

ADAMAWA CONFERENCE

JOHANNES GUTENBERG UNIVERSITY; DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICAN STUDIES,
9TH TO 11TH OF SEPTEMBER 2019

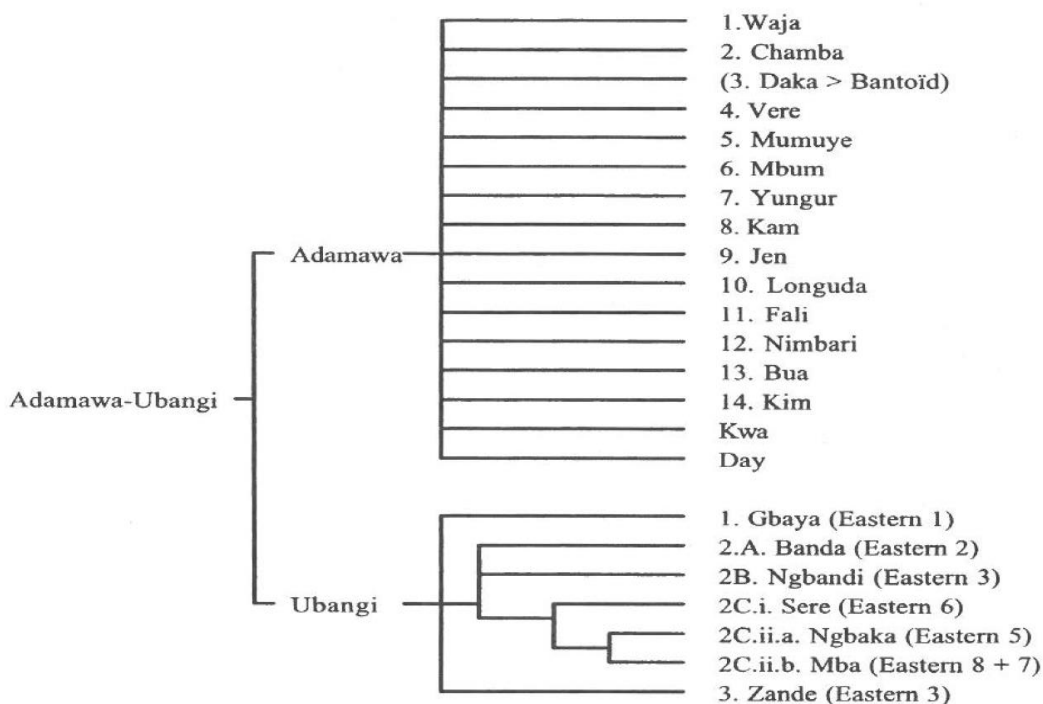
THE MBUM OF NGAOUNDÉ. CONTACT-INDUCED VARIATION IN THE CITY?

MBUM, STATE OF THE ART

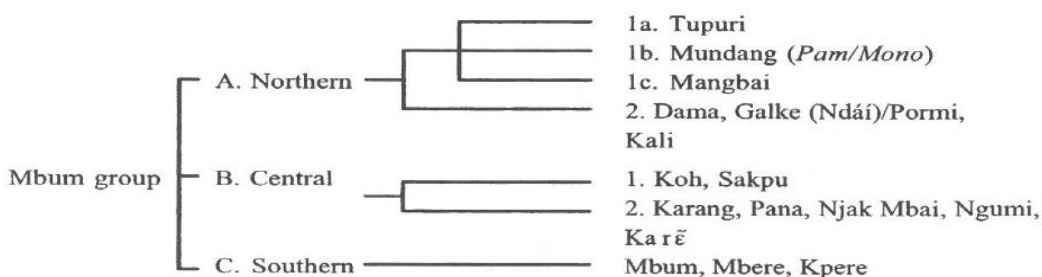
Language classification:

