



24. Afrikanist*innentag | Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main 1-3 July 2021

Book of abstracts

(order: Keynote 1, Keynote 2, and then alphabetically after the surname of the first author)



Keynote 1

The Semantics of Understanding: The “meaning” of “meaning” in African languages

Felix K. Ameka

Leiden University Center for Linguistics

Whorf (1956) asserts that “the essence of linguistics is the quest for meaning”. And the question of “the meaning of meaning” has preoccupied philosophers of language and linguists for a long time (Ogden & Richards 1949, Leech 1974 etc.). One can hardly find an introductory textbook on linguistics and semantics that does not discuss the issue of the “meaning of meaning”. Unfortunately, this preoccupation is due to the use of the English language as metalanguage where the verb ‘mean’ refers to a myriad of things (cf. Wierzbicka 2014, Haugh 2016, Levisen 2019). In this talk, I suggest that we can advance the quest for meaning in the scientific study of languages if we incorporate the first order understandings of meaning from other languages. For instance, the Romance conceptualisation of meaning as what the language users want to say (*vouloir dire*) by using linguistic signs reinforces the idea of thinking of the representation of the meaning of a sign as a paraphrase. In addition, I want to ask the question: what if we were to look for “the meaning of meaning” in African languages, what would we find, and what kind of semantics would we be doing then (Ameka & Terkourafi 2019)? I argue that if we explore the everyday expressions for meaning-making in these languages we would have to go along with Charles Fillmore (1985) and argue that “the meaning of meaning” has to do with understanding—U-Semantics (as opposed to T-Semantics). I demonstrate this by analysing everyday talk about meaning in some Kwa languages. I further apply a “Semantics of Understanding” perspective in describing the meaning of culturally important words in a number of African languages, e.g. words for artefacts in the Head-loading frame e.g. headpad; Africa specific implements in the food preparation frame, and everyday physical activity verbs such as those for removing the outer covering of various entities. I also explore a U-Semantics account of cyclic time words in languages such as Basa and Ewe where the same word is used to talk about yesterday and tomorrow; or the same word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow (Ameka 2020, Schaefer and Egbokhare 2021, Ngue Um 2019). I conclude by inviting Africanist researchers to go beyond indicating that certain linguistic signs exist (Samarin 1967: 208), or the translation equivalents of these words (Hellwig 2015, Dimmendaal 2021) and expose the content of these words in a system of explications (Apresjan 2000).

Selected References

- Ameka, Felix K. 2020. The gem is in the details: Typological generalisations and the genius of West African languages. ILARA en ligne, November 12, 2020 <http://bit.ly/ilara-FelixAmeka>
- Ameka, Felix K., and Marina Terkourafi. 2019. What if...? Imagining non-Western perspectives on pragmatic theory and practice." *Journal of Pragmatics* 145. 72-82.
- Apresjan, Jurij. 2000. *Systematic lexicography*. Oxford University Press
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1985. Frames and the semantics of understanding. *Quaderni di semantica* 6.2: 222-254.
- Haugh, Michael. 2016. The role of English as a scientific metalanguage for research in pragmatics: Reflections on the metapragmatics of ‘politeness’ in Japanese. *East Asian Pragmatics*. 1(1). 39-71.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1974. *Semantics* (2nd edition) Penguin
- Levisen, Carsten. 2019. Biases we live by: Anglocentrism in linguistics and cognitive sciences. *Language Sciences* 76 (2019): 101173. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2018.05.010>

24. Afrikanist*innentag | Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main | 1-3 July 2021

Ogden, Charles Kay, and Ivor Armstrong Richards. 1923. *The meaning of meaning: A study of the influence of thought and of the science of symbolism.*

Samarin, William J. 1967. *Field linguistics: A guide to linguistic field work.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1956. *Language, thought, and reality: selected writings of....* (Edited by John B. Carroll.).

Wierzbicka, Anna. *Imprisoned in English.* Oxford University Press.

Keynote 2

The functional load of stress in Highland East Cushitic

Yvonne Treis

LLACAN, CNRS

It is generally agreed that Cushitic languages have grammatically determined tonal accent or stress. However, in the available grammars of individual languages, the functional load of accent or stress is often only superficially described and does at times not go beyond the presentation of some illustrative minimal pairs. This paper sets out to describe the stress system of Kambaata, a Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia, in more detail. Every Kambaata word has one prominent syllable. Stress has (almost) no lexical importance (exception: stress on interjections and ideophones). Instead, the realisation of stress on nouns, verbs and adjectives is determined by the inflectional categories and values for which a word is marked. The stems of nouns, verbs and adjectives are unspecified for stress, but stress is imposed by inflectional morphemes. All (but one) inflectional morphemes in Kambaata have a segmental as well as a suprasegmental realisation. I propose a typology of Kambaata inflectional morphemes depending on where they realise stress in a word. After a presentation of the general features of the Kambaata stress system, I present two case studies: (i) I demonstrate the importance of stress for case marking and (ii) I discuss relativisation in the imperfective and perfective aspect, which is marked by a stress-only morpheme. In the final part of my talk, I view the Kambaata system from a wider Highland East Cushitic perspective and point out commonalities and differences with related languages such as Hadiyya and Sidaama.

The language of Epitaphs as memorials: the Nigerian and Lesotho examples

Taofik Adesami

University of Bayreuth

Epitaph is a unique genre among death discourses: Obituary/Death announcements, Dirge/Elegy, Suicide note, and Will, etc. By way of popular definition, an epitaph is basically seen as “A phrase or form of words written in memory of a deceased, especially as an inscription on a tombstone”. It is also described as “Something by which a person, time, or event will be remembered” representing one of afterlife events linking the dead with the living. As the death phenomenon is very significant in the lives of humans, it offers a unique social communicative event to people focusing on death, the dead, the bereaved (or sympathisers). The kind of language employed by the prominent characters in this situation definitely stands out as required for its timing and purpose. On this note, this paper explores the various aspects and characteristics of the epitaphic language as found in selected epitaphs earlier studied in my PhD work at the National University of Lesotho (NUL) in Southern Africa. Although this paper aligns with the general understanding and practice of seeing epitaphs as prosaic or poetic texts which often manifest as emotion-laden stylized or creative inscriptions, the language is assorted and largely pedagogical.

The Derivational Morphology of Perception Verbs in Kirundi

Emmanuella Ahishakiye

University of Burundi

The present paper aims at discussing the role of verbs extensions on Perception verbs (PVs) in Kirundi (JD62), a Bantu language spoken in Burundi. This study is guided by two main questions a) what are the verb extensions involved in deriving PVs in Kirundi? b)What is the function of the involved morphemes? The targeted derivation morphemes, usually referred to as "radical extensions" (Gaturie, 1962), seem to play an important role in the morphology of Kirundi perception lexicon. The affixation of a new verb extension brings in a new word form, a new meaning or a new syntactic rule. Moreover, in terms of PVs classification, speakers of Kirundi use verb extensions to derive either active, passive or copula PVs and/or to extend the verb meaning from one basic sense to another.

The expression of commands, warnings and threats in Babanki

Pius Akumbu

University of Buea

In this study I attempt to provide a description of how commands, warnings and threats are issued in Babanki, a Grassfields Bantu language of North-West Cameroon (Hyman 1980, Akumbu & Chibaka 2012). I explore the relationship between the different strategies a Babanki speaker can use, on the one hand, to get someone to do something, and on the other hand, to discourage them from certain thoughts or actions. The data presented here were collected directly from native speakers and an attempt was made to classify them as either commands, warnings or threats. The study reveals that commands are mostly given by means of the imperative (Aikhenvald 2010) while warnings generally require negation. A dedicated verb *tùʔmà* 'be careful' is also used in warnings. Threats are complex and can be declaratives, questions or conditionals. Furthermore, it is shown that gestures and facial expressions play a significant role in expressing warnings and threats.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. Imperatives and commands. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Akumbu, Pius W. & Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka. 2012. A pedagogic grammar of Babanki. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1980. Babanki and the Ring group. In Larry M. Hyman & Jan Voorhoeve (eds.), *Noun classes in Grassfields Bantu*, 225-258. Paris: SELAF.

The linguistic expression of anger in Babanki

Pius Akumbu and Roland Kießling

Universität Hamburg

Babanki, a Grassfields Bantu language of North-West Cameroon activates various linguistic strategies to express the concept ANGER. While it generally lacks a direct and congruent lexicalisation, it provides a plethora of metonymical idioms in which the expression of ANGER is distributed across various (relational and) body part nouns plus verbs for qualities such as BECOME BAD, BECOME RED and BECOME HOT, motion such as CLIMB and physical processes such as BURN, BUBBLE and BURST, as illustrated in the following examples (EXP = experiencer, PHM = phenomenon):

- (1) [[INSIDE]PSD [EXP]PSR]SUBJ [BURN]V (à PHM)
tyín é Búnj é fwí lí (à lè̀mè wén)
9.inside 9.AM Bung DJ burn P0 at 1.brother 3S
“Bung is angry (at his brother).”
- (2) [[BELLY]PSD [EXP]PSR]SUBJ BUBBLE (byì PHM)
è-bèm é Búnj é fù?-è (byì wù)
5-belly 5.AM Bung DJ bubble-PROG because 2S
“Bung is very angry (because of you).”
- (3) [[BLOOD]PSD [EXP]PSR]SUBJ CLIMB (byì PHM)
mè-nlyúnj mè Búnj é kú? lí (byì wù)
6a-blood 6a.AM Bung DJ climb P0 because 2S
“Bung has become very angry (because of you).”

The paper describes the morphosyntax of these constructions with special reference to the encoding of the central participant roles, i.e. experiencer (EXP) and stimulus/phenomenon (PHM). It also explores the pragmatic properties of these constructions and integrates the observations into the wider typological debate on experiencer constructions in African languages.

Ndǎ~ná morpheme in Ngbugu language (Banda, Central African Republic)

Galla Althabégoïty

Laboratoire Ligérien de Linguistique - Université d'Orléans

The Ngbugu is a Banda language spoken in Central African Republic. The data presented here have been collected from Ngbugu speakers in France and through social media in a survey. The morpheme ndǎ~ná is mainly found in three different contexts (the two allomorphs are subject to free variation):

1. Compound verbs

àndzē nī-ndǎ kwō míngì

3PL like.TAM-* battle a_lot

'They like the battles (to fight)a lot.'

2. Complex nominal clause

2.1. indirect genitival construction

mī kā nà ké-màndà mà gō ndǎ à-àrabò bá èzǐptè

1SG be with INF-learn mouth country * PL-arab at Egypt

'I am learning the language of Arab (Arabic) in Egypt.'

2.2. Relative clause

àjǐábá là pō ndǎ nī tó wá sē mé átè

thank_you with speech * 2PL say.TAM 3SG.INA to 1SG here

'Thank you for the speech you gave (say to) me here'

3. In complex sentences

zǎ zā ngōtō ná ké-zà wá sē pōl

Jean take.TAM turkey * INF.take 3SG.INA to Paul

'Jean takes a turkey to give it to Paul.'

A comparison will be suggested with the Banda Linda (related to Ngbugu) where there are two morphemes:

- ná: a possessive marker in indirect genitival construction (Cloarec-Heiss, 1987)

- éndǎ~ndǎ: a polyfunctional morpheme (nominal, preposition, suffix of compound verbs) (Cloarec-Heiss, 2003).

In order to identify a possible common semantic value for the ndǎ~ná morpheme in the different contexts and functions identified, we will refer to Robert's work (2003) on polyfunctionality and fractal grammar. This presentation will contribute to the understanding of compound verbs, nominal and phrase construction and the possible interrelation between them in the Ngbugu language.

References

Cloarec-Heiss, France. 1987. « Les deux structures de la détermination nominale en banda-linda ». in Boyeldieu, Pascal (ed.). La maison du chef et la tête du cabri, des degrés de la détermination nominale dans les langues d'Afrique centrale. Paris : Geuthner.

Cloarec-Heiss, France. 2003. « Invariance et polysémie : le marqueur transcatégoriel "éndǎ" (banda-linda) ». in Robert, Stéphane (ed.).

Robert, Stéphane. 2003. Perspectives synchroniques sur la grammaticalisation : Polysémie, transcatégorialité et échelles syntaxiques. Louvain, Paris : Peeters.

'Muscles of mussels' and 'hooks of bananas' - the (incipient) numeral classifier system of Ugare (Tivoid, Cameroon/Nigeria)

Michael T. Angitso and Roland Kießling

Universität Hamburg

Alongside a functional noun class system of the familiar Bantoid type, the Tivoid language Ugare (Cameroon/Nigeria) operates an incipient numeral classifier system that is restricted to a given set of nouns. The present paper provides a first analysis of its semantic, morphosyntactic and etymological profile. Semantically, Ugare numeral classifiers categorize counted items for their shape and texture (e.g. oblong and rigid vs. flat vs. small and globular) as well as for their aggregation type (bundle vs. heap), partition (half, piece) with an occasional conflation with the notion of counterexpectual scantiness. On the morphosyntactic and etymological level, Ugare numeral classifiers seem to develop from full-fledged generic nouns denoting concepts such as LEAF, SEED, FRUIT and HEAP used as head nouns in associative constructions. Eventual loss of nominal properties indexes an incipient functional split of the lexical source item and the newly emergent word class of numeral classifier. In all of its parameters, the Ugare numeral classifier system conforms with the profile of incipient numeral classifier systems found in Tiv (Angitso 2020) and other languages of the Benue-Congo branch in the Nigeria and Cameroon (Kießling 2018).

References:

Angitso, Michael T. 2020. A descriptive study of the Tiv nominal morphology. PhD Thesis, Universität Hamburg, Hamburg.

Kießling, Roland. 2018. Niger-Congo numeral classifiers in a diachronic perspective. In McGregor, W. B. & Wichmann, S. (eds.), *The Diachrony of Classification Systems*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 33–76.

Disciplining the archive: African history, John M. Weatherby's Soo data, and language archives

Samuel Beer

University of Virginia

In the mid-20th century, Africanist historians who had turned to oral tradition as a source of evidence about the past began advocating for a project of oral data archiving. The stated goals of this project bore striking resemblance to those put forth in theorizations of the language archive emerging from the field of language documentation in recent decades. Both projects have posited that archives' main purposes are to make scholars' claims reproducible by providing access to the source material on which those claims are based and to provide a multipurpose record that could benefit scholars from disciplines beyond that of the original data collector. However, these surface similarities belie underlying differences in the disciplinary contexts of the two projects that have shaped both the nature of the materials that participants in these projects collected and the reception that each research agenda found in its discipline.

