AN ORTHOGRAPHY FOR WRITING C’LELA

by

The Committee for the Standardization of C’Lela Orthography

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Many individuals put life into this project by a simple act of faith. They caught the vision, saw the possibility and lent their moral and material support. Top among the list are His Royal Highness, Major General Mahammadu Sani Sami (Sami Gomo II), the Emir of Zuru; Alhaji Aminu Dago; Mr. Samaila Dabo; Mr. Stephen D. Hoke; Mr. Habila Andrews; Mr. Stephen Dogonyaro; Alhaji Sani Tadurga, and many others too numerous to list here.

We must mention the Lelna staff of College of Agriculture, Zuru, who were always ready with contributions, which they made again and again, and at the shortest possible notices, just to keep the idea alive. They take a big share of the credit.

Without the contributions of Miss Lois Fuller, Craig Duddles, Danjumma Gambo, Patience Ahmed, Stephen and Sonia Dettweiler and others like them, we should surely have come unstuck. May God reward you all.

According to an Igbo proverb, when the lizard fell off the palm tree and landed safely, he said, “If nobody praises me, I will praise myself.” The contributors at all our conferences and seminars, most of whom are members of the Committee for the Standardization of C’Lela Orthography, and whose names are listed on the Notes-On-Contributors page, deserve to be praised for all the faith and sacrifices that have made this proposal possible.

God bless all of us together. Amen.

Introduction

It is difficult to state the exact date when the idea for a standard orthography for C’Lela, at least as conceived and articulated by the Committee for the Standardization of C’Lela Orthography, was first expressed. But between the late 80’s and the early 90’s, people like Michael Gujiya, Ishyaku Nababa Chonoko, Ayuba M. Chonoko, Baba Waziri, Samuel Ango, Markus Dudu and Stephen Girma met on various, very informal, circumstances and rather casually voiced their desire to see the emergence of a standard writing system for C’Lela. Meanwhile, and starting much earlier than the discussions mentioned above, Bulus Doro Rikoto had been quietly collecting C’Lela words with the idea of putting together a ‘dictionary’ of C’Lela (he was to collect over 6,000 words by the time the Orthography Committee came into existence).

With the involvement of Baba Waziri in C’Lela grammar at the Doctoral level and that of Samuel Ango with C’Lela Literature at the Master level, and their confrontations with the problem of representing C’Lela in writing (there was unanimous dissatisfaction with the existing missionary attempts to write C’Lela), it was almost inevitable that informal discussions about the matter would graduate to more formal discussions. By October 1, 1994, a committee had been formed, and a conference on the Standardization of C’Lela Writing was organised and held in the Staff Common Room of the College of Agriculture,
Zuru. This gave birth to another conference which took place at the same venue from 23rd to 26th December, 1994. A seminar was also held later on C’Lela phonemes, on 21st November, 1996. In all, twelve papers were presented. Below is a summary of the points raised in the various presentations:

Samuel Ango Peni’s ‘Towards a Standard Orthography for C’Lela’ examines the problems of establishing a standard orthography for a language. It points out that the use of European models has made earlier attempts to write C’Lela largely unsuccessful. It points out the need to mobilize governmental and professional support in establishing and utilising a standard orthography, suggesting that diacritics and tone marks should be avoided for printing economy and ease of learning. The paper advocates simplicity, economy and acceptability as the key features of a standard orthography and standard dialect. The paper is concluded by pointing out that a standard orthography would enhance rapid literacy, effective broadcasting and extension services.

In his “Sociolinguistic Issues in the Design of C’Lela Orthography,” Ishyaku Nababa Chonoko examines sociolinguistic problems that affect the design of an orthography. He sees the issue of the emergence of an orthography as historic and developmental, urging that the committee forge ahead with the task of developing an orthography in spite of anticipated opposition from some quarters. He also urges that we should develop a new orthography rather than attempt to reform old attempts.

‘Aspects of Language: Towards a Lexicography of C’Lela’ was Michael M. Gujiya’s contribution to the discussions. Arguing for a view of C’Lela as a ‘language’ (rather than a ‘dialect’), the paper points out that in formulating an orthography, the problem of tonation (where the same spelling, pronounced differently, would give different meanings) has to be given priority attention. For example, [g’êlê] ‘goat’ and [g’êlê] ‘vomit (imperative)’, may both be spelt /gwele/ but may pose identification problems for the reader. Another problem is how to differentiate between some words with prefixes and some sentences, such as /ubala/ ‘smoothened ground for threshing’ and /u bala/ (two words making a sentence meaning ‘he will invent/travel/dig’). The paper suggests the use of tone marks to solve some of the problems noted above. Proposing 19 consonants for C’Lela: b, c, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, z, the paper notes that instead of q C’Lela has kw and hy instead of sh. In addition, the paper notes the presence of other glides such as gw, rw and hw in C’Lela. For vowels, the paper envisages a problem in representing the raised schwa [\v'], which is said to have been variously represented as ‘e,’ ‘a’ and ‘o’. It also notes that the vowels a, e, i, o, u (and [\v]), all have their long and short forms in C’Lela. Advocating a dictionary for C’Lela that aids in spelling, meaning, pronunciation, parts of speech, examples of usage, etc., the paper also points out that the problem of dialects has to be tackled by all dialects being represented equally in any lexicography. The paper ends with a
Baba Waziri’s ‘Appraising Sub-Themes in C’Lela Orthography’ appraises sub-themes addressed during one of the conferences. It observes that certain important aspects, such as complex sounds in the language and contextualization in relation to the language family group (Kainji member no. 7) have been left out. The paper highlights four principles or parameters used in formulating orthographies, including the need to a) reflect graphics, b) maintain/conform to group identity, c) account for morphophonemics and phonetics of the language, d) and make the IPA its source. The paper suggests that diacritics are avoidable as they make work clumsy. It then concludes by advocating clearly defined themes and sub-themes in future conferences.

‘Affixation in C’Lela’ by Markus Dudu focuses on affixation as a means to achieving a standard orthography for C’Lela. The paper shows that C’Lela has prefixes and suffixes which are either bound or free; inflectional or derivational. It also points out that the affixes are influenced by the language’s syllable structure. The paper sees no problem in identification of derivational or inflectional affixation but sees a problem in their orthographic representation. The paper suggests guiding principles for representation as clarity, economy and nearness to either Hausa or English. As such, a hyphen (-) is proposed for derivational prefixes which precede root words beginning with vowels, e.g. ‘ya-akna’ for ‘children’, and an apostrophe after single-letter inflectional prefixes, e.g. ‘k’gwenta,’ ‘c’kempa’ etc. The paper also advocates the symbol ‘c’ instead of ‘ch’ for the sound [tf]. The writing of plural suffixes, such as /nemna/ ‘birds’ from /nema/ ‘bird’; and perfect verb suffixes such as /goto/ ‘has looked’ from /goto/ ‘to look’, also pose no problems.