- Kebbi-Benue (Elders 2006: 38) (or Mbum group, cp. table 1.) of Adamawa
- Mbum proper in southern branch
- adjacent languages often mutually intelligible → dialect continuum
- Group as a whole occupies discontinuous space (cp. maps 1 and 2)

(1) Classification of Adamawa-Ubangi (Boyd 1989a)

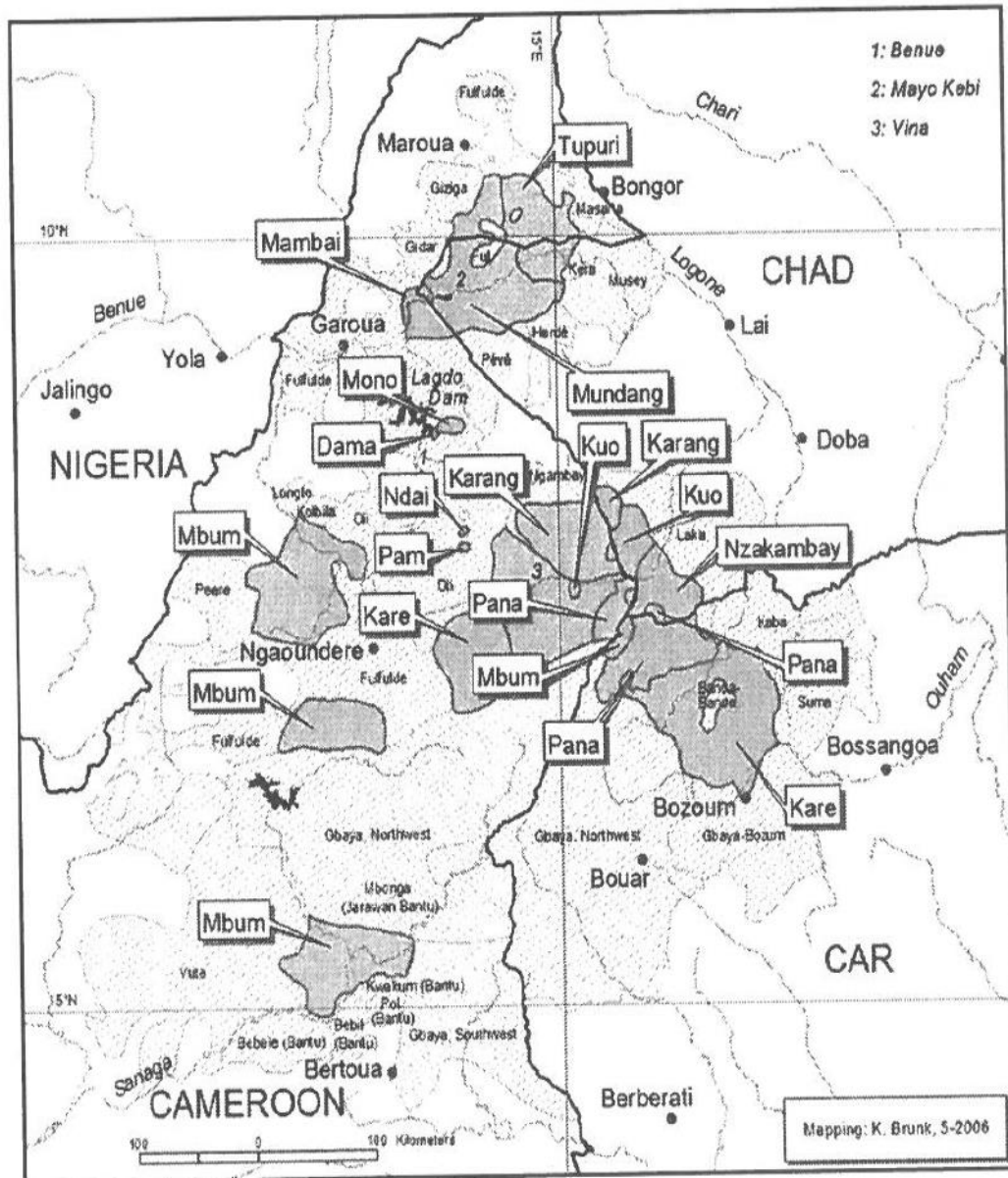


(2) Mbum group (Boyd 1989a)



