Western Beboid and African language classification

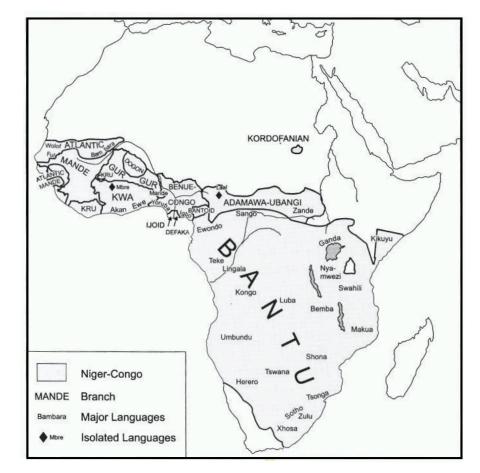
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1 Introduction¹

- ^[1]Greenberg's (1966) proposals classifying African languages into four major families have become relatively widely accepted.
- [2] However, the extent to which they should be understood as a genetic classification as opposed to a reference classification remains unclear.
- [3]...it is sometimes suggested that Niger-Congo is merely a typological and not a genetic unity. This view is not held by any specialists in the phylum... (Williamson and Blench 2000:11)
- [4] This would definitely seem to overstate the case, most strikingly with respect to the classification of Mande languages (see, e.g., Mukarovsky (1977:4–6)).
- [5] As more and more descriptive data become available on more and more African languages, there is increasing need for some objective inter-linguistic framework within which these data may be classified and compared... Unfortunately, no such ideal classification has been available for the languages of Africa as a whole, and in recent years descriptive linguists have tended to use Greenberg's "genetic" classification as a frame of reference within which to locate the languages they are describing. Although most of these linguists have not concerned themselves with testing the validity or otherwise of Greenberg's classification, their unqualified acceptance of it in print has lent a certain "respectability" to his classificational units. This acceptance is potentially misleading to non-linguists, especially historians, and has helped obscure the fact many of these classificational units have never been scientifically established. (Dalby 1971:17)
- [6]...scholarly inertia reinforces mistakes, which are thereby perpetuated indefinitely, effectively forestalling any re-examination of the facts. (Childs 2003:47)
- ^[7]In this talk, we will present results of recent research on the proposed Western Beboid subgroup of languages in light of the above.

2 Western Beboid background

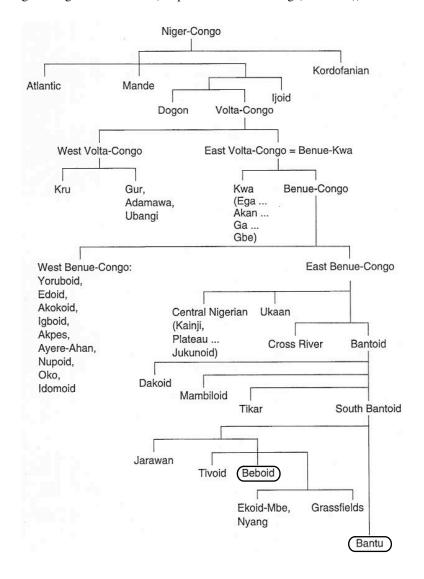
[8] The Niger-Congo language family (Williamson and Blench 2000:12)



- [9] Western Beboid languages are currently classified within the non-Bantu Bantoid group of Niger-Congo.
- [10] This seems reasonable given the presence of (reduced) Bantu-like noun class systems in all of the languages—and, it is also in line with their geographic location.

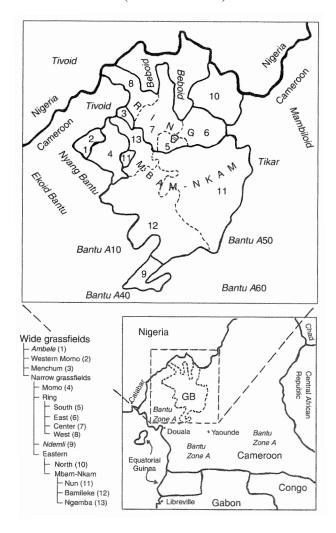
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Niger-Congo classification (adapted from Schadeberg (2003:155))



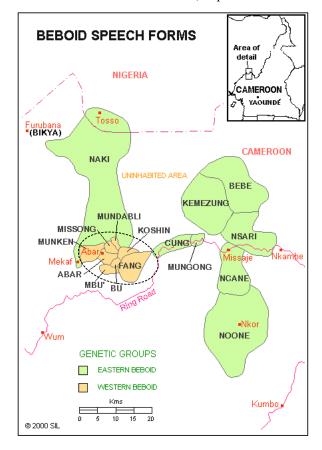
[12] Beboid languages are currently considered to be among Bantu's closest relatives, giving them a pivotal position within Benue-Congo.

