

ENGLISH-BASED LOAN WORDS IN ETUNO LANGUAGE

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me and that it is a product of my personal research. It has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated by quotation marks and all sources of information have been duly acknowledged by means of references.

Adeleye Grace (Mrs.)

Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled “English-Based Loan Words in Etuno Language” meets the regulation governing the award of the Degree of Masters of Arts of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated first to the Almighty God my father and friend, to the Lord Jesus Christ my saviour and closest companion, to the Holy Spirit my teacher and comforter who has been a very present help for me in the writing of the work.

Secondly, to my precious and treasured family – my beloved husband Deacon Sunday Dennis Adeleye and our loving children whose unfeigned love and care encouraged me to complete this work.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis titled “English-based loan words in Etuno Language” is a documentation and analysis of some English-based loan words in Etuno language.

The study is propelled by the following observations:

- (a) that a large part of the vocabulary of the Etuno Language are loan words from other languages particularly the English Language and the Yoruba Language.
- (b) that these loan words are basically as a result of the need for new designations.
- (c) that these loan words have been nativized and are generally used by the Etuno speakers. The work is therefore aimed at finding out the extent to which the Etuno Language has borrowed from the English Language and analyzing how the loan words undergo such phonological changes in the course of nativizing them. The source of data for the research is primary source which involves the researcher’s intuitive knowledge of the language and information elicited from word list. The researcher discovered that there are very many English loan words in the Etuno Language and that in the course of nativizing these loan words, they (the loan words) experienced adjustments in line with the morpho-phonemic rules of the Etuno Language.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a general background to the study. A study cannot be carried out on any language without the knowledge of the history of its speakers. This chapter will therefore give a brief account of the history of the Etuno speaking people, their early contact with the Yoruba language and the English language. The chapter will also contain the statement of research problem, research questions, the aims and objectives of the study, its justification and significance; and the scope of the study.

1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

Spoken language is a purely human activity. It is central to human life. Without language, there will be no interaction, no social activities and no communication. It is on this basis that Trudgill (1966:4) defines spoken language as a “means of communicating information as well as establishing and maintaining relationships with other people.” Language and culture cannot be separated. They are two inter-related phenomena which are dynamic and creative: they change with time and create room for expansion and adaptation of new words and ideas.

The intermingling of people of different cultures and languages bring about language borrowing. Through borrowing, languages accommodate foreign concepts, words and ideas thereby expanding their vocabularies. Haugen (1965) refers to this phenomenon as one of the stages of the diffusion of languages in contact. It is obvious that when languages come in contact, a variety of phenomena take place among which are bilingualism, borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing. A study of loan words

therefore gives us information on the inter-cultural exchange between languages. This work is based on the *linguistic influence of English language on Etuno language* at the lexical level.

1.2 THE ETUNO PEOPLE

The Etuno language is spoken by the Etuno people of Igarra land of Edo State. The language is ‘cousin’ to the Yoruba language probably due to the geographical proximity between Igarra land and the Yoruba nation.

Etuno is the language of the Etuno people. Igarra is the name of the town and so, the people are often also referred to as the Igarra people. Igarra is the Headquarters of Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State. Igarra lies on a Latitude 7.04°N and Longitude 6.12°E. According to Amune (1983:7-9), “Igarra has no serious linguistic affinity with any other ethnic group in Edo State.” As a matter of fact, Igarra does not share any linguistic affinity with any ethnic group in Edo State. The ethnic groups with whom she shares linguistic affinity are found among the Ebira Totos of Nassarawa State, the Toto town of Plateau State, the Ebira Koto of Koton-Karfe near Lokoja in Kogi State as well as the Ebira Tao in Okene also in Kogi State. Other areas with which the Etuno language shares linguistic affinity are Abuja, Itako, and Ukya areas of the Federal Capital Territory.

Apart from the Etuno language which the Igarra people speak, they also speak the Yoruba language. This is very much evident in the Yoruba names which they bear, although this is gradually phasing out as the present day generation of Igarra people prefer to name their children with Etuno names. The ability of the Etuno people to speak

the Yoruba language is as a result of the early missionary activities in the area in the early 30s and 50s. Another reason is their proximity to a Yoruba speaking area of Nigeria, Ondo State. This is also applicable to other towns and villages in Akoko-Edo Local Government Area such as the Okpameri ethnic groups, the Uneme ethnic groups and the Ososo just to name a few.

According to Amune (1983:7), Igarra land covers an area of about 15 square kilometers with a population of about 100,000. The men are mainly occupied with farming while the women weave native clothes and also do petty trading. This is gradually phasing out. The present Igarra youths prefer to take up white collar jobs while the aspect of trading is being left for immigrants from neighbouring towns and villages.

Igarra is bounded in the North by Ugboshi and Uneme-Nekhwa, in the South by Sasaro, in the East by Somorika (Anavo) and in the West by Okpe and Idogun. Igarra is totally surrounded by rocks which give her a beautiful scenery and also in the past, offered her protection against external aggression. The cool refreshing spring water from the rocks such as Ivokoto, Utege, Usege, and Ukovame is a pride of the people. Even after the construction of the Ojirami Dam that provide pipe-borne water to the entire Akoko-Edo Local Government Area, some of the natives still prefer the cool water from these popular springs.

Igarra is blessed with fertile agricultural soil for crops like yams, cassava, varieties of fruits such as mangoes, plantains, bananas, coco-nuts, oranges and most especially palms. The presence of abundant palm trees on the land probably informed the name of the language spoken by the people (i.e. Etuno language). This factor is most interesting because according to historical sources, the Igalas of Kogi State with whom

the Igarra people have co-existed refer to palm trees as ‘Uno’ while the Igarras refer to ‘land’ or ‘soil’ as ‘Ete’. The Igarra people probably derived the name of the language ‘Etuno’ from the presence of abundant palm trees which they met on their arrival on this land since they were used to calling palm trees ‘Uno’. Presently, however, the Igarra people no longer refer to palm trees as ‘Uno’, it is called ‘Ochiose’ meaning ‘tree of palm’ but land or soil is still called ‘ete’.

Igarra town has three quarters – Ugbogbo, Uttua and Uffa. The town is ruled by a king (Oshinoyi) with the title of ‘Otaru’ assisted by a council of chiefs known as the ‘Opozos’. Other title holders (chiefs) are the Oshidu and the Oshemdase who are nominated from various clans.

As earlier stated in this chapter, the Etuno speaking people have no linguistic affinity with any ethnic group in Edo State but with the various Ebira speaking people in neighbouring states. Thus, the Ebira people refer to the Etuno people as Ebira Etuno or Ebira Chao. ‘Chao’ is a mode of greeting in Etuno language just as ‘Tao’ is among the Ebira Tao of Okene.

There are three main dialects of Ebira. These are the Ebira Tao of the Okene people of Kogi State, Ebira Koto of the Koton-Karfe people also in Kogi State and the Ebira Chao or Ebira Etuno of the Igarra people in Edo State. Ebira Tao is considered the standard language while the other two are considered the dialects. This is as a result of its popularity and the population of its speakers. Ebira Tao has the largest population of speakers and it has gained popularity in the media, political and commercial set up. It is however important to note that the Etuno native speakers do not usually agree with this assertion probably because of idiosyncratic or ethnocentric pride of the people. The

speakers of these three regional varieties have similar culture and tradition and there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility among their dialects. The Ebira Chao or Ebira Etuno of the Igarra people of Edo State is the focus of this research.

1.3 CONTACT BETWEEN THE ETUNO LANGUAGE AND THE YORUBA LANGUAGE

The history of the early contact between the Yoruba language and the Etuno language has not been documented but as far as the researcher can remember, in her early primary education, the Yoruba language was used as the medium of instruction in the early stages of primary education in the area. The schools that were available in Igarra then were predominantly mission schools among which were the St. James Anglican Primary School, St. Mary's Primary School, and the St. Paul Anglican Grammar School.

The researcher who was then a pupil in one of these primary schools was first made to memorize and recite the Lord's Prayer in the Yoruba language. Songs and nursery rhymes were taught in Yoruba language. The contact between the Etuno language and the Yoruba language can therefore be traced to the early missionary activities in the area.

1.4 CONTACT BETWEEN THE ETUNO LANGUAGE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The Etuno people came in contact with the English language in the 18th century following the advent of British merchants, Christian Missionaries and the colonialists into the country. With independence and post-independence, political and physical developments and foreign technology brought several lexical items from English into Nigerian languages leading to coinages and borrowings of English-based items of both material

and non-material culture. All these found their ways into the vocabularies of Nigerian languages, and Etuno language was not an exception.

1.5 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

When two languages come in contact, they borrow some concepts which expand the communicative capacity of each of the languages. It is obvious that the Etuno language has borrowed from the English language and it is as a result of this that this research is being carried out.

The English orthography is different from the Etuno orthography just as the phonology of each language is different from that of the other. This is bound to affect the formation of the loan words in Etuno language, and also likely to affect the phonological patterns of the English loan words in Etuno language.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This work is set out to answer the following questions:

- (i) How extensive is the borrowing of lexical items from the English language into the Etuno language?
- (ii) What happens to the words borrowed from the English language into the Etuno language?
- (iii) Are these English-based loan words generally acceptable and used by the Etuno speakers?

1.7 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This work is intended to achieve the following:

- (i) a documentation of some English words which have been assimilated into the Etuno language.
- (ii) an explanation of the phonological adjustments which accompany the adaptation of English lexical items into the Etuno linguistic system.
- (iii) a discovery of whether there is general acceptance and usage of the English loan words by the Etuno speakers.

1.8 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is of great importance and contribution to linguistics since no similar work has been carried out on the Etuno language. While various linguists have come up with some good discoveries about some Nigerian languages, the Etuno language has remained predominantly spoken. Very few elementary documentations have been done on its history and culture.

Since this research is a study of some English loan words in Etuno language, and since it will attempt to analyze some morpho-phonemic changes that accompany the loan words in the process of nativizing them, it is hoped that a study of this nature will help the Etuno speaker and language teacher discover how words are produced in Etuno language and why certain phonemes of English pose problem to learners. This will draw the attention of language learners to some specific areas of difficulties for the purpose of correcting them. The study will therefore be of immense contribution to linguistics as it

will help teachers in pre-primary, primary and post-primary schools in Etuno community effectively carry out their teaching activities.

1.9 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

There are different levels of linguistic borrowing, among which are phonological, morphological, lexical, phrasal etc. This research is not intended to investigate all the levels. The study will mainly deal with lexical borrowing and only the assimilated loan words from the English language into the Etuno language are selected for the study. However, this work does not claim to have exhausted all the English loan words or expressions that have been borrowed into the Etuno language. There could be certain English items used by the Etuno speakers which as a result of research problems were not readily available at the time of investigation.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the critical analysis of some related literature on linguistics borrowing. The chapter will review and discuss the following areas:- language contact and linguistic change, the concept of linguistic borrowing, language and culture as they relate to linguistic borrowing, language as a medium of communication, various reasons for linguistic borrowing, phonological adaptation of loan words, the orthography of the Etuno language, English language and Etuno language phonemes, the Etuno language family and the theoretical framework of analysis.

2.1 CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

The concept of linguistic borrowing is firmly anchored in language contact. Before two languages come into contact, the speakers of such languages must first come into contact and exchange ideas and culture. Language contact is therefore an aspect of culture contact.

Two or more languages are said to be in contact if used alternatively by the same speakers. Weinreich (1966) in support of this notion restrict the use of the term “language contract” to the alternative use of two or more languages by the same person. Language contact can be seen as a phenomenon whereby two or more languages (which are often used by people of different speech communities) come to co-exist as a result of the coming together of the speakers of the languages. The language speakers are the

locus of the contact. There are many factors responsible for language contact among which are: migratory movement, trade, war, colonial expansion.

The result of language contact is usually characterized by linguistic change such as the development of new varieties or breeds of the languages in contact. Weinreich (1966) adds that instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in speakers as a result of their familiarity with more than one language is referred to as “interference phenomenon”.

Hartmann and Stock (1972) share similar view when they posit that interference is the error made by carrying over the speech habits of one native language or dialect into a second language or dialect. Interference can therefore manifest itself through various forms such as bilingualism, relexification, borrowing, code-switching, code-mixing and perhaps language death. According to Allen and Corder (1980), in a contact situation, one can predict that one language will gradually predominate, and over time will consequently displace the other.