Unclassified languages: Pondo, Gonge, Tali, Dek

Table 1: The Kebbi-Benue (Mbum) group of Adamawa (Boyd 1989, in Elders 2006: 40)



Map1: Kebbi-Benue languages (Elders 2006: 41)

Southern branch of Kebbi-Benue:

- Mbum proper, cluster of 4 dialects (Hagège 1970:16,17):
 - Mbum-Mbere (northern region)
 - Gbete dialects, Vana, Woutchaba (aka 'Kpere'; southern area)
 - Mbum-Plateau (Nganha, Tibati)
 - Mbum Bábal (eastern area)

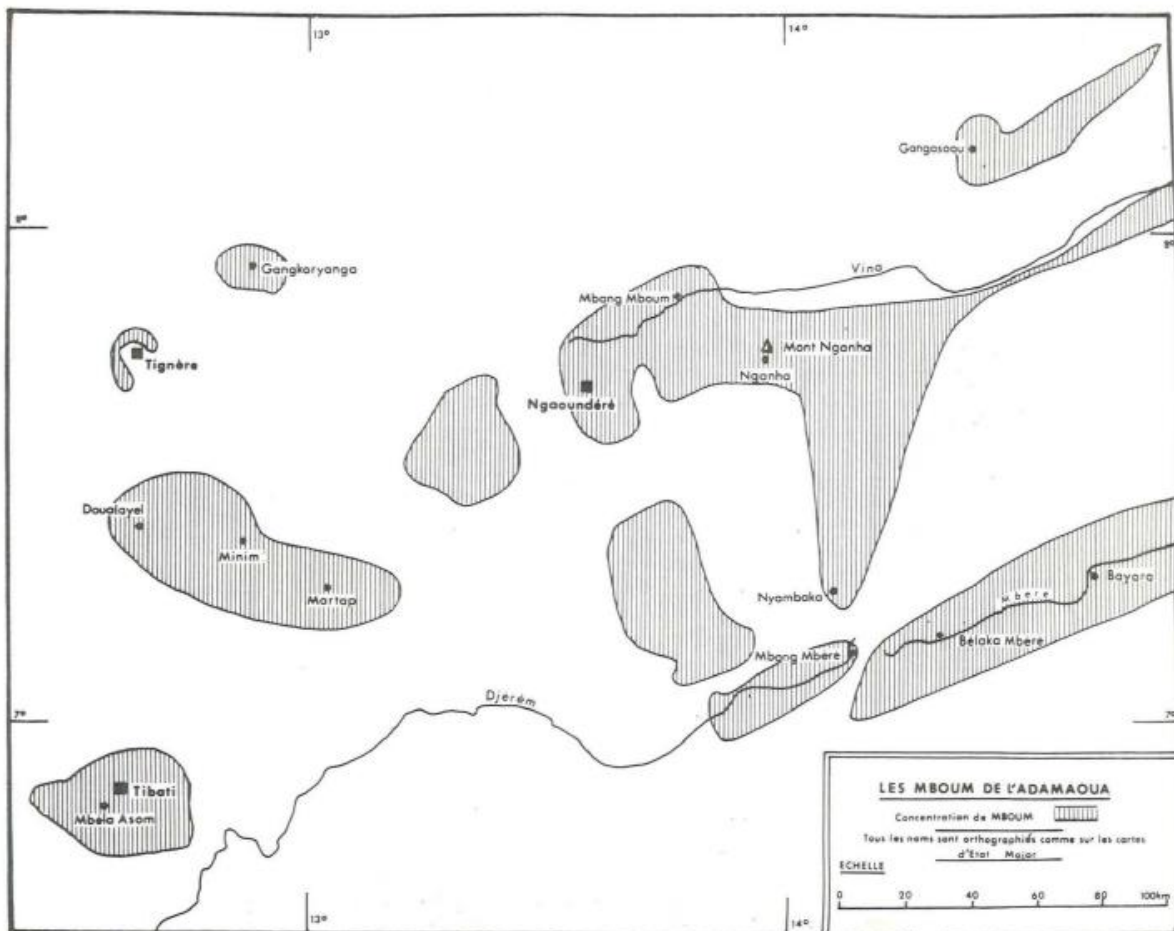
- Four varieties are mutually intelligible → lexicostatistics;
(Karang for comparison with wider group):

