Linking Processes in Patterned Aghem Genealogical Names

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Abstract

Generally, Aghem names are pronounced differently when in isolation since their word-final segments tend to be in their ideal forms, but when conjointly pronounced in a genealogical pattern, a number of phonological changes, typically linking processes affecting sounds in company, emerge. This paper seeks to describe and explicate, using Descriptive Linguistics, the phonological linking processes that arise when matrilineal or patrilineal serial names are pronounced. Data for the paper came from participant observation and a tape-recorded interview which sought to get the genealogical names of the informants. The interview was based on a corpus of one-hundred and four Aghem male and female names collected from thirty Aghem native speakers who were interviewed. The focus questions of the interview required respondents to introduce themselves through their matrilineal and patrilineal family chained names. The findings reveal that conjointly pronouncing family tree names is only possible through the employment of phonological strategies as consonant -vowel liaison, vowel-consonant liaison, consonant-consonant liaison, final nasal deletion and vowel lengthening, coalescence and vowel lengthening, diphthongization, prothesis, and final /a/ deletion.

Keywords: *phonological processes, liaison, family names, patterns*

I. Introduction

Names have remained a mystery as they have the magical power to identify, represent and summons persons of different communities for different reasons. In the Aghem community, names have a distinctive function of articulating one's matrilineal and patrilineal ancestral lineages to a certain number of generations. This is because name-building in Aghem exhibits a unique cultural technique of linking up one's names with those of their pedigrees through a kind of family tree names. In Aghem, name-building can be done in two ways; either by connecting one's name to those of their maternities or to those of their

paternities, thereby revealing their matrilineal and patrilineal ancestries respectively. Whichever way it goes, the interesting thing about this phenomenon is that the Aghem people use family tree names, generally, to introduce one another and thus identify one's genealogical roots to solve some cultural issues or avoid abominable practices such as intra-family (incest) marriage. Linguistically, when such Aghem names are uttered in a lineal chain, they tend to adopt some phonological peculiarities not normally displayed in isolation. Of course being words, their behaviour suits Burquest's (1998:1) opinion that "when words are pronounced within their larger units, there are often differences in the way the words sound, as opposed to the way they are pronounced in isolation". Conjointly pronouncing lineal names in Aghem requires the employment of phonological linking techniques as consonant-vowel liaison, vowel-consonant liaison, consonant-consonant liaison, final nasal deletion and vowel lengthening, coalescence and vowel lengthening, diphthongization, prothesis, or final /a/ deletion.

II. Background

Aghem is a tripartite name denoting the people, land and language of over 50.000 persons located in the centre of Wum Subdivision, Menchum Division in the North West Region of Cameroon (Njuh, 2016; Thormoset, 2007). The Aghem people who are about 51000 spread across basically twelve villages, namely, Zonghokwu, Zonghokefei, Zonghofuh, Magha'a, Kesughu'u, Zonghotegha, Weindughu'u, Waanangwen, Waatio, Tsalaghia, Naikom, and Waadzung (Njuh ibid), migrated from Northern Nigeria through the Munchi land of South Eastern Nigeria, in the late 18th century, into their present area of settlement (Tem, 2012:54; Attia, 2004; Njuh, 2016:13-15; Ketcha, 2018).

Concerning the use of family tree names, it is a widespread cultural phenomenon amongst the Aghem people. In the Aghemland, using lineal names is a priceless tool for identification of self and others to enhance or solve a number of cultural / community issues some of which are choosing a chief or a fon, choosing an heir within the family ranks, handling land partitions or disputes – especially of hereditary lands, identifying strangers, choosing a wife or accepting a husband into a family, identifying one's relations out of the village or simply greeting one another (Thomorset, 2000).

