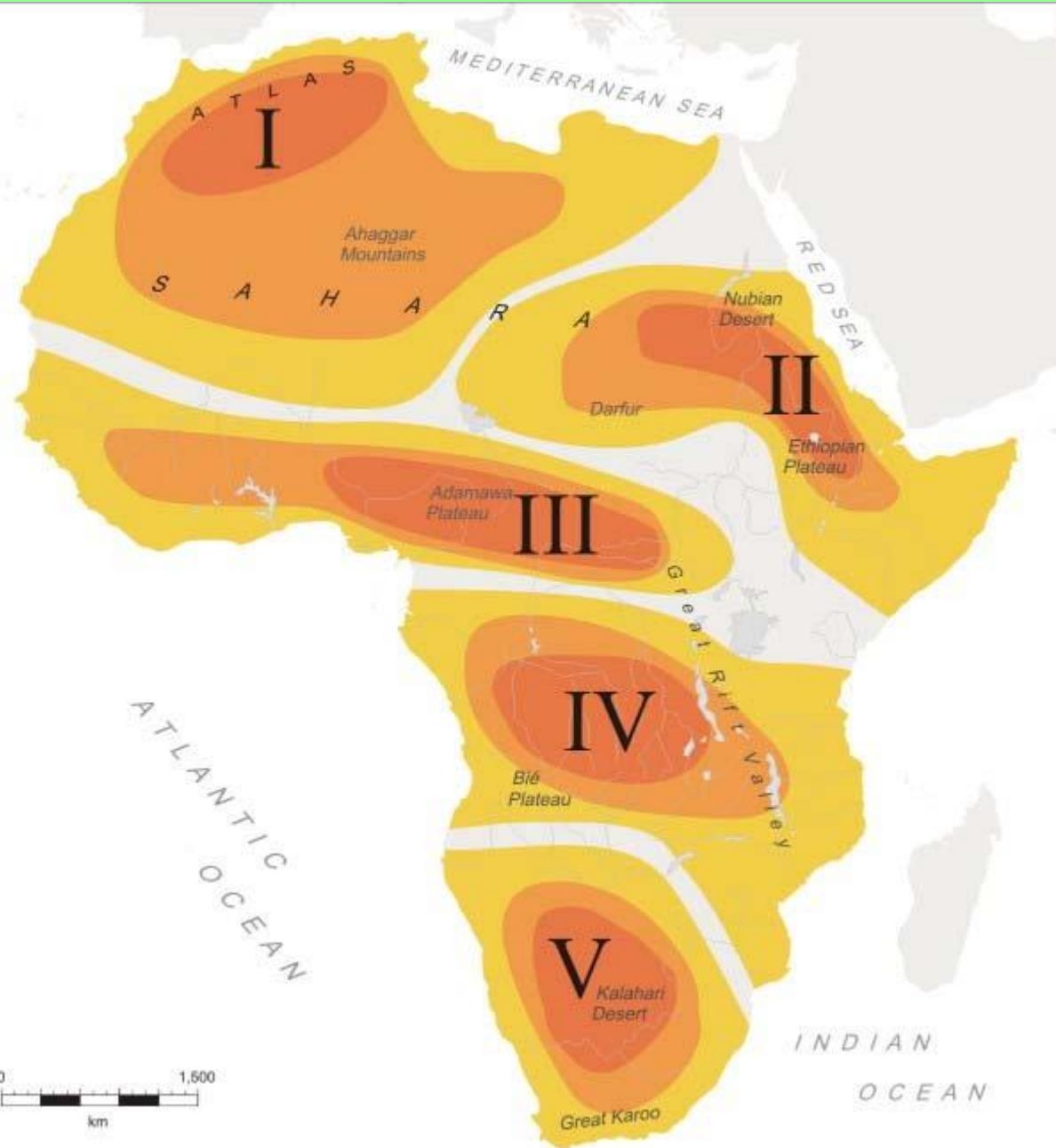




Looking for areal features in the Grassfields / Bantoid region

Diedrich Westermann Colloquium:
Berlin 4th-6th November 2021
Roland Kießling

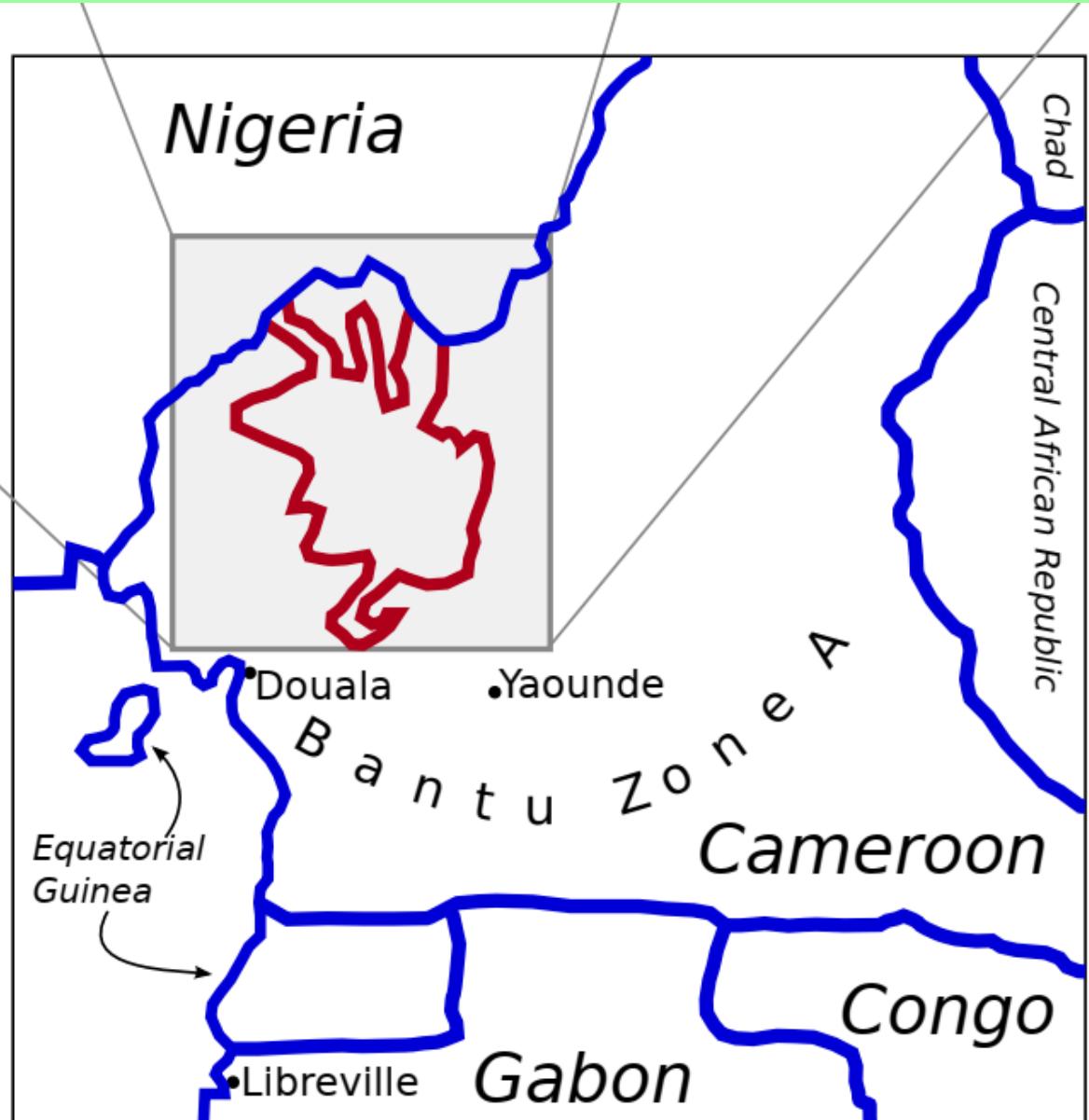
Linguistic macro-areas in pre-colonial Africa