Percentage matrix

Gbete Woutchaba
 92 Gbete Vana (Dengdeng)
 82 80 Mbum-Mbere
 79 78 89 Mbum-Ngaoundere
 62 62 66 69 Karang

(Diller & Diller 2002:10)

Map 2: Mbum of Adamawa Plateau (Hagège 1970: 5)



LANGUAGE USE:

- All Mbum are at least bilingual
 - Second language = Adamawa-Ful
 - Hagège (1981:188): tendencies of language shift among the Mbum, many speak more or less exclusively Adamawa-Ful.
 - My data: urbanized Mbum of Ngaoundéré, proud to speak Mbum
 - but substantial problems finding 'real' Mbum words for lexicon list with around 450 entries.

LANGUAGE DESCRIPTIONS AND DATA:

- HAGÈGE (1970) is the only complete grammatical description of a Mbum-variety
 - dialect of Nganha, 50 km Northwest from the city of Ngaoundéré
- Oldest published source: comparative wordlist German military, Hauptmann Strümpell (1910)
- first attempt to a comprehensive presentation: German colonial administrator von Duisburg (1925)
 - own data, combined with data from Barth, Overweg, a. o.
 - mainly based on Mbum of Ngaoundéré-plateau
- Markgraf (2017, and unpublished), project "description of verbal system" not completed, data got lost
- "Association des Mbum Autochtones du Cameroun", based in Ngaoundéré compiled a Mbum-French dictionary (Adamou et al. 2018)

- Currently discussing orthographic standards with Mbum-speaking communities
- My own (Beyer) fieldwork, (November 2018, March 2019) Mbum-speaking motor-taxi-drivers in Ngaoundéré
 - Data still in very early preparation phase!
- Comparative works:
 - Hagège 1981, Adamawa languages and classification (Langues du Monde)
 - Diller & Diller 2002, sociolinguistic and dialect survey of southern Gbete varieties
 - Elders 2006, state of the art of Kebbi-Benue (former Mbum) group.

QUESTIONS OF MY CURRENT CONTACT PROJECT RELATED TO MBUM:

- Contemporary Mbum of Ngaoundéré:
 - What are the main points of divergence from other varieties?
 - Is it a contact-marked and/or 'urbanized' variety?
 - Is there evidence for new, recent developments?
 - If so, who are the leading actors of this change?

GENERAL LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES OF MBUM

(What is the underlying system from which the Ng'dere variety may diverge?
Examples from phonology and TAM system)

PHONOLOGY:

- General Adamawa-inventory: *moderately large* in WALS (accessed on 20.08.2019)
- Implosives?
 - Hagège (1970: 31) has *b* (*injective* and noted as B) opposed to a pre-glottalized *D*
 - Hagège (1981: 189), bilabial and apical *B* and *D* as *pré-glottalized* occlusive and labio-dental occlusive [v] in this series
 - [v] on the verge of being replaced with [w] by younger speakers (Hagège 1970: 53)

1. Initiales

	bilabia- les	labio- dentales	apicales	palato-al- véolaires	vélaires	labio- véolaires	laryn- gale
sourdes	p	f	t	s	k	kp	
sonores	b	v	d	z	g	gb	
occlusives	B	V	D				
mi-nasales	mb	mv	nd	nz	ng	ngb ¹	
nasales	m		n	ɲ			
continues			l	y		w	h
vibrante			r				