III. The Sounds of Aghem

Aghem, a 'Western Grassfields Bantu language of the Ring Subgroup' (Hyman, 2007:3) has fifty-six phonemic sounds; twenty-six vowels and thirty consonants (Hyman, 1979; Attia, 2004). Previous researchers on Aghem (Hyman, 1979; Thormoset, 2007) have established that of the twenty-six phonemic vowels in Aghem, there are ten simple vowels; nine long vowels and seven diphthongs. According to these sources, the Aghem simple vowels are /i, e, ɛ, a, ɨ, ʉ, ə, ɵ, u, o, ɔ/ while the long vowels are /a:, e:,ɛ:, i:, ə:, ɵ:, u:, o:, ɔ:/

(Attia, 2004). Several possible vowel combinations in Aghem are considered as diphthongs; /ia ɘa ua ʉa uɪ uɛ ɛɪ/ as in **átiá** *stones*, **kɨkɨaŋóm** *a horse* **ûʧuâŋ** *run-off* **úkʉá** *money* **ʉtuí** *medicine, drug, charm,* **ùtu** *crickets,* and **útwɛ́** *band* (Thormoset, 2007:100, Ketcha, 2018).

As for phonemic consonants, Aghem has a variety of consonants, namely, plosives, labiodentals, alveolars, palatals, velars, labiovelars, affricates and a glottal stop. The consonants are /p, b, pf, bv, m, f, v, t,d, ts, dz, n, l, s, z, ʧ, ʤ, ɲ, ʃ, ʒ, j, k, g, ŋ, ɣ, kg, gb, w, ʔ/.

IV. Methodology

Data for this paper came through observation, corpus building and interviews. The observation for the paper was participant. First as a native speaker, I grew up noticing this phenomenon. But as a researcher, whenever I attended funerals and death celebrations, marriages, church services, king-making ceremonies and other occasions that gathered the Aghem people in and out of the Aghem village, I observed how they greeted and introduced one another.

For interviews, I merely accosted people, greeted and introduced myself by saying my family tree names (matrilineal and patrilineal). By so doing most people naturally responded by introducing themselves to me by way of their family tree names (matrilineal and patrilineal). For the few who did not, I then asked them whose child they were (a customary way of greeting) and they all answered by saying their family tree names. After getting their introduction via their family names, I then asked two or more questions about their naming culture, inheritance and the Aghem language. I used my phone to tape-record the conversations encouraging respondents to be as natural as possible. The target places for interviews were schools, markets, churches, palaces, *njangi* houses, funeral grounds etc and other places where Aghem people gathered. A total of 30 persons were interviewed – 15 males and 15 females. The interviewed persons ranged from 32 to 72years. The selection of the 30 was done through random sampling technique with the major variables being gender, age, occupation and village of origin within the Aghem confederation. Some existing works on Aghem constitute the secondary data for this paper.

The data were analysed qualitatively using Descriptive Linguistics. Descriptive Linguistics is a concept that seeks "to describe [explain] the facts of linguistic usage as they are, and not how they ought to be…" (Crystal, 2008:139). It focuses on the naturally occurring structure of a language synchronically (Crystal, ibid). According to Matthews (2014), this concept of language analysis emerged in the 1950s in opposition to Historical Linguistics and was particularly dominant in the USA for synchronic linguistics analysis. In this paper Descriptive Linguistics is employed to objectively explain the phonological occurrences of patterned genealogical Aghem names the way they are, synchronically. The paper applies this concept to describe the phonological

linking processes that naturally occur when matrilineal or patrilineal names are conjointly pronounced.

V. Findings

Aghem names generally maintain their ideal forms when uttered in isolation but when articulated in a genealogical pattern, there are often some phonological linking processes that create changes in sounds. The linking processes discussed in this paper are consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant liaison, consonant-consonant liaison, final nasal deletion and vowel lengthening, vowel coalescence and lengthening, dipthongization, prothesis, and final /a/ deletion discussed below.

a) Consonant -Vowel and Vowel-Consonant Liaison

The first technique of linking Aghem lineal names is by connecting the coda of the final syllable of one name to the nucleus of the first syllable of a following name, on the one hand. This must therefore be a CVC or VC structure connecting with a VC syllable pattern. Hence, a consonant-vowel connection is when the first name ends in a consonant while the following name starts with a vowel. On the other hand, there is a vowel-consonant linking process whereby the first name ends in a vowel while the next name begins with a consonant. In this case, the nucleus of the final syllable of the first name which must not have a coda is connected to the onset of the first syllable of a following name. Table 1 below illustrates these linking techniques.