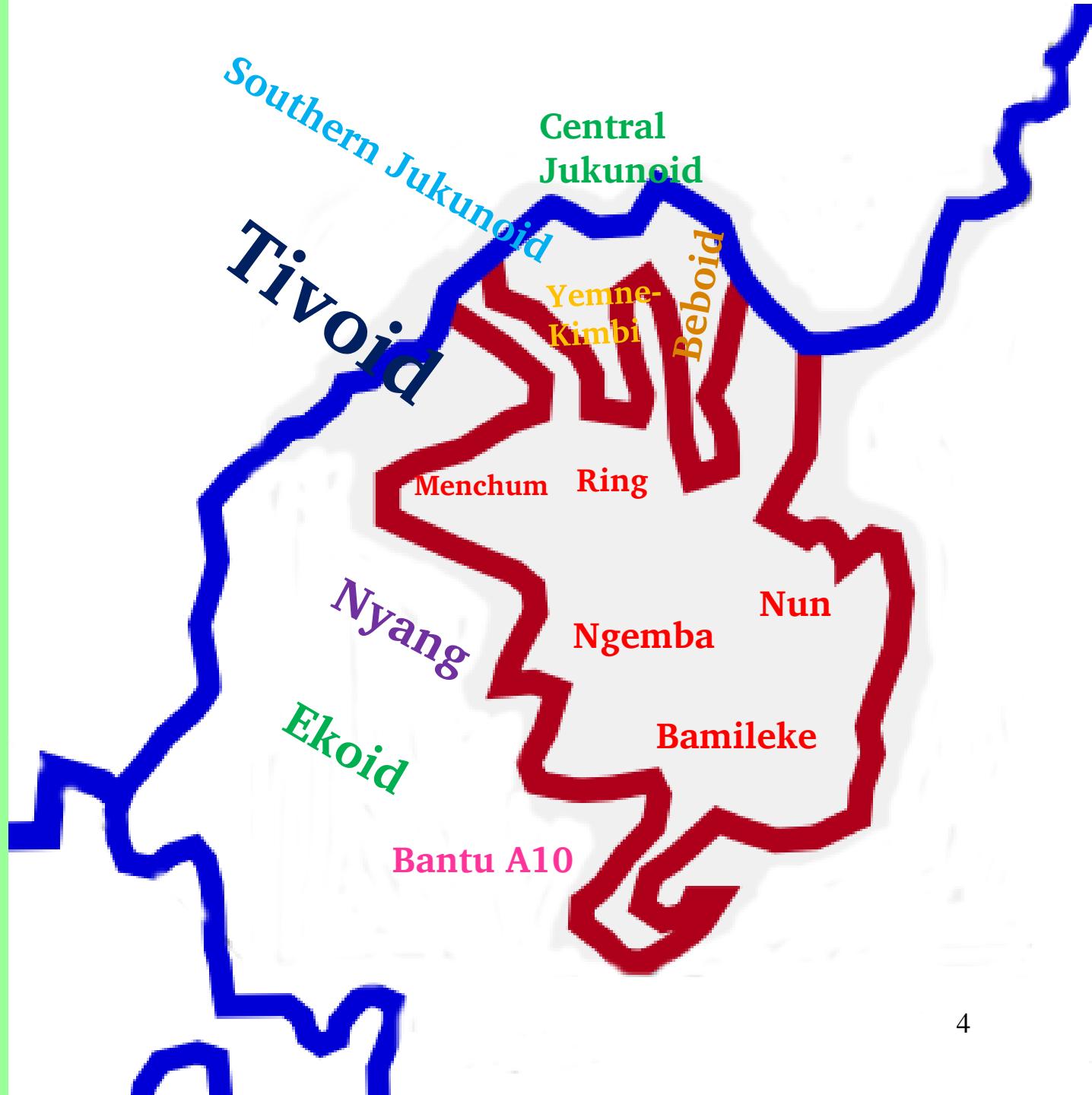
Linguistic macro-areas in Africa
before recent large-scale
colonizations (Güldemann
2010)

Grassfields Bantu and beyond

- Wide grassfields
 - Ambele (1)
 - Western Momo (2)
 - Menchum (3)
- Narrow grassfields
 - Momo (4)
 - Ring
 - South (5)
 - East (6)
 - Center (7)
 - West (8)
 - Ndemli (9)
- Eastern
 - North (10)
 - Mbam-Nkam
 - Nun (11)
 - Bamileke (12)
 - Ngemba (13)



Grassfields Bantu and beyond



(based on Hyman 2017 <
based on Watters 2003)

Features of Wide Grassfields and beyond

- (a) Verbal serialisation and its semantic functions (in asymmetrical serialisation): binding of additional participants (**instrument, beneficiary/recipient, comparative standard**), deictic orientation, path/vector, **custody transfer, detrimental result**
- (b) (restricted set of) numeral classifiers
- (c) first person dual pronoun (1 + 2)

Verbal serialisation in Niger-Congo



Dimmendaal, Gerrit. 2001.
Areal diffusion versus genetic
inheritance: an African
perspective. In: Aikhenvald,
Alexandra Y. & R.M.W. Dixon
(eds.), *Areal diffusion and
genetic inheritance. Problems in
comparative linguistics*, Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 358-
392.

Comparative parameters for serial verb constructions (SVCs)

- (a) delimitation of other multiverb constructions
- (b) semantic functions:
symmetrical vs. asymmetrical SVCs
asymmetrical: binding of additional participants (**instrument**,
beneficiary/recipient, comparative standard), deictic orientation,
path/vector, **custody transfer**, **detrimental result** [...]
- (c) morphosyntactic properties: contiguity („switch-function“ vs.
bunching of (co)verbs > iconicity), transitivity, single vs.
concordant marking of grammatical categories in SVCs
- (d) grammaticalisation: genesis of TAM morphology and word categories
such as hybrid adverbials

Verbal serialisation (Isu)

bá^u *ŋgìy* *t-à* *díy^u* *níày*
whenever 13.giraffes 13-D1 SO.want SO.stretch

ká *mámwìy* *yú* *bwò?* *mà?* *fyí*
up 6b.necks 3pl burst throw.away go.out

kwó? *diáñi* *yà* *ùtá* *ú* *kátà.*
ascend pass.through CFG 3.ceiling 3 N2.7.hut

‘When the giraffes want to stretch their necks, they burst out immediately through the upper section of the roof of the hut.’

