MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS AND CODE SWITCHING IN SPOKEN NIGERIAN FULFULDE

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Abstract:

Belonging to the West-Atlantic branch (Greenberg, 1963), Fulfulde has borrowed numerous words and expressions from the English language to enrich its vocabulary, following its contact with English, the British colonial heritage. These loanwords or borrowings have undergone morphological and phonological modifications when used in Fulfulde, which has 'spilled' an indigenous flavour over these words. The study is based on Myers-Scotton's (1997) frame of Maxim Language Model, whereby maxim language imposes its morphology and phonological grammar on the recipient language, known as the Embedded language, which is English in this study. The aim of this paper is to analyse the morphophonologically-adapted English loanwords and code-switching incorporated in Nigerian Fulfulde, which is gaining ground and is increasingly spread across the northern, northeast, and western part of Nigeria, like Borno State, Adamawa, Gombe, Bauchi, Zaria, etc. The study focuses on the segmental and syllable-related aspects. Data for this study was collected via pre-recorded audio materials, discussion with Fulfulde-English bilingual informants and informal observation of daily natural conversation of speakers of Fulfulde. Findings reveal that phonological adaptation of English loanwords and code-switching in Fulfulde occurs through such features as vowel and consonant substitution, systematic lengthening of vowel, vowel addition, vowel epenthesis and syllable elongation.

Keywords: loanwords, lexical borrowing, adaptation, epenthesis, phonological modifications

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1. Introduction

Nigeria is one of the West African countries where English is officially used as a language for media, administration, diplomacy, education and other formal and informal settings for communication nationwide. Awonusi (2004) claims that the implantation of the English language in Nigeria can be categorized into three phases: the period before the missionary activities, the period during the missionary activities and the colonial period. In addition to English which is the British colonial heritage, Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa have also been adopted in Nigeria as national languages, taught in schools in different respective states. Several other indigenous languages, including Fulfulde, are also spoken in the country, especially in Adamawa State, where, though Hausa is apparently dominant, Fulfulde is spreading vitally because of the significant number of *Fulbe* (whose singular is called *pullo*), the name of the tribe speaking the language.

Based on the afore-mentioned description of the country, there is no gainsaying that language contact is a reality in Nigeria, which inevitably results from the phenomenon of lexical borrowing and code-switching. Lexical borrowing, which is commonly referred to as *loanword,* in literature, is the incorporation of a word from a donor language into a recipient language. Haugen (1956: 40) describes borrowing as "*the regular use of material from one language in another so that there is no longer either switch or overlapping except in a historical sense*", and depicts code switching as a situation "*where a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated from another language into his speech*".

Haspelmath (2003) opines, on his part, that a loanword is a word that at some time came into a language by transfer from another language. Though the focus of the present study is not on the distinction between code switching and loanword (or borrowing), the researcher deems it necessary to clarify the two terms. A speaker may switch from one language to another while speaking consciously and deliberately, being aware that he/she is using two languages because of his/her bilingual proficiency (though some equivalent words may not sometimes exist in the recipient language). An illustrative case might be the bilingual Fulfulde-utterance *mi timmi ni registration am* (*which is an* adoption translated as 'I am through with my registration', where *registration* is also known as an importation (Furiassi et al., 2012). Such an utterance may either be maintained verbatim as a loanword or subject to phonemic, morphological or phonological modification, yielding an epenthesis like *registiration.*

The present study sets out to provide a morphophonological analysis of the English found in Nigerian Fulfulde speech containing borrowed words and switched terms, which have undergone morphological and phonological modification. The Fulfulde varieties of Nigeria considered in this study include those spoken in Adamawa, Gombe, Abuja, Lagos, Bauchi, Taraba, and Borno states. Such varieties of Fulfulde were selected on the grounds that the researcher could have access to data over radio broadcasts in the varieties in question, in addition to informal observation of daily conversation during the researcher's stay in Maiduguri as a PhD student.

