AN OUTLINE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MAMBILOID LANGUAGES

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This paper is intended as a contribution to the classification of the Mambiloid languages of Nigeria and Cameroon. It begins with a review of the debate about the relationship of Mambiloid to Bantu and the inclusion of specific languages within the group. Published materials and new fieldwork data are combined to present the existing state of knowledge on individual languages. A second section presents an overview of the phonology and a summary view of the eroded system of nominal affixes which indicate that Mambiloid at one time had a functioning CV suffix system. The third section proposes an internal classification of Mambiloid and suggests its position in relation to Bantu and Benue-Congo. An appendix presents some lexical data support the internal classification.

Cet article propose une classification des langues mambiloïdes du Nigéria et du Cameroun. Il passe d'abord en revue les débats sur la relation du group mambiloïde au bantou et sur l'inclusion de certaines langues dans ce groupe. Du matériel publié et des données nouvellement recueillies sont présentés pour faire état des connaissances actuelles sur des langues particulières. Dans la deuxième section l'auteur présente un aperçu de la phonologie et du système d'affixes nominaux. Ce système réduit indique que le mambiloïde avait autrefois un système actif de suffixes CV. La troisième section propose une classification interne du mambiloïde et le situe par rapport au bantou et au bénoue-congo. Une annexe présente des donnés lexicales pour justifier la classification interne.

The use of the term 'Mambiloid' to group together a number of languages spoken in the grassy uplands between Nigeria and Cameroon is of fairly recent vintage. It was first introduced informally in a paper summary published in 1974 (Greenberg 1974) and taken up by Bennett and Sterk (1977) in their Niger-Congo reclassification. The recognition of the unity of the group appears first in Williamson (1971). Greenberg (1966:9), in a famous passage, treated Mambila and Vute as coordinate branches of his group D of Benue-Congo, along with Tiv, Batu, Ndoro, and Bantu itself. Williamson (1971) proposed a 2-way split within Bantoid, of Bantu and non-Bantu languages, a division which Greenberg (1974) later accepted. In this article, he linked the newly christened Mambiloid and Tivoid and marked a two-way division within Bantoid with Bane and Bantu as the other coordinate branch. Meeussen (1974) replying to Greenberg, wished to treat Bane and Bantu as coordinate subdivisions of Bantu but did not question the Tivoid/Mambiloid grouping.

Williamson recognized 'Mambila-Wute' as consisting of the Mambila cluster (including Kamkam, Tep, Kila, etc.), Ndoro and Vute (=Wute, Buti and including Gandua, etc.). Bennett and Sterk's article was too summary to include further languages, but the ALCAM classification of Cameroonian languages added two further groups, Suga [=Nizaa] and Konja [Kwanja] (Dieu and Renaud 1983). Finally, in 1987, Blench and Williamson (1988) produced a new hypothesis aligning Mambiloid as a coordinate branch of 'Northern Bantoid' along with Dakoid, a cluster previously thought to be affiliated to the Adamawa languages. This view was adopted in the Bantoid sections of the study of Niger-Congo produced in 1989 (cf. Hedinger 1989 and Watters 1989).

A rather different approach to comparative Mambiloid is Guarisma (1987) who examines the relationship between Vute dialects, Wawa, Yamba [Kaka], Kwanja, and Mambila using dialectometric techniques. Based on a list similar to that used for the ALCAM survey, her dialectometric approach shows what would be expected on other grounds: that all the languages studied form part of group except Yamba, which has long been classified as Grassfields Bantu.

Unfortunately, none of the material listed above actually argues the case for the unity of Mambiloid; it is merely asserted as an end-product of occult processes known

to the authors. The function of this paper[1] is to make a case for the unity of the group, to present the sources of data for Mambiloid, including the results of recent fieldwork, to propose a tentative subclassification and to outline the phonology. The maps that accompany this paper are based on my own fieldwork in the case of Nigeria, and the ALCAM maps combined with additional data from Zeitlyn in the case of Cameroon.

1. LANGUAGES AND DATA SOURCES

The sources of data on Mambiloid are extremely scattered and many have never been fully published. This section enumerates the lects composing the group and the data sources available. Map 1, at the end of the article, is a general overview of the region showing the approximate locations of the lects mentioned here.

1.1 Mambila cluster

The Mambila cluster itself is the most diverse part of Mambiloid and various texts record individual subgroups as separate languages, especially Tep, Magu, Kila, and Kamkam. Meek (1931) was the first researcher to record substantial vocabularies of Mambila and some of the other subgroups. Subsequently, Meyer (1939/40) produced a sequence of articles on Mambila covering both grammar and lexicon.

Mambila has been relatively well-served by modern research, in respect of the central dialects in Nigeria and Cameroon, Gembu and Atta. Perrin (1974a,b 1976, 1978, 1980, n.d.a, b), Bendor-Samuel and Perrin (1971), and Perrin and Hill (1969) covered many aspects of Mambila grammar and phonology as a prelude to Bible translation. Most recently, a Mambila lexicon of the Atta dialect is in limited circulation in Cameroon (Perrin and Mouh 1992). Zeitlyn (1989) represents a comprehensive bibliography of Mambila studies and includes material in the Mambila language. Unpublished material on Mambila includes lexical data collected by Zeitlyn and wordlists of several dialects including Njerup, now spoken by a few old people in Cameroon. As part of a field trip in 1990, the author recorded new material on Magu, Kamkam, Kila, and other Nigerian lects.

