

46TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

(ACAL 2015)

EUGENE, OREGON
Ford Alumni Center



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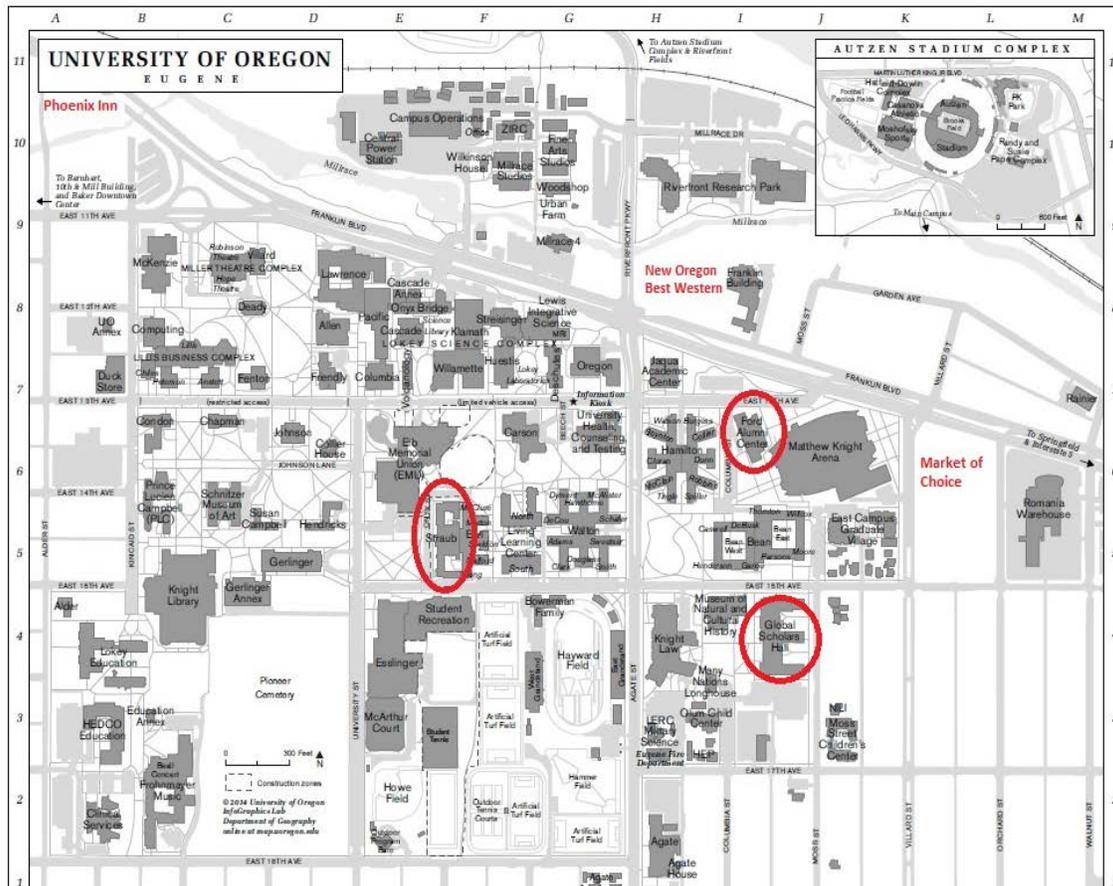
Association of Contemporary African Linguistics

&



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KEY LOCATIONS

- All conference sessions are held in the Ford Alumni Center.
- The conference banquet is held in the Global Scholars Hall.
- The Linguistics Department is located in Straub Hall.

LOCAL GROCERY, PHARMACY & RESTAURANTS

The closest grocery store, with deli counter, is Market of Choice. Hiron's Pharmacy is right beside it. A list of some local restaurants is in the conference packet. Here is a link to an interactive map of some Eugene restaurants:

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=zh9axCWN12ac.kxmeGyRsCI2E>

WIFI GUEST ACCOUNT LOGIN INSTRUCTIONS

WiFi should be available in all UO campus buildings. WiFi login information is given to conference pre-registrants in their registration packet. Those who register onsite will have their guest account activated in the morning of the first day of the conference. Guest Wireless Access is a temporary password only. Change the password on first log-in:

- 1) Connect to the 'UO Guest' wireless network. (Do not connect to the UO wireless network.)
- 2) Open a web browser window and load any web page. Access "UOnet Guest Authentication" page (<https://uoguest.uoregon.edu>)
- 3) Enter your user name and password as provided on your Guest Wireless Access sheet. Change your password when prompted. This new password will be your password for the duration of the conference.
- 4) If you have issues with your login or password, contact a volunteer.

VOLUNTEERS

Several conference volunteers are available to assist you in the Ford Alumni Center. Volunteers' badges have "volunteer" after their name. Volunteers will be available in the lobby and in the rooms of most sessions.

Thursday, March 26

Thursday, March 26						
8:00-9:15	Registration & Coffee (Ford Alumni Center)					
9:15-9:30	Opening (Ballroom)					11:00-11:10 Ebarb, Marlo, Odden, Paster
9:30-10:30	Plenary 1 (Ballroom): Osam <i>Chair: Doris Payne</i>					11:10-11:25 Everhart / Holm / Marlo / Sifuna
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break					11:25-11:40 Lowe / Marlo / Port / Sifuna
	SYNTAX (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Ken Safir</i>	MORPHOPHONOLOGY (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Boniface Kawasha</i>	INFO STRUC/ DISC (Ford 402) <i>Chair: Manuel Otero</i>	PHONETICS (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Jaime Peña</i>	LUYIA WORKSHOP: TONE (Ballroom) <i>Chair: Mary Paster</i>	11:40-11:50 Bukusu Q&A
11:00-11:30	Kandybowicz / Torrance	Lotven	Grimm, S.	Koffi	See schedule to right and below	11:50-12:05 Marlo / Steimel
11:30-12:00	Okon	Idiatov	Teo	Faytak		12:05-12:20 Green / Marlo
12:00-12:30	Biloa/Bassong	Kawasha	Schwarz	Branson / Klankey		12:20-12:30 Wanga Q&A
12:30-2:00	Lunch					
	NOUN CLASSES & NOUNS (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Richard Griscom</i>	FOCUS & TOPIC (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Hugh Paterson</i>	TAM/DIRECTIONALS (Ford 402) <i>Chair: Amos Teo</i>	PHONETICS/ PHONOL (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Akin Akinlabi</i>	LUYIA WORKSHOP: TONE (Ballroom) <i>Chair: Michael Marlo</i>	
2:00-2:30	Van de Velde & Idiatov	Namyalo / van der Wal	Chang	Bassene	2:00-2:20 Ebarb 2:20-2:30 Kabaras Q&A 2:30-2:50 Samuels / Paster 2:50-3:00 Logoori Q&A	
2:30-3:00	Lionnet	Nicolle	Otero	Grimm, N.		
3:00-3:30	Ogunkeye	Monich	Anderson	Akanlig-Pare		
3:30-4:00	Coffee Break					
	SYNTAX (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Thiago Castro</i>	DISCOURSE/SYNTAX (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Mokaya Bosire</i>	LOGOLI - WORKSHOP (Ford 402) <i>Chair: David Odden</i>	PHONOLOGY (Ford 403) <i>Chair: George Akanlig-Pare</i>		
4:00-4:30	Schneider-Zioga	Muaka / Michieka	Angelopoulos	Eme / Mbagwu		
4:30-5:00	Fominyam	Ondiba	Diercks / Sikuku	Downing / Kadenge		
5:00-5:30	Korsah		Gluckman / Bowler	Akinlabi / Iacoponi		
5:30-6:30	POSTER SESSION WITH RECEPTION (Ballroom): Cahill, Freyer/Jones, Griscom, Girard/Keupdijio, Holmgren/Muzaliwa/Thornes, Abugu, Nigusse/Orkaydo, Tibebe, Al Mahmoud, Gaston					

Friday March 27				
8:00	Coffee & Picture-Taking To Start !			
	NEGATION/REFLEXIVES (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Jaime Pena</i>	DISCOURSE/PRAGMATICS (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Kweku Osam</i>	HISTORICAL (Ford 402) <i>Chair: Richard Griscom</i>	PHONOLOGY (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Mike Cahill</i>
8:30-9:00	Carstens	Campbell	Merrill / Faytak	McPherson
9:00-9:30	Burkholder	Harter	Kabasele	Dawson / Marlo / Adejo
9:30-10:00	Safir/Selvanathan	Ofori	Childs	Franich / Djamem / Djobia
10:00-10:30	Coffee Break			
	WH-SYNTAX (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Sara Pacchiarotti</i>	SEMANTICS/TAM (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Hannah Sarvasy</i>	URBAN LG (Ford 402) <i>Chair: Mokaya Bosire</i>	PHONOLOGY (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Akin Akinlabi</i>
10:30-11:00	Zentz	Osa-Gómez	Rudd	Odden
11:00-11:30	Mowarin	Landman	Namyalo	Myers
11:30-12:00	Kotani & Gambarage	Seidel	Mitsch	Hantgan/Sagna
12:00-1:00	Business Meeting (Ford 403) / Lunch			
	Lunch			
	OBJECTS & APPLICATIVES (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Tom Payne</i>	MORPHOLOGY (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Doris Payne</i>	LOGOLI – WORKSHOP (Ford 402) <i>Chair: Matt Stave</i>	PHONOLOGY (Ford 304) <i>Chair: Laura McPherson</i>
1:00-1:30	Jerro	Déchaine / Si / Gambarage	Ozkan	Glewwe / Aly
1:30-2:00	Wasike	Moodie	Sarvasy	Eme / Okoye
2:00-2:30		Nilsson	Loccioni	Gambarage
2:30-3:30	Plenary 2 (Ballroom): Casali <i>Chair: Manuel Otero</i>			
3:30-4:00	Coffee Break			
	SOCIOLX / LG PLANNING (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Tom Payne</i>	ASSOCIATIVE & POSSN (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Hugh Paterson</i>	GRAMMATICALIZATION (Ford 202) <i>Chair: Sharon Rose</i>	PHONOLOGY (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Vsevolod Kapatsinski</i>
4:00-4:30	Njwe	Keupdjio	Bernander	Coto-Solano/Wray
4:30-5:00	Soulaimani	Paterson, R.	Mukuna /Nuttall /Todd	Isaiah
5:00-5:30	Worku	Gebregziabher	Ahland, M.	Danis
5:30-6:30	Plenary 3 (Ballroom): Bickmore <i>Chair: Mokaya Bosire</i>			
7:00ff	Banquet (Global Scholars Hall Great Room)			

Saturday March 28				
8:30-9:00	Coffee To Start !!			
	SYNTAX (Ford 201) <i>Chair: Rebecca Paterson</i>	SOCIOLING / SYNTAX (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Thiago Castro</i>	LEXICAL SEMANTICS (Ford 402) <i>Chair: Michael Ahland</i>	PHONOLOGY (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Scott Myers</i>
9:00-9:30	Pacchiarotti	Brobbey	Mudzingwa / Déchaine / Fulconis	Rasmussen
9:30-10:00	Duarte/Ngunga/Camargos	Ihemere	Rose	Choti
10:00-10:30	Sibanda	Oloso	Urua / Udoh	Cohen
10:30-11:00	Essegbey	Rolle / Kari	Oweleke	Jones
11:00-11:30	Coffee Break			
11:30-12:30	Plenary 4 (Ballroom): Legere <i>Chair: Richard Griscom</i>			
12:30-1:30	Lunch			
		LEXICON / SYNTAX (Ford 301) <i>Chair: Saudah Namyalo</i>	MORPHOPHON/ MRPHL (Ford 202) <i>Chair: Vsevolod Kapatsinski</i>	ENDANGERED LGS (Ford 403) <i>Chair: Doris Payne</i>
1:30-2:00		Allison	Hyman	Belew
2:00-2:30		Anyanwu	Obiamalu / Eme	Paterson, H.
2:30-3:00		Guntly / Gambarage	Ngonyani / Ngowa	Ahland, C.

PLENARY PAPER ABSTRACTS

Lee BICKMORE. University of New York Albany

Tones Gone Crazy: Adventures of the Melodic Tone in Bantu

It has long been noted that while tone is similar to other phonological features in some respects, it is quite different in others. One phenomenon which clearly and richly highlights some unusual properties of tone is that associated with “melodic” tones in Bantu. These grammatical/inflectional tones, found throughout Bantu, often form an integral part of the verbal morphology. What makes them so interesting, however, is the complex array of factors which condition their presence and phonological realization. Factors governing that realization can be phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and interesting combinations of several of these. In this talk I will present some of the most interesting, and in some cases theoretically intractable, examples of the behavior of melodic tones across a range of Bantu languages. One fairly well-known example is the case of Kuria, where certain tense/aspect/moods are marked by the presence of a melodic H tone linking to the fourth mora of the stem. This demands a fresh look at the age-old question “Can phonology count? And if so, how high?” Melodic H patterns in Cilungu raise questions about phonological adjacency. In TAMs where the Melodic H normally docks onto the Final Vowel, docking fails to take place when the subject marker is toneless. This is true even when other, lexical, H tones intervene between the subject and the Final Vowel. These as well as other descriptively and theoretically interesting cases will be presented.

Roderic F. CASALI. Trinity Western University

Revisiting Markedness and Dominance Relations in Tongue Root Harmony Systems

Two common characteristics of ATR harmony systems are 1) asymmetric spreading of a particular [ATR] value, often referred to as *dominance* (Casali 2003), and 2) systematic restrictions on the distribution of particular vowels or [ATR] values, a topic often discussed in connection with *markedness*. Natural research questions that arise in connection with dominance and markedness include the following:

1. Which [ATR] value(s) give rise to assimilatory spreading in a language?
2. Which [ATR] vowel classes are marked? [+ATR] vowels (Stewart 1967)? [-ATR] vowels (Zsiga 1997)? Or is [-ATR] marked in high vowels and [+ATR] in non-high vowels (Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1994, Calabrese 1995)?
3. What, if any, relationship exists between marked and dominant vowels in a language? Do unmarked vowels assimilate to marked ones (e.g., Stewart 1967), or is assimilation from marked to unmarked (Bakovic 2000)? Or are the marked and dominant classes in a language simply independent (being determined by independent constraints), as implicit in much work in optimality theory?

Despite the considerable volume of descriptive, typological and theoretical work done on ATR harmony languages, no clear and reliable set of consensus answers to these questions exists at present.

An important key to arriving at a reliable understanding of dominance and markedness relations lies in recognizing that languages with an [ATR] contrast in high vowels (“/2IU/” languages) behave very differently from languages with an [ATR] contrast only in non-high vowels (“/1IU/” languages). If both types are lumped together and examined in a single pool, the composite picture that emerges is a variable and inconsistent one. However, when the two types are considered separately, the characteristic behavior of each type conforms to more robust and interesting generalizations. Much of the characteristic patterning of /2IU/ systems is intelligible under the assumption that [+ATR] vowels are both dominant and marked, exactly as claimed in much early descriptive work (e.g. Stewart 1967). In /1IU/ systems, [-ATR] is more typically dominant and, at least in non-low vowels, is frequently (perhaps typically) marked as well.

While the finding that /2IU/ and /1IU/ systems show different dominance tendencies is familiar from earlier work (Casali 2003 and references therein), the existence of significant differences in their markedness patterning is much less well known. Most importantly, the full picture that emerges is a very interesting one that poses important explanatory challenges for phonological theory.

Karsten LEGÈRE. Göteborgs Universitet

Language Endangerment and Documentation in the East African Context

This paper addresses some issues in African language endangerment and language documentation from the perspective of Bantu as well as non-Bantu languages with particular reference to East Africa. This region, and especially Tanzania, has been identified (i.a. by UNESCO 2001, cf. Wurm 2001) as evidencing massive trends in language shift and obsolescence, demonstrated e.g. in a Cologne-based research project on language death (cf. Brenzinger 1992). In this respect, the year 1992 – which marked 500 years since Columbus' arrival in the New World – has occasionally been quoted as being significant for the emergence of documentary linguistics as a subdiscipline and concomitant growth of large-scale endangerment studies. Towards the end of the 20th Century, the estimate of massive language loss culminated in the horrific prediction that approximately half of the current 6000 languages spoken world-wide will disappear by the end of the 21st Century. This paper argues that in sub-Saharan Africa, the study of language endangerment and language documentation started prior to the more general attention paid to language shift and obsolescence; earlier sub-Saharan work took into account external factors such as the spread and social impact of languages of wider communication and social prestige. However, in some cases even this documentation came too late. Thus, in the East African region, languages such as Segeju (Dammann), Kw'adza (Ehret), Aasax (Laramanik - Mous, Legère), Kinyalang'ate (Maguire), Ngasa (Heine & Voßen, Legère) and Suba (Kihore) can no longer be recorded and studied because the speech community has given the respective language up in favor of a neighboring and/or more prestigious medium of communication. Accordingly, for these examples almost no linguistic data is available for those who may be interested to know how the languages were spoken. For other endangered languages such as Zaramo (Dammann), Bondei (Kiango, Legère), small Swahili dialects (Herzog), and possibly some others (see Ziegler & Koch), audio recordings were made prior to the digital era which has tremendously facilitated language documentation.

Against the background just sketched, this paper discusses progress in East African language endangerment studies and language documentation. Languages focused on include heavily-endangered Southern Nilotic Akiye and Bantu languages like Dowe and Bondei. Various audio and video files will demonstrate documentation of a wide range of speech events. These digital and subsequently transcribed/glossed materials facilitate a comprehensive linguistic analysis, the results of which could hardly be achieved using just an elicitation approach.

OSAM, E. Kweku. University of Ghana, Legon

Valency Changing Processes in Akan

Valency has been considered as both a semantic and syntactic notion. Semantically it is used to refer to the participants in an event; and as a syntactic notion it is used to indicate the number of arguments in a construction. In Akan, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana, we can identify various transitivity classes of verbs: verbs that are strictly intransitive; those that are strictly transitive; and verbs that are used ditransitively. Apart from these, there are verbs that can be used intransitively and transitively. In addition, the language has a category of verbs known in the linguistics of West African languages as Inherent Complement Verbs. As it is the case in many languages, Akan possesses morphosyntactic means through which the valency of verbs can be adjusted. The application of these morphosyntactic processes would reduce or increase the valency of verbs. The main essence of this paper is to examine the operation of these processes in Akan. The critical valency reducing processes in Akan are reflexivization, reciprocals, anticausative/inchoative constructions, impersonal constructions, object omission constructions, and unspecified object constructions. Valency increasing processes include causativization and agentivization through serialization.

REGULAR PAPER & POSTER ABSTRACTS

ABUGU, Ijeoma. *A Pragmatic Analysis of the Local Names of Popular Car Brands in Lagos, Nigeria*

Nigerian linguistic studies of names and the act of naming have concentrated on the socio-cultural interpretations of human names. This study is driven by the near-absence of scholarly linguistics research on automobile nicknames in Nigeria. It proves that these nicknames and the interpretation and understanding that follow are empowered by our knowledge and understanding of the contextual belief theory and cognitive processes. Data for this study was collected via interviews, observations and documentary research methods from Berger cars (a large auto-mart in Lagos where a variety of cars are displayed for sale) and www.thekushchronicle.blogspot. A total of 40 automobile names were culled from the Blogspot. Additionally, 10 major automobile dealers were interviewed; in each dealership two or three people shared similar views and provided much needed information.

The study shows how the local car names compare to and evoke qualities typically attributed to humans, animals, metaphysical beings, etc. For example, the Honda Accord 2009 model is popularly referred to in Lagos Nigeria as 'Anaconda' or 'Evil Spirit'. It is called 'Anaconda' because its frontal view, especially the headlamp design, and overall body size bear semblance to this large non-venomous snake found in tropical South America. The name 'Evil Spirit' derives from both its perceived terrifying looks and its swift movement ability. In light of the above, the study posits that the contextual framework which underlies what local names are given (or can be given) to these popular car brands in Lagos Nigeria, powers on a naming convention that transcends mere arbitrary acts of spontaneity.

ADEGBOYE, Oluseye Olusegun. *Prepositional Phrase in Longuda*

This paper considers Prepositional Phrase in Longuda. Longuda is a language spoken mainly in Guyuk area of Adamawa State, Nigeria. The Language belongs to the Adamawa Eastern or Ubangian group of languages, within the Niger–Congo language family (Ruhlen 1987). Longuda is spoken by about 100,000 people (2006 Nigeria Population Census). At the minimum, a prepositional phrase will begin with a preposition and end with a noun, pronoun, gerund, or clause. The object of the preposition will often have one or more modifiers. A fundamental fact in natural languages is that they do not allow sentences to be formed by stringing words together randomly. Observable regulations or rules govern the arrangement of constituents in sentence structure. It has been observed that languages with Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order, such as Japanese and Basque, prefer postpositions rather than prepositions. Though Longuda has strong Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) word order, like English, unlike English and other SVO languages it exhibits Postpositional phrases in its clause structure, i.e. the phrases are head last. In the structure *Alimotu adau [PP tendi – jé]* 'Alimotu lay house (in)'- "Alimotu lies in the house", the Adposition occurs last in the phrase.

AHLAND, Colleen. *Daats'iin, a Newly Identified Undocumented Language of Western Ethiopia: A Preliminary Examination and its Implications*

Daats'iin is a heretofore unknown language spoken in western Ethiopia near the border with the Republic of Sudan. The Daats'iin people live in both Ethiopia and the Republic of Sudan but only those in Ethiopia still speak the Daats'iin language. Speakers of Daats'iin may number around 1000, but may be as few as 300-500 (Alfredo Gonzalez-Ruibal, personal communication). In this paper I briefly describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of Daats'iin based on data I gathered in Ethiopia during a May-June 2014 field trip. These data include a 400+ word list, five translated and annotated texts, and forty-four hours of targeted elicitation.

Daats'iin is similar to the Gumuz languages (Nilo-Saharan?, Ethiopia/Sudan) in many respects: vocabulary, bound pronominals with a distinct tone for S versus A arguments, and incorporated nouns (cf. Ahland 2012). However, there are a few differences. For one, Daats'iin doesn't appear to have marked nominative case for post-verbal subjects; VS/VAO is possible in Daats'iin but no special case marking is used. Also notable is that while Gumuz exhibits a future/non-future tense distinction in verbs, Daats'iin exhibits a perfective/imperfective aspectual distinction. Morphologically, Daats'iin perfective verbs are similar to Gumuz non-future verbs and Daats'iin imperfective verbs are similar to Gumuz future verbs. I also demonstrate that the Daats'iin language is most closely related to the Gumuz languages via regular sound correspondences throughout shared features in both grammar and lexicon.

AHLAND, Michael. *The Development of Finite Verbs from Nominalized Structures in Northern Mao*

Northern Mao (NM), an endangered Omotic-Mao language of Ethiopia, exhibits rigid OV patterns where final verbs are the most finite structures in the language. Only NM's final verbs carry tense markers and indicate the completion of a sentence. Some final verb constructions, however, display internal structural relics, attesting to a nominalized heritage: infinitive verb stems, the inclusion of a relativizer and other subordinators and postpositions. This paper examines infinitival and subordinate structures and explores the diachronic pathways which likely led to today's finite final verb forms.

Infinitive verb stems exhibit structural properties associated with full nominals, yet they are used in various types of verbal constructions, ranging from the more nominalized subordinate complements, to final verbs that don't take tense marking (e.g. imperatives/jussives), to negative declarative and interrogative final verbs. Subordinate nominalizations, including relativization and purpose adverbials played a role in finite clause development as well. Final jussive and past-progressive verbs derive from relativizations followed by copulas and the irrealis future verb derives from a nominal subordinate clause followed by an existential. The collapse of these periphrastic nominal + final verb constructions into new final verbs has impacted subject marking paradigms.

NM's main clause syntax attests to diachronic relationships between nominalized structures and final verb forms. This paper offers a description of a complex verbal system through an investigation of its historically nominal sources, and the pathways by which such nominal structures became finite.

AKANLIG-PARE, George. *Syllable Weight and Tone in Bùli*

The basic syllable types in Bùli are CV and CVC. In the CVC form, the realization of the coda is constrained: three nasals, /n, m, ŋ/; and two obstruents, /b, k/ may occur here. In loanwords with coda, such coda is re-syllabified into onset through vowel epenthesis. A rare VC-syllable type is attested with the [Coronal, +Anterior] nasal in the coda, but which in normal speech nasalizes the vowel and gets deleted. Heavy syllables in Bùli are realized as CV:, CV:C or CVN (where V is either short or long; N is nasal consonant).

Bùli has three lexical tones: High, Mid and Low. In their underlying form, a combination of these tones is permissible only in poly-morphemic words. In such combinations in phonological words and phrases, tone processes are triggered resulting in among other outputs, a rising contour tone.

