

Class system of Proto-  
Haag 1971.

the Anyang and Manta  
Life Division, Cameroons  
J. Sharwood Smith and  
at Cameroon Archives  
4.

Assumbo Area, Mamfe  
Province, by Capt. J.  
(West Cameroon Ar-  
no. 13251, 21.7.136),

## A WORDLIST OF CAMEROUNIAN BOKI

by H. Jungraithmayr

with Comparative Remarks  
on the Boki Class System

by G. Mieke

Boki (Nki, Úkí) is a Bendi (Cross River 1) language (Williamson 1973) and is mainly spoken in the north-eastern part of the Southeastern State of Nigeria; according to various Assessment Reports as well as information received 1971 during a short survey visit to Mamfe' Boki is also spoken in the following villages on the Cameroun side of the border:<sup>2</sup>

Ndouap and Badjé, situated on the Cross River, opposite to each other (about 5° 56' Lat. and 9° 11' Long.);

Abonandou (Abondadu<sup>3</sup>), on the Cross River, at the mouth of the Cross River tributary Moumaya;

Kajifou (Kàjifò<sup>3/4</sup>), about 10-15 km north of Abonandou;

Boka, Dadi, Bodam, Ékoéssem (Ekukesem<sup>3</sup>), I and II, all of which roughly on the 6<sup>th</sup> degree Lat. (and between 9° and 9° 10' Long.);

the border places Obonyé I, II and III (about 6° 08' Lat.) seem to be basically Anyang speaking with Boki as a second language<sup>4</sup>

In Current Trends (1971, p. 784) 85.000 is given as the number of Boki speakers in Nigeria and Cameroun. No comprehensive study of this important Cross River 1 (or Bendi) language has been published so far, although intensive work on Nigerian dialects of Boki is being carried out since a number of years by members of the Lutheran Mission (Ogoja): Charles Brehmer<sup>5</sup> is working on the Osokom dialect, Delbert H. Springer on the Abú dialect and Paul C. Bruns on the Irruan (Erwe) dialect. De Wolf (1971) draws all his material from unpublished notes of these missionary researchers.

The following incomplete Swadesh-100-wordlist would not deserve publishing were it not for two reasons: firstly, no data of a Cameroun Boki dialect seem to have been published so far, secondly, the actual dialect of Kajifo shows certain features and phonological changes that may be of interest for comparative work. In many respects it shows tendencies (e.g. towards simplification) with the Erwe (Irruan) dialect, the shift from b- → v- in the plural prefix of cl. 2, however, does not seem to occur in any of the other dialects on the Nigerian side of the border; e.g.

	Osokom	Abú	Erwe (Irruan)	Kajifo
Person	ò-nèt / bà-	ò-nèt / ?	ò-nĩ / bò-	ò-nè / vâ-

The list was recorded at a session in Mamfe on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 1971 in cooperation with Mr. Benedict Odi (ódi), then about 24 years old. The words were also registered on a Uher tape recorder; moreover, a Boki story on the Pig and the Tortoise, spoken by Mr. Benedict's brother David Odi, was

also tape-recorded.

The Wordlist

16	woman <sup>6</sup>	ò-nyĩnyĩ / vâ-	5
17	man	ò-nyĩncé / vâ-	5
18	person	ò-nè / vâ-	5
19	fish	kà-kòlĩ / è-	5
20	bird	kà-nùlòŋ / ù-	5
21	dog	kà-bĩ / ù-	5
22	louse	ò-lée / è-	5
23	tree	kè-cĩ / vè-	5
26	root	ò-lĩ / è-	5
28	skin	bè-kò	6
29	flesh, meat, animal	é-nyân	6
30	blood	bà-lón	6
31	bone	kè-kú / vè-	6
33	egg	lè-cè / à-	6
34	horn	ò-twón / è-	6
35	tail	ò-cĩ / è-	6
38	head	lè-shĩ / à-	6
39	ear	ù-tòŋ / à-	6
40	eye	lè-cĩ / à-	7
41	nose	n-júŋ / vâ-n-júŋ	7
42	mouth	ò-tsám / è-	7
43	tooth	ò-sháŋ / à-	7
44	tongue	kà-bávò / ù-	7
45	nail	kè-mfwè / vè-	7
46	leg	kè-kéá / vè-	7
48	arm	ò-búò / à-	8
49	belly	lè-fél / à-	8

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Erwe (Irruan) Kajifo  
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also tape-recorded.