Vogt (1954) says that “every enrichment or impoverishment of a system involves necessarily the reorganization of all the old distinctive oppositions of the system.” It is clear from this statement that, in a contact situation, while some languages are enriched as their structure is reorganized and their vocabulary increased, some others are impoverished. It is on this premise that Johnson in Aitchison and Lewis (1996:220) opines that “only a relatively few languages may be enriched and remain so, because they will spread across the world, diffused and split into separate languages.” A good example of an impoverished language which he gave is Latin which split into French, Spanish, and Italian etc. He adds that as a result of this also, some varieties of English

differ quite greatly from one another. Samuel Johnson declares “I am sorry if any language is lost because languages are the pedigree of nations.” Johnson’s concern is normal when he further posits that more people today worry about endangered species in the biological world where figures of loss are much but they have little worry about the loss of many languages. Johnson says that the massive disappearance of so many languages represents the irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth, the priceless product of human mental industry.

However, it is important to note that whether the consequence of a language contact phenomenon is for enrichment or impoverishment, the issue of language contact is a feature of all languages. It is a very important phenomenon because it is the root of all forms of changes in language, be it lexical change, semantic change, morphological change etc.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF LINGUISTIC BORROWING

Many linguistic authorities have discussed the subject of linguistic borrowing in many ways. Gleason (1961:446) for instance defines linguistic borrowing as “the copying of linguistic items from speakers of another speech form.” Spencer (1971:147) classifies loan words as “innovations, which cannot be accounted for in terms of inheritance and which at the same time are systematically related to a donor language.” Hartmann and Stork (1972:29) sees linguistic borrowing as “introduction into a language, elements from another language or dialect by contact or imitation.” According to Howard and De Amvela (2000:32), “when speakers imitate a word from a foreign language and at least partly adapt it in sound or grammars to their native language, the

process is called borrowing.” Howard and De Amvela argue that there is a sense in which neither term that is ‘borrowing’ or ‘loan’ is really appropriate. They based their argument on the ground that the receiving language never returns the borrowed or loaned words. Gardens-Chloros (1999) shares similar view when he highlights three reasons why the use of the term is inappropriate. Firstly, the use of the term implies that the language which is lending consents to the loan, which is not the case; secondly, the language which borrows will definitely not return what it takes from the original language; thirdly, the language which borrows does not conserve the borrowed words items intact, but transforms them to suit its needs. Gardner-Chloros is therefore of the view that it might be more appropriate to use the term “adoption” or “cloning”. Haugen (1972:79) in support of this view says that “borrowing takes place without the lenders’ consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods”. The process may therefore be called adoption since the speaker does adopts element from a second language into his own. To Samuels (1972:92), “changes in language as a result of its contact with another language is variously termed. Terms such as ‘borrow’, ‘loan’ or ‘loan word’ are often used of the receiving language. He adds that more neutral terms such as ‘varieties’, ‘spread’ or ‘transference of features’ are also used. I favour these neutral terms such as “varieties”, “spread” and “transference of features” as appropriate definitions of loan words, because it is safer to use such terms.

From the definitions above and explanation of the concept, a loan word can be said to be a foreign word from a particular linguistic community which has fallen into the

linguistic system of another community through contact. Since no language is isolated, no language is entirely free from linguistic borrowing. Contact with other languages bring about exchange of ideas (culture) language inclusive.

According to Humboldt (1960), the issue of loan words has always been present in the history of languages because its existence has been age old. Fromkin and Rodman (1978) add that loans from other languages are important source of new words and the lexicon of any language can be divided into native and non-native words. A native word is one whose history or etymology can be traced back to the earliest known stages of the language while non-native words are loans from other languages. Fromkin and Rodman (1978) further posit that a language may borrow a word directly or indirectly. This view is substantially corroborated by Howard and De Amvela (2000) who say that the history of loan words may be complex because some words may have entered the language not directly. He therefore discusses direct and indirect borrowings.

2.2.1 Direct Borrowing

According to Jackson and Amvela (2000), a direct borrowing occurs when the borrowed item is a native word in the language from which it is borrowed. There are so many examples of direct borrowing of words from other languages into the English language. The following are Latin words directly borrowed into the English language:

Latin	English
ancora	anchor
buttere	butter
piper	pepper

The under listed are Scandinavian words directly borrowed into the English language:

Scandinavian	English
muggy	Muggy
rug	rug
saga	saga

2.2.2 Indirect Borrowing

Indirect borrowing is said to occur when the borrowed item enters the language through another language. Examples of indirect loan words that came into English are “allegory”, “drama”, “anesthesia”, “chaos”, “dilemma”, “harmony”, “rhythm”, “phenomena” etc. These are Greek words that came into English through Latin.

Greek words that came into English through French include “centre”, “character”, “chronicle”, “ecstasy”, “democracy”, “harmony”, “machine”, “pause”, “restaurant”, etc.

2.3 REASONS FOR LINGUISTIC BORROWING

There are many factors responsible for linguistic borrowing. All these factors can be summarized under contact situation. According to Bamgbose (1995), languages in contact naturally influence each other in many ways and the commonest and best known is borrowing which is commonly restricted to vocabulary or lexical items. In most cases, if the contact situation is a harmonious one, the substrate culture may become bilingual giving rise to the need to borrow concepts and aspects of culture of the superior language. In line with this, Bamgbose (1995) explains that although borrowing is usually mutual, in the Nigerian-languages contact, the traffic is almost one way that is, from English into

Nigerian languages for the obvious reason that English speaking nations are associated with higher technology, industrialization, education, military prowess, standard of living etc. However, he explains further that notwithstanding, there are some borrowings from Nigerian languages into English, or at least into the Nigerian brand of English. Examples are expressions such “kia kia bus”, “tokumbo cars”.

Some factors responsible for linguistic borrowing are discussed under the following headings.

2.3.1 Bilingualism

Borrowing of lexical items across language boundaries may be said to be the result of bilingualism on the part of those who do the borrowing. Haugen (1972:82) says that when a person is efficient in two languages, he tends to borrow words from one language into the other”. According to Awoniyi (1982:20), “the unilingual simply accepts the new words in their vocabulary and becomes an agent in the diffusion of the words”. Bamgbose (1995) adds that such borrowings become the properties of the receiving language as a whole and not just that of the person who introduces it.

2.3.2 Need For New Designations

One of the factors which is obviously a universal reason for linguistic borrowing is the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts which are present only in one of the languages involved. Awoniyi (1982:20) says that the “importation of Western technology brings about borrowing of suitable words”. Samuels (1972) adds that if there is a vacant slot for a word in the receiving language, the usual result is that

the language receives a greater number of loan words. Ajolore and Afolayan (1982:150-152) supports this fact when they opine that the commonest reason for linguistic borrowing is when a language needs to find names for new people, places, objects, ideas, notions and concepts which it has come into contact with. According to Weinreich (1966), lexical borrowing of this type can be described as a result of the fact that using a ready-made designation is more economical than describing things afresh.

2.3.3 The Clash of Homonyms

Weinreich (1966) is of the view that a word may be borrowed to resolve the clash of homonyms, he cites an example that because of the clash between the words ‘carrum’ for ‘cart’ and ‘carnem’ for ‘meat’, the Vosges Pathoise borrowed ‘voiture’ for ‘cart’, and ‘viande’ for ‘meat’ from French. Samuels (1972) shares similar view with Weinreich when he asserts that words may be borrowed to clarify ambiguity and limitations as a result of polysemy or homonymy.

2.3.4. The Need for Euphemism

The need for euphemism is another factor that could be responsible for linguistic borrowing. Weinreich (1966) cites an example that in the Olonect dialect of Russia, the Finnish word ‘Repaki’ became a welcome euphemism for menstruation. Also the word ‘vomir’ in French meaning ‘vomit’ has been replaced by a more attractive synonym ‘rejector’ or ‘rendre’. G.L. Brook (1979) supports this factor when he posits that for some imaginary sins which have been a subject of reproof in the past, the use of loan words could be welcomed instead of words of native origin.

2.3.5 Need For Differentiation

According to Weinreich (1966), a bilingual may feel that some of his semantic fields are insufficient when compared with the other language to which he is exposed. He gives an example that the Italian dialects spoken in Switzerland are said to have gotten along with a single word 'Corona' to denote 'wreath' and 'crown', but as a result of their contact with German, they felt the need to differentiate and then borrowed 'kranz' for 'wreath' retaining 'corona' for 'crown'.

2.3.6 Social Values

Another factor why bilinguals borrow lexical items from the source language is the symbolic association of the source language in a contact situation with social values. By symbolic association, it is meant that if one language is endowed with prestige, a bilingual is likely to use identifiable loan words from it as a means of displaying the social status which a knowledge of it symbolizes. This is evident in learned borrowings of designations for concepts which have excellent names in their original language. This is true of the average learned Etuno speakers who try as much as possible to display their advanced state of acculturation and knowledge of the source language.

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF LOAN WORDS

Phonology is the area in language that poses more problems for learners of a new language. Gleason (1961) reveals that phonological problems in learning a second language are largely those of learning new uses for old sounds rather than learning new sounds.

According to Weinreich (1966), the problem of phonic interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language which might be designated secondary in terms of another to be called primary. Phonic interference therefore arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary language system with that of the primary language and in reproducing it subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language. One of the major reasons responsible for this according to O'Connor (1966) is the fact that some phonemes in one of both languages in contact have no counterparts in the other. Brooks (1979) adds that the less familiar the language from which a word is borrowed, the more likely one is to resort to sound substitution or to complete anglicization. I subscribe to this view because it seems to be the major factor responsible for the phonemic interference of most African languages with the English language, the Etuno language speakers not an exception.

The motivation for borrowing is either that a word was previously unfamiliar to speakers of the borrowing language or that even though the borrowing language has familiar word/expressions, the source language is relatively more prestigious than the borrowing language in that area of vocabulary. As such, the forms of the borrowed word/expressions are usually adapted to the phonology of the borrowing language. This is evident in the English words borrowed by other languages. Examples are Hausa 'demokaradia' for the English word 'democracy', Igbo 'ichafu' for the English word 'scarf', English 'fence' from the Greek word 'fense'.

According to Nelson (1967), as soon as borrowed words are taken up by monolinguals, their sounds are adapted to the sound system of the host language. He explains further that borrowed words may be reshaped by the borrowers as a result of the

regular sound changes that influence the whole vocabulary to the extent that only the trained etymologist can perceive their original source.

Hartmann and Stork (1972) are of the opinion that sometimes such loan words mirror exactly the phonemes of the original language, but sometimes they are adapted to fit into the phonemic and morphemic patterns of the host language. According to them, the most common type of borrowing is that of vocabulary items. This view is corroborated by Bamgbose (1995) who posits that in a contact situation, the commonest influence is borrowing mostly restricted to vocabulary or lexical items.

As regards which lexical classes are mostly susceptible to borrowing, Weinreich says that members of the open classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives) are readily borrowed than the close classes (pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions). This is true of the Etuno language because majority of borrowed words in Etuno language are nouns, they are usually names of new objects or materials which came into the language as a result of contact.

2.5 LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Man alone of all animals has values, beliefs, traditions and also the ability to creatively use language to transmit his beliefs, preoccupations, and values. All these comprise his culture.

Many linguistic authorities have defined culture in so many ways. Tylor (1958:1) has this to say about culture:

culture constitutes that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Hymes (1964:36) in his definition of culture posits that

a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for anyone of themselves.

From the above definitions, it can be deduced that culture is inherited by learning and transmitted from one generation to another. It is therefore possible for the culture of a particular group of people to go into extinction when the repositories of a culture dies without transmitting it to the younger generation. It is safe therefore to summarize culture as the totality of a people's ways of life, such as the food they eat, the clothes they wear, their norms, beliefs, vegetation, climate, technology etc. Culture is some times classified into two: material and non-material culture but Hymes (1964) opposes this classification. He argues that culture is not a material phenomenon. It does not consist of things, people, behaviour or emotions; rather, it is an organization of these things. It is pertinent to add here that the classification of culture into material and non-material, in addition to the view of Hymes above is what makes up culture. Culture consists of things, people, behaviour or emotions and their organization.