[13] The Grassfields area (Watters 2003:226)

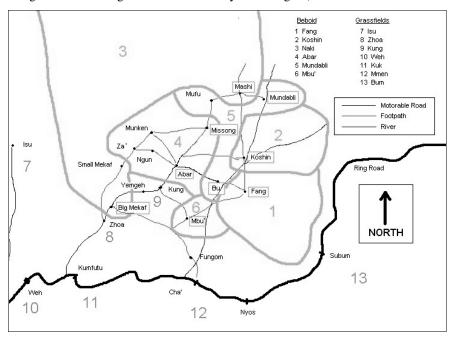


- [14] The Beboid group of languages is spoken in the Grassfields region of Cameroon, in the Northwest Province.
- [15] These languages lie in what has been termed the "Sub-Saharan Fragmentation Belt" (Dalby 1970:163), due to the diversity of lineages found in the area.

- [16] Stallcup (1980:44) points out that Grassfields area lies within the most fragmented part of this belt.
- [17] The hilly terrain of the area appears to have fostered linguistic diversity, and Stall-cup (1980:44) has further suggested that this area has historically been a zone of refuge for displaced groups from adjacent areas.
- [18] No thorough study of population movements in the area has been made. However, oral histories of groups currently in the Western Beboid area indicate that population shifts have been common (Hamm et al. 2002:7).
- [19] The current Beboid classification (adapted from Hamm et al. (2002:28))



[20] The current Western Beboid classification (Hamm et al. 2002:25) (boxes indicate villages visited during the latest SIL survey of the region)



- ^[21]The Western Beboid area is approximately half the size of Chicago, with a population of perhaps around 10,000.
- [22] Beboid (according to the Ethnologue)
 - [a] Eastern: Bebe [bzv], Cung [cug], Kemezung [dmo], Naki [mff], Ncane [ncr], Noone [nhu], Nsari [asj] (see Brye and Brye (2002))
 - [b] Western: Abar [mij], Fang [fak], Koshin [kid], Mbu' [muc], Mundabli [boe]

3 History of (the name) Beboid

- [23] The name *Beboid* initially appears in Hombert (1980), the first published survey of the entire group of languages.
- [24] Before this, the term *Misaje* (the name of a town) was used for some of the Eastern Beboid languages, and the term *Fungom* (the name of a subdivision) was used for the Western Beboid languages (among others).

- ^[25]The names *Eastern Beboid* and *Western Beboid* used to transparently reflect geographic distribution. However, Naki has recently been reclassified as Eastern Beboid, rendering the names somewhat opaque.
- [26] Despite its widespread adoption as a classificatory label for a dozen or so languages, no publication has ever presented evidence for the group in terms of shared innovations.
- [27] The languages are all related at some level, showing many Bantu retentions.
- [28] Although it is possible to reconstruct features of a "Proto-Beboid"—as Hombert (1980) does for the noun class system—this is not good proof that it is a valid genetic unit.

4 Sociohistorical background

- [29] Eastern Beboid speakers generally appear to view their languages as related to each other (see Brye and Brye (2002)).
- [30] Furthermore, Naki speakers' oral history unambiguously portrays their present distribution as being the result of recent movements.
- [31] Therefore, while it is not proven that all the languages currently classified as Eastern Beboid are a genetic unit, it seems a reasonable hypothesis.
- [32] The Western Beboid situation is quite different:
 - [a] Speakers do not recognize any Western Beboid unity in linguistic terms.
 - [b] Speakers do not recognize any Western Beboid in historical terms.
 - [c] Speakers do not recognize any linguistic or historical connection with the one Eastern Beboid language they are in close contact with: Naki (and the Naki have similar attitudes).
- [33] These facts must be placed against a sociolinguistic backdrop of a *lack* of antagonism and frequent intermarriage among these groups.
- [34] Two additional issues:
 - [a] Standard mutual intelligibility questions are not good diagnostics for relatedness in this area.
 - [b] The oral history of many of the groups in the area quite explicitly treats them as being intrusive in recent times.

