45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics

Theme — Africa's Endangered Languages: Documentary and Theoretical Approaches

Program & Abstracts
April 17–19, 2014

Website: www.acal45.ku.edu
45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics

Africa’s Endangered Languages: Documentary and Theoretical Approaches

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
April 17-19, 2014

Conference Organizers

Jason Kandybowicz
Harold Torrence

Conference Committee

Ibrahima Ba
Travis Major
Khady Tamba
Mfon Udoinyang

Graphic Design

Carlos M Nash

Sponsors

National Science Foundation
University of Kansas College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
University of Kansas Office of the Provost
University of Kansas Department of Linguistics
Kansas Africa Studies Center
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics could not have been organized without the talent of numerous individuals and the generosity of many organizations. We wish to thank the following for their sponsorship, time, logistical support, and technical expertise:

• The National Science Foundation (NSF-DEL grant 1360823)
• University of Kansas College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
• University of Kansas Office of the Provost
• Kansas African Studies Center
• Department of African and African-American Studies
• Department of Linguistics
• Ibrahima Ba
• Corinna Johnson
• Allard Jongman
• Elizabeth MacGonagle
• Travis Major
• Carlos Nash
• Peter Ojiambo
• Khady Tamba
• Mfon Udoinyang
# 45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics

**Thursday Morning, April 17, 2014**

## Schedule of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Chair/Presenter(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Registration</td>
<td>Kansas Union, 4th Floor Lobby</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>Opening Remarks: Sara Thomas Rosen, Senior Vice Provost</td>
<td>Alderson Room</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Main Session</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Session 1: Divine Nine Room</strong></td>
<td>Session 2: Alderson Room</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semantics &amp; Syntax</td>
<td>Phonology – ATR Harmony</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chair: Andrew McKenzie</td>
<td>Chair: Akinbiyi Akinlabi</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>“Clausal” Exceed Comparatives in Luganda</td>
<td>Mundari Mid-Vowel Raising Through ATR Harmony</td>
<td>Timothy M. Stirtz</td>
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<td>M. Ryan Bochnak</td>
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<td>M. Ryan Bochnak &amp; Peter Klecha</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:45</td>
<td>The Influence of Akan on the Linguistic Encoding of Cutting and Breaking Events in Dwang</td>
<td>Unmasking the Swahili Orthography: The Challenge for the Documentation of Minority Languages of Tanzania</td>
<td>Joshua Gamba</td>
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<td>James Essegbey</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>Applicative Theory Applied to Wolof</td>
<td>Imbrication in Lunda</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Christen Harris</td>
<td>Boniface Kawasha</td>
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<td>Martha Micheka</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>Plenary Talk: Malte Zimmermann</td>
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<td>“Universal and Existential Quantifiers in Chadic and Beyond”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alderson Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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### 45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics
Thursday Afternoon April 17, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session 5: Alderson Room Syntax Chair: Vicki Carstens</th>
<th>Session 6: English Room Phonetics Chair: Allard Jongman</th>
<th>Session 7: Divine Nine Room Corpus Linguistics Chair: Lindsey Winchester</th>
<th>Session 8: International Room Language Policy Chair: Martha Michieka</th>
<th>Session 2: Blake 207 Undergraduate Session on Language Endangerment in Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>Development of DOM in Chichewa Laura Downing</td>
<td>The Phonetic Status of [m] in Akan Revisited Charlotte Fofu Lomotey</td>
<td>Swahili Demonstrative Position Mohamed Mwamzandi</td>
<td>Enhancing the Vitality of Igbo Language Learning in School through Indigenous Knowledge Systems Oghomna Anyanwu, Roseline Ndimele &amp; Ngozi Ugo-Ochulo</td>
<td>Language Endangerment in East Africa Carlos M Nash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>The Structure of the Gil DP Mary Amaechi &amp; Cecilia Koye</td>
<td>ATR Vowel Harmony and Vowel Quality: Are They Related? Koif Adu Manyah</td>
<td>Rethinking Somali Verbs: Utilizing Computational Methods to Decode the Verb Class Hypothesis Erin Smith Crabb &amp; Nikki Adams</td>
<td>How Multilingual Policies Can Fail: Language Politics Among Ethiopian Political Parties Mebar Zemelak Worku</td>
<td>Session 3: Centennial Room Workshop Poster Presentations (See list of posters and authors on final program page)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>Adjective Sequencing in Ga Yvonne Akwele Amankwa Ol reignu</td>
<td>The Prosodic Realization of Focus in Awutu: A Preliminary Analysis Charlotte Fofu Lomotey</td>
<td>Pronoun Resolution in Safaliba Narratives: A Corpus Study Dorothée Beermann &amp; Kenneth Bodua-Mango</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break Alderson Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:00</td>
<td>How Case-marking Can be Incorporated into a Verb: The Historical Development of Middle Voice in Gamuz Collen Ahland</td>
<td>Internal Structure of Aanang Proverbial Idiophone Itoro Michael</td>
<td>Typology of Posttual Alternations in Bantu: Interaction of Manner, Place, and Phonation Jonathan Choti</td>
<td>The Role of House-helps in the Acquisition of Language in Kenyan Urban Families Leonard Musaka</td>
<td>Andrui Angelescu, Josh Gambarage, Zoe Lam &amp; Douglas Pulleyblank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Eastern Kru Languages as V&gt;T Rather than V2 Hannah Sande</td>
<td>Labial-velar: Not Quite So Rare After All Michael Cahill</td>
<td>Consonant Substitution in Child Language (Ikwere) Roseline L.C. Alerede</td>
<td>Interactions Between Tone and Morphosyntax in Northern Mbo</td>
<td>Michael Ahland</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:30-8:30</td>
<td>Welcome Reception The Oread Hotel, Hancock Ballroom</td>
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## 45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics
### Friday Morning April 18, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session 1: Alderson Room</th>
<th>Session 2: Malott Room</th>
<th>Session 3: Pine Room</th>
<th>Session 4: International Room</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Experiencer Predicate Constructions in Hausa Lawan Danladi Yalwa</td>
<td>Structural Restrictions on H Tone Spread in Xitsonga Seunghun J. Lee &amp; Elisabeth Selkirk</td>
<td>Egyptian Arabic Broken Plurals in DATR Lindley Winchester</td>
<td>Challenges Facing the Development of Northern Isindebele as Language of Teaching and Learning in the Democratic South Africa Piet-Jan Masilela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>The Extended vP Domain in a Songhay Language Jason Ostrove</td>
<td>High Tone Anticipation in Luganda: Phonology and Phonetics Yelena Fainleib &amp; Elisabeth Selkirk</td>
<td>Gender Instability in Maay Mary Paster</td>
<td>Control and Raising in Moro Peter Jenks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>On the Decomposition of ‘Need’ Claire Halpert &amp; Michael Diereks</td>
<td>The Interaction of Verb and Direct Object Tone in Bulu Emily Clem</td>
<td>Ndebele Derivational and Inflectional Affixes in Replication Galen Sibanda</td>
<td>Transnumeral Nouns and Plural Verbs in Maaka: On Number Marking in a Chadic Language of Nigeria Anne Storch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break Alderson Room</td>
<td>Plenary Talk: Chris Collins &quot;The Linker in the Khoisan Languages&quot; Alderson Room</td>
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<td>11:15</td>
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<td>12:15</td>
<td>Business Meeting Alderson Room</td>
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<td>1:00</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Session 5: Alderson Room</td>
<td>Session 6: Malott Room</td>
<td>Session 7: Pine Room</td>
<td>Session 8: International Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Inflectional Morphology of the Gã Verbs and the INFL Movement</td>
<td>A Comparison of Two Somali Dialects: Self-Destructive Feeding v. Opacity</td>
<td>Syntax and Information Structure Constructions in Maa</td>
<td>The Yoruba Language Being the Mother Tongue of Non Yoruba People: Exploring the Bostra Perspective on the Language and Identity Discourse</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cecilia Kotey</td>
<td>Kevin Gabbard</td>
<td>Doris Payne</td>
<td>Yezeera Ononike Olso</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>The Morphosyntax of Verb Focus in Ibibio</td>
<td>Homorganic KP Nasal Assimilation in Ibibio</td>
<td>Optional Ergativity and Information Structure in Beria</td>
<td>Tracing a Winding Stairs: More Than 50 Years of Governance in Nigeria? Using Ethnolinguistics and Culture History for Reconstructing the Yoruba Past and the Apoto Connection</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Philip T. Duncan, Travis Major &amp; Mfon Udoinyang</td>
<td>Mfon Udoinyang</td>
<td>Andrew M. Wolfe &amp; Tajeddin Abdalla Adam</td>
<td>Adegbeyi Adeyanju</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Evidence for VP in VSO Kisongo Maasai</td>
<td>‘One Tone Per Word’ is Not Enough: Revisiting Diagnostics for Somali Wordhood</td>
<td>Focus and Wh- Constructions in Igbo</td>
<td>Pragmatic Analysis of the Local Names of Popular Car Brands in Lagos, Nigeria</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rebecca Kirkle</td>
<td>Christopher R. Green &amp; Michelle E. Morrison</td>
<td>Eunice Chidinma Osagwu</td>
<td>Ijoma Maryann Abu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>D-as-C and VSO/SOV Alternation in Kisongo Maasai</td>
<td>The Path to Predictability: Diachronic Aspects of Luhyaa Verbal Tone</td>
<td>On Focus Marking in Kuria</td>
<td>Inter-Party Insults in Political Discourse in Ghana: A Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
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<td>Evidence from Relative Clauses: Vicki Carstens &amp; Cassady Shoaff</td>
<td>Kristopher Ebarb</td>
<td>Meredith Landman &amp; Rodrigo Ranero</td>
<td>Emmanuel Amo Ofori</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
<td>Plenary Talk: Bommy Sands</td>
<td>Acoustic and Aerodynamic Data of Somali Chizigula Stops</td>
<td>An Allomorphy Based Account of Nominal Vowel Harmony in Nata</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alderson Room</td>
<td>“The Challenge(s) of Documenting Africa’s Least Known Languages”</td>
<td>Michal Temkín Martínez &amp; Vanessa Rosenbaum</td>
<td>Josh Gamburage &amp; Douglas Pulleyblank</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>Session 9: Pine Room</td>
<td>Session 10: International Room</td>
<td>Session 3: Kansas Room</td>
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<td>Classification</td>
<td>Sociolinguistics – Nigerian Hip Hop</td>
<td>Phonetics &amp; Phonology</td>
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<td>Chair: Tucker Childs</td>
<td>Chair: Philip Rudd</td>
<td>Chair: Mary Pater</td>
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<td>5:30</td>
<td>The Internal Classification of Kru: Bete-Guèbé as Dida</td>
<td>Nigerian Hip Hop Language: Lexical Manipulations in an Emerging Morphology</td>
<td>The Sound Patterns of Sebirwa: Documentation and Some Theoretical Implications</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hannah Sande</td>
<td>Toin Gbogi &amp; Olamite Ori</td>
<td>One Boyer &amp; Elizabeth Zsiga</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:00</td>
<td>Okan Lexical Classification: A Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>Hip-hop Music as Habinger of Moribund Languages: The Yoruba Experience</td>
<td>Acoustic and Aerodynamic Data of Somali Chizigula Stops</td>
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<td>Bolanle Arockayo</td>
<td>Rachael Bello</td>
<td>Michal Temkín Martínez &amp; Vanessa Rosenbaum</td>
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<td>7:00-10</td>
<td>Banquet</td>
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<td>Abe &amp; Jake’s Landing, 8 East 6th Street</td>
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### 45th Annual Conference on African Linguistics
**Saturday Morning April 19, 2014**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Workshop:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>Continental Breakfast</td>
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<tr>
<td>8-9:15</td>
<td>Malott Room</td>
<td>Africa's Endangered Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:15</td>
<td>Plenary Talk: Ruth Kramer “The Morphology and Syntax of Gender: A Little n Approach” Alderson Room</td>
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<td>9:15</td>
<td>Main Session</td>
<td>Workshop:</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:15</td>
<td>Session 1: Alderson Room Syntax – Nominals I</td>
<td>Session 1: Centennial Room Morpology &amp; Phonology</td>
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<td>Chair: Peter Jenks</td>
<td>Chair: Mamadou Bassene</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>The Structure of Relative Clauses in Maay Maay Elly Zimmer</td>
<td>Nata Deverbal Nominalizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>A Proposal for the Resolution of Mutually Exclusive Affix Position in Ciyao Rebecca Hale</td>
<td>Rose-Marie Déchaine, Dayanqi Si &amp; Joash Gambarage</td>
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<td>10:30</td>
<td>The Morpho-syntactic of Maa Possession: An Argument for Delayed Valuation Lesley Brinson</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>A Proposal for the Resolution of Mutually Exclusive Affix Position in Ciyao Rebecca Hale</td>
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<td>11:00</td>
<td>Factive Relative Clauses in Pulaar Ibrahima Ba</td>
<td>Trickster:</td>
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<td>A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Adjectives in Two Kwa Languages: Ga and Dangme Regina Oforiwaah Caesar &amp; Yvonne Awole Amankwa Ollenmu</td>
<td>African Youth Urban Language Personified Philip W. Rudd</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Accounting for Null Arguments: Pronoun Dropping in Maasai Seth Scarborough</td>
<td>Hierarchical Structure in Seeku Verb Paradigms</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Adjectives in Lubukusu Aggrey Wasike</td>
<td>Is Sheng the Future of Swahili? Mokaya Bwitre</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Some Fante Habitation Names Charles Owu-Ewie</td>
<td>Transivity Hierarchy Distinctions in Verbs of Classes e- and je- in Gujjuojaay Eegimaa Serge Sagna</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Person Hierarchies and Agreement in Kisongo Massaa Mark Ashmore</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Nominal Exclusives in Kilega Kasangati K.W. Kinyalolo</td>
<td>Evidence on Aspects of Language Maintenance Through Asynchronous Computer Mediated</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Noun Reduplication and Identity in Two Atlantic Languages: Wolof and Noon Augustin Ndione</td>
<td>Communication Among Young Algerian Users:</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Chimbotto NP Morphosyntax Zachary Branson</td>
<td>The Case of Berber in Algeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Evidence on Aspects of Language Maintenance Through Asynchronous Computer Mediated Communication Among Young Algerian Users: The Case of Berber in Algeria</td>
<td>Mimouna Zitouni &amp; Abdelkader Lotfi Benhattab</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Underlying Word-final Consonants in Caning, A Nilo-Saharan Language of Sudan Timothy M. Stirtz</td>
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<td>12:00</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:30</td>
<td>Plenary Talk: Michael R. Marlo</td>
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<td>“The Exceptional Properties of the 1st-SG and Reflexive Object Markers in Bantu: Syntax, Phonology, or Both?”</td>
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<td>Alderson Room</td>
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<td>Main Session</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Workshop: Africa’s Endangered Languages</td>
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<td>Session 2: Centennial Room</td>
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<td>Documentation II</td>
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<td>Chair: James Esselgey</td>
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<td>2:45</td>
<td>Dictionary Day: A Community-Driven Approach to Dictionary Compilation</td>
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<td>Bryan D. Gelles</td>
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<td>3:15</td>
<td>A Documentation of Oral Narratives in Uvbie</td>
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<td>Emunobonu M. Ajenbjey &amp; Otete C. Okuhia</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:45</td>
<td>Documenting Endangered Guren Oral Genres in Northern Ghana: Some Reflections</td>
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<td>Samuel Atintono</td>
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<td>4:15</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>Alderson Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Plenary Talk: Carlos M Nash</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Working with the Abagusii of Kenya: Applying an ‘Empowering’ Research Model to Linguistic Fieldwork”</td>
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<td>Alderson Room</td>
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<td>5:30</td>
<td>End of Conference</td>
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### Workshop Poster Presentations

**To be displayed from 2:00 – 3:00pm, Thursday April 17**

**Centennial Room**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Endangered is Igbo Language?</td>
<td>Eunice Osuagwu &amp; Ogbonna Anyanwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Language Endangerment: An Overview of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Some Cameroonian Languages</td>
<td>Njwe Nee Amah Eyovi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Terminology Development and Language Endangerment: Developing French-Urhobo Terms for Commerce</td>
<td>Rita O. Mebitaghan &amp; Emuobonuvie M. Ajiboye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Language Endangerment in Linguistic Minority Groups in Southern Ethiopia: Focus in T’ambarissa Language</td>
<td>Daniel Fekadu Bekele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ethnic Language Shift of Nao Language</td>
<td>Sampson Seid &amp; Daniel Fekadu Bekele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Kenyan Indigenous Languages: Challenges and Opportunities</td>
<td>Aggrey Wasike</td>
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### Main Session Poster Presentations

**To be displayed from 2:45 – 4:15pm, Saturday April 19**

**Malott Room**

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<tr>
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<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Grammatical Sketch of Maay Maay</td>
<td>Heidi Harley, Rolando Coto Solano, Bryan James Gordon &amp; Elly Jane Zimmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negation in Kabena</td>
<td>Ongaye Oda Orkaydo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Semantics and Syntax of Similes in Xitsonga Intransitive Psychological Verbs</td>
<td>Madala Crous Hlungwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Metaphors as Depiction of Culture on Natural Objects and Phenomena in Tshivenda</td>
<td>Nthambeleni Charles Netshisaulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Metonymic and the Metaphoric Conceptualisations of the Head in Akan</td>
<td>Esther Serwaah Afreh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions: Multilingual Approach in Language Documentation and Teaching</td>
<td>Nnenna Nwosu, Dele Orimoogunje &amp; Scholastica Cooley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Formulaic Exchange in Igbo: The Onicha Example</td>
<td>Virginia Onumajuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Language in Traditional Drumming in Ibibio</td>
<td>Imelda Udoh, Bassey Okon, Grace Ekong &amp; Edima-Abasi Udoh Imara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fauna and Flora in Igbo-English Dictionaries: the Issue of Lexical Non-equivalence</td>
<td>Esther Nwakakago Oweleke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lexicographic Standards of Selected Multilingual Dictionaries: The Case of Ethiopian Trilingual English-Afaan Oromoo-Amharic Dictionaries</td>
<td>Beniyam Jembere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decolonising Linguistic Imperialism in Africa Through Documentation and Preservation
KOFI AGYEKUM

This paper addresses the politics of language use in African nations, societies, and institutions. It highlights the role of power and economics on the choice of language use. The paper discusses linguistic imperialism, (how certain languages dominate internationally), and language shift, and how they lead to language endangerment. The paper discusses language conflicts and linguistic decolonisation whereby societies resist linguistic domination and endangerment and embark on language resistance and maintenance. It touches on the methods employed in language decolonisation namely, language revitalisation, resistance, maintenance, documentation and preservation. Attention will be on lexicology, lexicography, terminology ICT and the role of radio. We will notice that as a society tries to redeem itself from linguistic imperialism through decolonisation, certain stronger politico-economic factors push it back into linguistic imperialism. Examples are taken from African and Ghanaian languages with emphasis on Akan.

The major questions include (a) what is linguistic imperialism and what are the causes? Why is it more prevalent in the developing countries? What accounts for language shift and domination? What is linguistic decolonisation? What factors account for language decolonisation, resistance and maintenance? What is the role of radio, language documentation and preservation in language decolonisation?

The Linker in the Khoisan Languages
CHRIS COLLINS

The linker introduces a variety of expressions into the verb phrase, including locative arguments and adjuncts, the second object of a double object construction and a causative, instruments/means/materials, sources, subject matter arguments and temporal and manner adverbs. The linker is present in all non-central Khoisan languages (e.g., ǂHoã, N|uu, Ju ’hoan, !Xóõ and |Xam) and constitutes evidence for the historical unity of this group. The purpose of this talk is to describe some of the properties of the linker and to illustrate how it varies syntactically within the non-central Khoisan languages. The linker is also found outside of Khoisan across the continent, in languages such as Yoruba, Baoule and Kinande. However, no full survey of the linker in African languages has been done so far.
The Morphology and Syntax of Gender: A Little n Approach  
RUTH KRAMER

Phi features are crucial for syntax and morphology, and as a result number and person have been the focus of a significant amount of research. However, gender has received less theoretical attention, with the result that critical questions concerning its syntactic representation and morphological realization remain open (Is there a GenderP? Are gender features interpretable? How are the gender features found in the syntax realized in the morphology?).

In this talk, I present the results of an ongoing research project to develop a cross-linguistically viable proposal for the morphosyntax of gender. Assuming that lexical categories are decomposed into a category-defining head and a category-neutral root, I argue that gender is located on the nominalizing head ‘little n’ (cf. Ferrari 2005). I also argue that gender features can be either interpretable (interpreted as biological sex for many languages) or uninterpretable (e.g., the gender of an inanimate noun in French or Spanish).

I initially motivate the analysis with an in-depth case study of Amharic. I argue that the gender system of Amharic poses challenges for previous gender analyses, and that it provides clear support for gender on \( n \). I continue by identifying and confirming a wide range of cross-linguistic predictions of the proposal, with a particular focus on gender in African languages. For example, building on Lecarme 2002, I investigate the complex interplay of number and gender in Somali and show how the facts confirm a prediction of the main analysis. I then show how the proposals made generate a typology of possible (and impossible) two-gender systems, and I illustrate the possible systems with (mostly) African languages. Finally, it is impossible to discuss gender in African languages without mentioning Bantu noun class, and I conclude with some preliminary remarks on how noun classes could be addressed from the perspective of the current proposal.
The Exceptional Properties of the 1sg and Reflexive Object Markers in Bantu: Syntax, Phonology, or Both?

MICHAEL R. MARLO

Across a wide range of Bantu languages and in a number of different phenomena, the 1sg and/or reflexive object markers (OMs) behave differently than other OMs. This talk focuses on three widespread differences among the OMs:

(i) The 1sg OP and/or the reflexive may co-occur more freely with other OMs than other OMs. Many Bantu languages generally allow only one OP. In Nyaturu, for example, two OMs are generally not allowed (Hualde 1989): *w-a-va-ku[țum-i-aa] ‘he sent them to you’ (OMs are underlined; the verb stem is in brackets). However, two OMs are possible when one is the 1sg.

(ii) OM, as in w-a-va-n[țum-i-aa] ‘he sent them to me’, or the reflexive, as in ą-mw-į[rafiyy-ą] ‘he has sworn himself to him’.

(iii) The 1sg OM (or, rarely, the reflexive) triggers different patterns of final vowel allomorphy in the imperative. Bare imperatives usually end in -a, e.g. Rundi vun-a ‘break’, while verbs with an OM usually end in -e, e.g. tu[vun-e] ‘break us’. However, verbs with the 1sg OM commonly end in -a, e.g. m[peb-a] ‘abandon me’ (Ndayiragije 2003). In one known language, Bukusu, reflexive i- exceptional triggers final -a: [bek-a] ‘shave!’, mu[bek-e] ‘shave him!’, i[bek-a] ‘shave yourself!’ (Sikuku 2012).