Concepts commonly expressed in asymmetrical SVCs

(a) Deictic orientation:

hither: V come

thither: V go

(b) Path / vector:

up: V ascend

down: V descend

in: V enter

out: V exit

(c) Additional participants:

with (instrument): take X V Y (e.g. take knife cut meat)

for, to (beneficiary / recipient): V X give Y (e.g. buy dress give wife)

than (comparative standard): V (sur)pass Y (e.g. be big pass chief)

(d) Others:

custody transfer: V keep X (e.g. cut keep bamboo)

detrimental result: V throw/kick X (e.g. burst throw roof)

Coding strategies for various functions in multiverb constructions across Grassfields and beyond (summary)

			DEICT	PATH	COMP	ASP	CAUS	BEN/REC	INSTR/ACC	SEQ
Ring	West	A, I, W, Z	+	+	+	+	+ / DER	PREP	PREP	+
	Central	Babanki	CS	CS	CS	CS	?	PREP	PREP	CS
		Kk, Ku, M	+	+	+	+	+	PREP	PREP	+
	South	Babungo	+	+	+	?	?	PREP	PREP	+
	East	Lamnso'	?	?	?	?	?	PREP	PREP	+
Menchum		Obang	+	+	+	+	DER	PREP	PREP	+
Mb-Nkam	North	Limbum	[?]	[?]	[?]	[?]	[?]	PREP	PREP	?
	Ngemba	Bafut	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	PREP	PREP	CS
	Nun	Mgk, Bmb	CS	CS	CS	CS	CS	PREP	PREP	CS
	Bamileke	Ghomala'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
		Nda'nda'	CS/+	CS/+	CS/+	?	?	CS/+	CS/+	CS/+
		Ngəmba	CS	CS	CS	?	?	PREP	CS/PREP	CS
		Fe'fe'	CS	?	CS	?	?	PREP/CS	PREP/CS	CS (+)
Yemne-K.		Mungb.	+	+	+	+	+			+
		Mundabli	+	+	+	+	+	PREP	PREP	+
Jukunoid	Southern	Bezen	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+
		Kuteb	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+
	Central	Mbembe	+	+	+	+	?	+	PREP	10 +

Legend: + SVC, CS consecutivisation, PREP preposition, DER derivation; ? inconclusive evidence

Consecutivisation

- (a) Bafut (Ngemba) (Tamanji 2009: 204)

*à-físí á tūl bě-lwìn bjá **m**-mà'â*
7-wind SM push 2-old.people 2-the N-throw
'The wind pushed down the old people.'

- (b) Fe'fe' (Bamileke) (Hyman 1971: 30)

*a ka láh píε **n**-cwēe mbaa*
3sg PAST take knife N-cut meat
'He cut the meat with a knife.'

- (c) Nda'nda' (Bamileke) (Gueche Fotso 2019)

*ʃédóm sí nák məŋkíp **n**-tſé má fɔ*
Sabet F1 cook potatoes N-send to chief
'Chedom will cook potatoes for the chief.'

From consecutivisation to serialisation in Nda'nda': tense

- (a) Consecutivised sequential multiverb construction

ȝìk ā (*n-)jí n-jú ȝgàfi n-kpé
3sg P1 (*N-)go N-buy corn N-eat

'He went, bought and ate corn.'

- (b) Serial verb construction

ȝìk ſí n-jí (*n-)jú ȝgàfi (*ŋ-)kpé
3sg F1 N-go (*N-)buy corn (*N-)eat

'He will go, buy and eat corn.'

From consecutivisation to serialisation in Nda'nda': morphophonological restrictions on verb initial consonant

- (a) *bó?kòp á ló ñglési (*N-)hó? tʃósí*
Bokop P2 take glass (*N-)come church
'Bokop had taken the glass to church.'
- (b) *sá?bét á jú ndzá (*n-)há má mòk*
Sabet P1 buy dresses (*N-)give to me
'Sabet has bought dresses for me.'
- (c) *ʃàdóm fí nák mòŋkíp n-tʃé má fɔ̄*
Sabet F1 cook potatoes N-send to chief
'Chedom will cook potatoes for the chief.'
- (d) *ʒìk fí (*N-)hó? n-jú ñgèfi ñ-kpé*
3sg F1 N-come N-buy corn N-eat
'He will come, buy and eat corn.'

From consecutivisation to serialisation by fading of the consecutive linker N-?

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| (I) V ₁ N-V ₂ N-V ₃ | (Mungaka, Bafut) |
| (II) V ₁ N-V ₂ N-V ₃ | (???) |
| V ₁ N-V ₂ N-V ₃ (depending on tense) | |
| (III) V ₁ N-V ₂ N-V ₃ | (Nda'nda', Ngəmba) |
| V ₁ N-V ₂ N-V ₃ (depending on C ₁ in verb) | |
| V ₁ N-V ₂ N-V ₃ (depending on tense) | |
| (IV) V ₁ V ₂ V ₃ (all instances) | (Ring) |

Expression of instrument: ASVC vs. preposition

Bezen: Expression of instrument with coverb *ɛzɛ* ‘take’ (Kempf 2017: 105)

- (a) *ōkūb = nī* *ɛzɛ* *ūkwāb = nī* *ēmén* *īsīm_àndʒāg*
SG.woman = DEF take knife = DEF cut plantain
'The woman cut the plantain with a knife.'

Yoruba: Expression of instrument with coverb *fi* ‘use’ (Isaac 1975: 87)

- (a) *Àjào fi òbẹ gé iṣu*
Ajao use knife cut yam
'Ajao used a knife to cut the yam.'
- (b) *Àjào fi ọgbón gé iṣu*
Ajao use cleverness cut yam
'Ajao cut the yam cleverly.'

Isu (Ring): Expression of instrument / accomp. with preposition *nà* ‘with’

- (b) *ù má ^uwí jàm nà ìwú^uj í*
3sg P1.FOC kill 9.animal with 5:spear 5:OF
'He has killed the animal with a spear.'

Coding strategies for instrumental functions across GB and beyond

		attestation	ASVC	TAKE Y V X	V X WITH Y
West. GB	Ring	WR, CR, SR, ER	-	-	+
	Mechum	Obang	-	-	+
East. GB	Northern	Limbum	-	-	+
	Ngemba	Bafut	-	-	+
	Nun	Mungaka	-	-	+
	Bamileke	Fe'fe'	-	+	+
		Ngəmba	-	+	USE Y WITH V P
		Nda'nda'	-/+	+	-
		Ghomala'	+	+	-
Yemne-Kimbi		Mungbam,	-	-	+
		Mundabli	-	-	+
SJukun		Bezen	+	+	-
		Yukuben	-	-	+
		Kuteb	+	+	+
CJukun		Mbembe	-	-	+
WBC		Yoruba	+	USE Y *V X	-
				V X BE INCLUDED Y	-
Cross River		Kana	+	TAKE Y V-INSTR X	-
		Obolo	-	USE Y V X	-
Edoid		Degema	+	+	-
Kwa		Ewe	-	-	+ (< *SVC)
		Twi	-	-	+ (< *SVC)
Plateau		Dūya	+	USE Y V X	-
					16

Expression of beneficiary / recipient: ASVC vs. preposition

(a) Bezen: Expression of beneficiary with coverb *ān̩* ‘give’ (Kempf 2017: 102)

mártìn *ōtsōk* *kītſāŋ* *ān̩* *ìy̩i*
Martin build house give 3SG
‘Martin built a house for her.’