Samuel Ango Peni and Markus Dudu jointly tackle the problem of a standard dialect in their paper, ‘A Standard Dialect for Writing C’Lela.’ They assert, based on field research, that the Zuru dialect has the greatest degree of centrality, intelligibility and general usage. An acceptability survey conducted later shows that the Zuru dialect has the greatest acceptability. From the above findings Ango and Dudu conclude that the Zuru dialect should be used as the standard reference for writing and teaching C’Lela.

In his ‘A Standard Alphabet for C’Lela’ Dantani Sani Manga proposes 27 consonants, including p, b, m, hw, f, v, t, d, s, z, n, r, l, c, j, y, ky, gy, k, g, w, kw, gw, sw, rw, h, hy, according to their listing in the IPA table. He also proposes 10 monopthongs, viz. i, ī, e, ē, a, ā, o, ō, u, and ū, as well as 4 diphthongs, viz. ai, au, ei, and oi, as C’Lela vowels.

Ango chipped in again with his ‘The Question of Tone Marks and Diacritics in C’Lela Writing’ where he argues that tone marks and diacritics can be dispensed with. He sees tone marks and diacritics as “an unnecessary burden in both economic and pedagogical terms.”
He concludes by noting that words that could be said to differ in meaning due to variations in tone are not only few but that such variations are often resolved by context.

Bulus D. Y. Rikoto’s ‘Towards a Standard Orthography for Ch-Lela’ notes the changing nature of language as a problem for an orthography, since with time, ambiguities of meaning may develop. Like Gujiya, Rikoto notes that some words are difficult to identify in writing since differences in vowel length and tone change their meanings. Length, he adds, is applicable to all vowel sounds in C’Lela. He then notes that in reading Hausa, the context makes meanings of words clear, hence the needlessness of length marks. But he advocates a system for noting length in C’Lela. He identifies 24 alphabet symbols for C’Lela which only exclude ‘q’ and ‘x’ from the English alphabet. For the raised central sound [iː], Rikoto advocates the schwa (ə) as an orthographic symbol.

In his turn, Samaila S. Noma deals with both the question of an alphabet for C’Lela as well as a revival of abandoned expressions as a means of ‘purifying’ the language. Entitled ‘A Standard Alphabet for C’Lela and the Need for an Unadulterated C’Lela Language,’ the paper lists an alphabet very much like that of Rikoto and lists alternative expressions for days of the week, months of the year, etc., to those being used in borrowed form by Lelna.

Stephen Aiki Girma put an interesting touch to the conference with his excursion into the communication symbols of Lelna culture in a paper entitled ‘Communication Symbols of Lelna,’ attempting in the process to prove that writing is not a strange concept to Lelna, and a developed orthography will be timely for development among Lelna.

Bulus Doro Rikoto, together with Sebastian B. Rumu, later presented a seminar entitled ‘An Inventory of the Phonemes of C’Lela’. After a thorough presentation of the contrastive sounds of C’Lela, they propose an alphabet of 27 symbols: a b c d e ę g h i j k l m n o o p r s t u v w y z. This was a development on Bulus’ earlier presentation. Rikoto and Rumu hold the opinion that [i], rather than [ə], should represent the raised central vowel in C’Lela.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that not all ideas for a standard orthography were unanimously held by presenters. However, it is equally obvious that individuals and groups had given much thought to and investigated many aspects of the problems of standardizing C’Lela writing. Consequently, debates were quite often heated.

From the papers themselves, a lot of agreements were both implicit and explicit. Other agreements were arrived at after much debate. The second conference, seeing the need to forge ahead, and agreeing that the general usage of one form or the other of a symbol or spelling would resolve differences concerning it with time, gave the orthography committee the mandate to bring together all points of agreement, conduct all other research it deemed necessary and resolve outstanding problems at its presumably learned discretion. This mandate, however, was only exercised after Bulus Doro and Sebastian Rumu’s seminar on phonemes.
IV Orthography Proposal (A Guide for Writers of C'Lela) – Draft 5


This proposal is based on the conclusions arrived at after discussions of the aforementioned conference and seminar papers, and on further recommendations arrived at in discussions between the Lelna Language Projects advisor, Mr. Stephen Dettweiler, and various members of the Committee for the Standardization of C'Lela Orthography. Valuable input was also received at a meeting in April 2001, in which Draft 3 of this proposal was presented in part. Draft 4, incorporating that input, was tested in the preparation of K'Ba/uni0331tksa/uni0331 (the C'Lela-Hausa-English dictionary) for publication and in the translation project. Some further changes are recommended here on the basis of that testing. The Committee makes this proposal on the writing system in terms of the alphabet, writing of long vowels, tone marking, affixation, spelling of individual words, word division in phrases, standard dialect, lexicography, and language development. The proposals are as outlined below:

**Alphabet**

In listing an alphabet for C’Lela, the committee does not find it necessary to include consonant clusters, glides and diphthongs but rather all symbols that have a possible occurrence singly or in groups are listed separately. The committee has agreed to use double vowels in spelling to mark a "drawn-out" pronunciation in certain circumstances, but not to write double symbols in the list of the alphabet.

Furthermore, it was agreed to represent [e] as e/uni0331, [o] as o/uni0331, and the central vowel which is higher than [ɛ] and lower than [i] as a/uni0331. The four alternate proposals of a, ø, u and i as orthographic symbols for the central vowel were dropped in favour of a because:

1. it is simpler (or as simple) to write and to print (whether by typewriter, computer, or printing press);
2. it conforms with the accepted pattern for the other extra vowels, e and o, proposed for C’Lela;
3. it is the symbol used by the related languages of Tsuresha (Gunganci), Tyap (Katab), and Kambari for closely similar vowel sounds. Tyap and Kambari have officially recognised orthographies;
4. a and a, probably the two vowels which occur most frequently in C'Lela, tend not to occur together in the same word because of the nature of C'Lela vowel
harmony. This greatly reduces the potential for confusing them. (This potential for confusion of two common vowels is the main reason that ū rather than ā has been chosen for use in the Dukanci orthography.)