(iv) The 1sg OM (but usually not the reflexive) also commonly participates differently in reduplication compared to other OMs. OMs normally do not copy in reduplication, e.g. Hehe ku-ń[gu]-a ‘to buy a bit of them’. However, the 1sg OM is copied in reduplication, as in va-kiu-n[doongaa][n-doong-a] ‘they nag me’ (Odden & Odden 1985).

After presenting the results of micro-typological surveys on the number of OMs that are allowed, the allomorphy of the final vowel in the imperative, and the overcopying of prefixes in reduplication, I argue in this talk that these anomalous patterns of the 1sg and reflexive OMs are the result of multiple underlying differences between the 1sg and reflexive and other OMs. Anomalies (i-ii) are the result of a distinct morpho-syntactic position of the 1sg and reflexive prefixes, lower than other OMs, as proposed for individual Bantu languages by Buell (2005), Muriungi (2008), and Sikuku (2012). Anomaly (iii) is the result of the fact that the 1sg OM is often just a nasal, a single segment or feature, and a morpho-phonological account of overcopying in reduplication along the lines of Downing (1998) is proposed. Thus, both morpho-syntactic and morpho-phonological factors are responsible for the unique behavior of these morphemes—a result which encourages collaboration between syntacticians and phonologists on complex topics in the grammar of Bantu languages, including object marking.
Working with the Abagusii of Kenya: Applying an ‘Empowering’ Research Model to Linguistic Fieldwork
CARLOS M NASH

When compared to Indo-European languages, Bantu languages are relatively under-described. Of the estimated 650 known varieties, approximately 10 per cent have adequate grammatical descriptions (Nurse and Philippson 2003:4). This gap in academic literature is a concern to linguists. An even greater concern shared by linguists and community members is the trend of language contraction, which encompasses processes such as language shift and loss. Recently, linguists have begun to focus considerable teaching and research energy in working with language activists and community members in the development of community-centered documentation and revitalization programs. These programs are often conducted under the framework of empowerment (Cameron 1998).

This project originates from the unique interactions fostered by a training institute, which brought together academics and community members to learn and share skills vital in language documentation. The InField (The Institute on Field Linguistics and Language Documentation)/CoLang (Institute for Collaborative Language Research) not only emphasizes analytical and technological skills, but also raises awareness regarding the power differential between researcher and participants which must be carefully negotiated. The goals of the researcher and community members must be clearly defined, in order to establish a long-term collaboration, in which both parties benefit from the interaction. In what began as an ex situ phonological description, this project became an example of the empowerment model advocated by the training program.

The Challenge(s) of Documenting Africa's Least Known Languages
BONNY SANDS

As Africanist linguists, the challenge of describing and documenting African languages falls to us. One widely accepted criterion for prioritizing the languages in need of documentation is that of language endangerment. Other criteria include the presence of typologically interesting features, and the availability of documentation on the target language or related languages. After providing an overview of African languages that are the least known and in most urgent need of documentation, i.e. "the challenge" facing us, I will discuss the major challenges we face when trying to realize the goal of documenting these languages: logistics, funding, language obsolescence & poorly-known contact languages. The most critical languages in need of documentation often can present special challenges to researchers with regard to translation and transcription. Using examples from my own fieldwork on Hadza in Tanzania andǂHoan in Botswana, I will discuss how recognizing phonetic variation and differences in lexical semantics has been a surprisingly challenging, yet essential part of language description.
Universal and Existential Quantifiers in Chadic and Beyond
MALTE ZIMMERMANN

In this talk, I discuss two semantic phenomena of potential interest to a general Africanist audience: the structural marking and interpretation of universal and existential quantification in Chadic (Afro-Asiatic) languages and beyond.

The first part of the talk shows that Hausa (and other Chadic languages) have two ways of expressing universal quantification: (i.) the modifying expression duk behaves on a par with English all in attaching to (definite) plural or mass DPs and in allowing for collective and distributive readings (1ab); (ii.) the quantifying determiner koo-wh is formed from the disjunction marker koo ‘or’ and a wh-expression. It behaves on a par with English each/every in only combining with bare count NPs and in blocking collective interpretations (2ab) (Zimmermann 2008). Moreover, in appropriate contexts, the koo-wh form doubles as a free choice item, corresponding to English any (Zimmermann 2009).

(1) a. duk(à) Hàusàwaa, duk ìbbincì, * duk òàalìbìi
∀ Hausa people, ∀ food ∀ student
b. duk òàalìbì-n sun tàaru à gàba-n makàrìntàa
∀ students-DEF 3pl.PERF gather at front-LINK school
   ‘All the students gathered in front of the school.’

(2) a. koowàcè mootàa, *koowàcè mootà-r̄, #koowàcè shìnkàafàa
DISJ-which car DISJ-which car-DEF DISJ-which rice
b. * koo-wànè òàalìbìi yàà tàaru à gàba-n makàrìntàa.
DISJ-which student 3sg.PERF gather at front-LINK school
   ‘*Each student gathered in front of the school.’

Parallel interpretive and selectional differences are found with the quantifying expression CL-epp in Wolof (West Atlantic), depending on the absence/presence of a determiner and the syntactic position of CL-epp relative to the head noun (Tamba et al. 2012). The section on universals ends with a discussion of the findings for Wolof and Hausa in the light of Matthewson’s (2013) typological generalizations on universal quantification and with some methodological advice for semantic fieldwork.

The second part of the talk investigates the question as to what extent the study of indefinite expressions in African languages can shed light on the formal analysis of indefinites in European languages. Same as many African languages, Hausa exhibits two ways of expressing indefiniteness: (i.) a complex form with the determiner wani/wata, which allows for flexible scope interpretations and is analyzed as a generalized existential quantifier (3); (ii.) a bare NP, which only takes narrow scope, which does not easily introduce discourse referents into the subsequent discourse, and which is analyzed semantically in terms of quasi-incorporation or Chung & Ladusaw’s (2004) compositional operation restrict.

(3) Muusà bà-i kirà wàni ìboòkìi lìyaafàa ba
Musa NEG-3sg.SUBJ invite some friend ceremony NEG
   ‘Musa did not invite any friend.’ OR: ‘There is some friend that Musa didn’t invite.’

(4) Audù bà-i sàyi hùulàa à kààsùwàa ba
Audu NEG-3sg buy cap at market NEG
   ‘Audu didn’t buy a cap in the market.’ NOT: ‘There is a some cap Audu didn’t buy.’

Based on the findings from Hausa and similar findings from Akan (Amfo 2009) and Wolof (Tamba et al. 2012), I conclude by putting forward a new analysis of indefinites in German and English as lexically ambiguous between a generalized quantifier (<et,t>) and a plain predicate interpretation (<et>), respectively.
Interactions Between Tone and Morphosyntax in Northern Mao
MICHAEL AHLAND

In Northern Mao (NM), an endangered Afroasiatic-Omotic language of Ethiopia, tone accomplishes a range of morphosyntactic functions: forming syntactic and stem categories, marking syntactic modification on head nouns, and distinguishing grammatical constructions. This paper documents NM tone/morphosyntax interactions and explores some hints as to their development.

In NM, the basic word-formation building block is a toneless root. While some roots are used only to form nouns (marked with one of seven nominal tone melodies--H, M, L, HL, MH, ML, or LH), other roots are used to form both finite verb stems and infinitive verb stems: \( i'nt \) ‘see’ > \( i'nt \) finite stem; \( i'nt \) infinitive stem. Finite stems exhibit either H, M or L melodies while infinitive stems carry one of the nominal melodies. Most interesting of all is a third type of root that can form all three categories--noun, finite verb and infinitive verb: \( \text{to} k \) ‘head’ > \( \text{to} k \) noun stem; \( \text{to} k \) finite stem (meaning ‘carry on head’); \( \text{to} k \) infinitive stem.

NM’s tone system also serves to mark various sorts of syntactic constructions. First, tone marks head nouns under syntactic modification (i.e. in a ‘construct form/state’). In this form, the seven nominal tone melodies collapse into three melodies (M, ML, and L). The construct form melodies are triggered by syntactic modification, not a synchronic tonological process. Tone marking is also the only structural marker distinguishing possessive (\( \text{p'ʃe} \) male child ‘guy’s child’) and associative (\( \text{p'ʃe} \) male child ‘boy’) constructions. Finally, in the verbal system, tone marks polarity and modality.

A Documentation of Oral Narratives in Uvbie
EMUOBONUVIE M. AJIBOYE & OTETE C. OKOBIAH

Uvbie is a sister language to Urhobo - both of which are southwestern Edoid languages. Ethnologue classifies Uvbie as a vigorous language, understood here to mean a language that is actively being used in every aspect of the life of the speakers. Current field reports however show that the language is “vigorously” endangered. The community is highly heterogeneous. Wafi, a variety of the Nigerian pidgin is actively used for communication. This has resulted into a lesser number of people using Uvbie for communication. The situation is further compounded by the fact that it is only in a few primary schools in the community that Uvbie is taught and learned. No secondary school is known to teach Uvbie at the moment. The fact that the state-based Basic Education Certificate Examination does not have Uvbie as an examination subject is an added reason for the non-teaching and learning of Uvbie at this level. This ultimately makes it impossible for the pupils and secondary schools students in the community to access and promote the language. Intergenerational transfer is therefore close to zero. This study reports an on-going documentation of oral narratives in Uvbie which are meant to be audio-visual materials in teaching Uvbie in primary and secondary schools in Uvbie community.
Defaka and Nkoroo: Moving from Tone to Accentual Systems
AKINBIYI AKINLABI, WILLIAM BENNETT, BRUCE CONNELL, EBITARE OBIKUDO & INOMA ESSIEN

This paper discusses the tone patterns of nominal compounds and phrases in two endangered Eastern Ijoid languages, Nkoroo and Defaka. Following Akinlabi, Connell and Obikudo (2009) the paper shows that each phrase has a fixed tone pattern, regardless of the input tones. However, Nkoroo is shown to be on the road to having fixed tones in all its output phrases, while Defaka only has fixed tones in compounds.

The paper argues that applying the usual processorial phonological rules, which convert underlying tone patterns to surface tone patterns, cannot derive the surface tones. This is because such rules will lead to massive neutralizations on the surface that cannot be traced back to their input forms, and therefore look like accidents. Instead, compounds and phrases must be associated with a specific tone pattern in the output. To achieve this we propose that the surface tone patterns are constrained by alignment and spreading, with a prosodic word.

The data confirm Defaka’s similarity to Nkoroo (Jenewari 1983). Since Nkoroo has moved farther in this process, we must conclude that the Defaka pattern is a result of influence from Nkoroo through contact. Nkoroo, we must conclude is on its way to becoming a full accentual system. A further comparison of the two languages suggests that historical changes like this one begins in one part of the grammar, or a part of the lexicon. In this case, we see Defaka having nouns and nominal compounds with an identical set of surface patterns.

A Unified Account of Nominal and Verbal Tone in Nata
ANDREI ANGHELESCU, JOASH GAMBARAGE, ZOE LAM, DOUGLAS PULLEYBLANK

Nata, a highly endangered Lacustrine Bantu language of Tanzania [E45], exhibits a tonal system that is in many ways quite sparse. A simple noun or verb must exhibit a single high tone, and that high tone will typically be assigned to a single syllable. Moreover, the location of the high tone is severely constrained. Such “accent”-like properties have led Anghelescu (2013) to propose a metrical account of nominal tone in Nata. Such an account runs into difficulties, however, when we consider the tonal patterns of verbs. While verbs exhibit many of the same properties tonally as nouns, the location and properties of tone in verbs is somewhat more complex than in nouns.

In this paper, we will carefully motivate the generalizations governing both nouns and verbs. We will show how basic properties can be accounted for, such as the obligatory presence of a high tone and the impossibility of multiple high tones. We will go on to distinguish between marked and unmarked nominal and verbal patterns, deriving the unmarked patterns through purely phonological means and deriving the marked patterns with highly limited reference to the morphology.

We conclude with a comparison of metrical and autosegmental treatments of sparse tone systems such as found in Nata.
Documenting Endangered Gurenɛ Oral Genres in Northern Ghana:
Some Reflections
SAMUEL A. ATINTONO

The paper discusses the processes and challenges of eight months fieldwork experience of documenting endangered Gurenɛ oral genres (riddles and folktales, sung folktales, etc.) between 2010 and 2011 in Bolga and its surrounding villages in northern Ghana. The traditional riddle and folktale sessions (səléma), which used to be major verbal art forms before and in the 1970s narrated in the evenings after dinner by elders and grandparents with children and adults sitting by the fireside listening to acquire oral language skills, moral and character training have now been replaced by television and video viewing. Other oral performances such as praise songs and dirges are fast disappearing in the communities due to massive impact of modern life, motivated by a desire to adopt western values and commodities. Using both audio and video recordings of riddles, folktales, and sung folktales, that I have recently collected and archived at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at SOAS, the presentation highlights some of the strategies that can be used to document these genres in other Ghanaian or African languages for revitalization and preservation of these linguistic and cultural resources. The study also draws attention to fieldworkers and language documenters not to only focus on documenting endangered languages but to pay attention to aspects of endangered linguistic resources of languages that may not be classified as endangered.

Zero-vowel Alternation: Abstractness in Jóola Eegimaa Phonology
MAMADOU BASSENE

Jóola Eegimaa (Eegimaa hereafter) displays a zero-vowel alternation, as evidenced by the pair [mal] ‘water’ and [mʊəl] ‘small furrows’. The word for ‘water’ actually has the underlying form /mʊəl/. This paper provides a comprehensive investigation of this zero-vowel alternation and ventures into an old theoretical debate regarding the concept of abstractness and its relevance in phonological analysis. I examine data from Eegimaa and the first conclusion to be drawn from this study is that the vowel deletion process only occurs when a class marker is attached (prefixed) to a root that begins with a vowel. Second, it should be stressed that there is only a handful of words in Eegimaa which systematically exhibit this vowel deletion process. The vowel of any class marker will delete when this class marker is attached to any of these words. I argue that the zero-vowel alternation such as the one displayed in the words [mal] and [mʊəl] is best captured if we posit, at the phonology level, the existence of such an abstract element, a diacritic feature. The words which display the deletion process do so because they are specified for the diacritic feature [-CM vowel] and this feature leads to the systematic deletion of the vowel of any class marker prefixed to any of these words.
Stem Structure in Eegimaa
MAMADOU BASSENE & KEN SAFIR

Agglutinative verb stem morphology poses many problems for theory and analysis, insofar as distinct theoretical commitments as to what counts as a linguistic unit do not always align. The verb stem morphology of Joola-Eegimaa, (Atlantic, Niger-Congo) poses just such a challenge. Fully ‘harmonic’ relations holding between the linguistic sub-units of the stem, as those sub-units are defined by different criteria, might be characterized as in (1) (see Baker’s Mirror Principle), (assume Y and Z are suffixes).

1) The affix Y linearly closest to stem X forms a syntactic unit [X Y], a morphological unit X-Y, and [X Y] is compositionally interpreted before any affix Z is added such that [[X Y] Z] and X-Y-Z.

The situation in Eegimaa is that (a) linear order is insufficient to predict what counts as a structural unit, (b) some processes that isolate morphological units permit some structural relations to be posited, and (c) neither linear order nor the isolation of morphological units suffice to explain how interpretations are composed. In particular, exponents expected to be close to the root (by Cinque’s, 1999, cartography of voice, adverbial and aspectual structure) are farther from it than exponents of ‘higher’ aspects. The heart of our proposal is that movement of sub-stem units within a verb stem disguise an underlying harmony of structure and interpretation. Using a minimalist approach to structure-building, we posit ‘inner stem’ movement and object marker movement to explain robust regularities of form and interpretation that do not appear explicable under any other approach.

Language Endangerment in Linguistic Minority Groups in Southern Ethiopia: Focus in T’ambarissa Language
DANIEL FEKADU BEKELE

This study attempts to give an overview on language endangerment in linguistic minority groups of southern Ethiopia with a focus in T’ambarissa language. However, the central focus of discussion is on aspects related to the documentation and maintenance of the T’ambarissa language, and to develop strategies for community-based dialogue to use vernacular language as a medium of instruction/education. The research employed interdisciplinary methodological approaches involving perspectives from anthropological linguistics. Research methods including interview, group discussion and questionnaire have been employed. In southern Ethiopia most of the languages of linguistic minority groups are endangered and their languages will ultimately vanish, if these shrinking are not reversed. The T’ambaroo community, for instance, has never had its own orthography to be applied for literacy purposes. The T’ambarissa language is still spoken by thousands of elders, but nevertheless should obviously be considered as being endangered. T’ambaroo children may no longer acquire T’ambarissa language even when it is still spoken by thousands of elderly speakers. The T’ambaroo people use Amharic and English languages as their medium of instruction and languages of education. As a result, schools in T’ambaroo are found to be vulnerable to non- enrolment, repetition and drop out. The T’ambaroo community has also been disadvantaged compared to the neighboring nationalities such as Kembata, Hadiya and Wolayita, where language maintenance programmes have been established. Thus, the study recommends that T’ambarissa language commands attention and the development of orthography in T’ambarissa language is one way to maintain the language and cultural values of the community.
The Sound Patterns of Sebirwa: Documentation and Some Theoretical Implications
ONE BOYER & ELIZABETH ZSIGA

We report on recent fieldwork on Sebirwa, an endangered Bantu language (Southern Sotho). Although *Ethnologue* describes Sebirwa as "vigorous" we did not find this to be the case: children are not learning the language. Our analysis is based on conversations and recordings of nine adults ages 60 to 80+, in one village (Molalatau, Botswana). Nonetheless, there is intense interest in preserving the Sebirwa language, and we discuss some preliminary efforts in that direction. An immediate goal is to document the sound inventory, particularly differences between Sebirwa and Setswana, the closely-related majority language.

Setswana has become well-known in the literature for "post-nasal devoicing," in which /b/ and /l/ become [p] and [t] after nasals, contra the expected, phonetically-grounded pattern of voicing in post-nasal position. We found that devoicing did occur in Sebirwa, with more regularity and to a greater phonetic extent than in Setswana. The Sebirwa pattern, however, is doubly unexpected: only /b/ devoices, not /d/ and /g/. If only one consonant was going to devoice, we would expect it to be /g/, not /b/. We attribute the asymmetry to the fact that it appears the alternation was borrowed from Setswana, where the majority of lexical items that exhibit the alternation have underlying /b/. We discuss the implications of this type of borrowing, both for the typology of alternations, and for patterns of language loss.

Busy Intersections: A Framework for Revitalization
TUCKER CHILDS

One increasingly important goal of language documentation has been the extension of its goals to language pedagogy: “creating and mobilizing documentation in support of pedagogy” (Nathan and Fang 2009:132). The goal of this paper is to synthesize the documentary perspective with an adult literacy perspective (Reder 2013), the latter being adapted to the field conditions of West Africa. A prominent colleague spoke recently of the limited talents of linguists, who are often expected to do more than they are trained or qualified to do (Newman 2013). To resolve this tension, this paper suggests changing the general expectations to more localized ones emerging from the community, and thereby limiting the scope of the linguist’s responsibilities. The goal, then, would be to adopt an approach that bases itself on a better assessment of what a community wants and focus our linguistic talents toward those goals.

The experience brought to bear on the issue of how and what to teach comes from nearly fifteen years of documenting endangered languages on the coast of West Africa (Sierra Leone and Guinea). Several projects have generated the typical output of a major documentation project: data collection and analysis, archiving, training, developing local capacities, etc., the traditional benchmarks of a documentation project. What has been missing, however, is a detailed evaluation of community-based goals and creating activities based on those goals: the focus has been on “parking lots” (traditional program-based practices) rather than “busy intersections” (learner-centric frameworks) (Reder 2013). The resolution of the antinomy points towards the latter as a solution.
Nata Deverbal Nominalizations
ROSE-MARIE DÉCHAINE, DAYANQI SI & JOASH GAMBARAGE

In Nata, an endangered eastern Bantu language (E45) spoken in the Mara region of Tanzania, deverbal nominalizations present the following properties. **Morphologically**, they consist of four morphemes, ordered left to right, as follows: (i) a phonologically predictable pre-prefix; (ii) an N-Class prefix; (iii) a verb stem; (iv) a harmonic final vowel (FV) suffix (-i, -u, -o/-a, -a); see (1).

(1) NOMINALIZATION TEMPLATE Pre-prefix – N-Class – [Verb Stem] – Suffix

**Semantically**, Nata nominalizations fall into three classes: entity-denoting, state-denoting, and event-denoting; **Syntactically**, applying tests that distinguish entity-denoting from event denoting nominals (Grimshaw 1990), we observe that:

(i) Entity Ns have a singular/plural distinction, but event Ns are number-neutral
(ii) Entity Ns cannot be modified by an adverb, but event Ns can be
(iii) Entity Ns optionally introduce an internal argument, while event Ns do so obligatorily

**Proposal**: Nata nominalization construals arises compositionally via features introduced by the final vowel (ACTOR, THEME, EVENT), and features introduced by the N-class prefix (HUMAN, INANIMATE). **First**, the FV -i, found with animate actor Ns and causative Vs, marks an ACTOR role. **Second**, the FV -u, found with inanimate theme Ns and passive Vs, marks a THEME role. **Third**, inanimate actor Ns have the final vowel -o and the applicative extension -er. **Fourth**, the FV -a, found with EVENTIVE and MANNER-OF-EVENT Ns and in verbal contexts, marks EVENT construals. Nata confirms the relevance of proto-roles (Dowty 1989) and event arguments (Parsons 1990) and shows that the event/entity partition is derived compositionally (pace Borer 2013).

Language Endangerment:
An Overview of Ethno-Linguistic Vitality of Some Cameroonian Languages
NJWE NEE AMAH EYOVI

Language endangerment is a phenomenon characterizing speech communities which are abandoning their languages for other languages. Mufwene (2001) says, “We talk about language endangerment more or less in the way that ecologists speak of species endangerment”. This is common in multilingual settings. Cameroon is highly exposed to this sad linguistic situation. In fact, a study of the ethno linguistic vitality of Cameroon languages presents a bleak picture. As mentioned already, the country is polyglossic. Grimes (2000) classify it, as one of the most linguistically diversified countries of the world. To facilitate communication amongst people of different language background, the government has adopted an official exoglossic bilingual policy whereby French and English, colonial languages, are utilized officially nationwide to the detriment of the indigenous Cameroonian languages. There is also the Cameroon Pidgin English, a contact language, which is a lingua franca spoken across the nation. Therefore, of the 284 languages spoken in Cameroon, studies carried out by Bitjaa (2005) point to the fact that only 19 indicate a positive pole of visibility representing a meager 6.7%, while up to 265 languages present a negative pole, representing 93.3%. This statistics was derived from a summary of the classification of Cameroon languages into seven categories of vitality. In this paper, we present the detailed picture and attempt a proposal for steps to revitalization.
An Allomorphy Based Account of Nominal Vowel Harmony in Nata
JOASH GAMBARAGE & DOUGLAS PULLEYBLANK

An initial examination of vowel harmony in Nata (E45), an endangered language of Tanzania, indicates a fairly straightforward pattern of agreement of tongue root values in sequences of adjacent mid vowels. Whereas high vowels ([i,u]) are systematically advanced and the low vowel ([a]) is systematically retracted, the mid vowels split into advanced ([ɛ,o]) and retracted ([ɛ,ɔ]) harmonic sets. Prefixes are retracted when the initial root vowel is retracted (1) and advanced when the initial root vowel is advanced (2). A problem, however, arises in cases such as in (3) where roots with initial retracted vowels cause mid vowels to raise to high – rather than retract. Square brackets delimit morphological stems.