(b) Baule: Expression of beneficiary with *mànnìn* ‘give’

kòfíá *klèlĩ* *flúwá* *mànnìn* *kuàjó*
Kofi write:PERF letter give:PERF Kuajo
‘Kofi wrote a letter to Kuajo.’

(b) Yoruba: Expression of beneficiary with *fún* ‘give’ (Isaac 1975: 82)

Àjàó *sisé* *fún* *ọba*
Ajao worked give chief
‘Ajao worked for the chief.’

Expression of beneficiary / recipient: ASVC vs. preposition

- (a) Ghɔmala': beneficiary expression via ASVC with coverb **há** 'give' and preposition **bí** (Mokam Foko 2020: 137)

Tâlá kà **jó** bě há **bí** Nônč
Tala P2 buy pot give to Nono
'Tala bought Nono a pot.'

- (b) Isu: beneficiary expression with preposition **áwò** 'for'

yú **fà?**
3pl work.IPF for king 7-OF
'They worked for the king.'

Coding strategies for beneficiary/recipient functions across GB and beyond

	attestation		ASVC	V X GIVE Y	V X FOR/TO Y
Ring	WR	Aghem	-	-	â BEN, REC
		Isu	-	(-)	áwò BEN, â REC
		Weh, Zoa	-	-	tà/tá REC, ?BEN
	CR	Babanki	-	-	à BEN, REC
		Mn, Km, Kk	-	-	sô BEN, REC
		Kung	-	-	sô' REC, ?BEN, à BEN
SR	Babungo	-	-		tí BEN/REC
	Lamnso'	?	?		ê BEN/REC
Menchum	Obang	-	-		kú BEN
EG	Ngembá	Bafut	-	-	á mbô BEN, ?REC
		Mankon	-	+	nî BEN/REC, á mbô REC
	North	Limbum	?	?	nî BEN, REC
	Nun	Mungaka	-	-	mbò BEN, REC
		Bamun	?	V X GIVE TO Y	nà 'for, to'
	Bamileke	Fe'fe'	-	V X GIVE (TO) Y	mbú 'for, to, with'
		Ngembá	-	V X GIVE TO Y	mppó 'for'
		Nda'nda'	-/+	V X GIVE TO Y	má 'to'
		Ghomala'	+	V X GIVE TO Y	bî 'to'
		Mungbam	-		á- = nV, n- -n BEN/REC
Yemne-Kimbi	Mundabli	Mundabli	-		í= BEN, í= = lâ REC
Jukunoid	SJukun	Bezen	+	+	-
		Yukuben	+	+	-
		Kuteb	+	V *GIVE Y X	-
	CJukun	Mbembe	+	V GIVE Y X	ké BEN, REC

Beneficiary ASVCs vs. prepositions

Isu: coverb *nià* ‘give’ for recipient / beneficiary marking in ASVCs

- (a) *sě* *nià* *míə* *nà* *mwǐ*
draw.IMP give O1sg with 6a.water
‘Draw some water for me!’

Isu: preposition *â* ‘to’ for binding a recipient or addressee

- (b) *ú* *kò?* *yè* *wè* *dzài* *yè* *â* *wè*
S3sg:P3 see CFG O3sg tell CFG to O3sg
‘He saw her and told her.’

Isu: preposition *áwò* ‘for’ (< ‘hands’) for binding a beneficiary

- (c) *yú* *fà?* *áwò* *dòŋ* *k-iy*
3pl work.IPF for king 7-OF
‘They worked for the king.’

Contiguity of **major verb** and **coverb(s)** in transitive ASVCs

(I) Complements of serialised verbs kept in situ:

X **V₁** Y **V₂** (Z)

Għomala': beneficiary (Mokam Foko 2020: 137)

Tâlā *kà* *jó* *bɛ̄* *há* *bí* *Nônō*

Tala P2 buy pot give to Nono

‘Tala bought Nono a pot.’

VS.

(II) Sharing of complements by bunching of serialised verbs:

X **V₁** **V₂** Y (Z)

Kuteb: beneficiary (Koops 2009: 199)

awū *jwó* *na* *m* *keké*
3SG wash give 1sg bicycle

‘He washed the bicycle for me.’

Concentration of major verb and coverb(s) in transitive ASVCs

	attestation		ASVC	V ₁ X V ₂ Y	V ₁ V ₂ X Y
Ring	West	Aghem, Isu, Weh, Zoa	+	-	+
	Central	Babanki	-	?	?
		Men, Kom, Kuk, Kung	+	-	+
	South	Babungo	+	?	?
	East	Lamnso'	?	?	?
Menchum		Obang	+	?	?
Eastern Grassf.	North	Limbum	-	?	?
	Ngemba	Bafut	-	+	-
	Nun	Mungaka	-	+	-
	Bamileke	Fe'fe'	-	+	-
		Ngəmba	-/+	+	-
		Ghomala'	+	+	-
Yemne-Kimbi		Mungbam	+	-	+
		Mundabli	+	-	+
Jukunoid	SJukun	Bezen	+	+	+
		Kuteb	+	+	+
	CJukun	Mbembe	+	-	+

Legend: bunching of verbs in transitive ASVCs (red) vs. verbs retain individual complements (blue)

ASVCs: detrimental result

Expression of detrimental result with THROW AWAY

(a) Men (Central Ring)

è vá 'tsóijtē máʔà kà? mē
3sg P0.FOC cut.down.PLUR throw 6a.tree 6a.D3

'He has cut down those trees (unnecessarily, beyond repair, causing damage).'

(b) Isu (West Ring)

má má "wíy màʔá ntwà
S1sg P1.FOC shatter throw 9.pot

'I have broken the pot.'

(c) Isu (West Ring)

wò má "lán màʔà àyû
2sg P1.FOC make.noise throw 2.persons
'You have disturbed the people with noise.'

(d) Bafut (Ngemba, Eastern Grassfields)

à-físí á tū bě-lwìn bjá m-mà'â
7-wind SM push 2-old.people 2-the N-throw
'The wind pushed down the old people.'

(e) Bezen (Southern Jukunoid)

y-ōtōŋ ātī kēwūr
3SG-remove cast stomach
'She had an abortion.'

ASVCs: detrimental result

Mundabli (Yemne-Kimbi): Expression of detrimentalative with ***ft*** „pass, disappear, cease to exist“ vs. ***tó*** ‚kick‘ (Voll 2017: 227-8)

(a) *ndʒɔ̄́myin [nɔ̄] wù kà ſɛ b-́ ȳɛ wū ȳi kà bo ft*
8.food SUB 3sg P3 want 8-REL CMP 3sg eat P3 be(come).bad pass
‘The food which he wanted to eat was spoilt.’

(b) ... *b-́ ȳɛ b̄ ſ lā bō tó ndʒɔ̄́m b-́*
... 2-REL SUB 2 do be(come).bad kick 8.things 8-1pl.POSS
‘... (many people) who want to spoil our things.’