For C’Lela, therefore, we propose the following vowels:

i. A, a [a] as in /ava/ ‘crab’.
ii. A, a [ą]/[ı] as in /kala/ ‘hawk’.
iii. E, e [e] as in /d'reme/ ‘tongue’.
v. I, i [i] as in /rihi/ ‘something’.
vi. O, o [o] as in /d'kondo/ ‘baldhead’.

Hence C’Lela should use the 8 vowel symbols described above.

We also propose the following consonants:

i. B, b, [b] as in /bebe/ ‘earlier’.
ii. C, c, [ć] as in /ćammi/ ‘a little’.
iii. D, d, [d] as in /déde/ ‘yesterday’.
v. G, g, [g] as in /gọto/ ‘look’.
vi. H, h, [h] as in /hava/ ‘go’.


viii. K, k [k] as in /d'kaba/ ‘entrance hut’.
ix. L, l [l] as in /lọgmọ/ ‘elephant’.
x. M, m [m] as in /mina/ ‘store’.


xiii. R, r [r] as in /robo/ ‘female’.

xiv. S, s [s] as in /sọtọso/ ‘revenge’.

xv. T, t [t] as in /tahna/ ‘here’.


xvii. W, w [w] as in /wa/ ‘buy’.

xix. Z, z [z] as in /zuru/ ‘lion’.
xx. 'W,'w [ʔw] as in /Wemę́ me/ ‘Pick up for me’, /Wiviki/ ‘it has entered’.

Hence, C’Lela should use the 19 single consonant symbols and 1 digraph symbol described above.

The questions of consonant clusters, consonant off-glides and vowel diphthongs are treated under *Spelling of Individual Words*.

We therefore propose that C’Lela has 27 individual letters and one digraph in its alphabet.

**Writing of Long Vowels**

C’Lela words of two or more syllables may sometimes contain a long vowel in one syllable (usually the first syllable). Since such a vowel is noticeably longer in duration than surrounding ones and since this can make a difference to the meaning of the word, it should be indicated by the writing of a double vowel. For words of two or more syllables, length is to be indicated by double vowels as in the following examples: /naama/ 'cow', /pê été/ 'moon', /yaaru/ 'eight', /peese/ 'beat thoroughly', /pôò ço/ 'small grain', /gwê gê/ 'vomit', /maaka/ 'measure, test'.

Many C’Lela noun roots are monosyllabic *in their basic form*, i.e. in the form you would look for them in a dictionary. Such a monosyllable is frequently heard as having a long vowel, in contrast to the syllables of surrounding words. However, research in C’Lela has not yet uncovered other monosyllabic nouns having *short* vowel length. It is thus proposed to write all monosyllabic noun *roots* with single, not double, vowels. Notice that the prefix syllable is not included as part of the noun root, so that the last three examples are still considered monosyllabic *roots*.

Examples: /'gyu/ 'finger', /'aw/ 'child', /hi/ 'guinea corn', /d'ba/ 'place', , /s'to/ 'soup', /l'g/ 'town', /'bu/ 'house', /a'cu/ 'face'

There is still a need, however, to write pairs of vowels in monosyllables that are not strictly root words but are derived, possibly by adding a vowel-initial suffix. Examples of this can be seen in the first word of each of the following phrases:  
/l'g na'Zguru/ 'town of Zuru'
/buu kongama/ 'house of an elder'
/nwːa ru/ 'his mouth'
The basic (dictionary) forms of the head nouns in these phrases are /i'lɛ/, /u'bu/, and /a'nwːa/ respectively. The pair of vowels in such a derived word may be identical as in the second example, or non-identical as in the first and third examples.

Verbs usually follow the same pattern that nouns do. If the basic (dictionary) form of the verb has two or more syllables, then any syllable that has a noticeably longer vowel (usually the first syllable) should be written with a double vowel. The following examples show that this kind of vowel length difference can make a difference in the meaning of verbs:

/u maaka/  'she should measure'  versus  /u maka/  'she should jump'
/u se'te/  'he should help'  versus  /u se'ete/  'he should move'
/u giita/  'he should bring home'  versus  /u gita/  'he should meet'

If the basic form of the verb has a single syllable, then (as for a noun) it should not be written with a double vowel when in that basic form. The reasoning is the same as for nouns: a monosyllabic verb is pronounced with a longer vowel than most syllables surrounding it in the sentence, but monosyllabic verbs do not contrast with each other merely in vowel length. However, this proposal recommends writing double vowels and other vowel pairs where they occur in inflected forms of the verb. In particular, it is recommended to write a double vowel where a monosyllabic verb is combined with a –k or –t suffix. Quite frequently this inflected form of the verb does contrast in meaning with another verb (normally a disyllabic one), so that following this proposal should lessen the chance of ambiguous interpretations. *K'Batksa* is pretty consistent in showing double vowels on the inflected forms of such verbs.

Examples of how this rule applies to monosyllabic verbs are as follows:

/u wa/  'he should buy'  /u waaka/  'he bought'
/u to/  'she should go'  /u to'oko/  'she went'  versus  /u to'oko/  'she should pinch'
/u rwa/  'he should go out'  /u ruuku/  'he went out'  versus  /u ruku/  'he should shake'  (*from BDR-check*)
/u me na/  'he should build (it) for them'  /u me'ke na/  'he built (it) for them'  versus  /u me'ke na/  'he should jump (it) for them'
When monosyllabic verbs are inflected with the sequential aspect suffix –uzo/-uzu or the subordinating suffix –ine/-ini, vowel pairs (both identical and non-identical) often result:

/u la/ ‘he should know how’ /rem u laata/ ‘so that he might know how’ versus /u laata/ ‘he should lie down’

Here are some C'Lele proverbs which show the recommended use of double and single vowels:

A nan val a’wa an d’taar da. Discuss why we write a’wa, d’taare.

D’wa ni’le na giit an herge. Discuss why we write d’wa, i’le, giita.

Tos kasi a san’gos ni’dor da. Discuss why we write s’to, gosa, i’doro.

Exceptions to these rules:

1) Words and names adopted from Hausa should retain their traditional Hausa spelling, except where the C'Lele pronunciation is quite different. Examples:

2) Hausa baa 'There is no …' to contrast with C'Lele ba ‘place, among, etc.'