The population of Mambila speakers today is hard to estimate, especially as there have been substantial migrations into Cameroon from Nigeria in recent years. At a rough estimate there are probably 40,000 speakers of Mambila cluster languages in Nigeria and 20,000 in Cameroon. During a survey of the Plateau in 1990, it became clear that social conflict in Nigeria is causing a significant migration of Mambila-speakers into Cameroon, and 'new' clusters of population are forming at present. Some of these migrants have moved into the Mambila-speaking regions, while others have begun to colonize entirely new farmland.

A literacy program in relation to Bible translation has been started in both Nigeria and Cameroon, concentrating on the Gembu and Atta dialects, respectively. In both cases, a considerable variety of primers and readers have been produced. The Nigeria program is effectively in abeyance and only the Cameroon program is operative.

Mambila dialects. A comparison of Mambila lects is given in Perrin and Hill (1969:57ff), although these are more wordlists from a variety of informants from different locales. In their commentary they cast doubt on the reliability of some of their wordlists because of the emigré status of their informants. Nonetheless, they conclude that there is a broad division between Plateau ('montagnes') and plains dialects. A list of dialects recognized by speakers would include at least those in (1).

[1]I would like to thank Robert Hedinger, Kay Williamson, David Zeitlyn, Raymond Boyd, Richard Fardon, Mona Perrin, Joan and Martin Weber, and Robert Koops for making available unpublished lexical data on various languages. Some have had a chance to discuss the issues raised here but they should not be held responsible for the conclusions presented. Eldridge Mohammadou prevented me from continuing with a map highly biased towards the Anglophone region and also pointed me towards his own collections of oral traditions.

(1)	**Nigeria**	**Cameroon**
	Bang	Atta
	Dorofi	Songkolong
	Gembu	Ly
	Hainare	Kumchum
	Kabri	Ribao
	Mbamnga	
	Mbar	
	Titong	
	Warwar	

Ly and Kumchum are apparently highly divergent, to judge by the short list provided by Perrin and Hill. Tep has been excluded because lexical data suggest that it is not a Mambila dialect (see §1.3).

Mbɔŋnɔ (=Magu). This language, called Magu in most sources, is called Mbɔŋnɔ by its speakers. The only printed source on Magu is a wordlist in Meek (1931). It is spoken in the town of Zongo Ajiya and the nearby hamlets in the northwest of the Mambila Plateau.

Mvanɔ [=Kamkam]. This language, called Kamkam in most sources, is called Mvanɔ by its speakers. The only printed source on Mvanɔ is a wordlist in Meek (1931) who calls it Mvanip. Some of the administrative sources confuse this language with the unrelated Kaka spoken in the southwest of the Mambila Plateau and adjacent Cameroon. The main village of the Mvanɔ is Kakara, now the center of a tea plantation.

Somyɛwɛ [=Kila]. Meek gives a short wordlist of 'Kila', a language clearly related to Mambila. The word **kila** simply means blacksmith in Fulfulde. Identifying the source of this list has been problematic and in earlier circulated versions of this paper I repeated what was clearly wrong information. It is now certain that 'Kila' is spoken at the village of Kila Yang, some few kilometres west of Mayo Ndaga and that the correct name of the people and language is Somyɛwɛ. Although the village may originally have been populated by blacksmiths, the people there now regard themselves as Mambila, although Somyɛwɛ is spoken among older people. The younger generation speaks only Mambila and the language can be expected to die out in the next fifteen years.

Njerup. Njerup has not previously been reported and it is known only from a very brief wordlist collected by Zeitlyn and Perrin in 1990. The Mambila proper have been migrating off the Plateau and into the lowlands in Cameroon during the last hundred years. However, they appear to have encountered and culturally overwhelmed a resident population speaking a related language today referred to as Njerup. The Njerup form a quarter of Somié village today. The language has now been virtually forgotten, but one or two old people still know some words of it. The fragmentary evidence suggests that it may have been a relative of Twendi, a language usually considered to be a Kwanja dialect, although it may in fact belong the Mambila group (see below).

Twendi. A language locally regarded as a dialect of Kwanja, Twéndí, is spoken at Cambap and Sanga villages on the Tikar Plain. Weber and Weber (1987:1) say that 'Some evidence suggests that this Twéndí dialect is linguistically a Mambila dialect, in spite of the fact that speakers consider themselves Kwànjás'. Although there is a substantial amount of borrowing from Kwanja, Twendi should almost certainly be placed in the Mambila group. Evidence to support this assertion is given in the appendix.