Table1: consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant liason in Aghem Chained Names

Name One	**Name Two**	**Names one and two Combined**
Abang /ábàŋ/	Ewo /íwú/	/ábàŋ/ + /íwú/ → /ábàŋíwú/
Kembong /kəm̀bɔ́ŋ/	Abang /ábə̀ŋ/	/kəm̀bɔ́ŋ/ +/ábə̀ŋ/ → /kəm̀bɔ́ŋábə̀ŋ/
Mbong/mbə̀ŋ/	Aghem/ág˛m/	/mbə̀ŋ/+ /ág˛m/→/mbə̀ŋág˛m/
Tem /tɔ́m/	Anang /ánáŋ/	/tɔ́m/ + /ánáŋ/→ /tɔ́mánáŋ/
Kang /káŋ/	Abah /ábă?/	/káŋ/ +/ábă?/ → /káŋábá?/
Aghem /ág˛m/	Aka /àká/	/ág˛m/+ /àká/ → /áɣ˛màká/
Tegha /tə̀ɣā/	Buh/bû?/	/tə̀ɣā/+ /bû?/ → /tə̀ɣābû?/
Achuo /átsɔ̀ɣɔ̀/	Mang /máŋ/	/átsɔ̀ɣɔ̀/ +/máŋ/ → /átsɔ̀ɣɔ̀máŋ/
Kwa /kwā/	Mbong/mbɔ̀ŋ/	/kwā/ + /mbɔ̀ŋ/ → /kwámbɔ̀ŋ/

Digha /díɣā/	Mang /máŋ/	/díɣā/+ /máŋ/ → /díɣāmâŋ/
Sih/sī/	Kang /káŋ/	/sī/ + /káŋ/ → /sīkáŋ/
Chuo/tsɔ̀ɣɔ̄/	Kum /kúm/	/tsɔ̀ɣɔ̄/+ /kúm/ → /tsɔ̀ɣɔ̄kúm/

The first six words on table one above show that there is a natural linking process between the word-final consonant of a first name and word-initial pure vowel of a following name in a chain. The last six words rather show a connection of word-final vowel and word-initial consonant of Aghem chained names. Whichever way it goes, the one sure thing is that there is consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant linking in Aghem names occurring in a genealogical pattern.

b) Consonant-Consonant Liaison

More interestingly, another linking technique is connecting the last coda of a first name, in a sequence of names, to the first onset of a following name in the genealogical pattern. In this case, the coda of the last syllable of the first name remains a true consonant whereas the onset of the next name must be a syllabic nasal. Table 2 below illustrates this phenomenon:

Table 2: Consonant-consonant Liaison in Aghem lineal names

Fung /fúŋ/	Mmbi /m̀mbì/	/fúŋ/ + /m̀mbì/ → /fúŋm̀mbì/
Ghong /ɣóŋ/	Mmbi /m̀mbì/	/ɣóŋ/ +/m̀mbì/ → / ɣóŋm̀mbì/
Chung /tsûŋ/	Nnam/ǹnám/	/tsûŋ/+/ǹnám/ → /tsûŋǹám/
Kang /káŋ/	Nnom/ǹnɔ̀m/	/káŋ/+/ǹnɔ̀m/ → /kâŋǹnɔ̀m/
Wung /wʉ̀ŋ/	Nsen /ǹsə́n/	/wʉ̀ŋ/+ /ǹsə́n/→ /wûŋǹsə́n/
Mbong /mbɔ̀ŋ/	Nsih /ǹsǐ/	/mbɔ̀ŋ/+ /ǹsǐ/→ /mbɔ̌ŋǹsì/
Lem /lˌm/	Mmagha /m̀máɣá/	/lˌm/+ /m̀máɣá/ → /lˌm̀m̀máɣá/
Abah/ábâʔ/	Mmbei /m̀mbɨ̌ɨ̌/	/ábâʔ/+/m̀mbɨ̌ɨ̌/→ /ábâʔm̀mbɨ̌ɨ̌/
Buh /bûʔ/	Mmbi m̀mbî	/bûʔ/+/m̀mbî/→ /bûʔm̀bî/
Buh /bûʔ/	Nnam/ǹnám/	/bûʔ/+/ǹnám/→ /bûʔǹnám/
Tem/tə́m/	Nkeng/ŋ̀kəŋ̀/	/tə́m/+ /ŋ̀kəŋ̀/→ /tə́mǹkəŋ̀/