3) C'Lele kaa 'so, therefore' to contrast with C'Lele ka … 'one who …'
**Tone Marking**

Except for the symbols Ʉ, ɒ, and ə, the committee proposes that only when C’Lela is written technically, as in a dictionary, should tone marks or diacritics besides the underline bar be used. In general literature, the orthography should be free from tone marks for the following reasons:

1. Writing the differences in class marker prefixes, vowel length, vowel quality, and final vowel loss or retention in mid-phrase position (explained in Section D3) already serves in the proposed orthography to distinguish between many words which under previous orthographies may have had identical spelling.

   Examples:
   
   i  U Ʉeŋ k'gen. "He saw a river." versus  U ci Ʉoŋam d'gen. "He has a chest pain."
   ii  Hav Ʉv maaka. "Go and try." versus  Hav Ʉv maka. "Go and jump."
   iii  Gɔt yogo. "Look, a crow." versus  Gɔt yogo. "Look, a guinea fowl."
   iv  Hwa daptə unlo. "Kill that mantis." versus  Hwa dapt unlo. "Kill that monkey."

2. Virtually every C’Lela word is made clear in the context within which it is used and does not need tone marks to differentiate it from other words with different meaning but the same spelling.

   Examples:
   
   i  Gɔt ema. "Look, a grasshopper." versus  I Ʉeŋ tu ema? "What will he do?"
   ii  U havk Ʉn riga. "He went visiting." versus  U sogtə a bebodən riga. "He sat under a shea-nut tree."
   iii  U el a tɛntɛ. "He is leaning." versus  U el Ʉn c'zəŋkə tɛntɛ. "He is happy today."

The committee does concede that there are instances where a larger context than a single phrase or sentence is needed in order to distinguish between two possible meanings. Writers of C’Lela should be aware of such ambiguities and provide a context adequate to make their meaning clear.

   iv  Noka. "Come! / Go!"
   v  Hwebe me c'rongo. "Find me some cassava / some grass."
   vi  Dɔk ci m'weʃe. "A horse / an upper arm is strong."
3. Tone marks will increase costs of printing materials locally as no machines that will print these marks are readily available in the language area. Higher printing costs will adversely affect production of literature and consequently acquisition of literacy in C’Lela.

4. Tone marks and diacritics will make it more difficult to teach reading and writing in C’Lela as the learner will have to be made familiar with the marks and their proper use.

5. A dictionary that includes tone marks would help with non-native speakers' language learning needs and be a valuable reference for native speakers, while the orthography is kept free and simple. (See Appendix I.)

To recapitulate, tone marks can safely be dispensed with in standard written C’Lela, thereby avoiding the problems that their use will cause.

**Affixation**

For the purpose of writing, the main problem posed by affixation is in representing prefixes. These prefixes are a very significant characteristic of C’Lela nouns and are known as noun class markers. Should they be separated from the root words to which they are attached by a hyphen or by an apostrophe? The committee has agreed on the apostrophe, for the sake of economy and consistency. All prefixes are to be represented by single symbols followed by an apostrophe. Thus we have:

i. i’hi ‘tiny head’
ii. d’hi ‘head’
iii. s’hi ‘hair’
iv. c’hi ‘heads’
v. k’hi ‘big head’
vi. m’hq ‘water’
vii. v’gyu ‘finger’
viii. u’kaare ‘horn’
ix. a'koma 'hand'

A representation of the language as Ch-Lela was dropped in favour of C’Lela as a consequence of the above agreement. Some of the consonantal prefixes, especially
‘m’, ‘d’ and ‘v’, may be pronounced with a vowel. Sometimes this pronunciation occurs as an allophone (variant) of pronouncing such a prefix as a syllabic consonant and other times because the rules of pronunciation require it. The committee advises that writers should resist the temptation to write such occurrences of prefixes with vowels, such as /am’ho/ or /ad’hi/ or /av’ju/.

It should be noted also that proper nouns (such as C’Lela, U’Reba, A’Sila) and words requiring capitalization because they are in a title or at the beginning of a sentence are to have both their prefix and the initial letter following the prefix capitalized. If only the prefix is capitalized, the word will be harder to recognize when its prefix is moved or has an additional prefix added to it. Examples: /a Sila de/ if God permits'; /Lalks na'Sila/ 'God's Word'.

The examples in the right-hand column below illustrate that in a number of sentence contexts, the noun class markers take a suffix position rather than a prefix position. The committee proposes that the apostrophe should not be written when the class marker occurs in suffix position.

Examples:

- a. kaaro ‘tortoise’ Kaar el lo. ‘There’s a tortoise.’
- b. d’dota ‘seat’ Dotad el lo. ‘There’s a seat.’
- c. s’tq ‘soup’ Tos el lo. ‘There’s soup.’
- d. k’ken ‘feather’ Kenk el lo. ‘There’s a feather.’
- e. a’koma ‘hand’ Koma el lo. ‘There’s a hand.’
- f. v’zatha ‘branch’ Zathav el lo. ‘There’s a branch.’
- g. c’wece ‘clouds’ Wecc za da. ‘There are no clouds.’
- h. i’doro ‘pot’ Dori za da. ‘There’s no pot.’
- i. u’sago ‘grave’ Sagu za da. ‘There’s no grave.’
- j. s’hyan ‘palm trees’ Hyans za da. ‘There are no palms.’
- k. c’gyan ‘eggs’ Gyanc za da. ‘There are no eggs.’
- l. k’yan ‘bed’ Yanak el lo. ‘There’s a bed.’

The committee has also agreed that the diminutive wa and its plural ya, while they could be interpreted as prefixes, are to be represented instead as distinct from the nouns which they modify:

- e.g. wa qmo ‘puppy’; ya akna ‘children’
Spelling of Individual Words

Based on the alphabet adopted, the spelling of individual words is essentially phonemic (based on pronunciation as language speakers perceive it), as in many other African languages. Therefore, the committee has agreed to suggest that questions of spelling posed in certain specific areas should be resolved as outlined below:

Clusters, Glides and Diphthongs

C’Lela allows for consonant clusters which the committee suggests should be written fully as they occur, especially in past perfect tenses, phonemically. In particular, the past (perfective) tense furnishes numerous examples of consonant clusters:
cakta ‘smash’  caktka ‘smashed’
 póto ‘survive’ pótko ‘survived’
kugtu ‘kneel’  kugtku ‘knelt’ etc.
Though a brief transitional vowel may be heard after voiced consonants, writers are advised to avoid including vowels between the clusters, such as /kugtku/, etc. There are times, however, when the vowel æ should be written because it is pronounced in full:
kekle ‘laugh’  kekalke ‘laughed’
kwegde ‘squat’  kwegadke ‘squatted’