2.5.1 Language

Language is a major component of human culture; it encodes the valued preoccupation of man and helps to transmit these values from generation to generation. To support this fact, Hymes (1964:37) states that "the relationship between language and culture is that part of a whole and the frequent assertion that language and culture are independent is not true." He explains further that a society's language is an aspect of its

culture and this passes for the fact that two communities speaking the same language have the same culture. I subscribe to this view taking the Etuno language and Ebira Tao as an example. Despite the fact that they are two entirely different communities but because they speak dialects of the same language, they also share the same culture. The relationship between language and culture cannot therefore be over-emphasized. Just as values, beliefs, customs, morals etc. are basically psychosocial by nature and they are related to the human brain, so too does natural language reside and derive from the brain. It is safe therefore, to say that the relationship between language and culture is that language is a medium via which the culture of a particular society is communicated. In a contact situation between communities, culture is borrowed first and then the need to express that culture, the language is borrowed.

2.5.2 Culture

Culture is influential in predisposing its speakers to adopting a particular world view. It is in line with this view that Humboldt (1960) asserts that a people's speech is their spirit and their spirit is their thought. Culture no doubt determines how the speakers of a particular speech community perceive and organize the world around them. It determines their interpretation and understanding of the world they live in. Language gives expression to these interpretations, for example, kinship terms and taboos are expressed differently across cultures. In most African communities, the concept 'brother' or 'sister' also includes one's nieces, nephews, cousins, kinsmen and other acquaintances whereas in English culture, such distant relations are not considered brothers or sisters.

In the field of colour, English recognizes and appreciates the gradation of various colours such as red, amber, crimson, maroon etc. To most African languages, all shades of the colour red such as amber, crimson, maroon etc. are termed red. There are therefore no lexical concepts for these different shades.

The absence of one concept in one language and its existence in another language of contact warrants the need for language borrowing. The attempt in this research therefore is to discuss the mode, and benefits associated with the adaptation of English loan words in Etuno language.

2.6 LANGUAGE AS A TOOL FOR COMMUNICATION

According to Awoniyi (1982:2), communication is the means by which we pass on from one person to another our ideas, our feelings, our knowledge, our requests, and indeed every aspect of human life. Man's use of language is therefore socially determined to express self, thoughts, organize his world and transmit his feelings, ideas and information. According to Fromkin and Rodman (1978), the need for language became quite strong with communal pattern of living. Language plays the social roles of establishing and strengthening social ties and influencing others. Hymes (1964) adds that the origin of language resides largely on the necessity of man to transfer his inner thoughts, ideas, and cumulative experience to another for the purpose of behaviour control or to impose order in his community. He explains that the early man soon began to live with his neighbours and the language he acquired and used was a combination of cries and gestures or unstructured language which with time and necessity acquired shape and structure.

A review of these few definitions of language reveals that language is mainly for the purpose of communication. Wardhaugh (1986:3) defines language as a “system of arbitrary vocal symbols used for human communications.” Sapir (1921:6) sees language as “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.” Trudgill (1966:4) shares the same view when he defines language as “a means of communicating information as well as establishing and maintaining relationships with other people.”

The common feature in the above definitions of language is that language is used for communication and that man has always used language to facilitate social communication.

2.7 ETUNO ORTHOGRAPHY

The study of the adaptation of loan words from the English language into the Etuno language will be better understood with the knowledge of its orthography i.e. its alphabet and system of spellings.

The alphabet of the Etuno language as contained in the Etuno Primer (1992:5) and in the work of Amune (1991:7) have little variations concerning the existence and non-existence of certain letters. These were examined in the work of Adeleye (2001:20) in which he presented what can be considered to be the alphabet of the Etuno language. They are reproduced below:

a b ch d e e f g j k m n nw
ny o o p r s s t u v w y z

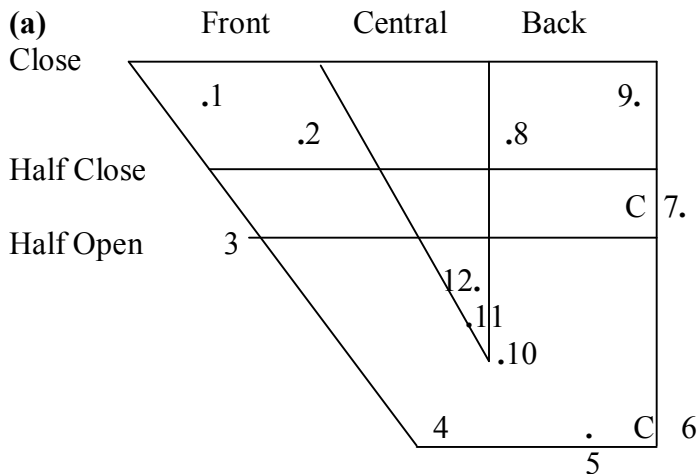
The above presentation is slightly different from what is obtainable in both the Etuno Primer and Amune’s work. Where the Etuno Primer has “ch”, Amune has “c”. Adeleye’s work favoured the ‘ch’ because there is neither a sound nor a word that tallies with the letter ‘c’ in the Etuno language.

Despite the absence of the English letters ‘h’, ‘l’, ‘q’ and ‘x’ from the Etuno alphabet, the Etuno language still has 26 letters owing to the presence of non-independent letters and those which have a diacritical symbol of dot underneath.

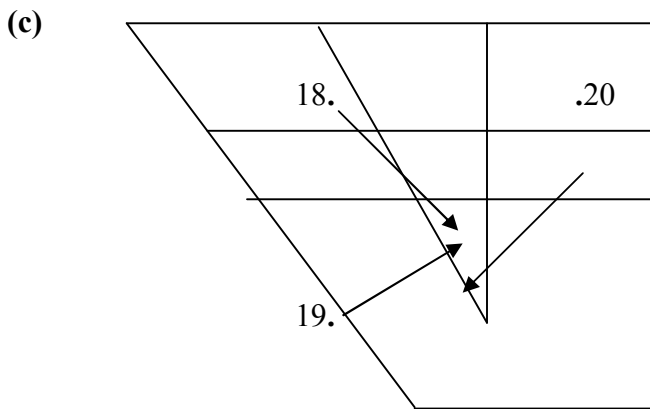
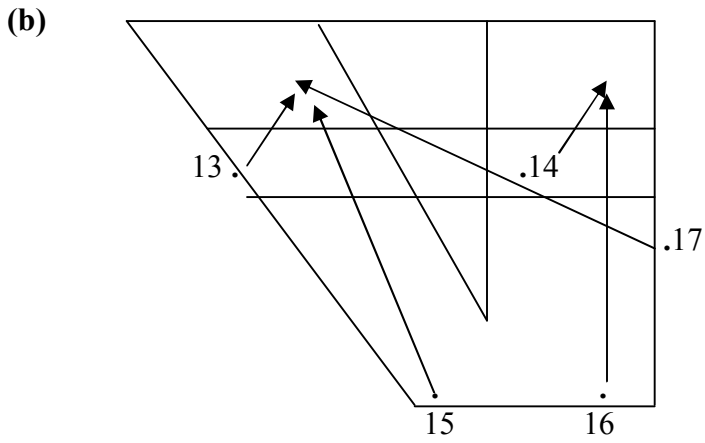
2.8 THE ETUNO LANGUAGE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PHONEMES

2.8.1 The English Vowel Charts

Monothongs of the English Vowels

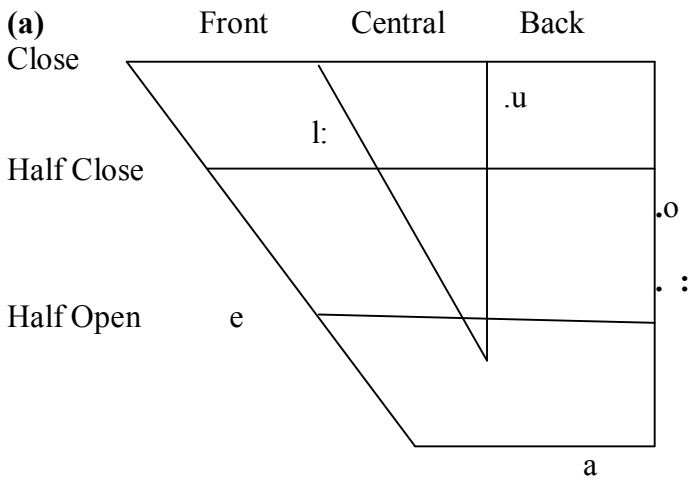


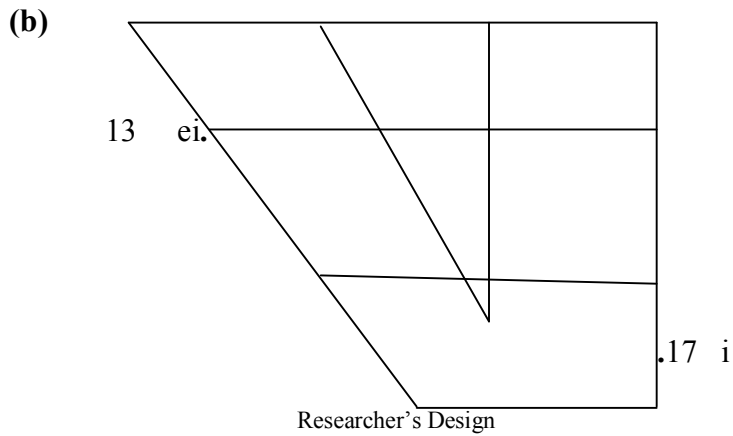
Diphthongs of the English Vowels



Daniel Jones (1993) English Pronouncing Dictionary

2.8.2 The Etuno Vowel Charts:





2.8.3 The English Consonants

MANNER	PLACE								
	BILABIAL	LABIO DENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POST ALVEOLAR	PALATO ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELA	FLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b			t d				k g	
AFFRICATIVE						t d			
FRICATIVE	f v			s z					h
NASAL	m			ŋ				n	
LATERAL				l					
APPROXIMANT OR SEMI VOWEL	w				r		j		

Daniel Jones (1993) English Pronouncing Dictionary

2.8.4 The Etuno Consonants

MANNER \ PLACE	PLACE								
	BILABIAL	LABIO DENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POST ALVEOLAR	PALATO ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELA	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b			t d				k g	
AFFRICATIVE						t d			
FRICATIVE	f v			s z					
NASAL	m			n					
LATERAL									
APPROXIMANT OR SEMI VOWEL	w				r		j		

Researcher's Design

A comparison of the sound system of the English language and the Etuno language indicates that the Etuno language has far less number of phonemes than the English language. While the English language has a total of 44 phonemes, the Etuno language has a total of 27 phonemes. The Etuno language has 9 vowel sounds (7 monothongs and 2 diphthongs); and 18 consonants. As a result of the difference in the number of phonemes, there are many English phonemes which have no equivalent in the Etuno language. This gives us a better understanding of some of the phonological modifications loan words undergo to be incorporated into the Etuno language.

The Vowel Sounds of The Etuno language:

The following represents the vowel sounds of the Etuno language:

1. /ɪ/ - usɪ (thigh), ozɪ (child).
2. /e/ - age (kettle), igene (headgear).
3. /e/ - ireta (stone), ufe (moon).

4. /a/ - aza (people), asise (feather).
5. /o/ - oromi (orange), unomi (bird).
6. / :/ - onoru (man or male), onyenne (woman or female).
7. / u / - uvo (hand), uzomi (star).
8. /ei/ - eyi (face), oreyi (mirror).
9. / l/ - oonoi (umbrella), oiku (anger).

The Consonant Sounds of The Etuno language:

The following words has the consonant sounds of the Etuno language.

1. /p/ - ipanu (plate), opaku (tortoise).
2. /b/ - ibanu (belt), agamba (kitchen).
3. /t/ - atito (ash/ashes), upoto (mat).
4. /d/ - ovidi (front/first), ivedi (bed).
5. /k/ - oku (firewood), ikopu (cup).
6. /g/ - aga (chair), ogede (banana/plantain).
7. /t / - uchacha (grasshopper), ochi (stick).
8. dz/ - ijimo (Friday), uje (joy).
9. /f/ - ufu (leg), ifo (knife).
10. /v/ - ivata (shoes), avi (leaf).
11. /s/ - iseyin (fish), osi (love).
12. /z/ - eza (beans), ize (blessing/goodness).
13. / / - osi (broom), asi (nose).
14. /m/ - umoma (shadow), irama (back).
15. /n/ - ano (salt), ine (mortar).
16. /r/ - ira (fire), irare (tongue).