This paper elucidates the unique disciplinary context of one particular corpus of audio recordings and field notes collected in the 1960s and 1970s. The corpus documents Soo (Uganda: Kuliak/Nilo-Saharan); collected by Makerere University history PhD student John M. Weatherby, it was intended to serve as the data underlying his doctoral thesis. Working as a historian and trying to make his work relevant to historians and anthropologists as well, Weatherby repeatedly watched his work get lost in the interstices between disciplines; his corpus was nearly lost despite decades of effort to find an institutional home for it. This account of how his research products were nearly lost and of my experience finding value in them as a linguist is a contribution to theorizations of language archiving and to the study of the history of linguistics in Africa.

On Somali Geminate

Sabrina Bendjaballah¹ and David Le Gac²

CNRS¹ and Université de Rouen-Normandie, EA7474 Dylis²

We investigate Somali singleton and geminate consonants on the basis of a production experiment with 4 Somali native speakers. In particular, we address two issues, which are still a matter of debate: i) the phonetic correlates of gemination; ii) the realization of word-initial stops.

1. Singleton consonants are attested in all contexts, while geminates are attested in intervocalic position, only. In order to specify the primary cue of the length contrast for voiced stops, we examine the properties of intervocalic singleton and geminate /b, d, g/ in morphologically simplex nouns. In order to analyze the realization of word-initial voiced stops, we consider Noun1 Noun2 sequences, in which /b, d, g/ is the initial consonant of Noun2. We investigate 3 different syntactic/prosodic contexts: compounds, genitives and subject-object sequences. We report the results obtained for 3 temporal parameters (closure duration, release duration, duration of the vowel preceding the test stop) and 4 non-temporal parameters (presence/absence of release, devoicing of the test stop, stop closure amplitude, stop release amplitude). These parameters correspond to the acoustic correlates that most frequently oppose singleton and geminate consonants.

2. Word-internal /b, d, g/ are realized as open approximants. Word-internal /bb, dd, gg/ are realized as SINGLETON stops. We conclude that the underlying length contrast "singleton" vs "geminate" is realized as the manner contrast "open approximant" vs "singleton stop".

3. Word-initial /b, d, g/ pattern with lexical geminates. This result obtains irrespectively from the syntactic/prosodic context: compounds, genitives and subject-object sequences pattern together with lexical geminates with no significant difference. This suggests that the "strong" realization of word-initial /b, d, g/ cannot straightforwardly be analysed as a case of word-initial strengthening triggered by the prosodic hierarchy or syntactic constituency.

4. To conclude, we discuss the implications of these results on the phonological representation of geminates and word boundaries.

Motorcycle taxi drivers in Ngaoundéré, Cameroon: Marginal actors as source of linguistic innovation?

Klaus Beyer

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

The talk presents empirical data from a research project on language use in the multilingual urban context of Ngaoundéré, the capital of the Adamawa province in Northern Cameroon. The focus lies on the town's ubiquitous motorcycle taxi drivers whose multilingual repertoires mirror the whole range of language resources present in the city.

From the perspective of Social Network Analysis, the group of motorcycle taxi drivers is particularly interesting as they regularly interact with a wide range of speakers of different languages and are themselves a highly heterogeneous group. Moreover, their subsumed membership in large and loose-knit open networks lends themselves to an evaluation of 'strong-' versus 'weak-tie' theories discussed in current modellings of language change (Swarup et al. 2011) and linguistic innovation studies (Del Tredici & Fernandez 2018).

In the presentation I analyze structural features of individual motorcycle taxi drivers' positions in their social networks and correlate them with linguistic variables from their usage of the local vehicular language Fulfulde. I contribute to the discussion on the influence of social networks on linguistic behavior and the question of 'typical' characteristics of a linguistic innovator based on empirical data from hitherto widely under-described contexts (Beyer & Schreiber 2017).

References

Beyer, Klaus and Henning Schreiber 2017. The social network approach in African Sociolinguistics. In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics. Oxford University Press (<http://linguistics.oxfordre.com/28/09/2017>).

Del Tredici, Marco and Raquel Fernández. 2018. The Road to Success: Assessing the Fate of Linguistic Innovations in Online Communities, Proceedings of the 27th International Conference on Computational Linguistics, Association for Computational Linguistics, Santa Fe, 1591-1603.

Samarth Swarup, Andrea Apolloni, and Zsuzsanna Fagyal. 2011. A model of norm emergence and innovation in language change. In The 10th International Conference on Autonomous Agents and Multiagent Systems. Vol. 2; 693-700.

Zur Erfahrung von Minderheitenstatus in den sprachbiographischen Interviews nordafrikanischer Männer (Reading North African minority experiences from linguistic biography interviews)

Hamza Boutemin and Axel Fanego Palat

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

Im Rahmen des LOEWE Schwerpunkts „Minderheitenstudien: Sprache und Identität“ haben wir uns seit mehr als einem Jahr mit der Erfahrung berbersprachiger Männer im Rhein-Main-Gebiet befasst. Erste Erkundungen anhand sprachbiographischer Interviews ergaben, dass diese jungen Berbersprecher über besondere sprachliche Ressourcen sowie Erfahrungen im Umgang mit Registerunterschieden und mehrsprachigen Situationen verfügen. Das Nutzen dieser Ressourcen und dieser Erfahrungen in neuen Umgebungen und beim Deutscherwerb in Deutschland zu erforschen, ist eines der zentralen Anliegen des Teilprojekts. Obwohl in den meisten der biographischen Interviews hinsichtlich des Deutschen zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, dass diese Sprache eher nicht attraktiv scheint, als komplex gilt und anderen Sprachen gegenüber als eigentlich verzichtbarer, haben unsere Gesprächspartner dennoch eine durchaus beachtliche Kompetenz im Deutschen entwickelt. Dies wirft bestimmte Fragen auf hinsichtlich der Bedeutung unterschiedlicher Faktoren und verschiedener Arten der Motivation, die das Sprachlernen maßgeblich beeinflussen.

Konzeptueller Ausgangspunkt für unsere Bemühungen waren gegenläufige Beobachtungen, die sich auf den ersten Blick zu widersprechen scheinen. Einerseits betont eine Arbeit zu Sprache und Identität bei jungen Männern mit nordafrikanischem Hintergrund im Vereinigten Königreich (Jamai 2008), dass sich diese Männer als zwischen beiden sprachlichen Welten gefangen sehen, sich nämlich weder zum Englischen, noch zum marokkanischen Arabisch als wirklich uneingeschränkt zugehörig einschätzen. Andererseits erschienen Berbersprecher, die als junge Männer in eine der beiden mehrsprachigen Städte Barcelona oder Helsinki umgezogen waren, in ihren Darstellungen und in der direkten Beobachtung weniger traumatisiert von den sprachlichen Anforderungen, welche die ungewohnte Umgebung mit sich brachte. Mögliche Gründe hierfür vermuten wir in den vorherrschenden sprachideologischen Prägungen, wie sie in berber- bzw. amazighsprachigen Kollektiven zum Ausdruck kommen. Genau dies, wie nämlich Haltungen zu und Ideen über Sprache zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, möchten wir im Vortrag illustrieren, indem wir den Zuhörenden einige unserer Gesprächspartner etwas näherbringen, Sie gewissermaßen indirekt zu Wort kommen lassen.

Directives and related speech acts in Jóola Fooñi (Atlantic)

Denis Creissels

University of Lyon

The paper I would like to present describes the forms and constructions involved in the expression of directives and related speech acts in Jóola Fooñi (aka Diola Fogny, Atlantic). The description is based on a corpus of naturalistic oral texts of various genres.

The finite verb forms of Jóola Fooñi consist of a stem, an obligatory subject index, and a variable number of TAM-polarity marker. The form I call 'the minimal', which plays a prominent role in directives, consists merely of a stem and an obligatory subject index, without any overt TAM-polarity marker. It has the following three types of uses:

- it is found in subordinate clauses with uses broadly similar to those of European 'subjunctives' (for example, in clauses introduced by the conjunction *man* 'so that');
- it is used for the non-initial terms of verb chains referring to events presented as the successive phases of a single event;
- it is found in independent and subordinate clauses expressing commands.

In its directive use, the minimal corresponds to a negative form marked by the prohibitive marker *takum* ~ *jakum* (distinct from the standard negation markers). The presentation will address the points enumerated in the description of the workshop for which relevant illustrations are found in the corpus. The tendency to grammaticalize *Emitey ekaan* 'may God grant' lit. 'let God make' as an introductory particle in blessings is of special interest. In spite of the fact that the etymological meaning of *Emitey ekaan* is still obvious for speakers, the tendency to treat this sequence as an unanalyzed block acting as an introductory particle in blessings is evidenced by the frequency of constructions in which the name of God is repeated, as in the following example:*

E-mit-e-y e-kaan mbi E-mit-e-y e-tanka-i seetaana-a-y

SG-God(E)-D-clE sl:clE-make POT SG-God(E)-D-clE sl:clE-protect-I:2SG misfortune-D-clE

di bu-run-a-b.

PREP SG-road(B)-D-clB

'May God protect you from misfortune during the travel.'

lit. 'Let God make (that) God might protect you from misfortune on the road.'

*clX: agreement pattern ('class') X, D: definite, I: index (other than subject index), POT: potential, PREP: multifunction preposition, SG: singular, sl: subject index

Contextualizing host family narratives in Tanzania: Insights from a Swahili college homestay program and implications for international program models

Kaia DeMatteo

University of Massachusetts, Boston

This qualitative study explores the narratives and perspectives of host families in a Swahili college homestay program in Tanzania to better understand the motivations, challenges, and benefits through participation in their communities. Previous studies have focused on common language destinations (i.e., largely Spanish-speaking countries) and primarily conceptualized homestay research through a Euro-American lens (Clark, 2015; Engel, 2011; Kinginger & Carnine, 2019; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2010). However, there is limited empirical data on homestay research in nontraditional destinations, leaving open questions about the unique sociocultural and economic landscape of host family narratives in places like Tanzania. Drawing on insights from sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978), situated learning theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and local ways of knowing, this study seeks to move beyond Euro-American discourses on host family experiences by considering the sociocultural, historical, and local contexts in which meaning is constructed and from which norms, ideologies, and practices are derived. Based on multiple interviews conducted with eight host families over eight months, findings identified relational linkages as central to host families' livelihoods along with three dimensions including the social fabric and sense of communal action, neighbor as your brother, and hospitality and a guest as a blessing as they navigated their roles within the homestay and in their communities. Throughout my fieldwork, host families' livelihoods expressed in everyday activities that were molded from their upbringing, within their communities, and the homestay context are emblematic of *utu*, which is the general concept for humanity in Swahili. As a relational principle and worldview, *utu* is grounded in interdependence and a concern for the well-being of others that is fostered through a network of human relationships (Kinyajui, 2019; Kresse, 2009; Mhina, 2011; Ogude, 2019; Rettová, 2020). These practices synchronously reflect the relational learning and knowledge sharing that took place through social engagement of community stakeholders on various levels: between hosts, foreign students, neighbors, and the greater community. By combining relevant literature with research findings, I conceptualize a relational approach to future program design where the homestay serves as a learning community of practice situated within a wider cultural lens comprising existing local social norms and values, as host families and local ways of knowing can help broaden knowledge spaces and encourage diverse worldviews in international program models.

Das Französische in Westafrika: Einblicke in die Phonologie urbaner Arbeiter von Conakry

Abdourahmane Diallo

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

Bei diesem Beitrag handelt es sich um eine Beschreibung phonetischer und phonologischer Aspekte des informellen Französisch, das von den Handwerkern oder Kleinhändlern gesprochen wird. Das Französische ist zwar eine romanische Sprache, wird aber mittlerweile seit einem Jahrhundert in frankophonen Ländern Afrikas verwendet, wo es in Kontakt und Austausch mit lokalen Sprachen steht. Die gegenseitigen Einflüsse sind eine Tatsache, deren Auswirkung auf das Französische mittlerweile sogar zur Entstehung lokaler Varietäten geführt hat (siehe de Féral 2010). Deshalb scheint die Zeit gekommen zu sein, dass Afrikanisten das afrikanische Französisch als eine „afrikanische“ bzw. „afrikanisierte“ Varietät betrachten und dementsprechend wissenschaftlich beschreiben.

Bei diesem Beitrag werden phonetisch/artikulatorische sowie auch phonologische Besonderheiten dieser Varietät des Französischen untersucht. Bei den Kontaktsprachen handelt es sich um das Soso, bisher größte Sprache der Hauptstadt von Guinea, das Maninka, das Kpele (Guerze) und das Fula. Letztere gehört zu den atlantischen und die ersteren drei zu den Mande-Sprachen. Im Vergleich zum Standard-Französischen treten bei der Varietät von Conakry Phänomene auf wie die Tilgung von Konsonanten (*natu* [naty] für *nature* [natyʀ]) oder Vokalen (*l'mon* [lmɔ̃] für *le monde* [ləmɔ̃d]), Metathese (*angle* [ãgl] für *langue* [lãg] „Sprache“), Silben- bzw. Wortkürzungen (*mseu* [msø] für *monsieur* [mɔ̃sjø] „Herr“), Wandel von Kontrastkonsonanten etc. Neben der Beschreibung und Analyse dieser Phänomene, werden auch Überlegungen zur Entstehung durch kontaktinduzierte Einflüsse bzw. oder Immersionsdefizit erörtert.

The noncausal-causal alternation in Luguru

Sebastian Dom¹, Malin Petzell¹, Leora Bar-El² and Ponsiano Kanijo³

Gothenburg University¹, University of Montana², and Mkwawa University College of Education³

This paper investigates the formal relationships between noncausal-causal verb pairs in Luguru, a Bantu language spoken in the Morogoro region of Tanzania. ‘Noncausal’ and ‘causal’ are semantic notions referring to related events which differ in valency: a noncausal event involves a single, affected participant, while the related causal event involves two participants, an instigator causing the event to happen to an affected participant. An example is the Luguru verb pair *kulumbuka* ‘melt’ (noncausal) / *kulumbutsa* ‘melt something’ (causal).