2. Literature review

2.1 Difference between loanword and code switching

Obi Yeboah and Akofi Ansah (2022) observe that a loanword and code switching differ in three ways. Firstly, in code switching, people who switch back and forth between languages are more or less aware of their behaviour, or at least they know that they make use of two or more languages. But with loanwords, it has been realised that the speakers of the target language use elements from other languages, when they think or are even sure that they use only one language. This point is corroborated by Wohlgemuth (2009: 53) when he states that *"well-established, "old" loan words, for example, may not even be perceived by speakers of the recipient language as something that originated in another language."* For example, *burodi* and *asbiti*, the adapted forms of English *bread* and *hospital*, respectively, are commonly used as loanwords, not only in Fulfulde (spoken in Northern and North Eastern Nigeria) but also in Hausa speech, regardless of the speakers' education level or status. Secondly, the authors say that borrowing or loanword is concerned with words, while code switching is not necessarily concerned with single words but rather structures. Thirdly, in code switching, the speaker who switches must be necessarily bilingual, but loanword usage does not require speakers to be bilingual, although bilingual speakers also use loanwords. Monolinguals are able to use loanwords well, but this cannot be said about code switching.

2.2 Studies related to English loanwords in some indigenous languages

Loanword phonology has attracted scholarly attention through a number of studies which have been carried out. It could, however, be realised that research on morphophonological analysis of borrowing from English into Fulfulde has received less scholarly attention than that of some other African indigenous languages. Among the few studies known in literature, features Hamidou Bappa (2023), who investigated the morphophonological adaptation of Diamare Fulfulde, a variety spoken in the Far-North region of Cameroon, a country in central Africa. He used a questionnaire and informal observation of natural conversation in Fulfulde to collect data. His study reveals the existence of phonological adaptation of English loanwords in Fulfulde, through such features as vowel epenthesis, vowel addition, syllabic elongation, vowel and consonant substitution, sound/syllable elision and monophthongisation of English diphthongs.

Loice (2016), on his part, explored the phonological adaptation of English loanwords in Lukabras, a Kenyan language. He compares Lukabras and English phonetic inventories and describes the phonological processes used in the adaptation of loanwords in Lukabras. Data for the study was gathered via questionnaires, informal interviews, and discussions with native speakers of Lukabras. He found out that English loanwords were adapted in Lukabras by being indigenised through such phonological processes as vowel lowering, devoicing of consonants, continuant strengthening, stop weakening, monophthongisation of diphthongs, vowel reduction and epenthesis. As-Sammer (2015) explored phonetic and phonological adaptation of English loanwords to Iraqi Arabic. He

came up with prominent phonological adjustment, including vocalic lengthening, vocalic quality alternation, consonantal substitution, vowel insertion and modification of syllabic phonotactics. In a similar study, Heffenan (2007) handled phonetic and phonological adaptation in Polynesian languages (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean). He concluded that the input to loanword phonology was either phonetic or phonemic, and the actual choice depends on the social relationship between the native and non-native. Beel and Felder (2013), on their part, looked into the syllable structure of English loanwords adapted in Turkish, as well as the phonological adjustment of these loanwords. He found out that Turkish adapted English words through the process of substitution, deletion and epenthesis, in order to ease the pronunciation of borrowed words. With regard to substitution, the English glottal plosive /g/ was replaced by /ʔ/ in 'photo**g**raph', realised as /fɔtɔʔɪʌf/, instead of the RP /fəʊtəgrɑːf/. As for deletion, the final /t/ in 'apartmen**t**' was cancelled, yielding such rendition as /ʌpʌrʔman/, instead of the RP /əpɑːtmənt/. As far as epenthesis is concerned, the vowel /u/ was inserted in between two sounds in 'studio', being therefore realised as /sutudiə/

3. Theoretical framework

The current study is based on Myers-Scotton's (1997) Matrix Language Model, which posits that two languages involved in a bilingual speech do not have the same status or vitality. One of the languages is more predominant than another in a bilingual utterance by imposing its morphosyntactic and phonological grammar upon the recipient language. The dominant language is referred to as the Matrix language, while the dominated language is called the Embedded language. In connection with the current study, one can realise that English is the Embedded language, which undergoes morphophonological adaptations in the English speech of Fulbe who, either used English switched words (or loanwords) for a prestige or need-filling motive.

4. Methodology

This section will describe the research design, sources/instruments of data collection, participants, procedure of data collection and analysis.