17. /w/ - awen (oil), owu (thread).
 18. /j/ - uye (meat), eyin (water).

2.9 ETUNO LANGUAGE FAMILY

According to The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1988), Vol. 22, 15th Edition, the largest language family in Africa is the Niger Congo family which has about 900 languages. The Niger Congo family is classified into six genetic sub-groups, viz: the Benue Congo group, the Adamawa eastern group, the Kwa group, the Voltic group, the West Atlantic group, and the Mande group.

According to Hansford et-al (1976) Language Family Tree, the Ebira speaking people which include the Etuno language belong to the Kwa genetic group. Gardner-Chloros (1999) has this to say about the family tree model, he says that the family tree model is largely inappropriate for the reality of linguistic change. This is because human language has ever been characterized by variation in time and space and between individuals. In line with this, recent development has shown that the Ebira cluster belong to the Benue-Congo; Nupoid language family.

The Ebira language is spoken by the following regions – Kwara State (now Kogi State) – Okehi, Okene and Kogi Local Government Area; Nasarawa State – Nasarawa Local Government Area; Edo State – Akoko-Edo Local Government Area. The various dialects of Ebira include Okene (Hima, Ihima), Igarra (Etuno), Koto (Igu, Egu, Ika, Bira, Biri, Panda). Alternative names for the Ebira language are Igbirra, Igbarra, Bara, Kotokori, Katawa, Kotto, Igbira, Egbira, Ebura. ([url:http://www.ethnologue](http://www.ethnologue).)

2.10 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The analysis of data in this work will be based on the morpho-phonemic approach and ethnolinguistic approach. A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit of any language and every lexical item in English language and Etuno language is made up of one or more morphemes. According to Matthews (1991), morphology is the creative aspect of language that indicates how words are formed. It describes morphemes and their pattern of occurrence within the word. Brown and Miller (1991) explain phonology as the study of the phonological shapes of words. For instance, in cats /kats/ the plural marker is phonologically realized as /-s/ since it is affixed to /kar/, whereas it would be /-z/ if it were affixed to /dogs/ to form /dogz/. According to Hartmann and Stork (1972:146), morpho-phonology is “the study of phonological variation – allomorphs which accompany their groupings into words” e.g. the changes in the English plural morpheme (-s) occurring as /s/, /z/, /iz/.

Tomori (1977) says that it has been observed that some morphemes undergo some phonetic changes before combining with some others. In the example of redemption, the morpheme “redeem” underwent phonetic change to become /ridem/ in “redemption”. He explains further that there are rules in every language that govern such phonetic changes and such rules are referred to as morpho-phonemic rules. It is part of the morpho-phonemic rules of English that the word “stand” when it combines with the past-tense morpheme becomes “stood” whereas the word “cook” when it combines with the past-tense morpheme becomes “cooked”. Morpho-phonemic rules are language-specific and may be phonologically arbitrary, they are relatively more productive and involve inflectional morphology, relating to different forms of the same lexical item. The rules

operate within inflectional paradigms, for instance “go” and “went”. Morpho-phonemic (as opposed to phonetic), alternation is ever totally productive in the sense that all new words (loan words, for example) are required to conform to it.

Since this research is based on loan words and words are made up of morphemes, the morpho-phonemic approach is suitable for the data analysis because it deals with the analysis and classification of the phonological factors which affect the formation of words. Words are combinations of phonemes which make up morphemes, and morphemes combine together to form words.

The ethnolinguistic approach is discussed by Humboldt (1960) and Whorf (1956). Humboldt and Whorf advocate a principle of linguistic relativity. This principle claims that each language has its own way of structuring reality for its speakers. According to them, ethnolinguistics is a branch of anthropological linguistics which studies the relationship between a person’s language and his attitude towards it, especially in terms of the speech levels he uses and the prestige he accords to the different levels. Lyons (1983:267) defines ethnolinguistics as the “study of language in relation to culture”. He explains that culture in this sense presupposes society; and society in turn depends upon culture. This implies that on the broadest definition of sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics, the two branches of linguistics will overlap to a very considerable extent.

The ethnolinguistic approach is relevant for this study because the work has to do with a particular language family and since one of the researcher’s objectives is to discover the extent to which the Etuno language has borrowed words from the English

language and also to discover whether or not there is a general acceptance and usage of the loan words by the Etuno people.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the methodology for this research. This comprises the method employed by the researcher in collecting the data, the sources of data and the method of data analysis.

In this research, words that originated from the English vocabulary which have been borrowed into the Etuno language will be classified according to various language registers such as religion, school/education, beverages and confectionery, crops/fruits, transportation, modern equipment, wears/items of clothing, house-hold items, law/defense and vocation/trade.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is a case study method. According to Afolabi (1996:41), the case study method focuses on a single research object and an attempt is made to gather data about it so that the relationship(s) among variables associated with the observed phenomenon can be identified. The research object focused on in this project work is English-Based Loan Words in Etuno language. This is the case study. The instrument of data collection for this study is primary source/intuition.

3.1.1 Primary Source/Intuition

The Etuno language is the mother-tongue (mt) and first language (l_1) of the researcher. This primary source of data collection involves the researcher's intuitive

knowledge of the language. The researcher drew upon her personal knowledge, experience and observation as a native speaker of the language to identify some English loan words into the Etuno language. In order to further enrich the source of data collection and have a broad spectrum of loan words into the Etuno language, a word list was designed and administered to some Etuno speaking people who have proven competence in the language. The purpose of this is to ascertain the occurrence and regular use of English loan words in Etuno language.

3.1.2 Information Elicited From Word List

There were two sets of informants for the designed word list. The researcher presented ten registers and ten English words on each register. These ten English words on each register are basically new items that have entered the culture of the Etuno people as a result of its contact with English. Each informant was required to supply the Etuno words for each lexical item (see appendix for word list).

3.1.3 Word List Administered to the First Set of Informants

The word list for this first set of informants was administered first and the data was collected before administering the second. In order for the Etuno words which the researcher supplied have a reliable backing; the researcher administered these Word List to three elderly speakers of the Etuno language. It is from this data that the researcher drew out her Etuno words for each of the English lexical item given under each register. The three elders between the ages of 60 to 80 were people who have proven competence in the language.

Informant 1 is a pastor who preaches and interprets gospel messages in the Etuno language. Informant 2 is a librarian and informant 3 is an administrator in the civil service.

3.1.4 Word List Administered to the Second Set of Informants

This second set of informants were ten Etuno speaking people between ages 25 and above who were randomly chosen. They were required to supply the Etuno words for each of the ten English words given under each register for translation into the Etuno language (see appendix for word list).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The major task in this chapter is the presentation and analysis of the data collected. Ten statistical tables according to each register are presented to show the coefficient of correlation between the various loan words supplied by the researcher as a native speaker of the language, and the ones supplied by the informants via the word list administered. There are ten words in each field as the tables below illustrate, and there are ten responses for each word. The morpho-phonemic discussion of the loan words will follow after a discussion of each table.

4.1 SPEARMAN'S RANK ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENT

For the purpose of the data analysis in this work, the researcher has decided to employ the Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Coefficient. According to Ali et-al (1991), the Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Coefficient is a ranked data used to indicate how much agreement there is between the ranks of a measure of two variables. If the change in rank is little, the correlation coefficient is accepted to be positive and if it is great, the correlation coefficient is accepted to be negative.

4.2 TABLE BY TABLE ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.2.1. Table 1: Field – Religion

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Bishop	Ivisovu	100%	
Christmas	Ikeresimesi	100%	
Church	Isosi	100%	
Jesus	Ijesu	100%	
John	Ijonu	100%	
Amen	Ami	100%	
Father (Rev. Father)	Ifada	100%	
Pastor	Ipasito	90%	10% - oziosiomosi
Bible	Ivaivu	90%	10% - iweonini
Angel	Angeni	90%	10% - onituosiomosi

From the table above, it can be seen that the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten words supplied by the researcher as the Etuno translation of the English words.

Unlike the seven words which are morpho-phonemic versions of the English words, the three exceptions are accounted for by their meanings:

- (a) “Oziosomosi” – which means “Child of God” for “Pastor”.
- (b) “Iweonini” – which means “Holy Book” for “Bible”.
- (c) “Onituosomosi” – which means “Messenger of God” for Angel.

These translations show that the users have used their own sense of the meaning of the words and they use phrases rather than individual words. This idea is better explained by Jespersen (1972) who says that borrowing is nothing but imitation. Something is imitated but not imitated fully. Here, it is the idea that is imitated.

Jespersion explains further that the borrowed element can be a morpheme, phoneme, lexeme, a phrase or possibly, longer constructions. Bolinger (1975:109) also describes the subject of linguistic borrowing in the following words:

words are not coined in order to extract the meaning of their elements and compile a new meaning from them. The new meaning is there first, and the coiner is looking for the best way to express it without going through too much trouble.

We may infer from Bolinger’s view that linguistic borrowing is a creative ability or activity. Newmarks (1986) makes reference to a Translation Operator whose emphasis is on meaning; that is what the three words supplied above have shown.

4.2.2 Table 2: Field – School/Education

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
School	Isikuru	100%	
Chalk	Ichoki	100%	
Bench	Ivenchi	100%	
Class	Ikinasi	100%	
Table	Itevuru	100%	
College	Ikonenji	100%	
Envelope	Amburoku	100%	
Pencil	Ipensuru	90%	10% - iredi
Paper	Ipepa	90%	10% - iwe
Biro	Iviro	80%	10% for ochiwe 10% for ocherisa

The table above also indicates that the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten English words supplied by the researcher for translation into the Etuno language.

The three exceptions are supplied in the following ways:

- (a) “Iredi” for “Pencil”.
- (b) “Iwe” which means “Book” for “Paper”.
- (c) “Ochiwe” which means “Stick of Book” and “Ocherisa” which means “Writer” for “Biro”.

Despite the fact that there is the loan word “ipensuru” for “pencil”, 10% of the informants still prefer to use the English loan word “iredi” loaned from the earlier name “lead pencil”.

The word “iwe” which means “book” is a loan word from the Yoruba language. This shows as earlier stated in this work, the fact that the existence of loan words is age-old. Humboldt (1960) says that the issue of loan words has always been present in the history of languages. Bamgbose et-al (1995) supports this fact when they say that languages in contact naturally influence each other in so many ways, the commonest of which is linguistic borrowing. The Etuno language is not an exception; it has borrowed extensively from the Yoruba language and the English language with whom it has had contact.

Those who use the words “ocherisa” which means “writer” and “ochiwe” which means “stick for book” have used their own sense of the words to nativize them. Nida (1975) and Newmark (1986) explain this type of translation as literal translation whereby the translator translates as closely as the syntactic capacities of another language allows. The exact contextual meaning of the lexical words of the original are translated as though out of context, yet the syntactic structure of the target language is respected.

4.2.3 Table 3: Field – Beverages/Confectionery

English Words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Biscuit	Ivisikiti	100%	
Bread	Ivuredi	100%	
Butter	Ivota	100%	
Tea	Iti (itea)	100%	
Sweet	Iswiti	100%	
Chewing gum	Isingomu	100%	
Peppermint	Ipepementi	100%	
Sugar	Isuga	90%	10% - aneivo
Cake	Ikeki	90%	10% - akareivo
Milk	Iminiki	90%	10% - Irevuno

In this table, the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten English words supplied for translation into the Etuno language. However, it is amazing that some Etuno speakers use the loan words but still anglicize them in spellings as seen in “itea” for “tea”, whereas the Etuno spelling of the loan word is “iti”. The reason for this anglicization must be as a result of the influence of Western education. The three exceptions in the translations are accounted for in the following ways:

- (a) “Aneivo” which means “salt of the Whiteman” for “sugar”.
- (b) “Akareivo” which means “cake of the Whiteman” for “cake”.
- (c) “Irevuno” which means “Breast of cow” for “Milk”.

“ano” means “salt” in Etuno language and “eivo” means “a Whiteman”. Therefore, 10% of the informants used the word “aneivo” which means “Salt of the Whiteman” for “sugar”.