1.2 Vute

Vute is the Mambiloid language for which there are the earliest records. Koelle (1854) has a wordlist of Vute and Hofmeister (1918/19, 1919) lexical and grammatical sketches. After that little was done until Guarisma (1978, 1987) and the Thwings

(Thwing 1987, Thwing and Thwing 1979, 1981). Guarisma's detailed phonology (1978) is based on the speech of Mbandjock, in the southeast of the Vute area, while Thwing (1987) describes the speech of Yoko. A useful addition on the lexical side is a series of comparative wordlists extracted from the ALCAM questionnaires for a variety of Vute dialects. Some literacy materials have been prepared in the Yoko dialect of Vute.

According to the evidence presented by Guarisma (1987) the most divergent dialect of Vute is Wawa, spoken north of Banyo. The Wawa call their own speech form **hábàm** and the divergence is said to be related to the fact that the Wawa were a former slave group. The Gandua, listed in Williamson (1971), are a caste of the Vute, the 'féticheurs'. Guarisma analyses ten dialects from scattered locales which broadly divide into northern and southern groups, as might be expected on geographical grounds.

The most striking thing about Vute is its geographical dispersal (see Map 2). The southern Vute are more scattered than the map indicates and Guarisma (1978:10) shows their localization in more detail. Historical texts analyzed by Siran (1981) seem to account for this situation.

1.3 Tep

Tep is spoken in the village of Tep Kwar, in the southwest of the Mambila Plateau. It has previously been listed as a Mambila dialect (e.g. in Hansford, Bendor-Samuel, and Stanford 1976). However, a wordlist collected in 1993 by Zeitlyn shows that it is a distinct Mambiloid language, which presumably has borrowed from Mambila due to proximity. Tep has many lexical items in common with other Mambiloid languages with which it no longer shares a common frontier (see (10) in the appendix). Although none of these isoglosses is conclusive, it has tentatively been placed as a distinct branch closest to Vute.

1.4 Kwanja

This language remained virtually unknown until referred to in ALCAM (Dieu and Renaud 1983). The Kwanja [Kwànjá] live around Nyamboya village and on the Yimbere plain. According to Weber and Weber (1987) there are some 5-6,000 speakers. Kwanja is an outsiders' term and the people refer to themselves and their language by the name of individual dialects. The phonology of one dialect, Súndàní, is treated in detail in Weber and Weber (1987) and a lengthy unpublished wordlist is in circulation. A Bible translation is in progress, and it is assumed that some literacy materials have been prepared.

There are three dialects, Súndàní, Ndùúŋ, and Njàngá. Súndàní and Njàngá are most closely related, while Ndùúŋ is slightly more remote and has often apparently lost suffixes present in the other two dialects. Risnes (1989) analysed the relationship between the different Kwanja dialects. On lexicostatistic counts, these three lects are cognate at 85% levels. Twéndí, discussed under Mambila above, is only cognate at the 55% level. The Twendi are, however, regarded as being culturally part of Kwanja.

1.5 Nizaa (=Suga, Nyamnyam]

Nizaa is generally referred to in the literature as Suga, Nyamnyam, or Galim and the correct name is due to Endresen (1992). The people call themselves Nizaa [**nizʌà**] and the language is [**anì nízʌà**]. The term Suga is apparently from the Pere word **súgò** meaning 'stranger', Nyamnyam is a pejorative term meaning 'cannibal' and Galim is the name of the principal town of the Nizaa. The classification of this language has been in some doubt because of the existence of an unrelated Adamawa language also called Nyamnyam (Dieu and Renaud 1983). Until recently, the only published material on this language was the scattered citations in Boyd (1978) and an unpublished ALCAM wordlist by Michka Sachnine and Michel Dieu. The Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon shows three main centers of Nizaa-speakers around Galim, but Endresen suggests that Nizaa

speakers are dispersed through the intervening countryside. ALCAM estimated only 2,000 speakers overall but Endresen gives a figure of 10,000.

A wild-card piece of data exists in the form of a wordlist collected by Meek and attributed to 'Nyan-nyan' but not otherwise annotated. This is close enough to other Nizaa data to suggest that it is essentially the same language. Nonetheless there are sufficient variant forms in Meek's list to say that either he had an unusually unreliable informant or else he was recording a dialect different from those in the ALCAM lists.

1.6 Ndoro [=Ndoola]

The only published material on Ndoro is in Meek (1931, II:599ff). Apart from that there is a 100-word list collected by Perrin in Nigeria, six short lists of closely related dialects from the Baissa region collected by Koops and several hundred words collected by the author in 1989. A wordlist of 'Njoyame', spoken in one village in Cameroon, was collected for the ALCAM project but this has not been published, although it has been identified as Ndoro. The term 'Njoyamɛ' is unknown in Nigeria. On the other hand, 'Ndoro', the administrative term in Nigeria, is said to be unknown to speakers in Cameroon.

Ndoro is remarkable because villages of the speakers are so widely dispersed (see Map 2); it is likely that the populations were scattered by the irruption of Chamba raiders. Speakers of this language in the Baissa area call it Ndoola. There are said to be two dialects of Ndoola which are not easily intercomprehensible; the second one is spoken in isolated villages below the Mambila escarpment. No material is available on this dialect.

1.7 Fam

This language was first reported in Blench (1984) as spoken in a single village east of Kungana on the Mararaba-Bali road. Only a short wordlist was collected and it has not been possible to return, in part due to the deterioration of the road. The Fam language is known as 'Kɔŋa' to neighbouring peoples. Further data on Ndoola [Ndoro] makes it likely that Fam is the language most closely related to it.