This paper explains that both light CV and CVC, and heavy CV:, CV:C and CVN syllable types can bear all 3 lexical tones. However, realization of the contour tone is sensitive to syllable weight; the heavy syllables bear the contour tone but the light ones do not. Domains where the contour is realized are phonological words and phrases such as compounds and the associative construction. Within these domains, if the Tone Bearing Unit of the resultant contour is light, its vowel is lengthened in order for it to be able to accommodate the contour as argued in Greenberg and Ze (1979); and Zang (2001). (See also Gordon 1999; and Hayes 1989).

AKINLABI, Akinbiyi & Luca IACOPONI. *Parasitic Harmonies and Surface Correspondence*

All consonant harmonies have the characteristic of referring to a feature shared by the segments undergoing the harmony as trigger and target. If a segment does not share this feature, the segment does not participate in the harmony.

Certain kinds of vowel harmonies have been known to have this exact characteristic: the vowels participate in the harmony on the condition that they share one or more features. For example, in Kalabari Ijo (Jenewari 1977, Akinlabi 1997) vowels must agree in height in order to undergo rounding harmony.

(1a)	mónō	'to sleep'	(1b)	éré	'female'	(2)	pókī	'listen'
	kɔɔ	'rafia palm'		éré	'name'		númé	'song'
	ɔuru	'yam'		kírī	'ground'		féró	'ground'
	ɔɔɔ	'become rotten'		fírí	'work/mes sage		píkó	'feather'
	kúrúsu	'cannon'						

Harmonies with this characteristic are traditionally known as "parasitic harmony", and they bear a striking similarity to consonant harmonies in that the undergoers *must* share a specific phonetic property that isolate them from the remaining segments in the language. The general property common to ALL consonant harmonies so far discussed in the literature on Surface Correspondence, and a class of vowel harmonies is that they are parasitic. Two questions arise from the above:

- (i) Can all parasitic harmonies be analyzed within the surface correspondence theory or "Assimilation By Correspondence" (ABC)?
- (ii) Is ABC a theory of parasitic harmony or of all harmonies?

ALLISON, Sean. *The Little Blue Finger: A Case of Language Contact in the Lake Chad Basin*

An examination of a map of the language families of Africa reveals in West Central Africa a little blue finger of Afro-Asiatic surrounded by a yellow sea of Nilo-Saharan. The tip of the blue finger is the location of Lake Chad, and the region directly south (the blue finger) is the homeland of the Kotoko people. The Kotoko share a common history and culture but speak eight different languages, classified as Central Chadic B. This presentation focuses primarily on the language contact situation between one of the Kotoko languages (Makary Kotoko (*mpàdà*)) and the Saharan language Kanuri.

Kanuri is known to have 'kanurized' other Chadic languages around Lake Chad ('i.e. a language and cultural change from traditional mother-tongue to Kanuri' (Cyffer 2002:27)). Though Makary Kotoko (MK) wasn't kanurized, there is linguistic evidence for its islamization by the Kanuri (e.g. MK: *kàmàni* 'god'; Kanuri: *kàmâ-ni* 'lord-1sg:poss', i.e., 'my lord' (cf. Koelle 1854b:29, Allison 2007)). An analysis of a lexical database of MK shows that about one third of the lexicon has been borrowed from other languages, with more than half of the borrowings coming from Kanuri.

While MK has borrowed extensively from the lexicon of Kanuri (nouns, in particular), there is little evidence of grammatical borrowing, lexical calquing (i.e., loan translation (Hock 1991:399, Ross 2006:97)), grammatical calquing, or, subsequently, structural diffusion; the lack of the latter is seen by comparing the typological profiles of the two languages.

ANDERSON, Gregory. *Areal, Functional and Historical Typology of STAMP Morphs in Languages of the Macro-Sudan Belt*

Portmanteau morphs as in Tarok in (1) that simultaneously encode the referent properties of subjects in addition to typically verbal categories of tense, aspect, mood and polarity are a widespread areal feature of the Macro-Sudan Belt. These STAMP morphs [STAMP = S(ubject) T(ense) A(spect) M(ood) P(olarity)] are found in many genetic units in the Macro-Sudan Belt and thus serves as an ideal laboratory for a preliminary areal, historical, and typological investigation to be undertaken. To be sure, STAMP morphs are amongst the most widespread of areal features of the Macro-Sudan Belt. Herein, I discuss some of the characteristics of STAMP morphs and STAMP morph constructions in a set of languages and genetic units representing constituent members of the Macro-Sudan Belt, and offer some thoughts on their origins and subsequent roles such formations have had in the development of various prefixed conjugation series that are also found across the different languages of this linguistic area.

(1) Tarok (Tarokoid/Plateau [Niger-Congo]; Nigeria)

<i>n</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>ù-dir̩</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>a-tí</i>	<i>ipín</i>
1.pfv	drink	clsfr-water	1.irr	drink	clsfr-tea	tomorrow
'I have drunk the water'			'I will drink tea tomorrow' (Sibomana 1981: 238)			

ANGELOPOULOS, Nikos. *Reconsidering the Object Symmetry Parameter in Maragoli*

Objects in double-object constructions have been argued to behave differently in languages depending on whether they display 'primary object properties' or not (Alsina 1996:674). Languages which allow both objects in double-object constructions to exhibit 'primary object properties' are called *symmetrical languages* while the ones which allow only one object to work as 'primary' are called *asymmetrical*. This paper disproves the argument of Murrell (2012) that Maragoli, a Bantu language, is a purely object symmetrical language.

Murrell (2012) states that the ordering of objects bearing any thematic role can be reversed (as in symmetrical languages) but his data show this only for locatives. With the exception of locatives my data show that the ordering of the objects in Maragoli is not flexible (see 1).

1) a.	<i>va-dek-er-i</i>	<i>mu-ana</i>	<i>ch-ukuria</i>
	3PL-cook-APPL.-PAST.	18-child	7-food
	'they cooked food for the kid'		
b.	<i>*va-dek-er-i</i>	<i>ch-ukuria mu-ana</i>	
	3PL-cook-APPL.-PAST.	7-food	18-child
	'they cooked food for the kid'		

I further extend the analysis to encompass passivization. My data show that the objects in this case are not flexible in the sense that any object can be passivized (as in symmetrical languages) (2):

2) a.	<i>ch-ukuria ke-dek-er-u-i</i>	<i>mu-umba</i>
	7-food	7-cook-APPL.-PASS.-PAST
	18-house	
	'food was cooked at home'	
b.	<i>*mu-umba ke-dek-er-u-i</i>	<i>ch-ukuria</i>
	18-house	7-cook-APPL.-PASS.-PAST
	7-food	
	'at home was cooked food'	

The data above show that Maragoli is not a purely symmetrical language but if the data in Murrell (2012) are correct, object symmetry may vary from speaker to speaker or sub-dialect to sub-dialect.

ANYANWU, Ogbonna. *How Endangered are Igbo Vocabulary Items Compared with Ibibio?*

Crozier & Blench (1992) and Blench (2012) record 489 languages for Nigeria; about 200 are severely endangered and about 20 are moribund. Brenzinger and De Graf (2006) emphasize that the size of a linguistic group does not always matter as far as endangerment is concerned. The viability/vitality of a language is primarily a function of the positive attitude of its speakers which they manifest by being faithful to their language, ensuring that the language is transferred from one generation to another. This paper examines vocabulary endangerment between two 'unequal' Nigerian languages, Igbo and Ibibio, in order to assess how faithful speakers are in using the indigenous vocabularies in daily interactions. Respondents were grouped into clusters and chosen from Aba and Uyo metropolises where Igbo and Ibibio are indigenously spoken respectively. They were presented with a list containing 260 Igbo/ Ibibio nouns and their equivalents in English. They were orally asked to answer 'yes' or 'no' to whether they use each indigenous Igbo/Ibibio noun or its English equivalent any time such a word comes up in their day-to-day interactions done in Igbo/Ibibio language. The findings reveal that Igbo speakers, unlike their Ibibio counterparts, manifest much higher apathy in the use of their vocabulary, a fact which obviously shows that vocabulary items are more

endangered in Igbo. Igbo (with seventeen million speakers) is indigenously spoken in five south-eastern states, while Ibibio (four million speakers) is spoken indigenously in only fourteen Local Government Areas.

BASSENE, Mamadou. *Phonetically Motivated Constraints on Eegimaa NC Sequences*

In Eegimaa, Nasal-Consonant (NC) sequences are subject to tight restrictions. The language only allows nasal-(voiced homorganic) singleton stop sequences. When a nasal is followed by a singleton, nasal assimilation occurs. The assimilation process may be partial or complete depending on both the [voice] and [continuant] specifications of the following consonant. Nasal place assimilation occurs when a nasal is followed by voiced stop or another nasal; complete assimilation occurs when a nasal is followed by a continuant sound or by a voiceless sound. When a nasal is followed by a geminate, it deletes.

This paper examines the constraints behind the processes affecting nasals in Eegimaa. I argue that these processes are better captured if we posit *phonetic* constraints which require adjacent consonants to share the same features when it comes to (1) *phonation type*, (2) *articulatory location*, and (3) *articulatory stricture*. I argue that the behavior of nasal consonants in Eegimaa does not stem from the coda condition, since the language allows any consonant to occur in coda position, but by a ban on certain Consonant-Consonant (CC) structures. Any CC sequence in Eegimaa has to be made up of consonants which have the same specification for [voice], [aplace] and [continuant] features.

BELEW, Anna. *Language Endangerment in Africa: Findings from the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat) Project*

Of the roughly 7,100 languages spoken today, 3,197, or 45%, are included in the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat), a four-year project by the University of Hawai'i and Eastern Michigan University to compile all available information on the vitality of every endangered language. Of the estimated 2,146 living African languages, 585 (or roughly 27%) are included in ELCat – a rate of endangerment significantly lower than the global average. However, there are notable gaps in the existing data on the vitality of endangered African languages; e.g. data on intergenerational transmission is available for only a small minority of endangered languages in Africa, despite this being widely considered the most important factor in determining a language's chances for survival. An analysis of the ELCat database allows us not only to assess trends in language endangerment in Africa, but also to examine current practices in language documentation and the assessment of linguistic vitality: what types of information are frequently included in publications on endangered African languages? What information is frequently omitted (or not collected), and how might this impact attempts to assess language endangerment in Africa overall? And what additional types of data might prove useful in assessments of language vitality specifically in African contexts? While quantifying language endangerment on a large scale is a difficult and at best imprecise enterprise, we aim to provide insight into the current state of endangered languages in Africa, as well as recommendations for future data collection practices to help refine our picture of global language endangerment.

BERNANDER, Rasmus. *Accounting for the Grammaticalization of -kotok- as a Secondary Negative Marker in Manda (Bantu N.11)*

In Manda (Bantu N.11), the prohibitive is expressed in an auxiliary construction with a cessative verb *-kotok-* 'stop, quit' inflected in the imperative/subjunctive form (1) and a main verb in the infinitive:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>Mu-kótok-a/e</i> | <i>kulíma</i> | <i>ng'unda wángu</i> |
| | <i>mu-kotok-a/e</i> | <i>ku-líma</i> | <i>ng'unda wangu</i> |
| | 2PL-stop-imp/sbj | INF-cultivate | farm my |

('Stop cultivating my farm' >) 'Don't cultivate my farm'

Intriguingly, this construction exhibits variation, where the auxiliary *-kotok-* can both be contracted in form (2, 3) and expanded in use, denoting non-factivity in other "non-main" clausal domains (3):

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2) <i>Mu-kóto kugona</i> "don't sleep" | (3) <i>Kuya tu-kó kuwǒka...</i> "if we hadn't left..." |
|---|--|

This study argues that *-kotok-* is undergoing grammaticalization along the verb-to-formative chain (Heine 1993) and is turning into a "non-main" or 'secondary' negator (Güldemann 1999, Nurse 2008). By providing language internal evidence as well as a more fine-grained description of the stages involved in this development, this study supports Güldemann's hypothesis (1999) that these negative markers in Bantu are derived from constructions with an auxiliary and a non-finite verb.

BILOA, Edmon & Paul BASSONG. *Sluicing and Functional Heads in Bantu*

This talk explores Merchant's (2001, 2004, 2008) [E]-feature-based approach to sluicing and the cartographic approach of Rizzi (1987) to elucidate the structure of the left periphery in Basaá and Tuki, two related Bantu languages. It is shown that Merchant's abstract [E] feature, which he claims triggers clausal deletion, is overt in these languages in the form of an Evid(entail) or Alt(ernative question) head that follows a focused wh-phrase as in Basaá (2) (compare English (1)). The order and phrasal projection of these functional morphemes, schematically illustrated in (3), provides a fine-grained characterization of the clausal left periphery in these Bantu languages that is richer than what is evident in European and East Asian languages and suggests that what is visible in Basaá and Tuki may also be abstractly present in many other languages.

- 1) Jack bought **something**, but we don't know [CP *what*₁ [^{C[E]} [TP Jack bought *t*₁]]]
- 2) *Maangé a- m- míl ngim j̄m, mé n-yí bé mé j̄,*
 1.child 1.SM-PST1-swallow 9.some 7.thing I PRS-know NEG I.EMPH 9.it
mé n- bat-bá lé t̄ó [FocP *kíí*₁ [EvidP [Evid *í*^[E] [AgrP *pro*_a *m- míl- kíí*₁]]]]
 I PRS-ask-REC that if 9.what 9.EVID pro 1.SM-PST1-swallow 9.what
 'The child has swallowed something, I don't know it. Look, what!'
- 3) [ForceP *lé* [IntP *t̄ó* [FocP *kíí*₁ [EvidP *í* [TP/AgrSP...*kíí*₁...]]]]]
 that if/whether 9.what 9.EVID what.c9

BISILKI, Kwesi Abraham. A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Kinship Terms in Likpakpaln 'Konkomba'

This paper provides a socio-morphologic analysis of kinship terms in *Likpakpaln* 'Konkomba'. It does so relying on the point of view of Schwimmer (2003) as the conceptual framework. The study observes that among the *Bikpakpaam*, kinship terms are next only to personal names, in terms of which linguistic forms are mostly employed in address or reference to members of the community. It is also argued that kinship terms in *Likpakpaln* can be put into three groups : kinship terms for agnates, kinship terms for uterine and kinship terms for affinals . A further cardinal find of the study is that among the *Bikpakpaam*, the kin terms for one's *doyaab* 'agnates' and those for one's *weiteeb* 'uterine relations' are parametrised, the only exception being the terms for one's grandparents. For instance, *yaa* 'grandmother' applies to both father's mother and mother's mother as *yaaja* 'grandfather' goes for both father's father and mother's father. Morphologically, kin terms in *Likpakpaln* are nominal stems and tend to admit only suffixes. These suffixes can be put into two categories : the pluralizing suffixes, *-teeb/-tiib* or *-mam* and the age semantic suffixes, *-waa* and *-kpel*. Finally, the paper establishes that there is no any socially rigid pattern in the use of kinship terms among the *Bikpakpaam* ; one may not address all his or her relatives with kinship terms, although these kinship terms can even be extended to nonkin.

BRANSON, Zachary & Sarah KLANKEY. Chimpoto Vowel Spaces and Durations in Four Positions

Chimpoto is a Bantu language spoken in South-western Tanzania (N14, Rufiji-Ruvuma) that is largely undocumented. This paper seeks to provide a phonetic description of Chimpoto vowels. Initial description has indicated that Chimpoto has five phonemic vowels /i,e,a,u,o/.

It has been observed that Chimpoto does not have phonemic vowel length. However, Chimpoto vowels are systematically lengthened in phrase penultimate position. As a result, nouns appear with a long penultimate vowel when pronounced phrase finally as well as in isolation. However, when produced in phrase medial and phrase initial positions, this vowel is short.

Chimpoto is a stress language. Stress generally occurs on the first syllable of the root of nouns and verbs. As a result, nouns with disyllabic roots are stressed on the penultimate syllable (which is also lengthened phrase finally) and nouns with trisyllabic roots are stressed on the ante-penultimate syllable. By comparing penultimate vowels in disyllabic and trisyllabic roots, in phrase final and phrase medial (or initial) position, the same vowel can be observed in four phonological environments, namely stressed lengthened, stressed short, unstressed lengthened, and unstressed short.

We will show that while there are five distinct vowels in Chimpoto, phonetic overlap occurs in unstressed and unlengthened positions between the front (/i,e/) and back (/u,o/) vowels respectively. Additionally, we will show that there are systematic changes in the spacing (F1 and F2) and duration of vowels in the four phonological environments.

BROBBEY, Susana. Code-switching on Ghanaian Radio talk-show: "Bilingualism as an asset"

Codeswitching between Akan and English in recent times has become an important tool used on Akan radio to disseminate information in Ghana. This study explored the functions CS plays during formal interaction on Akan radio talk-show and listeners' reaction to it. Data was obtained from political and sports talk-shows from radio stations with wider coverage within the metropolis and which has been in existence from eight years and beyond. Program Managers (PM) were interviewed and questionnaire was distributed to participants for their responses on the use of CS on air. The transcribed interview and radio conversation were examined for themes and compared with other published and archival materials including responses from the respondents for corroborative purposes. The transcribed conversation was analysed based on the Markedness Model (cf. Myers-Scotton 2005) and Conversational Analysis theory (Auer 1995). In the analysis, CS was used: to emphasize on disagreement, as principle of economy, to level inequality, for public preference, for direct quotation and as identity of bilingual persona. The following type of CS was also observed: intersentential, intrasentential and extra-sentential. Essentially CS is considered an asset by program managers in order to reach out to a larger audience due to the versatile linguistic milieu. In addition listeners to an extent consider CS acceptable irrespective of their gender, age, educational level and mother tongue. In all, 67.50% of respondents agree to the use of CS in disseminating information. However, a further research in the area of the grammar of Akan-English CS will enrich this work.

(1) Múúndú y-áá-ny-áánza mba/tawe

1person 3sgSA-ASP-1sgOA-like NEG
'Somebody doesn't like me' OR 'Nobody likes me'
MM: (815)

In multi-clausal constructions only one *mba/tawe* is possible, but it permits a negative reading for any or all clauses:

(2) A-mányi (*mba/tawe) Músásá a-kúlí málwa mba/tawe
3sgSA-know 3sgSA buy-PST 6beer NEG
'She knows that Musasa didn't buy beer' / 'She doesn't know that Musasa bought beer' /
'She doesn't know that Musasa didn't buy beer'
MM:(799)

The optional verbal prefix *sh-* can disambiguate:

(3) Sh-a-mányí Músásá a-kúl-í málwá mba.

Neg-3sgSA-know 3sgSA-buy-PST 6beer NEG
'She doesn't know that John bought beer' (unambiguous)
MM:(799)

A post-verbal particle *khú* weakens positive assertions and strengthens negative ones. Curiously, *khú* has negative force whether *mba/tawe* functions to negate the clause containing *khú* or a clause embedded under it.

(4) a. M-bool-í khú a-ts-ííré b. M-bool-í khú a-ts-ííré
mba
1sgSA-say-PST KHU 3sgSA-go-PST 1sgSA-said KHU 3sgSA-go-
PST NEG
'I mentioned that he went' 'I never said he went' OR 'I never
said he didn't go'

This paper maps Tiriki's negative morphemes into clausal architecture, arguing that (i) interpretable negation is always silent; (ii) *mba/tawe* are reinforcers merged high and right of their scope; (iii) *sh-* has *uNeg* features; and (iv) *khú* is a polarity-sensitive partitive head that interacts with negation to acquire negative force.

CHANG, Funmi Yun-Hsin. *Time Reference Languages as a Regional Phenomenon in Non-Bantu Niger-Congo Languages*

This paper presents a typological proposal, arguing that there should be a distinction between Tense Languages and Time Reference Languages. The latter is most observable in morphologically tenseless languages (Comrie 1985: 50-51), and many of them are non-Bantu Niger-Congo languages.

Based on primary data collected through fieldwork in Nigeria, this paper argues that Time Reference Languages may be a regional phenomenon observed in non-Bantu Niger-Congo languages. A comparison of discourse data is presented: Yoruba

(Yoruboid), Ayere (Ayere-Ahan), Ikaan (Ukaan), Efik (Ibibio-Efik), and Nigerian Pidgin (Atlantic Creole). For each of them, basic linguistic facts, as well as typological information, and the TAM markers in the discourse data will be given, followed by discussions on a data set that consists of eventualities of a continuous discourse in all five languages.

We shall see that “Time Reference Languages” have the notion of time processed in the discourse level of language processing. For every described eventuality, Tense Language speakers constantly compare the eventuality time with the utterance time now (Reichenbach 1947, Comrie 1976, Kamp & Reyle 1993). This paper argues that, in time reference languages, time references may come from lexical information of the described eventualities. Starting from the initial eventuality, as the discourse goes along, Time Reference Language speakers assess if there is new time reference introduced to the discourse; if not, the old time reference will be passed on in the discourse.

CHILDS, Tucker. *Coming to Terms with Atlantic*

It is generally agreed that the Atlantic Group of languages spoken in western West Africa form neither a genetic nor a typological unity nor, unsurprisingly, an areal entity. The Atlantic languages cover a geographical area forming a north-south running belt from the Atlantic coast and well inland extending from Senegal to Liberia, yet even the area of Atlantic is not coherent. Except for such widely spoken languages such as Fula, Wolof, and Temne, the Atlantic languages typically as areally peripheralized groups interpenetrated by speakers of more widely spoken languages. Although the Fula language is spoken from the Atlantic seaboard north to Mauretania and east to the Sudan, most of the Atlantic languages are spoken in a relatively definable region, but intermixed with various Mande groups. This paper reviews the evidence to date for the splitting up of Atlantic, an action that was rarely explicitly proposed until Blench 2006. The paper contrasts the tidiness and tightness of a nested set of subgroups (Mel – Bullom-Kisi – Bullom) with the low number of cognates across Atlantic and between North and South Atlantic. The general point of the paper is that if genetic relationships exist, it is only at the level of family, well below the level of Atlantic. The conclusion is that Atlantic should no longer be recognized as a genetic entity, nor in fact as any other entity, either geographic or typological. The only thing the various sub-groups have in common is that they are not Mande!

CHOTI, Jonathan. *Segment Resurrection in Bantu*

In Bantu, the realization of class 9/10 and 1SG prefix /N/ before stem-initial vowels triggers the *insertion* of a voiced obstruent or nasal between it and the vowel. This phenomenon occurs in Lamba (Doke 1922), Swahili (Meinhof 1932), Ganda (Ashton et al. 1954), Kwanyama (Tirronen 1977a:52), Rwanda (Kimenyi 1979), and Bemba (Kula 2002) where the *epenthesis* segments include [z, d, g]:

- (1) Postnasal consonant insertion in Bantu
- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|------------|----------------|
| a. | Rwanda: /iN-eémbe/ | → | [inzeémbe] | ‘10-razor’ |
| b. | Lamba: /N-up-e/ | → | [ŋgupe] | ‘I marry’ |
| c. | Lamba: /N-aʃuk-e/ | → | [ŋgaʃuke] | ‘I cross over’ |
| d. | Bemba: /N-olol-a/ | → | [ŋgolola] | ‘I straighten’ |
| e. | Swahili: /N-ot-o/ | → | [ndoto] | ‘9/10-dream’ |

Kula (2002) analyzed these facts as postnasal consonant *insertion*. However, in this talk, I argue against the *insertion* view and posit that this phenomenon arises from *segment resurrection* and *postnasal hardening*. Historical/comparative evidence show that the *inserted* consonants were approximants lost due to historical developments. Besides, stems with true initial vowels condition /N/ to become a back nasal ([ŋ/ŋ]) (Choti 2014) while /N/ converts approximants to stops and sonorants to nasals in Bemba (2a-b) (Kula 2002:70), Rwanda (Kimenyi 1979:25), and Swahili (Meinhof 1932:114):

- (2) Postnasal variation in Bantu
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|----------------|----------------------------------|
| a. | Bemba: /N-ʃéle:ŋgel-e/ | → | [mbéle:ŋgel-e] | ‘I have read’ |
| b. | Bemba: /N-ʃó:mbel-e/ | → | [mmó:mbel-e] | ‘I have worked’ |
| c. | Bemba: /N-ó:ndel-e/ | → | [ŋŋó:ndel-e] | ‘I have become thin’ |
| d. | Rwanda: /ʃa-N-aka/ | → | [ʃaʃaka] | ‘they ask me’ |
| e. | Swahili: /N-oni/ | → | [mboni] | ‘9/10-eye-ball’ (< *-uona ‘see’) |
| f. | Swahili: /N-ume/ | → | [ndume] | ‘9/10-manhood’ (< *-lume ‘male’) |

These facts (1-2) are predicted in Element-based Dependency (Botma 2004).