The question of how many syllables are perceived is often useful in determining whether or not to write the vowel æ. The brief transitional vowel is not perceived as a syllable nucleus.
Some nouns containing consonant clusters:
komgno  'silk-cotton tree'
daptna  'monkeys'

Many consonant sounds in C’Lela are glides. Spelling them poses no serious problem except to identify and represent them with the right symbols (phonemically):
rwaaga  [rʷa]  'go out'
hyare  [hʰ]  'relative, of same generation'
kwesme  [kʷe]  'male'
gwele  [gʷe]  'goat'
hwela  [hʷe]  'fire'
Diphthongs in C’Lela, if correctly identified and represented in orthographic symbols, pose no serious spelling problems:

d’kau [au] ‘goodness’
d’tau [ao] ‘chewing/to chew’
k’ta [au] ‘bow’
u’sou [ou] ‘drinking/to drink’
c’gai [ai] ‘marriage/wedding’
k’bai [ai] ‘purse/bag’

Pronouns

In the way they are pronounced, most C’Lela pronouns resemble the class-marking prefixes closely. The committee proposes making a distinction, however, between the way the pronouns are written and the way the prefixes are written. While the prefixes are always to be immediately followed by an apostrophe, the pronoun forms are never to be followed by an apostrophe. Instead, the basic form of each pronoun is an independent word, sometimes consisting of a single vowel or consonant. Most pronouns also have affixed forms, which are to be used when a single-letter pronoun is pronounced as part of another word syllabically. It is recommended that pronouns of more than one letter should not be written in an affixed form.

The following are two sets of pronouns widely used in c’Lela.
(There are other sets of pronouns, some of which appear in the examples.)

Subject pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ąm (basic form)</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-m / m- (affixed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ąv (basic)</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-v / v- (affixed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd, animate</td>
<td>u (basic)</td>
<td>‘he’/’she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-u / w- (affixed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd, animate</td>
<td>u, i, a, k, įv, ąm,</td>
<td>‘it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Object pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>me / mi</td>
<td>‘me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-m / m-</td>
<td>co / cinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>vo / vu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-v / v-</td>
<td>no / 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd,</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'him'/her'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td></td>
<td>na / 'them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd,</td>
<td>e, o, nà, dà, kà, và, mà</td>
<td>'it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td>e, cà, sà, mà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (pronouns shown in *italics*):

a. Am ta vat honhon da, tàv see te me. ‘If I do not speak correctly, you will help me.’

b. Yëv rein u’emo? ‘What are you doing?’

c. I vo wa. ‘You are a child.’

d. I nwa Lelne? ‘Are you Lelna?’

e. Hà, i cwan Lelna. ‘Yes, we are Lelna.’

f. Am pëtk vu. ‘I surpass you.’

g. Va pëta̱m da. ‘You do not surpass me.’

h. Am pëtk van c’kôló. ‘I surpass you in telling lies.’

i. C unu na. ‘Let us get up.’

j. An tông rihi? ‘Do you want something?’

k. I yên tönine? ‘What do you want?’

Vowel Loss and Retention

A spelling problem is posed in writing numerous noun and verb stems whose final vowels are dropped except when they occur at the end of a phrase (that is, before a pause). If we take pronunciation as a guide to the spelling of these words, they will be spelled in a different way at the end of a phrase than in the middle of a phrase.

Examples:
a. I əmo. ‘It’s a dog.’
   I əm laago. ‘It's a mad dog.’
   loss (on əmo)

b. Got noco.
   'Look at somebody.'
   Noc el lo.
   ‘Somebody is present.’
   loss (on noco)

c. I hwela. ‘It’s a fire.’
   Hwela za da. ‘There’s no fire.’
   retention (on hwela)

d. Tu esa. ‘He will stand.’
   Tu es tahna. ‘He’ll stand here.’
   loss (on esa)

e. I yen tu kumu?
   ‘What will he get?’
   Tu kum kəbo.
   'He'll get a bush cow.'
   loss (on kumu)

f. Tu noka. ‘He will go.’
   Tu nok na'rima.
   He will go by evening.
   loss (on noka ‘go’)

g. Tu noka. ‘He will come.’
   Tu noka na'rima.
   ‘He will come by evening.’
   retention (on noka ‘come’)

The committee's proposal is that pronunciation in fact should be the guide to spelling within C'Lela words. We agree with linguist Carl Hoffmann in his 1967 article An Outline of the Dakarkari Noun Class System, where he observes that the loss of the final vowel [in noun stems] ‘seems to be entirely lexical.’ That is to say, in some other languages the loss of the final vowel can be predicted on the basis of a regular rule. (As an example of this, Hoffmann cites Salka Kambari.) In C'Lela, however, the loss or retention of the final vowel is unpredictable - speakers of C'Lela simply know on the basis of the lexicon (memorized vocabulary) whether to drop or retain the vowel on each word. Moreover, C'Lela sometimes bases a meaning difference on whether or not the vowel is lost in a middle-of-phrase position (contrast examples f and g above), so it is important for the sake of clear meaning for writing to reflect pronunciation in this regard.

**Vowel Insertion**

When an animate noun occurs in the plural, it is often necessary for pronunciation purposes to insert a vowel sound (ə) which is not part of the singular (root) form. The committee recommends that the spelling of the plural form should reflect its pronunciation.

Examples:
i. I logamnọ. 'It's some elephants.' from logmọ 'elephant' and -n (animate plural suffix).

ii. I obalnọ. 'It's some snakes.' from obla 'snake' and -n (animate plural suffix).

iii. I nemnọ. 'It's some birds.' from nema 'bird' and -n (animate plural suffix) - no vowel insertion is necessary in this case, since the consonant cluster is pronounceable.

Note that the placement of the vowel a can be affected by the loss of the word-final vowel, the phenomenon explained in section D3 above.

i. Logmạn el lo. 'There are elephants.' from logmọ 'elephant' and -n (animate plural suffix).

ii. Oblăn za da. 'There are no snakes.' from obla 'snake' and -n (animate plural suffix).

iii. Nemăn el lo. 'There are birds.' from nema 'bird' and -n (animate plural suffix).