5 Noun class systems

- [35] Note: All results here are tentative, please do not cite without permission.
- [36] Previously published noun class lists (largely in agreement with these) for Bù, Koshin, and Missong can be found in Hombert (1980). Mufu, Munken, Ngun, and Za' have no published data available to the best of our knowledge.
- [37] The first element in each pair represents the prefix, the second the concord; tones only marked in those cases where primary exponent of noun class is tone.
- [38] Noun classes listed in singular/plural pairs, with some class "repetitions"; numbering conventions attempt to follow standard Bantuist conventions where possible.

[39]		MBU' [muc]					
		SINGULAR			PLURAL		
•	1	Ø-	W-	2	a-	b-	
	5	Ø-	y-	6	a-	y-	
	5	Ø-	y-	7a	kələ	k-	
	7	kə-	k-	8	bə-	b-	
	9	`-	y-	10	^ _	y-	
	19	fə-	f-	26	N-	m-	
	6a	N-	m-	_			

0]	FANG [fak]						
	SINGULAR				PLURAL		
1		N-	W-	2	bə-	b-	
3	3	w_	w-	4	У_	y-	
3	3	w_	w-	13	tə-	t-	
5	5	Ø-	w-	13	tə-	t-	
7	7	Ø/kə-	k-	8	bə-	b-	
9)	`-	y -	10	^ _	y-	
1	9	fə-	f-	26	тә-	m-	
6	ia .	N-	m-	_			

_								
1]		KOSHIN [kid]						
		SINC	ULAR		PLURAL			
-	1	Ø-	W-	2	bə-	b-		
	3	w	W-	4	У_	y-		
	5	Ø-	w-	13	tə-	t-		
	7	kə-	k-	8	bə-	b-		
	9	`-	y-	10	' -	y-		
	19	fə-	f-	26	N-	m-		
	6a	N-	m-	_				

[42] Ji Group [boe] ("Mundabli")²

[a]			MUN	DABLI		
		SINC	GULAR		PLUI	RAL
	1	Ø-	W-	2	bə-	b-
	3	w	w-	4	У_	y-
	5	Ø-	w-	7	Ø-	k-
	7	Ø-	k-	8	Ø-	b-
	9	`-	y-	10	′ -	y-
	19	fə-	f-	26	mə-	m-
	6a	N-	m-			

[b]	MUFU						
		SINC	GULAR		PLUI	RAL	
	1	Ø-	W-	2	bə-	b-	
	3	w	W-	4	У_	y-	
	5	Ø-	W-	6	Ø-	y-	
	5	Ø-	W-	7	Ø-	k-	
	7	Ø-	k-	8	Ø-	b-	
	9	`-	y-	10	' -	y-	
	19	fə-	f-	26	тә-	m-	
	6a	N-	m-				

c]				вù³		
		SING	ULAR		PLURA	L
	1	Ø-	w-	2	bə-	b-
	3	w	w-	4	У_	y-
	3	w	w-	7a	kətə	k-
	5	Ø-	w-	7a	kətə	k-
	7	kə-	k-	8	bə-	b-
	9	`-	y -	10	^ _	y-
	19	fə-	f-	26	mə-	m-
	6a	N-	m-	_		

[43] Fən Group [mij] ("Abar")⁴

[a]				ABAR		
		SINC	GULAR		PLURA	A L
	1	u-	w-	2	bwi-	b-
	3	u-	w-	4	i-	y -
	3	u-	w-	26a	(mwi-)N-	mwi-
	5	i-	y -	26a	(mwi-)N-	mwi-
	5	i-	y -	7	ki-	k-
	12	kə-	k-	8	(b)i-	b-
	12	kə-	k-	29	(mwi-)N-	mwi-
	9	ì-	y -	10	í-	y -
	19	fi-	f-	26	-N(-ewm)	mwə-
	6a	N-	mwə-	_		

]		MISSONG						
		SIN	NGULAR		PLURA	L		
	1	u-	W-	2	ba-	b-		
	3	u-	w-	4	i-	y-		
	5	i-	y-	6	a-	w-		
	5	i-	y-	7a	kələ	k-		
	7	ki-	k-	8	bi-	b-		
	9	ì-	y-	10	í-	y-		
	19	fi-	f-	26	muN-	m-		
	6a	aN-	m-/w-(?)	_				

[c]			MUNK	.EN		
		SINGUL	AR		PLURA	L
	1	u-	W-	2	bə-	b-
	3	u-	W-	4	i-	y-
	5	i-	y-	6	a-	N-
	5	i-	y-	7a	kilə	k-
	7b	a-	k-	8	bi-	b-
	9	ì-	y-	10	í-	y-
	19	shi-	sh-	26	-N(cm)	m-
_	6a	-N(cm)	m-	_		