(1) a. ɔ-mó-[tɔɔg-ɔ] ‘string’
   b. ɛ-kê-[mɛr-ɔ] ‘throat’

(2) a. e-me-[kɛra] ‘tails’
   b. o-mó-[sukɔ] ‘pocket’

(3) a. o-mu-[kári] ‘woman’
   b. o-βu-[sɔɔhù] ‘greediness’

In earlier work, Gambarage (2013) argued that to account for the distinction between cases like (1) – where mid vowels retract – and cases like (3) – where mid vowels raise to high, it is necessary to invoke two distinct co-phonologies (Orgun 1996; Inkelas 1998).

We argue that the two patterns observed in Nata are readily accounted for within the allomorphy account of Archangeli and Pulleyblank (2012) without the need to invoke multiple co-phonologies. The integration of general phonotactics governing vowel harmony with allomorphy appropriate for particular roots derives the two patterns in a unified fashion.

Dictionary Day: A Community-Driven Approach to Dictionary Compilation
BRYAN D. GELLES

A common component of language documentation is the compilation of a small dictionary. The method of compilation has changed very little in the last century; most documentarians elicit individual lexical items from a speaker and check the item through both translation and backtranslation with other speakers. There are two major problems with this method: the use of precious speaker time (as well as consultant funds) and the absence of larger community engagement.

Animere is an endangered language spoken by around thirty speakers all aged over forty years. The speech community is located in Kecheibi, northern Volta Region, Ghana. Over a five month period I began the initial documentation of Animere with funds provided by a Small Grant from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, integrating Dictionary Day, one day a week when members of the community would gather to discuss lexical items. This method proved highly successful: I saved time and funds by making use of the speech community’s intuition while obtaining valuable folk linguistic information when there was disagreement. Furthermore, the speech community was not only engaged but agentive, allowing for genuine consultation between the linguist and the speech community. The major drawback, however, was the occasional deferment by some members of the speech community to others for nonlinguistic reasons (mainly power dynamics). This problem, however, can be alleviated with dense metadata that accounts for discrepancies between speakers.
Isimjeeg: A Distinct and Endangered Language of Northern Tanzania

RICHARD GRISCOM

The Isimjeeg language variety is spoken by a few thousand pastoralists around the eastern edges of Lake Eyasi in the Karatu district of Tanzania, and has previously been described as a dialect of the Southern Nilotic language Datooga [tcc] (Rottland, 1982). However, divergence between Isimjeeg and other varieties of Datooga is great enough that it makes communication difficult (SIL Datooga Dialect Survey, 1997), and some authors have claimed Datooga to be a group of languages rather than a single language (Creider and Rottland, 1997). Like many other Datooga and Southern Nilotic varieties of Tanzania, Isimjeeg is also endangered. Isimjeeg speaker communities are the victims of social marginalization, loss of grazing land, negligible educational resources, and increasing pressure to adopt the Kiswahili and Iraqw languages. This presentation will provide new linguistic evidence that Isimjeeg is distinct from other Datooga varieties, as well as a discussion of the factors that contribute to the endangerment of Southern Nilotic language varieties in Tanzania.

Bondu-so Epenthesis

ABBIE HANTGAN

Bondu-so a Dogon of Mali (data come from extensive field work by the first author) has 10 vowels phonemes underlyingly /I, i, ε, a, o, u, u/ but only 7 surface vowels /i, ε, a, o, u/. Evidence that the [ATR] contrast is underlyingly present on non-mid vowels comes from the productive [ATR] harmony system as seen in the perfective. The harmony is transparent when the root has a mid vowel: [noj-ee] 'slept' vs. [dʒɔj-εε] 'filled', but is opaque in a verb root with a non-mid vowel: [sug-εε] 'descended' vs. [gub-εε] 'hung up'. This suggests that the [u] in [gub-εε] is underlyingly [ATR] as it consistently patterns as a [ATR] vowel phonologically; acoustically it is indistinguishable from the [u] in a word like [sug-ee] that patterns as [+ATR]. The focus of this paper is on epenthesis patterns in Bondu-so verb conjugation. Epenthesis patterns differ depending on the specific conjugation and if the root contains an underlyingly [+ATR] vowel or underlyingly [ATR] vowel. Three different forms of the verb are presented: citation (or chaining), nominalized, and infinitival.

“Swahili”, the Forgotten Endangered Language

THOMAS J. HINNEBUSCH & DEREK NURSE

This paper will examine the viability of the Northern Swahili dialect continuum, languages now impacted by warfare, changing cultural norms, the pervasive influence of Standard Swahili, infrastructure development, and tourism. Especially serious is the disruption of some communities and their dislocation. The languages in question are the Bajuni dialects of the southern Somali coast and offshore islands; and the dialects of the Lamu Archipelago. These languages are being impacted in different ways, but the end result will be the same, namely, the disappearance of linguistic and cultural patrimony. While our linguistic understanding of some is more complete, nothing in the way of comprehensive grammars yet exist. Moreover, some variants preserve features, some of a "proto" nature, that have already been lost or highly attenuated in the more southerly dialects, including Standard Swahili, which itself is impacting the survival of all other Swahili dialects, a phenomenon itself that has yet to be documented in any detail. Though not Swahili proper, the case of Chimwiini, once spoken in Somalia, will also be examined.

One purpose of the paper is to bring to the attention of the endangered language community the fact that an important part of the Swahili dialect continuum has been side-lined and marginalized by the use of Standard Swahili; another is to outline in what ways this situation has developed, and why it is urgently important to begin work to document these languages.
Exceptions to Hiatus Resolution in Somali Chizigula
KATHERINE HOUT

Somali Chizigula (also called Mushunguli) is an endangered, under-described Bantu language spoken by the inhabitants of the Lower Jubba River and in diaspora communities across the United States. Vowel hiatus is usually resolved in one of two ways: glide formation in (1) and fusion in (2).

(1) Glide formation: prevocalic high vowels $i, u$ become glides $j, w$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Glide Form</th>
<th>Fusion Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-iv- 'hear'</td>
<td>u-iv-a $\rightarrow$ wiiva</td>
<td>u-iv-a $\rightarrow$ uumbiika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 3 past</td>
<td></td>
<td>u-oger-a $\rightarrow$ woogeera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-umbik- 'pile things up'</td>
<td>u-umbik-a $\rightarrow$ uumbiika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oger- 'swim'</td>
<td>u-oger-a $\rightarrow$ woogeera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Fusion: non-high, central vowel $a$ fuses with the following vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Glide Form</th>
<th>Fusion Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-iv- 'hear'</td>
<td>ka-iv-a $\rightarrow$ keeva</td>
<td>ka-iv-a $\rightarrow$ koombiika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 1 past</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-oger-a $\rightarrow$ koogeera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-umbik- 'pile things up'</td>
<td>ka-umbik-a $\rightarrow$ koombiika</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oger- 'swim'</td>
<td>ka-oger-a $\rightarrow$ koogeera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A set of high vowel-initial stems resolve hiatus in contexts where glide formation is expected, but fail to do so in contexts where fusion is expected. For example, the stem -it- 'go' undergoes glide formation as expected (u-it-a $\rightarrow$ wiita 'cl 3 went'), but unexpectedly fails to undergo fusion (ka-it-a $\rightarrow$ kaiita 'cl 1 went'). A derivational analysis assuming an abstract underlying form for these exceptional stems will be presented and compared to alternative, non-derivational analyses.

Control and Raising in Moro
PETER JENKS

This paper examines finite and non-finite control and raising predicates in Moro, a Kordofanian language of Sudan. I first demonstrate that the distribution of complementizers in Moro indicates that while control complements in Moro are CPs, raising complements are TPs. I focus on finite complements, which are restricted to object control and raising-to-object, and both of which exhibit relative clause morphology in the embedded clauses. In addition to their structural difference, finite raising and control complements are morphologically distinct. Finite raising-to-object complements pass standard raising diagnostics including the ability of non-thematic objects in the top clause which can undergo passivization. Yet these finite raising complements exhibit morphology which otherwise occurs in subject relative clauses, supporting a "hyper-raising" account involving movement out of a finite TP. In contrast, finite object control complements exhibit morphology otherwise restricted to non-subject relative clauses. I demonstrate that these putative cases of object control fail standard control diagnostics, and thus are cases of non-obligatory control, a configuration that involves a base-generated operator in the embedded CP.
Wh-movement, Remnant Movement and Clause Typing in Medumba

HERMANN KEUPDJIO

This paper investigates how ex-situ wh-phrases are derived in Medumba, a Grassfields’ Bamileke Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. Contrary to English-type languages in which the wh-phrase moves to Spec,CP, the wh-phrase in Medumba occurs to the right of the complementizer above TP. This is evidence that wh-phrases in Medumba do not move to Spec,CP and that there is a position between CP and TP that hosts the moved wh-phrase:

(1) \[\text{Nana tʃub mbʉ a kʉ Numi ʒun *(a)?}\]

“Nana said that what did Numi buy?”

To account for this, based on the matching and interpretative effects between wh-constructions and focus constructions in question/answer congruence, I propose that (i) wh-movement in Medumba is focus movement; (ii) there is a Position Interrogative (Rizzi 2001) at the left periphery that hosts the question morpheme and types the clause as interrogative; (iii) wh-phrases are merged in-situ with the Focus phrase headed by the focus marker a; (iv) after merge, the whole FocP containing the Wh-P moves to the specifier of a Licensing Position (LP) à la Koopman and Szabolcs (2000) located above TP and (v) after movement of FocP, the remnant TP moves to Spec, IntP and strands the question morpheme in final position. This analysis provides evidence in favour of expanding the CP domain, a model which better accounts how wh-movement is derived in Medumba.

Acoustic and Aerodynamic Data of Somali Chizigula Stops

MICHAL TEMKIN MARTINEZ & VANESSA ROSENBAUM

Somali Chizigula (G311; xma; also Mushunguli) is spoken in Somalia’s Lower Juba Valley and by Somali-Bantu refugees throughout the United States. Speakers are descendants of Kizigua-speaking (G31; ziw) slaves brought to Somalia in the 18th century from Northern Tanzania. Little is known of the Somali variety, and literature on the Tanzanian variety is mostly limited to its tonology (Kenstowicz, 1989, Kenstowicz and Kisseberth, 1990, Kisseberth, 1992). While Kizigua is still spoken in Tanzania, a comparison of the two varieties’ lexicons (Dayley et al., In Progress, Kisbey, 1906) reveals that they have diverged beyond mutual intelligibility over the last three centuries. The current paper reports on acoustic and aerodynamic data collected on oral and nasal stops in order to assist in the documentation of Somali Chizigula.

Preliminary acoustic data concerning oral stops revealed a contrast between plosives and implosives, as in [bambo] ‘marbu stork’ and [ɓambo] ‘love belt’. The plosives may be prenasalized, as in [mbœ] ‘very’ and [mpʰembe] ‘corner’ (Hyman, 2003). Voiceless prenasalized stops, lacking audible acoustic cues due to the complete devoicing of the nasal portion of the segment, contrast auditorily with regular stops through aspiration of the oral portion of the segment. This is also attested in other Bantu languages, and is considered a ‘reflex’ of the prenasalization (Maddieson, 2003). Although the nasal surfaces post-vocally, unlike other Bantu languages, the nasal portion of voiced plosives can be devoiced. Despite their rarity in the world’s languages, prenasalized implosives such as [ŋfɗo] ‘not enough’ are also present.
Hierarchical Structure in Seeku Verb Paradigms
LAURA MCPHERSON

This presentation provides the first description of verbal paradigms in Northern Seeku (Gbene Ku), a hitherto undocumented Mande language of Burkina Faso. Despite being isolating in its morphology, Seeku has very structured paradigms, which split into classes and subclasses based on stem form, the presence of postpositions, and tense/aspect specifications. The first split divides transitive and intransitive verbs; in this talk, I focus only on the former, whose paradigm is schematized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>Postpositional</th>
<th>Recent past: S jô O V nɛ́</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V́</td>
<td>Progressive:  S jṹ O V nɛ́</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V̀</td>
<td>Non-postpositional</td>
<td>Past:  S(µ/lɛ́) O V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive paradigms are subdivided into two classes based on the form of the verb stem. Stem 1 displays the verb’s lexical tone. These stems are followed by a superscripted (j) as they sometimes include palatalization not found in Stem 2. Forms using Stem 1 can be broken down into those with a postposition and those without. Two tense/aspect specifications are found with the postpositional form and one without. Stem 2 contains no palatalization and no lexical tone; in both tense/aspect forms employing Stem 2, the final tone of the object spreads onto the verb stem, indicated in the table by square brackets surrounding the OV complex. In this talk, I describe the structure of Seeku verb paradigms, suggest diachronic explanations for auxiliaries and postpositions, and motivate semantic principles that could account for the current syncretisms in stem form and VP structure.

Terminology Development and Language Endangerment:
Developing Specialized French-Urhobo Terms for Commerce
RITA O. MEBITAGHAN & EMUOBONUVIE M. AJIBOYE

Many minority indigenous languages in Nigeria seem to have acquired the status of “second language” as a result of the dominance of English language as the language for education and governance. Urhobo is one of the indigenous languages in Nigeria and it is struggling to live with the demands of expressing new realities in commerce introduced into their culture. Nigerian Pidgin which has English as the major lexifier, is actively being used in adverts and jingles. This undermines the use of Urhobo in commerce. French is the second official language in Nigeria. Nigeria shares boundaries with French-speaking countries and so citizens of both countries often interact in trade and commerce. Consequently some French terminologies find their way into Nigerian languages. Some texts have been translated from English to Urhobo and specialized terms developed into Urhobo from English. The concern of this study is to develop specialized terms for commerce from French into Urhobo using an eclectic culture-centered approach. This will provide resources for Urhobo language speakers to interact more actively when they find themselves in a French-speaking community. We hope to foreground further studies on developing other French-Urhobo terminologies in the language and thereby enable the Urhobo language to interact actively with French in trade and commerce.
How Endangered is Igbo Language?

EUNICE CHIDINMA OSUAGWU & OGBONNA ANYANWU

Several of the world languages are endangered since they are at the risk of falling out of use as their speakers die out, abandon their language or shift to speak another language (cf. Ani, 2012). At a glance however, it seems illogical to assume that Igbo, a language spoken as one of the major languages in Nigeria by an estimated population of 20 million native speakers is an endangered language considering its status as one of the major indigenous languages, and also one of the major languages of literature, education, and commerce. Using the factors which have been identified by UNESCO in 2003 within which languages can be assessed for endangerment; this paper examines how endangered Igbo appears to be and notes that Igbo language is actually being threatened not only by the factors which led to the prediction of its extinction by the UNESCO Advisory Committee on Languages, but also other factors which include Igbo speakers’ exceptionally strong receptivity to change and globalization. It is also noted that even though Igbo is actually being threatened, it not yet endangered to the point of extinction in near future as predicted by UNESCO Advisory Committee on Languages. Based on random vocabulary test on some Igbo speakers’ use or non-use of some Igbo indigenous nouns in their conversations in Igbo, the paper rather establishes that what is happening to Igbo is a gradual non-use of some of its vocabulary items used in day to day communication and that this ugly trend can be reversed if such vocabulary items are reintegrated into usage by the Igbo speakers themselves.

Verbal Categories in Ut-Ma'in, a Kainji Language of Nigeria

REBECCA PATERSON

A recent study (Nurse et al. 2010) surveyed Niger-Congo verbal categories. However, no data from Kainji languages was included quite likely because very little on Kainji languages has been researched or published. This paper offers data from Ut-Ma'in, a Kainji language, spoken in Kebbi State and Niger State, Nigeria. Additional comparative verbal morphology data is presented from closely related languages, C’Lela [dri] and Ut-Hun [dud].

Ut-Ma’in employs verbal suffixes, a series of pre-verb auxiliaries and nominalizations to express the various tense and aspect categories of the language. Within the auxiliary paradigm, there is a three way tense distinction: past imperfective, present imperfective and future. The suffixed verb morphology paradigm shows only a two way tense distinction: past versus non-past.

(1) ɘ̄ m n ẽ g-ɘ̄ n sē p ɘ̄ zw ɘ̄ gɘ̄ r
1SG eat-PST-DIST rice LOC Zuru.town
‘I ate rice in Zuru (before coming here)’

The suffixing paradigm expresses additional aspectual meanings for past forms, which include perfective interpretations along with distance (1), affectedness of the object, and exclusiveness of the subject (2), which emphasizes that only the referent of the subject pronoun/noun is capable of or subject to the predicate. To my knowledge, this type of exclusivity of the subject has not been described as a verbal category within an aspect system.

(2) ʉ jō̄ n-e' hō g-d' ɘ̄ m-e'
C1.3SG leave-EXCL hear-C5-ASSOC-6M-shame
‘(Only) he left ashamed.’
Transitivity Hierarchy Distinctions in Verbs of Classes e- and ja- in Gújjolaay Eegimaa
SERGE SAGNA

In Gújjolaay Eegimaa, a Jóola language (Altantic; Niger-Congo) spoken in Southern Senegal, nonfinite verbs can be formed in ten out of fifteen noun classes. Eegimaa has the typologically unusual characteristics of allowing the alternation of more than one noun class marker with the same verb stem as exemplified in (1) to (3) below, where the prefixes e- and ja- alternate with the verb root -ssaw ‘hunt’.

(1) Aliou na-maŋ-e e-ssaw e-tahalla yayu
    Aliou 3SG-want-COMPL CL3-hunt CL3-doe CL3.DEF
    ‘Aliou wants to shoot the doe.’

(2) Aliou na-roŋ ni ja-ssaw si-tahalla
    Aliou 3SG-remain PREP CL11b-hunt CL4-doe
    ‘Aliou still hunts does.’

(3) Aliou na-hal-e ja-ssaw/*e-ssaw
    Aliou 3SG-stop-COMPL CL11b-hunt/*CL3-hunt
    ‘Aliou has stopped hunting.’

This paper investigates the morphosyntactic and semantic properties underlying the alternation between the prefixes e- and ja- with dynamic verbs. I will argue that the use of the prefix e- with nonfinite verbs strongly correlates with Hopper & Thompson’s (1980) High transitivity, in that it tends to express telicity, punctually as well as singularity and definiteness of the object in a transitive clause, as illustrated in (1) above. The prefix ja-, on the other hand, tends to be used to describe atelic, non-punctual meanings, and is generally preferred with plural and/or indefinite objects as in example (2), or in clauses with no object as in (3) above, and relates as a result, to the lower level in Hopper and Thompson’s Transitivity Hierarchy.

Ethnic Language Shift of Nao Language
SAMPSON SEID & DANIEL FEKADU BEKELE

One important characteristic of Ethiopia is linguistic and cultural diversity. Each linguistic community is in turn characterized by an autonomous ethno-linguistic identity. However, this linguistic identity is being crashed by language shift. The focus of this paper is on language shift of Nao, a minority language spoken in South West of Ethiopia. The paper attempts to give an account of the underlying factors that have contributed to language shift of Nao language and to investigate whether there are efforts to avert the ongoing language shift. This was to be achieved through the analysis of Paulson’s theory of social mobilization. As is the case with some indigenous languages around Ethiopia, the Nao language is shifting to Kefinono language. The study result shows that member of ethno linguistic minorities are increasingly abandoning their language in favor of another, both in formal and informal domains. Similarly, other Ethiopian languages such as Kemant and Zay are shifting at alarming rate to Amharic and Oromiffia respectively. In conjunction with speaker communities, there are no intervention both by researchers, government and non-governmental organizations. As to the factors affecting Nao language shift, the study result shows that the formation of ethno linguist identity was affected by degree of contact, cultural similarity, demographic factors and language community lack of motivation in using the language in both formal and informal domains. Thus, this paper recommends that to ensure the maintenance of Nao language, holistic efforts should be made by community members and various stake holders.
Underlying Word-final Consonants in Caning, a Nilo-Saharan Language of Sudan
TIMOTHY M. STIRTZ

Caning (Shatt) is a Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic language of the Nuba Mountains in Sudan, closely related to Daju and Logorik. Caning is endangered in that only 30,000 people speak the language, and many indigenous languages of the region have undergone significant language shift to Arabic.

Caning plosives /p-b/, /t-d/, /c-ɟ/, /k-g/ have a voicing contrast in word-initial and word-final position, but the contrast is neutralized word-finally. This paper investigates the evidence that word-final plosives are underlyingly voiceless or alternatively are underlyingly voiced. In Caning, all word-final plosives surface as voiceless and unreleased. This in itself is not evidence for underlying word-final voiceless plosives, in that more than one Nilo-Saharan language has voiceless unreleased word-final plosives that are underlyingly voiced.

In Caning, when suffixes are attached to stem-final plosives, the plosives surface as either voiced or voiceless, depending on the suffix. Thus, the voicing quality of underlying word-final plosives cannot be determined from the data below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caning</th>
<th>Maaka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abât/abât</td>
<td>ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abâd-inya</td>
<td>ax-inya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abât-ani</td>
<td>ax-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abâd-oŋa</td>
<td>ax-oŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abâd-əama</td>
<td>ax-əama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This paper will describe the morphophonology of these and other morphemes. And with further data, it will support a claim that word-final plosives are underlying voiceless.

Transnumeral Nouns and Plural Verbs in Maaka:
On Number Marking in a Chadic Language of Nigeria
ANNE STORCH

Maaka is a potentially endangered language which exhibits traits of nominal aspect together with a semantically related strategy in inflecting verbs for number. The morphological number-marking devices on nouns exhibit a split in number inflection in the semantic categories NON-HUMAN and HUMAN, whereby only nouns denoting HUMAN referents can’t construct transnumeral forms. Hence, while morphological number-marking is mandatory for nouns that denote human beings, the suffixed plurals found everywhere else are not obligatory in all contexts. This can be demonstrated in contexts of counting, where transnumeral forms of nouns appear to be very common in discourse.

Moreover, Maaka exhibits verbal pluractionals. What is interesting about verb plural here is that there is a link between nominal and verbal plurality, not in the sense of shared markers, but rather in the common semantics of nominal and verbal plurals. The meanings of the different types of plural verbs in this language parallel those of pluralised and transnumeral nouns, more precisely in the sense of contrasting a large number of similar, indefinite items or events to a number of individualized, definite ones.