The word “ireva” is the Etuno name for “breast” as well as any milk produced from either the human and non-human being. “Uno” is the name for “Cow” in the Etuno language, thus “irevuno” which means “breast of cow” is shifted to mean “milk”. “Akara”, the Etuno name for “bean cake” is also shifted by some informants for “cake” Hall Jnr. (1964), refers to this type of translation as loan shift when he explains that sometimes, the meaning of a native form or combination of forms is shifted to correspond to that of a foreign expression.

4.2.4 Table 4: Field – Crops/Fruits

English Words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Guava	Igova	100%	
Cashew	Ikasu	100%	
Mango	Umangoro	100%	
Pear	Ipiya	100%	
Cocoa	Ukoko	100%	
Tomatoes	Itimati	100%	
Orange	Oromi	100%	
Rice	Iraisi	100%	
Carrot	Ikaroti	100%	
Pineapple	Oregedeivo/akataripo	90%	10% - Ipanaipu

As shown in this table, the informants are in full agreement over nine out of the ten words supplied by the researcher. The only exception in the translation is accounted for by 10% of the informants as “ipanaipu”. Despite the fact that there is the Etuno native name for pineapple as “oregedeivo” or “akataripo”, some Etuno speakers still prefer to use the English loan word “ipanaipu”. This shows the extent to which loan words have eaten

deep into the vocabulary of the Etuno language and it is also an indication that some loan words exist side by side with native words.

4.2.5 Table 5: Transportation

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Motor	Imoto	100%	
Bicycle	Ikeke	100%	
Tyre	Itaya	100%	
Bicycle spoke	Isipoku	100%	
Airplane	Anupreni	100%	
License	Inansensi	100%	
Caterpillar	Ikatapira	100%	
Petrol	Ipentiro	100%	
Motor Park (Garage)	Igarenji	90%	10% - Ipaki
Machine (Motorbike)	Imasini	80%	20% - Anopipi

This table shows that the informants are in full agreement over eight out of the ten English words supplied for translation into the Etuno language. The two exceptions are supplied as follows:

- (a) “Ipaki” for “motor-park”.
- (b) “Anopipi” for “machine (motorbike)”.

The Etuno name for bicycle supplied by both the researcher and the informants is “ikeke”. The word “ikeke” seems to be a general name for bicycle in most Nigerian languages. Also, as evident in the table above, some Etuno speakers refer to “machine” i.e. motorbike as “anopipi”. The Yoruba speakers also refer to it as “alupipi”. Both “ikeke” and “anopipi” are onomatopoeic. They are both derived from the sound of the

object when in use. The words of Allan (1986) attempt to explain this phenomenon as ‘blending’ when he says that a blend combines the sense of the source words/expressions in a transparent fashion that derives help from the context and background information. The researcher subscribes to this view and posits that the sound of the objects when in use have been shifted to name them. Jacobson (1973), opines that it is the poetic use of language.

4.2.6 **Table 6: Modern Equipment**

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Electric	Inantiriki	100%	
Wire	Iwaya	100%	
Television	Itenivison	100%	
Radio	Irediyo	100%	
Photo (picture)	Ifoto	100%	
Telephone	Itenifonu	100%	
Fridge	Ifiriji	100%	
Globe	Iginovu	90%	10% - ajopijova
Fan	Ifani	90%	10% - ojasi
Record player	Irekodu	90%	10% - igaramafonu

This table indicates that the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten English words supplied by the researcher for translation into the Etuno language. The three exceptions in the translations are given in the following ways:

- (a) “Igaramafonu” for “record player”.
- (b) “Ajopijova” which means “egg of the government light” for “globe”.
- (c) “Ojasi” which means “that used to blow air” or “that used to fan” for “fan”.

Despite the fact that “irekodu” is the English loan word for “record player” in Etuno language, some Etuno speakers still prefer to use the English loan word “igaramafonu” loaned from “gramophone” representing an old type of record player used in the 60s through to the middle of the 70s.

The Etuno name for the globe of a lantern is “ajopa” meaning the “egg of lantern” while “ajopijova” literarily means “the egg of the light of government”, in other words, electricity globe. The translation “ajopijova” and “ojasi” simply emphasize the fact already stated that the Etuno speakers sometimes use their own sense of the meaning of a word as explained by Bolinger (1975). Allan (1986) supports this idea when he posits that determining the meaning of a new item or expression is best done by applying the background knowledge of the parent language or word.

4.2.7 Table 7: Field – Wears/Items of Clothing

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Towel	Itaweni	100%	
Sweater	Isweta	100%	
Gold	Igonu	100%	
Slippers	Isiripasi	100%	
Bata (Shoes)	Ivata	100%	
Lace (of clothing)	Inesi	100%	
Eye Glass	Okuri	100%	
Curtain	Ikontini	80%	20% - owu
Scarf	Isikafu	80%	20% - igene
Belt	Iberiti	90%	10% - ibanu

As seen in the above table, the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten English words supplied for translation into the Etuno language. The three exceptions are accounted for in the following ways:

- (a) “owu” for “curtain”.
- (b) “igene” for “scarf”.
- (c) “ibanu” for “belt”.

The word “owu”, “igene” and “ibanu” are loans from the Yoruba language into the Etuno language. As earlier discussed in the literature review, the Etuno language has borrowed immensely from the Yoruba language with whom it has had contact. The word ‘ibanu’ is the Yoruba word for ‘belt’. ‘Iba’ means ‘that to hold’ and ‘inu’ means stomach. ‘Ibanu’ therefore means ‘that used to hold’ the stomach. ‘Ibanu’ is a form of waist band with a zip-bag tied round the waist by traders for safe-keeping of money hence the Yoruba language attributed the name for belt.

The word ‘owu’ means ‘thread’ in Yoruba language and the Etuno language loaned it as their name for ‘thread’ and ‘cotton’. Twenty percent of the informants misunderstood the word ‘curtain’ /k3:tn/ for ‘cotton’ /k tn/ hence supplied ‘owu’ as the Etuno translation for ‘curtain’.

The word ‘igene’ is loaned from the Yoruba word for ‘headgear’ ‘gele’. The Etuno word for ‘eye-glass’ supplied both by the researcher and the informants is ‘okuri’ which means ‘cover of eyes’. It is pertinent to note here that this name must have been attributed to ‘eye-glass’ because of the wrong notion that the white man uses the eye-glass in order to prevent people from seeing them or their eyes. Therefore, the Etuno

people have attributed the name to this object on the basis of the function which they perceive the object is being used for.

4.2.8 Table 8: Field - Household Items

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Cupboard	Ikombodu	100%	
Candle	Ikanduru	100%	
Bucket	Ivokiti	100%	
Pan (plate)	Ipanu	100%	
Bed	Ivedi	100%	
Cup	Ikopu	100%	
Kerosene	Ikarasini	100%	
Mirror	Oreyi	100%	
Comb	Ikomu	90%	10% - ive
Kettle	Iketuru	70%	30% - age

The above table shows that the informants are in full agreement over eight out of the ten English words supplied for translation. The two variables are supplied as:

- (1) ‘Ive’ for ‘comb’.
- (2) ‘Age’ for ‘kettle’.

The word ‘ive’ is the Etuno name for a local wooden comb. Some Etuno speakers still prefer to use the native name rather than the English loan word. This further buttresses the fact that some loan words exist side by side with native ones as earlier discussed in the literature review. Weinreich (1966) attributes this phenomenon to the need for differentiation. The Etuno language loaned the word ‘age’ from the Yoruba name ‘ike’ for ‘kettle’.

The Etuno translation for ‘mirror’ as supplied both by the researcher and the informants is ‘oreyi’ which means ‘face looker’. This idea of using their sense of the word or the function for which an item is put to use has earlier been discussed in some previous tables.

4.2.9 Table 9: Field – Law and Defense

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Soldier	Isoja	100%	
Barrack	Ivaraki	100%	
Sergeant	Isagenti	100%	
Court	Ikotu	100%	
Lawyer	Inoya	100%	
Scout	Isikautu	100%	
Major	Imenjo	100%	
Report	Iripotu	80%	20% - tureka
Judge	Ijoji	70%	10% - ojisi; 20% - adajo
Police	Iporisi	50%	50% - onopa

This table indicates that the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten English words supplied for translation. The three variables are supplied as follows:

- (1) ‘Onopa’ for ‘police’.
- (2) ‘Ojisi’ and ‘adajo’ for ‘judge’.
- (3) ‘Tureka’ for ‘report’.

It is evident from the above table that the Etuno language has two names for police; these are the loan word ‘iporisi’ from the English language and the loan word ‘onopa’ from the Yoruba language. The word ‘olokpa’ in Yoruba language means ‘one that holds a stick’.

This name is attributed to the police by the Yoruba language as a result of the black baton normally held by policemen especially in the early days of the formation of the Police Force in Nigeria. The use of the black baton by the policemen and women are no longer common sight. This has given way to more sophisticated weapons such as riffles, pistols/revolver guns and tear-gas.

Beside the loan word ‘ijoji’ for ‘judge’, other words supplied by 20% of the informants, which are used by the Etuno people is the native word ‘ojisi’ which means ‘one who judges’ and ‘adajo’, a loan word from the Yoruba word for ‘judge’ which also means ‘one who judges’. All these emphasize the fact that the Etuno language has borrowed extensively a large part of its vocabulary from the Yoruba language and the English language as earlier stated in this work.

20% of the informants misunderstood the noun word ‘report’ as a verb and therefore supplied the Etuno verb ‘tureka’ which means ‘to report a case’.

4.2.10 **Table 10: Field – Vocation/Trade**

English words	Etuno words supplied by the researcher	% agreement with words supplied by informants	% variable
Tailor	Itino	100%	
Carpenter	Ikafinta	100%	
Shop	Isovu	100%	
Mechanic	Imakaniki	100%	
Doctor	Idokita	100%	
Nurse	Inosi	100%	
Driver	Idireva	100%	
Chemist	Ikemisi	100%	
Barber	Ivava	90%	10% - okuresu
Repairer (of bicycle)	Inipiara	90%	10% - otenikeke

In this table, the informants are in full agreement over eight out of the ten words supplied for translation. The two exceptions in the translations are supplied as:

- (1) 'Okuresu' for 'barber'.
- (2) 'Otenikeke' for 'repairer' (a bicycle repairer).

The word 'okuresu' means 'one who barbs' and 'oteniikeke' means 'one who repairs bicycle'. Again, the users of these words have used their own sense of the words and they have used phrases rather than individual words to ascribe names to the concepts. This form of translation has occurred over and over again in the tables. This shows that some Etuno speakers favour Newmarks (1986) idea of a translation operator whose emphasis is on meaning.

This idea of translation is discussed by Newmarks (1986) and Nida (1975) in various ways. They describe it as interlinear translation, literal translation and semantic translation.

Newmarks (1986) explains interlinear translation as a technique of translation that exists between the two basic processes of translation i.e. comprehension (which may involve interpretation) and formulation (which may involve recreation). Nida (1975) earlier on used the words "analysis" and "restructuring" instead of comprehension and formulation. According to these two authors, these are procedures whereby the translator first systematically analyses the meaning of the source language text into its simplest and structurally clearest form and then determine the stylistic level (shape) which the translation should take.

Newmarks (1986) opines that literal translation in its narrow sense is “word-for-word”, but in a wider sense, “it is being as close to the original as possible.” He further explains semantic translation as an attempt of the translation operator in spite of the syntactic and semantic constraints of the target language to produce as closely as possible the contextual meaning of the word.

The summary of these three types of translation discussed above boils down to the emphasis on meaning. All these techniques have been employed by the Etuno people in the translation of the English words into the Etuno language.

4.3 MORPHO-PHONEMIC DISCUSSION OF LOAN WORDS

As earlier stated in the theoretical framework, the morpho-phonemic approach is one of the linguistic approaches used for the analysis of the data collected. Tomori (1977:31-32) observes that some morphemes undergo some phonetic changes before combining with some others. For example, the morpheme redeem /ridim/ underwent phonetic change to become /ridem/ in redemption. Tomori explains further that there are rules in every language that govern such phonetic changes and such rules are known as morpho-phonemic rules.

From the data collected, the researcher discovered that there are similar morpho-phonemic modifications in most of the loan words. Discussion is therefore based on each form of modification involved.