Expression of detrimental result in multiverb constructions in the Wide Grassfields and beyond

	attestation		ASVC	construction
Ring	West	Aghem	+	?
		Isu, Weh, Zoa	+	V THROW Y
	Central	Men, Kuk, Kung	+	V THROW Y
		Babanki	-	?
	South	Babungo	+	?
	East	Lamno'	?	?
Menchum		Obang	+	?
Eastern Grassf.	Ngembba	Bafut	-	V N-THROW Y
		Nun	-	?
	Bamileke	Mungaka	-	?
		Gh, Nda', Fe', Ngm	+	?
Yemne-Kimbi	North	Limbum	-	?
		Mungbam	+	?
		Mundabli	+	V KICK Y
Jukunoid	SJukun	Bezen	+	V THROW Y
		Kuteb	+	?
	CJukun	Mbembe	+	?

ASVCs: custody transfer

Expression of custody transfer with **KEEP**

(a) Isu (West Ring)

à *ndzári* ^u*ná* ^u*ndíá* *m^ufá* *m-íy* *á^un-áyúw*
IS mess keep who 6b.faeces 6b-OF at-7.toilet
'Who has messed up the toilet with liquid faeces?'

(b) Mungaka (Nun, Eastern Grassfields)

[...] *númfòn* *yí* *bá* *mù* *kà* *nèbtí* *n-tsí'* *mbò* *bìn*
[...] kingdom REL father my P2 prepare CONS-keep for 2pl
'[...] the kingdom which my father has prepared for you [...]'

(c) Mungbam (Yemne-Kimbi)

tába *ū* *dzó* *ù* *dzè* *wán*
1.cigarette 1.LOC.OBJ LOC.mouth 1 put keep
'A cigarette in his mouth that he has put [there].'

(d) Bezen (Southern Jukunoid)

lă *w-ēzē* *ālī* *āmúŋ* *kāhān*
then S2sg-take keep LOC pan
'Then you put it in this pan.'

(e) Mbembe (Central Jukunoid)

ē *kpá* *tē* *ābré* *édò* *hǔ* *nú*
S3sg cut keep bamboo DEM.AN DEF:SG there
'He will cut and keep the bamboo there.'

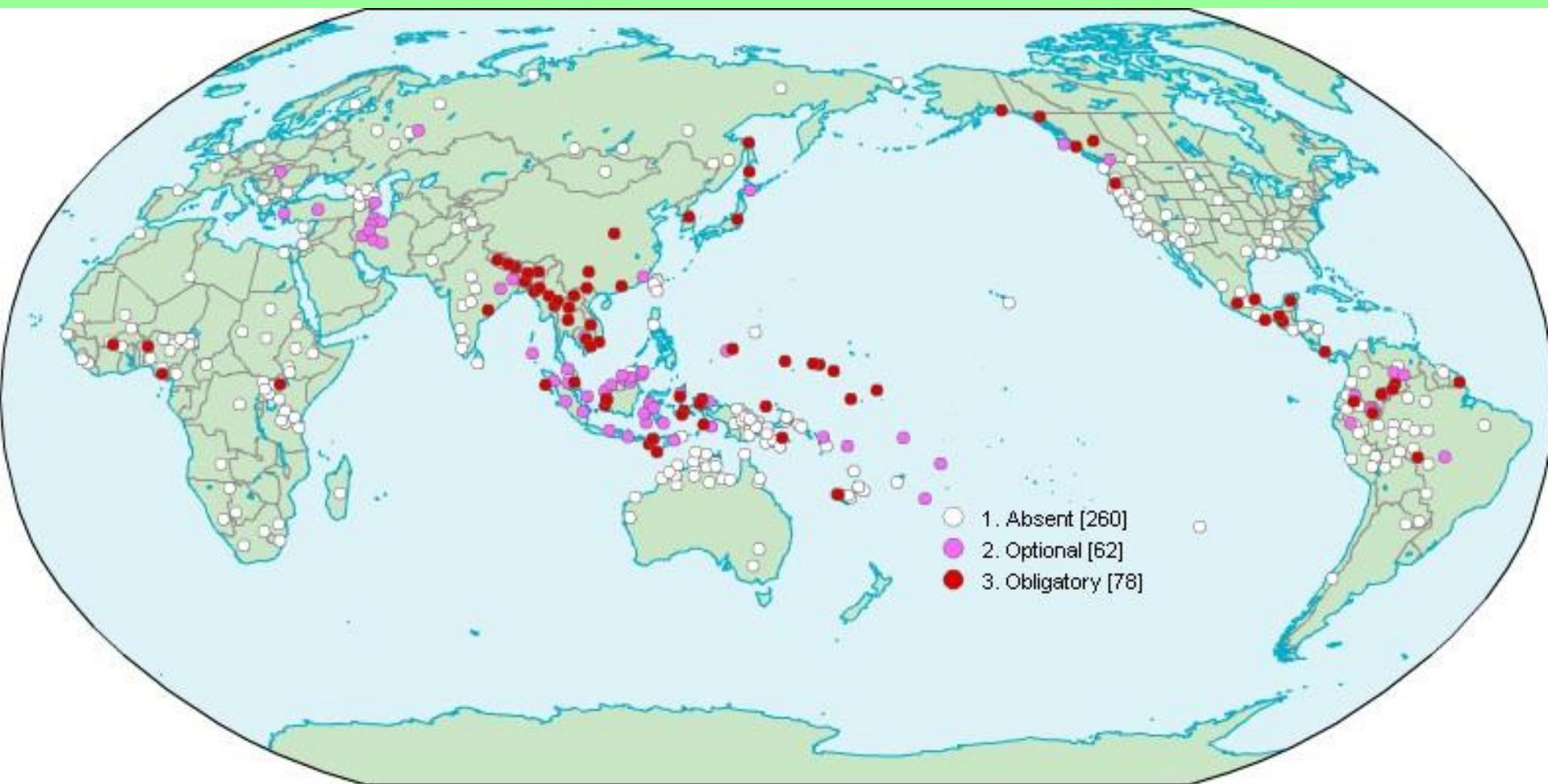
Expression of custody transfer in multiverb constructions in the Wide Grassfields and beyond

	attestation		ASVC	construction
Ring	West	Aghem	+	?
		Isu, Weh, Zoa	+	V KEEP Y
	Central	Men, Kuk, Kung	+	V KEEP Y
		Babanki	-	?
	South	Babungo	+	?
	East	Lamnso'	?	?
Menchum		Obang	+	?
Eastern Grassf.	Ngemba	Bafut	-	?
		Mungaka	-	V N-KEEP Y
		Bamileke	Gh, Nda', Fe', Ngm	+
	North	Limbum	-	?
Yemne-Kimbi		Mungbam	+	V KEEP Y
		Mundabli	+	?
Jukunoid	SJukun	Bezen	+	V KEEP Y
		Kuteb	+	?
	CJukun	Mbembe	+	V KEEP Y

Parameters of verbal serialisation in the Wide Grassfields and beyond

	attestation		ASVC	INSTR. prep.	BEN. prep.	V ₁ V ₂	DETR. RES.	CUST.
								TRANSF.
Ring	West	A, I, W. Z	+	+	+	+	THROW	KEEP
	Central	Mn, Kk, Kg	+	+	+	+	THROW	KEEP
		Babanki	-	+	+	?	?	?
	South	Babungo	+	+	+	?	?	?
	East	Lamnso'	?	+	+	?	?	?
Menchum		Obang	+	+	+	?	?	?
EG	Ngemba	Bafut	-	+	+	-	THROW	?
	Nun	Mungaka	-	+	+	-	?	KEEP
	Bamileke	Ghomala'	+	-	(+)	-	?	?
		Nda'nda'	-/+	-	(+)	-	?	?
		Fe'fe'	-/+	+	(+)	-	?	?
		Ngəmba	-/+	+	(-)	-	?	?
	North	Limbum	-	+	+	?	?	?
YK		Mungbam	+	+	+	+	?	KEEP
		Mundabli	+	+	+	+	KICK	?
Juk	SJukun	Bezen	+	-	-	+	THROW	KEEP
		Kuteb	+	+	-	+	?	? 28
	CJukun	Mbembe	+	+	(+)	+	?	KEEP