The Wordlist

16 woman <sup>6</sup>	ò-nyínyî / vâ-	50 neck	kè-tôŋ / vè-
17 man	ò-nyîncé / vâ-	51 breast(s)	lè-bê / à-
18 person	ò-nè / vâ-	52 heart	lè-té / à-
19 fish	kà-kòlf / è-	54 drink !	júá
20 bird	kà-nùlôn / ù-	55 eat !	dí
21 dog	kà-bí / ù-	56 bite !	jwón
22 louse	ò-lée / è-	57 see !	lí
23 tree	kè-cí / vè-	58 hear !	jùò
26 root	ò-lí / è-	59 know (!)	nyêl
28 skin	bè-kò	60 sleep !	lê
29 flesh, meat, animal	é-nyân	61 die !	kpú
30 blood	bà-lón	62 kill !	jù
31 bone	kè-kú / vè-	63 swim !	wíá
33 egg	lè-cè / à-	64 fly !	fè / fê (= slaughter !)
34 horn	ò-twón / è-	66 come !	bíá
35 tail	ò-cí / è-	67 lie !	lí
38 head	lè-shí / à-	(buy !)	lé)
39 ear	ù-tôn / à-	68 sit !	kú
40 eye	lè-cí / à-	69 stand !	dám
41 nose	n-jún / vâ-n-jún	(= go !)	
42 mouth	ò-tsám / è-	70 give !	kyè
43 tooth	ò-shán / à-	72 sun	ó-bíŋú
44 tongue	kà-bávò / ù-	73 moon	ò-tùgákù
45 nail	kè-mfwè / vè-	75 water	ó-mû
46 leg	kè-kéá / vè-	77 stone	ù-kéá / à-
48 arm	ò-búò / à-	(cf. 46 leg)	
49 belly	lè-fél / à-	78 sand	é-shyânshé
		82 fire	ò-kwéà / è-
		85 path	ù-kó / à-

86 mountain kà-kù / è-      100 name      lè-jên / à-  
 92 night      ù-cú / vâ-

In addition to the Swadesh list the independent pronouns as well as the numerals 1-11, 15, 20, 21, 30, 35, 40 and 100 have been taken down.

Independent Pronouns

Sg. 1 mē	Pl. 1 bē (?)
2 wò	2 bē (?)
3 ñnyí	3 ñbé

Numerals

1 ðbónè	11 lèkpú lèdèn
2 èfè	15 òní lèkéá
3 ècâ	20 ùjàṅ
4 ènyí	21 ùjàṅ èsèm ðbónè
5 ètáŋi	30 ùjàṅ èsèm lèkpú (20+10)
6 nyâcâ	40 vâjàṅ vâ èfè (2 x 20)
7 kâcâkányí	100 vâjàṅ vâtáŋi (5 x 20)
8 nyílěnyí	
9 kátánèkányí	
10 lèkpú	

Note

The numerals are based upon a vigesimal system (cf. 30, 40, 100), something quite frequent in Benue-Congo and Kwa languages. - The roots for 2-5 are clearly Proto-Niger-Congo (cf. Williamson 1973), whereas that for 1 seems to be restricted to Bendi (Cross River 1).

Comparative Remarks on the  
(by Gudrun Mieke)

The following remarks on the nominal classes are based on list; i. e. without considering

- 1) ò- / vâ- (PBC \*ù / \*ba)<sup>7</sup>  
cf. 16, 17, 18.
- 2) ò- (ò-) / è- (è-) (PBC \*ú /  
cf. 22, 26, 34, 35, 42, 8  
a) In contradiction to de V material is based on three this class gender does ex indicated by de Wolf below \*ú / \*í.  
b) Note the low tone both
- 3) lè- / à- (PBC \*li / \*a)  
cf. 33, 38, 40, 49, 51, 5  
a) As opposed to the other 117), the shape of the singular palatalization.
- 4) kè- / vè- (PBC \*ki / \*bi)  
cf. 23, 31, 45, 46, 50.  
a) As opposed to the other the sg. prefix shows no p
- 5) kâ- / è- (è-) (PBC \*ka / X.  
Only two items, cf. 19, 8  
a) In contradiction to de V class gender does seem to  
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Comparative Remarks on the Boki Class System

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The following remarks on the prefix system of the nominal classes are based on the preceding word-list; i. e. without considering concord prefixes.