Number, in this case, has to do with individualisation and the expression of definiteness, applying these to both nouns and verbs, and it has to do with lexical aspect and context, rather than with word class-specific morphology.
Kenyan Indigenous Languages: Challenges and Opportunities
AGGREY WASIKE

The Kenyan constitution that was adopted in 2008 assigns status to only one Kenyan indigenous language - Kiswahili. Kiswahili is assigned two statuses: (i) national language and (ii) official language. The official status is a shared one: it is shared between Kiswahili and English. All the remaining 40 indigenous languages are not assigned any status. While this might suggest that Kiswahili will dominate the Kenyan linguistic scene, I argue in this paper that in the medium term, this might not turn out to be the case. The fortunes of Kiswahili are likely to be complicated by the recent establishment of county governments and the rise of vernacular FM radio stations. This bodes well for the status-less Kenyan indigenous languages but national integration might be negatively affected. One of the issues that I discuss in the paper is how to promote national integration in the face of county governments and vernacular FM radio stations. I also argue that the boost to the status-less 40 Kenyan indigenous languages from county governments and FM radio stations is not long term. This means that the threat of extinction for many of the Kenyan indigenous languages is always going to be present. I offer suggestions of how this extinction possibility can be prevented from becoming a reality.
Pragmatic Analysis of the Local Names of Popular Car Brands in Lagos, Nigeria

IJEOMA MARYANN ABUGU

The study attempts an onomastic analysis of the local names (nicknames) of popular car brands in Lagos Nigeria, using a pragmatic approach. The study is driven by the near-absence of scholarly linguistic research on automobile nicknames in Nigeria on the one hand, and the educative and informative post on http://thekushchronicles.blogspot.com/2010/08/funny-names-nigerians-give-cars.html on the other.

Twenty local car names are selected for the study. The names are analysed using onomastic attributes, genera theory of context, contextual belief (CB) and the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). The study shows how the local car names both compare to and evoke qualities typically attributed to humans, animals, metaphysical beings and so on. For example, the Honda Accord 2009 model is popularly referred to in Lagos Nigeria as ‘Anaconda’ or ‘Evil Spirit’. It is called ‘Anaconda’ because its frontal view, especially the headlamp design, and overall body size bear resemblance to this large non-venomous snake found in tropical South America. The name, ‘Evil Spirit’ derives from both its perceived terrifying looks and its swift movement ability.

In light of the above, the study conclusively posits that the contextual framework which underlies what choice of local names are given (or can be given) to these popular car brands in Lagos Nigeria, powers on a naming convention that transcends mere arbitrary acts of spontaneity.

Tracing a Winding Stairs: More than 50 Years of Governance in Nigeria?
Using Ethno-linguistics and Culture History for Reconstructing the Yoruba Past and the Akpoto Connection

ADEGBOYE ADEYANJU

We attempt to re-construct the Yoruba past using its Akpoto connection and thereby drawing implication for governance in Nigeria. What is established in the literature is that tribal affiliation in Nigeria number about 450 today. All share a common history and culture. Language is evidential of this relationship. For the present enterprise we have revisited the controversy of migration of the Yoruba, which we herein argue is from Akpoto land. This raises a further debate on the exact delineation of ethnic boundaries and the implications for national cohesion. In attempting a reconstruction of the past, a study of this nature must be eclectic, where each researcher devises a means to reconstructing the past. Our methodology consists of a) collecting the same words from Yoruba, Idoma and Igala languages, b) have an extensive test of the relative stability of these languages as regards basic vocabulary c) line up lists of basic words from pairs or sets of these languages and, e) compare them with corresponding lists from areas where the history of related languages is well documented. Our findings indicates that cognate reflexes across Yoruba, Igala, and Idoma languages are not only taken as evidence of genetical relatedness but also held as reflecting the likelihood of establishing a common Akpoto origin of these peoples history and culture which can be explored for fostering national unity.
The paper examines the metaphorical and the metonymic structure of the domain of the head in Akan within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), put forward by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). My aim is to show the coherent conceptual organisation underlying the various expressions about the head in Akan, and the relationship between the metaphorical and the metonymic expressions. The paper is also aimed at testing the universal applicability of the types of mappings in the English language proposed by Niemeier (2008), and Radić-Bojanić Biljana & Silaški Nadežda (2012). These researchers have identified the following mappings for the head: THE HEAD IS AN OBJECT, THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER and THE HEAD STANDS FOR A PERSON. Since the CMT maintains that primary metaphors are universally applicable and complex mappings more culturally diverse, the analysis of the Akan data was considered a good empirical ground for testing the validity of this proposal. An analysis of the data revealed that there are no striking differences between English and Akan as far as the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualisations of the HEAD are concerned. The analysis also indicate that the minds of both English and Akan speakers are indeed "embodied."

How Case-marking Can Be Incorporated into a Verb:
The Historical Development of Middle Voice in Gumuz

Gumuz is a Nilo-Saharan (NS) language/dialect cluster spoken in western Ethiopia and the southeastern section of the Republic of Sudan. Gumuz has complex verb stems which are comprised of a verb root and an incorporated noun (IN) that often serves as part of an external possession (EP) construction with an S/O argument (1,2) (Ahland 2012). The middle voice suffix (MV) /–á(á)/ can be marked on these complex verb stems (2) but not on simple verb roots; the MV suffix always co-occurs with and precedes an IN.

Southern Gumuz (SoG)
(1) b-a-kóra-gá-s máts’à
   AFF-3SG.TR-open-NFUT-mouth house
   ‘S/He opened the house.’

(2) b-a-kóra-gá-á-s máts’à
   AFF-3SG.TR-open-NFUT-MV-mouth house
   ‘The (door of ) house opened.’

Noun incorporation in Gumuz is both a historic and synchronic process, mostly involving body part terms which served as the possessed head noun of a left-headed internal possession (IP) construction (e.g. sámáts ’á, [mouth-house] = ‘mouth of house, door’). In certain instances, the IN served as the head noun of an S argument IP construction, but in these, the IN follows and co-occurs with the MV suffix /–á(á)/ (2). This suffix is identical in form to the nominative prefix /á-/ which is obligatorily marked when the A/S argument follows the verb. Based on this and other internal and comparative evidence, I demonstrate that the MV suffix /–á(á)/ arose from the nominative prefix and was historically incorporated into the verb along with the body part term.
Consonant Substitution in Child Language (Ikwere)
ROSELINE I.C. ALERECHI

The Ikwere language is spoken in four out of the twenty-three Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Rivers State of Nigeria, namely, Port Harcourt, Obio/Akpor, Emohua and Ikwerre LGAs. Like Kana, Kalabari and Ekpeye, it is one of the major languages of Rivers State used in broadcasting in the electronic media. The Ikwere language is classified as an Igboid language of the West Benue-Congo family of the Niger-Congo phylum of languages (Williamson 1988, Williamson and Blench 2000). This paper treats consonant substitution in the speech of the Ikwere child. It demonstrates that children use of a language can contribute to the divergent nature of that language as they always strive for simplification of the target language. Using simple descriptive method of data analysis, the paper identifies the various substitutions of consonant sounds characteristic of Ikwere children’s utterances. It stresses that the substitutions are regular and rule governed and hence implies the operation of some phonological processes. Some of the processes are strengthening and weakening of consonants, loss of suction of labial implosives causing them to become labial plosives, devoicing of voiced consonants, etc. While some of these processes are identical with the adult language, others are peculiar to children, demonstrating the relationships between the phonological processes in both forms of speech. It is worthy of note that highlighting the relationships and differences will make for effective communication between children and adults.

The Structure of the Gã DP
MARY AMAECHI & CECILIA KOTEY

The DP has been an object of study by various linguists since the 1980s, following the proposal of extending X-bar theory to functional categories. This study examines the structure of the DP in Gã and reveals that there is need for functional phrases to house specifically the category of number in Gã. The category of number is marked on both the lexical head and the modifying adjectives. Suffixes mark plurality in Gã. There are different ways of forming plurals on the noun and the modifying adjectives in the language. Each of the categories of noun phrase (NP) and adjective phrase (AdjP) are headed by functional noun phrase (FNP), and adjective phrase (FAdjP) respectively. The analysis is that the NP moves from the complement position to the Spec of FNP and the AdjP does the same to the Spec of FAdjP to arrive at the correct order. The demonstrative phrase (DemP) in Gã exhibits two disjoint markers, one each at initial and final positions of a structure.

(1) a. nɛkɛ kotuku əgbọ ɲɛɛ.
DEMO bag big DET
‘this big bag’

b. nakaî kotuku əgbọ lɛ.
DEMO bag big DET
‘that big bag’

The initial demonstrative element in (1a) can be omitted meaning would not be affected, but we cannot do same for (2b). This means that nɛkɛ cannot be used independently of ɲɛɛ. Going by this, we argue that ɲɛɛ and kɛ are the head of the DemP, while nɛkɛ and nakaî occupy the Spec DemP position.
Enhancing the Vitality of Igbo Language Learning in Schools through Indigenous Knowledge Systems

OGBONNA ANYANWU, ROSELINE NDIMELE & NGOZI UGO-OCHULO

The ability to communicate effectively in one’s indigenous language connects one to their ethnic group and thus, helps one to imbibe one’s indigenous knowledge system which will help in shaping their identity. Indigenous knowledge systems and practices are embedded within indigenous languages and also institutionalized by them. They include the traditional songs, stories, legends, dreams, methods and practices (sometimes preserved in artifacts). Indigenous languages are thus, the repositories of indigenous knowledge and are also the bedrock upon which indigenous knowledge systems are built, developed and sustained. Nigeria is linguistically diverse, with the different Indigenous languages which are also repositories of different indigenous Nigerian knowledge systems. However, the indigenous Nigerian languages are faced with so many challenges which are exposing them to various degrees of endangerment to the extent that for instance, the interest of Igbo children of school age, who are born and are being raised even within the predominantly Igbo speaking States (Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo) is fast declining in learning and speaking Igbo. This paper therefore, examines how the learning of Igbo by students can be revitalized and enhanced through the teaching of Igbo indigenous knowledge systems. It is noted, that learning Igbo through the teaching of Igbo indigenous system will not only ensure that the students learn and retain the knowledge of some Igbo vocabulary item associated with such knowledge systems and their contexts of usage but also enhance culture preservation and maintenance, linguistic vitality of Igbo as an indigenous language, inter/intra-generation transfer of language and linguistic fidelity.

Person Hierarchies and Agreement in Kisongo Maasai

MARK ASHMORE

In Maa sentences with intransitive verbs, agreement is straightforward and unambiguously identifies each person, number combination of the subject (with the exception only of 3rd person singular versus plural in certain tenses). In transitive clauses with pronominal objects, however, this orderly pattern disappears in many cases. Subject and object phi-features are combined in a single morpheme and there is massive ambiguity mainly resulting for the use of [ki-] in a large number of cases and with the use of [aa] in an even further restricted set of cases.

In this paper I argue for a hierarchy of person features. I propose that [ki-] is the default marker used whenever the person features of the object outrank the person features of the subject by a single degree and that [aa] is the marker used when the subject features are outranked by two degrees by the object features. The proposed Maa person feature hierarchy is: 1>2>3. I also propose that there is just a single agreement probe in Maa. Therefore subject and object features cannot be encoded in distinct morphemes at the same time; thus, resulting in what I term inverse morphemes.
The communication gap between the Hearing and the Hearing Impaired in Nigeria has continued to widen by the day as the latter are being stigmatized even by their caregivers and immediate family relations. American Sign Language (ASL) and the recently but scarcely introduced Nigerian Sign Language (NSL), the two languages of the deaf persons in the country are highly endangered as their users both among the Hearing and the Hearing Impaired are few compared to the number of deaf persons in Nigeria. This has led to a high level of unconscious stigmatization of the deaf persons because there is little or no communication between the two groups outside the few trained individuals. In this paper, we present part of an on-going study carried out in three schools in Imo State Nigeria as a case study – Imo State Resource Center, Wetheral Road Owerri, Primary School for the Hearing Impaired and Mentally Challenged Orlu and Secondary School for the Deaf (Hearing Impaired Ofekata Orodo. So far in our study, we have proposed the introduction of total communication as an option in teaching and communicating with the deaf persons; we also proposed the introduction of ASL and NSL to the Hearing Community to save the two languages from extinction, and lastly, we have proposed that linguists should consider the total inclusion of sign language into their study.

Factive Relative Clauses in Pulaar
IBRAHIMA BA

In this talk I want to investigate factive relative clauses in Pulaar, a West Atlantic language spoken in Senegal and other West African countries. The variety I am focusing on is spoken in the southern part of Senegal. Specially, I look at two factive constructions in Pulaar, namely the verbal factive and the ko-factive, as (1a) and (1b) respectively:

1) a. [def-go ngo ndef-mi ngo ñebbe] ðe bettu Hawaa Verbal factive
   cook-INF CL.REL cook-1SG CL.the beans CL.the surprise Hawaa
   ‘The fact that I cooked beans surprised Hawaa’

   b. [ko ndef-mi ko ñebbe] ðe bettu Hawaa ko-factive
   CL.REL cook-1SG CL.the beans CL.the surprise Hawaa
   ‘That I cooked beans surprised Hawaa’

I argue that the constructions in (1) are relative clause constructions with a derivation similar to headed relative clauses:

2) Musa ñaam-ma [ñebbè ðè ndef-mi] ðè Headed relative clause
   musa eat-PERF beans CL.REL cook-1SG CL.the
   ‘Musa ate the beans that I cooked’

In headed relatives clauses and factive clauses in Pulaar have similar structure, especially the order of words such complementizer and verb and the verb have the same form. In addition, both headed relatives and factive clauses can be derived along the lines of Kayne’s (1994) framework, where CP moves to Spec, DP to yield the bracketed clause in (2).
In Sereer (Atlantic, Senegal), singular pronominal objects are obligatorily marked by an object suffix on the verb. This paper provides the first comprehensive description of this object suffixation pattern, a topic that has been only cursorily described in the extant literature on Sereer (cf. Renaudier 2012). In addition, I provide a preliminary theoretical account of the Sereer object suffix system. I argue that Sereer object suffixes are best analyzed as incorporated pronouns. Evidence for such an analysis comes from the following: (i) an object suffix may never occur with an in situ object DP; (ii) an object suffix may not double an extracted object in relative clauses, *wh*-questions, or focus constructions; (iii) there is only one object suffix allowed per clause; and (iv) an object suffix may reference either object in a double object construction. Identical characteristics have been used to argue for a pronominal incorporation analysis of object marking in the Bantu language Lubukusu by Diercks and Sikuku (2013). Following Diercks and Sikuku, I extend recent analyses of cliticization to Sereer object suffixes. I argue that object suffixes raise to Spec-*vP* and are subsequently incorporated in the verb via *m*-merger (Matushansky 2006, Kramer To appear, Harizanov to appear). This analysis elegantly derives the behaviors listed above. Such an approach also allows us to integrate the Sereer object suffixation data into the broader understanding of cliticization patterns cross-linguistically, thereby enriching our understanding of object marking systems in verbs.

English translations of Safaliba [ISO 639-3 saf] narrations which attempt to stay close to the original lead to a non-comprehensive discourse. This is due to the different use that Safaliba makes of pronouns. We will present narrations in the form of Interlinear Glossed Text to document the use of Safaliba's N-pronouns. Thereby we heavily rely on Schaefer's (2009) findings, but will also make reference to Gundel et al. (1993). Our main point is that Safaliba's use of N-pronouns is best understood through a rhetorical structure analysis. We will argue that N-pronouns stay 'activated' as long as the story line requires, and definitely longer than it is conventional for referential chains in the corresponding English text. As a result, English translations of Safaliba text might require referential chains to be broken up in order to assure coherence.

The existence of N-pronouns is tightly connected to their discourse function and their use is determined by the narrative structure. It is not referential distance or prominence that is the criteria for the choice of pronoun in Safaliba, but the role that their referents play in the narrative plot, and how the role is acted out. We will discuss our findings, which support those of Schaefer (2009), by presenting examples from our corpus.
Hip-hop Music as Harbinger of Moribund Languages: The Yoruba Experience

RACHAEL BELLO

The Yoruba language is one of the three major languages in the country. Before now, some linguists, considering the economic power as well as the educational attainment of the Yoruba speakers, had unofficially considered the Yoruba language naturally emerging as the national language of the country (from the three main competing languages). However, apart from its relatively little international recognition, the language has begun to lose its lexical stock to hip-hop slangy items. The hip-hop music has not only influenced the emotional and psychology being of its listeners, it has also infiltrated their linguistic repertoire. Using Rubin and Lim’s (2010) theory of first language assessment as a framework, I see the common usage of slangy items instead of their standard Yoruba equivalent items as being identical with members’ vertical and horizontal experiences in hypertext. Thus the Yoruba speakers adopt slangy items sourced from hip-hop music in order to link. Such strange items are adopted as telegraphic forms through expressive language modality. Using the participant observation and questionnaire methods, I studied the group of Yoruba speakers who are supposed to be the advocates of the Yoruba language. Hence, I examined the Yoruba language teachers at all levels of education, the Yoruba newscasters and media presenters, the Yoruba interpreters at various domains and Yoruba parents who genuinely intend that their children and wards speak the Yoruba language and so speak the language to them. It was discovered that as much as this class of speakers mean well, it is still largely influenced both at the micro and macro levels with the different contexts and audiences not excluding the theme of discourse determining how far or near to the standard Yoruba by the popular hip-hop lexis. At the micro level, the hip-hop music-having infiltrated all ages and classes-serves as the pragmatic determinant of the lexis to be used in discourse especially those which relate to sex or the human body. The implication of this is that the young Yoruba learner in the end will end up not having the knowledge of a standard variety.

Long Distance Phrasal Spreading in Copperbelt Bemba

LEE BICKMORE & NANCY KULA

This paper investigates the interaction of several High tone spreading processes in Copperbelt Bemba. When a word has more than one High tone, all H’s before the final one undergo bounded (ternary) spreading. What is interesting is the spreading pattern of the rightmost H in a word. In some cases it undergoes bounded spreading, while in other cases it undergoes unbounded spreading. We demonstrate that this choice is strictly determined by the prosodic phrasing. In a W1 W2 sequence, the rightmost H in W1 will undergo bounded spreading if W1 and W2 are part of the same phonological phrase, but it will undergo unbounded spreading if the two words are part of different phonological phrases, i.e. if a phonological phrase boundary is found between them.

Given this, what is especially interesting are the tone patterns which result from the interaction of Unbounded Spreading and a rule of Inter-word Doubling, which spreads a High tone from the final TBU of one word onto the initial TBU of the following word. This is discussed from both derivational and Optimality Theoretic perspectives. Derivationally, the two rules stand in an iterative mutually-feeding relationship. I.e. Unbounded Spreading feeds Inter-Word Doubling, which in turn feeds Unbounded Spreading, something which often results in extreme long-distance spreading. We also present an OT analysis of the same facts, employing constraints used in other analyses of rightward tone spreading within Bantu, and specifically address whether the patterns can be accounted for within Selkirk’s Match Theory of phonology-syntax interaction.
Research on comparative constructions recognizes the need for both a 3-place (“phrasal”) comparative operator, alongside a 2-place (“clausal”) operator (e.g., Heim 1985, Bhatt & Takahashi 2011). Recent cross-linguistic work on comparatives has argued that exceedcomparative constructions are phrasal comparatives (e.g., Beck et al 2009; Howell 2012 for Yorùbá). While certain exceed constructions in Luganda can indeed be analyzed in this way, e.g., (1), I argue here for the idea that others like (2) are “clausal,” in that they involve a 2-place operator that compares two degrees directly. I propose that the two DP arguments of the verb *businga* ‘exceed’ denote degrees on a scale named by a possessive nominalized adjective.

(1) Kizito asinga Kato obukulu.
   Kizito NC1.exceed Kato NC14.old
   ‘Kizito is older than Kato.’ / ‘Kizito exceeds Kato in oldness.’ (3-place exceed)

(2) Obuwanvu bw’ emmeeza businga obugazi bwayo.
   ‘The table’s length exceeds its width.’ (2-place exceed)

I treat nominalized adjectives like *obu-wanvu* ‘NC14-long’ ≈ ‘length’ as measure functions in the sense of Bartsch & Vennemann (1972) and Kennedy (1997): they map an individual to its maximal degree on a scale. This allows us to model possessed adjective nominalizations similar to Barker’s (1995) analysis of relational nouns, although whereas for Barker a possessive DP denotes a predicate of individuals, in this case the resulting DP denotes a degree.

**Temporal Remoteness and Vagueness in Past Time Reference in Luganda**

M. RYAN BOCHNAK & PETER KLECHA

In this paper, we point out that past time operators (PTOs) in Luganda, a language that makes three past time remoteness distinctions, are vague and context-dependent, and provide an analysis whereby PTOs contain context-sensitive measure functions akin to gradable adjectives. We call the relevant PTOs RECENT, INTERMEDIATE, and DISTANT ((1-3), respectively).

(1) Nzinye (ku matya).
   1SG-dance-REC.PST (LOC morning)
   ‘I danced (this morning).’

(2) Nzinye (jjo).
   1SG-dance-INT.PST (yesterday)
   ‘I danced (yesterday).’

(3) Nazina (luli).
   1SG-dance-DIST.PST (another.time)
   ‘I danced (the other day).’

Luganda PTOs give rise to borderline cases, where it is difficult to decide whether a past reference time (RT) counts as ‘recent’, ‘intermediate’ or ‘distant’. What counts as ‘recent’, ‘intermediate’ or ‘distant’ is context dependent; e.g., there are contexts where REC is acceptable with an RT of a few weeks ago, and contexts where DIST is acceptable for an RT of a few minutes ago. We assume that like tenses in English, PTOs in matrix clauses in Luganda restrict the relation between utterance time (UT) and RT. However, while English past tense presupposes that RT precedes UT (e.g. Kratzer, 1998), Luganda PTOs additionally encode as part of their meaning a vague, context-dependent measure function that compares the length of a time interval to a contextual standard.
Is Sheng the Future of Swahili?
MOKAYA BOSIRE

Swahili and English are the two co-official languages of Kenya and are widely spoken all over the country alongside other 40-plus languages all actively spoken by ethnic communities in the country. In urban settings all over Kenya, people are largely multilingual in Swahili, English and some other Kenyan language. In addition, there is an abundance of code switching (CS) in these urban settings to the extent that researchers have concluded that it is the “unmarked” code in many conversations in Kenya (Myers-Scotton 1993; Ogechi, 2004; Bosire, 2006b). But in this multiplicity of language choices is Sheng – a code that has become the basic urban vernacular for the urban youth in Kenya today. How did Sheng come about and how is it different from the established linguistic choices available including the ubiquitous Code-switching? More importantly, as the language of the youth, will it displace English and the nationalist Swahili in the future? This paper highlights some of the unique features of Sheng that have made it attractive to the youth, pointing out the ways in which Sheng is impacting the structure and use of Swahili as it makes its unreal march from the shadows onto Main Street linguistic Kenya.

Chimpoto NP Morphosyntax
ZACHARY BRANSON

This paper gives an overview of the morphosyntax of Chimpoto (Bantu, Tanzania, N14) noun phrases. Chimpoto nouns fall into the typical Bantu noun classes for cl. 1 through cl. 12, e.g. cl. 1 mu-bana ‘wife’, cl. 2 va-bana ‘wives’. Abstract nouns are also found in cl. 14, e.g. u-kochi ‘friendship’, and the infinitive form of verbs are found in cl. 15, e.g. ku-shunga ‘to hunt’.