While the noncausal-causal alternation has been examined in various theoretical frameworks (see, e.g., Härtl 2003, Koontz-Garboden 2005, Haspelmath 2016, Schäfer and Vivanco 2016) and has been shown to be an interesting grammatical feature for language typology (Nichols et al. 2004, Grünthal and Nichols 2016), very little comparative data from African languages are available. The aim of this paper is to contribute to closing that gap. The focus of our study is the formal relationship or ‘correspondence’ between the members of noncausal-causal verb pairs. Data are collected through elicitation using a sentence questionnaire and feedback discussions with a language consultant, a male native speaker of Luguru from Kolero. The sentence questionnaire is based on a list of 31 noncausal-causal verb pairs from Haspelmath (1993: 97). In our dataset, we observe five types of correspondence: anticausativization, causativization, equipollence, labiality and suppletion. As is typical for Bantu languages, various verbal affixes are used in Luguru to encode the difference in valency between a noncausal and causal verb. Through the investigation of the noncausal-causal alternation, this study deepens the understanding of verbal derivational morphology and the coding of valency change in Bantu languages.

References

- Grünthal, Riho & Nichols, Johanna. 2016. Transitivity-detransitivizing typology and language family history. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 58(2). 11-31.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In Comrie, Bernard & Polinsky, Maria (eds), *Causatives and transitivity*, 87-120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2016. Universals of causative and anticausative verb formation and the spontaneity scale. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 58(2). 33-63.
- Härtl, Holden. 2003. Conceptual and grammatical characteristics of argument alternations: The case of decausative verbs. *Linguistics* 41(5). 883-916.
- Koontz-Garboden, Andrew. 2005. On the typology of state/change of state alternations. *Yearbook of Morphology*. 83-117.
- Nichols, Johanna & Peterson, David A. & Barnes, Jonathan. 2004. Transitivity and detransitivizing languages. *Linguistic Typology* 8. 149-211.
- Schäfer, Florian & Vivanco, Margot. 2016. Anticausatives are weak scalar expressions, not reflexive expressions. *Glossa: A Journal of general linguistics* 1(1). 18.

Blessings in Bambara (Mande): syntactic structure and social functions

Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn

Universität Bayreuth

It is almost impossible to come upon a conversation in Bambara which does not bear a blessing exchange occurring at some point. Leave-taking, wishes of success, of quick recovery to a sick person, encouragement to accomplish a difficult task, good night and other wishes, and the expressions of gratefulness, compassion or the pleasure to hear a compliment are all uttered in form of blessings. Even curses can be encoded as blessings. I will take the linguistic form of blessings as a basis and ask who uses them to whom on which occasion and for what purpose to analyze the functions these customary formulas have for speakers of Bambara.

Blessings belong to directives occurring as conventionalized exchanges used on appropriate occasions. By using a blessing, the speaker invokes God's favor upon a person. The Bambara blessing exchange includes at least two parts. The first part is a sentence, uttered by speaker (S), bearing 'God' in subject position, an object, which is frequently a pronoun expressing the beneficiary of the (favorable) action, the verb expressing the wish of God's action towards the addressee (or another person) and, optionally an oblique and/or some other peripheral constituent. The verb is inflected either for the optative, a mood that is dedicated to blessings and which has no negative counterpart, or by the subjunctive. The optative is marked with the extended exponent mà ... -ra, including the predicate marker mà and the verbal suffix -ra. The exponent of the affirmative subjunctive is the predicate marker ka, of the negative subjunctive kànâ. The second part of the exchange is the respondent's (R) response àmiina. There are also more complex blessings, if more participants have to be included. Frequently a whole series of blessings is exchanged.

Blessings convey little referential meaning. Rather, they transmit diverse social meanings. By invoking God as a third – and powerful - party in the relationship between two individuals or groups, blessings have the effect to stabilize this relationship. As conventionalized politeness formulas they allow the speaker to avoid a face threatening situation.

Bambara blessing exchanges are not confined to a particular religion and are used by adherents of Islam, Christianity and traditional religion alike. The deletion of certain parts of some blessings expressing wishes can be interpreted as a development towards their secularization.

“If I speak (English) very fast, people think I am not a Ghanaian” – language biographies as a resource in the sociolinguistics of mobility

Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn and Axel Fanego Palat

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

Language biographical methods including the drawing of language portraits and narratives are currently used in a research project on linguistic integration of Africans in the Rhine-Main region. The multilingual speakers' linguistic repertoires reflect their migration itineraries and the indexical orders valid at specific places. The speakers mention obstacles they have met because of lack of proficiency in a specific local language. They describe disadvantages they have experienced because of a particular way of speaking. These experiences do not only account for the incentives to acquire the prevailing or appropriate resource, e.g. an “ideal” target language in a new environment. They can also be analyzed in terms of indexical processes which attribute social, cultural or economic values to particular linguistic norms of the individual places (Blommaert & Dong 2010).

In this presentation we will concentrate on the language biographies of mobile people from Ghana, DR Congo and Guinea living presently in Germany, focusing on that part of their narratives concerning the indexicalities of the interview partners' linguistic practices which involve African languages. The speakers' experiences show that it is not perfect proficiency that is required in many contexts. Someone who usually strives to speak ‘pure’ Twi in his family has to insert a lot of English loan words into his Twi discourse to index his membership in a Ghanaian boarding school. To index his role as a Ghanaian it is of no importance that his English became faultless during his study stay in Europe. It is rather the pace of his speech that counts, as he says “If I speak (English) very fast, people think I am not a Ghanaian”.

Negation in Kenyang

Florence Tabe Ako Enoh

University of Yaounde 1

Kenyang (a Niger-Congo language spoken in the South West Region of Cameroon) has a variety of morphemes that encode negation. The distribution of each negative marker is determined by a range of constituents, including notably the type of lexical category, tense-aspect and mood. Thus the morphosyntax of each negation form defines its co-occurrence restrictions in the language. Some forms, for example, can only appear with verbs or nouns, while some others can co-occur with both types of categories. The scope of negation is often polysemic or dependent on the placement of negation, on the sentence stress as well as on the linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. In addition to the variety of morphemes used, negation may also be realized lexically with verbs, by adverbial expressions and intonationally with contrastive accent. The paper describes the morphosyntax of negation in Kenyang, a poorly documented language. It identifies the negation morphemes in the language and the inherent properties of each form. Further, it examines the interaction of the various forms of negation with other grammatical constituents to encode different semantic readings in Kenyang. In addition, it compares construction types having negation including those with single negation against double negations, constituent or clausal negation from sentential negation to elicit their semantic effects in communication.

Kx'ui tii - Don't speak! Morphology, syntax and ethnolinguistic aspects of imperative expressions in Khwe, Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe) and beyond

Anne-Maria Fehn

CIBIO-InBIO: Research Centre in Biodiversity and Genetic Resources

Khwe and Ts'ixa are two closely related Kalahari Khoe languages spoken along the Okavango River Basin and Delta: While Khwe has about 7,000 speakers distributed across Angola, Namibia and Botswana, Ts'ixa has only around 200 speakers and is restricted to a single village in northern Botswana.

Both languages have a dedicated construction to express commands and prohibitions, here subsumed under the label "imperative". Imperatives are morphologically unmarked, but require a special negation morpheme, as well as a conjunction exclusively found with imperatives. In this talk, I will provide an overview of imperative constructions in Khwe and Ts'ixa and discuss them in the historical context of the Khoe-Kwadi language family. I will further explore politeness-restrictions on the use of imperative constructions and address the role of pointing in directive commands.

Diminutives in Niger-Congo nominal classification

Ines Fiedler

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Diminutives are generally understood as expressing a quantity, quality, action or circumstance less than the standard (cf. Di Garbo 2013). In Niger-Congo gender languages, diminutives are often encoded by using one or more of the available nominal form markers (often: KA, DI, KI), whereby the choice of the marker is driven by semantic considerations. Thus, as in the derivations of the root -bi 'offspring' in Anii (example (1)), the nominal form markers modify the meaning of the nominal root according to the semantic criteria of animacy and humanness. In example (2), the same nominal form markers in combination with -bi are used to build diminutives, pointing to the additional semantic features 'membership of a group/collective' or 'individuation'.

- (1) Anii (Na-Togo)
- | | | |
|---------|---------------|------------------|
| U-/BA- | u-pi / bə-pi | '(human) child' |
| GI-/I- | gi-pi / i-pi | 'seed' |
| GA-/BU- | gə-pi / bu-pi | '(animal) child' |
- (2) Anii (Na-Togo)
- | | | |
|---------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| GI-/I- | gɛ-ŋɔɾɛ-pi / ɛ-ŋɔɾɛ-pi | 'star' (> a-ŋɔɾɔ / ɛ-ŋɔɾɔ 'moon') |
| GA-/BU- | gə-ci-pi / bu-ci-pi | 'small goat' (> u-ce / i-ce 'goat') |

The presentation will investigate (i) which nominal form markers are used to express diminutives in Niger-Congo, and (ii) based on the semantic network for diminutives as laid out in Jurafsky (1996), which semantic features can be assigned to each of these markers when expressing diminutives. This talk aims at contributing to the elucidation of the historical dynamics underlying the evolution of nominal classification systems in Niger-Congo.

References

- Jurafsky, Daniel. 1996. Universal tendencies in the semantics of the diminutive. *Language* 72, 3: 533-578.
- Di Garbo, Francesca. 2013. Evaluative morphology and noun classification: A cross-linguistic study of Africa. *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* (online) 10, 1: 114-137.

The Kimakunduchi copula marked with a relative clause prefix

Makoto Furumoto

University of Essex

In the Kimakunduchi dialect of Swahili, relative clauses can be formed with a verbal prefix. As shown in (1), the copula verb marked with this prefix can function as an independent relativiser, co-occurring with a finite clause.

- (1) mchuzi a- \emptyset -o-wa/u- \emptyset -o-wa ka-viki mama
soup(3) CL1.SM-PFV-CL3.REL-COP/CL3.SM-PFV-CL3.REL-COP CL1.SM-cook.PFV mother(1)
'The soup which mother cooked'

I propose that this relativiser is marked with a perfective-encoding zero prefix based on the observation that \emptyset - encodes perfective situations with other verbs. This has not yet been explained in previous studies.

In contrast to the other inflected forms, the perfective copula encoding present states cannot occur as a TAM (tense-aspect-mood)-encoding auxiliary. This fact suggests that it is functionally unmarked in terms of TAM as well as lexical meaning. The formation of the copula-derived relativiser can be explained by this unmarkedness, which highlights the relativising function, but conveys no TAM information.

Example (1) also shows that the subject prefix marking the copula can agree not only with the subject but also with the antecedent – even when this is not the subject. This observation suggests that a formal change has occurred in parallel with the functional change from copula to relativiser. The linker composed of the subject prefix and the relative prefix as in (2) can also be traced back to the relativised copula marked with perfective-marking \emptyset -, the source of which has not yet been identified. This proposal explains its formation as stem-dropping and its co-occurrence with attributive and locative constituents as a copula-derived feature.

- (2) kisu ki- \emptyset -cho(-wa) kikali
knife(CL7) CL7.SM-PFV-CL7.REL-COP sharp.CL7
'The knife which is sharp'

This paper discusses the development of the relativised copula into a relativiser and a linker, which contributes to the descriptive status of Kimakunduchi as well as to our cross-linguistic understanding of relative clause formation in Bantu and more broadly.

The Phonology of Gwama

Andargachew Getu Gebeyehu

Addis Ababa University

Gwama is one of the least described Nilo-Saharan languages of the Koman sub-group found in Ethiopia. This paper presents the results of four stages of fieldwork on Gwama in the form of a descriptive phonology. This work is a portion of Ph.D. dissertation on documentation and comprehensive linguistic description of the language. Included are presentations of the consonant and vowel phonemes, syllable structure and phonotactics, notable morphophonemic processes, and an overview of the tone system. The data exhibits 22 consonant phonemes and 5 short vowel phonemes with long counterparts. The study indicates that Gwama is a three level tone language. The language allows the occurrence of only two consecutive consonants in a word. However, two vowels do not occur one after the other. Since Nilo-Saharan particularly the Koman subgroup are understudied languages, this paper provides much-needed data and analysis for the furtherance of Nilo-Saharan linguistics.

Copula and Possession in Oromo: A Typological Perspective

Wakweya Gobena

Addis Ababa University

The nominal clauses in Oromo involve particle copula in the present and non-present tenses, but the present form also occurs in zero copula (juxtaposition). This uninflected particle has the present declarative copulas *da* and zero copula occur after the complement nominals having short terminating vowels. The affirmative copula *da* after vowel length and its suppletive negative copula *miti* are obligatorily overt elements in the nominal clauses. Among the several functions of copula that are listed in Dixon (2010:159), possession is pervasively encoded through its realizations as the POSM subject and POSR complement structures and as existential proximity representing structures with semantic notion of possessive function. In Oromo, copula and possession grammaticalize each other where the one is connected with the other in the morphosyntactic properties. Copulas pervasively express possession in their varied realizations. More interestingly, the special possessive copula *-ti* serves as a suffix on the POSR constituent in an allomorphic variation from the other copulas. Besides, there are several other peculiarities in manifestations of the grammatical relations between copula and possession including the doubled possessive copula for succession of possessive relations, cleft constructions where the copula *-ti* emphasizes the possessive notion occurring in a separate copula clause, and others. The present paper is an attempt to explore the typological features of copula and possession in Oromo along with their grammaticalizing relations to each other.

A linguistic biographical approach to the construction of mono-/multilingualism through chronotopes and sociolinguistic spaces

Samantha Goodchild

MultiLing, University of Oslo

Essyl, a village in the Casamance, Senegal, has been described as monolingual in the named language Joola Eegimaa, a.k.a (Joola) Banjal (Sagna & Bassène 2016). At the same time the vast majority of residents have extensive multilingual linguistic repertoires which are highly individualised dependent on life history and migratory trajectory (Goodchild 2018). This talk will demonstrate the usefulness of linguistic biographical approaches for researching people's diverse experiences of language in a multilingual African setting. Participants shared the data for the case studies through linguistic biographical interviews, language diaries, casual conversations, and participant observation over the course of ethnographic-based fieldwork. I will show how engaging in these methods set in motion a process of remembering (Franceschini 2002: 20–21) for some participants who constructed their life stories through the representation of mono- or multilingual linguistic practices in different times and spaces in their lives.