Table 1: Consonant inventory of Mbum (Hagège 1970:54)

- Von Duisburg (1925) mentions *ɔ̃* (“mittlerer Laut zwischen alveolarem *d* und nicht gerolltem *r* der Zungenspitze” 1925:135) and a bilabial fricative *f*
- Relation to Hagège’s pre-glotalized occlusive series is unclear
- Recent language data:
 - Implosives just like in Fulfulde
 - a voiced palatal plosive [ɟ] varies freely with the palatal approximant [j] and the palatal voiced fricative [ʒ]. (Beyer, f. n.). Markgraf (2017: 98)
- Vowels
 - pretty basic: five oral *i, u, e, o, a* plus three nasal *ĩ, ã, ẽ* vowels (Hagège 1970:57)
 - vowel length not decisive
 - two level, one contour tone
 - Von Duisburg (1925: 134-5): 15 different vowels (phonetic?)
 - schwa [ə]
 - [-ATR] vowels [ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ].
 - three different vowel length qualities (short, normal, long) used in his writing system
 - Elders (2006:54): seven vowel system with only two additional -ATR [ɛ + ɔ] vowels (source unclear)
- Differences in the phonetic/phonological descriptions from 1925, 1970 +1981, 2006 and with recent data.
 - change in the overall setting of the phonemic system?
 - or due to dialectal or interlocutors’ deviations?
 - different interpretations by authors?

TAM-SYSTEM

- Operates with a bare verbal form, a variety of pre-posed ‘verboids’ combined with bare verb or verbal noun:

5 simplex verbal constructions (single verb predication):

Factitive:	S—V—(O)	[not consistent]
(Habitual):	S—V-’nà —(O)	[not consistent]
Imperfective progressive:	S—kâ—V—(O)	[not consistent]
Imperfective prospective:	S—kâ—V-’nà—(O)	[not consistent]
(Stativ):	S—V-REDUP—(O)	[not consistent]

Table 2: Morphosyntax of Mbum TAM system (Markgraf, unpublished a)

- Hagège (1970: 208, 209)
 - ‘verboid’ *kâ* with bare verb = general truth, a recurrent state or habitual present
 - *kâ + verbal noun* = durative or frequentative

- AND additionally in this position:
 - á + bare verb imminent or even ineluctable future
 - ‘verboid’ *zi*, (> ‘to come’) notion of close future
- Von Duisburg (1925) (like Markgraf above)
 - Bare verb = Aorist
 - Verbal noun = habitual
 - *kă*+ verbal noun = progressive
 - additionally
 - *ma* = “Perfektum 1” but translated with imperfect (präteritum) reading, *mo ma dji* ‘du kamst’ (von Duisburg 1925: 146-8)
 - N.b.: this form is not mentioned in any other description

Another construction types employs phrase final marking:

- Hagège (1970: 316) has a free morphème {*wâ*} = perfective aspect. It is not fixed to a verb form but in final position of any verb phrase:

ké sé wâ "il est parti" // *il / part / aspectif d'énoncé perfectif //*
gáɲálókú zì á à ké rí wâ "le chef aime ses femmes" // *chef / aime / fem-*
me : joncteur : lui : pluralisateur / aspectif
d'énoncé perfectif //
kú kâ lāk hūr wâ "ils sont maintenant habitués à manger de la boule" // *ils/*
modalité verbale d'aspect : mange / boule / aspectif á'é-
noncé perfectif //

- Functions as *indication of a change of state* or an *indication of the reality of fact*. (Hagège 1970: 316)
- Von Duisburg (1925) has a second “Perfektum I” which is suffixed to the verb: {-*oa*}, (i.e. [*wa*])
- In Markgraf’s data (2017: 99) *wá* is labelled as “phrase final completive”
- Adamou et al. (2018: 106) designates *wa* as “verbe aux. au passé”
- My own data (Beyer f.n.) support Hagège’s perfective interpretation:

<i>bake</i>	<i>sobir</i>	<i>yar</i>	<i>wa</i>
the.same.one	turn	eyes	PFV
“The same turned (his) eyes”			

<i>Musa ji</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>goya</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>wa</i>
<i>Musa come</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>his</i>	PFV
“Musa came with his dog”				

- In the same position (phrase final), an “actualisateur” *mû*
 - combines with pre-posed verbal = identificational construction
 - with a second element in front of the verbal noun = future reading

verbonominal + actualisateur

sénà mû "c'est un départ" // partir , *actualisateur* //

mais quand le *verbonominal* est précédé dans l'énoncé d'un autre élément, le sens ne peut être que celui d'un futur, et le *verbonominal* constitue avec la *modalité verbonominale de temps* un *syntagme nominoverbal de temps* :

kú sénà mû "ils partiront" // ils / partir : *modalité verbonominale de temps* //

(Hagège 1970:210)

- In Markgraf's data, this marker appears only once (with high tone) and is glossed as "declarative" (Markgraf, unpublished)

<i>gài</i>	<i>dò</i>	<i>njór</i>	<i>bàrán</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>níj</i>	<i>jánjá</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>lák-à</i>	<i>mú</i>
guy	DEM	peel	banana	3sg	make	compare	3SG	eat-VN	DECL

'That guy peels a banana, he pretends to eat,

- Adamou et al. (2018) gloss *mû* as "to be" marking future tense
 - No appearance in my data
- Differences in the TAM system may be explained by functional shifts or difference in interpretation and shortcomings of the data
- the ma-element (cp. above, von Duisburg) seems to have vanished

CONTACT-INDUCED FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY NGAOUNDÉRE_MBUM

- Data from different sources but mainly from:
 - Markgraf (2017) describes Fulfulde-induced contact phenomena with Mbum data from field work in Ngaoundéré from 2013 to 2015
 - my own observations from recent field trips (for the time being only sketchy and impressionistic)

PRONOUNS

- Fulfulde influence is not new
 - authors over the last nearly 100 years are unanimous in explaining the '2SG' *à* as a loan from Fulfulde
 - explanation for the two forms of the 2PL are diverging
 - von Duisburg (1925: 145) *àndi* '2PL' = Fulfulde *on* '2PL' + Mbum *vi* (bi in Pere)
 - Segerer (2002-2007) *di*-part = assimilated Mbum plural marker *ri*, « sans doute *àn* + *rí* (marque de pl.) »
 - Same idea already in Hagège (1970: 90)

Mbum subject pronouns (Hagège 1970; Segerer 2002-2007)			Fulfulde subject pronouns (Taylor 1953; Fofana & Schleicher 2002)		
SBJ	SG	PL	SBJ	SG	PL
1	<i>mì</i> ⁶	<i>rú</i>	1 (incl.)	<i>mi</i>	<i>en</i>
			1 (excl.)		<i>min</i>
2	<i>à / mù</i>	<i>àndi / vi</i>	2	<i>a</i>	<i>on</i>
3	<i>ké</i>	<i>kú</i>	3	<i>o</i>	<i>be</i>

Table 2: Mbum and Fulfulde pronouns

Table 2: Pronouns of Mbum and Fulfulde (cited from Markgraf 2017: 97):

- 1SG *mì*-form is widely known all over Niger-Congo, including Atlantic languages (Fulfulde) and Adamawa-languages
 - Adamou et al. (2018: 1, 60) evokes a functional split:
 - *à* subject pronoun
 - *mù* object counterpart
 - The lexical entry for *mù* adds that it is used as subject only when after the relative pronoun *má*
 - In my own data, only a few tokens of 2SG or 2PL pronouns (no direct addressing in the retelling of a picture story)
 - But in one free recording the ‘Fulfulde’ form *à* shows up consistently in subject position. The ‘original’ plural pronoun *vi* [‘bi] shows up in both subject and object function in my data
 - In elicited sentences (Beyer f.n.), one Mbum speaker used *mù* and *bi* in subject position throughout and didn’t refer to the Fulfulde pronouns at all
- Given that all earlier sources already reported the Fulfulde loan but none of them remarked a functional split, it seems possible that this is a newly ongoing development.