Noun modifiers in Chimpoto agree with the noun following one of two agreement paradigms. Adjectives take an agreement marker that closely resembles the noun class prefix, e.g. cl. 4 mi-kongo mi-nyabi ‘good trees’. Other modifiers, such as possessives, follow a separate agreement paradigm, e.g. cl. 4 mi-kongo hy-angu. For many noun classes, the two agreement markers are the same, e.g. cl. 11 lulimi lu-nyabi ‘good tongue’, lulimi lw-angu ‘my tongue’.

An unusual property of Chimpoto concerns the ability to mark definiteness distinctions within the noun phrase. Bare nouns, e.g. mi-kongo ‘trees’, and noun adjective pairs taking normal agreement, e.g. cl. 4 mi-kongo mi-bamba ‘green trees’ and cl. 6 ma-ng’wina ma-kolongo ‘big crocodiles’, are indefinite by default. Other modifiers, such as demonstratives, as in mi-kongo by-ela ‘those trees’, make the noun phrase definite.

Adjectives agreeing with nouns in cl. 4 and cl. 6 can also take the agreement marker normally associated with possessives, e.g. mi-kongo bi-bamba ‘the green trees’ and ma-ng’wina gha-kolongo ‘the big crocodiles’. The effect of the alternate agreement marker is to make the noun phrase definite.
The Morpho-syntax of Maa Possession: An Argument for Delayed Valuation
LESLEY BRINSON

Possessives in Maa have the word order [[possessed] PAM [possessor]] where PAM is a complex possessive agreement morpheme that inflects for features of both expressions. PAM agrees in gender with the possessed and in number with the possessor. The analytical challenge is to provide a syntax that accounts for this complex agreement. I argue that both a preposition (P) and a null head X bear unvalued Phi-features (uφ). P merges above the possessor and probes it downwards, valuing P's uφ and the possessor’s Case. Following Chomsky 2001, this deactivates the possessor. When X merges, it cannot probe the possessor, and so it awaits DELAYED VALUATION (Carstens 2012), available when the possessed arrives higher in the structure.

(1) [DP [NP possessed [XP Xu [PP Pu [DP possessor]]]]]  
| __________ |  
| __________ | Possessor no longer active  
| ↑ __________ |

Agree X 1
Agree X 2

Restriction to gender agreement with the possessed has a principled explanation: the possessed is only an NP and hence has no number or person features.

My analysis in terms of DELAYED VALUATION accounts for the peculiar agreement morphology of the possessive phrase in Maa in terms of independently motivated principles and without recourse to otherwise unmotivated movements or multiple agreement mechanisms. I will also show that it deals simply with recursive possession.

Labial-velars: Not Quite So Rare After All
MICHAEL CAHILL

Labial-velars (k̪p̬, g̪b̪, ŋ̪m̪, hereafter “KP”) are considered rare in the world. In Maddieson (1984), only 6% of the languages have a KP, including one outside Africa. Thus Clements and Rialland (2008) use KP as one diagnostic for labeling the “Sudanic Belt” across mid-Africa as a “linguistic area.”

A database of languages with labial-velars I have assembled over several years makes it possible to evaluate these claims. It currently contains 803 languages, with 62 outside Africa, almost twice the previously estimated frequency in the world. Reasonably complete phonemic inventories exist in over 600 languages, making various measures possible, e.g. over 15% of languages with labial-velars have only /k̪p̬/ or /g̪b̪/, but not both. /ŋ̪m̪/ occurs in about 25% of languages with labial-velars, and /NKP/ in almost 20%. No language has only /ŋ̪m̪/ and no other labial-velar.

A “linguistic area” is defined by unusual features spread by language contact. This database and other literature weaken the claim of KP as a diagnostic for such. Labial-velars result from three sources:

1) Spontaneous regular sound change, often following the path *KU > Kw > KP.
2) Genetic; *KP has been reconstructed in several African proto-families.
3) Borrowing from languages which did have KP.

The existence of KP in a majority of African languages is attributable to sources 1) or 2). So both the commonality of KP and its sources in genetic relationship and sound change weaken the argument for including KP as a diagnostic for a linguistic area in Africa.
**D-to-C and VSO/SVO Alternation in Kisongo Maasai: Evidence from Relative Clauses**  
VICKI CARSTENS & CASSADY SHOAFF

We present 2 arguments that VSO in Kisongo Maasai (KM) results from V-v-T-to-C. The first draws on a typologically rare case of head-movement: D-to-C from the external argument (EA) in Spec, TP. Anti-agreement effects (AAE) accompanying subject extraction provide the second. KM sentences containing relative clauses (RCs) show a surprising pattern. If the direct object contains the RC, order is the usual VSO. But if the subject contains the RC, there are 2 options: VSO (1)a or SVO (1)b. The choice depends on a mysterious left-edge morpheme ore. When ore is included, it and the subject must precede the verb. If ore is absent, the verb must be initial.

(1) a. ɛ-tadwaa [ɛŋkɪtɛn n-atooko ɛŋkærɛ] ɔlɛɛ  
3sSA-see.PST cow AAE.fem-drink.PST water man

b. *(Ore) [ɛŋkɪtɛn n-atooko ɛŋkærɛ] ɛ-tadwaa ɔlɛɛ  
ORE cow AAE.fem-drink.PST water 3sSA-see.PST man

‘The cow that drank the water saw the man’

The restriction of ore to the left edge of SVO clauses indicates a locality relationship between ore, the subject, and C. We propose that ore is a relative determiner. Following Chomsky 2013, D in Spec, TP is as close to C as T is. Contra Chomsky 2013 we assume C merges after EA raises, and that head-movement is feature-driven. A feature of ore forces it to attach to C (see (2)), blocking V-v-T-to-C.

(2) C [TP [DP ore,C [NP]] [T T [vP…]]] → ore,C+C [TP [DP <ore> [NP]] [T T [vP…]]]

**A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Adjectives in Two Kwa Languages: Ga and Dangme**  
REGINA OFORIWAAH CAESAR & YVONNE AKWELE AMANKWAAM OLENNNU

The adjective category normally serves as attribute for the nouns in languages that do have them. The paper investigates the morphosyntactic properties of adjectives in two Kwa languages, Ga and Dangme. Both languages have derived and non-derived adjectives. The paper which is mainly descriptive, examines the similarities and differences that exist between these two Kwa languages in terms of their morphological and syntactic features. The paper reveals that though similarities exist in the occurrence of adjectives syntactically, there exist differences in their morphological properties. Dangme does nominalises some adjectives overtly to function as subject and object of a clause whereas Ga does not. On the other hand, Ga and Dangme show agreement in terms of number with the head noun for all adjectives used attributively. The paper concludes with the findings that were revealed after the comparative analysis of these languages. Data for this paper were collected from both primary and secondary sources.
Synthesis Before the Proto-Niger-Congo Inflectional Verb: Evidence from the Peripheral South Atlantic Languages

TUCKER CHILDS

This paper contributes to the understanding of Proto-Niger-Congo (PNC) verb structure, supporting the contention in Nurse 2007 that PNC verbs were likely more analytical than synthetic in nature. It does so by illustrating a number of grammaticalization paths in several closely related languages, geographically distant from the Niger-Congo, ‘South Atlantic’, a designation used in Blench 2006 for what was formerly the Southern Branch of the (West) Atlantic Group of Niger Congo (Wilson 1989). The data come from four Bulom languages within the Mel sub-group: the moribund languages Bom and Kim, the highly endangered language Mani, and the relatively secure language Kisi.

The facts provide strong evidence of the move from an analytic to a synthetic verb with some renewal processes as well. In all cases the developments follow general patterns in grammaticalization scenarios.

For example, tone marks aspectual contrasts which presumably once were marked analytically. These marks appear on both the lexical verb and the subject pronoun, which is itself inflected for aspect in several languages. Tense contrasts are “newer”, generally speaking, and marked periphrastically.

Between subject and verb one finds independent items that perform tense-aspect-mood (TAM) functions and negation, much as has been found in other languages such as Supyire and Ewe (Nurse 2007:251-53). These innovations support further the pre-verbal slot as the site of much innovation and what Nurse calls “replacement”.

Typology of Postnasal Alternations in Bantu: Interaction of Manner, Place, and Phonation

JONATHAN CHOTI

The interaction between the Bantu nasal prefix /N/ of class 9/10 and 1SG and stem-initial consonants yields a series of postnasal alternations namely, voicing (1a), devoicing (1b), hardening (1c), consonant ‘insertion’ (1d), consonant deletion (1e), affrication (1f), deaffrication (1g), aspiration (1h), de-implosion (1i), deaspiration (1j), and nasalization (1k):

(1) Typology of postnasal alternations in Bantu
b. Tswana: /N-bôna/ → [mpôña] ‘see me’ (Cole 1955)
e. Yao: /ju-N-gav-il-e/ → [juuŋavile] ‘s/he cut me’ (Ngunga 2000)
g. Rwanda: /iN-tsina/ → [insina] ‘9-banana tree’ (Kimenyi 1979)
h. Rwanda: /e-N-hubidu/ → [ekĽubidu] ‘9-red’ (Kimenyi 1979)
i. Xhosa: /iN-beko/ → [imbĽeko] ‘9-reverence’ (Podile 2002)
j. Zulu: /iN-pĽi/ → [impĽ] ‘9-army’ (Doke 1926)

This talk explains this typology within the Element-based Dependency approach (e.g. Botma 2004). This framework recognizes the sonorant and stop properties inherent in nasals. The interaction between nasal manner, other manner types, place, and phonation, and variations in phonetic implementation lead to postnasal variations. This approach has four main strengths: (a) various laryngeal modifications (e.g. aspiration, breathy voice and voiceless) are straightforwardly analyzed as a single segment type phonologically; (b) establishes parallels between nasalization and phonation; (c) shows that nasal manner is composed of vocalic and consonantal properties, and (d) shows that nasalization subsumes nasalization and voicing.
The Interaction of Verb and Direct Object Tone in Bulu
EMILY CLEM

This paper, based on original fieldwork, presents evidence for a process of tonal agreement between adjacent verbs and direct object nouns in Bulu (Bantu, Cameroon). Tonal agreement occurs after both high and low-toned verb stems, with the initial syllable of the direct object taking on the same tone level as the final syllable of the verb stem. This conclusion contradicts Yukawa’s (1992) claim that this process only occurs after high-toned verbs. In addition, I demonstrate that tonal agreement only occurs after verbs of specific tenses. Verbs with certain TAM morphemes do not trigger tonal agreement. Instead, they condition an initial high tone on the direct object noun, regardless of the final tone of the verb stem. To account for these data, I follow analyses of other Niger-Congo languages (e.g., Goldsmith 1976 for Igbo), and propose that a floating high tone following the verb stem is part of these TAM markers.

Finally, I provide a unified analysis of these two separate patterns of tonal interaction in terms of a general rightward tonal spreading for verbs. This spreads either the final stem tone or the floating high tone onto the following object noun syllable to account for both tonal agreement and initial high tone assignment. This paper contributes both a more thorough description and a unified analysis of tonal interactions between verbs and direct objects in Bulu.

Rethinking Somali Verbs:
Utilizing Computational Methods to Decode the Verb Class Hypothesis
ERIN SMITH CRABB & NIKKI ADAMS

Saeed’s 1993 grammar of the Somali language outlines three main classes of verbs, with more minor paradigmatic differences accounted for by two further subdivisions. As he discusses in the grammar, the classes are divided according to what lexical or inflectional affixes are appended to the verb root; he argues that because of the number of sound changes that may occur between suffixes, “learning the resulting verbal forms [is often easier] than to learn how to apply the rules in every case,” (Saeed 1993: 56).

This study is an analysis of the Zorc and Osman (1993) dictionary, which utilizes the same method of verb categorization. Using the dictionary as a corpus, we corroborate Saeed’s (1993) conclusion that the only difference between these verb classes is the addition of one or more affixes to the verb root, but argue instead that the three-class hypothesis is overly complicated, and that presentation of the phonological rules responsible for paradigm differences is more informative for language learners. These goals are achieved by first demonstrating the compositional nature of the meaning formed when combining a verb root and affix. Then, we demonstrate that despite the disparate appearance of the paradigmatic forms that Saeed (1993) offers, the differences observed between verb conjugations are predictable, phonologically-triggered shifts which often occur across the language, rather than only in verbs. Finally, we show that the majority of these changes can be accounted for by teaching learners a small set of phonological rules, which also apply to other Somali parts of speech.
Development of DOM in Chichewa
LAURA J. DOWNING

Background: Creissels (2006) proposes that there are three stages in the evolution of object markers (OMs) cross-linguistically:

I: OM has a purely anaphoric function: it cannot occur in the same TP/IP as an overt co-referential object DP.

II: OM also has an agreement function: it must co-occur with a co-referential object DP within the same TP/IP, whereas the co-referential DP is not obligatory.

III: OM and the co-referential DP must co-occur; the OM has a purely agreement function.

OMs in Chichewa are anaphors: Chichewa (Bantu, Malawi) is considered a textbook example of a Stage I language: the OM is “always an incorporated pronoun and never a non-referential marker of grammatical agreement” (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987). When an overt DP co-occurs in the same clause with an OM, the DP must be a dislocated Topic. Conversely, a dislocated object DP (a Topic) must be anaphorically bound to an OM. Bresnan & Mchombo propose the following diagnostics for anaphoric use of OMs:

1- changes in word order of overt object DPs correlate with the occurrence of OM;
2- DPs resumed by an OM are prosodically separate from a preceding object-marked verb;
3- focused elements cannot be referred to with an OM.

OMs in Chichewa are not anaphors: This talk will present new data showing that the distribution of OMs in Chichewa consistently fails to satisfy these diagnostics for anaphoric status. Instead, Chichewa shows differential object marking: animate (especially human) overt object DPs are commonly resumed with an OM, whether they are Topics or not.

The Morphosyntax of Verb Focus in Ibibio
PHILIP T. DUNCAN, TRAVIS MAJOR, & MFON UDONYANG

In this talk, we discuss two types of focus constructions involving verbs in Ibibio (Niger-Congo; Nigeria): contrastive verb focus and exhaustive VP focus. Focus constructions in Ibibio are marked by functional material that is incompatible with a neutral interpretation. Contrastive verb focus is additionally distinguished by the presence of special focus verb morphology, while exhaustively focused VPs appear under the scope of the focus sensitive particle kpọ́ ‘only’. We propose that both of these constructions involve movement and recruit structure high in the complementizer domain. However, their syntactic derivations differ based on whether head movement or phrasal movement is required. We also provide evidence to show that Ibibio permits double focus constructions, which generate interesting scope effects. The main aim of this paper is thus to shed light on the syntactic configurations of verb focus structures.
The Path to Predictability: Diachronic Aspects of Luhya Verbal Tone

KRIS EBARB

Tonal melodies are commonly an exponent of tense, aspect, and mood in Bantu. Among the various factors which may influence the realization of tone in a particular verb form is the lexical class to which a verbal root belongs. Most contemporary Bantu languages may be characterized as ‘conservative’, maintain a historical contrast between a /H/ class of verbs and a /Ø/ class and a set of morpho-syntactic contexts in which that contrast is directly revealed (e.g., in infinitives).

However, not all contemporary Bantu languages maintain the /H/ vs. /Ø/ contrast. Instead, some languages are now ‘predictable’ or ‘reversive’. The former have lost the lexical contrast; these languages have a single lexical tone class and lack any morpho-syntactic contexts which are uninflected with a tonal melody. ‘Reversive’ verbal tone systems are intermediate between ‘conservative’ and ‘predictable’—they maintain a contrast between two lexical tone classes, as in ‘conservative’ systems, but lack a morpho-syntactic context in which verbs are uninflected with a tonal melody. Additionally, details of the tonal melodies in reversive languages suggest that the contrast has undergone a reanalysis whereby the lexical contrast is one between /L/ and /Ø/ verbs (hence ‘reversive’).

The Luhya (a.k.a. Luyia) macrolanguage spoken in western Kenya is special in having multiple examples of all three types of verbal tone systems, while most macrolanguages have only one or two types. The goal of this talk is to trace the development of the transition from ‘conservative’ to ‘predictable’ verbal tone systems in Luhya.

The Influence of Akan on the Linguistic Encoding of Cutting and Breaking Events in Dwang

JAMES ESSEGBEY

In this presentation I discuss the expression of cutting and breaking (henceforth C&B) events in Dwang, a Guang language spoken by small communities south of the Volta lake and the Chumburung in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. All Dwang speakers also speak Akan, the dominant regional language. I show that although very few Akan words have been borrowed to express C&B events, Akan nevertheless influences the expression of separation in the material integrity of objects. The findings are based on data which I collected using video clips depicting C&B events which were developed by the Event Representation Project Group at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. In all, I elicited 8 basic verbs of which only two, namely bae ‘widen’ and pae ‘split’, are borrowed from Akan. Dwang speakers also use a postnominal gram ləa ‘inside’ after most expressions of separation. As a result, one gets expressions like pae X ləa in Dwang which literally means ‘split X inside’. I argue that this is a calque based on Akan which uses the postnominal gram mu ‘inside’ in the expression of several C&B events.
High Tone Anticipation in Luganda: Phonology and Phonetics
YELENA FAINLEIB & ELISABETH SELKIRK

This talk treats the phonology and phonetics of high tone plateaus created by High Tone Anticipation (HTA) in Luganda. Building on Hyman and Katamba (e.g. 2010), Pak (2008) and our own investigation, we present data concerning the distribution of HTA that indicates (i) that a %L edge tone marks the left edge of Luganda clauses/intonational phrases and (ii) that the right edge of the clause/intonational phrase may be marked by a H% edge tone, which itself undergoes HTA. This distribution of nonlexical edge tones is central role to an account of the distribution of HTA plateaus in Luganda sentences.

Experimental investigation shows that the high plateaus created by spreading from H% (H%TA) are distinct from the ones created by spreading from lexical H (LexHTA). The former show intonational phrase-final lowering, declination in F0 from beginning to end, and a lesser rise at the left edge. This difference in the phonetic realization of the plateaus is ascribable to the presence of a nonlexical L tone appearing after the plateau-final lexical H, due to the raising in F0 of a H preceding a L (Laniran and Clements 2003). In Luganda a L tone is inserted following the final lexical H of any phrase, so appears at the right of the LexHTA plateau, but is absent following the boundary H% of the H%TA plateau. This greater F0 of plateau-final H before L appears to affect the entire plateau, including the rise at its left edge.

A Comparison of Two Somali Dialects: Self-Destructive Feeding v. Opacity
KEVIN GABBARD

I will present a relatively rare case of self-destructive feeding rule ordering whose reverse order is actually counterfeeding (observed in Standard Somali) and show how it differs from a more straightforward case of opacity, counter-bleeding (observed in a dialect of Mogadishu) using vowel harmony data from both dialects.

In Standard Somali, mid-vowels trigger debuccalization of following dorsal consonants, which creates the environment that permits the mid-vowels to undergo harmony; I show this is a self-destructive feeding interaction and not standard opacity. In a dialect spoken in Mogadishu continuants more generally permit vowel harmony, but only mid-vowels are targeted; I show that, in contrast to Standard Somali, this is a case of counter-bleeding opacity. The primary difference between these dialects in terms of their surface forms is slight; in Standard Somali only some word-final mid-vowels, those that take the masculine affix, undergo vowel harmony, whereas in the Mogadishu dialect all word-final mid-vowels undergo harmony when followed by a gender affix. This slight dialect difference has profound implications regarding rule interactions, and the interaction of rules in these two dialects represent major differences within the typology of opaque rule interactions.
Unmasking the Swahili Orthography:
The Challenge for the Documentation of the Minority Languages of Tanzania
JOASH GAMBARAGE

This presentation discusses some surprising findings about the phonemic vowel inventory of Swahili (G42). Swahili is believed to have only 5 vowels [ieaou], which are reflected in the language’s orthography. I demonstrate that Swahili is a 7-vowel language ([ieőioou]) with contrastive tense [+ATR] and lax [-ATR] mid vowels. Examples of forms with [-ATR] mid vowels ([ie, ɔ]) are shown in (1) and forms with [+ATR] mid vowels are in (2). In this language, a low vowel is systematically retracted and high vowels are systematically advanced.

To fully characterize the distribution of mid vowels, I invoke a theory of [ATR] markedness, (cf. de Lacy 2002; Casali 2003; Hume 2011). The theory contributes to our understanding of why [-ATR] mid vowels such as those in (1) undergo retrogressive assimilation when followed by a [+ATR] suffix, (3). I will argue that this process is phonological and not co-articulatory.

(1) a. tembëa 'walk'
   b. sôma 'read'

(2) a. upande 'side'
   b. chambo 'bait'

(3) a. /tembëa/ tembe-eni 'you (pl.) walk'
    b. /sôma/ som-eni 'you (pl) read'

I show that [ATR] harmony processes in Swahili reflect a kind of [+ATR] dominance phenomenon described in Kimatumbi (see Odden 1991) where [-ATR] vowels never spread their [-ATR] feature and are the target of a dominant [+ATR] feature that spreads leftward only.

Finally, I address the influence of the Swahili orthographic vowel-inventory in the documentation of the minority languages of Tanzania.

Nigerian Hip Hop Language:
Lexical Manipulations in an Emerging Morphology
TOYIN GBOGI & OLANIKE ORIE

In the last one and a half decades, the popularity of African American hip hop music on the African continent has dwindled to allow for a plural ascension of varieties of national hip hops whose linguistic mediums both converge and diverge to/from the mainstream African American hip hop music and culture. In this paper, we focus on the later—that is, linguistic deviations—with a specific focus on emerging morphological trends in the music of artistes who use mixed words from Yoruba, Nigerian Pidgin English, and Nigerian English. The observed patterns are as follows: (1) Canonical vowel-initial Yoruba nouns are turned into consonant-initial via consonant copy (oko ‘penis’ becomes koko), (2) vowel-final Yoruba utterances are truncated to consonant-final forms (yɔdi ‘ruck out butt’ becomes yɔd), (3) Dummy vowel suffixes are added to consonant-final English words (kid becomes kida), (4) English words are truncated to bimoraic forms (bitch becomes bii, motherfucker becomes mɔf), (5) English and Slavic suffixes are added to lexical items (mofo ‘have nothing’ becomes mofo-s, oko ‘penis’ becomes koko-lei ‘little penis’, haba ‘exclamation’ becomes haba-tically, yapa ‘deviate’ becomes yapaya-ski), and (6) New ideophones blending Yoruba and English sounds are used to vividly express ideas, or imagery (ʧagadaba ‘wide open-eyed look’).

