, it is the concord prefix of *mó* is used. Actually, the closest noun to the determiner triggers the agreement.

5.2. Noun + Verb compounds

Such compounds are very scarce in Nda'nda'. Only one was attested in the data (21).

- (21) *ʒwətsík* 'food' < *ʒwə* 'thing', *tsík* 'eat'

In the example (21), *ʒwətsík* is made up of the noun *ʒwə* and the verb *tsík*.

5.3. Noun + Adjective compounds

Noun + Adjective compounds words are not very common in Nda'nda'. Let us consider the examples in (22).

- (22) a. *nʃəpák* ‘blood’ < *nʃə* ‘water’, *pák* ‘red’
 b. *ŋgàʔɣwó* ‘patient’ < *ŋgàʔ* ‘person’, *ɣwó* ‘sick’

For instance, in (22b), *ŋgàʔ* is a noun and *ɣwó* is an adjective.

5.4. Noun + Adverb compounds

Such compounds are few in Nda’nda’, but see (23).

- (23) *ndʒəndányá* ‘door’ < *ndʒə* ‘road’, *ndányá* ‘inside’

5.5. Verb + Noun compounds

Verb + Noun compounds are common in Nda’nda’. Let us consider examples in (24).

- (24) a. *kχàkmbòk* ‘thunder’ < *kχàk* ‘scold’, *mbòk* ‘rain’
 b. *tókŋgwì* ‘basket’ < *tók* ‘dig’, *ŋgwì* ‘farm’
 c. *kχwàtsá* ‘leaf’ < *kχwà* ‘grow’, *tsá* ‘tree’

Examples in (24) show that verb+noun compounds result from the association of two independent words that do not have any morphological or phonological alteration as they become part of the compound.

5.6. Adjective + Noun compounds

Adjective + Noun compound words are scarce in the language under study. The few examples in (25) illustrate such compounds.³

- (25) a. *swəswəmbè* ‘squirrel’ < *swə* ‘fast’, *mbè* ‘meat’
 b. *mpèkák* ‘dish’ < *mpè* ‘flat’, *kák* ‘dish’

³ In (25a), the adjective *swə* is reduplicated.

5.7. Adverb + Adverb compounds

Adverb + Adverb compounds are not very common in Nda'nda'. Let us consider examples in (26).

- (26) a. *ʃɪndáyǎ* 'floor, soil' < *ʃí* 'down', *ndáyǎ* 'inside'
 b. *kàkndáyǎ* 'ceiling' < *kàk* 'up', *ndáyǎ* 'inside'

5.8. Summary

At the end of this presentation of compound words in Nda'nda', the following conclusions can be drawn. The majority of compound words in Nda'nda' are made up of Noun + Noun compounds. Body parts and animals constitute the bulk of compound words in Nda'nda'. *ndáyǎ* 'inside' seems to be the only adverb that can be associated to any other part of speech in a compound word.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have examined the various means that Nda'nda' exploits to expand its vocabulary. To analyze derivation, I resorted to Harro's classification of Yemba verbs. Conversion has also been elaborated on. As far as borrowing is concerned, I have shown that Nda'nda' borrows mainly from two languages: French and Pidgin-English. All the English borrowings have entered the language through Pidgin-English. Nda'nda' also resorts a lot to compounding to broaden its vocabulary. The new words result from the association of nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives.

Abbreviations

CL – noun class marker PL – plural PST – past

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