]			NG	UN		
		SINGU	JLAR		PLU:	RAL
	1	u-	W-	2	bə-	b-
	3	u-	w-	4	i-	у-
	3	u-	w-	7	kə-	k-
	5	i-	y -	7	kə-	k-
	7	kə-	k-	8	bi-	b-
	9	ì-	y-	10	í-	y-
	9	ì-	y-	7	kə-	k-
	19	fwi-	f-	26	N-	m-
	26a	a-	m-	7	kə-	k-
	6a	N-	m-	_		

		ZA	۸'		
	SING	ULAR		PLU	RAL
1	u	W-	2	bə-	b-
3	u-	W-	4	i-	y-
3	u-	u-	6	a-	W-
5	i-	y-	6	a-	W-
7	kə-	k-	8	bi-	b-
9	ì-	y-	10	í-	y-
19	shi-	f-	26	N-	m-
6a	m-	m-			

The label Ji is mnemonic for the fact that these speech varieties, currently called Mundabli in the Ethnologue, all share a root like ji for 'dog', apparently not otherwise found in Western Beboid.

³ The name of this village is not usually written with a low tone. This is done here in order to avoid confusion with the speech variety of a nearby village named Bú, which does not speak a Western Beboid language.

⁴ The label Fən is mnemonic the fact that these speech varieties, currently called Abar in the Ethnologue, all share a root like fən for 'mouth', apparently not otherwise found in Western Beboid.

[44] Some observations

- [a] Fon varieties all share the noteworthy feature that they retain the vowels in the prefixes for classes 3/4 and 9/10.
- [b] Mundabli and Mufu are much closer to each other than Bù (see also Hamm et al. (2002:12))—it seems increasingly likely that Bù should be considered a separate language.
- © Circumfixal class 7a crosscuts apparent genetic boundaries.
- [d] The presence of class 13 in both Fang and Koshin is noteworthy since it is not found elsewhere in Western Beboid.
- [e] Mbu' appears to be the most divergent within Western Beboid.
- If The noun class systems do not obviously point to the existence of a genetic Western Beboid unit.
- [45] The Proto-Eastern Grassfields and Proto-Western Grassfields noun class and concord systems as reconstructed by Hyman (1980b:182) (adapted)

	PROTO-EAS	STERN GRASSFIELDS	PROTO-WE	STERN GRASSFIELDS
CLASS	PREFIX	CONCORD	PREFIX	CONCORD
1	Ň-	ù-	ù(n)-	ù
2	bà-	bá-	bá-	bá-
3	Ñ-	ú-	ú-	ú-
4	_	_	í-	í-
5	lì-	lí-	í-	í-
6	(=6a)	(=6a)	á-	gá-
6a	mà-	má-	тә-	mà-
7	à-	í-	kí-	kí-
8	bì-	bí-	bí-	bí-
9	Ñ-	ì-	ì(n)-	ì
10	Ñ-	į́-	í(n)-	Cí-
13	_	_	tí-	tí-
19	fà-	fá	fí-	fí-

[46] One can make various links between Western Beboid languages and Grassfields languages, but not consistent ones

- [a] The Fan group shares with Proto–Western Grassfields noun classes 3/4 and 9/10.
- [b] Fang and Koshin share with Proto–Western Grassfields class 13.
- Two Fən varieties, Missong, Munken, and Za', along with Mbu', show distinct class 6 forms similar to what is found in Proto-Western Grassfields.
- [d] Munken shows a class 7/8 pattern bearing similarities to Proto-Eastern Grassfields (as well as some Western Grassfields languages Hyman (1980a:255–257)).

[e] Consonant mutations of the sort seen in the Ji group, Fang, and Koshin are attested in some contemporary Ring (Western Grassfields) languages—for example, Mmen, Kom, and, apparently incipiently, in Aghem. (See Kießling (2008+).)

6 Conclusion

- [47] There may be a Western Beboid—but, at present, it must be considered only to be a working hypothesis. Western Beboid appears to be a family by "inertia".
- [48] However, it is useful as a reference classification for a group of understudied languages in a geographically compact area.
- [49] Exhaustive reference classifications for African language classification too often come to stand in for genetic classifications.
- [50] There are problems not only with the large subgroups, but also the small ones.

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