One advantage of the linguistic biographical approach is recognising a person's first-hand account of their life trajectory, treating this as primary rather than secondary data. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that a person's repertoire is structured with overlapping chronotopical layers and any interaction necessarily references both present and absent spaces and times (Busch 2015: 13). The emotional, historical and ideological reflexes behind participants' perceptions of mono- and multilingualism and their metalinguistic knowledge combine in interaction as part of sociolinguistic spaces (Juillard 2016). I will conclude that through the examination of sociolinguistic spaces, chronotopes and linguistic biographies, it was possible to investigate the reasons behind the wider macro-societal perceptions of Essyl as monolingual by considering the multilingual (trans)linguaging that takes place there as an inclusive form of monolingual linguistic practices.

References

- Busch, Brigitta. 2015. Linguistic repertoire and *Spracherleben*, the lived experience of language. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies* 148. 1–16.
- Franceschini, Rita. 2002. Sprachbiographien: Erzählungen über Mehrsprachigkeit und deren Erkenntnisinteresse für die Spracherwerbsforschung und die Neurobiologie der Mehrsprachigkeit. *Bulletin suisse de linguistique appliquée VALS-ASLA* 76. 19–33.
- Goodchild, Samantha. 2018. *Sociolinguistic spaces and multilingualism: practices and perceptions in Essyl, Senegal*. London: SOAS, University of London PhD.
- Juillard, Caroline. 2016. L'espace sociolinguistique et les actes de langage. *La Linguistique* 52(1). 91–124.
- Sagna, Serge & Emmanuel Bassène. 2016. Why are they named after death? Name giving, name changing and death prevention names in Gújjolaay Eegimaa (Banjal). (Ed.) Mandana Seyfeddinipur. *African language documentation: new data, methods and approaches (Language Documentation and Conservation) (Special publication 10)*. 40–70.

Microvariation in nominal plural marking in the Northern Masa group (Gizey, Masana and Musey)

Guitang Guillaume¹, Pierre Davounoumbi², and Ousmanou³

Université libre de Bruxelles¹, Université de Maroua², Université de Yaoundé 1³

Our contribution examines nominal plurality in three Northern Masa languages, namely in Gizey, Masana, and Musey (Chadic). We describe microvariation occurring in the assignment of nouns to different plural markers.

Gizey, Masana, and Musey use the same set of nominal plural exponents: -Vj, -ii/-ij, and -Vgi which are reflexes of Proto-Chadic *-ai, *-i and *-aki respectively (Newman 1990). In addition to these markers, the three languages have restricted sets of suppletive plural nouns in which a further suffixal exponent, -n, (Proto Chadic *-n-?) can be identified. However, although these languages constitute a more or less homogeneous lectal continuum, they have developed radically different plural assignment systems ranging from fully morphological (e.g., Masana) to fully phonological (e.g., Gizey).

Our objective is twofold: a) describe language internal allomorphy and b) compare the systems underlying the use of plural markers -Vj, -ii/-ij, -Vgi, and -n across the three languages in order to highlight variation.

The history of clicks in Nguni languages

Hilde Gunnink

Ghent University

Various Bantu languages spoken in Southern Africa make use of phonemic click consonants, a feature that has long been ascribed to contact with Khoisan languages. Clicks are particularly prolific in the Nguni languages, a cluster of closely-related languages spoken in what is now Eastern South Africa. In this paper, I show that a large number of phonemic clicks can be reconstructed to its putative ancestor Proto-Nguni, on the basis of comparative series of cognate click words that show regular sound correspondences. The Proto-Nguni click inventory includes 17 click phonemes, including a palatal click rarely found in Bantu languages, and no longer used as such in any living Nguni language. This Proto-Nguni palatal click has changed to a palatal egressive stop in Xhosa, and to a dental click in other Nguni languages. Other developments in individual Nguni languages after the Proto-Nguni stage include the merger of all click types into a dental click in Swati, and the complete loss of clicks in Northern Ndebele through replacement with articulatorily similar egressive consonants. Some Nguni languages have rather enriched their click inventories after the Proto-Nguni stage, by creating new prenasalized clicks through the morphophonological process of prenasalization. What is significant, though, is that no Nguni language has acquired new click phonemes through language contact after the Proto-Nguni stage. This shows that the occurrence of clicks in Nguni languages can best be understood as the result of a single language contact event that took place relatively early in the history of the Nguni languages. This relative chronology provides new insights into how the relations between Bantu- and Khoisanspeaking communities in southern Africa developed over time.

Morpho-phonological Properties of Quoted Imperatives in Dogon Languages

Abbie Hantgan

LLACAN-CNRS

Dogon is a group of around 21 languages spoken in Central Eastern Mali. Among some Dogon languages, a special verbal suffix is reserved for quoted imperatives, as well as greetings, blessings, and curses. As illustrated by examples from a recently compiled corpus of Ben Tey narratives, complemented by a grammatical description of the language in (1a-b), the so-called quoted imperative suffix differs in form from that which is found outside of quoted clauses.

1. [dɛ̃r-à] 'spend.day-IMP'
 - 1a. dɛ̃r -é -j
spend.the.day PFV QUOT.IMP
'Good evening.' [lit. 'How did you spend the day?'] (BT02_2)
 - 1b. dʒâm dɛ̃r -é -ỳ
peace spend.the.day Pfv 2S
'Did you spend the day in peace?' (BT02_4)
2. [bãr-à] 'help-IMP'
 - 2a. dʒĩndʒè ú bár -ì -j
God 2S help CIT QUOT.IMP
'May God help you!' (Heath 2015: 149)
 - 2b. í bãr -â
1S help IMP
'Help me!' (BT12_11)

Among the data used for this study, the most common type of quote are commands. The example in (2b) is interesting in that the quoted imperative suffix does not appear, even though the clause in question is a quote, albeit not morphologically marked as such. The form of the quotative clitic among the Dogon languages in which it is found is most commonly [wà] (or [wá] following a high-toned verb). In some Dogon languages, such as illustrated for Bondu So in (3a), the quotative clitic may also appear following the addressee of an imperative quoted clause.

3. [índ-á] 'give-IMP'
 - 3a. túmbíl -é néjìí ójì wà gònd -ó índ -ó wà
hyena NCL6 uncle 2S.EMPH QUOT fire NCL6 give QUOT.IMP QUOT
'Hyena said, "Uncle, you give (me) fire!" (BS02_31)
 - 3b. mó dám -ándʒ -è néjìí óó gònd -ó índ -á
3S say PROG 3S uncle 2S fire NCL6 give IMP
'[Hyena] he says, "Uncle, you give (me) fire!" (BS01_79-80)

The example in (3b) can thus be compared with that of (2b) above in that neither is followed by the quotative clitic [wà] – the clauses are bare quotes – both verbs show the regular form of the imperative.

It appears that a phonological solution can be proposed: for Ben Tey, the afore-termed, quoted imperative suffix, is merely the phonetic realization of the coalescence of the front vowels, and in Bondu So of the back vowels. Phonologically, both instances can be viewed as a type of vowel harmony; both backness and [±ATR] harmony are well attested throughout the Dogon languages.

The landscape of focus particles in Dagbani

Katharina Hartmann and Johannes Mursell

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

This talk compares the properties of syntactically high and low focus particles in Dagbani (Mabia). The high focus particles *ń* and *ká* are well investigated (Issah 2019, Issah & Smith 2020). They are the heads of a Focus Phrase (FocP) in the left sentence periphery and trigger syntactic movement of a focused subject (*ń*) or a non-subject (*ká*) to the specifier of FocP. In addition to these particles, which occur exclusively at the left sentence periphery, Dagbani has two particles, *lá* and *mí*, whose use and distribution is hitherto not yet fully understood. Following a proposal by Belletti (2004) for Italian, we argue that these particles realize a low focus position immediately above the verb. In contradistinction to the high focus particles, these low focus particles do not trigger focus movement but mark constituents in their scope as focal. We show that the distribution of the particles is sensitive to the syntactic architecture of the VP. The particle *mí* is chosen if the VP is empty, hence after movement of the intransitive verb to Asp, a functional head above the low FocP. After reconstruction of the verb, such a sentence may receive two interpretations, a verb focus interpretation, and a verum focus interpretation. The particle *lá* is used with transitive verbs. It is compatible with predicate focus, in situ focus of non-subjects where the verb is given, and narrow verb focus where a non-subject is given. In situ focus marking of internal arguments and modifiers is only obligatory under strong, i.e. ex-situ questions. Weak, or in situ questions, do not allow for low focus particles. In the first part of the talk, we develop a syntactic theory of high and low focus marking in Dagbani. In the second part of the talk, we compare Dagbani to other Mabilia languages.

Prenominal *a* and nominal structure in three Mabia/Gur languages

Georg Höhn¹ and Alain Hien²

Georg-August-University Göttingen¹ and Tohoku University²

This talk provides a comparative analysis of the syntax of the prenominal marker *a* occurring in three Mabia/Gur languages of Burkina Faso – Dagara (1a), Mooré (1b) and Koromfé (1c) – and related aspects of nominal structure (possessors, demonstratives). The Dagara and Mooré data are largely new (introspection and elicitation), while we rely on Rennison (1997) for Koromfé data.

- (1) a. a puale zo-ro na Dagara
DET boy run-IPFV DECL
'The boy is running.'
- b. a Madou yiid-ame Mooré
ART Madou sing-DECL
'Madou is singing.'
- c. a kěě Koromfé
ART woman
'a woman'
(Rennison 1997: 81)

We argue that prenominal *a* in Dagara realises the head of a head-initial DP (with lower positions for possessors and demonstratives). Its counterparts in Mooré or Koromfé do not head DP, which is head-final in those languages. Prenominal *a* in Mooré only occurs with person names (cf. Musah 2018: 82 on closely related Kusaal). Given its homonymy with the Mooré short third person pronoun, we suggest that it is an adnominal pronoun functioning as proprial article, occupying a distinct (specifier) position instead of the language's normal postnominal determiner position. In Koromfé, prenominal *a* occurs with all common nouns in most contexts, while lacking a detectable meaning contribution (Rennison 1997: 81). Prenominal *a* is absent when there is a (pronominal or lexical) possessor in front of the possessed noun. We take Koromfé to have developed a formal requirement for a filled possessor position in DP (tentatively Spec,DP), similar to the EPP in the sentential domain. Prenominal *a* acts as an expletive to fill this specifier position when there is no other possessor.

References

- Musah, Anthony Agoswin. 2018. *A grammar of Kusaal. A Mabia (Gur) language of northern Ghana*. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Rennison, John R. 1997. *Koromfe*. London: Routledge.

A Syntactic Reappraisal of Polar Question Constructions in Igbo

Folorunso Ilori and Justina Onuora

University of Lagos

Standard assumption in the literature (Emenanjo 1987, Nwachukwu 1976, Uwalaaka 1997, etc.) suggests that Igbo language employs a combination of a low-tone and a resumptive pronoun which agrees with the subject of the question clause to derive polar questions. This study, however, identifies a high-pitch intonation, apparently missed out in the earlier studies, as a crucial functional item in Igbo polar questions. This informs a reappraisal of the syntactic projection of polar question constructions in the language, undertaken in this paper. Relying on insights from minimalist grammar (Chomsky 1995 to 2015) alongside acoustic investigation of pitch tracks of relevant speech samples on Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2014), the paper proposes a strict linear ordered combination consisting of the high-pitch intonation and a floating low-tone as the functional head that projects Igbo polar interrogative constructions. It argues following Emenanjo (2015) that the so-called resumptive pronoun accompanying lexical N in some Igbo polar questions is a clitic, a D item (in line with Abney 1987), which originated in the subject of the matrix declarative form of such clauses before being raised together with its antecedent N/NP to the specifier position of the derived interrogative clause (InterP).

The semantics and morphology of transnumeral nouns within Northeastern Africa's tripartite number marking languages

Jan Junglas

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

So-called tripartite number marking systems can be found in a variety of language groups situated in Northeastern Africa (see Güldemann 2018: 257) and are typically characterized by their three-fold division of nominal number marking patterns. Besides two patterns with one morphologically unmarked and one marked noun form (unmarked/plurative and singulative/unmarked), there is a third pattern which is composed of two marked noun forms (singulative/plurative). Even though the majority of nouns within tripartite number languages appears in one of these patterns, a substantial number of nouns cannot be captured by the concept of tripartite number marking as they either mark number through suppletion, or appear only in a single noun form. Standing outside a binary number opposition, the latter are dedicated to a single number feature and are therefore named "transnumeral nouns". In my talk, the role of transnumeral nouns within tripartite number marking languages is presented on the basis of comparative data from selected Northeastern African language groups (Dajuic, Kadu, Nilotic, Surmic). It is shown that the occurrence of transnumeral nouns can be systematized both on a morphological and a semantic level, which is illustrated by means of a new analytical framework encompassing tripartite number marking systems in general and transnumeral noun typology in particular (Güldemann and Junglas, in prep.).

References

Güldemann, Tom. 2018. "Historical linguistics and genealogical language classification in Africa". In: Güldemann, Tom (Ed.). *The languages and linguistics of Africa. The World of Linguistics 11*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 58-444.

Güldemann, Tom and Jan Junglas. in prep. *The four-way meaning of tripartite number: implications for a typology of number morphology*.

3arabizi – (Marokkanisches) Internet-Arabisch als transnationale Lösungsstrategie der Diaspora

Hanan Karam

Ruhr-Universität Bochum

3arabizi – eine Erscheinung, die länger anhält als zunächst prognostiziert. 3arabizi ist kurzum die Verschriftlichung der arabischen Sprache, genauer der Vielzahl an arabischen Dialekten, in lateinischen Lettern, welche in der Internet-Kommunikation verwendet wird. Für den deutschen Kontext ergibt sich beispielsweise: *Ghadi nekkeb darija bdeutsch, wa9ila mashi mushkil?! (Ich schreibe Marokkanisch-Arabisch auf Deutsch, ich glaube das ist kein Problem?!). Kein Widerspruch, sondern eine zukunftsweisende Chance. Als nicht ernstgenommenes Skript breitete sich 3arabizi aus, etablierte sich und ist nun aus dem Alltag vieler AraberInnen der Diaspora nicht mehr wegzudenken. Neue Aufmerksamkeit gewann dieses noch junge Phänomen während des Arabischen Frühlings und zuletzt im Zuge der Flüchtlingsströme.*

Nicht nur die linguistische Relevanz als Hybrid zwischen dem Arabischen und europäischer Sprachpraxis ist hier ausschlaggebend, sondern auch die Bedeutung hinter dem Phänomen: der emotionale Wert für die VerwenderInnen, welche oft im Zuge der Migration und des Lebens in Europa das arabische Schriftsystem nicht beibehalten haben und somit Lösungen suchen, welche die Auslebung beider Identitäten auch in Form der Verschriftlichung ermöglichen. Unter Jugendlichen erfreut sich 3arabizi besonderer Beliebtheit, wurde ihnen zwar die Herkunftssprache von Eltern und/oder Großeltern vermittelt, jedoch nicht das arabische Schriftsystem, welches der Kommunikation im Internet dienen würde. 3arabizi gewährt ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur arabisch-islamischen Community (etwa durch die Verwendung von WhatsApp zur Kommunikation mit Freunden und Familie in der gesamten europäischen Diaspora und den Herkunftsländern) in Kombination mit dem westlichen Schriftkodex. 3arabizi steht für die Auslebung des Transnationalismus und ist Sinnbild für die Generation, die schon lange nicht mehr der sog. „Gastarbeitergeneration“ entspricht und eine vielseitige Identitätsstruktur aufweist.