There are actually numerous other contexts where the committee recommends the insertion of a in the spelling of words.

iv. I kwešmọ kacı. 'It's a rooster.' from kwešme 'male' and kacı 'fowl'

In general, a is to be included in spelling wherever it occurs as a full vowel sound in word-internal pronunciation. This is not to be confused with occurrence of a brief transitional a, which is not to be spelled out (see section D1). Section E1 will show an important context where a, though clearly and fully pronounced, is not to be included in the spelling.
Compound Words and Word Division in Phrases

C'Lela, as other languages, frequently combines two or more words in such a way that the combination sounds like a single word (that is, there is no pause between the words in their pronunciation). The choice in such cases is between
(1) writing the words in a phrase, with blank spaces separating words which can function independently in other contexts, e.g. rik d'sooco 'thing of sitting', telvən təro 'bone of neck'; and
(2) writing the words as a single unit, known as a compound word, e.g. rika/uni0331dsooco 'chair', telvəntəro 'neck bone'.

Compound Words

There will be cases in which the form of the plural (or other grammatical forms), or the lack of distinct meaning components will suggest that treatment as a compound word is preferable to treatment as a phrase.

a. obalpe ‘python’, not obəl pə (plural: obalpeŋe)
   b. biravna'isna ‘door’, not birəv na'isna (plural: s’biravna’isna)
   c. tanila ‘seven’, not tan ila or tanila
   d. dadgamlendə ‘spider’, not dadg m'ləndə (plural: dadgamlendəne)
   e. c’nocurimu ‘human life’, not c’noc urimu (possessive: nocurimuć ri)
   f. con-o/uni0331mo/uni0331 ‘dog’s ear, a kind of creeping plant’, not con omo or conomo
      (plural: c’con-omo )

Normally two words that are grammatically treated as one will be written as a single word, without any dividing space. A dash (hyphen) will be used to show where two words have been joined only if the second word begins with a 'separated' vowel (as in examples c and f). In example e, the vowel and its preceding consonant are not pronounced separately.

Nouns qualified by Other Nouns

The committee proposes that, whenever individual meaning components are kept distinct by C’Lela grammar, it is usually better to write a phrase (two or more words) than a compound word. Thus compound nouns will be kept to a minimum.

Examples
a. dori s’tə ‘soup pot’ from i’doro ’pot’ and s’tə ’soup’.  
b. rik d’sooco ‘chair’ from k’ri ’thing’ and d’sooco ’sitting’.  
c. ka d’segete ‘helper’ from ka ’person’ and d’segete ’helping’.
d. koma s'tọ 'right hand' from a'koma 'hand' and s'tọ 'soup'.

e. koma ava ‘crab’s claw’ from a’koma ‘hand’ and ava ‘crab’.

f. kuti ọmọ ‘thigh of dog’ from i’kutu ‘thigh’ and ọmọ ‘dog’.

g. doprod v’ju ‘finger joint’ from d’dopro ‘joint’ and v’ju ‘finger’.

h. tẹlèk d’cina ‘spine’ from k’tẹlè ‘bone’ and d’cina ‘back’.

i. ọm ọmọ ‘drinking water’ from m’ọ ọ ‘water’ and ọmọ ‘drinking’.

The first word in all these examples (e.g. dori, koma, kuti, doprod, ọmọ) never occurs in that form when used alone. This incompleteness leads the reader to expect that the following word(s) will complete the phrase. The final word in each example, by contrast, is normally one which occurs alone (in isolation). Thus a word in its isolation form signals the end of a phrase. This feature, shared by written languages such as Hebrew and Hausa, may be helpful in developing fluent readers of the language.

The full ọ sound is required in the pronunciation of examples b, g, h, and i. However, since the sound occurs between words (actually between the class-marking suffix of the first noun and the class-marking prefix of the second noun), the committee proposes that ọ should not be written in this context. This will allow greater consistency in the writing of phrases, and native speakers should not have any difficulty knowing how to read these phrases once they develop fluency.

Animate plurals, indicated by the suffix -nV rather than by a prefix (the V indicating the final vowel of the root), follow a slightly different pattern when in the head noun position. The suffix loses its final vowel, then the suffix -a is added if anything other than a number qualifies the noun.

j. musna d’kade ‘bush cats’ from musnu ‘cats’ and d’kade ‘the bush’.

k. ạrama/una d’kau ‘good men’ from ạrama ‘men’ and d’kau ‘goodness’.

### The Use of ọ as a Link between Nouns

Nouns qualified (modified) by other nouns often follow the simple patterns shown in section E1. However, if the qualifying noun does not have a prefix, then the suffix -n or -an is normally added to the head noun (the noun being qualified). We can think of this suffix as a genitival link between the two nouns, indicating that the second noun helps to describe the head noun in some way.

a. belun yala ‘farm of beans’ from u'belu ‘farm’ and yala ‘beans’.
b. koman kanta ‘left hand’ from a’koma ‘a hand’ and kanta ‘left’.
c. telkan toro ‘neck bone’ from k’telg ‘a bone’ and toro ‘neck’.
d. gadan hwela ‘hot tuwo’ from d’ga ‘tuwo’ and hwela ‘fire’
e. hiłacan ce ‘tree thorns’ from c’hiła ‘thorns’ and ce ‘tree’

When the prefix of the qualifying noun is a vowel, the n is affixed to the vowel prefix and pronounced in the same syllable with it.

f. isa’d nu’na ‘ankle’ from d’isa ‘eye’ and u’na ‘foot’.
g. ka nu’bu ‘head of the house’ from ka ‘person’ and u’bu ‘house’.
h. dɔmk na’cona ‘upper lip’ from k’dɔmo ‘lip’ and a’cona ‘up’.
i. musu’n u’bu ‘domestic cat’ from musu ‘cat’ and u’bu ‘house’.
j. rinna nu’tusu ‘wild animals’ from rinni ‘living things’ and u’tusu ‘uncivilized behaviour’.

Possession by an animate being does not fall under this category of genitival qualification in C’Lela grammar. In other words, n is not used as a link between two nouns if the second noun is in the animate class, even though this noun has no prefix.
Example: belu go’mo ‘farm of the chief’ from u’bela ‘farm’ and go’mo ‘chief’, not belu n go’mo
(compare to example a above - belu yala would be taken to mean ‘Yala’s farm’, where Yala is someone’s name)

Prepositional Phrases involving ‘in’

As a preposition, an or n (as pronounced) should be written as a separate word unless it is pronounced in the same syllable with the class-marking prefix of the following word. In that case, it should be written as a prefix to that word, n-.
Examples (some also show the link –ₙ, explained in the previous section):

a. Tua n’a m’zana. ‘He will arrive in the morning.’
b. Zo’og sipk ot an koman kanta. ‘A blacksmith held the handle in his left hand.’