The illustrations on table 3 show that liaison is possible only when the first name ends in a true consonant whereas the next name in the sequence begins in a syllabic nasal, /m, n, ŋ/ . Thus the syllabic nasals form the nucleus that connects to the codas of the last syllables of the first names in a genealogical pattern of names.

c) Final Nasal Deletion and Vowel Lengthening

In some cases, when a series of family names is pronounced, the linking technique employed is final nasal deletion and vowel lengthening. For this dual phonological change to occur, the first name in the row of names must end with the bilabial nasal, /m/, which must be preceded by the high rounded back vowel /u/. Table 3 below demonstrates that the final /m/ of the first name in a row is deleted while the preceding /u/ is lengthened only before a consonant-initial following name.

Table 3: Final Nasal Deletion and vowel lengthening in Combined Aghem Names

Name one	**Name two**	**Names one and two combined**
Ndum /ndúm/	Chuo /tsɔ̀gɔ̀/	/ndúm/ + /tsɔ̀gɔ̀/→/ndū:tsùgù/
Ndum /ndúm/	Bang /bə̀ŋ/	/ndúm/ + /bə̀ŋ/→/ndū:bâŋ/
Kum /kúm/	Sih /sî/	/kúm/ + /sî/→/kū:sì/
Kum /kúm/	Mbong/mbə̰ŋ/	/kúm/ + /mbə̰ŋ/→/kū:mbô̰ŋ/
Tum /túm/	Tegha /təɣà/	/túm/ +/təɣà/→/tū:təɣà/
Kum /kúm/	Kwam /kwâm/	/kúm/ +/kwâm/→/kū:kwâm/
Atum /àtúm/	Cho /tsɔ̂/	/àtúm/ + /tsɔ̂/→ /àtū:tsɔ̂/

d)Vowel Coalescence and Lengthening

Like Attia (2004) has reported vowel lengthening elsewhere in Aghem, the data for this paper reveals an interesting phenomenon whereby vowel coalescence and vowel lengthening concurrently occur. This phonological singularity occurs when a vowel, particularly name-final /i/ or /ɨ/ of the first name in a row precedes its kind – another high unrounded front or central vowel – /i/ or /ɨ/ in the next name in the line. At this point, the two vowels across name boundaries coalesce, say /i/ plus /i/ or /ɨ/ and /ɨ/ and get lengthened to yield /ī:/. This phonological peculiarity also occurs when word-final /a/ of name one preceding word-initial /a/ of name two in a row coalesces and gets lengthened to yield /ā:/, making vowel coalescence a feeding rule for vowel lengthening. Table 4 below exemplifies this phenomenon:

Table 4: Vowel Coalescence and Lengthening in Connected Aghem names

Name One	**Name Two**	**Names One and Two Combined**
Mmbi /m̀mbì/	Ekei/íkɛì/	/m̀mbì/+ /íkɛì/→ /m̀mbī:kɛì/
Sih /sī/	Ewo /íwʉ̂/	/sī/+ /íwʉ̂/→/sī´:wʉ̂/

Ewi /íwī/	Iwi /íwĭ/	/íwī/+ /íwĭ/→/íwī́:wĭ/
Mmbi /ḿmbì/	Ezagha /ízɨ̀ɣâ/	/ḿmbì/+ /ízɨ̀ɣâ/→/ḿmbī:zɨ́ɣâ/
Mih/mí/	Ekei/íkɛì/	/mí/+ /íkɛì/→ /mī:kɛì/
Mve /mvɨ́/	Ekagha /íkɨ́ɣá/	/mvɨ́/+ /íkɨ́ɣá/→ /mvī:kɨ́ɣá/
Dze /dzɨ̀/	Echu /íʧù/	/dzɨ̀/+ /íʧù/→ /dzī:ʧù/
Aka /àká/	Amuam/ámuâm/	/àká/+ /ámuâm/→ /àkā:muâm/
Tegha/tə̀ɣā/	Abah /ábâʔ/	/tə̀ɣā/+ /ábâʔ/→ /tə̀ɣā:bâʔ/
Aka/àká/	Ategha/átə̀ɣà/	/àká/+ /átə̀ɣà/→ /àkā:tɨ́ɣá/
Bagha /bɨ̀ɣā/	Aghem /ágɨ̀m/	/bɨ̀ɣā/+ /ágɨ̀m/→ /bɨ̀ɣā:gɨ̀m/