2. THE MAMBILOID LANGUAGES

2.1 Phonology

No overall statement of the phonology of Mambiloid languages can be offered in view of the diversity of descriptions. Detailed phonologies can be found for Mambila (Perrin and Hill 1969, Perrin n.d.a), Kwanja (Weber and Weber 1987), Vute (Guarisma 1987, Thwing and Thwing 1979), and Nizaa (Endresen 1992).

The phoneme charts in (2) are composites derived from the synchronic inventories of present-day Mambiloid languages. In lieu of any reconstruction they represent a maximalist view. Phonemes such as the velar fricative appear to be secondary developments, i.e. they seem to have developed in individual languages, are given in brackets.

The implosive series, /ɓ/, /ɗ/ and their prenasalized counterparts are found only in Nizaa and Vute. The velar fricative, /x/ is restricted to Nizaa and is probably a recent development. The glottal /ʔ/ reported for Nizaa is similarly characteristic of loan-words and ideophones. A labio-dental flap /vb/ exists in Kwanja but probably has ideophonic origins. The palatal-alveolar series, [ʃ] and [ʒ], shown in square brackets, are probably always allophones of the alveolars.

Labialization is an extremely productive process in some Mambiloid languages, notably Kwanja, where all consonants can be labialized in initial position, and Nizaa where Endresen attributes phonemic status to 21 labialized consonants.

(2) Consonant inventory of Mambiloid languages

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p		t		c	k	kp	(ʔ)
	b		d		j	g	gb	
Prenasalized	mb		nd		nj	ŋg	mgb	
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ					
Prenasalized	(mɓ)		(nɗ)					
Fricative		f	s	[ʃ]		(x)		h
		v	z	[ʒ]				
Affricate			ts					
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Approximant			l		y		w	
Tap or Flap		(vb)		ɾ				

Vowels present a curious paradox: although two languages, Nizaa and Kwanja have ten vowel phonemes they do not form the parallel + and –ATR series familiar from other branches of Benue-Congo. Instead the series of central vowels resembles more closely the complex systems of adjacent languages such as Bafia. The vowels are internally consistent enough to suggest that this is a reflection of the vowels of proto-Mambiloid, although most related groups do not have a similar system. Vowel merger is apparently a common process, since Mambila itself probably only has six phonemic vowels, the common five vowel triangle plus /ɔ/, while Vute has eight vowels. The table in (3) shows the vowel inventory of Mambiloid languages.

(3)	Front	Central		Back
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Rounded
Close	i	ɨ	ʉ	u
Close-Mid	e	(ə)		o
Open-Mid	ɛ			ɔ
Open-Mid		a		

The process of vowel merger seems to proceed along regular lines. The central vowels are the first to be lost and then the unrounded open-mid vowel /ɛ/. Weber and Weber (1987:35) argue that the prevalence of contrasts between V and VV should be analyzed as an underlying contrast of vowel length. The same argument is made by Endresen for Nizaa. In Mambila at least, dissimilar VV sequences, both in tone and vowel quality, are common, suggesting that all 'long' vowels may be VV sequences.

Nasalization. The status of underlying nasalized vowels is difficult to establish. According to Perrin and Hill (1969) nasalization in Mambila arises from the influence of following consonants and is not contrastive with non-nasal forms. Weber and Weber (1987) do not report nasalized vowels for Kwanja, although vowels are phonetically nasalized under the influence of the following nasal consonant. Phonemic nasalized vowels are claimed for Nizaa and southern Vute (Guarisma 1978). However, it seems likely that this is a late development arising from erosion of final nasal consonants or the deletion of a nasal in C_2 position. Endresen (1992:180) compares Nizaa **ɲãã** with proto-Bantu */-(ɲ)àmà/ for 'animal, meat' and Nizaa **hãã** with Vute **hàm** 'yawn'.

2.2 Tone

Although no overall statement about tone in Mambiloid is yet possible, the group is exceptional for the complexity of its tonal systems and the prevalence of phonemic contour tones. For example, in Vute, Guarisma (1978) identifies three level tones and eight glide tones. In Kwanja, there are three tone levels and five phonemic glide tones. Perrin (1974a) contrasts the tone systems of Atta and Gembu Mambila, which both have four level tones and five glide tones. Perrin (n.d.b) has recently revised the analysis of tone in Mambila. In the most extreme case, one of the glide tones in Atta moves through three levels on a single segment.

2.3 Noun affixes

A striking feature of the Mambiloid languages is the clear traces of a nominal suffix system resembling Adamawa languages. However, two authors (Thwing 1987) and Endresen (1992) have demonstrated the correspondences of both active and frozen affixes to Bantu. This suggests that suffixing is an independent development, as in the Tivoid languages. The importance of this development has been largely obscured by the fact that Mambila, the most well-known language, has a single generalized plural marker **-bo**. The marker **-bo**~**-bu**~**-bə** recurs in most languages but otherwise the markers seem to be extremely various. (4) sets out the information available for individual languages with suffixes that are probably cognate in the same column.