COHEN, Kevin. *The Computational Phonology of Consonant Place Assimilation in Kuku*

Most consonantal phonology in Kuku (southeastern Nilotic) involves restrictions on the syllable-final and morpheme-final consonant inventory. However, a process of assimilation affects the place of articulation of the syllable-initial consonant of the qualitative morpheme. This paper presents an implemented model of consonant place assimilation in Kuku. An object-oriented representation is used. Beginning with a feature geometry that is “fairly representative [of] the mainstream” (van Oostendorp 2005), the computational implementation brings to light some inconsistencies of the feature-geometric representation and normalizes them. It is demonstrated that the model can account for the full range of consonant place of

articulation assimilation in Kukú. The JUnit software testing framework is used to execute code that calls a method that carries out the assimilation and outputs an assimilated consonant.

COTO-SOLANO, Rolando & Samantha WRAY. *Distribution of Consonantal Features in Middle Egyptian Verb Roots*

Following studies of consonant distribution in Semitic and expanding upon biconsonantal co-occurrence restrictions in Rowan (2006) and Peust (1999), this study examines the distribution of consonantal manner of articulation features in Middle Egyptian, using co-occurrence patterns to determine if canonical Semitic-type patterns can be found in other members of the Afro-Asiatic family.

We extracted 61 verbal etymons and 151 trilateral verbal roots from the glossary in Allen (2001) and classified their root consonants into stops, fricatives and sonorants, (following Frisch et al. 2004, Schluter & Berry 2011). We analyzed the consonants by the position in the verbal morpheme: first (C1), second (C2) and third (C3) in the root. There was a significant difference between C1 and C2 for both trilaterals ($F(1,299)=12.3$, $p<0.001$) and trilaterals and etymons combined ($F(2,421)=7.42$, $p<0.001$), and between C1 and C3 in trilaterals ($F(1,299)=10.6$, $p<0.001$). However, paralleling Semitic, there was no significant difference between C2 and C3 ($F(1,299)=0.02$, $p=0.90$).

Results show that consonant co-occurrence restrictions which have long characterized Semitic languages in both theoretic (Greenberg 1950, McCarthy 1981) and quantitative (Frisch et al. 2004, Schluter & Berry 2011) approaches are demonstrably robust in other members of the Afro-Asiatic family, namely Hamitic. This study broadens existing evidence in favor of consonantal incompatibility claims (Czermak 1931, Petráček 1969, Rössler 1971, Roquet 1973, Watson 1979, Takács 1996, Peust 1999), and it lends evidence to Greenberg's (1950) predictions that the phonological restrictions governing patterning of consonants must have emerged at least by the Hamito-Semitic period and likely back to Proto-Afro-Asiatic.

DANIS, Nick. *Complex Segments Made Simple: Markedness and Doubly-Articulated Stops*

Doubly-articulated stops (e.g. \widehat{kp} , \widehat{gb}) are a subtype of complex segments that have two phonological places of equal stricture (Sagey 1986, Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996, Cahill 1999, a.o.). This talk investigates the constraints needed in an Optimality Theoretic system (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004) to govern the attested behavior of doubly-articulated stops cross-linguistically. Assuming that there are no constraints in CON specifically for complex segments--the behavior of these segments is controlled by independently-derived constraints based on universal markedness and place faithfulness--a number of predictions emerge relevant in the typology of African languages containing these stops.

Markedness constraints are based on a universal markedness hierarchy where dorsal is more marked than labial, which is more marked than coronal: $K > P > T$ (de Lacy 2006, Lombardi 2001, and Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004). Assuming the markedness of $[\widehat{KP}]$ equals the sum of the markedness of $[K]$ and $[P]$, if a complex stop is to reduce to a simple stop, it will always be to the lesser marked labial place $[P]$ rather than to dorsal $[K]$ (Amele, Efik). Further, this markedness scale is implemented as a set of strigently-related constraints ($*KPT$, $*KP$, $*K$), and the constraint banning all places, $*KPT$, acts as a de facto constraint militating against complexity. Thus, a constraint specifically for doubly-articulated stops, such as $*ComplexSeg$, is not needed as one is derived from independent principles. The predicted typology is investigated in full.

DAWSON, Samantha, Michael Marlo & Christopher Adejo. *An Overview of Tone in Igala*

Ankpa Igala [igl] has three primary tone levels, e.g. H $k\acute{o}$ 'build!' vs. M $k\bar{o}$ 'write!' vs. L $k\grave{o}$ 'refuse!', and contour tones involving all three levels are found: HL $\grave{o}k\acute{o}$ 'pig', LH $\acute{i}t\acute{i}t\acute{i}$ 'sp. of bird', ML $\grave{a}m' \acute{a}t\acute{a}$ 'fathers', MH $\acute{i}j\acute{e}$ 'kà 'one mother', MLH $\grave{a}m' \acute{e}n\acute{d}\acute{o}$ 'bows'. Vowels realized with a contour tone are long, while vowels with a level tone are typically, though not always, short. A long vowel with a level tone is found in $\acute{e}f\acute{a}\acute{a}$ 'kà 'one arrow'.

Igala also has downstep of H tones. \acute{H} is phonetically distinct from (high in pitch than) M in forms like $\acute{o}b\acute{o}t\acute{j}\acute{i}$ $m\acute{i}$ 'my doctor' vs. $\acute{o}b\acute{o}t\acute{j}\acute{i}$ \acute{e} 'the/that doctor'. Some instances of downstep are the result of a lexical L tone set afloat by phrasal concatenation. In other cases, the downstep occurs at syntactic boundaries, e.g. between a noun and a demonstrative, and between a subject and following verb under negation in **Error! Reference source not found.a**).

- (1) a. \acute{i} $\acute{k}\acute{o}$ \acute{n}
 3sg.neg build neg
 'he did/will not build'
- b. \acute{i} $k\bar{o}$ \acute{n} 'he did/will not write'

The tone of the negative marker \acute{n} is puzzling: it is realized at a higher pitch level than a preceding H. Except for the predictable raising of H before L, this superhigh pitch is found only in clause-final position under negation. We treat it as a feature of 'negative intonation'. Clause-final position is also the site of L-lowering and patterns of lengthening which mark yes/no questions.

DÉCHAINED, Rose-Marie & Dayanqi Si & Joash Gambarage. *Nata N-class Prefixes as Evaluatives*

In Nata, an eastern Bantu language spoken in Northwestern Tanzania (Guthrie E45), noun-class (N-class) prefixes have two functions according to whether they mark: (i) inherent N-class or; (ii) evaluative force (e.g., augmentative, diminutive, pejorative). As N-class markers, prefixes occur in singular/plural pairs, and define various genders (A:1/2, B:3/4, C:5/6, D:20/6; E:7/8, F:9/10, G:11, H:14.) The set of evaluative prefixes intersects with, but is not reducible to, the set of class prefixes. While there are eight canonical genders, only four have an evaluative function in Nata, namely C:5/6, D:20/6, E:7/8, G:11). In addition, some N-class prefixes **only** have an evaluative function, namely the diminutives of class 12/13 (*gha-/to-*) and 12/19 (*gha-/he-*). We address the question of how evaluative prefixes compare to canonical prefixes relative to their morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties. **Morphologically**, evaluative prefixes are substitutive and replace the canonical N-class prefix. **Semantically**, N-class prefixes range over two dimensions of meaning: in the truth-conditional dimension, they denote gender; in the expressive dimension, they denote scalar size (small, big, thin/tall) and affect (positive, negative). **Syntactically**, both canonical and evaluative prefixes trigger concordial agreement, indicating they occupy the same morpho-syntactic position. (The latter is language-specific, as some Bantu languages (e.g. Shona) permit prefix-stacking.)

DIERCKS, Michael & Justine SIKUKU. *Pragmatic Constraints on the Syntax of Object Marking in Lubukusu*

Object markers (OMs) in Bantu languages have long been argued to be either incorporated pronouns or agreement morphemes, distinguished mainly by their ability (or not) to co-occur with (i.e. *double*) *in situ* objects. Lubukusu appears to be an instance of OMs-as-incorporated pronouns, as OMs in neutral discourse contexts cannot double *in situ* objects in a broad range of syntactic contexts. As we show, however, certain pragmatic contexts in fact *do* license OM-doubling; we demonstrate that OM-doubling in Lubukusu is licit only on a *verum (focus)* interpretation.

We analyze OM-doubling within a Minimalism framework as the result of an Agree relation between the object and a *verum*-triggering Emphasis head (Emph°). The non-doubling OM results from a head-movement incorporation operation. We therefore claim that Lubukusu displays two distinct syntactic derivations of OMs (generating doubling and non-doubling) with the interpretive effects of OM-doubling arising from the semantic/pragmatic properties of Emph°. We demonstrate that ditransitive objects are generally symmetrical in Lubukusu, but that these symmetry effects are lost when doubling occurs, which we show follows from our analysis. Our conclusions follow other recent results in concluding that object markers in individual languages are epiphenomenal, arising from different syntactic structures/operations in different contexts. Our conclusions also re-emphasize the importance of understanding the interpretive effects of OM-doubling in getting a full picture of the properties of OMing cross-linguistically.

DOWNING, Laura & Maxwell KADENGE. *Prosodic Stems in Zezuru (Shona)*

In the traditional Prosodic Hierarchy (e.g. Nespor & Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1986), the Prosodic Word is the lowest level of the hierarchy defined in terms of the interface between morphosyntactic and prosodic constituency. Recent work like Itô and Mester (2013) reaffirms this, defining Prosodic Word as matching the syntactic category X (N, V, A) and offering no sublexical prosodic constituents. This talk provides a detailed case study motivating the Prosodic Stem, as a level of the Prosodic Hierarchy immediately dominated by the Prosodic Word level. In Zezuru, a dialect of Shona, vowel hiatus resolution and tone, apply differently depending on the morphological context. Myers (1987) and Mudzingwa (2010) show that hiatus resolution occurs within a Prosodic Word and is resolved by resyllabification between stem internal constituents, but by glide epenthesis across the left edge of stems. Myers demonstrates that the stem domain is distinct from the Prosodic Word. We follow Mudzingwa (2010) in proposing that it is best labeled the Prosodic Stem, providing new data to support this analysis. Glide insertion is motivated by a constraint requiring the left edge of a Prosodic Stem to align with the left edge of syllable. Elsewhere, vowel hiatus is resolved by resyllabification. Seeing the solution requires being open to the possibility of a Prosodic Stem domain. Because Prosodic Stem and Prosodic Word levels play distinct roles we argue that more constituents of the Prosodic Hierarchy are needed, where the Prosodic Stem domain is distinct from a Prosodic Word domain.

DUARTE, Fábio, Armindo NGUNGA & Quesler FAGUNDES. *Differential Object Marking in Mozambican Languages*

This paper aims to examine the grammatical status of the object marker in Shimakonde, Emakhuwa, Xichangana, Xirhonga and Citshwa. In all of them, the object marker can optionally co-occur with the object in the same clause. However, in Emakhuwa, the object marker is obligatorily triggered on the verb morphology if the internal argument is an animate noun of either class 1 or class 2. Shimakonde differs slightly from Emakhuwa due to the fact that the object marking is extended to nouns of other classes that are animate, such as classes 5, 7, 9 and 10. Changana, Citshwa and Rhonga, on the other hand, differ from those languages in that object marker may refer to nouns that are animate or not. In this sense, one might wonder what regulates the object marking in the latter group of languages, since it is not animacy that counts for triggering the object agreement. We propose that object marking in Shimakonde and Emakhuwa is regulated by the animacy hierarchy, since only animate nouns can trigger object agreement, whereas object marking in Changana, Citshwa and Rhonga are regulated not by animacy, but by definiteness, since only specific, definite and highly referential D/NPs can trigger the object agreement in these languages. In conclusion, based on the data of the Mozambique languages collected thus far, we assume that DOM is constrained by two

different factors: (i) definiteness and (ii) animacy. Additionally, it is shown that DOM is encoded by means of agreement prefixes on the morphological complex of the verb.

EBARB, Kristopher J., Michael R. MARLO, David ODDEN & Mary PASTER. *An Introduction to Luyia Tone*

Tone in Luyia [luy] verbs is governed by two primary factors: lexically-present tone in roots, and assignment of H tones to particular vowels depending on the inflectional form of the verb. Within a language, some tenses may have no inflectional ('melodic') tone; some may have a melodic H on the second stem vowel; others may have a H towards the right edge of the stem. The exact realization of melodic H tones is determined by lexical tone, the presence of object prefixes, and prosodic properties of the stem, such as the number and weight of stem syllables. Luyia languages differ among themselves in the nature of the lexical tone contrast in verbs: some maintain the historical contrast between *H and *∅ verbs; some have eliminated the contrast such that all roots are /∅/; others have reanalyzed *H verbs as /L/, maintaining *∅ verbs as /∅/.

Luyia noun tone is less well studied than verb tone. The underlying tonal patterns of nouns have not been clearly articulated in any Luyia variety. However, some tonal processes affecting nouns at the phrasal level appear to be widespread. **H Tone Anticipation (HTA)**, a rule which also affects verbs in some contexts, spreads the H of an adjective leftward onto preceding toneless vowels. **H Tone Insertion** inserts H onto toneless nouns when combined with demonstratives and possessives. Luyia varieties differ in the position where H is inserted: the augment in Bukusu, the penult in Tiriki, the final in Wanga.

EBARB, Kristopher. *The Limitative Stem in Bantu: Evidence from Tonal Spreading in Kabras*

This talk analyzes phrase-level tonal processes in Kabras, a variety of the Luyia macrolanguage. A notable finding is that a striking phrase-level tonal rule in Kabras, *High Tone Anticipation (HTA)*, provides evidence for a previously unnoticed phonological domain, the *Limitative Stem (L-Stem)*. The *L-Stem* is a unit of structure larger than the macrostem but smaller than the verb word.

HTA is an unbounded leftward spreading rule affecting post-verbal Hs capable of generating long sequences of H-toned syllables that extend onto the verb. *HTA* has several interesting restrictions. The leftward extent of spreading by *HTA* is determined by the left edge of the *L-Stem*. It is also constrained by the *OCP*, requiring that the target of spreading be preceded by a toneless syllable. The post-verbal H spreads as far left into the *L-stem* as possible without violating the *OCP*. Finally, *HTA* does not spread post-verbal Hs any distance within the verb phrase if the resulting H span would not include syllables within the verb.

This paper provides an overview of phrasal tonology in Kabras and presents arguments in favor of positing the *L-Stem* as a phonological domain in Bantu.

EME, Cecilia Amaoge & Adaobi Ngozi OKOYE. *Vowel Harmony in Etulo: A Preliminary Investigation*

The paper is a preliminary investigation of vowel harmony in Etulo, a minority language spoken in central Nigeria. The Etulo language belongs to the Idomoid group of the New Benue Congo language family. The researchers' contact with the Etulo people exposed us to the need to examine the vowels of Etulo and their combinatory possibilities in the words of the language. This is principally with a view to finding out if there is vowel harmony in Etulo, and if there is, to ascertain the phonetic feature on which the harmony hinges and the permitted combinations of the vowels in words and across morpheme boundaries. The data for this study were collected from the native speakers of the Etulo language resident in Adi, Buruku Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria. Our findings reveal that there is vowel harmony in Etulo. The study shows that the language operates [ATR] vowel harmony. From our investigations, Etulo has seven phonemic vowels /i e ε a ɔ o u/ which comprise four [+ATR] vowels /i e o u/ and three

[-ATR] vowels /ε a ɔ/. The low vowel /a/ is an opaque vowel and as such neutral to vowel harmony as it co-occurs with all Etulo vowel phonemes. Also, affixes such as for infinitive and gerund are conditioned by vowel harmony, the appropriate form being selected based on the [ATR] feature of the vowel of the verb root.

EME, Cecilia Amaoge & Davidson U. MBAGWU. *Feature Copying and Palatal Nasal Deletion in Igbo*

This paper investigates [+High] feature copying before deletion of palatal nasal, leading to vowel raising in Igbo; a language spoken in south eastern Nigeria, and one of the three major Nigerian languages. Imperative for most Igbo verbs is formed by the suffixation to the verb root/stem of an appropriate high tone vowel selected in accordance with [ATR] vowel harmony. Except for certain polysyllabic verbs, the formal feature of the last two syllables of every Igbo imperative verb form is CVV; this is irrespective of the inherent tone of the verb. For instance:

sí sié 'cook', *chú chùó* 'fetch' *mébi* *mébié* 'destroy', *bútù* *bútùó* 'carry down'

rí rǎ ‘climb’, *chù chùó* ‘pursue’ *kwáà* *kwáàá* ‘push down’, *gbápù* *gbápùó* ‘run out’

When the verb stem has *nye* ‘give’ as its second component, the imperative is formed without the imperative suffix. Such an imperative is often realized in two optional forms if the initial verb has a high vowel, or three or more forms if otherwise:

tínyé/tíí ‘put’, *chúnnyé/chúí* ‘fetch (water) for’, *pínyé/píí* ‘squeeze into’, *túnnyé/tùí* ‘throw into’
tànyé/tàí/tíí ‘pour into’, *chònyé/chòí/chùí* ‘find for’, *bènyé/bèí/bíí* ‘cut and put into’,
nyònyé/nyòí/nyúí ‘peep into’

This paper accounts for these alternative forms by proposing [+High] feature copying resulting in vowel raising, and palatal nasal deletion. Before the palatal nasal [ɲ], a high consonant, is deleted, the following mid front vowel [e] copies its [+High] feature to become a high front vowel [i] or [ɪ] in accordance with vowel harmony. The preceding vowel retains its phonetic feature if it is a high vowel. On the contrary, the vowel is usually, though optionally, raised if it is not a high vowel.

ESSEGBY, James. *The Basic Locative Construction in Dwang*

This paper discusses the Basic Locative Construction (BLC) in Dwang, a Guang language spoken in the Brong Ahafo region in Ghana. BLC is a shorthand for the construction used in a typical answer to where-questions such as ‘where is the tree?’ For example while one could answer the question by saying ‘the tree stands in front of the church,’ in English, the typical answer for such a question would be ‘the tree is in front of the church,’ which involves the copula ‘be’. I report on data which I collected using Bowerman and Pederson’s Topological Relations Picture Series (TPRS). Dwang uses two strategies, as shown by the examples below:

- 1a. *Agyinamoa* *nám* *dwéŋá* *adérá* *nám* *sə*
 Cat DEF squat mat DEF top
 ‘The cat is squatting on the mat’
- 1b. *Agyinamoa* *nám* *bo* *tébul* *nám* *fe* *kasé*
 Cat DEF be_at table DEF POSS under
 ‘The cat is under the table’

Although the cat assumes the same position in the pictures which elicited the two sentences, (1a) elicits a dispositional verb while (1b) elicits the general-locative verb. This raises the question when do speakers choose a dispositional verb and when do they choose the general-locative verb? I propose that there is a conception of containment in Dwang which overrides the requirement to express the disposition of the figure. I situate Dwang in the typology for the verbal component of BLC established by Levinson and Wilkins (2006) and modified by Ameke and Levinson (2007).

EVERHART, Bailey Jo, Rachel HOLM, Michael R. MARLO & Maurice Wekhwela SIFUNA.

Bukusu Noun Phrase Tonology

This paper discusses Bukusu noun tone, based on original data and Mutonyi (2000). Noun tone patterns fall into four main tone classes: (i) toneless (*omuu-ndu* ‘person’), (ii) H on the augment (*kúmu-saala* ‘tree’), (iii) H from the augment to the stem-initial vowel (*βúú-páta* ‘door bolt’), (iv) one H on the augment and one H on the first mora of the second stem syllable (*kúmu-khuyú* ‘fig tree’, *lúu-karáaya* ‘basin’). A minor tone class found in CVVCV stems has one H from the augment to the stem-initial vowel and one H on the final vowel / second syllable (*líí-ŋáanǎ* ‘ibis’).

Two tonal processes are primarily responsible for tonal alternations at the phrasal level in Bukusu nouns: H Tone Anticipation (HTA) and H Tone Insertion (HTI). HTA applies in NPs when a toneless noun is followed by a H-toned adjective (*ómú-lósi ómu-rafu* ‘a fierce witch’, cf. *omu-losi* ‘witch’) or numeral (*βáβáá-ndú* *βá-Bili* ‘two people’, cf. *βaβaa-ndu* ‘people’). HTA is restricted in nouns which have a lexical H, e.g. in *ómu-khasí ómu-rafu* ‘a fierce wife’ (cf. *ómu-khasi* ‘wife’), the H of the following modifier spreads only onto the final vowel of the noun. HTI inserts a H onto the augment of a toneless noun when the noun is modified by a demonstrative (*βáβaa-ndu* *βa-no*) ‘these people’, a possessive (*bábaa-ndu* *bááse*) ‘my people’, or a wh-modifier (*bábaa-ndu* *sína*) ‘which people?’.

FAYTAK, Matthew. *Variation and Change in Kom Fricativized Vowels*

Kom (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon) exhibits two fricativized high vowels (henceforth /z/ and /v/) with substantial alveolar and labiodental fricative noise, respectively. Working from original fieldwork data, I describe the intensity and temporal extent of fricative noise in /z/ and /v/ as well as variation between /z/ and /v/ in labial consonantal context, possibly induced by the bilabial trilling exhibited by some speakers. These data not only improve phonetic documentation of these unusual sounds, but also provide a substantial basis for considering *fricative vowels* more generally (Connell, 2007) as analogues to the reconstructed Proto-Bantu first-degree high vowels.

FOMINYAM, Henry. *Information Structuring and the Multifunctional Morpheme in Awing: A Distinction in Syntax and/or Lexicon?*

This paper takes a twofold approach, I begin by presenting a multifunctional morpheme in Awing (a Bantu Grassfield language spoken in Cameroon). The /lá/ morpheme in this language functions as: a copular, a focus marker (must precede the focalized item), an additive topic marker (must follow the topicalized item), a conjunction (opposing the predication of two clauses) and

renders passivation possible. I will argue that there is no lexical array in this language where one should expect to find the phonetic form /á/ with its different semantic interpretations. Rather, it will be logical to suppose that depending on the information status of a sentence, syntactic environment(s) disseminate the various features appropriate for a semantic interpretation to this word. The second part concentrates on one of the functions of this morpheme, notably as a focus marker to tackle the current debate on Information Structuring (IS) and narrow syntax. As suggested by the Cartographic perspective, the Awing data maintains that IS has a place in syntax as portrayed by discourse markers. However, the cartographic position is challenged since a focus marker can show up in-situ and in the left periphery with the same focus interpretation namely, contrastiveness and exhaustivity. Thus, focus movement in Awing is not as a result to type the constituent as focus since such conditions are fulfilled in-situ. Such movements, most naturally result in argumentative and surprised contexts. In line with Chomsky (2008), who proposes an unspecified edge feature, I indicate that this movement is mandated by interface conditions.

FRANICH, Kathryn & Junie DJAMEN & Jean-René DJOBLA. *The Prosodic Status of Lexically vs. Morphologically-Derived Contour Tones in Medumba*

In Medumba (Grassfields Bantoid), contour tones formed within a single lexical word behave differently from those formed from two morphemes, whether formed through contraction of two words into a single syllable or through the association of a morphological floating tone to a segmentally-realized morpheme. In (1a), we see that a lexical HL contour is able to trigger downdrift on a following H tone (in this case, the H being part of a falling tone); not applying downdrift in this environment is considered degraded by many speakers (1b). In contrast, a HL contour formed out of two morphemes is unable to trigger downdrift on a following H (2).

(1) Downdrift on DPST marker after lexical HL contour

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Jân</i> ↓ <i>nâ'</i> ↓ <i>ʒú</i> | b. | * <i>Jân</i> <i>nâ'</i> ↓ <i>ʒú</i> |
| | Jean DPST eat | | Jean DPST eat |
| | 'Jean ate.' | | 'Jean ate.' |

(2) No downdrift after a HL contour formed by two morphemes (bá + â)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|--------------------------|
| a. | â <i>bô</i> <i>wé</i> | b. | *â <i>bô</i> ↓ <i>wé</i> |
| | 3SG COP.FOC who | | 3SG COP.FOC who |
| | 'Who is it?' | | 'Who is it?' |

We argue that this asymmetry arises due to different accentual properties of the two types of contours, with lexical contours being comprised of a single accented mora plus an unaccented mora and morphologically-derived contours being comprised of two accented moras. Downdrift is triggered only where two accented moras bearing H tones are separated by an unaccented mora bearing a L. We show that downdrift provides a useful diagnostic for evaluating speakers' intuitions about morphological composition and word formation.