4.1 Research design
The present study is couched within qualitative research, which aims at gathering and analysing non-numerical data. This approach is therefore appropriate for this research work because it attempts to describe the participants' attitude and behaviour on the realisation of borrowed words and switched terms in some varieties of Fulfulde spoken in Nigeria.

4.2 Sources and instruments of data collected, procedure and participants

4.2.1 Sources of data collection and procedure

Data for the current study was collected from three different sources.

The first source includes three audio-recorded broadcasts of Fulfulde over Radio Kongol in Lagos, Nigeria, and Citizen FM 93.7 located in Abuja, Nigeria. The recorded audio broadcasts were sent to the researcher by a lecturer (from the University of Ahmadu Bello, Zaria) via WhatsApp for exploration. Data was gathered from the Fulfulde speech, embedding English loanwords and switched terms by participants during an interactive conversation on greeting their relatives. This programme was moderated by a Fulfulde-speaking journalist of Citizen FM 93.7, who also served as a source of data. While the number of the participants was difficult to master, there is the need to specify that they included both male and female and many of them switched from Fulfulde to adapted forms of English or loanwords. Some of them were apparently literate.

Regarding the procedure of data collection of the afore-mentioned case, the researcher played the audio material several times from his Redmi A3 Pro smart phone, listened carefully to the Fulfulde speech and transcribed the utterances manually (on a paper) embedding adapted English and code-switching.

The second source of data collection was drawn from a podcast over *YouTube*, entitled 'Live Fulfulde interview with Aliyu Binkola of Pulaaku FM Radio, Yola, Adamawa State' on October 11, 2017. Here, a similar data collection procedure was also applied – by jotting down the Fulfulde speech embedding adapted English forms and switching cases (to English), by listening careful to the played material several times.

The third instrument for data collection was the researcher's participant observation of natural conversation of Nigerian speakers of Fulfulde during his frequent journeys to Nigeria, as a PhD (by research) student at the University of Maiduguri, in Borno State, from 2011 to 2018.

With regard to data collection procedure, data was gathered on university campus, at the market, while traveling by car and during discussion with Fulfulde speakers, providing English loanwords and code witching. Having Fulfulde as first language, the researcher listened to the conversation and participated in the discussion, and was jotting down (during the process) the utterances or words (under study) on a paper for analysis.

4.2.2 Data analysis instrument

Following data collection, a comparative approach was used to compare and contrast the Fulfulde phonemes, borrowed from Fulfulde and the switched forms of English in Fulfulde utterances. This is done with reference to Hornby's (1974) Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 3rd edition.

5. Findings and discussion

Data analysis reveals that most of the English loanwords and code-switching in Fulfulde spoken in Nigeria have undergone morphophonological readjustments to suit the linguistic system of Fulfulde. Such adaptations include vowel epenthesis, vowel lengthening and substitution, vowel addition, vowel and consonant substitution, and syllabic elongation. Each of these features will be elaborated in turn below:

5.1 Vowel lengthening

The English loanwords and code-switching contained in Fulfulde-English bilingual speech by Nigerian speakers of Fulfulde in the northern part exhibit the replacement of English short monophthongs and diphthongs with Fulfulde long vowels. The Fulfulde version is written in italics, embedding the adapted English loanwords/borrowings written in bold, while the English translation is written in plain. It is worth noting that the researcher did not find it necessary to distinguish between loanwords and code-switching in the analysis because both phenomena undergo morphophonological remodeling.

This is illustrated in Example (1) below:

Example (1):

a. *nde mi timmini be hokki am **dip/lɔ:/ma***
    I was awarded a **diploma** when I finished (my training)

b. *be don yaara ha **r/u:/ral** area*
    They are binging (it) to **rural** areas

c. *hootcha **comp/u:/ta** wada **ed/i:/tin***
    Taking a ***computer*** to *edit*

d. *min djodi ngam min farta **s/ɔ:/dja***
    we stayed to chase ***soldiers***

e. *ko **/ɔ:/fis** mako fere mako*
    He is even alone in his ***office***

f. *mi hokki on **sch/ɔ:/larship***
    I granted ***scholarships*** to you

g. *neebi mi don wada **sa/po:/ting** yimbe*
    I have been ***supporting*** people for ages