The last four words of table 4 illustrate that word-final /a/ of a first name in a line coalesces with the word-initial /a/ of the next name in the line and result in /ā:/ whereas the rest of the words illustrate that word-final /i/ or /ɨ/ of the first name merges with word-initial /i/ or /ɨ/ of the following name to yield /ī:/. The imbalance in the number of examples is not accidental as coalescence and vowel lengthening that yield /ī:/ occurs more than that which yield /ā:/.

e) Dipthongization

When some Aghem family tree names are articulated, diphthongization is the phonological process that is used to link them with one another. This is a much straight-forward process achieved by simply connecting a name-final vowel to a name-initial vowel of a following name such that a diphthong is produced. This process is achieved only if the merging of the two vowels of the two names can form a diphthong that is accepted in the Aghem language. But when the combination cannot form a diphthong, other process such as vowel lengthening and insertion is the result. But the peculiarity of this phonological linking process is that the diphthong is formed across word-boundary. Thus, across name boundaries, it is not uncommon for one to hear such Aghem diphthongs as /ai, ua, ui, ɛi, ɔi/. Table 5 below typifies this phonological peculiarity of connected Aghem family names.

Table 5: Diphthongization in Aghem Connected Names

Name One	**Name Two**	**Names One and Two Connected**
Zagha /zɨ́ɣā/	Ekei /íkɛì/	/zɨ́ɣā/ + /íkɛì/ →/zɨ́ɣāikɛĭ/
Ewo /íwʉ̂/	Abang /ábâŋ/	/íwʉ̂/ + /ábâŋ/→ /íwʉ̄abâŋ/

Kpwa /kpwâ/	Ebua /íbúɣɔ/	/kpwâ/ + /íbúɣɔ/ → /kpwaíbúɣɔ/
Sangha /sáŋà/	Ewi /íwǐ/	/sáŋà/ + /íwǐ/ → /sáŋaíwì/
Fu'uh /fùʔú/	Ekei/íwì/	/fùʔú/ + /íwì/ → /fùʔuíwì/
Nnom /ńnɔ́m/	Ewi/íwǐ/	/ńnɔ́m/ + /íwǐ/ → /ńnɔ́iwì/
Nlongho /ńlɔ̂ŋɔ́/	Ekei/íkɛǐ/	/ńlɔ̂ŋɔ́/ + /íkɛǐ/→ /ńlɔ̂ŋɔ́ikɛǐ/
Nnam /ńnám/	Ekei/íkɛǐ/	/ńnám/ + /íkɛǐ/→ /ńnaíkɛǐ/
Atum /àtúm/	Ekei /íkɛǐ/	/àtúm/ + /íkɛǐ/ → /àtuíkɛǐ/
Ndum /ndúm/	Ekei /íkɛǐ/	/ndúm/ + /íkɛǐ/ → /nduíkɛǐ/

f) Prothesis

In some cases, a kind of prothesis is employed for family name-combination in Aghem such that there is vowel insertion after the final consonant of a name before the initial consonant of another name. Interestingly, this kind of prosthesis is achieved by inserting the base vowel of the first name before the onset of the next name. Therefore, there is a kind of harmony between the prothetic vowel and the base vowel of the first name. Notwithstanding, it is important to mention that prosthesis occurs only when the final coda of the first name and the first onset of the following name are not homorganic. As confirmed by the examples in table 6 below, when the coda of the first name is the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the onset of the following name is a non-velar consonant, then there is vowel insertion, usually /a, u, ɔ/, before the onset of the following name.

