

Grassfields innovations: birds and other words

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Topics

- use of **lexical isoglosses** for classification
(Bayesian likelihood vs. unique distinctives)
(importance for reconstructing intermediate stages not just trees)
- distinguishing **types of innovation**:
(semantic shift inside inherited menu vs. new item on menu)
(e.g. polysemy shifts vs neologisms)
- **cognacy challenges in short roots**, incorporation of class markers, esp. vowel-initial roots, secondary formations

Lexical approaches: “similarity” vs. “innovations”

“The internal unity of GB is clear. Stallcup (1980a:54) claims these languages share a 60 percent **lexical similarity**, while Piron (1995:16) suggests 41 percent.”
(Watters 2003:227)

“There are at least 7 **lexical innovations**, shared by all Grassfields Bantu subgroups: **-gèk'* ‘cheek’, **-bùm'* ‘egg’, **-fù'* ‘leaf, medicine’, **-cùl'* ‘mouth’, **-jók* ‘to rub’, **-jì(e)l* ‘sheep’, and **-kùà*, ‘four’.”
(Elias, Leroy and Voorhoeve 1984:32)

NOW >>> ‘egg’ — four’ — ‘mouth’ — ‘eight’

Southern

*Beboid		na, ne	
*Yemne-Kimbi		ni	
*Ekoid		ni	
*Jarawan		yi-ne?	
*Mamfe		n(w)i	
*Mbam		ni(s)	
Mbe	Mbe	ñî	
Ndemli	Ndemli		itʃijè
Tikar	Tikar	ɲî	
*Tivoid		ɲi(n)	
*Esimbi		ɲi	
Wide Grassfields	Befang		kʷà (kɥà)
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Bamileke		kwa/kwo
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Ngemba		kwa/kya
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Nkambe		kwe/kye
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Nun		kwa/kpa
GF: Momo			kwe
GF: Ring			kwi/kye/tsə

‘four’
in ‘Southern
Bantoid’

(Pozdniakov 2018: 63)

Southern

*Bantu		nainai(4 redupl.)/ naked	
*Beboid		naŋ (<4?)	
*Yemne-Kimbi		4 redupl.	
*Ekoid		4+4	
*Jarawan			5+3
*Mamfe		4PL	
*Mbam		4 redupl.	
Mbe	Mbe	4 redupl.	
Ndemli	Ndemli		fɔ:mó
Tikar	Tikar		
*Tivoid		4 redupl.	
*Esimbi		4 redupl.	
Wide Grassfields	Befang		éfómó
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Bamileke		fum/hum/fo?
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Ngemba		famə
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Nkambe		waami
GF: Mbam-Nkam	Nun		fame
GF: Momo			fami/foŋ
GF: Ring			faamə

‘eight’ in
‘Southern
Bantoid’

(Pozdniakov 2018: 59)

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graph TD
    Root[ ] --- Node1[ ]
    Root --- Node2[ ]
    Root --- Node3[ ]
    Root --- Node4[ ]
    Node1 --- Ring[Ring]
    Node2 --- Momo[Momo]
    Node3 --- Ndemli[Ndemli ?]
    Node4 --- Eastern[Eastern = Mbam-Nkam]
    Ring --- South[South]
    Ring --- East[East]
    Ring --- Centre[Centre]
    Ring --- West[West]
    Eastern --- Bamileke[Bamileke]
    Eastern --- Ngemba[Ngemba]
    Eastern --- Nkambe[Nkambe]
    Eastern --- Nun[Nun]
  
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Ambele

Ring

Momo

Ndemli ?

Eastern = Mbam-Nkam

South

East

Centre

West

Bamileke

Ngemba

Nkambe

Nun

Multiple **Lexical innovations**:
Green = Grassfields, so
include Menchum but not SW

“The two major questions about the **internal classification** of GB languages concern the number of subdivisions and the criteria for making these divisions. Proposals have varied from two to twelve subdivisions.”
(Watters 2003:227)



Lexical phylogeny of “Southern Bantoid”

(Hombert & Grollemund 2018 with
96 words from 96 languages)

Stallcup (1980) stated a division of Grassfields based on 9 features including 2 lexical issues:

Eastern Grassfields (EGr)

1. innovation of roots for the nouns

‘water’ -*kìə̀*

‘bird’ -*síŋə́*

Western Grassfields (WGr)

maintenance of roots for the nouns

‘water’ *-*díbə́*

‘bird’ *-*nòní*

2. maintenance of root for the noun

‘thing’ *-*úmà*

*-*úmà* is lost and has been replaced
by other roots

‘water’

the claim:

WGr maintenance **dībá’*

EGr innovation *kìà`*

the data:

**dībá’* — EGr (Nkambe), Momo, Ring (E,S), Ndemli, Bantu A10-40

kìà` — EGr (Bamileke, Nun, Ngemba)

mò’ — Ring (C,W,S), Menchum

the conclusion: “water” is not a clear isogloss for EGr

‘bird’

the claim:

WGr maintenance **nòní*

EGr innovation *síηə́*

the data:

**nòní* — Momo, Ring, Menchum, Ndemli, Bantu A10-40

síηə́ — EGr (all)

the conclusion: ‘bird’ IS a clear isogloss for EGr

Proto-Bantu 'bird' can be reconstructed as *ùní with basic classes 9/10

OISEAU

La racine PB *-(j)oní reflète une racine plus ancienne qu'on retrouve en PP *-nwan, PJ *nun et *nin, et en mambila (mbaw) -nūn, en esimbi -nun, en mbe -nén, en kenyang -nen, en ékoïde -nóŋ, en kom -nuin et en bantu nord-ouest (duala A24 -noní, tunen A44 -noní, nyokon -nun). Toutes les langues mbam-nkam montrent une racine différente -s{ŋ}'. Cette racine peut être utilisée pour délimiter le groupe mbam-nkam.

Niger-Congo cognates

with reflexes of class 9/10 nasals

Gurma (Gur)	nyunyu-ga ‘partridge’
Dagbane (Gur)	nuu-o ‘fowl’
Twi (Kwa)	à-nõmãã < *à-non-bá
Igbo (WBC-E.Kwa)	ínụnụ
Mombo (Dogon)	ìní

with diminutive class prefixes:

Gurenne (Gur)	zònó-a ‘small bird’ — vs. niin-gà ‘bird’
Bariba (Gur)	gun-ó / guno-sú
Nyangba-Tofi (GTM)	ka-žuie / be-žuie

(Mukarovsky 1977)

Diminutives ('little birdies') in Bantu

Class 7 (*kɪ-)

Primary

Ndegeleko (P11)	ki-yuni
Tumbuka (N21)	chi-yuni
Makonde (P23)	chuni

Secondary built on cl. 9

Ngoreme (JE401)	eki-popi
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Secondary built on diminutive

Class 12 (*ka-)

Nkoya (L62)	ka-yoni
Lenje (M61)	ka-yuni
Lega (D25)	kà-zònì

Songola (D24) **kà-nyònì**

Soli (M62) **ka-keni** < *ka-ka-uni

Class 19 (*pi-) common in NW Bantu, adjacent to Grassfields

Nubaca (A621)	fì-nòpó	Yasa (A33a) vi-nyóní
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Diminutive Cycle

Stage 1: Noun in basic class

Stage 2: Diminutive option

Noun in basic class *and* a primary diminutive (built on root)

(Stage 1 is only real if diminutive classes are restricted,
otherwise Stage 2 is really the beginning)

Stage 3: Class marker incorporation

Noun in basic class *and* a secondary diminutive

(built on incorporation of the basic class marker)

Stage 4: Replacement: (= new stage 1)

The bleached diminutive has become the basic noun form

Western Grassfields

Like most Bantoid languages, WGr no longer has simple cl. 9,
only secondary formations in other classes
with the nasal incorporated (Stage 3)

class 1/2: Njen (Momo) áṇūn / bḗṇūn

cf. Menkaf (Beboid) āṇénó / bīṇénó (1/2)

class 19/13: Ngie (Momo) ùnèn' / ìnèn'

cf. Bakundu (Bantu) īnō̄ / dōnō̄ (19/13)

cf. Koshin (Yembe-Kimbi) kīṇuēn̄ / bīṇuēn̄ (7/8)

in most WGr, ‘bird’ is Class 19 (+ incorporated 9)

Moghamo (Momo) fìnèn' / tìnèn' (19/13)

Weh (W. Ring) fínēn / tínēn (19/13)

Bamessing (S. Ring) fènǔ̃⁻ / mènǔ̃⁻ (19/6a)

Oku (C. Ring) fēnín̄ / m̄nín̄ (19/6a)

Babanki (C. Ring) fèṛín / mèṛín (19/6a)

Aghem (W. Ring) fónwín / ḥnwín (19/6a)

Obang (Menchum) fúnúnə̄ / énúnə̄ (19/6) (pl. also m̀nùnə́ 6a)

and in neighboring groups:

Bebe Jatto (Beboid) f̄ṛīnī̄ / m̄ṛīnī̄ (19/18)

with further sound change *fi- > ʃi- in E. Ring

Lamnso' (E. Ring)