4.3.1 Vowel Prefixation

As evident in the tables, all the English loan words that begin with consonants are modified by the prefixation of a vowel sound. The most common vowel prefix is /i/ as in ‘ipepa’ (paper), ‘isuga’ (sugar), ‘ikopu’ (cup). Another prefix albeit less common is /u/ as in ‘ukoko’ (cocoa), ‘umangoro’ (mango). However, loans from English words which begin with vowels do not have prefixes as in ‘angeni’ (angel), ‘aami’ (amen).

4.3.2 Vowel Substitution

The monothong / / and the diphthong sound / / do not occur in Etuno language. The Etuno speakers therefore substitute for them the nearest sound /a/ in Etuno language whenever they find them in foreign words. Examples are evident in the following words: ‘ipepa’ (paper), ‘anupreni’ for airplane. However, there is the vowel /e/ in Etuno language but they sometimes also substitute for it /a/ in certain loan words as they find such words convenient to produce. An example is ‘amboroku’ for ‘envelope’.

4.3.3 Vowel Suffixation

The data collected indicate that word final vowels are included in all the words that end with consonants even though such vowels do not occur in their original English forms. The most common vowel suffixes are /i/ as in ‘ivenchi’ (bench), ‘itaweni’ (towel) and /u/ as in ‘ipanu’ (pan for plate), ‘ikopu’ (cup).

4.3.4 Vowel Insertion

The Etuno language does not accommodate consonant cluster which is a common feature of the English language. In order for a word to sound like an Etuno word, any loan word must conform to the VCV syllabic structures of the Etuno language and be assigned a tonal specification. The insertion of vowels in the English words where two or more consonants occur is prominent in the morpho-phonemic modification of the loan words as in 'isikuru' (school), 'ikeresimesi' (Christmas).

4.3.5 Consonant Substitution

The consonant /l/, /r/ and /d/ do not occur in Etuno language. Whenever the Etuno speakers come across any of these sounds in foreign words, they substitute for it the nearest sound in their language. Examples are evident in the data collected as seen in the following words: 'angeni' (angel) i.e. /n/ for /l/ and 'ifada' (father for Reverend Father) i.e. /d/ for /r/.

Generally, Etuno substitute /v/ for /b/ as in 'ivava' (barber), 'ivedi' (bed), 'ivota' (butter), 'ivuredi (bread).

It is however important and interesting to note that Etuno has the /b/ sound but it occurs in very limited words, as in 'iberiti' (belt) (see table7).

The vowel substitution above is so prominent in the Etuno language that it affects names too, especially Yoruba loan names. Examples are 'Ivose' for Yoruba 'Bose' and Etuno 'Adineye' for Yoruba 'Adeleye'.

One major factor responsible for this sound substitution is better explained by O'Connor (1966) and Brook (1979). They explained that phonemic substitution arises as

a result of the fact that some phonemes in one of both languages in contact have no counterpart in the other.

4.3.6 Vowel Length Reduction

Long vowels do not occur in Etuno sound system, the Etuno language does not therefore differentiate between long and short vowels. The long vowels are reduced to the short form in the formation of the loan words. Examples are /u:/ in school which is reduced to /u/ in 'isikuru' and /i:/ in sweet which is reduced to /i/ in 'iswiti'.

The explanation of this lies with Weinreich (1963) who says that the greater the difference between the sound system of languages, the greater the learners' problem and the potential area of interference.

4.3.7 Consonant Insertion

The insertion of the consonant /n/ in certain loan words is characteristic of the Etuno language. Despite the fact that Etuno language uses the /n/ sound to replace the /l/ sound as earlier discussed, they also insert it in some loan words. Examples are 'ikonenji' for 'college' and 'imenjo' for 'a Major in the army'.

In summary, the morpho-phonemic modification of English loan words in Etuno language involve vowel prefixation, vowel suffixation, vowel insertion, vowel substitution, vowel length reduction, consonant substitution and consonant insertion. Weinreich (1966) summarizes these phenomena as the most common type of lexical interference practically available in every language. He explains it as the outright

transfer of the phonemic sequence from one language to another in which the transferred word sometimes resembles phonemically a word in the recipient language.

4.4 GENERAL ACCEPTANCE AND USAGE OF ENGLISH LOAN WORDS IN ETUNO LANGUAGE

In the word list that was administered, the researcher did not ask the informants to supply English loan words in the Etuno language, rather the researcher requested the informants to translate ten English words in each of the ten registers selected for the purpose of this research. The selected English words are basically names of new items that have entered into the culture of the Etuno people via their contact with English. However, words supplied involved a large percentage of English loan words. Out of the 100 words supplied, only the following words are generally given as native words: ‘orogedeivo’ or ‘akataripo’ for pineapple, ‘okuri’ for eye-glass and ‘oreyi’ for mirror.

Therefore 97% of the words supplied are English loan words in Etuno language, and 3% are Etuno native words. This is an indication that there is general acceptance and usage of English loan words in the Etuno language. It is obvious that most of the items in our research are “new comers” into Etuno culture; they are mostly items from the Western culture. As a result, the designation for the loan words can be said to be “new comer words” into the Etuno language.

4.5 FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THE LOAN WORDS

4.5.1 The Co-Existence of English Loan Words And Some Native Words

The data collected indicate that there are several situations in which English loan words exist side by side with native words. Below are some few examples:

<u>English Word</u>	<u>English Loan Word</u>	<u>Native Word</u>
Comb	Ikomu	Ive
Police	Iporisi	Onopa
Meeting (noun)	imentini	Ipade
Wristwatch/Clock/bell	Iwochi	Agogo
Chair	Ichiya	Aga
Sugar	Isuga	Aneivo
Key	Iki	Ukokoro
Window	Iwindo	Ozekete
Bible	Ibaibu	Ibibeli
Bag	Ivagi	Ampo
Cake	Ikeki	Akareivo
Biscuit	Ivisikiti	Akareivo
Pot	Ipotu	Aira/oji

In some instances however, the co-existence of native words and English loan words is a necessity for the purpose of differentiation. For example, the words ‘ive’ which is actually the Etuno native word for Etuno ‘wooden comb’ may be used to refer to both the manufactured and locally made combs, the English loan word ‘ikomu’ seems to be specifically reserved for the manufactured ones. Similarly, while the English loan word ‘imentini’ usually denotes a political meeting or political organization, ‘ipade’ usually denotes a cultural meeting or organization which usually involves the contribution of money. However, the word ‘ipade’ is gradually giving way to the word ‘imentini’ to denote both political and cultural meetings. Another example is the native

word ‘agogo’ which may be used to refer to wristwatch, clock or bell, the English loan word ‘iwochi’ is specifically reserved for ‘wristwatch’.

4.5.2 Why Not Loan Words From English Language For Some New Designations?

Despite the extensive use of English loan words in Etuno language, it is observed that English loan words are not used for some new designations. Two factors may be responsible for this – the use of Yoruba loan words for certain English concepts, and the application of native concepts (the translation of the meaning of the word) to new situations.

It has been indicated previously in this work that much of the early English influence on the Etuno language came via the missionary activities hence the adoption of some Yoruba words for certain designations. For example, the Etuno language still retain the Yoruba loan words for the following designations: ‘oda’ (coal tar and paint), ‘isana’ (matches), ‘akowe’ (clerk), ‘isaju’ (minute of clock), agogo (wristwatch/clock/bell), ‘anibabo’ (Christians), ‘ibibeli’ (Bible), ‘adura’ (prayer), ‘apoti’ (box).

A much more interesting phenomenon of the Etuno language is the application of old concepts for new designations. The Etuno language sometimes ascribe names to new objects or concepts by applying their background knowledge of the meaning/functions of the objects to nativize them. The following are some examples: ‘Onituosomosi’ (messenger of God) for angel, ‘Iweonini’ (holy book) for ‘Bible’, ‘Ifonini’ (pure breath) for ‘Holy Spirit’, ‘Adaiebeba’ (our Father on high or in heaven) for ‘Heavenly Father’, ‘apapa-eivo (apapa is Etuno local dish prepared from beans in the shape of bread and

‘eivo’ means ‘white man’, thus ‘apapa-eivo’ that is, ‘apapa of the white man’ denotes bread), ‘akara-eivo’ (Etuno bean cake) for ‘cake’ or ‘biscuit’.

4.5.3 The Extensive Use of English Loan Words in Etuno Language Displace Some Native Words

The general use of English loan words in Etuno language is so extensive that some native words that exist side by side with English loan words have become obsolete and are gradually giving way to English based words. The examples below indicate that only few Etuno speakers are still conversant with the use of the native equivalents.

<u>English Word</u>	<u>English Loan Word</u>	<u>Native Equivalent</u>
Bread	Ivuredi	Apapaeivo
Barber	Ivava	Okuresu
Sugar	Isuga	Aneivo
Chair	Ichiya	Aga
Bag	Ivagi	Ampo
Rice	Iresi	Ajeresi
Kitchen	Ikensini	Agamba

4.5.4 Reasons for Difference in the Phonemic Features of the Same Loan Words

It is observed that some certain English loan words in Etuno language occur in more than one sound. The likely reason responsible for this may be due to the fact that there has been two sources of English loan words in Etuno language. Some of these words came indirectly through the Yoruba language and some came directly through the

English language. Those acquired through the Yoruba language came quite earlier through the missionaries.

Another reason may be due to the influence of Western education. Some enlightened members of the Etuno community tend to anglicize the words in pronunciation and spellings thus we see some of the following varieties of some loan words in the data collected:

Bishop	Ivisovu	Ibisobu
Envelop	Amboroku	Envelopu
Milk	Iminiki	Imiliki
Rice	Iresi	Iraisi
Doctor	Idokita	Idokto
Tea	Iti	Itea

4.6 FINDINGS

The analysis of the data reveals that a large part of the vocabulary of the Etuno language are words with English origin. The Etuno language just like the English language is a heavy linguistic borrower. As the data reveals, it has borrowed extensively from the Yoruba language and from the English language. It is therefore safe to conclude that English loan words exist and are widely used in the Etuno language.

The work has also discovered the fact that the Etuno speakers are good language learners and good translators. As evident in the data analysis, no matter the syntactic and semantic constraints of any foreign concept they come across, they apply their own sense of the word to translate the words.

The data analysis also reveals that a large percentage of the loan words are morpho-phonemic versions of the original English words while some few loan words indicate that the Etuno speakers sometime favour Newmarks (1986) idea of a translator whose emphasis is on meaning. They translate the English words by placing emphasis on meaning. They ascribe names to new objects and concepts using their background knowledge and meaning of the words to contextualize them. In other words, they apply their sense of the meaning/functions of the objects or concepts to nativize the words.

This work has also exposed the fact that the Etuno language has strong and standard morpho-phonemic rules upon which words are formed. All the loan words supplied by both the researcher and the informants for analysis consistently abide by these morpho-phonemic rules.

The findings reveal that Etuno syllables are open. Therefore, whenever any foreign lexical items come into the language, the Etuno speaker imposes the Etuno pattern of morpho-phonemic rules on it. Examples of such morpho-phonemic features of the Etuno language are discussed below:

- (1) One very important feature of the morphology of the Etuno language is the prefixation of a morpheme (usually consisting of vowels) to the root of words especially nouns. This feature is evident in the loan words supplied.
- (2) Another feature of the morphology of the Etuno language is that the Etuno language has more syllabic final vowels. Vowels normally begin and end most words especially the noun class; thus English initial and final consonants pose difficulties for the Etuno native speaker. The data therefore reveals the suffixation of vowel sounds in the words supplied.

- (3) The Etuno language does not accommodate consonant clusters, the data therefore indicate the insertion of vowels where consonants clusters exist to conform with the VCV syllabic template of the Etuno language.
- (4) There is the non-existence of long vowels in Etuno language, this therefore calls for vowel length reduction as the data reveal.

The findings reveal that all morpho-phonemic modifications are as a result of the differences in the sound systems of the two languages. The study also discovered that some loan words exist side by side with native words. For example, some Etuno speakers use the native word “ive” for “comb” which is actually the name for Etuno “wooden comb” while some Etuno speakers use the English loan word “ikomu”. This is sometimes necessary for the purpose of differentiation.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

5.1 SUMMARY

The research has been on loan words in Etuno language with special regard to words that came into Etuno language through the English language. Because Etuno language is an actively used language, the entry of loan words into the language is ever increasing. This is not unrelated to the social life of the Etuno people. More contacts with other languages especially the English language which is the focus of this study bring in new objects and ideas which were hitherto not present in the traditional Etuno life.