(4) Plural markers of Mambiloid languages

Language	Plural markers				Source
Vute	-ø/-b	-ø/-m	-ø,-r/-y	Ṽŋ/-ŋ,-k, -n, -Ṽ/-ɲ	Thwing 1987
Kwanja	-ø/-bɨ́,-bà			-ø/-tɨ́ (-V)	Weber and Weber 1987
Nizaa	-ø/-wu		-ø/-ya'		Endresen 1992
Mambila	-ø/-bò				Perrin n.d.a
Ndoro	-ra,-ø/-bu	-ø/-ma	-ø/-yí -ø/-bəyi	-ø/-ʃí	Blench fieldnotes

Morphemes separated by a comma are probable morphophonemic alternations, except where they alternate with a zero morpheme.

Vute has by far the most elaborate system of functioning suffix alternation. The final V of the suffix is deleted throughout, but its present is still felt through tone or vowel quality and length changes in the stem. The class of nouns with the **-b** suffix sometimes delete the final consonant of the stem (e.g. **cɔk/cɔ́b** 'bow') suggesting a now lost alternation. Vute also has an elaborate system of unproductive CV noun prefixes which can be partly mapped against Bantu prefixes (Thwing 1987:37ff.).

The Vute alternation **-ø/-m** has an interesting parallel in Chamba Daka. Daka usually has a generalized plural marker **-bu**, but there are a few words with this alternation, for example **míí/méém** 'child' (Boyd and Fardon n.d.). Interestingly, Ndoro also has a similar alternation for 'child', **ònyé/òyámá**.

The -V suffix shown bracketed for Kwanja is derived from pairs of words where a final vowel changes tones to form the plural (e.g. **ndòò/ndòó**, 'grandchild/ grandchildren'). Ndoro has some examples of the suffix alternation **-ra/-bu**. Kwanja does not have direct CV suffix alternations but pairs such as **kárkɨ́rá/kárkɨ́rábɨ̀** 'leg/legs' could easily have developed from the Ndoro form.

Mambila has a single plural marker, **-bo** with a tone change corresponding to the tone on the stem of the noun it qualifies. **bó** follows tones 2 and 32 and **bò** all

other tone patterns. As Hedinger (1989:427) observes, it is likely that the complex morphotonemic changes in Mambila noun stems are a relict of functioning nominal suffixes.

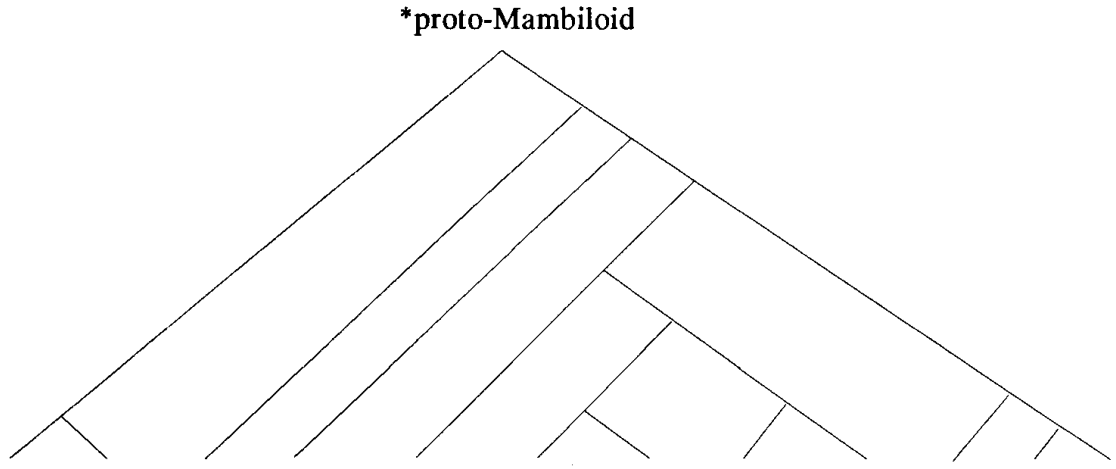
Information on the plurals of Nizaa is limited. Endresen (1992:185) says: 'Let it first be mentioned that the category of number is not obligatorily expressed in most Nizaa nouns, although the plural suffixes /wu/ (for humans) and /ya'/ (for non-humans) may be added optionally.'

Endresen adds a list of 'irregular plurals' which show stem vowel and some tonal changes.

3. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS OF MAMBILOID

There are no published internal classifications of the languages of the Mambiloid group, except for Hedinger (1989:425) which was based on a preliminary version of the present paper. The cross-border location of Mambiloid has made the assembly of data somewhat problematic. The tree in (5) represents a preliminary internal classification of Mambiloid based on shared lexical innovations. The principal evidence for the main branchings is given in the appendix. Once further data is available on the phonology and morphology of more of the languages, a more sophisticated classification will become possible.