Numeral classifiers world wide (WALS)

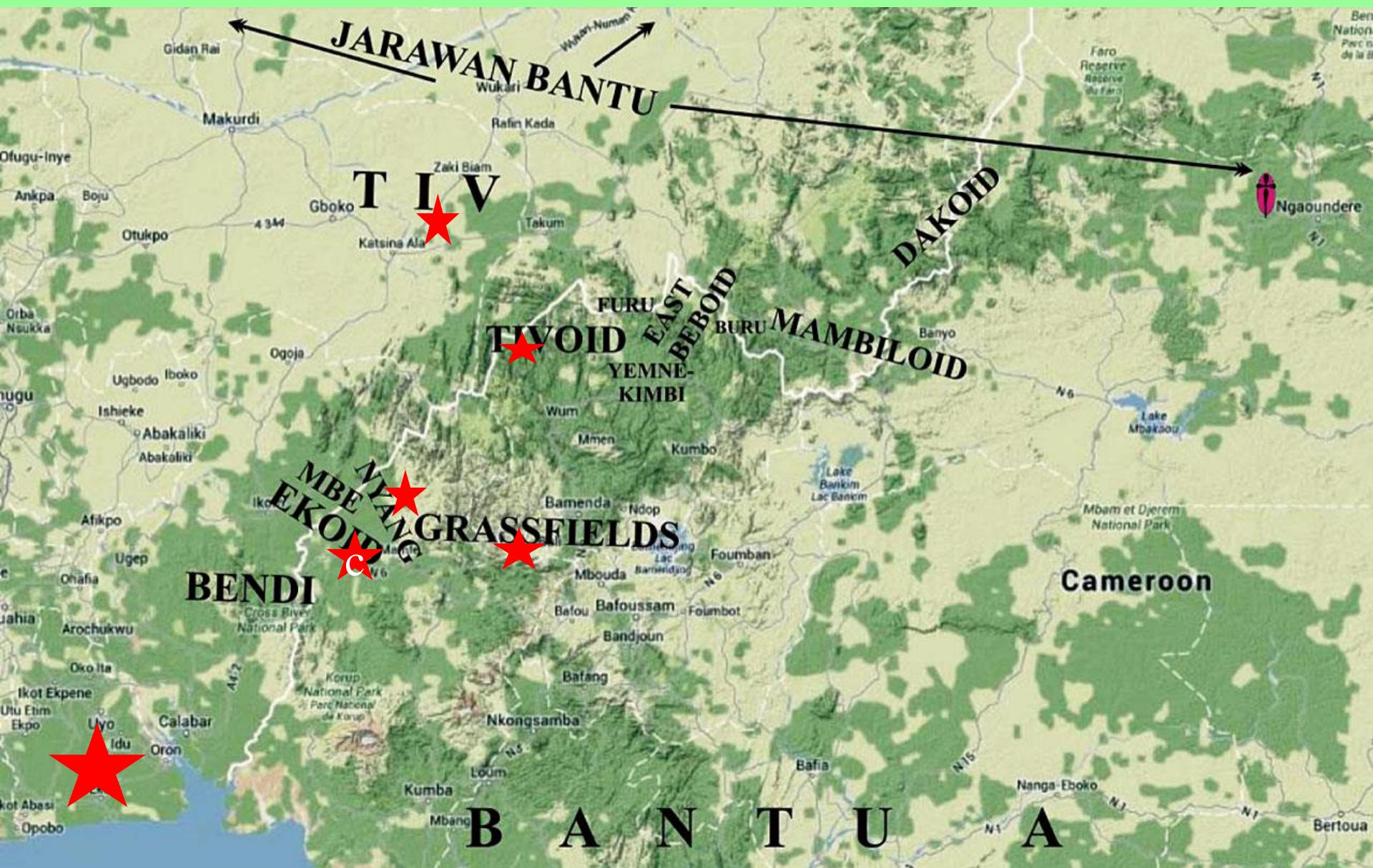


(Gil 2005)

Numeral classifiers: attestations in Wide Grassfields / Bantoid and beyond

			Lexical coverage	CLFs with transparent nominal etymology (examples)	CLFs without transparent etymology
Ring	West	Isu	restricted	EYE (small globular), HAND (longish) [...]	-
	Central	Men	restricted	EYE (small globular) [...]	-
	South	Bamunka	restricted	UNIT (general)	?
	East	Lamnso'	?	?	?
Menchum		Obang	?	?	?
EG	Ngemb a	Bafut	?	?	?
	Nun	Mungaka	restricted	EYE (small globular), LUMP OF CLAY (bulging/clotted objects)	+
		Chufie	restricted	EYE (small globular), FRUIT (roundish, drop of liquid) [...]	+
	Bamile ke	Ngəmba	restricted	GRAIN (small globular, abstract), HEAD (big globular), HORN (bent shape)	+
		Ngiemboon	restricted	GRAIN (small globular vegetable), HAND (oblong phytomorph), HEAD (big globular fruits)	+
		Ngwe	restricted	PALM KERNEL (?)	+
	North	Limbum	?	?	?
Yemne-Kimbi		Mungbam	?	?	?
Jukunoid	SJ, CJ		?	?	?
Ekoid		Ejagham	restricted	TREE TRUNK (trees) [...]	+
Nyang		Denya	restricted	EYE (small globular organic), FINGER (longish fruits) [...]	?
Tivoid		Tiv	restricted	FRUIT (ovate phytomorphic), STEM, LEAF (flat), MUSCLE (bulging) [...]	+
		Ugare	restricted		+
Cross River		Kana	full	FRUIT (bulb shape), TREE (wooden), SKIN (flat), EYE (spot/dot shape) [...]	+

Numeral classifiers in Bantoid



Numeral classifiers in Bantoid

Ugare (Tivoid):