The contact of the Etuno language with the English language is about two centuries old, and even now English is still serving many purposes in the day-to-day activities of the Etuno people. Since the Etuno people, through the English language particularly, have acquired the Western culture, their goods and ideas, it would have been amazing if they did not borrow the words with which to express these things.

The word list administered and collected in our research showed how English loan words are manifested in almost all aspects of the life of the Etuno people. The analysis of our data revealed that English words have had a significant influence on the Etuno language, and the Etuno language in turn has accommodated such words. The result is that, like any other language in active use, Etuno language has a large percentage of words borrowed from English in its vocabulary.

It is observed that the Etuno language has not shown any resistance towards this extensive borrowing of English words owing to the fact that the words are borrowed as a result of unsatisfactory equivalent in the Etuno language. Hockett (1958) refers to this phenomenon as “need filling condition” that is, a situation whereby borrowing is made to fill a gap in the borrowing language because new experiences, new objects and practices are coming into the language.

Due to technological advancement in the Western world, it is observed that the growth of loan words in Etuno language is an increasing phenomenon and one can predict that the Etuno language may witness more of them tomorrow as the need arises.

Our research also revealed that the loan words did not just come into the Etuno language and remain exactly as they were in the English language. In the process of coming into the Etuno language and their being used by the Etuno people, the English words were subjected to the phonological and morphological rules of the Etuno language. In spite of these changes, the English origin of these words are still very obvious.

5.2 CONCLUSION

As earlier discussed in this work, the most common way of enriching the vocabulary of any language is by the introduction of loan words. This research has revealed that both the vocabulary and culture of the Etuno language have been enriched by English loan words. The Etuno speakers have not borrowed things and ideas from foreign cultures (in this case, English), but have also borrowed the words to express them.

Borrowing is a phenomenon which may throw light on the internal organization of a language and the relationship of language to society. This work has shed light on the internal organization of the Etuno language. It has exposed the morphological structure of the Etuno language. The study has thrown more light on the relationship between the Etuno language and other languages particularly the English language and the Yoruba language.

The ten fields discussed on in our research and the lexical items supplied revealed that these are not traditional Etuno words. It is significant to note that the items are not traditionally or originally in Etuno culture. That explains why even a seventy year old Etuno person would still use the English loan words since he uses the things. One would have thought that only the younger generation would use the loan words. It is also observed that in an attempt to translate English words into Etuno language, some explanatory translations are given. This trend seems common with the older people as evident in the following examples: ‘onituosomosi’ for the English word ‘angel’. ‘Onituosomosi’ means ‘messenger of God’. Only 10% of our informants gave this; the other 90 % gave ‘angeni’. It is not surprising that the informant who supplied ‘onituosomosi’ is seventy five years old. Other peculiar translations are:

- (a) ‘ochiwe’ and ‘ocherisa’ for the English loan word ‘biro’; 80% of our informants supplied ‘ivairo’. ‘Ochiwe’ means ‘stick of book’ and ‘ocherisa’ means ‘writer’. Again, these were supplied by informants who are above seventy years of age. We can safely conclude in these cases that age has some bearing on word use.
- (b) The Etuno word ‘okuri’ and ‘oreyi’ were supplied as Etuno equivalents of the English words ‘eye glass’ and ‘mirror’ respectively. It is remarkable that 100% of

our informants supplied these words and yet, these are not English loan words. 'Okuri' means 'cover for the eyes' and 'oreyi' means 'face looker'. This is surprising because both the 'eye glass' and 'mirror' are Western objects.

The inference we may draw here is that the idea of 'glass' or 'mirror' is much older in the Etuno culture than the other items which have English loan words. Again, we can say that the age of an idea in a culture can affect translation.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The National Language Centre (NLC) should take a look at the Etuno language with a view to standardizing and codifying it.
2. The number of loan words in Etuno language pose a threat to the language especially with regard to language shift. Therefore active and dynamic use of the language in interaction etc. (following recommendation 1) above can help the Etuno language.
3. It will be helpful if Teacher Training institutions pay special attention to training teachers to teach the Etuno language in schools.

5.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

It is admitted that this research is not exhaustive and conclusive. It is therefore recommended that further research be carried out in the following areas:

- (a) The effect of age on language use among the Etuno people.

- (b) Borrowing is one of the various forms of lexical creativity. Further work on the Etuno language can look at other forms of lexical creativity such as blending, compounding etc.
- (c) The phonological difference between the two dialects of Ebira Tao and Ebira Chao or Ebira Etuno will also be a useful area for study.

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APPENDIX I

**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
FACULTY OF ARTS
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA**

M.A. ENGLISH THESIS WORD LIST

(Word List Administered to The Second Set of Informants)

A research is being carried out on *English Loan Words in Etuno language*. Kindly assist the researcher by supplying the following information.

BIODATA

Sex: Male () Female ()

Age: Adult of ages 46 and above () Youth of ages between 25 and 45 ()

State of Origin: _____

Tribe: _____

Languages Spoken:

(a) Mother Tongue (First Language [L₁]): _____

(b) Other Languages: _____

Kindly supply the Etuno words for the following English words. Also give alternative Etuno words if they exist.

RELIGION:

English	Etuno	Alternative
Pastor	_____	_____
Bishop	_____	_____
Bible	_____	_____
Christmas	_____	_____
Church	_____	_____
Jesus	_____	_____
John	_____	_____
Angel	_____	_____
Amen	_____	_____
Father (Rev. Father)	_____	_____

SCHOOL/EDUCATION:

English	Etuno	Alternative
School	_____	_____
Paper	_____	_____
Biro	_____	_____
Pencil	_____	_____
Chalk	_____	_____
Bench	_____	_____
Class	_____	_____
Table	_____	_____
College	_____	_____
Envelope	_____	_____

BEVERAGES/CONFECTIONERY:

English	Etuno	Alternative
Biscuit	_____	_____
Bread	_____	_____
Butter	_____	_____
Tea	_____	_____
Sugar	_____	_____
Sweet	_____	_____
Chewing Gum	_____	_____
Peppermint	_____	_____
Cake	_____	_____
Milk	_____	_____

CROPS/FRUITS:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Guava

Cashew

Mango

Pear

Cocoa

Tomatoes

Orange

Rice

Carrot

Pineapple

TRANSPORTATION:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Motor

Bicycle

Machine

Tyer

Spoke

Airplane

License

Caterpillar

Motor Park

Petrol

MODERN EQUIPMENT:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Electric

Globe

Wire

Television

Radio

Photo (Picture)

Telephone

Fan

Fridge

Record Player

WEARS/ITEMS OF CLOTHINGS:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Towel

Sweater

Belt

Cotton

Gold

Slippers

Bata (Shoes)

Scarf

Lace (of clothing)

Eye Glass

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Cupboard

Candle

Bucket

Pan (Plate)

Kettle

Bed

Cup

Kerosene

Comb

Mirror

LAW & DEFENCE:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Soldier

Police

Barrack

Judge

Sergeant

Court

Report

Lawyer

Scout

Major

VOCATION/TRADE:

English

Etuno

Alternative

Barber

Tailor

Carpenter

Repairer (of Bicycle)

Shop

Mechanic

Doctor

Nurse

Driver

Chemist

APPENDIX II

RELIGION

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Pastor	Ipasito	Ipasito	Ipasito	Ipasitor
Bishop	Ivisovu	Ivisovu	Ivisovu	Ibishobu
Bible	Ibaibu	Ivavuru	Ivaivu	Ibibun
Christmas	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi
Church	Isosi	Isosi	Isosi	Ishoshi
Jesus	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu
John	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu
Angel	Angeni	Angeni	Angeni	Angeni
Amen	Ami	Amii	Amii	Amin
Father (Rev. Father	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada

SCHOOL/EDUCATION

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
School	Isikuru	Isikuru	Isikuru	Ishikuru
Paper	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepar	Ipepa
Biro	Iviro	Ivayiro	Iviro	Iviro
Pencil	Ipensuru	Ipensuru	Ipensuru	Ipensuru
Chalk	Ichoki	Isoki	Ichoki	Ichaki
Bench	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi
Class	Ikinasi	Ikinasi	Ikinasi	Ikinasi
Table	Itevuru	Iteburu	Itevuru	Itevuru
College	Ikonenji	Ikonenji	Ikonenji	Ikonenji
Envelope	Amboroku	Anvroku	Amboroku	Envenoku

BEVERAGES/CONFECTIONERY

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Biscuit	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti
Bread	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi
Butter	Ivota	Ivota	Ivota	Ivota
Tea	Iti	Iti	Iti	Itea
Sugar	Isuga	Isuga	Ishuga	Ishuga
Sweet	Iswiti	Isuwiti	Iswiti	Isweeti
Chewing gum	Isingomu	Isingomu	Ishingomu	Ishingomu
Peppermint	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi
Cake	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikaki
Milk	Iminiki	Imininki	Iminiki	Iminiki

CROPS/FRUITS

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Guava	Igova	Igova	Igova	Igova
Cashew	Ikasu	Ikasu	Ikashu	Ikashu
Mango	Imangoro/Umangoro	Imangoro	Imangoro	Imangoro
Pear	Ipiya	Ipiya	Ipiya	Ipiya
Cocoa	Ukoko	Ukoko	Ukoko	Ukoko
Tomatoes	Itimati/Atimati	Atimati	Atimati	Itimati
Orange	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi
Pineapple	Orogedeivo/Akataripo	Akataripo	Akataripo	Orogedeivo
Rice	Iraisi/Iresi	Irayisi	Ireci	Irice
Carrot	Ikaroti/Ikarotu	Ikaroti	Ikarotu	Ikarotu

TRANSPORTATION

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Motor (Vehicle)	Imoto	Imoto	Imoto	Imoto
Bicycle	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke
Machine	Imasini	Imasini	Imashini	Imashini
Tyre	Itaya	Itaya	Itaya	Ityer
Spoke	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku
Airplane	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupireni	Airoprani
License	Inansensi	Inansensi	Inansenci	Inansensi
Caterpillar	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira
Garage (Motor Park)	Igarenji	Iganaji	Iganenji	Igareji
Petrol	Ipetiro	Ipentaro	Ipentiro	Ipetiron

MODERN EQUIPMENT

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Electric	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Enectriki
Globe	Iginovu	Igrovu	Iginovu	Iginovu
Wire	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwaya
Television	Itelivison	Itenivison	Itenevishon	Tenivishion
Radio	Irediyo	Iredio	Irediyo	Iradiyo
Photo/Picture	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto
Telephone	Itelifoni	Iterifoni	Itenefonu	Itenephone
Fan	Ifani/Ifanu	Ifani	Ifani	Ifanu
Fridge	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji
Record Player	Irecodu	Irecodu	Irecodu	Igaramafonu

WEARS AND ITEMS OF CLOTHINGS

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Towel	Itaweni	Itoweni	Itaweni	Itaweni
Sweater	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta
Belt	Ibaliti	Iberiti	Ibaliti	Ibeliti
Curtain	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini
Gold	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu
Slippers	Isiripasi	Isiripasi	Isiripasi	Isiripasi
Bata/Shoes	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata
Scarf	Isikafu	Isikafu	Isikafu	Isikafu
Lace of clothing	Inesi/Iresi	Inesi	Inesi	Inasi
Eye Glass	Okuri	Okuri	Oreyi	Okurie

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Cupboard	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikomvodu	Ikovodu
Candle	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru
Bucket	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti
Pan/Plate	Ipanu	Ipani	Ipanu	Ipanu
Kettle	Iketuru	Iketuru	Iketuru	Iketuru
Bed	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi
Cup	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu
Kerosene	Ikarasini	Ikarasini	Ikarashini	Ikerosini
Comb	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu
Mirror	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi

LAW AND DEFENCE

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Soldier	Isoja	Isoja	Ishoja	Ishoja
Police	Iporisi	Iporisi	Iporisi	Iporisi
Barrack	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ivaraki
Judge	Ijoji	Ijoji	Ijoji	Ojishi
Sergeant	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti
Court	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu
Report	Iripotu	Iripotu	Iripotu	Iripotu
Lawyer	Inoya	Inoya	Inoya	Inoya
Scout	Isikautu	Isikautu	Isikautu	Isikautu
Major	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imejo	Imenjo