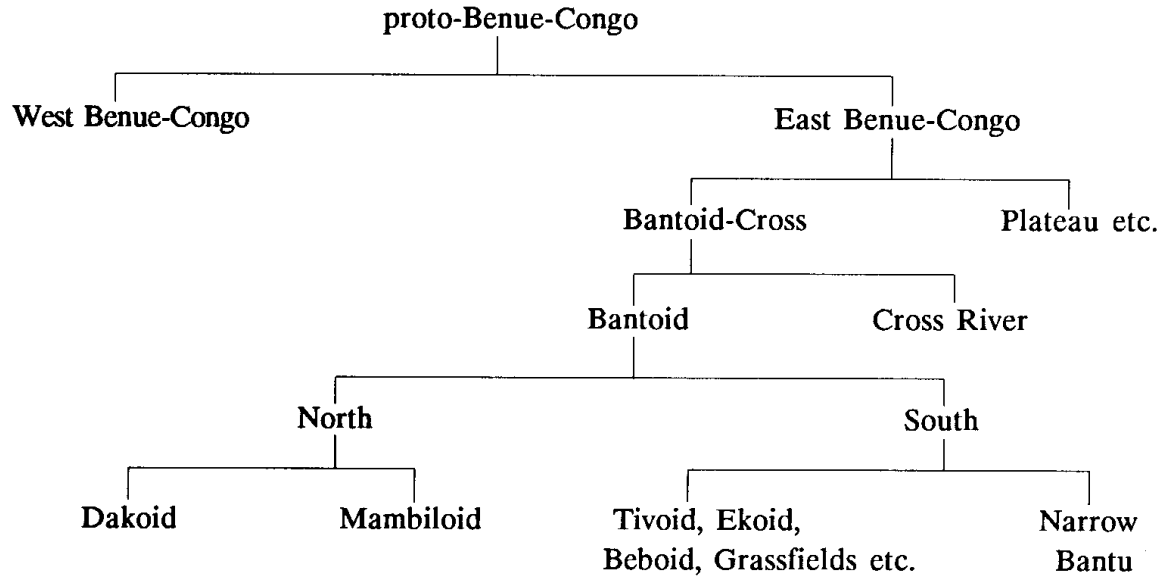
(5)



Internal classification of Mambila and Vute lects is under way at present.

As for external relationships, various writers on these languages have been in no doubt about their relationship with Bantu. Thwing (1987) for Vute and Endresen (1992) for Nizaa have argued the case in some detail. Blench and Williamson (n.d.) proposed a scenario taken up in Hedinger (1989) where 'Bantoid' would be divided into Northern and Southern, with Northern consisting of Mambiloid and Dakoid (i.e. Chamba Daka, formerly classified as an Adamawa language) and southern Bantoid; effectively all the other languages that fall under the rubric of Bantoid and Bantu. One important aspect of this hypothesis was to discard any special relationship between Mambiloid and Tivoid languages. This is discussed in more detail in Blench (1989, 1993) and shown schematically in (6).

(6)



Further analysis has tended to confirm the separateness of Mambiloid and Dakoid from the rest of Bantoid/Bantu. However, evidence for the proposed Northern Bantoid has proved more elusive and an equally likely hypothesis is the initial branching of Dakoid, then Mambiloid, and then the rest of Bantoid.

4. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

Mambiloid is an intriguing group because its close relationship to Bantu is very much at variance with its synchronic nominal morphology. The tone systems reflect a noun-class system that has apparently switched from prefixing to suffixing and has then undergone extreme erosion. Its great degree of internal differentiation and complex borrowing between languages within the group suggests social factors that are still little understood.

Three languages, Tep, Fam, and Ndoro, remain barely documented and further work should concentrate on both phonology and lexicon of these languages. Grammatical description has barely begun although there is active research in Mambila, Kwanja, Nizaa, and Vute.

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APPENDIX
Lexical Evidence for the Internal Structure of Mambiloid

It should be emphasized that the evidence for the internal structure of Mambiloid is presently based only on lexical items, with all the caveats that are implied. Evidence for the unity of the group is based on common phonological and morphological features but the data is insufficient to use these for the internal structure of the family.

This paper adopts the convention from Bendor-Samuel and Hartell (1989) in using # to mark 'pseudo-reconstructions', i.e. forms derived from quick inspection of cognates rather than rigorous sound-correspondences.

1. EVIDENCE FOR THE UNITY OF MAMBILOID

The items in (7) are attested in all major branches (Ndoro, Mambila, Kwanja, Nizaa) and appear to be innovations.

(7)	**#jɔr**	'goat/sheep'
	#jurV	'knee'
	#ngogo	'owl'

Cognates of the Mambiloid items in (8) are attested in all major branches but also have Bantu cognates.

(8)	**#dVl**	**dèdʉ́** (Common Bantu)	'beard'
	#gurV	**-gùdù** (Common Bantu)	'leg'
	#kurum	**ḿ-kúré-ḿ** (Tiv)	'oil, fat'

Bruce Connell (p.c.) notes that the root for 'beard' may represent a semantic shift from Cross River forms for 'hair', e.g. proto-Lower Cross ***ídèt**.