h.　*nasta siasas nden wada benef/**i:**/ting*
　　Getting into politics and **bene*f*iting** from it

i.　*pullo ha lesdi haado esp/**e:**/cialy ha lesdi nageria*
　　a Fulani here, **esp*e*cially** in Nigeria……

j.　*don wada twenty-one d/**ɔ:**/la per tonne*
　　It is worth twenty-one d*o*llars per tonne

k.　*ko waddata pur/**ɔ:**/blem*
　　*what gives rise to p**r*o*blems***

l.　*min wadi c/**ɔ:**/ding mai*
　　We **c*o*ded** the matter in question

　　Example (1) above offers a systematic lengthening of short vowels in English switched and loanwords in Fulfulde both at the initial, as in /ɔ:/fis (office) and medial positions, in *r/u:/ral*, (rural), c/ɔ:/ding (coding), s/ɔ:/dja (soldier) of disyllabic and multisyllabic words, such as sch/ɔ:/laship. Hence, RP rounded short vowel /ɒ/ was replaced with its long counterpart /ɔ:/ in /ɔ:/fis, *pur/**ɔ:**/blem*, *c/**ɔ:**/ding*, *dipl/**ɔ:**/ma*, s/**ɔ:**/ja (soldier) and *d/**ɔ:**/la* (dollar), while the diphthong /uə/ was monophthongised and lengthened as /u:/ in *r/u:/ral;* the short front vowel /ɪ/ was substituted with its long counterpart /i:/ in *ed/**i:**/tin* (editing) and *benef/**i:**/tin* (benefiting), and /e/ was also lengthened as /e:/ in *esp/**e:**/cialy* (especially). Such a general lengthening of short sounds could result from the influence of the speakers' L1 phonology upon English, which they might have subsequently learned.

5.2 Vowel epenthesis

Ladefoged and Johnson (2010: 306) define *epenthesis* as "*the insertion of one or more sounds in the middle of a word*". Richards & Schmidt (2010:199), on their part, substantiate that *epenthesis* is ''the addition of a sound at the beginning of a word or between sounds''. Vowel epenthesis, therefore, refers to the insertion of a vowel either at the beginning of a word or between sounds. This phonological phenomenon is noticeable in the code-switching in Nigerian Fulfulde, illustrated in (2) below:

Example (2):

a.　*mi djan ngui **digiri** am*
　　I registered for the **degree**

b.　*be wadi **pu*ro*:gram***
　　They established a **program**

c.   *mi laati **sekereteri** kampani*
     I became **secretary** for the company

d.   sukaajo timmini *sekenderi*
     A young man finished **secondary (**school)

e.   *jamaaje heeba yoba **registiration***
     so that people should pay for **registration**

f.   *o wadaye **registiration***
     He did not **register**

g.   *ko mi yidi wiigo **firee** education*
     I mean **free** education

h.   *mi yidi ngomnati wara hokka **ischolarship***
     I would like the government to come and grant **scholarship**

i.   *mi don tora **honorebul***
     I am pleading with (the) **honourable**

As shown in example (2) above, the vowel /i/ was inserted between the consonant clusters *gr*, *tr* and *fr* in *deg/i/ree*, *regist/i/ration* and *f/i/ree*, respectively, while clusters *kr* and *dr* were epenthesised with /e/ in sek/e/retery and sekend/e/ry, respectively. Concerning *pr* and *bl*, the vowel /u/ was inserted in between them, in *p/u/ro:gram* and *honourebul*, respectivel*y*. By epenthesising, speakers have got a means of simplifying English consonant clusters which are apparently more complex than those of Fulfulde, being more familiar to the speakers.