<i>ú-gbéndé</i>	3-CLF(< muscle)	3.AM	<i>ù-gwándè</i>	3-mussel	<i>ú-twǎm</i>	3-one
'one mussel'						

sortal classifiers (vs. mensural classifiers), applied to nouns of high countability, based on haptic features of the enumerated item, e.g. bulging shape of mussels, subdividing the inventory of count nouns into semantic classes (Gil 2005)

restricted system: no full lexical coverage

most classifiers are etymologically transparent, derived from full nouns, e.g. *úgbéndé* 'muscle'

incipient stage of development

Morphosyntax: reanalysis of associative construction

$N_1 \ N_2 \ \text{NUM} > \text{CLF} \ N \ \text{NUM}$

Comparative list of Tivoid numeral classifiers: Tiv vs. Ugare

Range of application	Ugare	Tiv	Proto-Tivoid
longish outgrowths from a base (root): plantain, hair [...]	í-tfín (5/6) 'stem'	í-tíné-́ (5/6) 'stem'	*í-tíné (5/6) 'stem'
longish outgrowth separated from its base: hair, branch, spinach [...]	ú-gbá: (3/6) ‘branch’	ø-gbâ: (1/6) ‘branch’	*ú-gbá (3/6) ‘branch’
small globular objects: bean, nut, button, seed [...]	í-ʃăy (5/6) 'seed'	ì-ʃàŋgè (9/6) 'seed'	*??? (xx/xx) 'seed'
seeds of stone fruits: mango, cashew	kù-kwà (9/10) ‘palm nut’	ì-k्यé (9/6) 'testicle'	???
ovate botanical products and formations, especially from dough and liquid: potato, buns [...]	ø-tàm (9/6) 'fruit'	Í-t्यáméý (7/6) 'fruit'	*í-tám (??/??) 'fruit'
flat objects: banknote, page, paper, food wrapped in leaves [...]	í-yán (5/6) 'leaf'	ú-kʷá-́ (3/10) 'leaf'	*??? (xx/xx) 'leaf'
objects with curved or bulging outline: pod, mussel, kernel of nut types, tortoise shell, [...]	ú-gbéndé (3/6) ‘muscle’	í-gbýéndéý (7/6) ‘muscle’	*??-gbéndé (xx/xx) ‘muscle’
oblong rigid objects (esp. food items): cassava, cricket, [...]	ú-té: (3/10) 'stick'	ú-kón-́ 'stick'	*ú-??? (xx/xx) 'stick'
small insects	N/A	ø-òr (1/2) 'person'	-

Forms of EYE as numeral classifier for small globular items in Bantoid (and beyond)

			EYE > small globular item
Ring (West Grassfields)	West	Isu	<i>ístí</i>
East Grassfields	Nun	Chufie	<i>ndí</i>
		Mungaka	<i>lí2</i>
	Bamileke	Ngəmba	-
Ekoid		Ejaghamb	?
Nyang		Denya	<i>njí</i>
Tivoid		Tiv	-
Cross River	Ogoni	Kana	<i>déé</i>

Lexical sources of numeral classifiers for small globular items

			small globular item
Ring (West Grassfields)	West	Isu	eye
East Grassfields	Nun	Chufie	eye
		Mungaka	eye
	Bamileke	Ngəmba	grain
		Ngiemboon	grain
		Ngwe	[obscure etymology]
Ekoid		Ejagham	[obscure etymology]
Nyang		Denya	eye
Tivoid		Tiv	grain/seed
Cross River	Ogoni	Kana	[differentiated: fruit, grain, eye]

1 + 2 (dual) in pronominal systems

Babanki (Central Ring) basic pronouns

			minimal	plural	
1sg	<i>mà</i>				
2sg	<i>wù</i>	1 + 2	<i>yúwù</i>	<i>vàŋyéŋ</i>	1 + 2 + 3(+)
3sg	<i>yà</i>	1	<i>mà</i>	<i>yès</i>	1 + 3(+)
3sg.log	<i>yǐ</i>	2	<i>wù</i>	<i>yàŋ</i>	2 + 3(+)
1dual	<i>yúwù</i>	3	<i>yà</i>	<i>vàwé</i>	3 +
1pl.incl	<i>vàŋyéŋ</i>				
1pl.excl	<i>yès</i>				
2pl	<i>yàŋ</i>				
3pl	<i>vàwé</i>				

Reasons for special status of 1 + 2 (dual) *yúwù*:

only basic pronoun referring to precisely 2 persons, speaker and addressee

only non-singular basic pronoun that does not include reference to a third person

patterns with minimal pronouns in compounding, e.g. to derive a secondary dual form (instead of 1sg *mà*), e.g. *yúwù-wén* (1&3) 'I and him/her'

only dual that cannot be decomposed morphologically (at synchronic level), historical fusion: **yú* ??? and *wù* 2sg

1 + 2 (dual) in pronominal systems

Ngəmba (Bamileke-Eastern Grassfields) basic pronouns

			minimal	plural	reference
1sg	<i>mà</i>				
2sg	<i>ò</i>				
3sg	<i>i</i>				
1dual	<i>pɔyɔ</i>	1 + 2	<i>pɔyɔ</i>	<i>pø</i>	1 + 2 + 3(+)
1pl.incl	<i>pø</i>	1	<i>mà</i>	<i>pɔk</i>	1 + 3(+)
1pl.excl	<i>pɔk</i>	2	<i>ò</i>	<i>pù</i>	2 + 3(+)
2pl	<i>pù</i>	3	<i>i</i>	<i>wób</i>	3 +
3pl	<i>wób</i>				

1 + 2 (dual) in pronominal systems

Ngəmba (Bamileke-Eastern Grassfields) compound dual pronouns

reference	dual forms	composition	compositional semantics
1 + 2	<i>pɔyɔ</i>	<i>pɔy-ɔ</i> < <i>pɔk-nà-wwɔ</i>	1 + 3(+) &2
1 + 3	<i>pəkí</i>	<i>pək-í</i> < <i>pək-n-í</i> < <i>pək-nà-ʒʒí</i>	1 + 3(+) &3
2 + 3	<i>pùní</i>	<i>pù-ní</i> < <i>pù-nà-ʒʒí</i>	2 + 3(+) &3
3 + 3	<i>wóbhí</i>	<i>wób-í</i> < <i>wób-n-i</i> < <i>wob-na-ʒʒí</i>	3+ &3

Compositional template:

Plural subject pronoun + preposition *nà* + singular pronoun (prepositional series)