2. EVIDENCE THAT TWENDI IS PART OF THE MAMBILA GROUP

(9)	Mambila	Twendi	Kwanja	Gloss
	njaare	**njara**	**kuri bii**	'nail'
	bu	**buu**	**batuŋgu**	'knife'
	wan	**wən**	**yeeni**	'rope'
	nɔr	**nɔr**	**wura**	'person'
	nɔr si	**nɔsii**	**gwam**	'man'
	ju	**juu**	**liiti**	'smoke'
	cen	**cinnii**	**maan**	'one'
	tɔmɔ	**tɔmɔ**	**ndwamɪ**	'salt'

The Mambila citations are from a variety of dialects, especially Kabri.

3. EVIDENCE THAT TEP IS NOT PART OF THE MAMBILA CLUSTER

(10)	Mambila	Tep	Other Mambiloid	Gloss
	mbèì	**jù**	**jwṼ**, (Kwanja)	'seed'
	kikaŋ	**nyuŋi**	**lúŋ**, (Vute)	'thorn'
	nòmò	**mburi**	**mbúrá**, (Ndoro)	'water'
	lou	**nyuŋ**	**nyeŋge**, (Kwanja)	'sun'
	huaán	**mbi**	**mwín**, (Vute)	'child'
	lulí	**gàm**	**gaàm**, (Vute)	'horn'
	fel	**gul**	**gure**, (Mbɔŋnɔ)	'head'
	njolo	**yiə**	**yír**, (Nizaa)	'eye'

4. EVIDENCE THAT NDORO AND FAM SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED TOGETHER

(11)

	Ndoro	Fam
Lion	**wuyira**	**awuyir**
Tortoise	**cula**	**cuwakwai**

The words for tortoise may be cognate with the more common **kur-** root.

5. EVIDENCE THAT NDORO IS ISOLATED FROM THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

(12)

Ndoro, innovations	'Common Mambiloid'	Gloss
ʃie	**#wur**	'moon'
amkuna	**#be**	'cloud'
boba	**#cyer**	'road'
cula	1. **#mvom**	
	2. **#kpuruC**	'tortoise'
oona	**#nyɔ́ndi**	'grass'