We show that these patterns are used as strategies by Nigerian hip hop artistes for various reasons, which include but are not limited to circumventing censorship, performing bi/multilingual identities, and foregrounding. We conclude this paper by drawing attention to the implications of these creative deviations for language change.
‘One Tone per Word’ is not Enough: 
Revisiting Diagnostics for Somali Wordhood

CHRISTOPHER R. GREEN & MICHELLE E. MORRISON

The concept of wordhood has received little detailed attention in Somali. Most definitions of Somali wordhood are based solely on phonological criteria and mention only that a word has at most a single accent, and therefore a single H tone. These definitions set aside implications and shortcomings that this diagnostic has for Somali morphosyntax and prosodic phonology and fall short of defining a mechanism for what have been referred as ‘accent shifts’ in a number of constructions. The overall goal of this paper is to revisit the notion of wordhood in Somali by offering a more detailed account of the distribution of tone across a variety of constructions, thereby evaluating its (un)suitability as a diagnostic for wordhood from both grammatical and prosodic perspectives. We also aim to better define prosodic structure above the level of the word in Somali and to posit a principled cline of Somali wordhood which accounts for both phonological and grammatical criteria. We conclude that it is impossible to posit a single definition of Somali wordhood that is applicable across all situations. Instead, we present criteria treating prosodic and grammatical words distinctly, and note that, while these two word types often coincide with one another, it is necessary to recognize situations where a single grammatical word may be comprised of more than one phonological word; in other instances multiple grammatical words combine to create a single phonological word.

A Proposal for the Resolution of Mutually Exclusive Affix Positions in Ciyao

REBECCA HALE

In Paradigm Function Morphology, it is usual to model affix position classes by an ordered sequence of inflectional rule blocks such that each rule block determines how (or whether) a particular affix position is filled. In this model, competition among inflectional rules is assumed to be limited to members of the same rule block; i.e., that rule blocks do not interact by preventing the realization of another. In this paper, I present evidence from Ciyao that apparently disconfirms this assumption and therefore suggests that a more general conception of rule competition is necessary. The Ciyao data appear to imply that an affixation rule may in some cases override a rule introducing an affix occupying another, distinct position. While there are still unanswered questions regarding rule ordering and much more data to be explored, the following solution could provide an explanation for the mutual exclusivity of two affix positions. I propose that each inflectional rule R carries two indices-- the first, as usual, specifying the position of the affix introduced by R. The second, however, specifies the position(s) that R satisfies. By default, these two indices identify the same position. However, in the case of rules which generate an affix block precluding the realization of an affix in another block, the second index specifies two affix positions—both of the aforementioned. With the latter satisfied, no other rules which fill it may be applied.
On the Decomposition of ‘Need’
CLAIRE HALPERT & MICHAEL DIERCKS

In this talk, we demonstrate that a variety of Bantu languages, including Zulu, Swahili, Kuria, and others, constitute a previously-unattested pattern in the syntactic expression of predicative possession and need. In particular, these languages fill an apparent typological gap that Harves and Kayne (2012) (HK) argued to arise from from a universal lexical decomposition of need cross-linguistically (see also Antonov and Jacques, to appear). While these Bantu languages form a counter-example to HK’s analysis, we propose that a possible source for the divergence comes from the unusual properties of Case in the Bantu family.

(1) Harves-Kayne Generalization (revised): All languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to need are languages that have an accusative-case-assigning verb of possession.

A number of Bantu languages express possession without transitive have – but nonetheless have transitive need, in contradiction to HK’s generalization. Rather than outright rejecting HK’s analysis, though, we suggest that the answer may lie in a more nuanced revision of HK’s generalization that centers around the assignment of accusative case in possession constructions rather than the presence of a have verb itself. Ongoing research on the Case properties of Bantu languages suggests that accusative not a property of Bantu transitive predicates (e.g. Halpert, 2012; Carstens and Mletshe, 2013; Van der Wal, 2012; Baker, 2003, 2008; Diercks, 2012; Harford Perez, 1985). The exceptionality of these languages to HK’s generalization is therefore unsurprising, if the generalization is truly linked to Case, as (1) suggests.

Language Loss and Change: Structural Convergence and Divergence in Moribund Language Tiefo (Burkina Faso)
ABBIE HANTGAN

Although the Tiefo people are numerous, with estimates ranging from 12,000 - 15,000, according to 1985 Burkina census, speakers are sparse, numbered at 1000 by SIL in 1995. The area in which the Tiefo live in Burkina Faso is south of Bobo-Dioulasso in the provinces of Comoé and Houet, in five departments therein. There are approximately 20 small Tiefo villages, spanning about 1,500 km. The Tiefo language, tentatively classified within the Gur group, is only spoken in three of these villages. This paper seeks to answer why, out of twenty villages, do only three villages still speak their language, and why the Tiefo language’s classification within the Gur group is tentative. The proposed reason follows the history of Jula invaders at the turn of the century which, coupled with the villages’ geographic isolation, forced an involuntary erosion of a previously intact Gur language. Further, assumptions about the inevitability of language loss are challenged.
A Grammatical Sketch of Maay Maay
HEIDI HARLEY, ROLANDO COTO SOLANO, BRYAN JAMES GORDON & ELLY ZIMMER

Maay Maay, a Cushitic language spoken by an ethnically Bantu population of southern Somalia, has not yet been the subject of a general grammatical description to our knowledge. We present an overview of our sketch, based on our consultation with two members of a Somali Bantu refugee community in Tucson.

Maay Maay displays a range of phonological, morphosyntactic and other features variably distinct from those of neighboring Cushitic languages including Somali. There are 20 consonant phonemes, 5 phonemically distinct vowel qualities and a vowel-length distinction. Voiced stops lenite intervocally, and vowel epenthesis is highly frequent, with both the occurrence and quality of epenthetic vowels not fully predictable from segmental context.

Word order, too, is highly variable, with basic head-finality obscured by frequent SVO word order associated with the preverbal focus marker may-, which is in complementary distribution with verb-final negation. Wh-movement is obligatory for some items, optional for others, and prohibited for others. Similarly, nominal number marking is obligatory, optional or prohibited depending on context. Definiteness is indicated by a suffix, and verbal applicatives and nominal possessive constructions are used in place of adpositions. Morphologically productive categories include three persons, two numbers, three cases, two genders, four applicatives and an array of tense/aspect configurations.

Applicative Theory Applied to Wolof
CHRISTEN HARRIS

Drawing on new data from Wolof, I argue in this presentation that current syntactic analyses of applicatives cannot adequately account for instrumental and locative applicatives in Wolof. Wolof is changing rapidly and as such is unstable. I further argue that benefactive and dative applicatives, being very common, have remained stable. Instrumental and locative applicatives are rarer and are thus not stable and not as readily acquired or accepted by younger speakers.

1. Japp-al naa Ousmane jën yi. Benefactive Applicative
   catch-APPL 1SG Ousmane fish DEF.PL
   ‘I caught the fish (pl) for Ousmane.’

2. Dóor-e naa xale bi ak yet. Instrumental Applicative
   hit-APPL1SG child DEF.PL with cane
   ‘I hit the child with a cane.’

I argue that benefactive arguments are introduced by High APPL and show the predictions of this analysis are obtained. I further argue that locative applicatives are not applicatives in the sense of Pylkkänen (2008), but prepositional complements. Instrumental applicatives are argued to be in some intermediary place between applicative and prepositional complement. I show instrumental arguments can not be introduced by High APPL as they are generated lower than the theme. Neither is Low APPL is not a viable source for the instrument, assuming Pylkkänen’s semantic definition, as there is no transfer of possession between the instrument and the theme objects. However, instrumental objects do show similarities with benefactive object properties in applicatives. Instrumentals show properties corresponding with both applicatives and PP complements because speakers are merging the two constructions.
Some scholars confuse metaphors for similes. According to Israel, Harding and Tobin (2004) similes are different from metaphors because they are direct to the point than metaphors. Whereas I agree that in general similes give rise to one direct literal meaning, especially when it is used with the verb, I also have realised that it may be possible for similes to give rise to multiple meanings, mostly figurative in nature, especially when such similes are used without verbs in sentences. The aim in this paper is to investigate the meanings of similes associated with the two kinds of similes constructions mentioned above, namely, the constructions in which similes occur without the Xitsonga intransitive Psychological verbs, and constructions in which similes occur with the Xitsonga Intransitive Psychological verbs. The meanings associated with similes of both kinds of constructions highlighted above which will be discussed in this paper will be in the form of semantic features. The study will make use of two approaches in semantics and syntax. The theoretical framework that will be adopted in this study is that of Lakoff’s (1992) Conceptual Theory of Metaphor. In terms of this theory, the generalizations governing poetic metaphorical expressions are not in language, but thought. The theory makes use of cross-domain mappings, in which one mental domain is conceptualised in terms of another. In this study, the idea of conceptual mappings as advocated by this theory will be used to analyse Xitsonga similes.

Internal Structure of Anaang Proverbial Ideophone

MICHAEL A. ITORO

This paper centres on the description of the internal structure of ideophones used in Anaang proverb formation, with a view to providing insight into the structural pattern of proverbial ideophones. The paper aimed at analyzing, describing and classifying the phonosemantic characteristics of Anaang proverbial ideophones. In doing so, specific data on proverbial ideophones was elucidated from a documented data collected during a field trip for the recordings of aspect of Anaang verbal arts. The elucidated data was transcribed and used for analysis using a socio-phonological interface model. The outcome of the analysis showed that, although proverbial ideophone is a sociolinguistic concept, it has implications on the phonological structure of the language. Findings showed that the internal structure of phonological ideophones comprised single initial (optional) consonant segment, followed by an obligatory vowel and closed by a single optional consonant (C)V(C). However, the closing element of the syllable cannot occur without the syllable initial consonant. In other words a VC structure of the syllable is not a syllable permissible structure in Anaang. Where ill-formed structures occur, such words were modified by segment deletion/insertion rules, or by syllable pruning rule to repair such words to comply with the Anaang phonotactics. One can therefore conclude that words in Anaang are patterned to comply with the internal structure of the syllable. And that all phonological rules occur to respect the syllable or such rules would be disregarded. This paper is therefore a contribution to the understanding of the relationship between phonology and sociolinguistics interface.
Lexicographic Standards of Selected Multilingual Dictionaries: The Case of Ethiopian Trilingual English-Afaan Oromoo-Amharic Dictionaries
BENIYAM JEMBERE

The grand objective of this research is to evaluate the standards of selected multilingual dictionaries (English-Oromo-Amharic Trilingual Dictionaries) from the perspective of lexicography. As this would be a dictionary-research, the contents of these publications are thoroughly described, analyzed and criticized to reach on the findings which enable us to unmask these products based on the lexicographic scales- of the maximal standards expected in the light of the art and craft of dictionary-making. Basically, then, it is of qualitative research type. Due to the difficulty and unmanageability of dealing with every aspect of the dictionaries— as the dictum calls the compilation and study of such works ‘drudgery’, representative samples are taken purposively for the optimal results in order to accomplish the study effectively and efficiently. As a stepping-stone, the review of related literature section in this study is used as a frame of reference upon which deep insights into lexicographic principles can be applied for the investigation of the dictionaries liable to criticisms in this case. This study, therefore, reveals that the dictionaries are a nuisance to users and cluttered as far as the quest for up-to-the standard reference is the concern. Their inadequacies stem: first from the lack of appropriate guides in their front matters, second, from the incorrect/non equivalent meanings/translations in their entries, at large, and third, from the inconsistent or inaccurate ordering of the linguistic information in their entries.

Grammaticalization and Complexity in Eastern Bantu
KYLE JERRO

Recent work in linguistic typology has questioned the dominant assumption in linguistics that all languages are equally complex, and some authors have argued that high amounts of second-language learning results in the decomplexification of a language (Kusters 2003, McWhorter 2008, 2011). This study investigates the decomplexification hypothesis in Swahili, a Bantu language famous for its use as a lingua franca throughout much of East Africa. In order to test the claim, I compare Swahili to five related Bantu languages spoken in East Africa (Lingala, Haya, Kinyarwanda, Gikuyu, and Chaga—none of which is used as a widespread lingua franca). Using various metrics proposed in the literature—such as phoneme inventory, number of morphological category distinctions, and rarity of specific forms—I compare the rates of complexity between the control languages and Swahili. Based on previous theories on the link between decomplexification and language contact, it is predicted that Swahili will be systematically simpler than its sister languages. However, contrary to this prediction, the results of this study show that Swahili exhibits comparable—and, at times, more—complexity than the control languages, although it does radically differ in many structural ways from the other languages. I outline a model of language contact that captures both directions of (de)complexification, and claim that the details of specific grammaticalization processes result in variable amounts of (de)complexification across languages, suggesting that the Swahili case study can be accounted for in part by its prolonged contact with Arabic.
Structural Transfer in Third Language Acquisition:  
The Case of Lingala-French Speakers Acquiring English  
PHILOTHE M. KABASELE

This paper tests the claims of Cumulative Enhancement Model, the ‘L2 status factor’, and the Typological Primacy Model in investigating how L1 Lingala, L2 French speakers express in English: (1). Events which took place and were completed in the past; (2). Events which started in the past and have implication in the present. The linguistic phenomena understudy inform us that English uses the simple past in (1) while French and Lingala use the ‘passé composé’ and the remote or recent past respectively. In (2), English uses the present perfect while French uses the simple present and Lingala the immediate past. The study circumscribes tense similarities and differences between the three languages. The research questions run as:

1. Which language between the L1, L2, or both L1 & L2 takes precedence in L3 syntactic transfer?

2. Is the L2 the privileged source of syntactic transfer even when the L1 offers some syntactic similarities with the L3?

3. When form and function compete which of the two takes precedence in syntactic transfer?

The results rule out the claims of ‘the L2 status factor’ and CEM because there were respectively transfer from the L1 and negative transfer both in the context of past until now event. The study has not offered any answer in relation to potential competition between form and function since there was no transfer observed. Both syntactic systems are accessible when they are dissimilar to the TL. Other factors might have interfered to determine the system which overrides.

Imbrication in Lunda  
BONIFACE KAWASHA

Imbrication, as a phonological process, has been described in some Bantu languages (e.g. Ashton et al. 1954, Givón 1970, Mould 1973), Kisseberth and Abasheik 1974, Bastin 1983, Hyman 1995 and 1998). It is generally assumed that only the inflectional perfective suffix -ile triggers imbrication in Bantu languages (Kula 2002, Key 2010, Morisson 2012). However, this paper shows that this is not the case in Lunda, a language spoken in the northwestern region of Zambia. This does not seem to be the case in this language despite the fact that it shares certain features such as consonant deletion, vowel coalescence, and gliding. The phenomenon not only applies to the perfective suffix, but operates with certain verb bases when they are extended with causative, applicative, impositive, and manner of walking and intensive extensions. In addition, while imbrication in many Bantu languages involves the insertion of the vowel of the triggering suffix before the final consonant of the verb base, it causes elision of the verb base consonant resulting in the fusion of the vowel of suffix with that of the verb in Lunda. Furthermore, imbrication occurs under the following conditions: (i) the verb base must be at least two syllables; (ii) it must end in one of the two segments /l/, /n/ and to some extent /m/; and (iii) the final vowel of the verb base has to be /a/, /u/ and /о/. The Lunda imbrication type can be accounted for using the Optimality Theory to explain the language-specific rankings assigned to universal constraints.
This paper describes, and accounts for, properties of a KiLega nominal exclamative displaying the Neg(ative marker) tă NP sequence and corresponding to a wh-exclamative in English or French. If what expresses degree in an exclamative (Collins 2006), the issue that arises concerns the source of the exclamative reading of the tă NP sequence. It is proposed, and shown, that the structure giving rise to the wh-exclamative interpretation involves an NP or DP with an additional layer comprising both a Deg(ree) head above NP or DP and an evaluative constituent in the specifier of said Deg-head. If an exclamative talks about abnormal or unexpected situations while making reference to a degree that exceeds a specified standard (Elliott 1974) in KiLega as well, then it is the standard degree that is being negated. A feature that stands out is that unlike in English or in French, a degree reading of an adjective in an attributive position is not possible in an exclamative. Rather, the degree head composes with the complement of a locative PP headed by ku to the right to give rise to a scale and a degree reading. When the PP is not overt, the scale is open-ended. With a sound analysis of degree words or evaluative markers, it is possible to eliminate the so-called diminutive and augmentative noun classes from the grammar of Bantu languages.

Evidence for VP in VSO Kisongo Maasai
REBECCA KIRKLE

1. Introduction. In VSO Kisongo Maasai (KM), ellipsis and other tests provide evidence for the existence of an underlying verb phrase constituent, supporting an account of KM word order patterns consistent with the hypothesis of a universal base.

2. Simple tenses. In simple sentences, main verbs raise to the left of the subject. When two TPs sharing a transitive predicate are conjoined, VP-ellipsis in the second TP is possible but strands the verb. This suggests V-to-T movement, with the verb moving from its original position in the vP across the subject to T, leaving any objects alone in the vP for potential ellipsis.

(1) a. ɛ̃tadwaa Luka Maria n-ɛ̃tadwaa st-n̥n̥e Jonas (Maria) PST.see Luca Mary and-PST.see also-3SG John Mary
‘Luca saw Mary and John did too’

b. …[TP V-v-T … [VP <V> OB]] VP-ellipsis affects only the direct object because V has vacated VP

3. Adding auxiliaries. When an auxiliary occupies T in this type of construction, the main verb surfaces in the vP left-adjacent to its object. The resulting Aux-SVO word order allows the verb to elide from the second TP along with the object.

(2) a. ɛ̃d̥ipa Luka ana ɛ̃nda n-ɛ̃d̥ipa st-n̥n̥e ɛ̃ng̥ra (ana ɛ̃nda) PRF Luca eat food and-PRF also-3SG child eat food
‘Luca has eaten food and the child has (eaten food) too’

b. …[TP AUX-T … [VP V OB]] VP-ellipsis affects both V and its object because V has not raised
A Corpus Study on Nominalized Verbs in Kiswahili
NICK KLOEHN

One of the primary features common to all members of the Bantu language family is the presence of a rich noun class system (Heine 1982) whose subcategories, to varying degrees, are motivated by semantic features. Categorically, noun classes are indicated by a word initial prefix that varies by semantics feature and by number. However, as has been noted by Katamba (2003), for certain nominalized verbs, the presence of a word final suffix will indicate an additional semantic feature akin to derivation. This suffix (-aji) which is loosely equivalent to the English suffix -er indicating the doer of an action, is associated with the derivation of a verb to a noun in which the resulting noun is the agent of that action. The aim of the current study is to look at the degree to which this process occurs in Kiswahili via a token vs. type frequency corpus analysis (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili) of the affix and the words which contain it (Bybee, 1995). The results suggest that the affix will be actively decomposed, raising further empirical questions about the relationship between morphological productivity in languages with agglutinating morphology.

On the Syntax of Causative Constructions in Chichewa
NICK KLOEHN

Alsina (1992) argues that the syntactic alternations in Chichewa causative constructions exist as a consequence of the universal causative element's (CAUSE) ability to assign 3 specific θ-roles. This paper argues against this notion by providing evidence that θ-role assignment occurs as a result of merge operations between CAUSE and the semantic root with which it merges. This paper assumes a bieventive analysis of CAUSE in which it is not the agent of θ-role assignment, but in which it is a relation between a causing and caused event (Pylkkänen, 1998, 2002). Furthermore, this paper works within the framework of the Minimalist Program, as well as with insights from Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1994).
The Acoustic Vowel Space of Anyi in Light of the Dispersion Theory and the Quantal Theory of Speech

ETTIEN KOFFI

The proponents of the Dispersion Theory of acoustic phonetics claim that languages maximize vowel intelligibility by spacing pairs of adjacent vowels in such a way as to avoid an acoustic interference between them (Ladefoged 2006:222, 263). This view is behind the claim that crosslinguistically F1 and F2 distances between neighboring vowels tend to be 200 Hz and 400 Hz respectively. This view is also reflected in the idealized cardinal vowel quadrants found in the phonology and phonetic literature where vowels are generally shown as evenly spaced. The Quantal Theory of Speech accounts for vowel intelligibility differently (Stevens 1989, 2010). It posits that languages have stable areas in the acoustic vowel space where anchor vowels are located. Intelligibility with all other vowels is determined in relation to the location of anchor vowels. The number of anchor vowels ranges from three to five depending on the vowel inventory of the language under consideration. In three-vowel systems, the anchor vowels are /a, i, u/. In languages with five vowels or more, the anchor vowels are /a, i, e, o, u/. The goal of this presentation is to assess the intelligibility of Anyi vowels in light of the claims made by these two acoustic phonetic theories. Anyi is a West African language of the Akan family. In a 2012 and 2013 fieldwork, I recorded 10 Anyi speakers and studied their vowels acoustically, as recommended by Ladefoged (2006:216) and following the methodology set forth in Peterson and Barney (1952). The nine phonemic vowels of Anyi are evenly divided into four [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels. The vowel /a/ is phonologically and phonetically underspecified with regard to [ATR]. Overall, my findings accord more with the Quantal Theory of Speech than with the Dispersion Theory. However, my findings do not completely align with the view that /e/ and /o/ are universal anchor vowels in five-vowel systems. The acoustic vowel space of Anyi seems to indicate that /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are anchor vowels. This is an important finding because it leaves open the possibility that in some languages, [-ATR] vowels can serve as anchor vowels.

Inflectional Morphology of the GÃ Verbs and the INFL Movement

CECILIA KOTEY

This paper examines the morphological behaviour of Gâ verbs in relation to pre-verbal elements and inflectional morphemes in the language. The components of the INFL node with which the verbs relate include: tense, aspect, mood and polarity (TAMP). Within the basic clause in Gâ, the INFL is located between the subject-NP and the VP. Unlike the phenomenon of verb movement (i.e., V-to-I), as found in languages like French (Pollock, 1989); it is the INFL that moves unto the verb in Gâ (i.e., I-to-V), a phenomenon that is hitherto known as ‘affix hopping’. Using the concept of ‘movement’, as introduced within the Principles and Parameters (P&P) theory and later modified in the Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky, 1995) and other subsequent relevant works, this paper presents a morphosyntactic analysis of verbal inflection in Gâ. From the available data, it was observed that tone plays an important role in the inflectional movement. The paper concludes that while some elements within the INFL node are subject to movement, there are others that tend to remain in-situ.
On Focus Marking in Kuria
MEREDITH LANDMAN & RODRIGO RANERO

This paper examines focus marking in Kuria (Narrow Bantu E.43). In particular, we propose an account of the syntax/semantics of the prefix /ne-/, which Mwita (2008) labels a focus marker. This prefix displays a varied syntactic distribution, posing a puzzle as to what semantically unifies all of its uses. For instance, in focus constructions, /ne-/ obligatorily appears on a fronted (i.e. focused) phrase, (1), while in simple declaratives, /ne-/ obligatorily appears pre-verbally, (2):

1) *(n-)aba-saacha *(m)-ba-a-mah-er-e eng-ombe
   NE-2-man     (NE-)2SA-PST-see-PRF-FV 9-cow
   ‘It was the men who saw the cow.’

2) ba-saacha *(m-)ba-a-mah-er-e eng-ombe
   2-man       (NE-)2SA-PST-see-PRF-FV 9-cow
   ‘The men saw the cow.’