FREYER, Frederic & Patrick JONES. *Kikuyu Tone Revisited: New Data and Analyses*.

The tonal system of Kikuyu, a Bantu language (E.51) of Kenya, is distinctive for processes including rightward "tone shift," and both automatic and non-automatic downstep. A series of insightful papers by George Clements and Kevin Ford (Ford 1975; Clements and Ford 1979, 1981; Clements 1984) presented a thorough analysis of Kikuyu tone in the early days of autosegmental theory. However, little descriptive or analytical work has been done on the subject in the past 30 years, and extant works present little phonetic data to support their phonological descriptions.

We present here a substantial reanalysis of Kikuyu tone, backed up by phonetic data from three native (L1) young-adult speakers. The current accepted account argues that tones are underlyingly unassociated, and that the syllable is the tone-bearing unit. We show that the analysis may be much simplified, and several arbitrary rules removed, if we posit tones as underlyingly linked to morphemes, and moreover assigned mora rather than by syllable. A reinterpretation of verbs and deverbal nouns further provides evidence for verbal tone melodies that closely parallel those found in other Bantu languages.

In addition, drawing from the results of our computer-analyzed phonetic data, we discuss key aspects of Kikuyu tonal phonetics, including downdrift, implementation of tonal contrasts and timing of contours. Finally, we summarize the relation between our recorded data and that previously reported in the literature and speculate on the origins of any differences.

GAMBARAGE, Joash. *Opacity of a Low Vowel and Mid Vowel Alternations in Swahili*

Bantu vowel phonemes are reflexes of the Proto-Bantu seven vowel system /*i *I *ε *a *ɔ *ɔ̃ *u/ (cf. Meinhof 1932, a.o). While lax mid vowels /ε ɔ/ are attested in most Bantu languages either underlyingly or at surface, due to some reasons the phonemic status of /ε ɔ/ remains fuzzy. In this talk, I show that (mainland) Swahili (G42) exhibits alternations between lax mid vowels and tense vowels, and that a low vowel blocks such alternations. I provide preliminary acoustic results to support my argument that Swahili indeed exhibits tense mid vowels [e o], contra Choge 2009. I argue that Swahili mid vowels exhibit a three-way distinction as shown below:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Phonemic vowels | (2) Allophonic mid vowels | (3) Referential contrast |
| a. /pita/ 'pass' | a. kodi 'tax' | a. [mčango] 'intestinal worm' |
| b. /peta/ 'winnow' | b. hofu 'fear' | b. [mčango] 'contribution' |
| c. /pata/ 'get, find' | | |

- d. /pɔta/ 'twist'
- e. /puta/ 'speedy'

To fully characterize the distribution of mid vowels, I invoke a theory of Markedness, (cf. Bakovic 2000; deLacy 2002; Casali 2003; Hume 2011). The theory contributes to our understanding of why lax mid vowels may be either triggers or target of harmony and why a low vowel may be opaque or transparent to harmony. I will submit that my new proposal to the analysis of Swahili vowels has implication to learnability and to Casali's (2003) theory of markedness.

GASTON, Bessala Ndzana B. *The Position of Adnominal Adjectives in Bakoko*

Adjectives are generally treated differently according to languages. They are considered by some linguists as Specifier, while others consider them as heads; the third group of linguists even consider adjectives to be reduced relatives. Concerning their position within the Determinative Phrase (DP), adjectives appear to the left of the noun in Germanic languages for example, and in Romance languages, they appear both to the left and to the right of the noun. what is then their position in Bantu languages? This paper is going to show that in Bantu languages, adjectives behave like adjectives in Romance languages that is, they can appear to the left and to the right of the noun but, depending whether they are derived or not. this fact will be mainly observed in Bakoùkoù, a Bantu language spoken in the Southern part of Africa, precisely in Cameroon. Relying on some works done by linguists such as Berman (1973), Abney (1987), Kayne (1994), Cinque (1995), Chomsky (1995), Bouchard (1998), Laenzlinger (2000), Nchare (2011), and Biloa (2013a) it will be shown that in Bakoùkoù, only 'qualificative nouns' or 'derived adjectives' can be preposed inducing an associative construction where the associative marker varies according to the derived adjective whereas 'pure adjectives' appear postnominally with the agreement morpheme which varies according to the qualified noun. Based on Generative theory this paper present firstly and secondly *language classification and word order*; the third section review the theoretical assumptions on adjective and the last section deals with the position of adjectives in Bakoko.

GEBREGZIABHER, Keffyalew. *Are Tigrinya (Double) Pronominal Possessive Affixes Clitics or Agreement Markers?*

Tigrinya (Semitic, Ethiopia & Eritrea; SOV) uses two basic strategies to encode possession: (i) a NAY-MARKED POSSESSIVE STRATEGY (cf. 1) and (ii) a BARE POSSESSIVE STRATEGY (cf. 2). Each strategy involves two types of possessors, which differ in both structure and function: (1) independent full DPs and (2) dependent pronominal affixes. While the independent NAY-MARKED POSSESSORS appear preceding a non-relational/alienable possessed noun (1a), the BARE POSSESSORS appear following a relational/inalienable possessed noun (2a). By contrast, the dependent PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR AFFIXES are always attached either to the element *nay* (1b) or the possessed noun (2b) or both (1b) to encode any relational meaning.

- | | | | |
|--------|---|--------|--|
| (1) a. | <i>nay</i> <i>ʔit-i</i> <i>kəntiʃa</i> <i>məs'haf</i> | (2) a. | <i>wəddi</i> <i>ʔit-i</i> <i>kəntiʃa</i> |
| | NAY D-m.sg may book | | son D-m.sg mayor |
| | 'the mayor's book' | | 'the mayor's son' |
-
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|----|----------------|
| b. | <i>nat-u</i> <i>məs'haf-u</i> | b. | <i>wədd-u</i> |
| | NAY-3m.sg.Poss book-3m.sg.Poss | | son-3m.sg.Poss |
| | 'his son' | | 'his book' |

In this paper, I only discuss the nature of the pronominal affixes and determine whether these pronominal affixes are clitics or agreement markers.

In the literature, there is a long debate whether similar pronominal affixes in the verbal domain are clitics (cf. Mullen 1986) or agreement markers (cf. Yimam 2004) (see also Kramer 2014 for re-opening of the debate). Particularly, two hypotheses have been put forward to account for similar affixes in Amharic, a very closely related Ethio-Semitic language: (a) pronominal affixes are agreement markers (Yimam 2004) and (b) pronominal affixes are doubled clitics (Kramer 2014 and references cited therein). I argue that the former fares better in accounting the Tigrinya facts.

GIRARD, Raphael & Hermann KEUPDJIO. *The Phonetics and Phonology of Voicing Contrasts in Medumba*

This paper discusses patterns of consonantal contrasts in Medumba, a Grassfield Bantu language of Cameroon. In this language, consonants come in series, which can roughly be characterized as voiced or voiceless. The manifestation of contrasts however, takes a variety of forms, depending on the place of articulation of the consonant, and on the vowels that follows it (Voorhoeve 1965). Consider, for example, the case of bilabial stops, which are always voiced in word-initial position. Before high vowels, a bilabial stop is usually released either directly into the vowel, or into an approximant whose shape depends on the upcoming vowel: [b^h] before [i], and [b^β] before [u], and [ɸ]. When combined with prenasalization, these voiced releases tend to be more fricative-like and, in the case of an upcoming [ɸ], can even be trilled [β]. Before non-high vowels, on the other hand, bilabial stops are consistently realized as voiced unaspirated [b], and approximant- or fricative-like releases are generally unattested.

GLEWWE, Eleanor & Ann ALY. *Palatalization in Logoori*

This paper examines velar and coronal palatalization in Logoori (Bantu, Kenya, JE41), building on the analysis in Leung (1991). The dialect under study falls into Type E of Hyman & Moxley's (1996) typology of Bantu velar palatalization, palatalizing /k/ and /g/ only before a palatal glide (kj → tʃ; gj → dʒ). This dialect differs from the one Leung describes, which also palatalizes /k/ and /g/ before [i]. The palatal glides that trigger velar palatalization in Logoori are always derived from underlying vowels through a gliding process that induces compensatory lengthening on the following vowel (ia → jaa). Consequently, all derived postalveolar affricates should be followed by long vowels. We discuss the distribution of derived and non-derived postalveolar affricates in the language and show how vowel length can be used to diagnose the non-derived status of an affricate.

Coronal palatalization in this dialect also differs from that described in Leung (1991). Leung excludes [ʃ] from the Logoori phonemic inventory, arguing that surface [ʃ] is always derived from /h/. We provide new instances of surface [ʃ] that, if also derived from /h/, would lead to a rule ordering paradox. The ordering paradox can be resolved by claiming either that [ʃ] is a phoneme or that these instances of [ʃ] are derived from something other than /h/. We opt for the latter analysis and argue that Logoori palatalizes /s/ to [ʃ] before a palatal glide (sj → ʃ), a coronal palatalization process not previously described for the language.

GLUCKMAN, John & Margit BOWLER. *Transitivity Alternations in Luragooli*

In this paper, we present original data on transitivity alternations in Luragooli (Luyia, Bantu; Kenya) (also called Logooli or Maragoli). In particular, we focus on the distribution and interpretation of the verbal suffix *-Vk* (*-ik -ek, -ok, and -uk*), described as a detransitivizer, stative, or inchoative suffix in other Bantu languages (Schadeburg, 2003; Fernando, 2013). First, we compare the distribution and interpretation of *-Vk* to (anti-) causative alternations in Romance and Germanic, considering whether *-Vk* should be treated as the “anti-causative marker” in Luragooli. In terms of verb classes that are known to participate in causative alternations, *-Vk* patterns quite closely with expectations from Romance and Germanic. We further show that for many verbs, *-Vk* entails a culminated (or bounded) event, further aligning *-Vk* with other instances of anti-causatives cross-linguistically. However, we also discuss counterexamples, in particular focusing on the appearance of *-Vk* with predicates licensing Experiencer subjects. While the discussion is primarily descriptive, we suggest that *-Vk* universally restricts the subject of a transitive verb, but may also entail further semantics, depending on the root it combines with.

GREEN, Christopher & Michael R. MARLO. *Wanga Verb Phrase Tonology*

Wanga [lwg] exhibits at least nine distinct tone melodies associated with tense-aspect-polarity differences in verbs. Nearly all verb forms are inflected with one of these tone melodies, which consists of one or more grammatical Melodic High (MH) tones. MH tones interact with lexical tones contributed by other morphemes. Verb roots fall into two tonal types, e.g. /L/ **a-karaɒdzire** ‘he fried’ (with no surface MH) vs. /Ø/ **a-léxúúlire** ‘he released’ (with a MH on the first three stem moras). The surface realization tonal melody can be affected further by object markers, e.g. **a-mu-káraɒdzire** ‘he fried for him’ acquires a stem-initial H, but **a-mu-léxúúlire** ‘he released him’ maintains the stem tone pattern of forms lacking an object marker.

Up to now, little has been known about the tonology of Wanga verb phrases. Our goal is to fill this gap by describing properties of Wanga VP tone, including the cross-linguistically rare process of High Tone Anticipation (HTA), which spreads H leftwards from postverbal modifiers such as adverbs onto the verb. The application of HTA onto the verb is restricted by the presence of a MH. We show that a MH is absent in some phrasal contexts, and in such forms HTA applies. We situate these facts alongside other Luyia languages and offer new data on previously unreported verbal contexts in Wanga.

GRIMM, Nadine. *Implosives in Bantu A80? The Case of Gyeli*

Implosive consonants have been reported for several Bantu A80 languages, including Mpiemo, Shiwa, Kola, and Bekwel. Most authors agree that implosives in A80 languages have phonetic rather than phonemic status, but differ in how they view the relation between implosives and voiced stops, e.g. whether /b/ is an allophone of /b/ or whether a language lacks /b/ altogether. This differing treatment of implosives in the A80 literature raises the question whether these consonants really are implosives in the first place in all of these languages, especially since the posited distribution would be puzzling from a typological perspective, e.g. assuming that a language lacks a voiced counterpart to /p/, yet has a pervasive implosive /b/.

Data from Gyeli, an endangered and under-studied Bantu A80 language spoken by “Pygmy” hunter-gatherers in southern Cameroon, suggests that consonants which could be taken to be implosives are better described as phonemic voiced plosives that are phonetically realized with pre-glottalization and a relatively long voice onset time (VOT), typically in stem initial position. The effect of pre-glottalization and a long VOT can easily be mistaken for an implosive, especially since both implosives and pre-glottalized stops involve the manipulation of the larynx and the occurrence of implosives seems to be areally expected. The case of pre-glottalized voiced stops in Gyeli may serve as a starting point to reconsider special voiced stops in A80 languages and clarify the status of alleged implosives, at least in some languages.

GRIMM, Scott. *The Information Packaging Particle Ia in Dagaare*

This paper examines the information packaging particle *la* in Dagaare (Gur, spoken in NW Ghana). The literature assigns divergent functions to the particle *la* according to its clausal position. Bodomo (1997, 2000) considers post-verbal *la* to function as a marker of assertion or “factivity”, since, according to him, *la* is obligatory in positive declarative sentences. In a distinct pre-verbal use, *la* serves as a focus marker of subjects or fronted constituents.

I examine the use of *la* through elicited material via the “Questionnaire on Information Structure” (Skopeteas et al. 2006) and from 1500 sentences of narrative text. While the new data mainly accords with much of the previous literature, *la* appears in many new, unexpected environments, such as a pre-verbal use with “all new” orthetic sentences whose subject is not previously mentioned in the discourse. Yet, *la* was not found in many places where it would be expected if obligatory for positive declarative sentences. While the data validates Bodomo’s intuition of *la*’s prevalence, many sentences in the narrative occur without *la*—crucially, this is typically when the information contained in the clause is backgrounded, e.g. in temporal clauses.

Making use of alternative semantics (Rooth 1985, 1992), I give a unified analysis of *la* as a semantic operator introducing reference to alternatives. Given the textual evidence, *la* is not treated as obligatory for declarative sentences, but occurring only in sentences that address an (often implicit) Question-Under-Discussion (QUD) in the discourse (Roberts 1996).

GRISCOM, Richard. *A Phonetic and Phonological Analysis of Contrastive Length in Southern Kenyan Maa Vocalic Sequences*

Southern Kenyan Maa ([mas], Eastern Nilotic) is typologically unusual in having not only diphthongs but also triphthongs in tautosyllabic phonological units. Furthermore, there are phonological contrasts in the length of vowels both across morpheme boundaries and within individual morphemes. The combination of these two components within the phonological system results in the cross-linguistically rare contrast between long and short diphthongs. This contrast is manifested through the tone-bearing properties and (morpho)phonological distribution of diphthongs, and further correlates with the acoustic features of duration and formant trajectory. The phonological length of all tautosyllabic vocalic sequences, including diphthongs, additionally distributes across three common categories (i.e. one, two, or three morae), reinforcing theoretical accounts of contrastive vowel length within monophthongs (Odden 2011).

GUNTLY, Erin & Joash Gambarage. *The Syntax of Possession in Nata*

In considering data from Nata (E-45), we notice that pronominal possessors appear to occupy a higher syntactic position than nominal possessors. An important initial diagnostic is the behavior of each when the possessum is modified by an adjective, but additional diagnostics also support this analysis. When the NP is elided in “one” substitution type tests, the pre-prefix (ppf), or augment, remains attached to the pronominal possessor, but not to other possessors. Phonologically, DPs in Nata carry one high tone, but pronominal possessors do not carry a high tone, suggesting that they behave more like clitics and therefore must attach to the NP. In the exception that proves the rule, c5 nouns that do not have a ppf are eligible to move into the pronominal possessor position, triggering semantic interpretations that differ from when the nominal possessor is in the lower position. The conclusion that we draw from these diagnostics is that pronominal possessors must attach to a higher position, essentially internal to the DP of the possessed noun. Other possessors attach in a lower position because they maintain their own ppf.

HANTGAN, Abby & Serge SAGNA. *The Role of Syllable Weight in Gújjolaay Eegimaa Gemination*

Gújjolaay Eegimaa, a Jóola language of the Atlantic group from southwestern Senegal, displays complex patterns of gemination triggered by reduplication of a verb stem in the perfective aspect (Table 1). A verb root (first column of each set) is an abstract form which never surfaces. A citation verb stem (second column) consists of a verb root plus a prefixed class marker (in these examples [e] ~ [ɛ]). A finite verb stem obligatorily takes a prefix and inflectional marking. In the case of the perfective verb stem (third column), the first person singular pronoun is prefixed to a reduplicated verb stem.

Table 1: Verb Roots with Final Obstruents

	Root	CIT	PfV	Gloss		Root	CIT	PfV	Gloss
a	/pap/	[ɛ-ɸaɸ]	[ni-ɸa-ɸaɸ]	‘I dusted’	aa	/cɔb/	[ɛ-ɔɸ]	[ni-ɔ-ccɔɸ]	‘I chose’
b	/tɔs/	[ɛ-tɔs]	[ni-tɔ-tɔs]	‘I moved’	bb	/fid/	[e-fir]	[ni-fi-ffir]	‘I prevented’
c	/kic/	[ɛ-xi]	[ni-xi-xi]	‘I wrote’	cc	/tɔj/	[ɛ-tɔj]	[ni-tɔ-ttɔj]	‘I closed’
d	/bɔk/	[ɛ-βɔx]	[ni-βɔ-βɔx]	‘I danced’	dd	/dɛg/	[ɛ-rɛg]	[ni-rɛ-ddɛg]	‘I’m annoyed’

We argue that the reduplicant-final consonant is deleted in the perfective aspect. The triggering of the deletion of the reduplicant-final consonant occurs to prevent an impermissible consonant cluster from surfacing as the onset of the base. In Eegimaa, only certain consonants may appear in coda position. The only obstruents found in coda position are voiceless fricatives or devoiced plosives, (unless the coda is part of a geminated consonant). We propose the reason for the restriction on coda consonants is based on a difference in the moraic status of consonants. Voicing differences as determining weight

units are found cross-linguistically. Ohala's (1983) observation that voiced obstruents are phonetically shorter than voiceless counterparts is referenced by Ham [2001] to provide phonetic as well as phonological evidence to differentiate voiced from voiceless consonants in terms of their weight distribution.

HARTER, Claire. *Discourse Strategies in the Dakar Marketplace*

The study here presents an ethnography of bargaining in the markets of Dakar, Senegal. Linguistic data collected in summer 2014 serves as a basis for a discussion of the structure of the bargaining sequence in the Dakar marketplace. The paper looks at the idea of genre, using communicative purpose and sequential stages to delineate the bargaining genre and speech event in the Senegalese context. Further, the study examines specific bargaining strategies in the Dakar market context that are used by both consumer and shopkeeper from the perspective of power negotiation. I posit here that interactants use bargaining strategies, from either a position of superiority or of subordination, in order to gain the advantage in the specific bargaining speech event. This paper seeks to discuss and analyze recorded data and, subsequently, to make several theoretical suppositions about pragmatic competence of language users in the marketplace. These goals are the driving force of the study throughout.

HOLMGREN, Lucas, Alexandre Ilungu MUZALIWA & Tim THORNES. *Beyond the Lubunga: the Documentation of Ebeembe Proverbs*

We report on the progress made and methods used to record, transcribe, and annotate an extensive inventory of proverbs in Ebeembe (bmb; Bantu, D54) through work with members of the refugee Babembe community in Boise, Idaho. In this project, we document not only the proverbs themselves (nearly 300 so far from a single speaker), but also spontaneous discussions between native speakers as they negotiate the translation of each proverb and describe the various contexts for their use.

Following the completion of an undergraduate field methods course involving five speakers of Ebeembe (bmb; Bantu, D54), they and other members of the refugee Babembe community in Boise, Idaho, identified the documentation of proverbs as a preferred follow-up project. As refugees living in a "preferred resettlement community" like Boise, the Babembe express alarm that the language is not being passed on to younger generations, who have quickly come to retain mostly passive knowledge of it.

While the proverbs themselves are rich in cultural and pragmatic content, the recorded meta-discussions of them provide opportunities to explore Ebeembe grammatical structures occurring in natural speech.

Alongside structures that make Bantu languages "famous"—rich noun class and agreement systems, subtle TAM distinctions, grammatical tone, and a wide array of verbal derivational processes (extensions)—the recording of informal conversation has brought forward more hard-to-elicited features, such as direct quote phonation, contextually rich gesture, and difficult-to-translate metaphors, as well as some unexpected variation in the application of formal noun class prefixes.

HYMAN, Larry. *Outward Looking y/∅ Alternations in Luganda*

In a number of Eastern Bantu languages an issue of "outward looking morphology" arises from the interaction of the verb stem (root + suffixes) and what precedes it. As seen in (1a), vowel-initial verb roots such as *-er-* 'sweep' appear as such when preceded by a CV- prefix in Luganda (Hyman & Katamba 1999: 371):

- (1) a. tú-er-a [tw-éer-a] 'we sweep'
b. a-ér-a [a-yér-a] 's/he sweeps'
c. er-á [yer-á] 'sweep!'

When preceded by a V- prefix (1b), or when initial (1c), a root-initial [y] appears. As seen in (2a), only V-initial roots acquire a [y], while (2b) shows that the root allomorphy is determined exclusively on the basis of the immediately preceding prefix:

- (2) a. tú-a-gu-a [tw-áá-gw-a] 'we fell'
b. tú-a-er-a [tw-áá-yer-a] 'we swept'

Hyman & Katamba (1999) show that the *y-* vs. \emptyset initial must be first established in order to assign the stem tones correctly; however, the presence vs. absence of *y-* cannot be known without "looking ahead" to see what will precede the stem—an "outward-looking" morphological effect, prohibited by Carstairs' (1987) peripherality condition, an issue in both constructional and distributed morphology (Babolijk 2000, Embick 2010, Inkelas 2014, Svenonius 2014). We argue for generating two stems in parallel, one with initial *y-*, the other without, the correct one selected on the basis of strict locality with the preceding prefix or left edge. The basic motivating constraint is that a stem-initial vowel must have an onset in the output, either from a preceding CV- prefix or the *y-*.

IDIATOV, Dmitry. *Tonal Marking of Intransitive Predications in Manding-Mokole as a Result of Language Contact*

At least two Manding-Mokole languages (Mande, Western, Central), viz. Mandinka and Kakabe, have been reported to use differences in tone for marking the transitivity status of the verb in constructions that otherwise contain the same TAM marker in the

immediately post-subject slot, the so-called predicative marker. Mande morphosyntax provides no natural pathway for language-internal emergence of such a tonal intransitive marker. Furthermore, a direct transfer from some neighbouring language is also very unlikely, since no other language in the region has a comparable marker. Still, I argue that the solution does involve language contact, namely with Soninke (Mande, Western, Soninke-Bozo), but that the transfer has occurred through mistaken matching of the tonal properties of two Soninke constructions that happen to be otherwise formally and semantically very similar to the target Manding-Mokole constructions. In particular, I argue that the floating L intransitive marker is a result of an imperfect transfer of the L tone morphological operation used in Soninke on verbs, irrespective of their transitivity, in combination with the negative perfective marker *má* and the negative imperfective marker *ntá*. It is important that unlike in Manding-Mokole, in Soninke the L tone morphological operation under negation can be accounted for language-internally. The transfer occurred in those contexts where the relation between the negative predicative marker and the tone marking on the verb in Soninke would be most obvious to Manding-Mokole speakers as compared to their native pattern, viz. when the verb is immediately adjacent to the predicative marker, i.e. in intransitive constructions.

IHEMERE, Kelechukwu. *Igbo-English Intrasentential Codeswitching and the Matrix Language Frame Model*

This paper examines an account of intrasentential codeswitching (i.e., codeswitching within a bilingual clause) in terms of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1997, 2002), a proposal associated with the notion of asymmetry in the roles played by the languages participating in codeswitching. Thus, we take as our basic assumption the notion under the MLF model that the two languages (in our case Igbo and English) participating in codeswitching do not both contribute equally to the morphosyntactic frame of a mixed constituent. That is, one language is dominant (the Matrix Language - ML), contributing the frame building morphosyntactic properties; the other language (the Embedded Language -EL) contributes certain lexical items that are fitted into appropriate slots framed by the ML. In doing this, we argue against codeswitching frameworks: (1) that seek to prohibit switching on the grounds of surface-level linear differences between the languages participating in codeswitching; (2) that seek to bar codeswitching between a functional head and its complement; and (3) that appear to ban word-internal codeswitching between a root and an affix. Instead the analysis provides both empirical and quantitative support for the ML versus EL hierarchy in codeswitching as predicted by the MLF model. Nevertheless, the paper highlights and discusses some seemingly problematic examples for the MLF model such as bare forms, multi-word sequences framed by a ML element and double morphology.