Der Vortrag soll sowohl über die Vorgeschichte und Charakteristika informieren, als auch die Anwendung, Funktion und Kritik in Augenschein nehmen. Beispielhaft wird das marokkanisch-arabische 3arabizi angeführt, welches in der Literatur nur am Rande thematisiert wird und anhand eines erarbeiteten Korpus dargestellt werden soll. Der Korpus basiert auf Beiträgen zu Alltagsthemen des Forums von „Mawqi' Basma“, einer Internet-Seite für marokkanische Frauen weltweit. Des Weiteren erscheint eine noch nicht behandelte Dimension: Die Wichtigkeit von 3arabizi für die Dekodierung von Sprachen aus dem arabisch-islamischen Raum ohne immanentem etabliertem Schriftsystem (Bsp.: das nordmarokkanische Thmazight). 3arabizi bedarf einer besonderen Aufmerksamkeit: Zunächst noch unterschätzt und kritisiert, überflutet es heute die sozialen Netzwerke.

Cognate Accusative Noun Phrases in the Quran - A Contribution to the Discussion on so-called Cognate Objects

Csilla Kász

Christian-Albrechts Universität zu Kiel

Empirical studies on cognate objects (henceforth COs) in different languages show that CO-constructions form a heterogeneous group both in terms of their syntax and semantics. Pereltsvaig (2002) and Kim & Lim (2012) (i.a.) point out that in contrast to earlier approaches, COs cannot be considered either exclusively arguments (cf. Macfarland 1995 and Matsumoto 1996) or adjuncts (cf. Jones 1988 and Moltmann 1989). They adopt two types of COs ('argument' or 'referential-COs' vs. 'adjunct' or 'eventive-COs') and claim that languages differ in whether they allow only argument-COs or both. The question of argumenthood is accompanied in these studies by the attempt to determine the syntactic behavior and the inner structure of the different CO-types (e.g. possible attributes and determiners). Further, previous research accounts for restrictions on certain predicate types licensing COs, e.g. unaccusative and transitive verbs (cf. Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995, Nakajima 2006) and predicates with certain lexical aspects (cf. Macfarland 1995).

In my presentation I summarize the results of a corpus-based study of 194 CO-constructions with 105 verb types in the Quran (Classical Arabic). The goal of the presentation is threefold: First, I argue that there are no restrictions on predicate types licensing COs in Quranic Arabic and that this flexibility may be linked to the wide-ranging functions of the accusative case in the language. Second, I will show that in contrast to previous claims for different languages (cf. Pereltsvaig 2002 and Akkuş & Öztürk 2017), the data shows no clear-cut difference between argument and adjunct COs in terms of their definiteness or in whether or not they allow the omission of attributes. And third, I claim that the variation in the classifications of COs within a language (as found e.g. in Pereltsvaig 2002 and Mittwoch 1998 for Hebrew) is the result of different definitions of 'cognateness' in these studies.

References

- Akku, Faruk & Balkiz Öztürk. 2017. On Cognate Objects in Sason Arabic. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 23(1). 31-55.
- Jones, Michael Allan. 1988. Cognate objects and the Case Filter. *Journal of Linguistics* 24. 89-111.
- Kim, Jong-Bok & Joo-Young Lim. 2012. English Cognate Object Construction: A Usage-based, Construction Grammar Approach. *English Language and Linguistics* 18(3). 31-55.
- Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport-Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Macfarland, Talke. 1995. *Cognate Objects and the Argument/Adjunct Distinction in English*. Illinois: Northwestern University, Evanston. Ph.D. dissertation.
- Matsumoto, Masumi. 1996. The syntax and semantics of the cognate object construction. *English Linguistics* 13(1). 199-220.
- Mittwoch, Anita. 1998. Cognate Objects as Re_ections of Davidsonian Event Arguments. In S. Rothstein (ed.), *Events and Grammar*, 309_332. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Moltmann, Friderike. 1989. Nominal and clausal event predicates. In Caroline Wiltshire, Randolph Graczyk & Bradley Music (eds.), *Papers from the 25th Annual Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, vol. 25, 300-314. Chicago: University of Chicago, Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Nakajima, Heizo. 2006. Adverbial cognate objects. *Linguistic Inquiry*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37(4). 674-684.
- Pereltsvaig, Asya. 2002. Cognate Objects in Modern and Biblical Hebrew. In Jamal Ouhalla & Ur Shlonsky (eds.), *Themes in Arabic and Hebrew Syntax*, vol. 53 *Studies in Natural Language*

„Ce successeur a lavé la veuve de son père“ : Das Französische der afrikanischen Schriftsteller als Übersetzungsproblem

Hypolite Kembeu

Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

Die heutige afrikanische Gesellschaft zeichnet sich sprachlich u.a. durch den Gebrauch eines Wortschatzes aus, der morphologisch gesehen etablierte französische oder englische Wörter sind, deren Bedeutungen aber nichts mit den in Standardwörterbüchern vorgesehenen Bedeutungen zu tun haben. Diese Alltagssprache, die kontextuell gut verstanden wird und heute zum üblichen sprachlichen und kulturellen Erbe der afrikanischen Völker gehört, hat auch Eingang in die schriftliche Literatur gefunden. Im Zeitalter der Globalisierung und des interkulturellen Austauschs zwischen den Nationen wird auch diese afrikanische Literatur hauptsächlich von Europäern und für ein nicht-afrikanisches Publikum übersetzt. Die vorliegende Arbeit widmet sich dem Eruiere von den vielfältigen Formen von diesem semantischen Wandel, auch Neosemantismus oder Bedeutungsveränderung genannt, und geht insbesondere auf die Frage ein, wie sich die für die afrikanische Literatur interessierenden europäischen Übersetzer mit diesem Phänomen der Neusemantisierung umgehen. Zu diesem Zweck haben wir mit Hilfe der Theorie der Variationslinguistik den Roman "Temps de Chien" von Patrice Nganang und seine deutsche Übersetzung "Hundezeiten" untersucht.

Grating on one's way thither – the associated locomotion category in the Datooga lexicon

Roland Kießling

Universität Hamburg

Since its recognition in languages of Australia and Amazonia, the grammatical category of associated locomotion (ALM) has attracted the attention of linguistic typology, as it shows that the expression of the "fact-of motion" (Talmy 2007) is not necessarily restricted to the lexicon, but could be handled systematically by dedicated grammatical markers, contrary to what has generally been assumed. Belkadi 2015 presents a first outline which integrates crosslinguistic evidence into a unified typological framework, basically recognizing systems of polysemous directional derivations vs. dedicated inflectional ALM markers. The framework lacks the type attested in Southern Nilotic which is based on dedicated derivational ALM. The present talk aims at unfolding the semantic and morpho(syn)tactic particularities of the dedicated derivational extension of ALM in Datooga and traces its repercussions in the Datooga lexicon.

References

Belkadi, Aicha. 2015. Associated motion with deictic directions: A comparative overview. *SOAS working papers in linguistics* 17: 49–76.

Talmy, Leonard. 2007. Lexical typologies. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. III. 66–168. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zur Bedeutung von Tabu im Postkonflikt-Setting in Norduganda: Welche Einblicke bieten Konversation und Interaktion im Acholi?

Jan Knipping¹, Nico Nassenstein¹, and Maren Rüsçh²

Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz¹, University of Cologne²

Norduganda weist eine konfliktreiche jüngere Vergangenheit auf (u.a. den LRA-Krieg Joseph Konys). Die Auswirkungen dieser Kriege, in deren Verlauf zahlreiche Kinder verschleppt, Menschen sexuell missbraucht, verstümmelt und getötet sowie zu Vertriebenen in Camps im eigenen Land wurden, spiegeln sich noch heute in der Kommunikation und Interaktion der Acholi, der vom Krieg am meisten betroffenen nilotischen Gruppe Nordugandas, wider. Der Vortrag versucht, Ergebnisse auf die folgenden Fragen zu liefern: In welcher Form kommunizieren Acholi über diese Erlebnisse von Krieg und Gewalt, die nicht selten mit traumatischen Erinnerungen verbunden sind? Gibt es Tabuthemen, über die nicht gesprochen werden kann oder darf? Welche kommunikativen Strategien verwenden Sprecher*innen, wenn tabubehaftete Themen im Gespräch aufkommen?

Basierend auf einem Korpus im Umfang von 22 Stunden Audio- und Videomaterial von Acholi-Interaktionen, gesammelt in Norduganda zwischen 2015 und 2018, verfolgt der Beitrag methodisch zwei Ansätze: Im Sinne einer Untersuchung ethnolinguistischer Schlüsselkonzepte soll im Bereich der Ethnosemantik analysiert werden, welche einzelnen Ausdrücke an Konfliktvokabular (lòk pa lwény/mwòny), beispielsweise für Krieg, Zwangsrekrutierung, sexuelle Gewalt und Verstümmelung, häufiger auftreten, bzw. welchen regelmäßigen Meidungsstrategien sie in der Konversation aufgrund von gesellschaftlicher Tabuisierung unterliegen (z.B. in Form von conceptual metaphors, semantic shifts, Euphemisierung und Ortophemisierung, etc.). Konversationsanalytisch wird hierbei angestrebt zu zeigen, inwiefern durch Schweigen, Repairstrategien oder durch strategischen Sprecherwechsel in der Interaktion (turn-taking) tabuisierte Sprache überspielt, camouffiert oder vermieden wird. Hier soll auch auf 'bitteres Lachen' (Nassenstein & Storch 2020: 16) als soziopragmatische Strategie eingegangen werden, um Sprachlosigkeit oder Verlegenheit zu begegnen. Vorarbeiten der Vortragenden umfassen unter anderem eine ausführliche konversationsanalytische Studie des Acholi (Rüsçh 2020), ethnografische Arbeiten zu Ausgrenzung und Konflikt in acholisprachigen Gemeinschaften (Nassenstein im Druck) und eine diskurslinguistische Dissertation zu Hospitality/Hostility in Norduganda (Knipping in Vorbereitung). Mit dem anvisierten Vortrag soll ein gesprächsanalytischer Beitrag mit sprachanthropologischer Ausrichtung zu Interaktionen im Postkonflikt-Setting in Norduganda geleistet werden.

Searching for the shortest verb forms in Ometo languages

Bernhard Köhler

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

The Ometo languages of southwest Ethiopia are characterised by a wealth of different verbal suffixes marking manifold grammatical categories: for example, aspect, tense, subject, mood, modality and many combinations of all these. The suffixes also differ in length, ranging from single sounds to several syllables. The present paper is concerned with those suffixes consisting only of a single sound, mostly a vowel, such as high-toned -o in Oyda for the imperative singular and high-toned -i in Oyda for the anterior converb (both from own field notes). It is assumed that these shortest verb forms are at the same time very archaic verb forms because many consonants in verbal suffixes originate from auxiliaries, which may be seen as later attachments. Therefore, a comparison of single-sound verbal suffixes and their functions in Ometo languages as is attempted here is significant for the history of these languages in their Afroasiatic context. Even if, for example, imperatives are generally short in languages, still a great deal can be learnt from the form-function matches in the data.

Beobachtungen zu Possessiven des mosambikanischen Ngoni

Heidrun Kröger

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main / SIL International

Das mosambikanische Ngoni ist eine Bantusprache im Norden Mosambiks, in den Provinzen Cabo Delgado und Niassa, sowie im Südosten Tansanias um Masasi. Strukturell ist es dem Rufiji-Rovuma Cluster zuzuordnen (Odden 2003) und ist eine N10 oder Manda-Sprache. In Bezug auf Possessive weisen die meisten Bantu-Grammatiken lediglich einen kurzen Abschnitt auf, in dem die Formen aufgezählt werden mit ein paar kurzen Beispielen in einer Nominalphrase. Es wird meist einfach davon ausgegangen, dass die Formen der 1.-3. Person Singular und Plural entsprechen. Wenn man jedoch Texte anschaut, kann sich das Bild ändern.

Das Possessiv-Paradigma im mosambikanischen Ngoni sieht aus wie folgt, wobei in der zweiten Person Singular und Plural nicht unterschieden werden.

	1	2	3
SG	-angu	-inu	-aku
PL	-itu		-au

Zusätzlich gibt es ein weiteres Possessiv in der dritten Person basierend auf dem Wort mundu 'Person', das nur mit Verwandtschaftsbegriffen und einigen wenigen weiteren relationalen Substantiven verwendet wird. Dieses Possessiv gibt es auch in anderen Rufiji-Rovuma-Sprachen wie dem Manda, Makonde, Ngindo und Mwera. Die Untersuchung von Texten des mosambikanischen Ngoni zeigt, dass die Wahl des Possessivs von folgenden Faktoren abhängt: Singular/Plural, Respekt, menschlicher oder nicht-menschlicher Possessor sowie bei Verwandtschaftsbegriffen, ob der Possessor koreferentiell ist mit der topikalen Figur der Erzählung bzw. des Abschnittes. Das folgende Beispiel zeigt, dass die Wahl zwischen =vaku und =mundu anzeigt, ob es sich um die eigene Frau des Subjekts/Topiks handelt oder um die Frau eines anderen.

- (1) *A-jaula kw-a-palaha a-hana=mundu.*
1SMi-go 15-2OM-search 1a-wife=hisi
He went to search for his (own) wife. T2.45
- (2) *A-jaula kw-a-palaha a-hana=vaku.*
1SMi-go 15-2OM-search 1a-wife=2.hisj
He went to search for his (s.o. else's) wife.