This shows the preposition gn and the link -ₙ (suffixed to koma).

c. U ɔmk i’cobe an koma s’to. ‘He picked up the awl in his right hand.’

This is similar to example (b) except that the link -ₙ is not used on koma
In (d) and (e) the use of both preposition and link is illustrated.

d. A el a es an paat nu’bu. ‘They are standing beside the house.’
e. A el a soot አን min buu ru. ‘They are sitting in the house.’
f. A el አን c’ňamsa. ‘They are smiling.’
g. U uvk አን d’kade. ‘He went into the bush.’
h. A nan hav U’Reb አን kwēév da. ‘We don't go to Ribah quickly.’
i. U el አን ryamän gadań hi. ‘He is eating guinea corn food.’
j. Tu hweks som s’tó አን komän kanta. ‘He can drink soup with the left hand.’
k. Lalks na’wā ci kobad nu’vato. ‘It is difficult to talk about death.’
l. I kan napin sŏnmän hid ru un tu em kekabs’an lalks ru. ‘It’s the responsible person who is careful of his speech.’

Note: the symbol እ is quite extensively used in C’Lela orthography, with a number of different grammatical functions. The examples of sections E3 and E4 concern themselves with only two functions, እ as a link between words and እ as a preposition commonly meaning ‘at’ or ‘in’.

Nouns qualified by Adjectives

When a noun is qualified by an adjective which follows it, the noun class marker is written as a suffix on the head noun. Some adjectives also contain a suffix which shows agreement with the noun qualified.

a. gyand puspdni ‘a white egg’ from d’gyan ‘an egg’, pusu ‘white’, -d (agreement suffix), -ni (determiner)
b. gyuv rwekəvne ‘a small finger’ from v’gyu ‘a finger’, rweko ‘small’, -v (agreement), -ne (determiner).
c. cek zisqə ‘a tall tree’ from k’ce ‘a tree’ and zisə ‘tall’ and -kaə (agreement)
d. netən rimane ‘real/black people’ from netna ‘people’, rimə ‘darkness’, -a (agreement) and -ne (determiner).
e. oman gyoqzane ‘red dogs’ from ommo ‘dogs’ gyoqo ‘redness’ -a (agreement) and -ne (determiner).
f. noc zisu ‘a tall person’ from noco ‘person’, zisə ‘tallness’, and -u (agreement).
g. poglad damra 'big hat' from d'pogla 'hat' and damra 'big'.
**Nouns qualified by Possessive Pronouns**

Even though they do not carry their own class-marking prefixes as nouns do, possessive pronouns normally represent animate nouns and so are treated like the second noun in a noun phrase (see section E2). This means the first noun keeps its class marker as a suffix and the possessive pronoun has no prefix transferred to it. This is recommended in order to minimize the need for apostrophes.

a. hid ri ‘myself/my head’ from d’hi ‘a head’ and ri ‘my’.
b. kusk rovo ‘your dress’ from k’kus ‘a dress’ and rovo ‘your’.
c. buc nɑ ‘their houses’ from c’bu ‘houses’ and nɑ ‘their’.
d. buc cinna ‘our houses’ from c’bu ‘houses’ and cinna ‘our (inclusive)’.
e. belu ru ‘his/her farm’ from u’bela ‘a farm’ and ru ‘his/her’.
f. oman no ‘your dogs’ from omnɔ ‘dogs’ and no ‘your (pl.)’.
g. magazəv ri ‘my senior’ from magaze ‘senior’ and ri ‘my’

(Note: Although magaze has no prefix in its isolation form, the suffix -v or -ʒv is added to it when it is followed by a possessive pronoun such as ri. This is so for all nouns in the singular animate class, as in example h.)
h. daptəv nɑ ‘their monkey’ from dapta ‘monkey’ and nɑ ‘them’

**Nouns with Definite Article**

The definite article ne is handled like an adjective for nouns with class-marking prefixes, in that the noun class marker is written as a suffix on the head noun rather than as a prefix on the article. However, nouns which have no prefix in their isolation form will show one in conjunction with the article. For such nouns, the prefix is attached to the article (examples d and e).

a. gyand ne ‘the egg’ from d’gyan ‘an egg’ and ne ‘the’.
b. hɔm ne ‘the water’ from m’hɔ ‘water’ and ne ‘the’.
c. dori ne ‘the pot’ from i’doro ‘pot’ and ne ‘the’.
d. gwɛl une ‘the goat’ from gwɛlɛ ‘goat’ and ne ‘the’.
e. yal ine ‘the beans’ from yala ‘beans’ and ne ‘the’.
f. gwɛlnə ne ‘the goats’ from gwɛlnɛ ‘goats’ and ne ‘the’.
Nouns qualified by Demonstratives

For a noun followed by a demonstrative pronoun, the noun's class marker becomes a prefix on the pronoun *hna, nlo, or nzo*. In this transfer process, consonantal class markers have their apostrophe replaced by the vowel /a/ (which is pronounced in full) whereas vowel class markers drop their apostrophes because these become redundant. Note also that nouns which have no class-marking prefix in their isolation form often require one on the demonstrative (examples e and f).

a. gyan cahn ‘these eggs’ from c’gyan ‘eggs’ and hna ‘this/these’.
b. gyan dañlo ‘that egg’ from d’gyan ‘egg’ and nlo ‘that (near)’.
c. gyan dänzo ‘that egg’ from d’gyan ‘egg’ and nzo ‘that (far)’.
d. dor ihna ‘this pot’ from i’doro ‘pot’ and hna ‘this’.
e. om unlo ‘that dog’ from omó ‘dog’ and nlo ‘that (near)’.
f. yal inzo ‘those beans’ from yala ‘beans’ and nzo ‘that (far)’.

The noun suffix -nV indicating an animate plural is not transferred from its usual suffix position, but the original vowel V is replaced by *a*.

g. genna nlo ‘those fishes’ from gennê ‘fishes’ and nlo ‘those (near)’.
h. netna nzo ‘those persons’ from netna ‘people’ and nzo ‘those (far)’.
i. omna hna ‘these dogs’ from omño ‘dogs’ and hna ‘this/these’.