DEMONSTRATIVES

In Fulfulde, the locative adverb *dò/dôn* ‘here’ also functions as locative, existential or presentational copula: *mì dôn*, ‘I am here’ or *laawol dôn*, ‘there is a road’ (Noyé 1974:73). It is further used as an auxiliary in progressive forms pre-posed to ‘indetermined’ verb forms (Noyé 1974:59). In recent recordings of Fulfulde L2 (and L1) speakers in Ng’dééré it also functions as a demonstrative determiner (without agreement), e.g. *kugal dôn* ‘this work’.

- For Mbum, *dò* was already remarked as loan from Fulfulde by von Duisburg (1925:145). It may appear also in combination with the original element /e/ (as still found in sister language Pèrè) in the form of *aidò*:

*nzúk dò oder nzúk ē (P.) dieser Mensch;
gāru aidò „ gāru nò (P.) jene Mauer.*

- Hagège doesn't seem to reflect on the nature of what he calls 'deictic' element *Dó* (1970:174). Generally speaking, it is not very prominent in his data

1) des *déictiques*, selon les formules :

déictique + déictique = déictique

àí "ce...ci" + ní "le...en question" = àí | ní "ce...ci" (tout proche)

àú "ce...là" + nú "ce..." = àú | nú "ce...là-bas" (éloigné)

àí "ce...ci" + Dó "le...en question" = àí | Dó "ce... en question"

- Markgraf (2017: 98-100) gives examples for a grammaticalisation chain: demonstrative determiner → adverbial demonstrative → locative focus (the last part is not transparent (cp. Markgraf 2017: 99))

dô > Locative focus construction (Mbum)

(4) *jàj dô bò kâ lò, jènú jány ngér mbi*
 PROX DEM EMPH PROG slip COP COMP on water
 'So here it is just now slippery, it is like (being) on water.'

- This element from Fulfulde is used in Mbum since quite some time; therefore, it doesn't seem to reflect a recent development of intensified contact.
- My own data from Moto-Taxi-Drivers (MTD) display all of the above mentioned uses of the morpheme which therefore seems well integrated in the language.

DISCOURSE MARKERS

MTD employ many discourse markers from Fulfulde, the "pragmatically dominant language" (Matras 2009) during their working hours. Sometimes they are combined with "native" elements.

- Beyer (f.n.) emphatic marker *bo*, locative presentative *ndaa*, or locative particle *ha*

Ha jai **bo**, goi ji kaká yo.

Ici, le chien et venue tenir

Ndaa ha jai, Bakari ji, ke ka je hai

Voici ici la, Bakari est venue, il acheter de la viande

Ha jai, Bakari ka kap haa bel hay

Ici, Bakari s'asseoir à côté de la viande. Voici

Ndaa ta saw ka kap bel a-Bakari

l'assiette est assise à côté de Bakari

- Other discourse markers (e.g. *kàm*, *kàdí*) conjunctions (e.g. *àmá*) or temporal marker *sàì* also show up frequently (Markgraf 2017: 102-105). They have a much wider distribution and may be a wider areal feature (Cyffer 2000, Ziegelmeyer 2008)

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

- No evidence as to a distinct urbanized Mbum variety (yet)
 - Fulfulde contact features are widespread (also in other Kebbi-Benue languages; Elders 2006: 78), mostly well integrated, and longstanding
 - Only a few hints to currently ongoing contact-induced changes; e.g. the functional split of 2SG pronouns, some free phonetic variations
- Ongoing research
- Broadening the data base
 - Define the current ‘standard’ of Ngaoundéré-Mbum
 - Compare with other Mbum-varieties (Nganha, Tibati)

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