Desweiteren werden Possessive der dritten Person verwendet, um Spezifität anzuzeigen, um Teil-Ganzes-Beziehungen zu formulieren und um pronominal auf Satelliten von primären Lokativnomen zu referieren.

Regressive [+ATR] vowel harmony across word boundaries in Anum

Frank Kügler

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

As many other Kwa-languages, Anum employs a pattern of word-level [ATR] vowel harmony. The two harmonic sets of vowels are given in (1). Some impressionistic data on Anum (Obeng 1995) suggests that vowel harmony may apply beyond the word-level crossing a word boundary. As shown in (2), if a [+ATR] word follows a [-ATR] word the [+ATR] feature spreads regressively onto the adjacent vowel and turns its [-ATR] specification into [+ATR]. The regressive across-word vowel harmony (RVH) is a hitherto rarely discussed phonological process. This study explores this type of vowel harmony in Anum in more detail varying the morpho-syntactic contexts and size of constituents in which it could apply. The data for the present study were elicited from five speakers during field work in Ghana in 2019.

Some examples in (3) show that RVH applies within a DP, between objects and a verb, between a verb and a subject, and between objects. However, some contexts block RVH (4). We will present the varying contexts in detail and show the application and blocking of RVH in Anum. We will argue that RVH could be analysed as a phrase-based process. RVH applies within or across a non-maximal phonological phrase. We will compare the data with similar data on Akan (Kügler 2015). The domain of application differs between Anum and Akan and we will explore how RVH relates to prosodic phrasing in Anum.

- (1) a. [+ATR]: /i, e, u, o/
b. [-ATR]: /ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɔ, a/ (Obeng 1995; Ofori 2013)
- (2) a. kwamɪ + dzi → kwami dzi
'Kwame' 'eat' 'Kwame eats.' (Obeng 1995)
- (3) a. kwǎmí téènté á ædzì /kwǎmí/
name tall DET eat 'The tall Kwame eats.'
b. kwamɪ + sɔ + kokosi → kwami so kokosi.
'Kwame' 'collect' 'coconut' 'Kwame collects coconuts.'
c. kɔtɔ + bebree → kɔtu bebree
'hat' 'many' 'many hats'
d. kwǎmí téènté ámè dzì kókósi /ámè/
name tall new eat coconut 'New tall Kwame eats coconut.'
- (4) kwǎmí téènté sò kókósi bl̀̀bl̀̀ dúdú *[… bl̀̀bl̀̀ dúdú]
name tall buy coconut sweet Monday
'Tall Kwame buy ten sweet coconuts on Monday.'

References

- Kügler, Frank. 2015. Phonological phrasing and ATR vowel harmony in Akan. *Phonology* 32(1). 177–204.
- Obeng, Samuel G. 1995. Vowel harmony in Gwa Nmlé. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 41. 143–152.
- Ofori, Kwake. 2013. *A grammar of Anum*. University of Ghana, Legon.

Greek Evidence for Ge`ez Phonology in Late Antiquity

Grant Kynaston

University of Cambridge

The 'traditional' pronunciation of Ge`ez (Classical Ethiopic), dating from the Middle Ages, has been the subject of much scholarly consideration (Mittwoch 1926, Agraw 1984). However, this tradition reflects a range of consonant mergers and vowel shifts vis-à-vis the more classical – and less well-studied – forms present in Late Antiquity. The Garimā Gospels, recently dated by radiocarbon testing to around the 5th-6th centuries CE (Bailey 2013), provide a unique window into an earlier stratum of Ge`ez than previously thought directly accessible. Not only do these manuscripts attest the *versio antiqua* of the Ge`ez New Testament (Zuurmond 1989, Wechsler 2005), but, in translating a predominantly Greek Vorlage (Zuurmond and Niccum 2013), they offer a true bilingual witness of Ge`ez phonology in Late Antiquity. This contrasts with the indirect approach typically used to assess variation between the traditional pronunciation and the historical phonemes; namely, to rely on the conclusions of comparative (Ethio-)Semitic linguistics (Dillmann and Bezold 1907, Leslau 1987). Rather, this paper focuses on the transliteration of Greek names and loanwords in the Garimā Gospels. It adopts methodologies already used to great advantage in Arabic (Al-Jallad 2017) and Hebrew (Janssens 1982, Yuditsky 2013) historical phonology, and considers the phonetic equivalencies within the graphemic evidence, both in isolation and within their respective phonetic environments. The results of this survey are compared against contemporaneous Greco-Ethiopic evidence from epigraphy and numismatics. This survey, when combined with prior work on the traditional pronunciation and comparative Semitic linguistics, allows more nuanced conclusions to be drawn both on the historical Ge`ez phonemes, and their interactions. This study has great significance not only for the linguistic study of Ge`ez in the early Christian period, but also for the broader field of comparative Semitic phonology.

An investigation of backchannels in Luganda

Mandy Lorenzen

Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel

Backchannels are short verbal or non-verbal responses produced by the listener in a conversation. Examples of verbal backchannels in English are 'hm' or 'yeah' (Yngve 1970). They have a significant impact on the success of a conversation, as they give the speaker feedback. Studies have shown that backchannel behavior can vary in different languages (Bangerter & Clark 2003; Chang & Lin 2009). Listener behavior and the associated backchannels have not yet been researched in the Bantu languages. In my presentation I introduce first results of a study on the backchannel behavior in the Bantu language Luganda (ISO 639-3: lug), which is spoken in Uganda. The data on which my investigation is based come from spontaneous conversations that were recorded in 2019 from 17 speakers with a total length of approx. 8 hours (approx. 70,000 words). The corpus data are annotated for their form (lexical, non-lexical, length of the backchannels, repetitions), as well as their prosodic form, such as the F0 contour. The context in which they occur is also considered, both in relation to the entire utterance, as well as to what extent backchannels appear after particular syntactic units, such as the predicate or the direct object of a clause. The presentation will provide the first comprehensive corpus-based account of the functional and formal properties of backchannels in Luganda.

References

- Bangerter, Adrian & Herbert H. Clark. 2003. Navigating joint projects with dialogue. *Cognitive Science* 27. 195--225.
- Chang, Miao-Hsia & Shin-yi Lin. 2009. Response tokens in MSN conversations. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics* 35. 111--139.
- Yngve, Victor H. 1970. On getting word in edgewise. *Papers from the sixth regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 6. 567--578.

Exceptional imperative constructions in Muher

Ronny Meyer

INALCO/LLACAN

My paper is concerned with exceptional (i.e. non-canonical) imperative forms in Muher, a little-known Ethiosemitic language belonging to the Gunnän Gurage group (Meyer 2019; Leslau 1981; Hetzron 1977).

The paper is divided into two parts. First, I am going to list suppletive – typically 2nd person – imperative forms and will discuss their inflectional properties with regard to person marking. These suppletive imperatives, which mainly occur with the verbs for ‘come’ and ‘go’, seem to be a common Afroasiatic feature (see e.g. Cohen 1984; Newman 1980; Banti 2004), even though the involved suppletive stems and their inflectional behavior vary across the languages.

In the second part of my paper, I am going to describe the form of a special prohibitive paradigm (PROH) and its pragmatic function vis-à-vis the “regularly” negated imperative. The prohibitive inflects for all persons, and, like the imperative/jussive, is restricted to main clauses. Although its semantics is usually negative, the involved morphology does not contain a regular negative marker. Moreover, the prohibitive also combines with the so-called main verb marker (MVM), which is otherwise limited to affirmative main clauses. In everyday discourse, the prohibitive (1b) is frequently used instead of the negated imperative (1a), as it is a more polite way to express a prohibition. As the prohibitive appears to be formally related to the apprehensive, which Treis (2018) describes as a unique paradigm for the Cushitic language Kambaata, it probably is another, so far unknown, feature of the Highland East Cushitic–Gurage convergence area.

References

Banti, Giorgio. 2004. Comparative notes on the Cushitic imperative. In Bogdan Burtea, Josef Tropper & Helen Younansardaroud (eds.), *Studia semitica at semitohamitica – Festschrift für Rainer M. Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004*, 55–91. Münster: Ugarit.

Cohen, David. 1984. “Viens!”, “Donne!”, etc.: impératifs déictiques. *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Semitiqes (GLECS)* 24–28(3). 521–524.

Hetzron, Robert. 1977. *The Gunnän-Gurage languages*. Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli.
Leslau, Wolf. 1981. *Ethiopians speak: studies in cultural background*. Part IV: Muher. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Meyer, Ronny. 2019. Gurage (Muher). In John Huehnergard & Na’ama Pat-El (eds.), *The Semitic languages*, 227–256. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Newman, Paul. 1980. *The classification of Chadic within Afroasiatic*. Leiden: Universitaire Pers.

Treis, Yvonne. 2018. The apprehensive paradigm of Kambaata. Presented at the 51st Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (SLE), 29 August - 1 September 2018, Tallinn University, Estonia, Tallinn.

https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01866064/file/Treis2018_Presentation_SLE_Apprehensives_corr.pdf (1 June, 2019).

Materielle Kultur – Kognition – Sprache: Manding und Dogon Keramik-Traditionen aus kognitiver Perspektive

Esther Morgenthal and Henning Schreiber

Universität Hamburg

Für interdisziplinäre Ansätze, die Archäologie und historische Linguistik verbinden, ist das Verhältnis von Sprache zu materieller Kultur von zentralem Interesse. Ethno-archäologische Arbeiten in Mali und Westafrika konzentrieren sich meist auf die Dokumentation und Beschreibung von Techniken zur Herstellung von Keramik. In diesen Untersuchungen spielen Konzeptualisierung der Sprecher und kognitive Repräsentation von Inventaren und Prozessketten keine zentrale Rolle. Während ethno-taxonomische Untersuchungen in der Regel für Farben oder Pflanzen bekannt sind (z.B. Brown et al. 1986), wurde der bisher umfassendste ethno-semantische Ansatz zur Klassifizierung von Keramik von Kempton (1981) entwickelt. Seine Arbeit zur Taxonomie mexikanisch-spanischer Gefäßtypen/-begriffe und Salienz morphologischer Objekteigenschaften zeigt, dass taxonomische Ebenen und hyponymische Relationen von Spezifika und Generika grundlegenden kognitiv-semantischen und Prinzipien folgen, die für die materielle Kultur in ähnlicher Weise gelten wie für die Konzeptualisierung der natürlichen Umwelt.

Auf der Grundlage von Untersuchungsergebnissen aus der Feldforschung zur Keramiktradition im Maninka(-kan) (Madina und Kansamana, Mali) und der Analyse verfügbarer Daten zum Dogon sollen Taxonomien, Typologien und die Salienz von physischen Objekteigenschaften von Keramik für den westafrikanischen Kontext diskutiert werden. Hierbei wird aus kognitiv-semantischer Sicht ebenfalls auf das Verhältnis von Lexikalisierung und Konzeptualisierung von Objekten materieller Kultur eingegangen.

References

Brown, Cecil H., E. N. Anderson, Jr., Brent Berlin, James S. Boster, Thilo C. Schadeberg, and Leontine E. Visser (1986). The Growth of Ethnobiological Nomenclature. *Current Anthropology* (27:1), 1-19.

Kempton, Willett. 1981. *The Folk Classification of Ceramics: A Study of Cognitive Prototypes*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Academic Press.

Swahili Passive and Stative Extensions and their Interaction with the Applicative

Deo Ngonyani and Yan Cong

Michigan State University

This paper examines two constructions in Swahili that suppress the external θ -role, namely, passive and stative, and their interaction with the applicative. The passive is marked by the suffix -w and the stative is marked by -ik. Although both the passive extension and the stative extension suppress the external argument, they exhibit several significant differences: (a) The passive exhibits the existence of an implicit argument while the stative does not; (b) The stative affix may appear before the applicative while the passive extension appears after the applicative; (c) In applicative constructions, passivization promotes the applied object while statives promote the direct object. However, the two verb derivations can co-occur when there is an applicative between them.

Adopting a tripartite verbal structure of [VoiceP [vP [VP]]], we analyze the passive suffix as the head of VoiceP specified for [-active], and the stative heads vP as an anticausative head. The applicative is a syntactic head that takes vP as its complement. The verb and the three heads merge in an antisymmetric fashion which accounts for (a) the co-occurrence of the stative and the passive with the applicative head between them stative-applicative-passive; and (b) the order of the extensions reflects the derivation.

This sheds light on the argument structure of alternating in the position of the direct object of a transitive verb with the subject of that intransitive verb. Hale & Keyser (2002) state that agent manner v is P-complementing and disallows alternating; patient manner v is P-adjuncting and alternating is available. The co-occurrence of stative and passive necessitates a third extension to co-occur in the clause. This P-like-projection is realized as applicatives in a morphology-rich language like Swahili; while as a null ApplP head in morphology-impooverished languages like English and Chinese. Statives embed an ApplP introducing an internal argument.

Multilingualism and language ecology: aspects of the Portuguese in contact with the African languages spoken in Angola

Gabriella Oliveira

University of São Paulo

This presentation is a part of a broader project that aims to demonstrate evidences of the proeminence of the African languages on the Portuguese in use in Angola. Angola represents a context where multilingualism, the condition under which human language evolves (Evans 2018), is part of the everyday life. In the perspective adopted in this work, language ecology establishes the fundamental mechanism for the linguistic features selection from a feature pool (Mufwene 2001), available due to idiolects contact, and the further features recombination (Aboh 2015) by the speakers in their linguistic practices, providing the means for the emergence of new linguistic varieties. A corpus is being drawn from interviewers' spontaneous speech from Angola TV channels and subsequently transcribed through ELAN. The data presented in (1) exemplifies the recombination process between the linguistic elements available to the speaker.

(1) Hoje tão a lhe dar lugar,
eu não tô a me dá lugar.

In (1), the informant is a shoeshiner and a workplace is being given by the local government to others, not to him. In this sense, the second sentence represents an impersonalization strategy since the subject "eu" is acting not as agent but as beneficiary of the action, even though the auxiliary verb is in agreement with it ("tô"). This pattern is not atested in standard Portuguese, and resembles a process of passive formation in kimbundu, in which sentences where "the agent of the corresponding active" is impessoalized "and its patient role becomes the only topical argument" (Givón 2006). Kimbundu is one of the most spoken languages in Luanda, place where the interviewer's shooting takes place. This data is an evidence that the Angolan Portuguese in use in Angola is a hybrid language that emerged in a multilingual ecology due to the contact between Portuguese and Angolan African languages.