In line with previous analyses of similar markers in Bantu (Schwarz 2007 for Kikuyu and Abels and Muriungi 2008 for Kiitharaka), we analyze /ne-/ uniformly as a focus marker that arises in a focus phrase in the left periphery. We support this account of /ne-/ by presenting novel data that suggest that even when /ne-/ occurs pre-verbally, it still marks focus (VP focus or sentential focus.) We also show how /ne-/ differs syntactically from similar markers in other languages, for example, Kuria allows for the focus marker to appear internal to the focused constituent, in contrast with data from Kiitharaka (Abels & Muriungi 2009) and other languages (see Hartmann & Zimmermann 2009 for Guruntum). This paper thus discusses a range of data patterns relating to the Kuria prefix /ne-/, offering insight into a syntax/semantic puzzle as well as cross-linguistic variation in the realization of focus.

Structural Restrictions on H Tone Spread in Xitsonga
SEUGHUN J. LEE & ELISABETH SELKIRK

Previous studies report that H tone spread (HTS) in Xitsonga spreads rightward from a preceding word to the penult of a following unary NP; H tone does not spread to a noun followed by modifier. Selkirk 2011 successfully accounts for the reported blocking of HTS, but fails to account for spreading onto the classifier prefix (CL), and for the absence of HTS blocking in a broader range of branching phrases.

Additional data suggests that HTS is blocked only at the left edge of syntactic phrases that are headed by an overt lexical item (LexP). This generalization captures that HTS from the verb is not blocked at the left edge of the vP that dominates the two objects of the verb. It also captures the fact that HTS spreads into the CL of a following noun.

The revised notion of HTS being blocked only at left edge of a binary LexP allows an account for the puzzling new fact that H tone can spread into a Noun followed by the quantifier ‘all’. Since a quantifier is not a modifier, it could plausibly be the head of a nonlexical syntactic projection that dominates the NP headed by the Noun.

We suggest that modifying Selkirk 2011 so that a constraint MatchLexP is subordinate to BinMin(ϕ,ω) accounts for all the patterns of HTS blocking above. As for the general constraint MatchPhrase new evidence shows that it is present in grammar, though lower-ranked than MatchLexP in Xitsonga.
Syllable Weight and Syllable-timed Languages

DEMOLA LEWIS

There is a long standing supposition that syllables in syllable-timed languages (SyTL) are of equal weight. The logic is that speakers of SyTL lend equal stress to every syllable as a result of tone or accent. In stress-timed languages (SrTL), syllable weight hinges on intrinsic heaviness of vowels and their optional coda, which constitute the rhyme. This paper takes issue with the standpoint of syllable weight equivalence in SyTL by exploring three phenomena: the pitch depressor-elevator effect of onset obstruents, hence the attendant resistance of obstruents to (de)voicing; the impact of intrinsic vowel qualities on syllable weight; and the preference for the deletion of non-high pitched syllables via contraction in the natural speech of three SyTL. Verbs with minimally paired first syllables (i.e. containing onsets with reverse voicing) were pitch-tracked for onset depressor-elevator effects. The preponderance of high and low pitch within syllables with corresponding voiceless and voiced obstruent onsets was established by checking their frequency of occurrence in spontaneous oral narratives. It was found that syllable weight in SyTL is a conspiratorial phenomenon premised on the qualities of vowels, tone and optional onset consonants. The characterization is such that a strong syllable is one with a pitch elevator consonant, a heavy vowel and consequent high tone. In SyTL, the rhyme is a combination of an optional onset and an obligatory vowel. Thus, the prosodic foot of SyTL is the distance from a strong syllable to another with cumulative strength in trochaic fashion.

The Phonetic Status of [æ] in Akan Revisited

CHARLOTTE FOFO LOMOTEIY

In Akan, [æ] is regarded as an allophone of [a] and described as “a quality that ranges from a front vowel quality close to [ɛ] in the Asante dialect, to a more central quality in the Fante sub-dialects in which it occurs” (Dolphyne, 1988, p. 6-7). While researchers appear to agree on the status (phonemic/phonetic) of [æ] in Twi, they have differing opinions on the same for Fante. For instance, there are those who suggest that it is an allophone in some sub-dialects of Fante (e.g. Abakah, 1978; Boadi, 1991; Dolphyne, 2006); those who argue that it does not exist at all (O’Keefe, 2003), and still, others who claim that it actually exists in Fante (Abakah, 2002; Lomotey, 2008). It appears that the description and status of [æ] in Akan leaves more questions than answers. In fact, Lomotey (2008) suggests that [æ] may not be an allophone in Twi, but another realization of [ɪ] or [ɛ] because speakers produce it almost the same as [ɪ] and [ɛ]. The present study extends the results of Lomotey (2008), and argues that if [æ] actually exists in Twi, then it may be undergoing or have undergone (a) raising (Benson, Fox & Balkman, 2011; Podile, 2002) or (b) merging (Labov, 1994).
The Prosodic Realization of Focus in Awutu: A Preliminary Analysis

CHARLOTTE FOFO LOMOTey

In any language, speakers utilize different means of communicating the most important parts of the message. One of these important parts of the message is focus – new information, or contrast (Ladd, 1996; Baart, 1987). The focus of an utterance is often made the prominent part on syllables, on words, or on groups of words. Cross-linguistically, focus is marked syntactically, prosodically and morphologically (Büring 2009; Göksel & Özsoy 2003; Gordon 2008; Rialland & Robert, 2001). Prosodically, the most common ways of marking focus are pitch perturbation, higher intensity and lengthening (Cooper et al 1985, Davenport and Hannah, 2005; Eefting, 1990; Schwarzschild 1999). For instance, while a combination of pitch, amplitude and duration is used to mark focus in languages like English, German, and Dutch (e.g. Gussenhoven, 1999), others like Danish and Spanish cue focus by using only pitch and amplitude (Nooteboom & Kryut 1987, Toledo 1989). In spite of the extensive literature on how languages mark focus prosodically, there seems to be no agreement on the actual roles of the individual prosodic features on focused words (or syllables). For example, Kochanski, Grabe, & Coleman (2005) argue that loudness lends more to marking focus, while fundamental frequency (or F0) lends little. Sentences from six Awutu speakers were subjected to acoustic analysis to determine how they use prosody to mark focus. Results suggest that these speakers use duration as a major prosodic cue in marking focus.

ATR Vowel Harmony and Vowel Quality: Are they Related?

KOFI ADU MANYAH

Twi, which has the tongue root vowel harmony system, is the language under study. The vowel system is divided into 2 groups: Advanced [+ATR] and Unadvanced [-ATR] Tongue Root positions. The aim of this paper is two-fold: some phonological aspects of Twi vowel harmony are described, and acoustic measurements are carried out to investigate for differences between vowel quality in the +ATR and -ATR groups.

Four adult native speakers with no speech or hearing impairment were chosen for this experiment. The corpus was made up of +ATR and -ATR contrasts for the short and long categories in a C1VC2 context where C1 is /p/ V is the short and long +ATR or -ATR vowel, and C2 is /k/ of a carrier phrase. First, by means of a PRAAT sound editor, the acoustic analysis was performed. Measurements of duration were taken for the target vowel and the post-vocalic consonant /k/, thus obtaining 3 different durations: the target vowel, the post-vocalic consonant and the syllable V+C durations. Second, to control vowel quality for the two phonological categories, formant values (F1, F2 and F3) were extracted at three equidistant points within each of the +ATR and -ATR vowels: at 25%, 50% and 75% of the vowel duration.

The evidence from our acoustic data is the tendency for +ATR class of vowels to have, consistently, lower F1 values and higher F2 and F3 values than the -ATR group of vowels.
Challenges Facing the Development of Southern Isindbele as Language of Teaching and Learning in the Democratic South Africa
PIET JAN MASILELA

Language is the symbolic heritage instrument of mankind; it controls and reveals the significant cultural background of a people.

Culture is defined as:

*The system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artefacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning.*

Edward Taylor (1897)

We learn language through our culture and culture through our language, therefore, language is of the most significant instrument of culture. IsiNdebele is one of the democratic languages enshrined in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. It is one of the marginalize language which did not enjoy the fullest development of its kind during the era of apartheid government. It was not even counted as one of the language of teaching and learning by the regime government. During the inception of the democratic government, isiNdebele was then recognised as a language of teaching and learning and this indicates that in South Africa the last language to be in the system of development was isiNdebele.

The aim of this paper sought to reveal or to investigate elements or factors that are challenging the development of Southern isiNdebele as a language of teaching and learning in various academic disciplines. This will be accomplished by analysing the written literature materials and gathering information through interviews by using qualitative approach method which will be coupled with primary and secondary research method.

Combating Negative Attitudes:
Key Step in the Process of Reclaiming African Indigenous Languages
MARTHA MICHIeka

“It’s not skill in his mother-tongue which makes a child succeed in life, but how much English he knows. Is it going to be one type of school for the rich and another for the poor? At the end of the day we are expected to pass examinations in English!” (ADEA, 2004: 38). This quote by a minister participating in a meeting discussing and deliberating on the language of education in Africa portrays some underlying attitudes that impact use of African languages, not just in education but in other social arenas as well.

This paper investigates the existing negative attitudes towards African indigenous languages. Using results from a survey of 490 Kenyan youths, as well as several comments posted online involving an ongoing public reaction to a recent directive by the Kenyan Ministry of education requiring use of ethnic languages or “languages of the cathment area” as languages of instruction in lower primary schools, the paper examines probable causes of these negative attitudes. The rest of the paper discusses why these attitudes must be corrected if our African languages are to survive. The paper concludes with some suggestions of possible ways to fight these attitudes and what some speech communities are doing to preserve their languages.
A Pragmatic Methodology for Empowering Endangered African Languages: The Case of Scientific Lingála
BIENVENU SENE MONGABA

The issue of endangered languages is usually tackled by describing them and the sociolinguistic framework leading to their being endangered. We maintain that if native speakers of the endangered language do not produce elaborate content, that language will remain threatened.

Our pragmatic approach consists in working entirely in the endangered language. In our case, that means we have conceived and written our work in Lingála. This has allowed us to improve the production of terms and elaborate discourse in Lingála. We started off trying to explain concept in Lingála. We argue that trying to entirely explain a concept in Lingála spontaneously generates terms in that language, since working directly in the ‘target language’ allows the native speaker to draw upon his/her subconscious mechanisms to find the right term corresponding to the concept in his/her language. If some terms nevertheless remained elusive, we first checked bilingual dictionaries or we asked other native speakers, in particular Congolese scientists.

We have coined scientific neologies by using Lingála derivation and compounding mechanisms. Since it is then necessary to fit those terms in a discourse, we have done so by writing a chemistry textbook. We believe that, in order to empower endangered African languages, African researchers have to adopt this pragmatic approach - working and producing knowledge in the target language.

The Disjoint/Conjoint Form Distinction in Sotho and Nguni Languages
IRINA MONICH

In some Bantu languages the verb may have a different form depending on whether it is followed by a verbal argument or an adjunct, or not. This difference, known as conjoint/disjoint distinction, is illustrated in (1) for Setswana.

Using tonal evidence I show that the disjoint form presents a recursive PhWd (Phonological Word) with an internal PhWd-boundary separating the Inflectional Stem (Subject Marker + Tense) from the Macrostem (Object Marker + the Derived Stem), while the conjoint form consists of a single (non-recursive) PhWd. Furthermore, I show that this is true not only of present forms but also of perfect forms, which in Setswana manifest no difference in segmental content of disjoint and conjoint forms (Creissels, 1996).

I propose that the verb undergoes V-to-T movement in conjoint environments. When the verb raises to T (the "conjunct" form), it is part of the MWd (Morphological Word) SM-V-T-FV, which is mapped to a single PhWd. In disjoint environments, however, the verb remains in vP due to a requirement that vP must contain at least one MWd. The resulting disjoint form consists of two MWds, traditionally identified as the Inflectional Stem and the Macrostem: (SM-T-FV) (V-FV). The two MWds are at first mapped to two PhWds, but following cliticization of the Inflectional stem to the Macrostem they make up a recursive PhWd.

1. Setswana
   a. CONJOINT PRESENT FORM:  
   \[ \text{k}t\text{-r} \text{èk}-\text{á} \text{ n:kú} \]
   1SGSM buy.FV C1.9.sheep
   'I'm buying a sheep'

   b. DISJOINT PRESENT FORM:  
   \[ \text{k}t\text{-a-r} \text{èk}-\text{á} \]
   1SGSM.Djbuy.FV
   'I'm buying'
The Role of House-helps in the Acquisition of Language in Kenyan Urban Families
LEONARD MUAKA

This paper focuses on the role that caregivers play in the acquisition of language among young children. The paper reports on a study undertaken in the summer of 2012 in Kenya's urban settings through participant observations and interviews with both parents and caregivers. Intergenerational language acquisition has been viewed as an important component in language maintenance. In the African context, this task is normally performed by parents and members of the extended family who ensure that children acquire and keep their heritage language. However, in many modern urban settings, parents spend less time with their children at home. This leaves the children in the hands of their caregivers who provide them with care and socialization. In spite of this increased presence in children's critical developmental stages, caregivers have not received adequate attention for their role in language acquisition. In recognition of this important variable, the current paper gives prominence to the dynamics within the home by investigating how daily language practices that take place when children and their caregivers interact, determine language acquisition and maintenance. The findings of this research project add the understudied caregiver dimension in Africa, to the question of language maintenance, language shift, language endangerment, and multilingualism in the African urban settings.

Swahili Demonstrative Position
MOHAMED MWAMZANDI

Overview: Synchronic studies on Swahili adnominal demonstratives have not addressed the interplay between syntactic position and pragmatic function of these structures. This study shows how the notion of topic, what a sentence is about, explains Swahili word order variation. Class 1 (animate nouns) demonstratives are examined in the two attested word orders: NP+DEM (1) and DEM+NP (2):

(1) [Msichana yule] a-li-ingia
    1girl Distal. DEM 1AGR-PAST-enter
    ‘That girl entered.’

(2) [Yule msichana] a-li-ingia
    Distal.DEM 1girl 1AGR-PAST-enter
    ‘That girl entered.’

A close analysis reveals that the two structures have distinct pragmatic values.

Methodology: 436 adnominal demonstratives from the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili were analyzed. They were coded for demonstrative type (distal/proximal), function (gestural/anaphoric/recognitional), position (prenominal/postnominal), and activation state (active/semiactive/inactive) (Chafe 1987).

Results: There were more prenominal gestural demonstratives (41) than postnominal (10), \(X^2 (1,N=51)=18.84, p<0.001\). There were also more prenominal recognitional demonstratives (58) than postnominal (12), \(X^2 (1,N=70)=30.23, p<0.001\). As for the anaphoric demonstratives, there were more postnominal proximal demonstratives (110) than prenominal (48), \(X^2 (1,N=158)=24.33, p<0.001\); but more prenominal distal demonstratives (92) than postnominal (65), \(X^2 (1,N=157)=4.64, p<0.05\). Contextual and statistical analysis indicate that the NP+DEM order is used for active topics while the DEM+NP order reactivates semiactive/inactive topics.

Implications: Few studies discuss demonstrative pragmatic function and position (Diesel 1999; Cornish 1999; Himmelmann 1996). Moreover, aside from brief mentions (Givon 1976; Wilt 1987; Carstens 1991), Swahili adnominal demonstratives have not yet been investigated. This study reveals how the syntax-pragmatics interplay explains distinct structures viewed as semantic equivalents by native speakers via corpus analysis.
Noun Reduplication and Identity in Two Atlantic Languages: Wolof, Noon
AUGUSTIN NDIONE

Reduplication has been the subject of numerous studies in recent years and many articles and edited books have been devoted to this subject. In Wolof and Noon, Atlantic languages spoken in Senegal, reduplication is productive in most syntactic categories, and in doing so, it has several functions and values. Thus, our paper analyzes the reduplication of nouns in Wolof and Noon (an highly frightened language spoken in the center of Senegal). Indeed, we found that in these languages, simple nouns can reduplicate: this constitutes cases of total reduplication. Thus, from a simple noun is derived by reduplication a compound noun. This composition can be, in certain situations, a way to construct the identity of an element or a person. Our purpose, in this paper, is to show that beyond the identity detected between the base and the copy, the nominal reduplication in Wolof, and also in Noon (an high frightened language spoken in Senegal), is an excellent way to achieve the construction of identity. For instance because the main characteristics embodied by a single element are reinforced by the second single element (in doing so, this type of construction can be interpreted as a way to build an identity). Our analysis is conduct within the theory of predicative and enunciative operations (see Culioli 1990 1999; Paillard 1992) and we rely on specific theoretical concepts, namely the concepts of location, notion and notional domain.

Metaphors as Depiction of Culture on Natural Objects and Phenomena in Tshivenda
NTHAMBELENI CHARLES ṆETSHISAULU

Introduction: This paper investigates the relevance of comparison made in metaphor. This paper contrasts the difference between the traditional approach and generative approach on metaphors, where metaphors are influenced by conceptual metaphor theory by Kövecses 2006. This paper will also show how the concept metaphor has gain momentum in the past three decades. By implication metaphor influences all spheres of human life, hence it cannot be avoided. It is against this background that this paper is concerned with exposing properties of metaphoric frames, and the inherently cultural nature of the conceptual metaphor in Tshivenda, in relation to natural objects and phenomena. In particular, the nature of conceptual metaphors in Tshivenda as cultural constructs and products will be examined through the analysis of the basic frame mappings, and entailments, in which a noun denotes natural objects or phenomena, as sources and targets domains. Furthermore, the metaphoric frame analysis will expose how these frames constitute a complex system of knowledge about the world view of the Vhavenḍa society as indicated by Kövecses 2006.

Data collection: This paper will use both traditional and modern approach in data collection. The traditional approach is contrasted to the modern approach based on the ontological approach than on epistemic approach.

Discussion of the results: The discussion of contrast is made based on both traditional approach and generative approach in which mappings and entailments play the central role in metaphors. This paper will also show how universal metaphors are, how culture influences metaphors, and the embodiment of metaphors.
The Changing Role of English in Africa:  
Case of Burundi Fast Track Shift from a Foreign Language to a Second Language Status 

JEANINE NTIHIRAGEZA

In Burundi, the use of English has steadily increased due to globalization and, in particular, the arrival of English speaking peacekeeping forces after the 1993 genocide. Today, one observes an even faster shift in the role of English following the country’s membership of the East African Community (EAC), since July 1, 2007. The government has since introduced a language reform in primary school. Teachers, already struggling to teach French and Kirundi, are now required to teach English and Kiswahili. This study investigates the fast track changing role of English, from a foreign language to a second language. It aims to explore the sociocultural, socioeconomic and educational upshot of this change. Regarding the language situation in Burundi, IMF’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper II (2012) rightly admits, “Burundi’s future appears to be bilingualism, however, given Burundi’s positioning between the EAC and Francophone Africa.” Victor Ogalo (2012) concurs about Burundi’s competitive edge in employment over other EAC professionals who are only proficient in English. Using results from a survey of 50 ESL teacher trainers, program directors, coordinators and, ESL teachers, this paper additionally assesses the challenges and benefits of linguistically meeting this goal. Moreover, it proposes strategies to monitor and foster the resulting multilingualism. The ultimate question is: how can language instruction and policies in Burundi be so well done to avoid linguistic and cultural imperialism (Phillipson 1992, 2010).

Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions:  
Multilingual Approach in Language Documentation and Teaching 

NNENNA NWOSU, DELE ORIMOOGUNJE & SCHOLASTICA COOKEY

In reality, when two interlocutors cannot understand each other especially in the use of proverbs, the cultural context of which proverbs are a part tends to set limits as to what a native speaker with limited competence in a language faces, especially when the native speaker and a foreigner are engaged in a conversation. This article reviews the semantic barrier in the Igbo/Yoruba lexicon which hinders the users of some social dialects from access to “knowledge categories” of the idiomatic and/proverbial expressions in their written language. Selected texts written by undergraduates were analyzed to find out the extent to which such semantic barrier can be a handicap in the acquisition of communicative competence in a foreign language. This is followed by presentation of the multilingual collection of 300 proverbs and idioms already compiled by the multilingual research group in Igbo, Yoruba, English and French languages.
Inter-Party Insults in Political Discourse in Ghana: A Critical Discourse Analysis
EMMANUEL AMO OFORI

In recent years, politics in Ghana has become politics of personal attack, vilification, bickering, and insults. Various attempts have been made to stop the politics of insults, including one spearheaded by Media Foundation for West Africa, which releases a weekly report to the general public on shaming politicians who are involved in the politics of insults. If a country could go to the extent of shaming politicians involved in politics of insults then it shows how the issue of intemperate language has become entrenched in Ghanaian political discourse. Thus, there is a need to conduct a thorough analysis of the realization of insults in Ghanaian political discussion and their social implications. This paper therefore looks at how critical discourse analysis handles and exposes social inequalities of insults in public political discourse in Ghana, focusing on inter-party insults. It addresses the following questions: (1) Why the recent surge of insults in political discussions in Ghana? (2) Which language forms are used in inter-party insults?

The data for this study was obtained from phone-ins on radio, reports in newspapers, and online commentaries. Two radio stations were selected in Accra, (Peace FM, Happy FM). The newspapers are Daily Guide, The Daily searchlight, the Chronicle, The Informer, and The Al-Haji. The online websites are peacefmonline.com, myjoyonline.com, and ghanaweb.com. The recordings were sampled, transcribed, and analyzed, using Fairclough’s (1989, 1992a, 1995a,b, 2000, 2003) three-dimensional model; (1) Discourse-as-text; (2) Discourse-as-discursive-practice; and (3) discourse-as-social-practice.

A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Adjectives In Two Kwa Languages: Ga and Dangme
YVONNE AKWELE AMAKWAA OLLENN

The adjective category normally serves as attribute for the nouns in languages that do have them. The paper investigates the morphosyntactic properties of the adjective in two Kwa languages, Ga and Dangme. Both languages have derived and non-derived adjectives. The paper which is mainly descriptive examines the similarities and differences that exist between these two Kwa languages in terms of their morphological and syntactic features. The paper reveals that though similarities exist more as to the occurrence of the adjective syntactically, there exists differences in their morphological properties. Dangme does nominalises one of the adjectives when more than one is used as an attribute where as Ga does not. On the other hand Ga shows agreement in terms of number with the head noun for all adjectives used attributively Dangme tends to mark its agreement on only adjective or a definite article that is present. The paper concludes with the findings that were revealed after the comparative analysis of the two Kwa languages.