- 1 bè (?)
- 2 bè (?)
- 3 mbé

- lèkpú lèdèn
- òní lèkéá
- ùjàn
- ùjàn èsèm òbónè
- ùjàn èsèm lèkpú (20+10)
- vàjàn và èfè (2 x 20)
- vàjàn vàtáhi (5 x 20)

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1) ò- / v à- (PBC \*ù / \*ba)<sup>7</sup>  
 cf. 16, 17, 18.

2) ò- (ò-) / è- (è-) (PBC \*ú / \*í)  
 cf. 22, 26, 34, 35, 42, 82.

a) In contradiction to de Wolf (1971, 119), whose material is based on three Nigerian dialects, this class gender does exist here. All PBC roots indicated by de Wolf belong to the class gender \*ú / \*í.

b) Note the low tone both in sg. and pl.

3) lè- / à- (PBC \*li / \*a)  
 cf. 33, 38, 40, 49, 51, 52, 100.

a) As opposed to the other dialects (de Wolf 1971, 117), the shape of the singular prefix shows no palatalization.

4) kè- / vè- (PBC \*ki / \*bi)  
 cf. 23, 31, 45, 46, 50.

a) As opposed to the other dialects, the shape of the sg. prefix shows no palatalization.

5) kà- / è- (è-) (PBC \*ka / X - X = \*í or \*ti)  
 Only two items, cf. 19, 86.

a) In contradiction to de Wolf (1971, 119), this class gender does seem to exist.

b) Note the low tone of the plural prefix.

6) kà- / ù- (PBC \*ka / X - X = ?)

Only three items, cf. 20, 21, 44.

a) Concerning the gender ka / bu of the Nigerian dialects, de Wolf (1971, 118) writes: "The gender does not manifest any stem content reminiscent of PBC \*ka / X - genders. Still, the diminutive usage of the gender ka / bu (by means of the replaceive noun prefix kǎ- / bǔ-) reminds one of the PBC autonomous gender \*ka / X. Thus class ka of Bok can be assigned to PBC \*ka".

b) According to the material presented above Boki-Kajifo /u/ corresponds to \*ku and not \*bu, cf. 7). Note that in Kagoro (de Wolf 1971, 88) there is also a class gender ka- / ku-.

7) ù- / à- (PBC \*ku / \*a)

Only three items, cf. 39, 77, 85.

a) De Wolf (1971, 118) ascertains in the other dialects a shift of the mentioned roots from class \*ku / \*a to class \*bu / \*a. Item No. 48 only participates in this shift (according the phonological rules, the reflex of \*bu / \*a is o- / a-).

8) ù- / vâ- (PBC ?)

Only one item, cf. 92.

a) Usually this root belongs to the class gender \*bu / í. But according to the phonological rules u- corresponds to \*ku-.

9) ñ- / vâ-ñ- (PBC ?)

Only one item, cf. 41.

a) De Wolf (1971, 119) mentions "nasal prefixes and concord markers N- and mu for cl. o (if the gender is o / ba ): Since no nasal has been re-

constructed for any of the \*ù of PBC, the Bok nasals interpreted as an innovation might be the cause". Concerning this root it is difficult to say \*ù / \*ba.

10) ò- / à- (PBC bu / a)

Only two items, cf. 43, 44. According to de Wolf there is a shift from \*bu / \*a to \*ku / \*a in the other dialects. This shift, in No. 44, shows this shift, in No. 44, class \*ku / \*a to \*bu / \*a, cf.

11) Single class gender ò- (PE)  
Only one item, cf. 73.

12) Single class gender ó- (PE)  
Only two items, cf. 72, 73.  
a) Probably identical with item 2). Note the different reflexes.  
b) Items from the other dialects.

13) Single class gender bà- (PE)  
Only one item, cf. 30.  
a) Influence from other dialects, cf. Kenyang, where the prefix is \*ba when there is no nasal in the root.

14) Single class gender bè- (PE)  
Only one item, cf. 28.  
a) In the other dialects this root is \*î- / í- (PBC \*î / í).  
b) Probably pl. prefix of class 10 under 13).

X - X = ?)

cf. 20, 21, 44.

gender ka / bu of the Nigerian (1971, 118) writes: "The gender of many stem content reminiscent of class 10. Still, the diminutive

ka / bu (by means of the re-ka- / bū-) reminds one of the gender \*ka / X. Thus class 10 is assigned to PBC \*ka".

material presented above corresponds to \*ku and not \*bu, Kagoro (de Wolf 1971, 88) has gender ka- / ku-.

cf. 39, 77, 85.