Nouns with Numbers

Numbers themselves are often phrases, especially those beyond a single digit. Only the prefix on numbers 1 to 9 shows agreement with the type of thing being counted. In the case of animate nouns, v'- is used as prefix when the number ends in 1 and the prefix i'- is used when the number ends in 2 to 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>oopan v’dān</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>d’kwêzän s’ilä</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>d’kwêzän oopan s’taçu</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>kwêz c’ïlan s’naaase</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>daptän oopan i’tan</td>
<td>'fifteen monkeys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>c’taar c’yaäru</td>
<td>'eight stones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>s’ce kwêz c’taçan oopan s’doore</td>
<td>'79 trees'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Case of Double Qualifiers

When a noun is followed by an adjectival or genitival qualifier, which is in turn followed by a demonstrative or a number, it provides a good test of whether the proposed orthography can be applied in a consistent fashion. For example, we could have:

i telkan tor kanlo ‘that neck bone’.
ii doprod v’gyu danlo ‘that finger joint’.
   Compare: doprod v’gyu vanlo ‘a joint of that finger’
iii gyand pus danzo ‘that white egg’.
iv gyuv rwei vahn ‘this small finger’.
v omgan gyova nahna ‘these red dogs’.
vi hid ri dahna ‘this head of mine’.

vii kusk rov kanlo ‘that wrapper of yours’.
viii dapta rweka ni’ila ‘two small monkeys’.
ix kus m’han m’cihin ‘these six shirts’
x netan rima nahna ‘these real/black people’.
xi oblan zisa nanlo ‘those long snakes’.
xii netan riman ane ‘the real/black people’

These kinds of expressions do not occur very frequently in real C’Lela speech.

Standard Dialect

A dialect survey of C’Lela-speaking groups reveals a percentage of lexical similarity greatly exceeding 70, justifying classification of the dialects as one language. These groups include Zugurnu, Dabna, Koqtno, Sencene, Mangna, Rumnu, and Rebna. Other groups, such as Panni, Oono, Sarna, Dogno, Conkno, share great similarities with one or more of the groups included in the survey, allowing for their grouping under the surveyed groups rather than as different dialects, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zugurnu</th>
<th>Dabna</th>
<th>Sencene</th>
<th>Rebna</th>
<th>Mangna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panni</td>
<td>Rumnu</td>
<td>Sarna</td>
<td>Conkno</td>
<td>Panni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koqtno</td>
<td>Dogno</td>
<td>Oono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangna</td>
<td>Koqtno</td>
<td>Ushe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above list is by no means exhaustive, but it does contain the major dialect groups both in terms of population and visibility.

From the dialect survey, the Zuru (Zugurnu) dialect seems to have emerged as the most suitable for a standard for the following reasons:

1. The Zugurnu dialect has the greatest intelligibility percentage among all the other dialects.

2. It has the least appearance of ‘strange’ or different lexical items (all its items are not only intelligible to but most commonly used by other dialect groups).

3. It occupies an area that has been the centre of administration of the Zuru Emirate and Local Government before other Local Government Areas were carved out. It has therefore attracted the greatest conglomeration of C’Lela dialects to its environment, thereby increasing its intelligibility and acceptability with the other dialects.

4. An acceptability survey was conducted by Ango and Dudu among Zuru, Darangi, Bedi, Ribah and Danko markets, being the main meeting points of all C’Lela dialects, so that all dialects were represented to various degrees at each market to determine the most preferred dialect of C’Lela for writing. The Zuru dialect had the highest total number of persons preferring it; the highest percentage of survey-areas where it was most preferred - about 60%; it was the only dialect most preferred at a market not proximate to an area settled mostly by its speakers (all other dialects were only most preferred at markets proximate to areas mostly settled by their speakers); and it was always preferred as second choice whenever it was not first choice, indicating that if parochial feelings were removed, it could easily be first choice. Therefore, the committee recommends that based on the most objective criteria the Zuru dialect should be used as the standard reference dialect for writing C’Lela. Its lexical items and pronunciation should be used in formal discourse and for teaching purposes. However, a lexicography for C’Lela should include lexical items and pronunciation of other dialects.

Though no phonemic analysis of C’Lela is available to the committee, the committee has agreed that the most common occurrences of certain sounds that have variants are to be preferred. e.g.

i  c’gyan, not c’jan; gyopo, not jopo
It is apparent that the above variations are dialectal and may sometimes be written by individuals according to their personal preferences. But, once the lexicographer has determined the standard (Zuru dialect) pronunciation of a word, its spelling should pose no problem.

**Lexicography**

The orthography committee has agreed that a C’Lela dictionary should contain phonetic spellings (with tone marks and diacritics) accompanying all orthographic spellings to indicate correct pronunciation. An alternative suggestion is to mark tone in the citation form of each lexical entry. Dialectal variations should also be entered, both lexically and phonetically, indicating all variants from the proposed standard dialect. The committee suggests that only root words be listed as main entries, then they should be followed by all possible affixations and inflections as sub-entries. Affixes themselves should be listed as separate entries in their appropriate alphabetical places. Except in the cases of single imperative verbs that double as sentences, the lexicographer should avoid entering sentences as single words. Examples of usage would be useful in a lexicography. Of course, all entries should follow a strict alphabetical order for easy location.

**Language Development**

The committee is of the opinion that literacy in C’Lela can only be achieved if the agencies responsible for education take the challenge seriously. Therefore, we appeal to the State Ministry of Education, the Zonal Education Office and the Local Government Education Boards to include the teaching of C’Lela in their development plans.

C’Lela could be taught in adult education classes as well as in primary schools in the Zuru emirate, especially during the last three years of primary education. All these will of course be impossible without the production of primers. Teachers of language and other linguists are therefore encouraged by this committee to embark on the
production of primers based on this proposed standard orthography, and the Committee for the Standardization of C’Lela Orthography is fully available to render any moral, intellectual or financial assistance within its power to give.

The committee also appeals to all researchers in C’Lela to make use of the suggested standard in writing anything in C’Lela. In this way we shall all contribute to the establishment of an acceptable standard. Usage establishes a convention.

**Inquiries and Queries**

The committee welcomes comments, criticisms and suggestions regarding this proposed orthography and is ever ready to answer questions from those who seek further information. Direct all your inquiries and queries to any of the following persons:

- Samuel P. Ango, College of Agriculture, Zuru.
- Ishyaku Nababa Chonoko, Zuru Local Government Education Secretariat.
- Markus Dudu, College of Agriculture, Zuru.
- Stephen A. Girma, College of Agriculture, Zuru.

Finally, we are also ready to amend any of the above suggestions for a proposed standard orthography for C’Lela, provided objective reasons are given for such amendment. This will then be published in subsequent editions of this proposal, so that this document continues to serve as a standard reference for writing in C’Lela to ensure an orderly progress.