Further cases of vowel epenthesis in English loan nouns in Nigerian Fulfulde are tabularised in (I) below:

Table I: Vowel epenthesis of English loanwords in Nigerian Fulfulde

Fulfulde adapted loans	English words
b/u/rodi	bread
t/i/reela	trailer
p/u/ro:blem	problem
t/u/robul	trouble
p/u/rsina	prisoner
teb/u/r	Table
/u/sur	Whistle
lik/i/ta	Doctor
k/u/rikit	Cricket
bask/u/r	Bicycle
ing/i/la	England
t/i/reeda	Trader

As indicated in Table I, speakers of Nigerian Fulfulde inserted the high rounded back vowel /u/ between the consonant clusters *br, pr tr* and *kl* in *burodi* (bread), *tebur* (table), *puro:bulem* (problem*), pursina* (prisoner), *turo:bul* (trouble) and *baskur* (bicycle), respectively, and introduced it as an initial epenthesis in */u/sur* (whistle). On its part, the vowel /i/ broke up the cluster *tr* in *t/i/reela* (trailer)/*tireeda* (trader), and *kt* and *gl* in *lik/i/ta* (doctor) and *ing/i/la* (England), respectively. This is to apparently simplify the pronunciation of these clusters by making them sound like a Fulfulde syllable pattern. One can therefore conclude with Assayyed (2018) that epenthesis is used to make borrowings comply with the syllable structure of the recipient language, which is Fulfulde in this study.

5.3 Vowel substitution

Vowel substitution or replacement is shown in Table II below:

Table II: Substitution of English vowels in Nigerian Fulfulde borrowing from English

English loanwords in Fulfulde	RP equivalent sound	Gloss
res/a:/	res/ɜ:/ch	Research
dig/**a**/	digg/**ə**/	Digg**er**
s/a:/vice	s/ɜ:/vice	Service
b/ɔ/kiti	b/ʌ/ket	B**u**cket
k/ɔ/pru	c/ʌ/p	C**u**p
g/**ɔ**/mna	g/ʌ/vernment	G**o**vernment
l/a/mba	n/ʌ/mber	N**u**mber
m/a/sinja	m/**e/ssenger**	Messenger
r/**e:**/za	r/**eɪ**/zor	Razor
w/**a**/ya	w/**aɪə**/	wire
w/ɔ/ya	w/**aɪə**/	Wire
r/e/dio	r/eɪ/**dio**	Radio

As illustrated in Table II above, the weak central RP schwa /ə/ is replaced by the strong /a/, in *dig/a/* (digg**er**); the RP central vowel /ɜ:/ was realised with its long back counterpart /a:/ in *res/a:/ch* (research) and *s/a:/vice* (service). The RP unrounded back vowel /ʌ/ is rendered rounded in b/ɔ/kiti (bucket), g/ɔ/mna (government) and *k/ɔ/pru* (cup), and was substituted with the open vowel /a/ in *l/a/mba* (number). While the diphthong /eɪ/ was fronted as /e/ in r/e/dio (radio), it is lengthened as /e:/ in *r/e:/zor* (razor). The English triphthong /aɪə/ was variously monophthongised as /ɔ/ and /a/ in *w/ɔ/ya* and *w/a/ya*, respectively, which are the variants of the English *wire,* meaning *phone* in Fulfulde under study.

5.4 Consonant substitution

English borrowed and adapted words display replacement of voiceless bilabial plosive with its voiced counterpart, velar with prenasalised plosive and alveolar fricative with alveolar plosive. Such a substitution is presented in Table III below:

Table III: Consonant substitution in adapted English loans in Nigerian spoken Fulfulde

English words	Adapted forms in Fulfulde	Consonants substituted
Hospital	as<u>b</u>iti	/p/→ /b/
government	<u>ng</u>omna	/g/→ /ŋg/
democra<u>c</u>y	democra<u>t</u>iya	/s/ → /t/
a<u>n</u>swer	a<u>m</u>sa	/n/ → /m/
<u>p</u>rivate	<u>f</u>arabiti	/p/ → /f/
o<u>ff</u>icer	ha<u>p</u>sa	/f/ → p/
<u>n</u>umber	<u>l</u>amba	/n/ → /l/
lea<u>th</u>er	lee<u>d</u>a	/ð/ → /d/
penci<u>l</u>	pensu<u>r</u>	/l/ → /r/
ke<u>r</u>osene	ka<u>l</u>anjir	/r/ → /l/