18) ascertains in the other items mentioned roots from class 10. Item No. 48 only participating according to the phonological rule bu / \*a is o- / a-).

2.

belongs to the class gender 10; to the phonological rules 1-.

1.

9) mentions "nasal prefixes N- and mu for cl. 10 (if the root is nasal). Since no nasal has been re-

constructed for any of the class markers of cl. 10 of PBC, the Bok nasals probably have to be interpreted as an innovation. Bantu influence might be the cause". Considering the meaning of this root it is difficult to group it into class 10 / \*ba.

10) ò- / à- (PBC bu / a)

Only two items, cf. 43, 48.

According to de Wolf there is a shift from \*li / \*a to \*bu / \*a in the other dialects; here No. 43 only shows this shift, in No. 48 there is a shift from class \*ku / \*a to \*bu / \*a, cf. 7).

11) Single class gender ò- (PBC \*ú ?)

Only one item, cf. 73.

12) Single class gender ó- (PBC \*ú ?)

Only two items, cf. 72, 75.

a) Probably identical with 11) and sg. class 10 of 2). Note the different tone.

b) Items from the other dialects are not available.

13) Single class gender bà- (PBC \*ma)

Only one item, cf. 30.

a) Influence from other neighbouring languages? cf. Kenyang, where the prefix of cl. 6 is ba- when there is no nasal in the following stem.

14) Single class gender bè- (PBC \*bi)

Only one item, cf. 28.

a) In the other dialects this root belongs to class 10 / \*i- (PBC \*î / í).

b) Probably pl. prefix of 4), note /b/ just as under 13).

15) é- (PBC \*í ?)

Only two items, cf. 29, 78.

a) Only for No. 29 is there a comparable stem of the other dialects belonging to cl. î- / î-.

b) Probably pl. prefix. Note the different tones of the prefixes in Kajifo and the Nigerian dialects.

Footnotes

1. This survey was carried out for a language mapping project that was supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. We offer our sincere thanks to this institution (cf. H. Jungraithmayr and H. Ganslmayr (in press)).

2. According to the map sheet Mamfe, 1:200 000, I.G.N., Paris 1965.

3. Placenames as pronounced by our informant.

4. Cf. Gregg 1925, p. 15: "Although the villages of Kajifu, Betime and Abonando are of the Ebu-Mbu-Clan, and therefore Anyang, their language proper has become Boki through close contact and intermarriage with the Boki. Anyang is of course perfectly understood by the majority of the villages."

5. Cordial thanks go to Mr. Brehmer and his wife for their kind hospitality extended to H. Ganslmayr and myself while visiting the area in 1971.

6. The enumeration of the Swadesh-100-wordlist is kept for reasons of comparability; items 1-15 have not been recorded.

7. PBC according to de Wolf (

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG:

Boki, eine Bendi-Sprache ("Cross River 1"), wird an der nigero-kameruner Grenze oberhalb des Kreuzflusses gesprochen. Hier wird der auf Kameruner Seite gesprochene Dialekt von Kajifo vorgestellt. Gudrun Mieke untersucht die Gestalt der Klassenpräfixe im Lichte des von de Wolf (1971) rekonstruierten Proto-Benue-Congo.

## RESUME:

Le boki, une langue bendi ("Cross River 1") est parlé sur la frontière nigéro-camerounaise au-dessus du Cross River. Le dialecte de Kajifo (Cameroun) est présenté ici. Gudrun Mieke analyse la formation des préfixes nominaux en se basant sur les préfixes nominaux du Proto-Benue-Congo reconstruits par P. de Wolf (1971).

Im folgenden sind Monographien (längere Rezensionen über das Danakil) zusammengestellt. Von hamitischen Werken sind nicht wenige in ihnen z.T. mehr über das Seltene in einzelnen Artikeln zu erfahren. Diese Literatur (s. bes. die Bibliographie) ist aufgenommen, wenn sie sprachlich und seien es nur zitierte Volksdrücke - enthält. Bei Werken, die nicht zugänglich waren, konnten die bibliographischen Angaben nicht überprüft werden. Diese sind gekennzeichnet.

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4. Biblia<sup>2</sup>: *Two literacy cards*