ISAIAH, Adebola. *Segmental Substitution Patterns in Yoruba Phonological Acquisition*

Yoruba is one of the few cases of languages where the voiced sound /b/ lacks its voiceless counterpart /p/. Although the adult form is devoid of /p/, it is one of the early acquired sounds which is also used as substitute for a number of other sounds at this early stage by Yoruba children. This raises a question for universal markedness theory on voicing.

Another issue discussed in this paper is the acquisition of place of articulation features in Yoruba and universal markedness. The marked PoA for Yoruba children is the dorsal place, hence, dorsal >> labial >> coronal, whereas universal markedness is labial, dorsal >> coronal. The paper also shows that the stages of the acquisition of manner features in Yoruba have some differences compared to Jakobson's (1968) hypothesis. Lastly, this paper gives some insights into how children acquire the complex segments /kp/ and /gb/ of Yoruba.

An Optimality theoretic account is adopted. The choice of OT is based on its flexibility in the ranking and re-ranking of constraints, which makes accounting for the children's form plausible. A cross-sectional data was obtained from twenty-two Yoruba speaking children aged 2;6-3;7. The result of this research shows that in order to acquire the marked form, the unmarked form must have been acquired irrespective of its absence in the target language. /kp, gb/ form part of the lately acquired phonemes of Yoruba, and prior to their acquisition, children simplify by using the less marked PoA feature.

JERRO, Kyle. *Locative Applicatives and the Interaction of Verb Class*

In this presentation, I discuss the interaction of verb class and the locative applicative in Kinyarwanda (a Bantu language spoken in Rwanda). Previous analyses of applicative morphology have focused almost exclusively on the syntax of the applied object, assuming that applicativization adds a new object with a transparent thematic role. I show instead that the interpretation of the applied object is highly contingent upon the meaning of the verb, adding implicit path and goal meanings for base predicates that implicitly encode this information. I outline a typology of the interaction of the locative applicative with four different verb types, and sketch an analysis of applicativization as an operation that is sensitive to the implicit semantic entailments of a verb.

JONES, Patrick. *Underlying Falling Tones in Three Interlacustrine Bantu Languages*

In most Bantu languages, the phonetic contrast between high- and low-toned vowels can be reduced to a privative phonological contrast between H and \emptyset . However, in at least three Interlacustrine Bantu languages – Luganda, Kinande and Shi – this simple privative contrast is insufficient. In these languages, evidence for a third value, *active L tone*, is systematically

found on vowels *immediately following* H-toned vowels. Evidence for active L tones includes the failure of phrasal H tones to associate or spread, the appearance of otherwise unexpected falling tones, and downstep.

Given these results, a central question is why post-H vowels in particular should bear phonological L tones. I argue that this is because in these languages, the basic unit of tonal contrast is an underlying *fall (HL)*, which expands on the surface in order to avoid violating a highly-ranked constraint against contour tones. In Luganda and Shi, underlying falls expand to the right, so that verb roots with underlying falling tones on the root-initial vowel surface with a H tone on their first vowel and a L on the second. In Kinande, expansion is to the left, so that an underlying falling tone produces a H tone on the pre-root vowel and a L tone on the root-initial vowel. This analysis, I argue, allows us to connect the presence and distribution of active L tones with other key tonal phenomena, including leftward H tone shift in Kinande and the H→L pitch drop in Luganda.

KABASELE, Philothe Mwamba. *Vowel Sound Change: The Case of Near-Merger in Kinshasa Lingala*

This paper discusses near-merger in Kinshasa Lingala (KL) and hypothesizes that KL Native speakers do not perceptually discriminate between the vowels /ɔ/ and /o/, and /e/ and /ɛ/ respectively. Yet clear cut discrimination emerges from the pronunciation of those tokens in Makanza Lingala.

It is claimed that /ɛ/ nearly-merges with /e/ and /ɔ/ with /o/ resulting in the loss of perceptual contrast between each pair of vowels. /o/ has split to /u/ and /o/ resulting in optional alternation in words which were initially produced with /o/.

The experimental method combined with the instrumental phonetics, Praat software was used to provide acoustic evidence. Sixteen native speakers were administered a picture naming task to elicit the data. The paper argues in favor of the preference law approach (Murray and Vennemann, 1983) to account for the observed phenomena.

T-test has shown significant difference between the means of the F1 of the tokens. This difference shows that those vowels are still produced as distinct phonetic entities even if, perceptually, their contrast is lost. The paper reveals that [o] and [ɔ] fall in the same phonological space as back vowels. The study further shows a non-conditioned split of [o] into [u] and [o] in producing a word containing [o].

The findings of the study confirm the hypothesis of near-merger which is motivated and attributed to the linguistic preferences expressed by the cognitive system of KL speakers.

KANDYBOWICZ, Jason & Harold TORRENCE. *There's No Wrong Way to Front a Predicate in Krachi*

Many languages allow predicate fronting. In some of those languages, there is more than one way to front the predicate – either a verb or a verb phrase moves to the left periphery and an additional copy of the verb is realized lower in the clause. Krachi, an endangered North Guang language of eastern Ghana, is one such language.

- (1) a. ɔkyɪ wɔ ɛ-dikɛ i-gyɔ. b. Ke [dikɛ] yi ɔkyɪ wɔ ɛ-*(dikɛ) i-gyɔ.
 woman the pst-cook pl-yam nom cook foc woman the pst-cook pl-yam
 ‘The woman cooked yams.’ ‘It was COOKING that the woman did to yams (not, eating).’
- c. Ke [dikɛ i-gyɔ] yi ɔkyɪ wɔ ɛ-*(dikɛ).
 nom cook pl-yam foc woman the pst-cook
 ‘The woman only cooked yams (i.e. she did nothing else).’

However unlike most languages, Krachi allows a third way to front the predicate. This third fronting strategy involves what looks like verb phrase movement with object-verb inversion and distinct semantics.

- (2) Ke [i-gyɔ dikɛ] yi ɔkyɪ wɔ ɛ-dikɛ.
 nom pl-yam cook foc woman the pst-cook
 ‘It was COOKING YAMS that the woman did (not, say, eating rice).’

We argue the instances of predicate fronting with verb doubling illustrated in (1b-c) and (2) arise as a consequence of the formation of two independent V chains: V-to-T and V-to-FocP with generalized pied-piping. In particular, (1b) is derived when VP is pied-piped to Spec,FocP; (1c) is the consequence of vP pied-piping; and (2) emerges when the functional projection between v⁰ and V⁰ is pied-piped.

KAWASHA, Boniface. *Phonological Processes and the Remote Past Affix in Kaonde*

This paper surveys and examines the various phonological processes that the remote past affix *-ile* trigger in Kaonde, a language spoken in Zambia. The suffix is commonly referred to as “the perfect” in the literature, but this does not apply to this language as well as a number of other neighboring languages such as Chokwe, Lunda, and Luvale. It exhibits several alternations as it can be realized as *ile*, *-ele*, *-ine*, *-ene*, *-ishe*, *-eshe*, *-izhe*, *-ezhe*, *-inye*, and *-enye*. The various allomorphs are due to various assimilation rules that obtains in the language. The final consonant of the verb stems plays a major in determining these rules. Besides the common processes of vowel height harmony, and nasal harmony, Kaonde has also coronal consonant harmony and palatalization. In addition, the language displays another phonological process called “imbrication” (Ashton et al. 1954; Givón 1970; Kisseberth and Abasheik 1974; Bastin 1983; Hyman 1995, 1998, etc.). It may

result in elision of the lateral consonant /l/ or the base final consonant, vowel coalescence, vowel gliding, and compensatory vowel lengthening depending on the verb stem. Additionally, it can lead to other peculiarities such as diphthongization, and either complete insertion or removal of the segment /il/ of the suffix depending on the nature of the verb base.

KEUPDJIO, Hermann. *Number stacking and the Semantics of Associative Plurals in Bamileke Medumba*

Associative plurals ('group plurals') are expressions whose meaning can be paraphrased as "X and X's associated group" (Corbett 2000, Moravcsik 2003). These expressions are formed in Medumba by combining the associative plural marker, the low tone *bà*, with proper names (1) or an overtly number-marked noun (2 & 3).

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| (1) <i>Numi tjàʔdà (bà) Sɛmí</i>
Numi greet APL Sami
'Numi greeted Sami
(and his associates') | (2) <i>Numi tjàʔdà (bà) má-dzùm</i>
Numi greet APL SG-boy
'Numi greeted the boy
(and his associates)' | (3) <i>Numi tjàʔdà (bà) bá-dzùm</i>
Numi greet APL PL-boy
'Numi greeted the/some boys
(and their associates)' |
|--|--|--|

I address the following questions: (i) how is the Medumba associative plural integrated into the number system? (ii) What is the denotation of regular plural in Medumba? and (iii) What is the denotation of Associative Plurals in Medumba? With regard to Medumba DP syntax, I adopt Carstens (2010) projection of NumP above NP for SG/PL prefixes and argue that the Medumba associative *bà* plural involves number-stacking, as seen by the fact it combines with an overtly number-marked noun. I therefore propose that *bà* occupies the head of another NumP above the regular NumP:

(4) [DP [NumP₂ [Num_{APL} *bà* [NumP₁ [Num_{SG/PL} [NP]]]]]]

As for the semantics of pluralities, I opt for a unified analysis of regular and associative plurals and adopt a set-based analysis, which provides interesting insights on the denotation of pluralities and the distribution of associative plurals in Medumba. It appears from this analysis that singulars denote singleton sets whereas plurals denote non-singleton sets.



I propose that in Medumba, the APL *bà* is a function that picks out the set referred to by the focal referent plus the set of the associates and the sets formed by the union of these sets. (6) $APL(S) = * \{x \in D^* \mid \exists y, z [x = y \cup z \wedge y \in S \wedge z \notin S \wedge z \in Assoc(y)]$

KOFFI, Etienne. *The Acoustic Correlates of [±ATR] Vowels in Anyi*

Stewart (1967:197) accidentally "discovered" the phonetic feature [±ATR] by reading Hockett's (1958:78-79) explanation of the articulation of tense and lax vowels in American English. Since then numerous articulatory phonetic studies have been undertaken to measure tongue root movements and chin positions of [+ATR] vowels [i, e, u, o], and [-ATR] vowels [ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɔ] in some African languages. Retord (1977) undertook a massive cine-radiological film study of the articulation of [±ATR] vowels in Anyi-Sanvi. Tielde (1993) resorted to MRI to study tongue root movements involved in the production of [i, ɪ], [e, ɛ], and [u, ʊ] in Akan. Though articulatory phonetic studies of this type exist, one is hard pressed to find studies that examine the distinction between [±ATR] vowels acoustically. The goal of this presentation is to help fill this void by investigating [±ATR] in Anyi Morofou. To this end, 10 speakers were recorded reading the following sentences, "ɔ'a hi, ɔ'a hu, ɔ'a he, ɔ'a he, ɔ'a hu, ɔ'a hu, ɔ'a ho, ɔ'a ho, ɔ'a ha." Each sentence contains a monosyllabic word of hV syllable structure. The nine vowels under investigation are all preceded by [h] as in Peterson and Barney (1952), and Hillenbrand et al. (1995) because it has the least acoustic effect on the following vowel. Each sentence is repeated three times. The 10 Anyi participants in this research produced a total of 270 [±ATR] vowels (10 x 9 x 3). For each vowel, six acoustic correlates, F0, F1, F2, F3, intensity, and duration, are measured. All in all 1630 acoustic cues are examined to determine which of them, if any, is characteristic of the [±ATR] feature.

KORSAH, Sampson. *Expletives Versus Subject Resumptives in Akan*

This paper highlights trends such as (1) in *spoken* Asante-Twi, a dialect of Akan (Kwa), where the site from which the head noun of a relative clause i.e. *Mmɔ́frá* 'children' has been extracted can structurally be filled by either an agreeing resumptive pronoun i.e. *wɔ-* 'they' or a non-agreeing phonetic material *ɛ-*.

- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| (1) <i>Mmɔ́frá;</i> | <i>áa</i> | <i>*(ɛ-wɔ)-hyé-ɛ</i> | <i>mpaboá</i> | <i>nó</i> | <i>nó</i> | <i>bé-bá.</i> |
| children | REL | EXPL-/3PL-buy-PST | shoe | DEF | CD | FUT-come |

"The children who wore the shoe will come."

I argue that this optionality that Asante-Twi allows and which particularly obtains in extracted subject positions in relativization and focus constructions, is a reflection of a crosslinguistic constraint on subject extraction or movement (see Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007). As I will show, what is more interesting is the fact that while many languages use one of several strategies to avert or repair subject extraction, speakers of Asante-Twi exploit two main strategies: (a), the use of an agreeing

Maragoli has two linkers/copulas: (I) one defective copula (glossed as cop1) which has an invariant form `ne', regardless of class noun, gender and number of the subject of predication and an inflected copular verb, `kuva' (glossed as cop2), which agrees with the subject in gender, number and noun class. When the postcopular phrase is used to spatially or temporally locate the precopular phrase only the inflected copula can be used. This includes existential constructions as well as locative and temporal copular constructions. When the postcopular phrase denotes a property, the two copular verbs can be used interchangeably, with few exceptions.

Finally, when the postcopular phrase is the referential argument, then only *ni* can be used. This includes specificational copular sentences and identificational sentences.

I follow Adger and Ramchand's (2003) insight that strong DPs (in the sense of Zamparelli (2000)) cannot be in the in-situ predicative position and I argue that Maragoli specificational and identificational sentences should be analyzed as inverse sentences (much on the vein of Moro (1997)).

LOWE, Colin, Michael MARLO, Evan PORT & Maurice Wekhwela SIFUNA. *Bukusu Verb*

Tonology

This talk explores some essential features of Bukusu verb tonology, paying particular attention to differences between the speech of the fourth author with data reported in Mutonyi (2000: Ch. 7). In 'Class One' verb forms like the near future and the infinitive, our data and Mutonyi's are identical for historically toneless (*Ø) verbs: verbs are toneless prepausally but are realized with H on the tense marker *la-* in phrase-medial position. In the historically *H-toned class of verbs, our data have H on the tense prefix prepausally, and, additionally, on the second stem syllable in phrase-medial position. Mutonyi's data are the same for verbs in phrase-medial position, but not for phrase-final verbs, where Mutonyi reports a H on the second and final stem syllables.

(2)	Sifuna	'he will V'	Mutonyi (2000)	'he will V'
	*Ø	a-la[βakal-a]	a-la[kalam-a]	'look up'
		a-lá[lólelel-a] ...	a-lá[kalam-a] ...	'look up ...'
	*H	a-lá[βukul-a]	a-lá[βukúl-á]	'take'
		a-lá[rumíkhil-a] ...	a-lá[βukúl-a] ...	'take ...'

Our presentation will provide a descriptive analyses of these and other complex facts of Bukusu verb tone. Some basic questions about Bukusu verb tone is whether *H verbs are synchronically /H/ or /L/, whether the H that sometimes surfaces on *la-* should be underlyingly affiliated with the tense prefix, and what processes are responsible for the differences between root tone classes and between verb forms in phrase-final vs. phrase-medial position.

LOTVEN, Samson. *Tone Sandhi as a Diagnostic for the Morphological Status of Reduplication in Mina*

Mina, a Gbe language spoken in Southern Togo and Benin, commonly uses both full and partial reduplication in word derivation. Reduplication used to form adjectives and nouns from verbs (including adjectival verbs) is distinctly different from reduplication used to indicate intensity, repetition, or prolongation of an action. This research does not make claims based on any particular theory of phonology or morphology, but rather describes language-internal methods for the study of Mina. The goal of this paper is to present data dividing Mina reduplication into two basic processes and to use the rules of Mina word-internal tone sandhi as a diagnostic to differentiate morphological reduplication from simple iteration.

The results of this study suggest that reduplication used to change the part of speech of a Mina word is morphological, whereas other reduplication is not. Data for this research was obtained in consultation with a native Mina speaker from Batonou, a village near Glidji, Togo. In addition to the intrinsic value of describing an understudied language, the establishment and application of this diagnostic will be of use to further morphological research on Mina and will create a better understanding of the numerous applications of reduplication within the Mina language. Other aspects of reduplication in Mina will also be explored, such as noun incorporation and consonant cluster simplification, as well as some implications of reduplication on Mina syllable structure.

MARLO, Michael, Christopher GREEN, David ODDEN, Mary PASTER & Kristopher EBARB.

An Introduction to Luyia Tone

Tone in Luyia [luy] verbs is governed by two primary factors: lexically-present tone in roots, and assignment of H tones to particular vowels depending on the inflectional form of the verb. Within a language, some tenses may have no inflectional ('melodic') tone; some may have a melodic H on the second stem vowel; others may have a H towards the right edge of the stem. The exact realization of melodic H tones is determined by lexical tone, the presence of object prefixes, and prosodic properties of the stem, such as the number and weight of stem syllables. Luyia languages differ among themselves in the

nature of the lexical tone contrast in verbs: some maintain the historical contrast between *H and *∅ verbs; some have eliminated the contrast such that all roots are /∅/; others have reanalyzed *H verbs as /L/, maintaining *∅ verbs as /∅/.

Luyia noun tone is less well studied than verb tone. The underlying tonal patterns of nouns have not been clearly articulated in any Luyia variety. However, some tonal processes affecting nouns at the phrasal level appear to be widespread. **H Tone Anticipation** (HTA), a rule which also affects verbs in some contexts, spreads the H of an adjective leftward onto preceding toneless vowels. **H Tone Insertion** inserts H onto toneless nouns when combined with demonstratives and possessives. Luyia varieties differ in the position where H is inserted: the augment in Bukusu, the penult in Tiriki, the final in Wanga.

MARLO, Michael & Kenneth STEIMEL. *Wanga Noun Phrase Tonology*

This paper provides the first description of the tonology of nouns and NPs in Wanga [lwg]. We have identified at least 7 lexical classes of two-syllable nouns in Wanga. These include a toneless class (**omu-koye** ‘rope’), a class with H on the stem-initial syllable (**omu-khási** ‘wife’), a class with final H (**i-ngurwé** ‘pig’), and a class with a stem-initial H and a stem-final H (**eshi-láaró** ‘shoe’), found apparently only on CVVCV stems. Other classes involve H on noun class prefixes: one with H only on the prefix (**omú-koongo** ‘back’), and one with a H on the prefix and a final H (**lii-tuumá** ‘maize’). In addition, we have **i⁺-ngókhó** ‘chicken’ and **omú⁺-yááyi** ‘boy’, with H on the prefix and a downstepped on the following two moras.

H is acquired on the noun class prefix of some cl. 5 and some cl. 10 nouns. Compare cl. 11 **olu-sáála** ‘stick’ vs. cl. 10 **tsí-sáála** ‘sticks’, and cl. 6 **ama-yiinji** ‘arguments’ vs. cl. 5 **lii⁺-yíinji** ‘argument’. A root-initial H is deleted after the inserted H in **lii-paka** ‘cat’ (cf. **ama-páka** ‘cats’).

At the phrasal level, H Tone Anticipation (HTA) spreads H from an adjective to a preceding word (**omúú-ndú mú-láyi** ‘good person’, cf. **omuu-ndu** ‘person’). H Tone Insertion (HTI) inserts H onto the final vowel of toneless nouns, which then undergoes HTA in certain other N+modifiers combinations. Modifiers that trigger HTI include demonstratives (**omúú-ndú uno** ‘this person’), possessives (**omú-kóyé kw-áánje** ‘my rope’), and ‘another’ (**omúú-ndú uundi** ‘another person’).

McPHERSON, Laura. *Tone Features Revisited: Evidence from Seeku (Mande, Burkina Faso)*

Prominent works such as Hyman (2011) and Clements et al. (2011) have argued that African tone is better modeled with tonal primitives (H, M, L) than with tonal features. This talk reopens the question with novel data from Seeku, a three-tone Mande language of Burkina Faso. I argue that the features [±upper, ±raised] provide a unified analysis of several tonal phenomena, including tonotactics, plural formation, and verbal alternations. While the language contrasts only three tonal levels on the surface, the feature system predicts four contrastive specifications. Tonotactics and plural formation provide evidence for this distinction in the M tones, with a plural suffix [+upper] deriving [+upper,-raised] M from singular L, while underlying [-upper,+raised] M shifts to H; further evidence from tonotactics supports this distinction, as [-upper,+raised] is not allowed word-finally and is always followed by L, while derived [+upper,-raised] is allowed. Further evidence is found in the verbal domain. First, the distinction between H and M in verbs is often neutralized, to H for transitive verbs and ML for intransitive verbs. I analyze these neutralizations as default [+upper] assignment to underlying [+raised] verbs in the transitive and [-upper] assignment in the intransitive. In the perfective, H-toned transitive verbs are realized as level M (as in the plural) while L tone verbs remain unchanged. A featural account derives this result with the affixation of perfective [-raised]. In sum, this talk presents a case where tonal features show an analytic advantage over tonal primitives, suggesting the debate is not yet over.

MERRILL, John & Matthew FAYTAK. *New Evidence for Fricativized High Vowels in Proto-Bantu*

Two series of high vowels are traditionally reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, termed first-degree (*y, *j) and second-degree (*u, *i, or *ɥ, *ɨ). The exact phonetic realization of the two first-degree or super-high vowels is a topic of some debate. We show that for Southwestern Bantu, the mutating effects that the first-degree vowels have on preceding consonants, known collectively as Bantu Spirantization, point to vowels with significant spirantization, or fricative vowels, as attested in (e.g.) Swedish, Chinese, and the Grassfields Bantu languages.

The attested sound changes in SW Bantu shows that “spirantization” results in manner and place changes associated with palatal or labial gestural overlap, but also an atypical neutralization of place contrast before first-degree vowels— e.g. Ila *kɥ > fu. These sound changes parallel sound changes found in languages with fricative vowels, such as some Grassfields Bantu languages (not descended from Proto-Bantu)— e.g. Kom *kɥn > kɥn vs. Babanki *kɥn > pɥn ‘hill’.

The development of the first-degree vowels themselves in SW Bantu also suggests an atypical value for *y and *j, in particular the frequent lowering and fronting changes (e.g. Ndonga *y > wi, Herero *j > e). Fricative vowels tend to have more centralized F2 and higher F1 than would be expected for similar cardinal vowels [i] and [u] (Engstrand et al., 2000); they are also often variably realized as “broken” into a fricated portion followed by more vowel-like portion of a central, lowered quality— e.g. in Grassfields: Kom *y > y ~ və, Oku *y > (v)ə.

MICHIEKA, Martha & Leonard MUAKA. *Humor in Kenyan Comedy*

In multiethnic and multilingual communities of Africa, speakers claim certain ethnic affiliations through their speech. As an identity marker, language further compartmentalizes speakers into certain groups and leads to attitudes, labeling,

stereotyping and perceptions that go beyond language itself. Based on data drawn from Kenyan media discourse, this paper focuses on Kenyan humor to analyze absurdities, incongruity, and stylized speech in Kenyan comedy and their role in identity marking. To study these aspects of comedy, the paper uses sociocultural linguistic approaches to examine how contemporary Kenyan humorists such as Daniel Ndambuki alias Mwalimu King'ang'i Churchill style their Swahili and English discourses to index Kenya's diverse ethnolinguistic identities. The paper evaluates how this ethnic humor is perceived and what the comedians do to ensure that the humor is not offensive. The paper argues that the use of ethnic flavored discourse styles which strategically includes and excludes different participants, brings humor to the audience and helps downplay the stigma associated with certain styles of speech and ethnic practices. Selected speech samples will show L1 features that are sometimes ridiculed or stigmatized by speakers from other ethnolinguistic communities. Given how ethnicity is intertwined with language, this paper argues that the use of incongruity, absurdities, and stigmatized forms by comedians in their jokes help to create humor and neutralizes the ethnic tensions that exist amongst different ethnic groups.

MITSCH, Jane. *Discourse Particles in Borderland Wolof*

Discourse particles belong to a heterogenous group of words that are not frequently explored from a contact sociolinguistic perspective. These linguistic units are nevertheless quite frequently used in discourse to “display personal and social identity” (Schiffrin 2008). In situations of language contact, discourse particles are especially salient as borrowed particles can compete with or replace native discourse particles or even be fulfill new roles (Brody 1987). It has been said that discourse markers are among the most “borrowable” linguistic elements due to their peripheral morphosyntactic status. Discourse marker borrowing has been explained with reference to cognitive processing (Matras 2000), discourse structure (de Rooij 2000) and diachronic processes (Salmons 1990). This paper examines the social dimensions of discourse marker borrowing by drawing upon data from Wolof speakers in the borderland between Senegal and The Gambia. Within the Wolof-speaking communities of Senegal and The Gambia, discourse particles borrowed from French and English are frequent, but little has been said about their distribution. A corpus of sociolinguistic interviews from 16 speakers residing in four communities adjacent to the political border (two in each country) was analyzed for distribution of discourse particles. Results show that French-origin *comme*, *parce que*, and *mais* occur in the speech of both Senegalese and Gambian speakers (in descending frequency), suggesting these discourse particles are widespread enough to be considered borrowed into the local Wolof. Gambian youth (in particular, young men), however, distinguish their speech from their Senegalese neighbors with English-origin discourse particles.