Data from Table III above shows that the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ was realised with its voiced counterpart /b/ in *asbiti* (hospital), but was labiodentalised and fricatised as /f/ in *farabiti* (private), while the nasal /n/ was bilabialised as /m/ in *amsa* (answer) and lateralised as /l/ in *lamba* (number). In fact, a close look at the process of consonant substitution in Fulfulde adapted loans from English reveals that the occurrence of this phonological phenomenon is apparently unpredictable. This is because there is no definite or established pattern or model of occurrence. Again, the substitution of some sounds like /d/ for RP /ð/ in *leeda* (leather) is likely to result from the fact that it does not exist in the Fulfulde consonant system. Hence, speakers resort to the sound which is more familiar to them and acoustically close the foreign one(s). This, therefore, goes in line with Thomason's (2001) observation that a letter is lost or replaced within the borrowed words to conform to the phonological structure of the recipient language. This is again true of the glottal /g/ in *government*, which is replaced by the Fulfulde loan cluster /ŋg/ in *ngomna*. From the foregoing, it is plausible to infer that some consonant clusters are complex to pronounce by Fulfulde speakers because these clusters or sounds do not exist in the sound system of their language. Hence, speakers, in order to facilitate communication, resort to what is known as *repair strategies* in literature in order to make their conversation more fluent with their interlocutor.

5.5 Syllable elongation

English loanwords and code-switching have been 'fulanised' by syllable addition through the attachment of the Fulfulde noun suffixes *aku, jo* (plur. *ji*), *yel* and the to-infinitive suffix *ugo.* Example (3) shows this phonological phenomenon, as under:

Example (3):

a.   *ndum ngomna**jo***
     He is a member of **government**

b.   *democrati**ya** nder Nigeria*
     democracy in Nigeria

c.   *nder laamu democratiya**ku***
        in democracy power

d.   ***ngomnati*** *wala ko wadani bee*
        The **government** did nothing for them

e.   *a wawan soodugo babal dei dei **resugo*** *dabbaaji ma*
        You can buy a plot of land to **raise** your animals

f.   ***kampaniji*** *wala kude*
        There is no vacancy in **firms**

Example (3) above shows that the English word (member of) *government* was nativised as *ngomnajo* by adding the nominal suffix *jo,* a singular marker of common nouns of people, whose plural counterpart is *ji,* for the names of objects and animals, as in (3f) - *kampaniji* (firms). Another Fulfulde nominal suffix is *aku,* which is added to the English root *democracy,* resulting in the adapted form *democratiyaku,* in (3c), while the attachment of the to-infinitive maker *ugo* eases the adaptation of English *rest* to *resugo* (to put, to lay) in (3e). Through the addition of the Fulfulde suffixes, the adopted words are nativised in order to make communication easier and to appropriately fit into the phonological system of the borrowing language (Gitari, 2016).

Additional illustration of syllable elongation in Fulfulde borrowing is shown in Table III below:

Table IV: Syllable elongation in Nigerian Fulfulde loanwords from English

Fulfulde adapted forms	English
kopyel /kʌpjel/	cup /kʌp/
kopru /kʌpu/	cup /kʌp/
tafirta*jo* /tafirtajo/	interpreter /ɪntəprɪtə/
lauya*jo* /lɔyajo/	lawye*r* /lɔɪə/
tiredaa*ku* /tiredaku/	trader /treɪdə/

From Table IV above, the monosyllabic word *cup* was disyllabified as *kopru/kopyel* by adding the Fulfulde nominal suffixes *ru/yel*. The nominal suffix *yel* conveys the idea of 'small' or 'little' in Fulfulde; *kopyel,* therefore, means 'a small cup'. The disyllabic word *trader* was lengthened to four syllables by the attachment of the nominal suffix *aku* in *tiredaaku,* where the epenthising vowel /i/ has also contributed to syllable lengthening. The occurrence of such a phonological phenomenon tends to result from the speakers' need to conform to their L1 syllable structure via modelling. This goes to confirm Brier's (1968) assertion that loanwords whose syllable structure in the donor language does not conform to that of the recipient language are always reconfigured to fit into the recipient language pattern.