(A)symmetries in imperative negation in Bantu

Daniel Van Olmen¹ and Maud Devos²

Lancaster University¹ and Royal Museum for Central Africa²

(A)symmetry is understood as follows here: the constructions/paradigms of domain $f(x)$ differ from those of x (not) only in the presence of the $f()$ marker. This notion was developed for the typological study of standard negation (SN; Miestamo 2005) and has since been applied to several other phenomena, including imperative negation (IN; e.g. Miestamo & van der Auwera 2007, Van Olmen 2019). IN is found to be much more asymmetric than SN in the world's languages. It also displays patterns of asymmetry unheard of in SN (e.g. realis negatives with irrealis positives) and necessitates the introduction of new subtypes of (a)symmetry (e.g. in intersubjective distinctions).

This paper constitutes the first step in a diachronic-comparative study of such (a)symmetries, with Bantu as its focus. Building on earlier work (e.g. Nurse 2008, Devos & Van Olmen 2013), the paper seeks primarily to describe the constructional/paradigmatic (a)symmetries between positive and negative imperatives in a geographically diversified sample of approximately 100 Bantu languages and secondarily to compare the results to the typological tendencies in IN and SN.

One initial finding is that full symmetry –the sole difference between positive and negative imperative is the negator (e.g. in Nzebi)– is even more infrequent in Bantu than in general. It is also clear from the preliminary analysis that asymmetry in specialization –either the positive or negative imperative does not have directivity as its only prototypical meaning– occurs more often in Bantu than cross-linguistically. Many languages have a dedicated imperative form but use the negative subjunctive to express 'don't!' (e.g. Shangaci). Finally, Bantu appears to possess multiple negative imperative constructions where the main verb is non-finite or, more precisely, infinitival (e.g. in Gogo). This observation contradicts Miestamo & van der Auwera's (2007) claim that asymmetry in finiteness is less common in IN than in SN.

Distinct rhythm profiles in Akan, Ewe, and Ghanaian English: Should traditional rhythm matrices be reconsidered?

Paul Okyere Omane¹, Frank Kügler², and Natalie Boll-Avetisyan¹

University of Potsdam¹, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main²

Speech rhythm is language-specific, and for our understanding of how speakers process and acquire their native languages, it is important to know the type of speech rhythm their languages follow. Previous studies on rhythm have mainly focused on Indo-European languages, and identified three major rhythm classes: stress-timed, syllable-timed and mora-timed. Little is known about how West-African languages fit into the classical rhythm typology. A study on the Kwa language Akan, for example, suggests that rhythm profiles could be very distinct from those of Indo-European languages (Olivio, 2011).

For the present study, we focused on three languages spoken in Ghana, a West-African multilingual society: We recorded speakers of Akan (n=3), Ewe (n=1) and Ghanaian English (GE, n=4), and a control speaker of American English (AE, n=1). For the rhythmic analysis, speech was segmented into vocalic and consonantal intervals, and the variability in the duration of these intervals was scored. The relation between vocalic and consonantal intervals have been shown to be very informative in terms of infants' rhythmic discrimination between languages (Ramus, Nespors & Mehler, 1999), while vocalic interval duration measure normalized for speech rate accounted best for differences between languages (White & Mattys, 2007). Following Ramus's et al. (1999) measures, vocalic information suggests that Akan and Ewe are mora-timed while GE is syllable-timed, unlike stress-timed AE. However, consonantal information suggests that Akan, Ewe and GE are all stress-timed languages. When controlling vocalic information for speech rate (White & Mattys, 2007) our data showed that Akan, Ewe and GE resemble syllable-timed languages. In sum, Akan and Ewe do not straightforwardly cluster with any of the traditional rhythm classes. Moreover, GE is rhythmically distinct from AE, probably because of transfer effects from Kwa languages. The results highlight the importance of studying understudied languages and linguistic cultures for our understanding of rhythm typology.

References

- Olivio, A. M. (2011). Exploring the speech rhythm continuum: Evidence from Ashanti Twi. *Journal of Speech Sciences* 1(2). 3-15
- Ramus F, Nespors M. and Mehler, J. (1999). Correlates of linguistic rhythm in the speech signal. *Cognition*, 73, 265–292.
- White, L. and Mattys, S. L. (2007). Calibrating rhythm: First language and second language studies. *Journal of Phonetics* 35. 501-522.

Transitions and translanguaging in South African classrooms: Challenges and chances

Michał B. Paradowski

University of Warsaw

South Africa's linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms pose multiple challenges to both teachers and students. One uniqueness of the Motherland scenario resides in many students' having to switch to new languages of instruction at successive levels of their education. The talk will commence with a critical synthesis both of the multiple transitions during the scholastic process and the inherent educational challenges (Author, 2021a). An appropriate course of action that naturally presents itself as well-suited in this context is translanguaging (TLAN). Although the concept has now gained world recognition and popularity in the scholarly literature and among teachers 'on the ground', its interpretation and implementation are by no means without problems and caveats. The talk will discuss the ramifications of translanguaging practices in the narrow sense of an inclusive multilingual resource-based set of pedagogical practices and the limits to its applicability (Author, under revision). We shall examine how TLAN may be less transformative and critical than has been suggested, how the demographics—and language repertoires—of SA teachers often fail to align with those of the student population, how TLAN practices may unintentionally reproduce disadvantages and reinforce inequalities and the hegemony of majority languages, how language singletons in particular face steeper challenges, that SA students' home language (HL) is not always their strongest language, that TLAN may actually cause a decrease in well-being, that there is the need to reconcile the acknowledgment of students' linguistic diversity, freedom of expression, and respect for the equality of languages with making them learn the register or language that is the target of instruction... The final minutes of the talk will focus on those TLAN practices that are worthwhile and salvageable, concluding with a recommendation of critical, reflective and socially relevant pedagogy that always takes into account the circumstances and ecologies of the classroom and the subjectivities of the students.

Grammaticalisation and Tjwao nominal morphosyntax

Admire Phiri

Stellenbosch University

The present study examines nominal morphosyntax in Tjwao – a moribund and highly under-researched Kalahari Khoe language (Khoe-Kwadi family) spoken by seven individuals in Tsholotsho District and some parts of Plumtree District in western Zimbabwe, near the Botswana border. Drawing on Grammaticalisation Theory, I shall describe the evolution of different functional categories and show that grammatical morphemes in Tjwao have historically developed from lexical sources. Finally, in a comparison with other Kalahari Khoe languages, this study demonstrate that the broader areal distribution of the patterns attested in Tjwao.

Respect*in*g African languages: towards a typology of pronominal honorification in African languages

Lee J. Pratchett

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

The manipulation of pronominal forms to encode social deixis, such as the use of plural forms, is cross-linguistically widespread. Current typological appraisals of such strategies in African languages are, however, problematic. A recent volume on (im)politeness in language summarises the distribution of the so-called tu/vous strategy as follows: “Apart from Europe such distinctions exist in South-east Asia, India and perhaps Central America but they are not attested in North and South America, North Asia, Australia or Papua New Guinea” (Jucker & Kopczyk 2017: 439). The unfortunate omission of the world’s second largest populated continent and with it a third of her languages is seemingly underpinned by research in linguistic typology that speculatively attributes the presence of the tu/vous distinction in a small sample of African languages to contact with European colonial languages (Helmbrecht 2003: 197). Using a study of a (growing) sample of 60 Bantu languages as a springboard, this presentation aims to stimulate and contribute to an appraisal of pronominal honorification in African languages on their own terms. For example, speech is rendered ‘more polite’ in Cuwabo (Bantu P34) by employing second-person plural referent indexes, and imperatival utterances in Haya are expressed with a subjunctive construction and a third-person plural referent index (i.e. Class 2 agreement prefix).

- (1) Cuwabo (Bantu P34, Niger-Congo; Guérois 2019: 755)

mù-ní-zíw-á ðáàví wíílá míyó qì-lì Màríya
2PL-IMPF.CJ-know-FV how COMP 1SG.PRO 1SG-be Maria
‘How do you (polite) know that I am Maria?’

- (2) Haya (Bantu J20, Niger-Congo; Devos & van Olmen 2013)

ba-m-p-é o-mw-óono
CL2-1SG-give-SBJV AUG-CL3-salt
‘Give me salt.’ (polite)

After exemplifying the diversity of strategies and construction types, and offering an idea of geographic distribution, the role of language dynamics involving Bantu and non-Bantu languages in the spread of pronominal honorification in Africa will also be discussed.

References

Devos, Maud & Daniël Van Olmen. 2013. Describing and explaining variation of Bantu imperatives and prohibitives, *Studies in Language* 37(1): 1-57.

Guérois, Rozenn. 2019. Cuwabo. In Van de Velde, Mark, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 733-775. London: Routledge.

Helmbrecht, Johannes. 2003. Politeness distinctions in second person pronouns. In Lenz, Friedrich (ed.), *Deictic conceptualization of space, time and person*, 185-202. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jucker, Andreas H & Joanna Kopaczyk. 2017. Historical (im)politeness. In Culpeper, Jonathan, Michael Haugh, Michael, Jonathan Culpeper & Dániel Z. Kadar (eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of linguistic (im)politeness*, 433-459. London: Springer.

Der Optativ im Meroitischen

Tamara Prischnegg

Universität Wien

Meroitische Schriftdenkmäler stammen aus dem Gebiet zwischen Khartoum und Assuan aus einer Zeitspanne von ca. 300 v. Chr – 450 n. Chr. Die Schrift kann transliteriert werden, die Sprache bleibt aber bis heute größtenteils unverstanden. Es ist eine Silbenschrift, die von rechts nach links geschrieben wurde. Es wird eine genetische Zugehörigkeit zum Nordostsudanischen angenommen (Rilly, u.a.), wobei es auch Versuche gab, seine Affinität zum Kuschitischen zu zeigen (z.B. Lepsius, Meinhof, u.a.) Meine Daten bestehen aus über 1000 Inschriften und Ostrakas, die ich im Softwareprogramm Toolbox (SIL) zur Analyse transliteriert habe. Im Vortrag gilt das Interesse meroitischen Totentexten, da ihr semantischer Inhalt im Wesentlichen bekannt ist. Es finden sich stets Verben mit Aufforderungen und Segnungen, d.h. Sätze mit optativen Verbformen.

Das Meroitische hat eine Verbendstellung. Es macht Gebrauch von verbalen Präfixen, Suffixen und Infixen, vgl.

ata mah pazi-xara-bax-kt

‘Brot ‘reichlich’ Präf.-‘essen’-PI-Suff.

‘Mögest du reichlich Brot essen!’

Die meisten MeroitistInnen sind sich einig, dass es sich beim Präfix (hier pazi-) um einen Optativmarker handelt, der in den bisher nicht weiter analysierten Formen pazi-, paza-, pazo-, pizi-, pizo- vorkommen kann. Im Vortrag werden die unterschiedlichen Vokalqualitäten einer detaillierten Analyse unterzogen. Folgende Möglichkeiten kommen in Betracht:

- die unterschiedlichen Vokalqualitäten kommen durch (morpho-)phonologische Prozesse zustande (Vokalharmonie)
- es gibt verschiedene Verbklassen mit jeweils unterschiedlichen Präfixen
- den jeweiligen Verben ist ein Initialvokal inhärent, das Präfix lautet nur paz- bzw. piz-
- es handelt sich um regionale/ dialektale/ diachrone Präfixvarianten

Untersucht werden weiters die verbalen Suffixe -kt, -kts, -ks, -t, -to, in denen einige ForscherInnen pronominale Endungen, manche aber auch den eigentlichen Optativ vermuten (mit paz- als Verstärker). Bei den zu untersuchenden Verbstämmen beschränke ich mich auf die Verben ha, xara, tar, tax und pal, da die Wortart zahlreicher Lexeme bis dato ungeklärt ist.

Limits on verb nominalization by prefix vowel

Ronald Schaefer and Francis Egbokhare¹

*University of Ibadan*¹

We examine verb-to-noun derivation in Emai of Edoid and Niger Congo. Prefixes nominalize verbs with vowels also found to inflect noun stems. Verbs are not limited to transitive and intransitive formats; also nominalized are verbs in series and verb plus suffix. Moreover, not all formats allow all prefix vowel exponents. Transitive verbs are less restricted than intransitives, while verbs in series and verb plus suffix are more restricted. Vowel prefix options diminish as verb stem format alters. Further deviation from prototypic nominalization arises from prefix alternation that conveys singular/plural and refers exclusively to human referents. Emai data suggest that prefixes with derivational functions are sensitive to stem format and grammatical number in a way that inflectional prefixes are not.

Eine korpusbasierte genetische Sprachklassifikation der Ost-Bantusprachen: die Daten und die Normalisierung

Yuning Shen

Universität Hamburg

Der Vortrag handelt von einem kurzen Bericht über die Entwicklung einer korpusbasierten Methode der Sprachklassifikation für die Bantusprachen in Ostafrika. Zum Ziel der Forschung wurde gesetzt, aus den publizierten Textmaterialien geeignete Merkmale benachbarter Sprachen (Merkmale und/oder Konstruktionen) quantifizierbar gemacht werden und diese als quantifizierte Größen zur Auswertung im Rahmen einer Subklassifikation einer Sprachfamilie - in unserem Fall der Ost-Bantusprachen auch im geografischen Sinne - erschlossen werden. Dieses Ziel streng verfolgend, werden nun die verfügbaren Sprachdaten in Ostafrika, unter anderem Gikuyu, Kamba, Meru sowie einige Luhya-Sprachen präsentiert, obgleich auch gewählte nilotischen Sprachen als Referenzgruppe herangezogen werden. Zusammen vorgestellt wird auch eine zweckbedingte Normtranskription der Bantusprachen in Ostafrika.

Betrachtungen zu thematischen Restriktionen bei lokaler Inversion im Swahili aus sprachvergleichender Bantu-Perspektive

Holger Tröbs

Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

Das Auftreten von lokaler Inversion im Bantu ist abhängig von der Argumentstruktur der beteiligten Verben. In ihrem wegweisenden Artikel zur lokalen Inversion im Chichewa unterscheiden Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) drei Argumentstrukturtypen, welche bis heute die Grundlage für die typologische Beschreibung von thematischen Restriktionen im Bantu bilden: zwei Klassen von intransitiven Verben, nämlich unakkusativische und unergative Verben (in Anlehnung an Perlmutter 1978) sowie transitive Verben. Neben diesen drei Argumentstrukturtypen spielt die Diathese des Verbs (Aktiv vs. Passiv) eine zentrale Rolle. Somit ergeben sich für die typologische Untersuchung von thematischen Restriktionen im Bantu sechs Parameter (vgl. Harford 1990 zum Shona, Demuth & Mmusi 1997 zum Tswana, Marten 2006 zum Herero).