1 + 2 dual in Wide Grassfields and beyond

			1 + 2	1 + 3(+)	1 + 2 +	2	compositional pattern of 1 + 2
Ring	West	Aghem	<i>yàʔà wò</i>	<i>yàʔ'</i>	<i>'sè'</i>	<i>wò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2
		Isu	[ŋgà́]	[yé́]	[ŋgà́]	wò	-
	Central	Babanki	<i>yúwù</i>	<i>vá́ yáŋ</i>	<i>yès</i>	<i>wù</i>	*?? &2
		Men	<i>yás(è-γ)ò</i>	<i>yás</i>	<i>yásè-nì</i>	<i>γò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2 (+ fusion)
		Kom	<i>yes-ì-và</i>	<i>yès</i>	<i>yes-ì-nà</i>	<i>wà</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2
South	Babungo	<i>sì, nsôo</i>	<i>yìa</i>	<i>nsíŋ</i>	<i>à, γâ</i>	(1 + 2 +)&2 + fusion; synth. vs. analyt.	
	Bamessing	<i>bóɔ</i>	<i>bàa</i>	<i>bàaŋ</i>	<i>wà</i>		
East	Lamnso'	<i>wòsò</i>	<i>vèr'</i>	<i>vèsən</i>	<i>à, wò</i>	*?? &2	
Mench.	Obang	<i>súŋwà</i>	<i>sà</i>	<i>sánà, sámbìn</i>	<i>wò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2 + fusion	
EG	North	Limbum	<i>sò, wìisòo</i>	<i>wìr</i>	<i>sǖ</i>	<i>wè, wìi</i> 2pl	(2 +)&1 + 2; synth. vs. analyt.
EG	Ngemba	Bafut	<i>sì, bì'ó</i>	<i>bì̄i</i>	<i>bì̄ínà</i>	<i>ò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2; synth. vs. analytic
		Mankon	<i>tì</i>	<i>bigə</i>	<i>biginə</i>	<i>ò ~ à</i>	synthetic
		Mbili	<i>bεε-gu</i>	<i>bεε</i>	<i>bεε-nì</i>	<i>ù</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2
Nun	Mungaka	<i>bù'-ù</i>	<i>bù'</i>	<i>bà, bò</i>	<i>ù</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2	
	Chufie	<i>pù?</i>	<i>pùgú</i>	<i>pìēŋ'</i>	<i>ò</i>	synthetic < *(1 + 3 +)&2	
	Bamun	<i>tà</i>	<i>pì</i>	<i>pwò</i>	<i>(w)ù</i>	synthetic	
	Baba'	<i>ti</i>	<i>pòyò</i>	<i>pápò</i>	<i>wù</i>	synthetic	
	Bambalang	<i>pògɔ̄</i>	<i>pìgĩ</i>	<i>pìá</i>	<i>ò</i>	(1 + 2/3 +)&2 + fusion	
	Bangolan	<i>puhu</i>	<i>pəhə</i>	<i>paha</i>	<i>wu</i>	(1 + 2/3 +)&2 + fusion	
	Bamileke	Ngembba	<i>pòyò</i>	<i>pək</i>	<i>pò</i>	<i>ò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2 + fusion
Yemne-Kimbi	Ngiemboon	<i>póg-ò</i>	<i>pég</i>	<i>pégè</i>	<i>ò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2 + fusion	
	Yemba	<i>pók-ò</i>	<i>pék</i>	<i>mpè</i>	<i>ò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2 + fusion	
	Nchane	<i>bē-sá-wò</i>	<i>bē</i>	<i>bē-sá-bèŋ</i>	<i>wò</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2	
Beboid	Mundabli	<i>bī by-ā wà</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>bī biā bēñ</i>	<i>à</i>	(1 + 3 +)&2	

1 + 2 dual in Wide Grassfields and beyond according to structural types

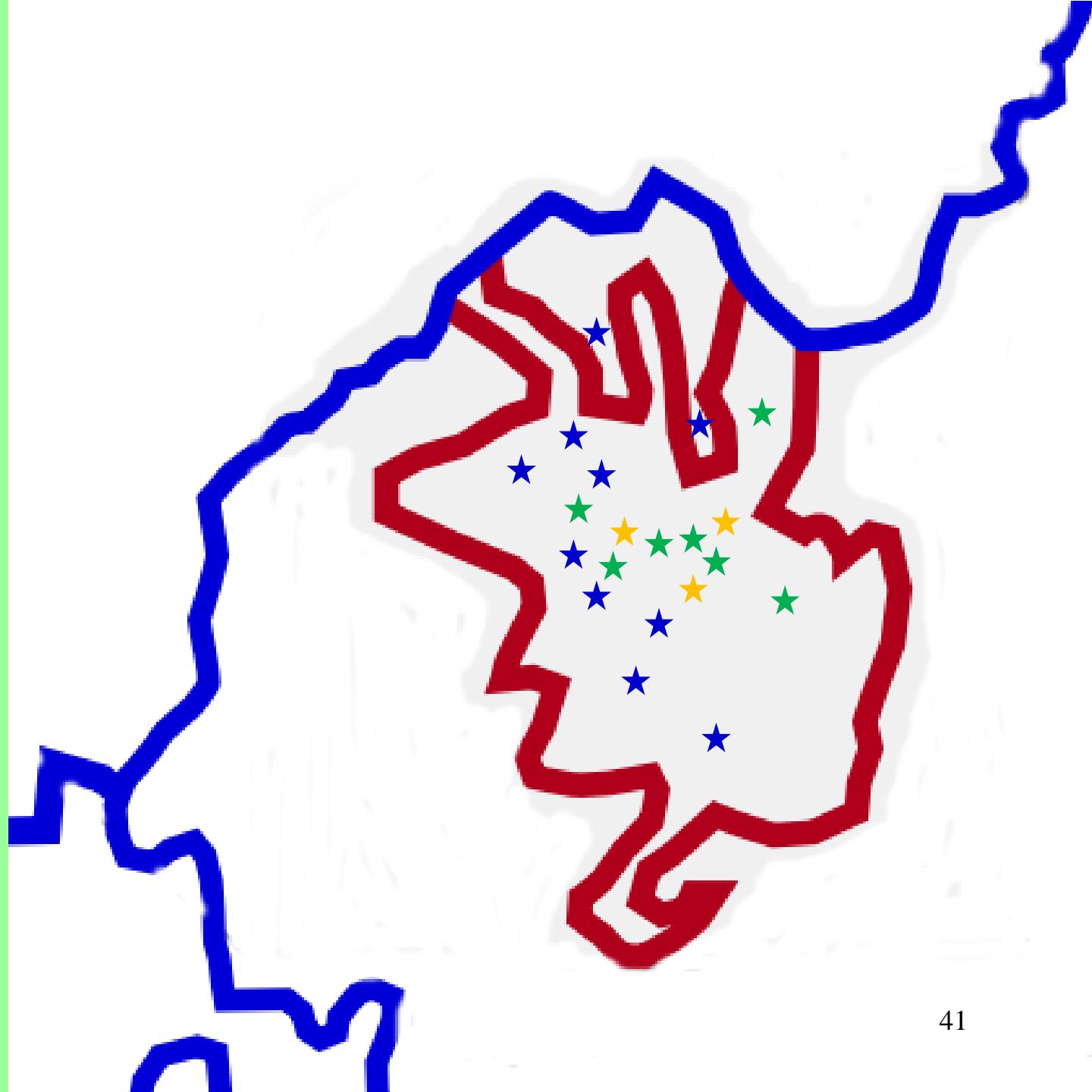
strategy	attestation
synthetic	Babungo, Bamessing, Limbum, Bafut, Mankon, Chufie, Bamun, Baba'
*(1 + 3 +)&2	Babanki, Lamnso'; Chufie
(1 + 3 +)&2 + fusion	Bambalang, Bangolan; Obang; (Men), [Babungo]; Ngembba, Ngiemboon, Yemba
(1 + 3 +)&2	Aghem, Men, Kom; Mbili, [Bafut]; Mungaka; Nchane, Mundabli
no dedicated 1 + 2 reported	Isu [...]

1 + 2 dual in Grassfields Bantu and beyond

★ synthetic

★ *(1 + 3 +)&2

★ (1 + 3 +)&2



Conclusion

- I **Verbal serialization: Northern Grassfields and adjacent areas in the north**
 - (a) heavy exploitation of asymmetrical SVC,
 - (b) absence of instrumental and beneficiary ASVCs correlating with presence of dedicated prepositions WITH and FOR;
 - (c) major and minor verbs bunch in the central field of clause;
 - (d) ASVC for detrimental result by THROW and KICK
 - (e) ASVC for custody transfer by KEEP
- II **Numeral classifiers: Grassfields and other Bantoid restricted systems of numeral classifiers**
- III **1 + 2 dual pronoun: entire Grassfields (and beyond: Bantu A?) with a core zone in eastern/southern Ring and adjacent northern Mbam-Nkam**

Zòŋjà kò néè kìy!



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