5.6 Vowel addition

Some Nigerian Fulfulde words borrowed from English contain added vowels, namely /i/ and /ɔ/ in final position, as illustrated in Table V below:

Table V: Vowel addition in Nigerian Fulfulde loanwords from English

Nigerian Fulfulde loanwords	English
book/ɔ/	Book
ngomnat/i/	Government
bokit/i/	bucket
farabit/i/	Private
simint/i/	cement
inch/i/	Inch
res/a/	Rest

In Table V above, the pronunciation the English loanwords have been 'fulanised' – the morphophonological system of English, the embedded language, has been mapped onto the phonological grammar of Fulfulde, the borrowing language. In this respect, the vowel /ɔ/ was added to the free morpheme *book*, therefore yielding *book/ɔ/*, while /i/ was attached to the adapted Fulfulde loans *bokot/i/*, *farabit/i/*, *simint/i/* and *inch/i/*. Lastly, the verbal inflectional suffix 'a' was attached to the English *rest* to obtain *resa*, which is a loanshift, meaning *put*. The English *rest* has therefore lost its initial meaning in the process of its indigenisation to Fulfulde. The attachment of these vowels or morphemes to adapted forms contributes to syllable lengthening. Vowel addition is part of the speakers' repair strategies for simplifying pronunciation of English words in accordance with the phonological grammar of Fulfulde.

5.7 Sound/syllable elision

Elision refers to the deletion of a sound or syllable from a word. Bussmann (1996: 336) points out that in phonetics and phonology, there is usually a "*loss of a vowel, consonant or syllable*". This phenomenon is found in some English loanwords in Nigerian Fulfulde, as shown in Table VI below:

Table VI: Sound/syllable elision in Nigerian Fulfulde loanwords from English

Loanwords in Fulfulde	English words	Sound/syllable deleted
ʌnko	handcu**ff** /handkʌf/	/h/, /f/
ingila	England /ɪnŋglənd	/ /nd/
liftin	lieutenant /leftənənt/	/ənt/
moota	motocar /məʊtəka:/	/ka:/

Table VI above shows the deletion of the consonants /h/ and /f/ at initial and final positions respectively, from English *handcuff*, yielding *anko*, the syllable /ka:/ from *motorcar* and the segments /nd/ and /ənt/ in *ingila* (England) and *liftin* (lieutenant), respectively. As can be realized from the data above, the process of deletion may occur both at initial and final word positions. Such a segment or sound deletion could be a

result of the need of the Fulani speaker to simplify pronunciation of English words in order to achieve mutual intelligibility between the speakers of different linguistic backgrounds.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the morphophonological adaptation of English loanwords and switched terms in Fulfulde spoken in the northern Nigeria. Myers-Scotton's (1997) Matrix Language Model was used to explain how the dominant language (The Matrix language) imposes its phonotactics on the embedded language (which is English) in Fulfulde speech. In this respect, analysis reveals that the morphology and grammatical phonology of English loanwords and switched terms have undergone alteration to conform to the pattern of Fulfulde, the Matrix language. Data for this study was collected via two pre-audio recorded materials, namely Radio Kongol in Lagos and FM Gotel 93.7 in Abuja, Nigeria. Observation and discussions helped the researcher gather data as well. Findings reveal that morphophonological adaptation of English loanwords and code-switching in Fulfulde occurs through such features as vowel and consonant substitution, systematic lengthening of vowel, vowel addition, vowel epenthesis and syllable elongation. It has, however been found out that the structure of the English loanwords has undergone a sort of 'linguistic violence' in order to comply with the patterns or system of Fulfulde phonology. These borrowed words have therefore been indigenized by speakers of Fulfulde, though not all the English loanwords and borrowings undergo modification when used in English speech.

6.1 Recommendations for further research

The current investigation on loanwords has not considered or focused on the fact that it is definitely difficult to ascertain the direct donor language of some words to another language. There is, therefore, the need for scholars to investigate thoroughly which language has borrowed items directly from which one, since some words have apparently been borrowed through a second language from a third one. From the analysis of data collected via code-switching utterances, it has also been realised that, despite the criteria for differentiating between loanword and code-switching, it is still uncertain to classify at a time a given word either as a loanword or code-switching.

Conflict of interest statement

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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