Ziel des Vortrags ist die Beschreibung und Diskussion von thematischen Restriktionen bei lokaler Inversion im Swahili auf dem Hintergrund des von Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) entwickelten Beschreibungsansatzes. Hiermit soll ein Beitrag zu einem umfassenderen Verständnis der Variationsbreite von thematischen Restriktionen im Bantu bei lokaler Inversion geleistet werden. Insgesamt soll für das Swahili gezeigt werden, dass eine eindeutige Abbildung der thematischen Restriktionen im Rahmen der erstellten sechs typologischen Parameter kaum möglich ist. Grund hierfür sind erhebliche Schwankungen innerhalb der Sprechergemeinschaft in Bezug auf die Akzeptanz von Lokativsubjekt-Konstruktionen (vgl. Driever 1976).

Animacy and the evolution of gender agreement systems: A study of Northwestern Bantu

Annemarie Verkerk¹ and Francesca Di Garbo²

Universität des Saarlandes¹ and University of Helsinki²

This paper investigates animacy-based semantic restructuring in Bantu gender systems (a.k.a noun class systems) and the non-linguistic factors that may favor it. Our focus is on variability in patterns of gender agreement, and we present the results of two studies based on a sample of 179 Northwestern Bantu (henceforth NWB) languages. Our dataset consists of information on the kind of marking (lexically-specified gender, animacy-based gender, both, or none) that is found on a set of fifteen agreement targets (such as adnominal modifiers, various kinds of pronouns, and predicates). Study 1 is a bottom-up typology of gender systems in NWB (see Figure 1). We find that highly eroded gender systems can be explained as a result of the evolutionary dynamics by which animacy-based semantic agreement rises and spreads in more conservative languages. Our data also confirm that animacy-based semantic agreement is more likely to first appear on predicates and independent personal pronouns before spreading to different types of adnominal modifiers, which is in line with the predictions of the Agreement Hierarchy (Corbett 1979, 2006).

In Study 2, we demonstrate that animacy-based agreement in NWB can be explained as a function of population history – at least in part. We find that animacy-based gender systems are more common (1) in NWB languages of wider communication (animacy-based agreement is favored in virtue of its higher learnability) and (2) in NWB languages that are closely situated to non-Bantu languages (animacy-based restructuring is due to intense language contact and shift). To our knowledge, this is the first quantitative cross-linguistic study that confirms the oft-repeated claim that situations of intense language contact favor the restructuring and erosion of grammatical gender.

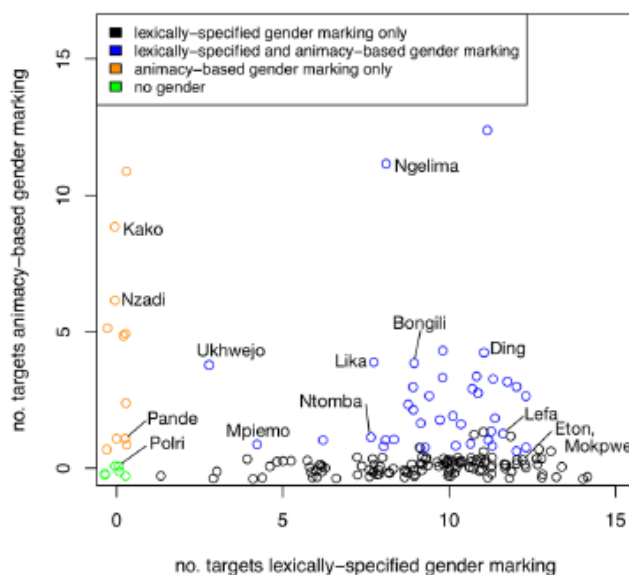


Figure 1. The number of agreement targets that are marked for lexically-specified gender (x-axis) and for animacy-based gender (y-axis). Points have been jittered so they do not overlap. Colors reflect four-way typology introduced in Study 1. Exemplar languages are labelled.

References

- Corbett, Greville. 1979. The agreement hierarchy. *Journal of Linguistics* 15. 203–224.
- Corbett, Greville. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

About big trees and small frogs - Adjectives in Longuda

Friederike Vigeland

Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

Die Phrasenstruktur von Adamawa-Sprachen ist im Allgemeinen kopf-initial, d.h. Attribute in einer Nominalphrase stehen hinter dem Kopfnomen (Kleinewillinghöfer 2020). Die Struktur des Longuda/Nungurama, das im Nordosten Nigerias gesprochen wird, entspricht dieser Aussage. Attribute wie Adjektive, Demonstrativa, Ordinalzahlen und Possessoren folgen dem Nomen und kongruieren mit dessen Nominalklasse. Adjektive stellen dabei eine von Nomen und Verben klar unterscheidbare lexikalische Kategorie dar (Dixon 2004, Schachter/Shopen 2007). Sie können nicht nur attributiv, sondern auch prädikativ verwendet werden und markieren die entsprechende Nominalklasse in beiden Fällen mithilfe von Kongruenzaffixen. Es gibt jedoch eine kleine Gruppe von Adjektiven, die Ausnahmen bilden. Sie sind ‚semantische‘ Adjektive (nach Dryer 2007: 168), unterscheiden sich allerdings in ihrer Morphosyntax von anderen ‚grammatischen‘ Adjektiven.

Im Vortrag wird eine Übersicht über Adjektive in Nominalphrasen des Longuda gegeben und deren syntaktisches und morphologisches Verhalten untersucht, bevor eine genauere Betrachtung der Sonderfälle erfolgt. Für die Analyse werden drei von fünf Varietäten (Deele, Guyuk und Gwaanda) herangezogen, um Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede herauszuarbeiten.

Literatur

Dixon, R.M.W. 2004. "Adjective Classes in Typological Perspective". In: Dixon, R.M.W.; Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (Hrsg.). *Adjective Classes. A Cross-Linguistic Typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1-49.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. "Noun Phrase Structure". In: Shopen, Timothy (Hrsg.). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume II. Complex Constructions*. Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press. 151–205.

Kleinewillinghöfer, Ulrich. 2020. "Adamawa". In: Vossen, Rainer & Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. (Hrsg.). *Handbook of African Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 220-230.

Schachter, Paul; Shopen, Timothy. 2007. "Parts-of-speech Systems". In: Shopen, Timothy (Hrsg.). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume I. Clause Structure*. Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge University Press. 1–60.

“Watch out! You're about to walk into that stop sign!” A rare semantic change from an inceptive form to a prohibitive marker

Rebecca Voll

Universität Leipzig

In their sample of 163 languages, Pakendorf and Schalley (2007:520) found five languages that use an affirmative form to express prohibition. The diachronic sources of prohibitives in these languages comprise ‘possibility’ and ‘desire’. The current paper presents a prohibitive marker that developed from another unusual source: an expression of ‘inception’. In the style of Pakendorf and Schalley (2007), I suggest that, although rare, the diachronic development of a prohibitive marker from an ‘inceptive’ form is not surprising if we assume ‘warning’ as an intermediate step. Mundabli (S.Bantoid) uses a single construction to express negative commands. This combines the subjunctive verb form, also used in polite commands, with the dedicated prohibitive marker $f\bar{a}$.

à $f\bar{a}$ dzē dzōŋ
2SG PROH say(b).SUBJ again
‘Don’t say [anything] anymore!’

Declaratives, on the other hand, are negated by a completely different form, namely the discontinuous marker \bar{a} ... $w\bar{o}$ which embraces the verbal core.

wÉ // wù ā dʃ wō gbō kúŋ ò
good.grief CL1.pro NEG be(b).PO NEG CL3.house house.back.LOC EMPH
‘Good grief! Our sister is not behind the house.’

The difference between the prohibitive marker and the declarative negation marker raises the question how this prohibitive marker developed. In the absence of diachronic data, the similarity between the prohibitive marker $f\bar{a}$ and the auxiliary $f\bar{e}$, which can express inceptive meaning, suggests that the two are related. This assumption is further corroborated by parallels between the inceptive and the prohibitive construction, such as the absence of cognate prohibitive markers in related languages, the use of the subjunctive verb form, and the existence of alternative variants starting in /t/. Apart from the affirmative origin of the prohibitive, the grammaticalization of a prohibitive marker from an inceptive form represents an unprecedented case of an aspectual form as a source for the grammaticalization of a prohibitive marker.

Linguistic realities of rural, small-scale multilingualism and languaging practices: a case study in the Casamance, Senegal

Miriam Weidl

University of Helsinki

Fluid multilingual practices constitute an integral part of peoples' everyday lives in many places all over the world and are nurtured by superdiversity, multiculturalism and high mobility, bequeathed by an eventful history (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Lüpke, 2016). Yet scientific investigations mainly emanate from the Global North, implementing Western societal and individual monolingual language ideologies and research methods that often create significant departures from the linguistic reality (Di Carlo et al., 2019). Investigations made from a Western perspective in urban centers in the Global South (but often also including minoritized settings of in the Global North), run a certain risk of fitting data into expected outcomes of the research.

In this talk, multilingual speakers of a rural area in the Casamance, Senegal are the focus of investigation. Data from different formal and informal everyday situations are analyzed and show how people adapt their personal multilingualism and languaging practices to the given social context, influenced by their expectations, aims and presuppositions (Weidl, 2018). Through intensive investigation including long-term observations, various kinds of (ethnographic) interviews and participatory videography data, an in-depth understanding of multilingual context is made possible. As a tool, the integrative method of data-triangulation is used to allow several perspectives on situations and the communicative events are displayed against a rich background, giving a voice to all participants present in the recordings (Weidl & Goodchild, in prep.). This approach aims to increase the inclusivity of all parties involved in research and strives for a better insight and understanding for multilingualism as a whole.

References

Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2012). Superdiverse Repertoires and the Individual. In I. de Saint-Jacques & J.-J. Weber (Eds.), *Multimodality and Multilingualism: Current Challenges for Educational Studies* (pp. 1–33). Sense Publisher.

Di Carlo, P., Good, J., & Diba, R. O. (2019). Multilingualism in Rural Africa. 1–47.
Lüpke, F. (2016). Pure fiction – the interplay of indexical and essentialist language ideologies and heterogeneous practices A view from Agnack. *African Language Documentation: New Data, Methods and Approaches*, 10(10), 8–39.

Weidl, M. (2018). *The role of Wolof in multilingual conversations in the Casamance: fluidity of linguistic repertoires*. SOAS, University of London, PhD.

Weidl, M., & Goodchild, S. (in prep.). Challenging paradigms in multilingual research methodology – triangulation of perspectives.

Problematizing generations: changing perceptions of multilingualism

Miriam Weidl¹ and Samantha Goodchild²

University of Helsinki¹ and MultiLing, University of Oslo²

The concept of ‘generations’ is commonly used to refer to separate age-groups of informants and participants of research and is a well used term and social variable within academic research, but is also a popular trope in daily life. However, what is generally not taken into account is the enormous heterogeneity of borders between generations which differ from culture to culture and are highly influenced by societal structures, politics, educational systems and religion. As Roberts & France (2020) point out, much of the sociological work on generations has been carried out in the Global North and overlooks the myriad conceptions of generation present in Global South contexts.

In this talk we highlight the importance of remembering that “generations” are fluid conceptions, which vary greatly according to a variety of factors. The location for our case study are two highly diverse multilingual villages of the Casamance, Senegal, where various understandings of generations exist simultaneously. Furthermore, individuals’ perceptions of their own generational belonging is context-dependent upon a variety of factors that will be addressed during this talk. We will focus on the interplay of diverse multilingual linguistic repertoires and the perceptions of generations and multilingualisms in our research contexts, where identities and linguistic boundaries are fluid and may change across time. In addition, we will demonstrate the impact of different generational conceptions on language learning, for example séjours linguistiques (Calvet & Dreyfus 1990), where children from the city are sent to learn a language in a village setting.

Using data from our respective field sites we will further critically reflect on our own positionings with relation to generation as we attempt to understand superdiverse multilingual contexts in the Casamance, Senegal.

References

Calvet, Louis-Jean, and Martine Dreyfus. 1990. La Famille Dans l’espace Urbain: Trois Modèles de Plurilinguisme. *Plurilinguismes* 3: 29–54.

Evans, Nick. 2018. The dynamics of language diversity. In R. Mesthrie & D. Bradley (Eds.), *Plenary and focus lectures from the 20th International Congress of Linguists*, 11–41. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Roberts, Steven & Alan France. 2020. Problematizing a Popular Panacea: A Critical Examination of the (Continued) Use of ‘Social Generations’ in Youth Sociology. *The Sociological Review*. 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120922467>.

From Bula Matari to Black Hole of Calcutta: an ethnolinguistic analysis of taboo avoidance strategies in A. B. Crentsil's Moses

Patrick Nana Wonkyi¹, Cathrine Eku Mensah², and Charity Tsiwah³

University of Education, Winneba¹, University of Cape Coast², Ola College of Education (Ghana)³

The present paper is an ethnolinguistic analysis of the taboo avoidance strategies employed in the lyrics of A. B. Crentsil's highlife music titled Moses. Studies on taboo avoidance strategies in Akan songs have not been given much attention. Meanwhile, it is a fact that we are exposed to sexual messages/information in Akan songs and regardless of the extent of civilization and education that individuals have been exposed to, issues about sexuality and sexual taboos still have strong cultural inclinations. After transcribing the song Moses from an audiotape and translating it into English, the artiste was interviewed. The lyrics of the song are categorized and coded. Constructs of ethnography of communication and conceptual metaphor and metonymy theories are employed to analyze data retrieved. It is discovered that in an attempt to avoid breaking sex related taboos, A. B. Crentsil euphemizes unmentionables in Akan and uses strategies like insinuation and appellative naming, borrowing and circumlocution as taboo avoidance strategies. Embedded in the said strategies are elements like metaphors, metonyms, and allusion. We affirm that the language of a given people and their culture go hand in hand in communicative events. Therefore, among the Akans, sex and its related activities continue to be conceptualized as sacred therefore, various strategies must be employed to communicate them.