MONICH, Irina. *A New Approach to Disjoint/Conjoint Distinction across Bantu*

In some Bantu languages, the verb may have two forms in seemingly identical environments: the disjoint and the conjoint form. The disjoint form tends to be more morphologically complex and is typically used in clause-final environments. The conjoint form tends to be morphologically simpler and favors non-clause-final environments.

The distribution of disjoint and conjoint forms does not seem to be based on exactly the same criteria across Bantu (Buell 2005, Creissels 2012). The apparent difference is that in languages like Shambaa, Kirundi and Makhuwa the conjoint form is used when one of the verbal arguments is in narrow focus, while Sotho and Nguni languages use the conjoint form whenever the verb is followed by a verbal argument or an adjunct independently of whether these constituents are focused or not.

Several accounts have been offered for the disjoint/conjoint contrast (Buell 2005, Halpert 2012, van der Wal 2009), all rejecting the possibility that the phenomenon should be linked directly to verb focus. I suggest revisiting these arguments. First, I show based on tonal evidence that in Sotho the verb is higher in the structure in conjoint forms than in disjoint forms. I propose that movement of the verb in this language is blocked under certain focus conditions. I then consider the possibility that this analysis can be extended to other Bantu languages with disjoint/conjoint distinction, and that the differences between Kirundi- and Sotho-type languages can be reduced to a slight variation on how the condition on verb movement is stated.

MOODIE, Jonathan. *Number Marking in Lopit, an Eastern Nilotic Language*

Nilotic and other Nilo-Saharan languages have rich number marking systems and it has been difficult to establish what rules might govern these systems (Dimmendaal, 2000). Lopit is an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan.

As is common amongst Nilotic languages, Lopit follows a tripartite system of singulative, plural and replacement marking. I describe the main patterns of number marking for these systems and also present some of the unusual, irregular and suppletive methods used in the language.

One special feature of number marking in Lopit is the use of the singular for marking large numbers, which can be considered as a distinction between marked and unmarked number. For the singulative type, the plural is unmarked and is used to denote the plural and the generic situation. The singulative singular is marked and, apart from the normal singular meaning, it can also be used to denote a very large and, possibly unexpected, number. I call this the ‘greater singular’.

As shown in (1), the singular form ‘*lometi*’ (of *lome*, millet), can express a very large or unbelievable amount.

(1)	<i>e-nga-balu</i>	<i>iyohoi</i>	<i>lometi!</i>
	1PL-PF-harvest	1PL.NOM	millet.SG
	‘We have harvested so much grain!’		

Number marking for very large numbers is discussed in the literature (Corbett (2000:30). However, these forms generally involve the use of a plural or a reduplicated plural to add some kind of emphasis. This does not seem to be the case in Lopit

where, under some circumstances, a singular can be used to denote a very large number. Thus, I propose the addition of the 'greater singular' to Corbett's typology of number.

MOWARIN, Macaulay. *Wh-Interrogatives in Nigerian Pidgin*

The derivation of interrogatives from kernel sentences is a linguistic universal, and a core aspect of syntactic analysis. This paper discusses the derivation of wh-interrogatives in Nigerian Pidgin based on Minimalist program as well as aspects of Principles and Parameters model. The paper undertakes an overview of Nigerian Pidgin which has creolised in parts of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Data is collected from competent speakers in Warri, Sapele, Effurun and Abraka in Delta State who speak the language as a creolised form. The paper discusses the cross linguistic typological variations of Wh-interrogatives which are: overt wh-movement and Wh in-situ types and observes that the derivation of Wh-questions in Nigerian Pidgin bestride the two types. Wh-Interrogatives in Nigerian Pidgin are derived through operator movement which moves the Wh-constituent into spec-CP position. Operator expressions are mostly bi-lexical Wh- constituents like *Wich taim* 'Where', *Wetin mek* 'What' among others. The paper also discusses direct and embedded types of Wh-Interrogatives in Nigerian Pidgin. Wh-in-situ questions are a part of direct questions in Nigerian Pidgin and they are information seeking questions. Pied piping of bi-lexical and multi-lexical Wh-phrases in the derivation of Wh-questions is discussed and preposition stranding, an exception to pied piping, is observed. Finally, the use of *Na* and *Nko*, derived from substrate languages, are also analysed. With the rising profile of Nigerian Pidgin in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, detailed linguistic analysis of the language has become imperative.

MUDZINGWA, Calisto, Rose-Marie DÉCHAINÉ & Enrico FULCONIS. *What Shona Ideophones Are (Really) Like: Fortune Revisited*

Fortune's study of Shona ideophones uncovered a wealth of generalizations and insights. Taking him as a reference point, we re-assess his findings to test models of the lexicon. Our analysis converges with previous studies in treating ideophonic competence as synaesthetic integration across different modalities; this competence is detectable and available in all human languages. On this view, the existence of an ideophonic lexicon is an emergent property: if the regular lexicon is unrestricted, the ideophonic lexicon is restricted (e.g., English); if the regular lexicon is restricted, the ideophonic lexicon is unrestricted (e.g. Shona and arguably all of Niger-Congo). We argue that ideophones are legislated by the complementarity principle: whatever holds of the regular lexicon fails to hold of the ideophonic lexicon. This division of labour has the following consequences. Phonologically, features contrastive in the regular lexicon, are gradient in the ideophonic lexicon (e.g., tones, segments, vowel, syllables). Morphologically, the primary word-class partition in Shona distinguishes categorized roots (N, A) and category-neutral roots (V, ideophones). To be categorized, verbal and ideophonic stems require suffixal vowels (-a for V; -u or -e for ideophones). Hence, virtually all ideophones can be verbalized. Syntactically, the category-neutral status of Shona verbs and ideophones accounts for why they group together as predicates and undergo the same derivational processes. Semantically, Shona ideophones use a scalar logic characteristic of expressives. Pragmatically, Shona ideophones are origo-centered in that they present the speaker's perspective of the event presented.

MUKUNA, Albert Romain Bantumbakulu, Kelly NUTTALL & Stephanie TODD. *Semantic Mapping of Adpositional Notions: The Tshiluba Prepositional System*

In this paper we describe the system of basic prepositions in Tshiluba (ISO 639-3 lua), a Bantu language spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Guthrie L.31), and examine the system under the lens of semantic typology. Tshiluba has a system of three basic prepositions: ku 'AT', pa 'ON', and mu 'IN'. The data suggest that these generic glosses do not capture the complexity of the Tshiluba preposition system and that further examination is required. For example, mu 'IN' and pa 'ON' have relatively narrow semantic fields that fit their glosses. However, the preposition ku 'AT' spans two other semantic domains ATTACHMENT and APPLIED, and is therefore not as straightforward to gloss. We looked to an analysis by Levinson and Meira (2003) who mapped spatial relations as expressed across nine different languages and mapped the spatial relations of Tshiluba in a similar fashion in order to find the semantic boundaries of each preposition. Mapping spatial relations led to a comparison against the implicational scale over adpositional notions, the commonly accepted hierarchy that ranks adpositional notions in order of appearance in a language. We found that this scale is an ill fit for Tshiluba: the Tshiluba preposition ku 'AT' spans the additional domains ATTACHMENT and APPLIED. In their analysis, Levinson and Meira state that ATTACHMENT is a semantic notion that is ambiguous and therefore not adequately accounted for in the scale. We agree with their conclusion: While the implicational scale over adpositional notions is grammatically correct, it is semantically inadequate.

MYERS, Scott. *Syllable Structure and f0 Timing in Luganda*

The tone-bearing unit in Luganda has been a matter of controversy. Tucker and Cole take the TBU to be the first V in a syllable, the second half of a long vowel, or the first half of a geminate. Hyman and Katamba, on the other hand, argue that consonants are TBU's in Luganda only when initial.

The current study investigates the timing of f0 peaks in different syllable types. 10 Luganda speakers produced sentences with a single lexical high tone associated with a single sentence-medial verb-stem-initial syllable. This test syllable varied

among 4 classes: CV (short vowel in open syllable), CVV (long vowel in open syllable), CVN (long vowel followed by a prenasalized consonant), and CVC (short vowel followed by a geminate nasal). The test word belonged to a tense in which the high tone is associated with the first mora of the stem (M1), or one in which it belongs to the second mora (M2).

The location of the f0 maximum depended on the duration of the initial CV(V) sequence, occurring toward the end of the vowel or toward the beginning of the following C. The f0 peak was later in the M2 condition than in the M1 condition when the test vowel was CV or CVV, but not in CVN or CVC syllables. The results provide support for Hyman and Katamba's characterization of the TBU's, but also for factors in the f0 timing beyond the moras and for a re-appraisal of the M1/M2 distinction.

NAMYALO, Saudah. *Analysing Linguistic Variation in Luganda Urban Space*

Using sociolinguistic variation theory (Eckert (2012), this paper analyses key aspects of linguistic variation in contemporary Luganda within the urban space. The linguistic variations are examined at various levels including but not limited to the vocabulary, morphological, phonological and syntactic levels. For example, while the older generation use the infinitive marker 'ku-' as exemplified in (1) and its omission considered ungrammatical, the infinitive among the youths and young adults is almost lost as in (2) below.

- (1) *Tujja kuzina ekiro*
 PL-shall Inf-dance-FV IV-7-night
 'We shall dance at night'
- (2) *Tujja zzina ekiro*
 2P-shall dance-FV IV-7-night
 'We shall dance at night.'

In terms of vocabulary, for example the youths tend to use semantically modified words that appear opaque to the uninitiated. E.g.

1. 'Essomero' is a Luganda word, which among the older generation means school, among the youths it means prison.
2. 'Omugezi is a Luganda word which means a wise person among older generation, among the youths it means a smart thief.

The analysis of linguistic variation in Luganda reveals that while external factors such as the influence of global cultures, advancement in technologies and interfaces through social media play an important role, the primary determinants of Luganda's linguistic variations are internal. The internal factors, which include; increased bilingualism, grammaticalisation spearheaded by the youths, language contact among others are discussed in the paper.

NAMYALO, Saudah & Jenneke VAN DER WAL. *The Interaction of Two Focus Marking Strategies in Luganda*

The Bantu language Luganda (Uganda, JE15) has two linguistic strategies to express focus on a nominal referent (subject, object, or adverb). The first strategy puts the focused referent in the preverbal domain with an agreeing morpheme prefix -e preceding the verb, as in (3).

- (3) a. *M-mése o-mu-sóta gy-e gw-a-kuttê.*
 9px-rat 3a-3px-snake 9-e 3sm-past-catch.perf
 'It's a rat that the snake caught.'
- b. *Mu-sóta gw-e gw-á-lya e-m-mése.*
 3px-snake 3-e 3sm-past-eat 9a-9px-rat
 'It's a/the snake that ate the rat.'

The second strategy is omitting the augment (e.g. *e-bi-tabo* vs. *bi-tabo* 'books'). Hyman and Katamba (1993) note that augmentless nouns trigger a focus interpretation, as in (4):

- (4) a. *Y-a-gúla e-bí-tábó.* b. *Y-a-gúla bi-tábó.*
 1sm-past-buy 8a-8px-books 1sm-past-buy 8px-books
 'He bought books.' 'He bought books.' (Hyman and Katamba 1993: 228)

In this talk, we show that the preverbal focus strategy (PFS, (1)) encodes identificational focus, and refine Hyman & Katamba's analysis to claim that the absence of the augment ([-A], (2)) encodes exclusive focus. Evidence for these claims comes from a number of focus tests, including wh questions, incomplete yes/no questions, the varying grammaticality of focus particles 'only' and 'even' and the interpretation of indefinites (van der Wal 2014) for each of the strategies. Additionally, we show how the two strategies can be combined for object focus and how the expected interpretations arise from their combination:

	PFS	SVO order
[+A]	identification	neutral / new info
[-A]	exclusive identification	exclusive focus

NGONYANI, Deo & Nancy NGOWA. *The Productivity of the Reversive Extension in Swahili*

This is a study Swahili reversive extension (also known as convesive or separative), a verbal derivation that is illustrated in the contrast between (5a) and (5b) below.

- (5) a. *M-toto* *a-li-fung-a* *dirisha.*
 1-child 1SM-PT-shut-FV 5.window
 'The child shut the window.'
- b. *M-toto* *a-li-fung-u-a* *dirisha.*
 1-child 1SM-PT-shut-REV-FV 5.window
 'The child opened the window.'

The suffix **-u-** appears on the verb root **-fung-** 'shut' in (5b) with the semantic effect of reversing the action denoted by the root. This paper describes the reversive derivation, its manifestation and its semantics. It also explores its productivity.

Data for this study were elicited from speakers using two different questionnaires. For one questionnaire, 20 verb roots were selected from among most frequent verbs from SALAMA of Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS). Reversives and various combinations were derived. Subjects were asked to identify each derived verb as either (a) an existing word, (b) possible word or (c) impossible. Only 4 words polled as existing or possible words in the language. Therefore, in terms of profitability or realized productivity (Bauer, 2001; Baayen, 2008), the reversive is rather low compared to applicative, causative, reciprocal and passive. Another questionnaire consisted of 10 made-up verbs that another group of subjects had to derive reversives from. They were instructed to derive "opposite action." All subject derived the reversives for the nonsense words with appropriate allomorphs. This indicates that the reversive has a high potentiality or availability to create new words. The paper also discusses the constraints that lead to lower profitability.

NICOLLE, Steve. *Variation in the Expression of Information Structure in Eastern Bantu Languages*

Despite significant typological similarities, eastern and southern Bantu languages differ in how information structure is expressed. Much of this variation only becomes apparent when discourse considerations are taken into account. Using data from narrative texts in ten eastern Bantu languages I will highlight 3 parameters of variation. First, while all the languages surveyed have left-dislocated topics, in some (Fuliiru [flr] DJ63, Jita [jit] EJ25) all topics must be left-dislocated while in others certain kinds of topics in specific discourse contexts may be expressed post-verbally. Post-verbal topics occur in Digo ([dig] E73) and Mwani ([wmw] G403) when there is no textual discontinuity and the topic is continued, in Mwani when the topic is renewed, and in Rangi ([lag] F33) when the topic is temporary. Second, all of the languages have thetic (topicless) sentences with VS constituent order but most allow SV constituent order in the orientation sections of narratives. In addition, one language (Suba-Simbiti [ssc] EJ403) allows SV thetic sentences outside of orientation sections. Third, all of the languages surveyed express argument focus both through cleft constructions and the right dislocation of constituents other than the subject. However, while argument focus can be expressed through right dislocation of the subject in most of the languages surveyed, it can be expressed only through the use of cleft constructions in two languages (Fuliiru and Digo). This appears to be a grammatical constraint, and is not tied to specific discourse contexts.

NIGUSSE, Zelalem Temesgen & Ongaye Oda ORKAYDO. *Perceptions and Practices of Mother Tongue Education in Ethiopia*

Ethiopia is a multilingual country in which linguistic diversity has had different perspectives in the country's history. The regimes prior to the current government perceived the linguistic diversity as a threat to the national unity, and therefore, opted for allowing only one language, Amharic, to have the constitutional legitimacy to be promoted across the country. Amharic used to be the medium of instruction in primary education, and a school subject in secondary and senior high schools. The present government came with a different perspective of linguistic diversity. It perceives the linguistic diversity as a national resource rather than a threat. To that end, it constitutionally recognizes the equality of all languages. As a result, many languages are currently used as medium of instruction. However, there are practical challenges in implementing mother tongue education. One of them is that several languages do not have written grammars, and hence, the use of the languages as media of instruction is based on translating the Amharic textbooks into their languages. The other challenge is lack of native speakers who have studied linguistics or related fields in order to train mother tongue trainers. During script selection, it is also possible to see a mismatch between the communities' script demand and the experts' suggestions. Moreover, in some linguistic groups, parents are not willing to send their children to schools where their language is a medium of instruction.

NILSSON, Morgan. *Somali Gender Polarity Revisited*

Somali is generally claimed to exhibit gender polarity. Masculine singular nouns take the definite suffix **-k-/g-/h-**, whereas feminine singular nouns take **-t-/d-/sh-**. The same definite suffixes are used in the plural, but most nouns take the opposite suffix of that used in the singular. Nouns are therefore traditionally considered to change their gender as they become plural. In particular, a small class of nouns without any overt plural morpheme, e.g. the masculine singular *dibiga* 'the ox' and the (supposedly) feminine plural *dibida* 'the oxen', often serve as arguments that a change in gender goes together with the change in number, as verbs and pronouns may agree with such plural nouns both in the plural and in the feminine singular.

In this presentation it will however be argued that 1) gender is not a relevant category in the plural. No syntactic gender agreement distinction obtains in the plural, and the form of the definite suffix is morphologically predictable. 2) The alleged feminine plural nouns with no overt plural morpheme, which exhibit plural as well as feminine singular agreement, are not plurals; instead they are feminine singular collective nouns. 3) This small group of nouns, constituting the major argument for Somali gender polarity, exhibit the same agreement patterns as the otherwise large group of collective singular nouns such as *ragga* 'the men' and *dumarka* 'the women', triggering formal agreement with verbs and pronouns in the singular or semantic agreement in the plural.

NJWE, Amay Eyovi Ntongieh. *The Impact of Indigeneous Languages in the Learning Process and its Effects in the Educational System: A Case Study of Ako:Se And Meta? in Cameroon*

The implementation of French and English as official languages in Cameroon and consequently as media of instruction in schools at various levels, and the presence of a lingua franca pidgin has contributed enormously to the plethora of problems associated with learning and the acquisition of knowledge. In this study, we report findings on the impact derived from carrying out learning through the media of two indigeneous languages, Ako:se of the South West and Meta? of the North West regions of Cameroon alongside English Language. We engaged Questionnaires, interviews, and direct observation in the collection of data for analysis in this study and our work was couched on some language and learning theories. We discovered that learning through the indigeneous medium facilitated the learning process and ameliorated the acquisition of knowledge. Children and adults alike understood, participated, performed and retained information much better. This improved children's proficiency in indigeneous languages and created positive attitudes towards these languages; a vital factor for language maintenance as espoused in one of the nine UNESCO's language vitality framework. It goes to enhance attempts towards revitalisation of these languages which have over the years been exposed to threats of endangerment from pressure of dominant languages. These proposals are more feasible in rural schools where children have a common mother tongue, as opposed to the linguistically diversified cosmopolitan township schools as they will raise the standard of education in general and those in the villages in particular.

OBIAMALU, Greg & Cecilia EME. *The Variable {r} in Nneewi Igbo: An Index of a Dialect Change*

Nneewi dialect of Igbo has a peculiar feature which is the predominant use of the retroflex /ɾ/ in places where the other dialects will use /r/, /l/ or /h/. Among the present speakers of Nneewi Igbo, there is noticeable variation in the use of these phonemes occasioned by age and urbanization. This paper treats these phonemes as variants of the variable {r}. This variable is observed to be distributed along the social variables: age and urbanization in Nneewi. The investigation reveals that {r} is uttered mostly as a retroflex /ɾ/ among the older speakers. Among the younger speakers, {r} is mostly realized as some other sounds such as /h/, /l/ or /r/ in the different words. Moreover, the younger speakers in the more urbanized section of the speech community - Nneewi show more tendency towards dropping the retroflex for the other variants compared with their counterparts in the rural sections - Qraifite and Ichi. The study therefore reveals that Nneewi dialect is gradually changing towards the Standard variety of Igbo since the original form of the dialect is only found among the very old people and younger people living in the more rural areas. With the rapid rate of urbanization and more influx of speakers of other Igbo dialects into Nneewi, in no distant time, this peculiar feature of Nneewi (use of retroflex r) will be completely lost.

ODDEN, David. *Tone in a Dialect of Guinean Kpelle*

Kpelle nouns usually select from the tone patterns H, L, LF and HF. Fall only appears pre-pausally, becoming level H elsewhere, creating downstep when the next word begins with H. However, if word-final Fall precedes HF, the second word becomes LL, thus /yílâ tónô/ → [yílâ tɔnɔ] 'one dog'. This lowering process iterates through a string of HF words, so /háɓâ tónô téghî kúpô/ becomes [háɓâ tɔnɔ tɛghî kɔpɔ] '1 short black book'. The conditioning property on the left is not just falling tone, but rather any HL sequence within a word, thus /báilo tónô/ surfaces as [báilo tɔnɔ] '1 gecko'. The rule targets any HL sequence in a word, thus [yílâ ɲudɔnɔ] '100 dogs' from /yílâ ɲúdɔnɔ/.

Another process assigns H to a toneless word before a toneless word, so /huɲɔ tɛghiyaa/ becomes [huɲɔ tɛghiyaa] 'black frog'. H Insertion applies from left to right, so /bala tɛghiyá hweelɔ/ becomes [balá tɛghiyá hweelɔ] '2 black drums'.

Another rule optionally spreads H leftward when H precedes, yielding downstep between the two Hs: /ɲɔ hiyéhɔ/ 'my vehicle' can surface directly as such, or as [ɲɔ^h hiyéhɔ]. Spreading also applies to H#L#H arranged in 3-word phrases, e.g. [báláá kóléé káná] 'big white sheep' from /báláá kólé káná/.

Some superficially all-L nouns resist H-insertion, suggesting that they have a floating H, and also exceptionally trigger Tone Lowering, which is only triggered by words with HL tone. Such facts show that these nouns have a floating H at their left edge.

OFORI, Emmanuel Amo. *The Use of Insults to Challenge Political Authority in Ghana: A Critical Discourse Analysis*

Insult is a verbal behavior that is usually frowned upon in any civilized society. Many scholars have argued that insults are meant to cause mental pain, embarrassment, and disgrace (Agyekum, 2004); they are a violation of the principles of politeness

(Leech, 1983); and they are a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Therefore, they may be considered in many societies as socially unacceptable. In this study, however, I argue that the use of insults in Ghanaian political is a means by which ordinary citizens challenge the existing social power, undermine political authority and delegitimize subtle ideologies in the comments of politicians. I further argue that some of the insults are at times innocuous; they merely poke fun at people in authority. That is to say, they are ways of diffusion tension in the midst of economic hardships and challenges, such as access to electricity and water. This paper therefore addresses the following questions: (1) how do ordinary citizens use insults to challenge the existing social power? (2) Where do ordinary citizens derive this extraordinary power from to insult and challenge political authority?

The data for this study was obtained from phone-ins on radio and online commentaries. Three radio stations were selected in Accra, (Adom FM, Peace FM, and Happy FM). Also, three online websites were selected. These are: www.peacefmonline.com, www.ghanaweb.com, and www.myjoyonline.com. The recordings were sampled, transcribed, and analyzed, using Fairclough's (1989, 1992a, 1995a, b, 2000, 2003) three-dimensional model; (1) Discourse-as-text; (2) Discourse-as-discursive-practice; and (3) discourse-as-social-practice.

OGUNKEYE, Olufunmilayo. *Morphological Productivity: The Case of Yorùbá Prefixes*

Morphological productivity has been described as the property of a morphological process to give rise to new formations on a systematic basis (Bauer, 1983, Spencer, 1991). It is the general potential of a word-formation process to be used to create new words and the degree to which this potential is exploited by the speakers. In this work, we discuss the nature of this property, addressing the question of productivity of affixation as a qualitative and/or a quantitative notion in Yoruba word-formation processes. The status of Yorùbá prefixes have been studied in Yorùbá (Bámgbóṣe 1990, Owólabí 1995, Awóbùlúyí 2001, Ogunkeye, 2002, 2006). Ogunkeye 2006 showed that Yorùbá prefixes can be grouped into two: those that attach to verbs and are category changing, effecting nominalisation, and those that attach to nouns and are category-maintaining. This work shows that many of the prefixes in modern Yorùbá are still productive in forming new words. Among the category-changing prefixes, /e-, è-; e-, è-; o-, i-/ are the least productive because they are hardly attested in new words in Yorùbá, while /a-, à-, i-, ò-/ò-, ài-, òy-/ especially before a VN or VV construction, are very productive. The only category-maintaining prefix /oní-/ is shown to be very productive. We then look at blocking, syntactic, semantic and phonological constraints (especially vowel harmony) as some of the factors responsible for the limited productivity of this process in Yorùbá.