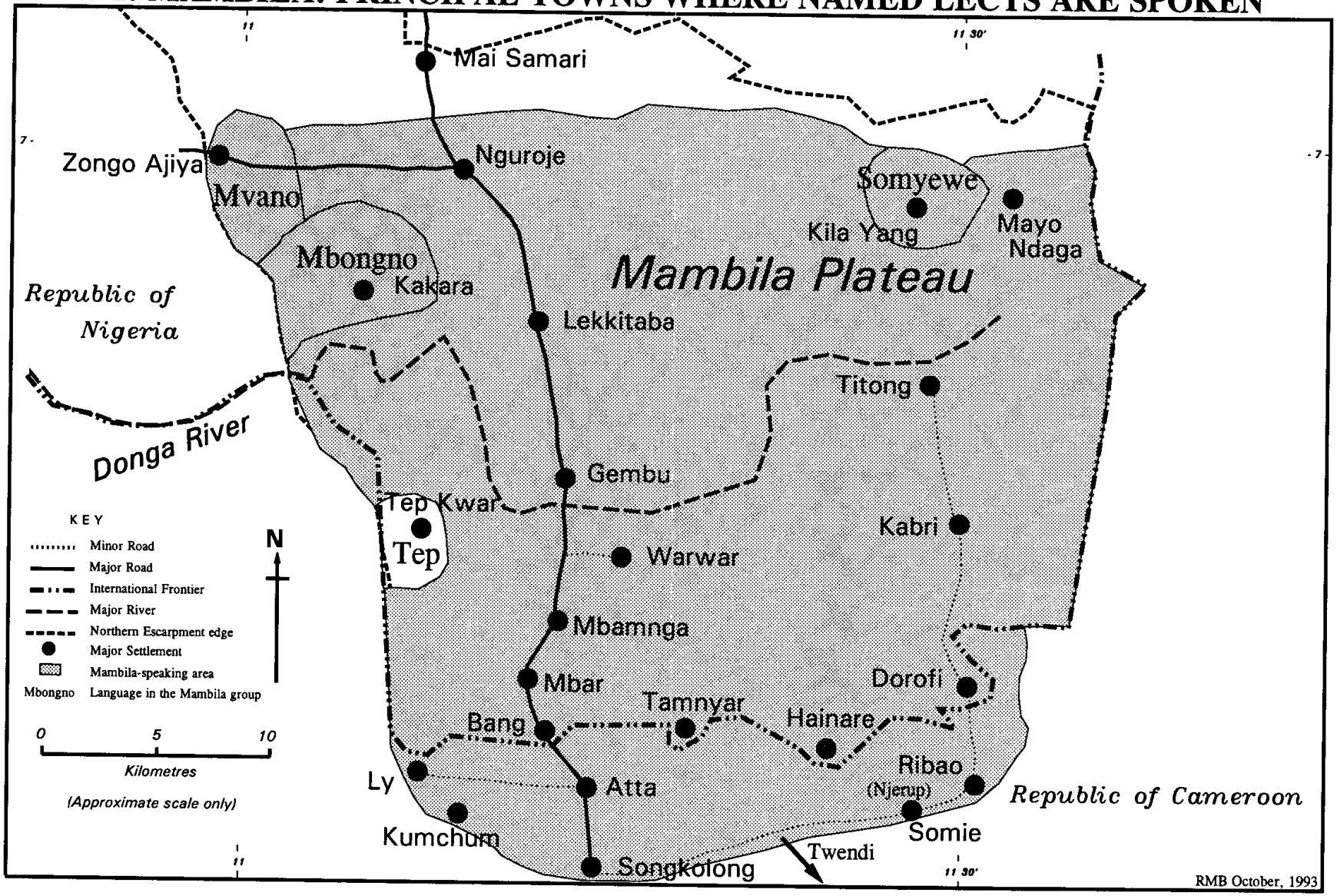
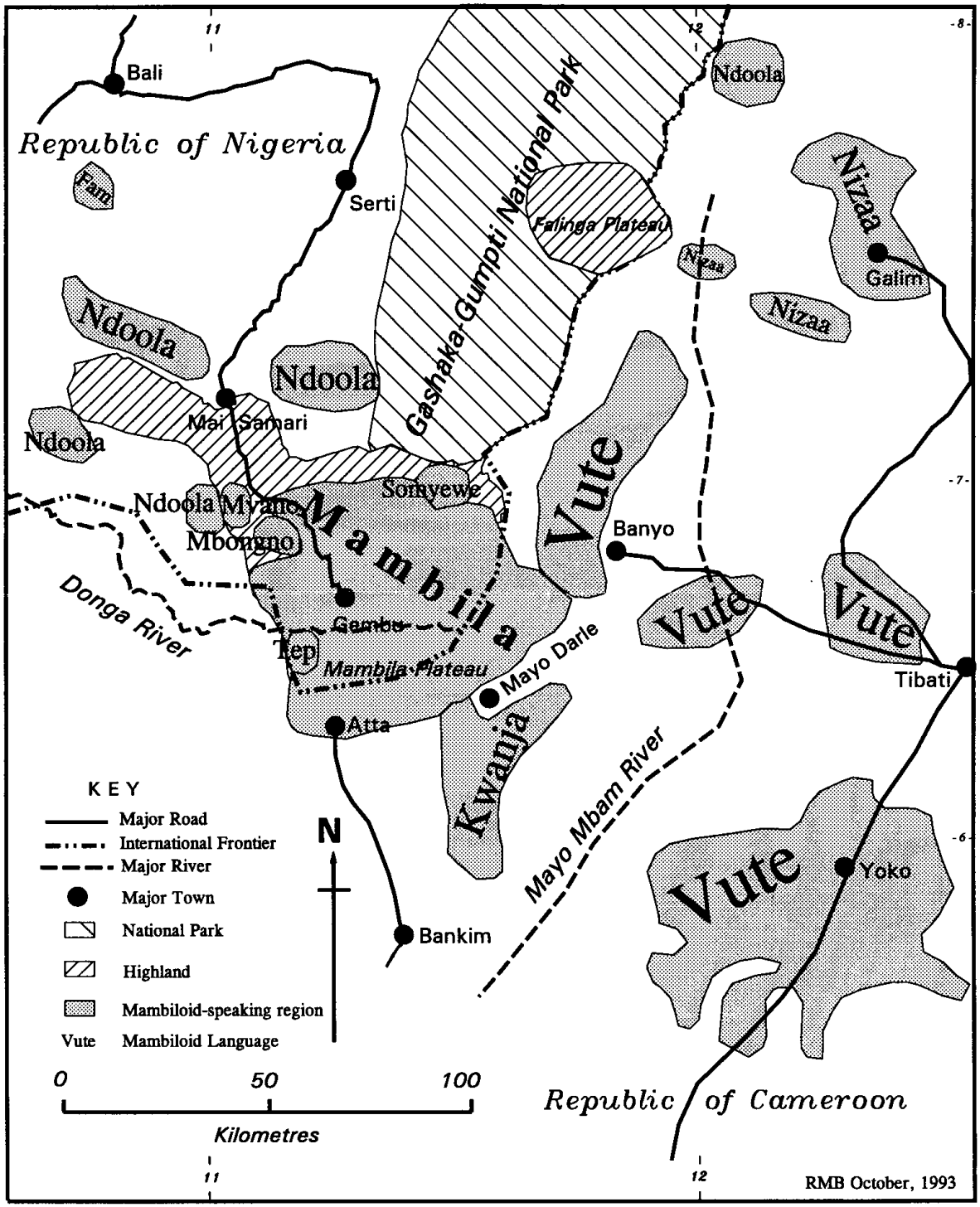
6. EVIDENCE THAT NIZAA IS ISOLATED FROM VUTE-KWANJA-MAMBILA

(13)

Nizaa	Vute-Kwanja-Mambila	Gloss
s^{y}õ*	**#noni**	'bird'
sii	**#nuu**	'rain'
sãã	**#dubi**	'earth'
guuni	**#beri**	'sky'

*Presumably a loanword from Grassfields.

MAP 1. MAMBILA: PRINCIPAL TOWNS WHERE NAMED LECTS ARE SPOKEN



MAP 2. THE MAMBILOID LANGUAGES