Table 6: Vowel Epenthesis in Combined Aghem Names

Name One	**Name Two**	**Names One and Two Combined**
Abang /àbàŋ/	Sang /sáŋ/	/àbàŋ/+ /sáŋ/ →/ábàŋàsa̱ŋ/
Fang /fâŋ/	Bih/bì/	/fâŋ/+ /bì/→/fáŋàbì/
Kang /káŋ/	Mbong /mbɔ̀ŋ/	/káŋ/ +/mbɔ̀ŋ/→ /káŋàmbɸŋ/
Mang /màŋ/	Ndum/ndúm/	/màŋ/ + /ndúm/→/ma̱ŋàndúm/
Fung /fɔ́ŋ/	Fang /fâŋ/	/fɔ́ŋ/ +/fâŋ/→/fúŋùfǎŋ/
Chung /tsu̱ŋ/	Cho /tsɔ̂/	/tsu̱ŋ/ +/tsɔ̂/→/tsu̱ŋùtsɔ̂/
Wung /wúŋ/	Mbong /mbɔ̀ŋ/	/wúŋ/ + /mbɔ̀ŋ/→/wúŋùmbɔ̀ŋ/
Nchung /ńtsɔ̀ŋ/	Zuh /ʒû:/	/ńtsɔ̀ŋ/ + /ʒû:/→/ńtsɔ̀ŋùʒû:/
Mbong/mbɔ̀ŋ/	Bang /bàŋ/	/mbɔ̀ŋ/ + /bàŋ/→/mbɔ̀ŋɔ̀bàŋ/

Ndong /ndɔ́ŋ/	Bah/bǎʔ/	/ndɔ́ŋ/ + /bǎʔ/→/ndɔ́ŋɔ̀bǎʔ/
Azong /ázɔ́ŋ/	Ling /lɨ́ŋ/	/ázɔ́ŋ/ +/lɨ́ŋ/→/ázɔ́ŋɔ̀lɨ́ŋ/
Nkeng /ńkəŋ̀/	Mbong/mbɔ̀ŋ/	/ńkəŋ̀/ +/mbɔ̀ŋ/→ /ńkəŋ̀ɔmbɔ̀ŋ/

The first set of four names of table 6 exemplify prothesis with /a/ as the epenthetic vowel; the second set of four names exemplify prosthesis using /u/ and the last set of names illustrate that /ɔ/ is used as the prothetic vowel. At the same time, /a/, /u/ and /ɔ/ are respectively the base vowels of the different sets of names on the table.

g) Final /a/ Deletion

In some cases, there is deletion of /a/ before /i/ in a VCV structure where /ɣ/ is the central consonant (Faytak, 2014). In such a VCV structure, word-final /a/ of the first name is deleted whereas the word-initial /i/ of the following name is maintained. As illustrated by table 7 below, final /a/ deletion occurs only in names that end in /əɣà, ɨɣâ, àɣà/ before /i/ initial names:

Table 7: Vowel Deletion in Aghem Chained Names

Name One	**Name Two**	**Names One and Two Combined**
Tegha /təɣà/	Ewo/íwú/	/təɣà/+/íwú/→/təɣĭwú/
Bagha /bˌɣà/	Enah/înă/	/bˌɣà/ +/înă/→/bˌɣĭnă/
Ezagha /ízɨ́ɣâ/	Ekagha /íkɨ́ɣá/	/ízɨ́ɣâ/ +/íkɨ́ɣá/→ /ízɨ́ɣíkɨ́ɣá/
Ekagha /íkɨ́ɣá/	Ebua /íbúɣɔ̀/	/íkɨ́ɣá/ +/íbúɣɔ̀/→/íkɨ́ɣíbúɣɔ̀/
Digha /dɨ́ɣá/	Echu /íʧù/	/dɨ́ɣá/ +/íʧù/→/dɨ́ɣíʧù/
Magha /màɣà/	Enah /înă/	/màɣà/ +/înă/→ /màɣínă/
Mmagha /m̀màɣà/	Ewo/íwú/	/m̀màɣà/ +/íwú/→/m̀màɣíwú/

Table 7 above demonstrates that there is /a/ deletion in the construction of Aghem chained lineal names. As revealed by data for this paper, there is deletion of the second vowel in a VCV structure where the consonant is the velar nasal fricative – [ɣ].