OKON, Emmanuel Akaninyene. *Leftward Unbounded Movement of Argument to Non-Argument Position in Ùdá*

This work examines leftward unbounded movement of argument to an A' (A-bar) position in Ùdá. Ùdá is a Lower Cross language spoken in Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria. It is the most widely spoken language in Ibakka located in Mbo Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State. A-bar position or non-argument position is a position that is structurally inaccessible to θ -role and case assignment. The theoretical framework adopted for the analysis of this work is the Government and Binding (GB) with special focus on X-bar, government, case, and theta sub-theories of GB. A sample of fifty-two sentences in English language relating to the research subject matter were elicited from twenty-four mature native speakers of the language. The results of the findings reveal that, interrogative, topicalised, left-dislocated and cleft structures are syntactic operations which show evidence of leftward or unbounded displacement of argument to a non-argument position in Ùdá. Interrogative words in Ùdá can be base-generated or optionally moved into an empty slot in the SPEC-C' at the left periphery of the sentence. When they are moved, they are obligatorily followed by the kí focus marker. Topicalisation does not show overt trace but exhibits a typical movement property of leaving a gap at the extraction site. While left dislocation is characterised by an overt trace in the form of a resumptive pronoun which also creates a case and theta chain link with the dislocated constituents in Ùdá. Clefting in Ùdá utilises the kí focus marker which narrows down the referential range of the constituent it is associated with. The kí focus marker is used as a relativiser to introduce the next clause which modifies the clefted NP.

OLOSO, Yeseera. *Language, Politics and the Linguistic Identity of Native Ilorin Ethnic Groups*

This research aims to explore the nexus that exists between the triads of politics, language and identity in the Ilorin context. Previous works on identity posit an inseparable link between language and identity but the notion that this paper seeks to put forward is that though, language is an important variable in the ethnic identity of a people, it is not always inseparable with every people's identity due to variations in the non-linguistic factors of politics and historical antecedents.

Works done on Ilorin are largely historical in nature and this present one fills the gap by looking at the multiple identities native to the city from a sociolinguistic perspective and addressing the issues of shifting identities and orientations, language loss of ethnic minorities and the issue of identity negotiation in Ilorin. The project is also relevant to broader issues in the field as it deals with language endangerment, language loss, convergence and divergence. This paper has two aims: one is to examine the patterns of identity in Ilorin thereby contributing to the literatures on Ilorin identity in particular and the other is to make significant contributions to identity studies in general.

This research uses both qualitative and quantitative methods (interviews, questionnaires and participant observation) for data elicitation while the theoretical framework adopted in this study is the Social Identity Theory (SIT) by Tajfel, H.C and Turner, J.C (1986).

ONDIBA, Joseph. *Turn-Taking Structure in Trader-Customer Kiswahili Discourse*

This paper explicates the turn-taking structure in trader-customer Kiswahili discourse which is largely governed by turn-taking rules that determine who talks, when, and for how long. The analysis of the data was founded on the aspects of coherence and how the same is sustained in the market discourse which occurs spontaneously as the interactants negotiate mutually in line with the dictates of cooperation. Much as the Cooperative Principle cannot apply in the same manner in all speech communities or speech situations, it nevertheless, guided this research.. The data upon which this paper builds are the audio-taped interactions between the trader and the customer in two open-air markets, i.e. Gikomba and Kongowea open-air markets. This researcher worked from transcripts containing linguistic utterances that were produced by the consecutive speakers. The sequentially organized turns are presented as an act sequence that largely occurs as cooperative venture. I purposively selected those conversational encounters that were largely intelligible. This research established that in this discourse, the interlocutors follow the question/answer Adjacency Pair sequence such that either party could seize the opportunity to provide the required information, relative to the bargain event. Further, either party freely initiates and takes the next turn by way of responding to the co-interlocutor's questions and requests in an attempt to sustain the conversation. Evidently, individual turns are sequenced in line with the mutual goals as set out by the discourse partners. In this case, each turn is task-oriented and carefully selected as appropriate to the mutual transactional goal.

OSA-GÓMEZ, Adriana. *Domain Widening in Nata, A Bantu Language*

Cross-linguistically, free choice items (FCIs) share a limited distribution and a meaning that could be translated as “the choice of an element from a given reference set is unconstrained (Jayez and Tovena, 2004, p. 71). In English, this freedom of choice is expressed by any in the sentence “Pick any card!”. In this paper, I will explore how Nata (Eastern Bantu E45, Tanzania) expresses freedom of choice: I claim that the Nata FCI is composed of a quantificational base with the universal quantifier -os'e as root, concordial agreement, and reduplication of the first syllable, as illustrated in (1), where the FCI agrees with omut'erebhi 'ladle', which pertains to noun class 3:

- (1) *yey-a* *o-mu-tereβi* *wo-u-ose*
 take-FV PPF-C3-ladle RED-C3-ose
 'Pick any ladle.'

It acts as a pure domain widener (following Kadmon and Landman 1993), from which all free choice readings derive. I show this both in affirmative and in negative sentences, since this behavior has not been attested neither for any-type of FCIs nor for “pure FCIs” (Chierchia 2006) like in the Romance languages.

OTOO, Ruby. *The Metarepresentation Marker 'AKε' in Ga Discourse*

The paper focuses on some uses of the metarepresentation marker *akε* in Ga. Ga is a Kwa language mainly spoken in the southern part of the Greater Accra region of Ghana. Metarepresentation is also called interpretive marker by Blass (1989, 1990), but so far come to be marking mainly hearsay, propositional attitude and echoic use. But *akε* unlike most metarepresentation markers which only mark the above, can also replace truth functional logical connectors like 'as', 'because' and 'if'. Throughout this paper, we would explain the pragmatic interpretation of its commonest use on Relevance theoretical principles.

We contend that *akε* cannot function only as a hearsay marker but can be used to replace logical connectors depending on the function they have in the environment. The metarepresentation marker is also used to express a notion that exist in society as makes the speaker's own idea. We will show that although *akε* presents a range of functions it only has two main grammatical uses a complementizer and particle.

Finally we provide a conclusion that will be based on the plausible analysis. The Data used for the paper are from two sources, existing literature and conversations in the natural setting.

OTERO, Manuel. *Ethiopian Komo Verb Morphology: Location, Direction and Time*

African languages are generally recognized as having rich Tense/Aspect systems (e.g. Bantu (Nurse 2008), Niger-Congo (Nurse, Rose & Hewson 2010), Afroasiatic (Dahl 1985), Nilotic (Payne *in press*)) although a comprehensive analysis of Nilo-Saharan is lacking. Directional verbal morphology is not widely discussed across African language families, with the exception of the Nilo-Saharan phylum (Creissels et al. 2008).

Komo (Koman), a vastly understudied language of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, has no grammatical tense or aspect system per se. Rather, it has an obligatory verbal morphological system for coding spatial deixis. Using firsthand data, this paper focuses on two particular morphemes whose primary functions are to code the location of referents in non-motion events and code direction of motion in motion events. Interestingly, this system allows speakers to exploit the inherent deictic features of these morphemes to express aspectual and/or temporal notions by tracking spatial location of referents with respect to deictic reference points. Even more striking is the fact that this obligatory spatial deixis paradigm is the only means available to convey temporal or aspectual meanings in the verb. Furthermore, evidence for similar systems in related Koman languages

strengthens the argument that it is not uncommon crosslinguistically for spatial categories like location and direction to become semantically extended and eventually grammaticalized for tense and aspect categories.

OWELEKE, Esther. *A Diachronic Analysis of the Socio-Semantic and Pragmatic Features of Igbo Personal Names*

In the Igbo society, and indeed the whole of Africa, personal names are lexical items which reflect the socio-cultural values of the people. This significant and essential part of the language seems to be severely endangered. This paper studies the concept of personal names from the perspectives of anthropological linguistics, socio-semantics and pragmatics. As a diachronic analysis, it traces the evolution of name-giving within three major epochs (pre-Christian, early-Christian and Pentecostal) among the Igbo. For this study, about 300 personal names of both the old and younger members of Igbuzo-Igbo community were collected. This is to establish the forms, variation, and change in names within the periods specified. The paper reveals three interesting and important findings. First, indigenous Igbo names are culturally, semantically and pragmatically significant. Second, the principles and practice of name-giving have undergone some drastic changes through the eras, and in the early-Christian and Pentecostal eras, the forces of Christianity, modernization and globalization have thrown up new names that reflect these changes. Third, indigenous names which belong to the core vocabulary of the language are seriously endangered. The paper concludes that if the indigenous names that are replete with meaning, and portray the values, identity and the beauty of the Igbo culture are allowed to die through lack of intergenerational transmission, then that aspect of the language also dies and so the culture of the people.

OZKAN, Sozen. *Conditionals in Logooli*

This paper surveys Logooli conditional constructions within the framework outlined by Saloné (1979). Logooli, like other Bantu languages (Nurse 2003), has a highly complex system of tense and aspect marking. While at least some educated speakers consider tense to be organized according to distance from deictic center, opposing analyses have been suggested for other Bantu languages (Botne 2013). Cross-linguistically, conditional constructions are recognized as testing grounds for relative tense distinctions, since they allow for a wide range of temporal distinctions between the protasis and apodosis clauses (Comrie 1985:118). Despite this, conditional constructions are an under-investigated area of Bantu clause combining. Here, I analyze Logooli conditionals as they relate to the complex Logooli TAM system. Drawing on natural speech data from 1976 interview footage filmed in the Maragoli Hills, the paper examines the range of conditional structures used by rural Logooli women in the 1970s. The paper further analyzes the applications of Logoori tense and aspect inflections in the protasis and apodosis of conditional constructions focusing on the distribution of two distinct forms of conditional structures in Logooli. These applications are then compared with general use of tense inflections in Logooli outside conditional constructions, with implications for the semantics of Logooli tense inflections in general.

PACCHIAROTTI, Sara. *The Syntactic Status of Objects in Mòdré Ditransitive Constructions*

In Mòdré (Gur, of Burkina Faso), a ditransitive construction contains a Subject, a verb and two Objects. This structure can be schematically represented as: [NP_A V NP_{OR} NP_{OT}]. The two Objects which follow a ditransitive verb do not show any object case-marking morphology and they are not introduced by any adpositional or relator noun. A ditransitive verb in Mòdré displays the following syntactic features: (i) it can or must appear in a construction followed by two unmarked objects; and (ii) *both* of its objects can be expressed by means of optional bound pronominal marking on the verb, albeit not simultaneously.

The aims of this paper are twofold. First, the paper offers: (a) a structural description of the coding properties (object-alignment system, constituent order in relation to animacy, splits and optional indexation of O_R and O_T in the verb) and behavioral properties (relativization, constituency, quantifier floating, control of co-reference and reflexivization/reciprocalization) of ditransitive constructions in Mòdré, following the work of Mal'chukov, Haspelmath and Comrie (2010); (b) a list of verbs which can be classified as ditransitive verbs in this language according to the syntactic features in (i) and (ii). Second, the paper seeks to determine whether, based on coding and behavioral properties of Objects, object relations in Mòdré ditransitive constructions fit any of the typological proposals present in the literature, such as *primary object* (PO) versus *secondary object* (SO) type languages (Dryer 1986), and *symmetrical* versus *asymmetrical* object type languages (Bresnan and Moshi 1990).

PATERSON, III, Hugh. *African Languages: Assessing the Text Input Difficulty*

Is it difficult to type your language (or the language you work with)? Is this difficulty a challenge in language development efforts? Could it even be motivating language shift in some domains of language use? It is often claimed that minority languages are hard to type (text input), but how much harder is one language to type than another?

I use a framework to evaluate or rank the complexity of the text input task on a per orthography bases. I apply this framework and present the results from five Nigerian languages: Ezza [eza], Bekwarra [bkv], Cishingini [asg], Okphela [atg], and Igbo [ibo]. I discuss relevant user experience (UX) considerations for keyboard layouts and unique actions undertaken in the communicative act of 'encoding' language (typing). I follow previous work which focuses on majority language text input methods and apply considerations for minority language orthographies - especially those orthographies which overtly mark tone and other distinctions via diacritics.

devoiced if they do occur, but in ideophones, obstruents contrast for voicing word-finally. In general, the phonological properties of Moro ideophones are in keeping with the standard phonology of the rest of the language, except for obstruent distribution. We suggest that this is due to three factors: i) with the exception of adverbs, other lexical categories in the language tend to be vowel-final due to affixation, ii) ideophones are more impervious to historical change and iii) final consonants may serve a depictive iconic property in ideophones.

RUDD, Philip. *Flippant Koine: Sheng’s Winning Toss*

From the *mitaa* or ‘estates’ of the Eastlands area of Nairobi have come the so-called "ghetto dialects," distinct forms of non-standard Swahili that have emerged in the postcolonial reality of Kenya’s capital. Typically regarded individually as flippant usage or slang, they have been shaped by idiosyncratic historical and ethnic influences and contact settings. This paper contends that although obvious differences exist, a basic, uniform process of development, molded by language contact and sociolinguistic conditions, has operated in each of the individual varieties. The basic developmental scenario of Schneider’s (2003) Dynamic Model outlines five consecutive stages that each speech community typically underwent: (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilization, (3) nativization, (4) endonormative stabilization, and (5) differentiation. The paper further describes the sociolinguistic characteristics of each phase and then applies the framework to data from the estates of Kaloleni, Bahati, Mbotela, Jericho, and Maringo. Additional evidence is presented from KiSetla and KiHindi. The emergence of this distinctive, new variety followed the immigration of people, speaking what might be considered mutually intelligible dialects, to Nairobi, an area in which the language had not been spoken before. The contact situation in the new city led to a form of dialect convergence unseen before and to an extent that Kerswill & Trudgill (2005) might agree was rapid and rather extreme. Finally, this convergence is what propelled Sheng’s successful linguistic toss and should be recognized as the formation of a *koine*.

SAFIR, Ken & Nagarajan SELVANATHAN. *Niger-Congo Transitive Reciprocal Constructions and Polysemy with Reflexives*

The transitive constructions in (1) are ambiguous between reciprocal and reflexive readings. (1a) even permits a literal interpretation, ‘their bodies’.

1a) *Àwọ̀n obínrín náà rí ara wọ̀n* (Yoruba)
 they women the see body their
 The women see themselves/each other/their bodies.

1b) *Náwè lɔ́ lɛ́ ná hú yé-dé* (Gungbe)
 woman DET PL FUT kill 3PL-dé
 The women will kill each other / themselves.

Reflexive/reciprocal polysemy induced by verb affixes (or clitics) is common, but reflexive-reciprocal polysemy with full direct object (DO) anaphors appears to be relatively uncommon outside of Africa. Many other languages of Africa (e.g., Babanki, Bafut, Fe’efe’e, Ga, Ibibio, Limbum, Saari and Urhobo) have transitive reciprocal polysemy of this kind, but if so, **where does reciprocal interpretation come from?**

We posit that in every transitive reciprocal construction, the DO is a variable with no contribution to reciprocal meaning, but that may have reciprocal form by virtue of shape concord with a reciprocal marker (RCM) on little *v* (also Bruening, 2006). The silent RCM we posit for (1a-b) is also shown to be overt in some languages (eg. Limbum).

If our proposal that local reciprocity is never achieved by a DO anaphor, but by a (sometimes null) affix on the verb, there are consequences not only for the composition of reciprocal interpretations, but for theories of local anaphora and for diagnostics of transitivity.

SAMUELS, Alex & Mary PASTER. *Verbal Tone in Logoori*

This paper describes verbal tone in Logoori, explaining how underlying tones interact with ‘melodic’ tones in different tense/aspect/mood categories (TAMs). We focus on three different effects occurring between adjacent high (H) tones depending on the TAM and the sources of the Hs.

Logoori verbs are toneless or have lexical Hs. The recent past (RP) assigns a melodic H to the verb’s final vowel (FV), and the H spreads leftward via unbounded H tone anticipation. Both toneless and H verbs surface with Hs from the stem-initial syllable through the FV. Our analysis is that in H verbs, the melodic H spreads up to the stem-initial syllable, which retains its H. Thus, Hs becoming adjacent via spreading are unaltered. In other contexts, adjacent Hs trigger deletion. For example, object markers (OMs) are underlyingly H but surface low in the RP via Reverse Meeussen’s Rule, which deletes a H followed by another H. Finally, in verbs with Hs from three different sources (the underlying H of an OM, the lexical H of the stem, and a melodic H on the FV), downstep occurs between the lexical and melodic Hs (the OM’s H is deleted, the melodic H spreads from the FV to the stem-peninitial syllable, and the lexical H remains on the stem-initial syllable).

Predicting which of the three effects will apply to adjacent Hs in a given context poses an analytical puzzle, to be discussed along with data from other TAMs including the immediate past, hodiernal past, remote past, imperative, and present.

SARVASY, Hannah. *How to Use Four Futures: Tense and Aspect in Logoori Discourse*

Bantu languages are renowned for their complex tense and aspect systems (Nurse 2003, 2008). Tense reference in Bantu languages is also known to have variable application (Besha 1989, Nurse 2003:101, Crane 2010), often depending on information structure or the scale of the time frames involved (Botne and Kerschner 2008, Botne 2013). With multiple positive-polarity future tense inflections (Leung 1991, Nurse 2003), the Luyia Bantu language Logoori (JE41) tops the tense distinction charts for Bantu and other languages. The existence of these inflections may be established through elicitation, but the discourse functions of Logoori tense and aspect inflections are as yet undescribed.

This paper follows Ranamane (2009) and Crane (2010) in examining the functions of Bantu tense and aspect inflections in discourse. General patterns of Logoori tense and aspect inflection distributions in a small corpus of narrative texts (Diercks et al. 2014) and recorded interviews (Nichols 1976) are discussed, with special attention to complex predicates employing auxiliary verbs. Among auxiliaries that contribute aspectual meaning are *kuva* 'exist' and *kumanya* 'know'; the latter is found to bear similar meaning to its counterpart in Luyia language Idakho, described by Botne (2009). The lexical verb following both *kuva* and *kumanya* may be marked as 'sequentive' (Botne 2009) by initial *ni-*, in which case the meaning of the construction differs from when the lexical verb lacks sequentive marking. Finally, the distribution of auxiliary constructions is compared with that of inflectional aspect marking.

SCHNEIDER-ZIOGA, Patricia. *Move and Agree in Kinande*

In Bantu languages, Move and Agree are closely linked. More specifically, it has been suggested that Agree has an EPP feature triggering movement in Bantu (Baker 2003, 2008, Carstens (2005), Collins (2004)). This is illustrated in the locative inversion example (1) in the Bantu language of Kinande: the verb agrees with the pre-verbal locative phrase rather than with the post-verbal external argument:

- (1) *O-mo-mulongo mu-kabi.hika mukali*
aug-18-3village 18-just.arrived 1woman
'A woman just arrived in the village.'

Van Der Wal (2008, 2012) shows that there is a group of Bantu languages which lack the Agree/Move association. In those languages, the verb agrees with the post-verbal argument even in locative inversion constructions.

Here, I show that agreement with a post-verbal subject is also found in a language for which the Bantu Agree/Move parameter was originally designed: Kinande displays agreement with the post-copular subject in inverse specificational clauses:

- (2) [*ebyalya ebyo nyanzire kutsibu*] *w' amatimo*
8food 8that I.like strongly 6COP 6bananas
'The food that I like best is bananas.'

Note that the exceptional post-verbal inverse agreement facts hold in Kinande only for the morphologically defective present tense copula, which can be analyzed as lacking tense altogether. I conjecture that the lack of tense in specificational constructions prevents the coupling of Agree & Move. I demonstrate that under those circumstances, agreement is based on the discourse feature of focus. Information structure in specificational clauses is strictly *topic BE focus*. The exceptional agreement facts follow.

SCHWARZ, Anne. *All-in-one and One-for-all. Thetic Structures in Buli Grammar and Discourse (Gur, Ghana)*

The north Ghanaian language Buli displays cross-linguistically interesting features of thetic structures (Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987, 1995, Lambrecht 1987, 2000, Wehr 2000). The talk focusses on two aspects:

- (i) The complexity of thetic structures: stacking and prosodic features
- (ii) The use of a single marked thetic construction type in a wide array of grammatical and semantic/pragmatic functions

Ad (i): All thetic structures in Buli are formed with the help of a predicate-initial connective particle *lē* (free allomorph *nē*) which is etymologically related to the preposition *lè* (free allomorph *nè*) 'with, and', i.e. to an element that is preposed to NPs with comitative or instrumental function. The connective particle in thetic statements differs only tonally from the former and is preposed to VPs.

Ad (ii): Thetic structures fulfill different functions in discourse (presentation of entities and events, focus and stylistic effects in narration, etc.) and grammar (monoclausal and subordination effects in relative constructions, adverbial constructions, special copula constructions). It is argued that the "polyfunctional" one-for-all thetic structure with its ample grammatical application appears before the background of (a) dominant and very pervasive categorical construction type(s) in this language.

SEIDEL, Frank. *'Creating and Contextualizing' as a Part of the Yeyi and Nalu Tense-Aspect-Mood Systems*

Bantu languages, and many other African languages, are characterized by the use of a specialized marker to indicate narrative sequence. Grammarians employ variant terminology that ranges from narrative, consecutive, to sequential tense to describe these verb tenses.

What is often not noticed is the flipside of this state of affairs in languages that employ this type of morphology, that is, non-narrative morphology indicating perfective or past type semantics is often not possible to adopt in situations that indicate a sequence of events. Such phenomena were noticed in Yeyi (Bantu) and Nalu (Atlantic). In fact, relating events that are obviously in sequence with this type of morphology was perceived as incoherent.

In the case of both Nalu and Yeyi it seems that the verb tenses are adopted in a 'create and then contextualize' pattern. A past temporal domain is first created by using stage-setting form and then 'filled in' with events using a contextualizing form. I will argue in this paper that these verb forms specifically code this pattern in joint operation through something akin to the grammatical category of taxis, however, I describe and evaluate this behavior on the textual and not the syntactical level.

SIBANDA, Galen. *The Ndebele Applicative Construction*

There have been many studies of the applicative construction covering a wide range of languages across the world (for example, Peterson 1999) including Bantu (for example, Ngonyani 1996a). Of particular interest in these studies has been how the argument structure of the verb is altered in this construction. The applicative has been shown to be generally valence adding and the Ndebele applicative construction being considered in this study is no exception. While change in the argument structure is discussed in the paper, the main focus, however, is on the variation in thematic roles of the participants that the applicative introduces. It is argued that the thematic roles of participants associated with a given Ndebele verb are predictable from the semantic class of that verb including those of participants introduced by applicative *-el-*. To make the point a number of verbs in different semantic classes are considered although neither the list of verbs nor semantic classes is exhaustive. The semantic classification of verbs considered follows from the works of, for example, Chafe 1970, Dowty 1987, Foley and Van Valine 1984, and Payne 1997. Thematic roles are based on the works of, for example, Fillmore 1968, 1977 and Halliday 1970. The discussion raises some important theoretical questions about verb meaning and the precise meaning of applicative suffix *-el-*. It is also shown that 'reason' is the thematic role *-el-* introduces in all semantic classes, not 'beneficiary' often highlighted in studies of the applicative.

SOULAIMANI, Dris. *Mapping Amazigh/Berber Identity through Orthography*

Morocco has witnessed a debate that takes as a focal point the Amazigh/Berber language and identity. The debate over Amazigh identity is fairly recent, and it did not exist in pre-colonial Morocco. During the colonial era, French authorities highlighted an Arab/Amazigh dichotomy, but failed to create deep divisions between Arabs and Amazighs. More recently, several Amazigh debates have opened in the country, including a debate on the codification of Amazigh using the Latin script, the Arabic script, or the ancient Tifinagh script. Following this debate, Tifinagh was officially selected in 2003.

This study analyzes the script debate in light of the social and identity issues that have intensified in contemporary Morocco. The study also draws comparisons to similar script debates, including a case of the Tuareg script. The study shows how such linguistic debates are connected to social and ideological considerations, such as the notion of "Tamazgha," the imagined homeland in greater North Africa of an indigenous Amazigh people united by one language.

Informed by theories of language ideologies, this study examines the ideological motivations for the Amazigh script selection in Morocco, and it investigates the social implications of Amazigh codification. This study reveals that despite the official decision to support Tifinagh, the script issue is far from settled, given enduring questions of identity, political ideology, and linguistic differentiation. The outcome of this study has implications for other communities in Africa and elsewhere facing similar decisions and competing script choices.