ʃi-nən / mi-nən 'bird' (19/6a)

ʃi-lif / mi-lif 'heart' (19/6a)

Eastern Grassfields ‘bird’ – what we expect

Class 19 *pi > fi-, ji- in WGr

Class 19 *pi > fi-, hi- in NW Bantu branches closest to E. Grassfields (A40, A60)

finun (19): Abo (A42), Basaa (A43a), Nyokon (A45)

hìnùn (19): Alinga (A441), Nomaande (A46)

finòpó (19): Nubaca (A621)

fiìlì (19): Rikpa (A53)

ìnòní (19): Tunen (A44), Bonek (A461), Nugunu (A622), Nukalonge (A62a)

So we expect that EGr inherited ‘bird’ class 19 *pi-

BUT Class 19 is lost in much of EGB (except some western and northern)

so words are reassigned to other classes

What we see in EGr: class 1a with tonal irregularity

Bandjoun (Bamileke)	sán
Dshang (W. Bamileke)	sén
Mankon (Ngemba)	sínó / bìsínó (1a/2)
Ngwe (Ngemba)	són / mèsón (1a/6a)
Limum (Nkambe)	sín / psín (1a/B)

But sometimes the class 1 nominal prefix is added (and incorporated):

Mungaka (Nun)	mísín / bísin (1/2)
Bangang (W.Bamileke)	méšǐ / mèšǐ (1/2)
Pinyin (Ngemba)	mí' sínó / pémí' sínó or pèsínó (1/B)

Could we connect EGr to WGr?

Expected

Reassigned from cl. 19 > incorporated

2-syllable maximal rule > final syll loss

C2 can be adapted

Accretion of new prefixes

*pi-nuni > *finuni

*finuni > *fin(V)

***fin(V)** > **fiŋ'** ?

Observed

Prefixless (class 1a) with irregular tones

***síŋ'**

Question: can *f > s ?

Possible paths for **fiŋ'** > ***síŋ'**

1) Regular change ***fĩ** > **si** in some EGr varieties ?

PEG ***fĩn** 'be black' (PB ***pínd**) > Dschang *le-sēŋ*, Bangwa *sásə'*
cf. Lamnso' (E. Ring) cl. 19 ***fĩ** > **ŋi-**

2) Varying diminutive structure with ***fĩ** > **s, ʃ** before a vowel:

***pi-n-ùní** (19+9) > WGr ***fĩ-nuni** > Aghem *fǎnwín* (19)

***pi-ùní** (19) > EGr ***syuni** > Mankon *síŋə'* (1a)

This would be parallel to EGr ***bi** > **ts** / ____ (Elias-Voorhoeve 1980)

For class 19 without cl 9 nasal, cf. Osatu (SWGr) *fi-yiŋɔ*

For diminutive and basic class co-existing, cf. Mbaw (Mambiloid, adjacent to EGr)
'child': *š^wón* ~ *ŋ^wán* / *bòmón* (1+/2)

f > s, ʃ variation

*pép ‘blow’ — Nkambe (EGr) languages

Kwak	f ^w ób
Mfe	fób
Limum	šwób

*g(w)è ‘leopard’ — Ngemba (EGr) languages

Mankon	à-fùŋé / ì-fùŋé (7/8) ‘leopard’
Pinyin	ā-swūnē / pē-swūnē (1?/B)
<i>perhaps</i>	*pi-N-g(w)è — cf. Bamun ɲgùè ~ ɣùn ~ wūn (1 or 5)

P.S. Voorhoeve (1980) on Nyang (another Bantoid language):

“Gender 1/13 is an irregular gender, containing only *sɛ̀-nèn* / *kɛ̀-nèn* ‘bird’.”

‘thing’

the claim:

EGr maintains **úmà*

In WGr, **úmà* is lost and has been replaced by other roots

the data from Eastern Grassfields (**kì-úm` / bì-úm` 7/8*)

Bamileke: Fefe wū / zū, Bangou žwə́ / žwə́,

Ngwe à 'žúŋ / è 'búŋ or àžém / èžém (7/8)

Ngemba: Mankon àžúmə́ / ìdzúmə́ (7/8)

Nkambe: Dzodinka *wōm / byēm*, Limbum *yú / bú*, Mfumte və̄ / və́

Nun: Bamoun *yúm / pàm*

‘thing’ 7/8 — the data from Western Grassfields

with initial F:

West Ring	Aghem	kófʼá (kífɿyá) / ófúa
	Bu	<u>kósíā</u>
East Ring	Lamnso’	kìfâ / vîfâ
Central Ring	Babanki	kə-fó / ə-fó
South Ring	Wushi	kə-fúa / bə-fúa
Menchum	Obang	<u>á-fúə</u> / ó-fúə (7/8)

without F in stem:

South Ring	Vengo	<u>fá</u> / <u>nû</u>
Momo	Moghamo	áyĩ / íyĩ
	Njen	tsón / bètsón
N. Momo	Atong	ʒom ‘iron’

the path to Western Grassfields ‘thing’

Beboid Noni fī-ēē / mw-ēēm (19/18)

Mekaf (Naki) ɲə / η^wām

Misaje fīè / biè

Yemne-Kimbi Koshin fǽ / bǽ

Proto-WGr *pi-úmà 19 > Pr-Ring *kɪ-piúmà 7 > Wushi kə-fúà 7

Both ‘bird’ and ‘thing’
have *preservation* behind their *innovation*.

But sometimes all that’s left of the PGr roots is . . . little more than tone:

‘bird’	PGr * <u>pi</u> -(n) <u>úní</u> (19) > PEG * <u>sín</u> ǝ
	Bamoun <i>mǝ́-sí́ / pǝ́-sí́</i> (1/4)
‘thing’	PGr * <u>pi</u> -ú <u>mà</u> (19) > PWG * <u>fǐ</u> u
	Babanki <i>kǝ́-fǝ́́ / ǝ́-fǝ́́</i> (7/8)

The first step of etymology is recognizing morphemes — but how to recognize **the disappearing root**?

“name’ PGr *dí-i-ínà (5) > PEG *lín’

Bamoun *lí* cf. Medumba *lén*, Pinyin *nì-línə* / *mì-línə*

Bambalang *lí'gí* / *pà-lí'gí*

Nwa *líṣ*

Bandjoun *tsọ* cf. Bafoussam *tsón*

Bum (Ring) *īyát* cf. Kom (Ring) *īyín'* < *i-ínà

Conclusions

- 1) Lexical distinctives can be useful (defining Grassfields), esp. in classifying closely related languages.
- 2) Cognacy determination can be difficult, esp. with vowel-initial roots in languages that prefix frequently and lose final syllables.
- 3) Phylogenetically, what is the difference between neologism and some other shift (phonological or semantic)? We need a more refined scale of similarity — and phylogenists are developing it.
- 4) Between Eastern vs. Western Grassfields: there are few absolutes, mostly scalar differences. In particular, there are no lexical distinctives for WGr.

A l'intérieur des Grassfields le faisceau d'isoglosses de loin le plus important est celui qui sépare le groupe grassfields de l'ouest du groupe mbam-nkam. Ce faisceau est formé des isoglosses suivants :

mbam-nkam	grassfields de l'ouest
1. Présence d'une consonne nasale dans le préfixe des classes 1et 3	Absence de consonne nasale dans ces préfixes.
2. Pas de distinction entre les classes 6 et 6a. Les deux présentent une consonne nasale dans le préfixe nominal et le préfixe d'accord	Distinction entre les classes 6 et 6a. Consonne nasale dans 6a seulement.
3. Présence d'une consonne nasale au préfixe de tous les noms du genre 9/10	Absence de consonne nasale au préfixe de quelques noms (mais pas tous) du genre 9/10 - chien, abeille, serpent et d'autres.
4. Absence des classes 4 et 13 (la classe 19 existe en ngemba seulement)	Les classes 13 et 19 sont très répandues, la classe 4 est attestée dans les sous-groupes ring et wídekum.
5. Tous les préfixes nominaux portent un ton bas	Des préfixes nominaux portant un ton haut sont attestés dans tous les sous-groupes.
6. Pas de suffixes nominaux.	Suffixe -tí ou -sí de la classe 10 attesté dans tous les sous-groupes.
7. La classe 6a ou la classe 2 se généralise comme classe pluriel	La classe 13 ou la classe 10 (s'il n'y a pas de 13) se généralise comme classe pluriel.
8. Innovation de racines pour les noms "oiseau" -síné et "eau" -kìá	Maintien des racines pour les noms "oiseau" *-nóní et "eau" *-díbé.
9. Maintien de la racine pour le nom "chose" *-úmà	*-úmà s'est perdu et a été remplacé par d'autres racines.

Il n'y a pas d'exception à ce faisceau d'isoglosses. La distinction entre les langues du groupe mbam-nkam et celles du groupe grassfields de l'ouest est claire. L'unité du groupe grassfields de l'ouest

Eastern vs Western isoglosses (Stallcup 1980)

preservations
Grassfields ~~innovations~~:
birds and other ~~words~~
things