VI. Conclusion

So far, this paper has demonstrated the phonological peculiarity of Aghem serial genealogical names which, when pronounced in isolation, have their ideal forms but when connected, with other words (names), several phonological changes occur. Amongst these changes, this paper has discussed consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant liaison, consonant-consonant liaison, final nasal

deletion and vowel lengthening, vowel coalescence and lengthening, dipthongization, prothesis, and final /a/ deletion.

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APPENDICES

a) Appendix 1: List of Aghem Names

1.	Abah	28. Chung	55.Lem	82. Nsen
2.	Abang	29.Chuo	56. Ling	83. Nsiagha
3.	Abeng	30.Dze	57. Magha	84. Nsih
4.	Afuh	31. Ebua	58. Mang `	85. Nyang
5.	Achuo	32. Echu	59. Mbong	86. Nyangha
6.	Aghem	33.Enah	60. Mmagha	87. Nyo'oh
7.	Aka	34. Ewi	61. Mmbei	88. Sa'ah
8.	Akwo	35.Ewo	62. Mmbi	89. Sang
9.	Amih	36.Ezagha	63. Mve	90. Sangha
10.	Anang	37. Fang	64. Nang	91. Seng
11.	Atagha	38. Fuei	65. Nchia	92. Sih
12.	Atum	39. Fuh	66. Nchu	93. Tegha
13.	Azang	40. Fu'uh	67. Ndze	94. Tem

14. Azong
15. Awah
16. Bəí (Bei)
17. Bih
18. Bàghà
19. Bàh
20. Beng
21. Bih
22. Bong
23. Bugho/ Bua
24. Buh /bûʔ/
25. Cheng
26. Chu /ʧú/
27. Chu /tsù/
41. Fung
42. Ghong
43. Kah
44. Kang
45. Kangha
46. Kebe
47. Kebii
48. Kedze
49. Kembong
50. Ketcha
51. Kom
52. Kuh
53. Kum
54. Lang
68. Ndzei
69. Ndong
70. Mihndong
71. Ndum
72. Ngie
73. Ngum
74. Njwei
75. Njuh
76. Nkeng
77. Nkongho
78. Nlongho
79. Nnam
80. Nnom
81. Nsangha
95. Waakia
95. Wallem
96. Wung
97. Yoh
98. Zagha
99. Zam
100. Zang
101. Zih
102. Zong
103. Zugho
104. Zuh

b) Appendix 2: Interview

1) zɨn záɣà ìlɔ́ ndɔ́ɣɔ́ (What is your name?)
2) wùlɔ́ wā ndəɣɔ̀ (Whose child are you?)
3) ù wù dzí ɣɨ ndəɣɔ̀ (With whom did he/she give birth to you?)
4) ɣí wú dzí ɣé (Where were you born?)
5) ɣí wú dzí á nùm ɣékɔ̌ (In which year were you born?)
6) wù fǎʔà kwɔ̀ (What do you do for a living?)

c) Appendix 3: List of Informants

S/N	Sex	Age	Profession	Native Village
01	M	48	Teaching	Kesughu
02	M	52	Teacher	Naikom
03	M	68	Retired Delegate	Kesughu
04	M	59	Farmer	Waadzung
05	M	62	Politician	Zonghokwu
06	M	41	Policeman	Zonghokwu
07	M	39	Soldier	Weindughu'u
08	M	55	Businessman	Kesughu
09	M	53	Farmer	Magha'a
10	M	52	notable	Weindughu'u
11	M	59	Builder	Kesughu
12	M	65	Retired Teacher	Tsalaghia
13	M	63	Businessman	Zonghokefei
14	M	47	Researcher	Zonghofuh
15	M	29	Medical Doctor	Kesughu
16	F	53	Teacher	Waanangwen
17	F	48	Nurse	Naikom

18	F	47	Head Teacher	Zonghokwu
19	F	62	Business woman	Magha'a
20	F	64	Business	Magha'a
21	F	72	Farmer	Naikom
22	F	68	Farmer	Zonghokwu
23	F	65	Retired Teacher	Kesughu
24	F	42	Policewoman	Naikom
25	F	40	Soldier	Waanangwen
26	F	39	Teacher	Waanangwen
27	F	43	Teacher	Zonghokefei
28	F	50	Building contractor	Kesughu
29	F	60	Teacher	Weindughu'u
30	F	63	Retired Teacher	Zonghofuh