STEIMEL, Kenneth, Christopher GREEN & Michael MARLO. *Wanga Noun Phrase Tonology*

This paper provides the first description of the tonology of nouns and NPs in Wanga [lwg]. We have identified at least 7 lexical classes of two-syllable nouns in Wanga. These include a toneless class (**omu-koye** 'rope'), a class with H on the stem-initial syllable (**omu-khási** 'wife'), a class with final H (**i-ngurwé** 'pig'), and a class with a stem-initial H and a stem-final H (**eshi-láaró** 'shoe'), found apparently only on CVVCV stems. Other classes involve H on noun class prefixes: one with H only on the prefix (**omú-koongo** 'back'), and one with a H on the prefix and a final H (**lií-tuumá** 'maize'). In addition, we have **i⁺-ngókhó** 'chicken' and **omú⁺-yááyi** 'boy', with H on the prefix and a downstepped on the following two moras.

H is acquired on the noun class prefix of some cl. 5 and some cl. 10 nouns. Compare cl. 11 **olu-sáála** 'stick' vs. cl. 10 **tsí-⁺sáála** 'sticks', and cl. 6 **ama-yiinji** 'arguments' vs. cl. 5 **lií⁺-yíinji** 'argument'. A root-initial H is deleted after the inserted H in **lií-paka** 'cat' (cf. **ama-páka** 'cats'). At the phrasal level, H Tone Anticipation (HTA) spreads H from an adjective to a preceding word (**omúú-ndú mú-láyi** 'good person', cf. **omuu-ndu** 'person'). H Tone Insertion (HTI) inserts H onto the final vowel of toneless nouns, which then undergoes HTA in certain other N+modifiers combinations. Modifiers that trigger HTI include demonstratives (**omúú-ndú uno** 'this person'), possessives (**omú-kóyé ⁺kw-áánje** 'my rope'), and 'another' (**omúú-ndú uundi** 'another person').

TEO, Amos. *The Coding of Referentiality and Identifiability in Mòdèré*

Mòòré, also known as Mossi, is a Gur language within the larger Niger-Congo family spoken in Burkina Faso. This paper looks at the morpheme /-wã/ ~ /-ã/, which previous analyses (e.g. Peterson 1971; Canu 1976; Nikiema 1989) call a 'definite' marker. The paper aims to show that an analysis of /-wã/ ~ /-ã/ needs to consider how NPs are marked for the semantic / discourse pragmatic function of referentiality and/or identifiability. By drawing on both elicited and textual data, the analysis will show that, in addition to marking identifiability, /-wã/ ~ /-ã/ is often used to mark contrastive focus. Furthermore, in some cases, /-a/ (without nasality) can still be used to mark an NP as both referential and identifiable to both the speaker and listener, but this depends on the phonological shape of the NP. This suggests that one can analyze the marker /-ã/ as two morphemes: /-a/; and a separate nasal morpheme, with the later used to mark contrastive focus. However, this analysis is complicated by the phonological form of the NP.

TIBEBU, Binyam. *Language Use in Shone Town: A Sociolinguistic Approach*

From linguistic point of view the single most important characteristic of Ethiopia is linguistic diversity. There are a multiplicity of ethno linguistic communities within the nation. Each linguistic community is in turn characterized by an autonomous ethno linguistic identity. This study describes the pattern of language use of different ethno linguistic groups in Shone town. 240 respondents were randomly selected. The required data were collected through questionnaire, interview and observation. The results were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively, and revealed that in Shona seven languages are in use: Hadiyyisa, Amharic, Wolytato, Kambatisata, Afan Oromo, Gurage and English. Of these, Amharic is the most learned Second Language. Fathers are more bilingual than mothers since they have more exposure to out-door activities. Children are primarily bilingual in Amharic and Hadiyyisa. In a family domain, all Mother Tongues are used between the respondents and their parents, and with spouses. But the shift to Amharic is evidenced during the respondents' language use with their children and siblings. Hadiyyisa is the main language for urban-rural family communication while Amharic serves between urban-urban families. Amharic is widely used in different outdoor domains; e.g. in schools, health centers, streets, bus stations, cafes/bars and market places. In government offices such as courts and police stations, Amharic to a greater degree and Hadiyyisa to a lesser degree are used; Amharic is the de-facto official language. Neighborhood and public meeting settings are marked by the dominant use of Hadiyyisa. In religious domain, the sole use of Amharic and the alternate use of Amharic and Hadiyyisa are most common. Amharic is the most preferred language to be leaned as a Second Language by different ethno linguistic groups, followed by Hadiyyisa and Wolytato. Hence, the greater part of various ethno linguistic groups have a positive attitude towards Amharic. However, the majority of research participants do not prefer using Kambatisata to a greater extent and Wolayitato to a lesser degree.

URUA, Eno-Abasi & Imelda Icheji UDOH. *Trending Name Patterns and Naming among the Ibibios of Nigeria*

Part of the fascination with names and the importance attached to them is that they form a significant aspect of our knowledge of the world. Consequently, various theories have been propounded to explain names and naming, including the descriptive and causal approaches. With cross-cultural contacts, new trends impinging on various aspects of traditional cultural practices are now emerging among traditional societies. These new patterns modify and sometimes seem to increasingly endanger extant practices.

Among the Ibibios of Nigeria, personal names have traditionally been linked with ancestors, family members and outstanding community members (Essien 1992:2010). The current trend has witnessed a paradigm shift from traditional naming practices to names associated with foreign religions, including Christianity and Islam, as well as European-style names. This paper looks at the changing patterns of onomastics, personal naming and names among the Ibibio people of Nigeria. In recent times, contact with Christianity and Western culture has become the major sources of naming modifications. A closer scrutiny shows that in addition to western influences, other causes play a role in the changing naming patterns of the Ibibios of Nigeria. The paper explores traditional naming strategies, bearing in mind that names become inactive and lose several elements of usage. Beyond the traditional naming creation strategies therefore, it looks at the strategies of other kinds of contemporary naming and renaming practices of the Ibibios. The data for the study is a collection of names from the Ibibio-speaking communities of Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria.

VAN DE VELDE, Mark & Dmitry IDIATOV. *Morphological Classes and Gender in bǎná (Yungur)*

Nouns in bǎná, an Adamawa language spoken in Nigeria, are characterised by means of two partly overlapping systems of nominal classification. On the one hand, there are about twenty different morphological classes, defined as overtly marked singular/plural pairings, to which half of the nouns belong. The rest has no overt class marking. On the other hand, all nouns are distributed over three noun classes in the singular and three in the plural, which are defined by the agreement pattern triggered on demonstrative and possessive pronoun targets. If we define genders as singular-plural pairings of noun classes, bǎná has eight genders. Gender assignment is largely based on the form of nominal class markers, with some semantically motivated exceptions. The gender assignment of nouns that lack morphological class markers is less predictable.

Nominal gender distinctions are not reflected in third person pronouns, which have an animate-inanimate opposition. In subject and object pronouns, everything capable of automotion (including cars) is treated as animate. In non-selective interrogative pro-forms, 'who' is reserved for humans.

This paper provides a first analysis of nominal classification in b́aná. It is based on ongoing original field work in Nigeria.

WASIKE, Aggrey. *Preposition Incorporation in Lubukusu and Other Bantu Languages*

Rejection of Baker's (1998) analysis of the Bantu applicative affix as an incorporated preposition and the subsequent adoption of analyses that see the applicative affix as a functional head has given the impression that Bantu languages lack preposition incorporation. However, this cannot be true in the context of the following Lubukusu sentences.

1. (a) *Nekesa a-la-chukh-a ka-me-echi mu-songo*
 Nekesa SA-fut-pour-fv Pprf-6-water loc-water pot
 'Nekesa will pour water into the water pot'
- (b) *Nekesa a-la-chukh-a-mo ka-me-echi* (c) **Nekesa a-la-chukh-a-mo ka-me-echi mu-songo*
 Nekesa SA-fut-pour-fv-loc Pprf-6-water Nekesa SA-fut-pour-fv-loc Pprf-6-water loc-water pot
 'Nekesa will pour water into it' 'Nekesa will pour water into the water pot'

I argue that sentences in (1) are genuine examples of preposition incorporation with no relation to the applicative construction. Sentence 1(b) is a thematic paraphrase of 1(a), but it lacks the PP 'mu-songo' (=in the water pot). Instead, the verb in sentence 1(b) is suffixed with the locative preposition, -mo. As illustrated in 1(b)&(c), the PP 'mu-songo' must be deleted: it cannot co-occur with the incorporated -mo.

In this paper I discuss the nature of preposition incorporation in Lubukusu and other Bantu languages. In particular I discuss constraints to preposition incorporation, the recoverability condition, the morphological variation in the form of the preposition, among other issues. I then propose a syntactic analysis and derivation of preposition incorporation, arguing that sentences that undergo preposition incorporation contain a functional projection headed by O of reference.

WORKU, Mehari Zemelak. *Sociolinguistic Conundrum of Ethnic federalism: Lessons from Ethiopia*

Since the proclamation of the new constitution in 1995 the heretofore unitary state Ethiopia, home of more than 80 ethnic groups, has been changed to be a federation of nine ethnic states and two city administrations. Each ethnic state has its own constitution and the right to self determination, including and up to secession. The framers of the process, the ethnic cored political parties, claim that the new constitution is the symbolic end of cultural and linguistic oppression in the country. Some scholars also consider the new political framework as a model to be adopted by other hyper-multilingual African countries for the sake of social, political and linguistic empowerment of ethnic groups (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Salih 2001). On the other hand, other political forces and intellectuals consider the new political move as balkanization and nurturing the ever-increasing deadly ethnic conflicts (Vestal 2000; Vaughan 2006; Feyissa 2006; Mariam 2014). However, even after nearly two decades since the proclamation of the constitution, the issue of language is still one of the avidly contested issues of the political discourse in the country. Hence, it is a good time to evaluate whether Ethiopia has resolved the issue of linguistic oppression through ethnic federalism. The main objective of this paper is, therefore, to search for the space given for linguistic minorities- since there definitely will be linguistic minorities when a country of more than 80 ethnic groups is divided into only nine ethnic states- in the governing constitutions of the nine ethnic states.

ZENTZ, Jason. *Partial Wh-Movement in Shona: A Hybrid Wh-Question Formation Strategy*

This paper addresses partial *wh*-movement in Shona ([sna], Bantu, Zimbabwe), which is sensitive to islands below but not above the pronunciation site of the *wh*-phrase. This contrasts with partial *wh*-movement in languages such as Kĩĩtharaka (Muriungi 2003, Abels 2012) and Singaporean Malay (Cole & Hermon 1998), which is sensitive to islands both below and above the pronunciation site. I argue for a composite derivation of the Shona phenomenon: the *wh*-phrase moves overtly to its pronunciation site at an intermediate clause boundary, where it is unselectively bound by a null operator in the scopal position.

I show that in Shona partial *wh*-movement, the relation between the *wh*-phrase's base position and its pronunciation site patterns like full *wh*-movement in terms of island sensitivity, cleft structure, extraction marking, and reconstruction effects. On the other hand, the relation between the *wh*-phrase's pronunciation site and its scopal position displays the same lack of island sensitivity and lack of extraction marking exhibited by *wh*-in-situ in this language. Thus, Shona partial *wh*-movement can be reduced to a hybrid of full *wh*-movement and *wh*-in-situ. This composite derivation has been predicted to be possible (Sabel 2000, Abels 2012), but clear empirical support for it has been lacking until now.

SCHEDULED AUTHORS and/or REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS

Ijeoma Abugu	Univ Ibaden, Nigeria	iabugu@gmail.com
Oluseye Adegboye	Univ Abuja, Nigeria	write2seye@yahoo.com
Christopher Adejo	Univ of Missouri	cea4m7@mail.missouri.edu
Colleen Ahland	SIL Intl & Houghton College, New York	colleen_ahland@sil.org
Michael Ahland	SIL Intl & Houghton College, New York	Michael.Ahland@Houghton.edu
George Akanlig-Pare	Univ of Ghana-Legon	gakanlig@gmail.com
Akinbiyi Akinlabi	Rutgers Univ, New Jersey	aakinlabi@gmail.com
Sean Allison	Trinity Western Univ, Canada	Sean.Allison@twu.ca
Ann Aly	UCLA, California	ann.aly.bailey@gmail.com
Gregory Anderson	Living Tongues Inst, Oregon	livingtongues@gmail.com
Nikos Angelopoulos	UCLA, California	n.angelopoulos@ucla.edu
Obgonna Anyanwu	Univ Uyo, Nigeria	ogbonnaanyanwu@yahoo.com
Emma Asonye	Imo State, Nigeria	emmalis2001@yahoo.com
Mamadou Bassene	Rutgers Univ, New Jersey	mamadou.bassene@rutgers.edu
Paul Bassong	Univ Yaounde, Cameroon	prbassong@gmail.com
Anna Belew	Univ Hawaii-Manoa	belew@hawaii.edu
Rasmus Bernander	Univ of Gothenburg, Sweden	rasmus.bernander@sprak.gu.se
Edmon Biloa	Univ Yaounde, Cameroon	edmondbiloa@yahoo.com
Kwesi Abraham Bisilki	Univ Winneba, Ghana	bisilki@yahoo.com
Margit Bowler	UCLA, California	margitbowler@gmail.com
Mary Bradshaw	Independent	marymarchung@gmail.com
Zachary Branson	Univ of Indiana	zbranson@indiana.edu
Susana Brobbey	Univ of Bergen, Norway	susanabrobbey@gmail.com
Michael Cahill	SIL International, Texas	mike_cahill@sil.org
Akua Campbell	Rice Univ, Texas	aaa8@rice.edu
Vicki Carstens	Southern Illinois Univ	carstensv@siu.edu
Funmi Yun-Hsin Chang	SOAS, UK	258592@soas.ac.uk
Tucker Childs	Portland State Univ, Oregon	childst@pdx.edu
Jonathan Choti	Michigan State Univ	chotijon@msu.edu
Kevin Cohen	Univ of Colorado, School of Medicine	kevin.cohen@gmail.com
Rolando Coto-Solano	Arizona	
Nick Danis	Rutgers Univ, New Jersey	nick.danis@rutgers.edu
Samantha Dawson	Univ Missouri	srd84@mail.missouri.edu
Rose-Marie Déchaine	Univ of British Columbia, Canada	dechaine@mail.ubc.ca
Michael Diercks	Pomona College, California	michael.diercks@pomona.edu
Junie Djamen	Comité de Langue pour l'Etude et la Production des oeuvres Bamiléké Medumba	
Jean-René Djobla	Comité de Langue pour l'Etude et la Production des oeuvres Bamiléké Medumba	
Laura Downing	Göteborgs universitet, Sweden	laura.downing@sprak.gu.se
Fabio Bonfim Duarte	Federal Univ of Minas Gerais, Brazil	fbonfim@terra.com.br
Kristopher J. Ebarb	Univ of Missouri	ebarbk@missouri.edu

Cecilia Amaoge Eme	Nnamdi Azikiwe Univ, Nigeria	mrsceciliaeme@yahoo.com
James Essegby	Univ Florida-Gainesville	essegby@ufl.edu
Bailey Jo Everhart	Univ of Missouri	bjezq8@mail.missouri.edu
Matthew Faytak	Univ of California-Berkeley	mf@berkeley.edu
Henry Zamchang Fominyam	Univ Potsdam, Germany	fominyam.henry@yahoo.com
Kathryn Franich	Univ Chicago	kfranich@uchicago.edu
Frederic (Jake) Freyer	Harvard College, Massachusetts	freyer@college.harvard.edu
Enrico Fulconis	Univ British Columbia, Canada	e.fulconis@hotmail.it
Josah Gambarage	Univ British Columbia, Canada	joashj1975@yahoo.co.uk
Bill Gardner	Trinity Western Univ, Canada	william_gardner@sil.org
Bessala Gaston	Univ Yaounde, Cameroon	gastonbessala@gmail.com
Keffyalew Gebregziabher	Univ of Toronto, Canada	gebregzi@gmail.com
Raphael Girard	Univ British Columbia, Canada	girard.raaphael@courrier.uqam.ca
Eleanor Glewwe	Univ California-Los Angeles	eleanorglewwe@gmail.com
John Gluckman	Univ California-Los Angeles	johnglu@ucla.edu
Christopher Green	Univ of Maryland	cgreen@casl.umd.edu
Nadine Grimm	Univ of Rochester, New York	nadine.grimm@rochester.edu
Scott Grimm	Univ of Rochester, New York	scott.grimm@rochester.edu
Richard Griscom	Univ of Oregon	rgriscom@uoregon.edu
Abby Hantgan	SOAS, UK	ah104@soas.ac.uk
Claire Harter	Univ of Florida	charter89@ulf.edu
Rachel Holm	Univ Missouri	rmh3kf@mail.missouri.edu
Lucas Holmgren	Boise State Univ, Idaho	lukeholmgren@u.boisestate.edu
Larry Hyman	Univ of California-Berkeley	hyman@berkeley.edu
Luca Iacoponi	Rutgers Univ, New Jersey	iacoponi@gmail.com
Dmitry Idiatov	CNRS-LLACAN, France	idiatov@vjf.cnrs.fr
Kelechukwu Ithemere	Univ of Westminster, UK	kaycey72@gmail.com
Adebola Isaiah	Rutgers Univ/Kwara State Univ, Nigeria	bojeluv@gmail.com
Kyle Jerro	Univ of Texas at Austin	jerrokyle@gmail.com
Patrick Jones	Harvard College, Massachusetts	pjones@fas.harvard.edu
Philothe Kabasele	Univ of Calgary, Canada	philokabasele@yahoo.fr
Maxwell Kadenge	Univ of the Witwatersrand, South Africa	maxwell.kadenge@wits.ac.za
Jason Kandybowicz	Univ of Kansas	kandybowicz@ku.edu
Boniface Kawasha	Savannah State, Georgia	kawashab@savannahstate.edu
Hermann Keupdjio	Univ British Columbia, Canada	keupsmann2011@gmail.com
Sarah Klankey	Univ of Indiana	sklankey@indiana.edu
Ettien Koffi	Saint Cloud State Univ, Minnesota	enkoffi@stcloudstate.edu
Sampson Korsah	Univ of Leipzig, Germany	sampson.korsah@uni-leipzig.de
Sachie Kotani	Tezukayama Univ, Japan	skotani@tezukayama-u.ac.jp
Meredith Landman	Pomona College, California	meredith.landman@gmail.com
Florian Lionnet	Univ California-Berkeley	florian.lionnet@berkeley.edu
Nicoletta Loccioni	Univ California-Los Angeles	loccioni@ucla.edu
Colin Lowe	Univ Missouri	cdlzp5@mail.missouri.edu
Samson Lotven	Indiana Univ-Bloomington	slotven@iu.edu

Micahel R. Marlo	Univ of Missouri	marlom@missouri.edu
Davidson Mbagwu	Nnamdi Azikiwe Univ, Nigeria	mbagwu2006@yahoo.com
Laura McPherson	Dartmouth College, New Hampshire	laura.emcpherson@gmail.com
John Merrill	Univ California-Berkeley	jtm@berkeley.edu
Martha Micheka	East Tennessee State Univ	michieka@etsu.edu
Jane Mitsch	Ohio State Univ	mitsch.6@osu.edu
Irina Monich	Univ of Connecticut	irina_monich@yahoo.com
Jonathan Moodie	Univ of Melbourne, Australia	jpmoodie@optusnet.com.au
Macaulay Mowarin	Delta State Univ, Nigeria	mamowarin@yahoo.co.uk
Calisto Mudzingwa	Univ British Columbia, Canada	calistomudzingwa1@gmail.com
Leonard Muaka	Winston Salem State Univ, North Carolina	muakale@wssu.edu
Romain Mukuna	Boise State Univ, Idaho	arbmukuna@gmail.com
Ilungu Muzaliwa	Boise State Univ, Idaho	muzita1@juno.com
Scott Myers	Univ of Texas at Austin	s.meyers@austin.utexas.edu
Saudah Namyalo	Makerere Univ, Kenya	saudahnm@yahoo.com
Deo Ngonyani	Michigan State Univ	dngonyani@gmail.com
Nancy Ngowa	Pwani Univ, Kenya	nanceyaa@yahoo.com
Steve Nicolle	Canada Institute of Linguistics	steve_nicolle@sil.org
Zelalem Nigusse	Dilla Univ, Ethiopia	zolat2007@yahoo.com
Morgan Nilsson	Univ of Gothenburg, Sweden	morgan.nilsson@gu.se
Amay Eyovi Njwe	Independent Scholar, Nigeria	eyovinjwe@yahoo.com
Kelly Nuttall	Boise State Univ, Idaho	kellynuttall@boisestate.edu
Greg Obiamalu	Nnamdi Azikiwe Univ, Nigeria	go.obiamalu@unizik.edu.ng
David Odden	Ohio State Univ	david.odden@gmail.com
Emmanuel Ofori	Univ Florida	eaofori@ufl.edu
Olufunmilayo Ogunkeye	Univ Jos, Nigeria	olufunmilayo.ogunkeye@gmail.com
Emmanuel Okon	Univ Uyo, Nigeria	akanokon.eo@gmail.com
Adaobi Ngozi Okoye	Nnamdi Azikiwe Univ, Nigeria	ifynoels@gmail.com
Yeseera Oloso Momonike	Kwara State Univ, Nigeria	nikeoloso@gmail.com
Joseph Ondiba	Eldoret College Professional Studies, Kenya	josephondiba69@gmail.com
Ongaye Orkaydo	Dilla Univ, Ethiopia	ongayeoda@yahoo.com
Adriana Osa-Gómez	Univ British Columbia, Canada	a.osag@alumni.ubc.ca
Manuel Otero	Univ of Oregon	motero@uoregon.edu
Sozen Ozkan	Univ California-Los Angeles	sozkan@ucla.edu
Sara Pacchiarotti	Univ of Oregon	sarap@uoregon.edu
Mary Paster	Pomona College, California	mary.paster@pomona.edu
Hugh Paterson, III	SIL International, Oregon	hugh_paterson@sil.org
Rebecca Paterson	Univ of Oregon	rpaters3@uoregon.edu
Doris Payne	Univ of Oregon	dlpayne@uoregon.edu
Evan Port	Univ Missouri	eppzp4@mail.missouri.edu
Kent Rasmussen	Univ of Texas-Arlington	kent.rasmussen@mavs.uta.edu
Nicholas Rolle	Univ California-Berkeley	n.rolle@berkeley.edu
Sharon Rose	Univ California-San Diego	rose@ucsd.edu
Phil Rudd	Pittsburg State Univ, Pennsylvania	prudd@pittstate.edu

Ken Safir	Rutgers Univ, New Jersey	safir@rucacs.rutgers.edu
Serge Sagna	Univ Surry, UK	eakkut@gmail.com
Alex Samuels	Pomona College, California	
Hannah Sarvasy	UCLA, California	hsarvasy@humnet.ucla.edu
Patricia Schneider-Zioga	California State Univ, Fullerton	pzioga@fullerton.edu
Anne Schwarz	Universidad Regional Amazonica-IKIAM, Ecuador	anne.schwarzbunt@gmail.com
Frank Seidel	Univ Florida-Gainesville	frank.zidle@gmail.com
Nagarajan Selvanathan	Rutgers Univ, New Jersey	nagaselv@gmail.com
Diyanqui Si	UBC, Canada	d.si@alumni.ubc.ca
Galen Sibanda	Michigan State Univ	sibanda1@msu.edu
Maurice Wekhwela Sifuna	Kenya Technical Teachers College, Univ Missouri	amyayanja@gmail.com
Justine Sikuku	Moi Univ, Kenya	jastinosikuku@yahoo.com
Dris Soulaïmani	New York Univ-Abu Dhabi	soulaïm@nyu.edu
Kenneth Steimel	Univ of Missouri-Columbia	kmsfx8@mail.missouri.edu
Amos Teo	Univ of Oregon	ateo@uoregon.edu
Tim Thornes	Boise State Univ, Idaho	timthornes@boisestate.edu
Binyam Tibebe	Ethiopia	benjiamen3@gmail.com
Stephanie Todd	Boise State Univ, Idaho	StephanieTodd@u.boisestate.edu
Harrold Torrence	Univ Kansas	torrence@ku.edu
Imelda Udoh	Univ Uyo, Nigeria	icheji@gmail.com
Eno-Abasi Urua	Univ Uyo, Nigeria	anemandinyene@yahoo.com
Mark Van de Velde	LLACAN (CNRS-INALCO), France	vandvelde@vjf.cnrs.fr
Jenneke Van der Wal	Univ Cambridge, UK	gjv23@cam.ac.uk
Aggrey Wasike	Univ of Toronto, Canada	aggrey.wasike@utoronto.ca
Mehari Zemelak Worku	Addis Ababa Univ, Ethiopia	deaconmez@gmail.com
Samantha Wray	Univ of Arizona	swray@email.arizona.edu
Jason Zentz	Yale Univ, Connecticut	jason.zentz@yale.edu