VOCATION/TRADE

English words	Researchers Etuno words	Words supplied by three (3) elderly Etuno speakers		
		1	2	3
Barber	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava
Tailor	Itino	Itino	Itino	Iteno
Carpenter	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta
Repairer of bicycle	Iripiara	Inipiara	Inipiara	Irepara
Shop	Isovu	Isovu	Ishovu	Ishovu
Mechanic	Imakaniki	Imakaniki	Imakaniki	Imekaniki
Doctor	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita
Nurse	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi
Driver	Iduraiva/Idiraiva	Idireva	Iduriva	Idireva
Chemist	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi

APPENDIX III

RELIGION

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Eetuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Table 2								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pastor	Ipasito	Ipasito	Ipasito	Pasitor	Ipasitor	Ipasito	Ipasito	Pasito	Ipasitor	Oziosom
Bishop	Ivisovu	Ivishovu	Ivisovu	Ibishobu	Ivisovu	Ivisovu	Ibishobu	Ivisovu	Ivishovu	Ibishobu
Bible	Ibaibu	Ivaivu	Ibaibu	Ibibun	Ibaibu	Ibibeli	Iweonini	Ibaibu	Ibibu	Ibibeli
Christmas	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi	Ikeresimesi
Church	Isosi	Ishoshi	Isosi	Ishoshi	Ichochi	Ichochi	Ishoshi	Isosi	Ichochi	Ishoshi
Jesus	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu	Ijesu
John	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu	Ijonu
Angel	Angeni	Angeni	Angeli	Angeni	Angeni	Angeli	Angeli	Angeni	Angeli	Onituoso
Amen	Ami	Ami	Ami	Amin	Ami	Amin	Ami	Ami	Ami	Ami
Father (Rev. Father)	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada	Ifather	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada	Ifada

SCHOOL/EDUCATION

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Table 2								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
School	Isikuru	Ishikuru	Isikuru	Ishikuru	Ishikuru	Isikuru	Ishikuru	Isikuru	Ishikuru	Isikuru
Paper	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Ipepa	Iwe

Biro	Iviro	Iviro	Ivairo	Iviro	Iviro	Iviro	Ochiwe	Ibairo	Iviro	Ocheris
Pencil	Ipensuru	Ipencuru	Ipensuru	Ipensuru	Ipensuru	Iredi	Ipencuru	Ipencuru	Ipencil	Ipensul
Chalk	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki	Ichoki
Bench	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ibenchi	Ivenchi	Ivenchi	Ibenchi
Class	Ikinasi	Ikinasi	Ikilassi	Ikinasi	Ikinasi	Ikilassi	Ikilasi	Ikinasi	Ikinasi	Ikilasi
Table	Itevuru	Itevuru	Tavuru	Iteburu	Itevuru	Itevuru	Itevuru	Itevuru	Itevuru	Tavuru
College	Ikonenji	Ikonenji	Ikonenji	Ikonenji	Ikoleji	Ikoleji	Ikoleji	Ikonenji	Ikoneji	Ikolenji
Envelope	Amboroku	Amboroku	Amboroku	Envelopu	Envelopu	Envelopu	Enveropu	Amboroku	Amboroku	Amboroku

BEVERAGES/CONFECTIONERY

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Table 1									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Biscuit	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ivisikiti	Ibisikiti	Ibsikiti	Ivisikiti	Ibisikiti
Bread	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Iburedi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Ivuredi	Iburedi
Butter	Ivota	Ivota	Ivota	Ivota	Ivota	Ivota	Ibota	Ibota	Ibota	Ivota	Ivota
Tea	Iti	Iti	Iti	Itea	Iti	Iti	Iti	Iti	Iti	Iti	Iti
Sugar	Isuga	Ishuga	Isuga	Isuga	Ishuga	Isuga	Ishuga	Ishuga	Ishuga	Ishuga	Aneivo
Sweet	Iswiti	Iswiti	Isweeti	Isweati	Isweeti	Iswiti	Iswiti	Iswiti	Iswiti	Iswiti	Iswiti
Chewing Gum	Isingomu	Isingomu	Isingomu	Ishingomu	Ishingomu	Ishingomu	Ichingomu	Ichingomu	Isingomu	Isingomu	Ichingomu
Peppermint	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi	Ipepementi
Cake	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki	Akara	Ikeki	Ikeki	Ikeki
Milk	Iminiki	Iminiki	Imiliki	Iminiki	Iminiki	Iminiki	Imiliki	Iminiki	Iminiki	Iminiki	Irevuno

CROPS/FRUITS

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Ta								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Guava	Igova	Igova	Igova	Igova	Igova	Iguava	Igova	Igova	Igova	Igo
Cashew	Ikasu	Ikashu	Ikasu	Ikashu	Ikashu	Ikasu	Ikashu	Ikashu	Ikashu	Ika
Mango	Imangoro Umangoro	Imangoro	Imengoro	Imangoro	Umangoro	Umangoro	Imangoro	Imangoro	Imangoro	Um
Pear	Ipiya	Ipiya	Ipea	Ipea	Ipiye	Ipiya	Ipiya	Ipiya	Ipiya	Ipiy
Cocoa	Ukoko	Ukoko	Ukoko	Ikoko	Ukoko	Ukoko	Ikoko	Ukoko	Ukoko	Uk
Tomatoes	Itimati Atimati	Itimati	Atimati	Itimati	Atimati	Itimati	Atimati	Itimati	Itimati	Itim
Orange	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oromi	Oro
Rice	Iraisi/Iresi	Iraisi	Iresi	Irice	Iraisi	Iresi	Iresi	Iresi	Iresi	Irai
Carrot	Ikaroti Ikarotu	Ikaroti	Ikaroti	Ikarotu	Ikaroti	Ikarotu	Ikaroti	Ikarotu	Ikaroti	Ika
Pineapple	Orogedeivo Akataripo	Orogedeivo	Akataripo	Orogedeivo	Orogedeivo	Akataripo	Akataripo	Ipanaipuru	Orogedeivo	Aka

TRANSPORTATION

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Tab								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Motor	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato	Imato
Bicycle	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke	Ikeke
Machine	Imasini	Imashini	Anopipi	Imashini	Imashini	Imashini	Imashini	Imashini	Imashini	Anepi
Tyre	Itaya	Itaya	Itaya	Itayer	Itaya	Itaya	Itaya	Itaya	Itaya	Itaya
Spoke	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isipoku	Isupoku	Ispoku	Ispoku
Airplane	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni	Anupreni
License	Inasensi	Inasensi	Inasensi	Inasensi	Inasensi	Ilasensi	Inasensi	Inasensi	Inasensi	Ilasensi
Caterpillar	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira	Ikatapira
Garage/ Motor- Park	Igarenji	Igaraji	Igarenji	Igarenji	Ipaki	Igarenji	Igarenji	Igarenji	Igarenji	Igarenji
Petrol	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro	Ipetiro

MODERN EQUIPMENT

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Ta								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Electric	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Inantiriki	Ele
Globe	Iginovu	Iginovu	Igilovu	Igilovu	Igilovu	Igilovu	Ajopijova	Iginovu	Igilovu	Ig

Wire	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwire	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iwaya	Iw
Television	Itelivison	Itelivishon	Itelivishon	Itelivishon	Itelivishon	Itenivishon	Itenivishon	Itenivishon	Itenivishon	Ite
Radio	Irediyo	Iradiyo	Iradiyo	Irudio	Irudio	Iradiyo	Iredio	Iradiyo	Iradiyo	Ire
Photo/ Picture	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	Ifoto	If
Telephone	Itelifoni	Itenefoni	Iteliphone	Iteniphone	Itelephone	Ifonu	Itenefoni	Itenefoni	Itelifonu	Ite
Fan	Ifani(u)	Ifani	Ifani	Ifani	Ifanu	Ifani	Ojasi	Ifani	Ifani	Ifa
Fridge	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Friji	Ifiriji	Ifiriji	Iff
Record Player	Irekodu	Irekodu	Igaramafonu	Irekodu	Irekodu	Irekodu	Irekodu	Irekodu	Irekodu	Ire

WEARS AND ITEMS OF CLOTHINGS

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Table 1									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Towel	Itaweni	Itaweni	Itaweni	Itaweni	Itoweli	Itoweli	Itaweni	Itaweni	Itaweni	Itaweni	I
Sweater	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta	Isueta	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta	Isweta	I
Belt	Ibaliti	Ibaliti	Iveniti	Ibeliti	Iveniti	Ibeliti	Ibanu	Ibeliti	Ibanu	Ibanu	I
Curtain	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Ikontini	Owu	Ikontini	C
Gold	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu	Igolū	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu	Igonu	I
Slippers	Isiripasi	Isiripasi	Isilipasi	Isilipasi	Isilipasi	Isilipasi	Isilipasi	Isilipasi	Isilipasi	Osiafusi	I
Bata/Shoe	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	Ivata	I
Scarf	Isikafu	Isikafu	Isikafu	Iskafu	Isicafu	Isikafu	Igene	Isikafu	Isikafu	Igene	I
Lace of Clothing	Inesi/ Iresi	Ireci	Ilasi	Inasi	Ilasi	Ilesi	Iresi	Iresi	Iresi	Ilesi	I
Eye Glass	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	Okuri	C

HOUSE-HOLD ITEMS

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Table 8									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cupboard	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu	Ikombodu
Candle	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru	Ikanduru
Bucket	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti	Ivokiti
Pan/Plate	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu	Ipanu
Kettle	Iketuru	Iketuru	Iketuru	Iketuru	Iketuru	Age	Age	Iketuru	Iketuru	Age	Iketuru
Bed	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ibedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi	Ivedi
Cup	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu	Ikopu
Kerosene	Ikarasini	Ikarasini	Ikarashini	Ikarasini	Ikarashini	Ikarasini	Ikarashini	Ikarasini	Ikarashini	Ikarashini	Ikarashini
Comb	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ikomu	Ive	Ikomu
Mirror	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi	Oreyi

LAW AND DEFENCE

English words	word supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Table 8								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Soldier	Isoja	Ishoja	Isoja	Ishoja	Ishoja	Isoja	Isoja	Isoja	Ishoja	Ishoja

Police	Iporisi	Iporisi	Iporisi	Iporisi	Ipolisi	Onopa	Onopa	Iporisi	Onop	Onopa
Barrack	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ivareki	Ibaraki	Ivaraki	Ivaraki	Ibaraki
Judge	Ijoji	Ijoji	Ijoji	Ojishi	Ijoji	Ojishi	Adajo	Ijoji	Ijoji	Ijoji
Sergeant	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti	Isajenti
Court	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu	Ikotu
Report	Iripotu	Iripotu	Iripotu	Iripotu	Iripotu	Iripotu	Tureka	Iripotu	Iripotu	Tureka
Lawyer	Inoya	Inoya	Iloya	Inoya	Inoya	Inoya	Inoya	Inoya	Inoya	Iloya
Scout	Isikautu	Isikautu	Isikautu	Isikatu	Isikautun	Isikautu	Isikaut	Isikautu	Isikatu	Isikautu
Major	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo	Imenjo

VOCATION/TRADE

English words	words supplied by the researcher as a native speaker	Etuno words supplied by informants for the English lexical items in Ta									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Barber	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	Ivava	C
Tailor	Itino	Itino	Itano	Itano	Itino	Italo	Itelo	Itino	Itino	Itino	I
Carpenter	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikapenta	Ikapinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	Ikafinta	I
Repairer of Bicycle	Iripiara	Iripiara	Irifiara	Iripiara	Iripiara	Inipiara	Inupiara	Inipiara	Iripiara	Iripiara	C
Shop	Isovu	Ishovu	Ishovu	Ishovu	Ishovu	Ishovu	Ishovu	Isovu	Ishovu	Ishovu	I
Mechanic	Imakaniki	Imakaniki	Imekaniki	Imekaniki	Imekaniki	Imekaniki	Imakaniki	Umananiki	Imakaniki	Imakaniki	I
Doctor	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	Idokita	I
Nurse	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	Inosi	I
Driver	Iduraiva Idiraiva	Iduraiva	Idiraiva	Idiraiva	Idireva	Idereva	Idireva	Idureva	Idereva	Idereva	I
Chemist	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	Ikemisi	I