Adjective Sequencing In Ga
YVONNE AKWELE AMANKWAA OLLENN

The paper aims to examine the syntactic rules governing the occurrence of several adjectives serving as modifiers of a single head noun. The order of these adjectives has not received detailed scholarly attention. I argue that the order of adjectives is not haphazardly arranged but follow a laid down syntactic prescription. Consequently, defying the arrangement in ordering of the adjectives results in ungrammatical forms. Data is gathered from students studying Ga in University of Education, Winneba. The findings will contribute to the existing literature on adjective sequencing in Ghanaian languages.
Aspects of Ninzo Morphology Revisited
YESEERA OMONIKE OLOSO

The Ninzo language is an endangered Niger-Congo language spoken in the Northern Nigerian states of Kaduna, Nassarawa and Plateau (all the dialects spoken in the three states are mutually intelligible). Like many minority languages in Nigeria, Ninzo has not enjoyed robust research and documentation. Besides the lack of a rich documentation, the language can be classified as a definitely endangered language because a large number of its native speakers abandon it in favour of the Hausa Language (the majority language in Northern Nigeria). As a result, the language could be rightly described as a definitely endangered language because it is no longer transmitted by older generation of speakers to the younger generation. This paper seeks to reverse the ugly trend by contributing to the documentation process of the Ninzo Language and taking a step towards the revitalization of the language at the same time through a study of aspects of Ninzo’s Morphology.

This paper in exploring aspects of Ninzo Morphology examines the structural position of Ninzo bound morphemes which are used to mark number and tense, (the language attests prefixes and interfixes and does not have morphemes that express past tense), it has an interesting numbering system which uses the decimal notation or base-10 positional notation (with its rich compounding mechanism). The paper also studies Ninzo’s morphological processes such as affixation, reduplication, refashioning, borrowing, compounding and desententialization (mostly used in naming) and its morphological typology: from the data gathered, the Ninzo Language can be safely described as a synthetic language.

The Yoruba Language Being the Mother Tongue of Non Yoruba People: Exploring the Ilorin Perspective on the Language and Identity Discourse
YESEERA OMONIKE OLOSO

The language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable. Language acts are acts of identity (Le Page and Tabouret Keller, 1985). This view is common place in the majority of literatures on language and identity. However, the Ilorin situation presents an interesting divergent perspective that is worth exploring.

Ilorin has been home to different ethnicities such as the Nupe, the Fulanis, the Yorubas etc but, with time, the language of the Yoruba ethnic group became the language of the city as the other ethnic groups lost their first languages. The Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language, like its culture, has had a fair dose of influence from the languages of its ethnic minorities. However, though, these minorities’ languages are no longer spoken as first languages in any of the native minority homes today, it should not however be mistaken to mean that these languages are generally extinct. Lexical items from these ethnic groups’ first languages are present in the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba Language and this differentiates it from other Yoruba dialects. For example, words like seba “yes”, nna “mother” from Nupe, gogo “aunt”, kau “uncle” from Fulfulde faa “a word used to express emphasis”, ipata “abattoir” from Hausa have found their ways into its stock. The aim of this paper is to open up discussions as to what variables should be used in the identification process and whether it is necessary to assign prominence to any variable.
Formulaic Exchange in Igbo: The Onicha Example
VIRGINIA ONUMAJURU

Formulaic exchange according to Crystal (1997:157) is a term used in some theoretical and descriptive studies of grammar to refer to utterances which lack normal syntactic or morphological characteristics. It can refer to any fixed form expression which serves a particular social purpose such as greeting exchange, or registers of traditional ceremonies such as marriage, burial etc. Every language/culture has its own special way of manifesting these social functions. This paper examines the different utterances used by different Igbo varieties to express these rituals/cultural attitudes with special reference to the Onicha Igbo lect.

The objective of the paper is to document the formulaic utterances in the Igbo language. The purpose of the documentation is first and foremost to preserve these ritual expressions which rarely exist in the written form in any of the varieties of Igbo. Secondly, majority of the Igbo youths are not competent native speakers, and with globalization where English has become the world’s language and a threat to many languages especially African languages, there is greater risk for these expressions to be lost forever.

Data of the ritual expressions are collected from different varieties of Igbo and analyzed. The data include lexical and phrasal expressions. It is discovered that these expressions are non-existent among the younger generation of Igbo speakers. The paper tries to document these utterances in order to prevent the disappearance of such expressions. This paper suggests therefore that lexicographers should document these utterances in the Igbo dictionaries.

Negation in Kabena
ONGAYE ODA ORKAYDO

Kabena is a Highland East Cushitic language spoken in southwest Ethiopia in Gurage Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Regional State. Kabena employs morphological as well as lexical forms to mark/express negation. The morphological forms that mark negation are mostly suffixes but there are also instances of infixes. The various morphological forms of negations are employed in different sentence types. For example, negation in declaratives and content questions is marked by the suffix -baʔ. In polar and tag questions, it is marked by the suffixes –bay and -bah, respectively. Imperatives employ infixes to denote negation. The infixes are -toot- and -toont-. It is interesting to see that the negative infixes distinguish the number of the addressee in that the former is used to show an imperative negation for a singular addressee and the latter for a plural addressee. The negation marking infixes are inserted between the verb root and the imperative markers –i and –yye for singular and plural addressee, respectively. Negation in optatives is marked by the suffix –unkaa. Apart from morphological forms, the language uses lexical items to express negation. The lexical items that have been identified as negation expressing are tʰɔʔyaa ‘not full’ (contrasted with wiimaa ‘full’) and huʔu ‘no’ (used as a response in polar question).
Perceptions and Practices of Mother Tongue Education in Ethiopia
ONGAYE ODA ORKAYDO & BERHANU BELAYNEH BEYENE

Ethiopia is a multilingual country hosting about eighty languages. The linguistic diversity in the country has had different perspectives in the country’s history. The regimes prior to the current government perceived the linguistic diversity as a threat to the national unity and integrity, and therefore, opted for allowing only one language, Amharic, to have the constitutional legitimacy to be promoted across the country. Amharic used to be the medium of instruction in primary education, and a school subject in secondary and senior high schools. In the course of time, however, the linguistic equality right, along with other rights, became a serious political issue. Cognizant of the circumstances, the Derg regime towards its final years attempted to allow some languages to be used in literacy program, not in formal education. Moreover, it imposed the Ge’ez script for writing the literacy materials with. After the fall of the Derg regime, the present government came with a different perspective on the linguistic diversity in the country. It perceives the linguistic diversity as a national resource rather than a threat. To that end, it constitutionally recognized the equality of all languages. Now, the regions in the country are autonomous to document and promote the languages. As a result, many languages that were not introduced to school are now used as media of instruction. Most of these languages use the Latin script. Some of the languages that use the Ge’ez script include such languages as Kabena and Zayse. Even if there is a conducive environment for implementing mother tongue education, there are serious practical challenges. One of them is that several of the languages do not have written grammars, and hence, the use of the languages as media of instruction is based on translating the Amharic textbooks into their languages. The other challenge is the lack of native speakers who have studied linguistics or linguistics related fields in order to train mother tongue trainers. During script selection, it is also possible to see a mismatch between the communities’ script demand and the experts’ suggestions. It is also common to observe that in some linguistic groups, parents are not willing to send their children to schools where their other tongue is a medium of instruction.

Preserving an Endangered Language and Indigenous Knowledge: The Case for Gugbe in Badagry, South West, Nigeria
GABRIEL A. OSOBA & HENRY J. HUNJO

Endangered languages are languages usually ‘ignored’ by language policies and have, therefore, not fully benefitted from linguistic description and documentation of linguistic artifacts and local knowledge associated with them. The neglect makes the language prone to extinction as speakers reduce in population and dominant languages that pose as language predators overtake indigenous practices among users of the languages. This paper examines Gugbe in Badagry, South Western Nigeria. Gugbe is a Western Kwa language of the Niger-Congo language family (Comrie 2003). Because of the presence of the dominant languages such as English and Yoruba, very little attention has been paid to the lexico-syntactic structures of proverbs in Gugbe. These proverbs have been found to communicate messages, knowledge or ideas in varied definable socio-cultural contexts that signal users of Gugbe as mother tongue as a people with discrete culture and identity. These proverbs are categorized according to social-domains and analyzed to discover the relationship between lexical choices and syntactic structures of their linguistic contexts. Apart from contributing to research in solving the problem of endangerment of the language and indigenous knowledge, this study will further stimulate interest in the description and development of Gugbe as an African language.
The Extended vP Domain in a Songhay Language
JASON OSTROVE

Koryoboro Senni Songhay (KBSS) shows an alternation between SVO/SOV that depends on the external argument's theta-role. With an external AGENT, SOV order is required.

(1) ai na ham kaanei nga bi.  
I ASP.PERF meat tasty.PL eat yesterday  
“Tasty meats were eaten yesterday.”

With an external EXPERIENCER, SVO order is required.

(2) ai na di hailà bi.  
I ASP.PERF see cat.DEF yesterday  
“I saw the cat yesterday.”

Belletti and Rizzi (1988) claim experiencers originate lower than agents. I follow them and propose a functional projection in KBSS. This projection, YP in (3), has an EPP feature satisfied by a DP in Spec,YP.

(3) XP[Agent X’[X0 YP[Y0[+EPP]ZP[Experiencer Z’[Z0 VP[V0 Object ]]]]]]]]

Focus and Wh-Constructions in Igbo
EUNICE CHIDINMA OSUAGWU

Igbo is one of the three major languages spoken in Nigeria. It is the largest language spoken in the Eastern part of Nigeria. Languages display certain constructions which typically involve peripheral positions in the clause. In this respect, the Igbo language provides a number of interesting evidence with respect to both empirical and theoretical issues. In Igbo, focalization is a syntactic process that requires movement of the focused element to a focus domain, Focus Projection. Wh-constructions in Igbo are a small class distinguished by the fact that they either constitute the link utterance by themselves or can initiate one without the low tone subject pronoun that characterized the question form of the verb. This paper investigates focus and wh-Constructions in Igbo using the minimalist program. The findings of this paper reveal that constructions that contain focused and wh-categories present syntactic, semantic and phonological characteristics that distinguish them from other ordinary Igbo constructions and that under symmetrical checking, focus phrases must move in syntax in order to reach a spec-head configuration with a focus head. It also reveals that no focus in situ strategy is allowed in the language. This paper further establishes that the focused and wh-phrases occur in [Spec Foc P] where they check their [+f, + wh] features in a spec-head relation with the focus head Foc’, which also encodes the features [+f, +wh].
Fauna and Flora in Igbo-English Dictionaries: The Issue of Lexical Non-equivalence
ESTHER NWAKAEGO OWELEKE

Fauna and flora aspects of the Igbo language have become endangered. This paper discusses the translation problem of lexical non-equivalence for encoding these items in the Igbo-English dictionaries, and develops strategies for handling the semantic gap created. Data for the study were gathered from Igbo language consultants. A total of 500 words denoting animals and plants were collected and analyzed. Photographs of the items were also taken for visual documentation. Using a multi-tier hyponymy structure, the fauna and flora items of both the English and Igbo languages were organized in semantic fields. It was observed that both languages have equivalents for the superordinate or more general names for plants and animals, but not for the less specific ones. To achieve equivalence, the superordinate terms that cover the propositional meaning of the missing hyponyms in the target language were modified. The botanical or scientific names of the items were included as part of the lexical description of the items. The paper concludes that, using this approach, Igbo-English lexicographers can document a good number of the Igbo fauna/flora items that are on the verge of extinction.

A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Some Fante Habitation Names
CHARLES OWU-EWIE

This paper is a toponomastic study of some Fante habitation names from a morphosyntactic perspective. Names are given in particular languages whose morphology, syntax and semantics inform their meaning to a great extent (Batoma, 2006). This implies that understanding place (habitation) names hinges on taking a critical look at the internal structure of the word(s) and the syntactic structure that constitute the name besides sociolinguistics, sociocultural and ethno-linguistics domains. The paper investigates the morphological and syntactic structure of about one hundred and fifty (150) Fante habitation (towns/villages) names. It discusses the typology of Fante habitation names under two broad areas; morphological analysis and syntactic analysis. Data was collected via both primary and secondary sources. The morphological analysis revealed that some Fante habitation names can be single stems, compounds, inflections (affixation), and reduplication. The study also found that Fante habitation names at sentential level can function as statements, interrogatives or imperatives, while they can be structurally simple, compound, or complex sentences.
Gender Instability in Maay

MARY PASTER

Eastern Omo-Tana languages (a subgroup of East Cushitic) have gender systems wherein every noun is masculine or feminine. The definite marker, demonstratives, and possessive markers are k-initial with masculine nouns but t-initial with feminine nouns. Gender in these languages is sensitive to plurality. Rendille and Standard Somali have gender ‘polarity’ wherein nouns change gender in the plural. In Central Somali, plurals in -o exhibit polarity, while plurals in -yal default to masculine. In another Somali dialect, plurals in -yal exhibit polarity, while plurals in -o default to masculine. In Maay, as in Tunni, all plural nouns default to masculine.

Singular noun gender is inconsistent across Maay speakers. Of 57 lexical items, each elicited from up to 6 speakers, 14 show inconsistent gender. 34 are consistently masculine, while 6 are consistently feminine. The 14 inconsistent nouns (probably historically feminine) typically are feminine for three particular speakers, but masculine for one or more others. No apparent demographic generalization explains this divide. I suggest that gender instability relates to the default to masculine pattern in the plural. Many of the inconsistent nouns are likely to occur frequently in the plural. The default to masculine pattern makes the gender of singular nouns unrecoverable from their plurals, so nouns that are frequently plural are susceptible to gender instability. If there is uncertainty about the gender of some nouns, speakers may be inclined to guess masculine due to the prevalence of masculine nouns in the lexicon, thereby producing more feminine to masculine changes than the reverse.

Syntax and Information Structure Constructions in Maa

DORIS PAYNE

Most studies of Maa (Maasai) say it is VSO, but ignore what accounts for alternate orders. Most don’t discuss the effect of contrastive or marked focus, non-contrastive focus of assertion, cognitive salience (e.g. having human or animate reference or being in the cognitive focus of attention), topical in the sense of familiar (given or evoked), or communicatively presupposed status. This study, grounded in corpus analysis, discusses two constructions that account for most order patterns. A specialized form of the verb ‘be’, relative clause prefixes, tonal case marking, etc. clarify subject versus object; so order is available to code functions.

In the first construction, an initial NP is a marked focus, and is in an unmarked case form regardless of grammatical relation.

(1) [ MARKED FOCUS ] [ REMAINDER ]

Subject        Predicate        Object
ɛn dú mño ake  n-a-lb’uŋ [enówuo ɔ lktítn].
that initiation only  RC-3-hold horn of oxen
‘It is only that initiation (group) that holds the horn of the oxen.’ (SVO)

In the second construction, arguments are post-verb with the more familiar one closer to the verb (2-3)


(2) new l’uap’ ake  [lǒ  mtnəni]  [eremt]
3.snatch.up just that.NOM warrior.NOM spear
‘That warrior snatched up a/the spear.’ (VSO)

(3) kɛ’ar doi  [lýóók]  [tnt’ni]
3.kill indeed us  this.NOM person.NOM
‘This person is going to kill us.’ (VOS)

This second construction also covers ditransitive clauses. Order of THEME and RECIPIENT depends on “familiarity” status. The higher frequency of VSO order results from how linguistic principles tend to map “familiar” to the syntactic role of subject.
Does Maasai Really Have a Lexically-specified ATR Prefix?
LINDSEY QUINN-WRIEDT

Maasai, an Eastern Nilotic language of Kenya and Tanzania, has dominant-recessive vowel harmony; vowels can be divided into two sets—(dominant) ATR \([i, e, o, u]\) and (recessive) non-ATR \([ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ, ɑ]\). If there is an ATR vowel anywhere in a word, all vowels are ATR. It has been suggested that no language with dominant recessive vowel harmony has a lexically specified ATR prefix (Hall & Hall 1980, Baković 2000). Yet Maasai has been described as having a single ATR prefix, /e-/ , the third person prefix for class II verbs which has directional effects; it only causes vowels to its left but not its right to harmonize (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955, Mol 1995, Levergood 1984). This right to left only harmony would be in direct opposition to the other harmony pattern—all other ATR vowels cause harmony in both directions (i.e. roots cause prefixes and suffixes to harmonize, suffixes cause roots, prefixes, and other suffixes to harmonize). This paper reports on a study of whether perceived differences in the pronunciation of the third person singular prefix with class II versus class I verbs reflect a difference in underlying representations, /e-/ vs. /ɛ-/ , or whether the surface differences result from coarticulation caused by the following /ɪ-/ prefix which always occurs with class II verbs, but not with class I verbs. Results indicate that the prefix is not ATR in the input; the surface differences are the result of coarticulation; there is only one underlying representation for the /ɛ-/ prefix.

Trickster: African Youth Urban Language Personified
PHILIP W. RUDD

A trickster is painted as “a gross deceiver, a crude prankster, a creator of earth, [and] a shaper of culture” (Brinto 1869 as cited in Pelton 1980). If a language cannot obtain legitimacy directly, a more circuitous route (i.e., a trick) is required. Via pragmatics and discourse analysis, the construction of speaker identity for an African youth urban language (AYUL), Sheng, is investigated in a language attitude analysis in Nairobi, Kenya.

Halliday's (1997) process analysis proposes a syntactic element is employed to express human perception. Hasan (1989) employs Halliday's theory to determine who does what to whom in discourse. These approaches permit an analysis of attitudes that personify youth language as a trickster, engender a myth of Kenya, reject the hegemony of Swahili and English, and point out why the language is so trickster-like.

The trickster language assumes many forms. Halliday's (1978) notion of anti-language is applied to reveal that all the varieties share common properties. For example, English and Swahili, along with other Kenyan languages, represent realities for their speakers, but all, including Sheng, make up the social milieu of modern Kenya. Nevertheless, the illegitimate language requires an indirect route, a trailblazer with a trick, leading to a new conception of “liberation linguistics” (Kachru 1991; Quirk 1989). The AYUL is a psychological liberator who, as Fanon (1967: 18) depicts, breaks the colonized free from the judgment of how well they have mastered the dominant culture's language.

The Internal Classification of Kru: Bete-Guébie as Dida
HANNAH SANDE

This study provides the first systematic documentation and description of Bete-Guébie, an Eastern Kru language (Niger-Congo) spoken in Gagnoa, southwest Côte d'Ivoire. I propose that Bete-Guébie be classified as Dida, rather than a member of the Bete dialect continuum. With evidence from the lexicon and the phonetic, prosodic, and grammatical systems of Bete-Guébie and surrounding Kru languages, I demonstrate that Bete-Guébie is more closely related to Dida-Lakota than to the languages of the Bete dialect continuum. Under-standing the relationship of Guébie to neighboring languages is more broadly a step towards understanding the internal classification of Eastern Kru.
Eastern Kru Languages as V → T Rather than V2
HANNAH SANDE

This study provides the first description of Bete-Guébie, henceforth Guébie, an Eastern Kru language (Niger-Congo) spoken in southwest Côte d’Ivoire. There is little work on Eastern Kru, though Marchese (1979, 1989) and others (i.e. Kaye 1982) have said that Kru languages are SVO. Koopman (1984) gives a description of two Eastern Kru languages, Bete-Gbadi, which is the geographically closed Bete dialect to Guébie, and Vata, a Dida language. She goes on to propose that Eastern Kru is SOV and verb-second, much like Dutch and German.

Here, based on original data elicited from a native speaker of Guébie, I describe the basic word order patterns of Guébie (which are nearly identical to the Vata and Gbadi word order facts described by Koopman), agreeing with Koopman that Kru languages are SOV. Contra Koopman, I argue that Eastern Kru languages are not verb-second in the Germanic sense where V moves to C, but rather that they are SOV language that undergoes V → T movement with the result of surface SVO order.

Accounting for Null Arguments: Pronoun Dropping in Maasai
SETH SCARBOROUGH

Null subjects (NS) have been studied extensively in familiar “rich agreement” languages like Italian and Spanish and in languages where agreement is completely absent. This paper presents evidence from Kisongo Maasai that both agreement and discourse antecedents contribute to making the content of null arguments recoverable from context.

The distribution of Maasai NS reflects its strong subject agreement paradigms. In present tense, person and number are marked for all possible person/number combinations, except 3rd person singular and plural which are syncretic. NS are possible in all cases except the syncretic third person, indicating null subjects are licensed by agreement morphology. However, third person NS are possible when referential to an antecedent in discourse (2a). A NS is not available if it is without a clear antecedent, or if it would result in ambiguity (2bc).

1) a. ɛ-dɔ Luca ɛ-nɔrr empira
   3-PRS.think Luca 3-PRS.like ball
   “Luca, thinks he, likes the ball”
   coreference obligatory

   b. ɛ-dɔ Luca ɛ-nɔrr nɪnɛ̀ empira
   3-PRS.think Luca 3-PRS.like he ball
   “Luca, thinks he/she, likes the ball”
   coreference impossible

   c. *ɛ-ɛta Jonas, ɔɔ ingera ɛfule esɔmej. ɛ-ŋa (nɪnɛ̀) endaa.
   3-PRS.be John and children school hungry. 3-PRS.eat (he/she) food.
   “John, and the students are hungry. He, eats the food.” unacceptably ambiguous

In this paper I propose that a null thematic subject may occur when it is both:

(i) recovered by reference to an accessible antecedent in context; and
(ii) recovered by agreement up to the point of morphological uniformity.
Ndebele Derivational and Inflectional Affixes in Reduplication

GALEN SIBANDA

Previous works on verbal reduplication in Nguni languages (isiZulu, isiNdebele, isiSwati and isiXhosa) show that derivational and inflectional affixes are treated differently in reduplication. (See for example Downing 1997a, Sibanda 2004). While derivational affixes are normally within the domain for reduplication, inflectional affixes are generally excluded from the process. This paper looks at what happens when Ndebele words from other parts of speech are reduplicated looking especially at the way these two categories of affixes behave in the Base and Reduplicant. In nouns such as the following, for example, where the RED can be either a prefix or suffix, the prefix proper behaves like a derivational affix as it may be reduplicated.

- **i-si-hlalo** ‘chair’
- **u-mu-ntu** ‘person’
- **i-n-ja** ‘dog’

The augment/pre-prefix (or initial vowel), however, displays features of an inflectional affix as it cannot be copied. In order to understand the behavior of the affixes in reduplication this paper argues in support of the Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas and Zoll 2005) that treats reduplication as a morphosyntactic process whose targets are morphological constituents such as affix, root, stem, or word. The view held in the paper is that surface realization of Base and RED is not driven by phonological identity between the two but can be explained in terms of historical changes and normal phonological processes, particularly prosodic minimality and vowel combinatorial processes in addition to Semantic (and Syntactic) identity.

Mundari Mid-Vowel Raising Through [ATR] Harmony

TIMOTHY M. STIRTZ

Mundari (Mandari) is an Eastern Sudanic, Nilo-Saharan language closely related to Bari, Kuku and Kakwa. This paper describes the [ATR] vowel harmony of Mundari, with special emphasis on [-ATR] root mid vowels ɛ, ɔ that are raised to [+ATR] high vowels i, u through [+ATR] spreading. This process has only been documented in two other languages — Laru and Fur. In these languages unrelated to Mundari, the raising process of Mid vowels occurs where high vowels are allowed but not mid vowels.

Like Laru and Fur, Mundari has 8 phonemic vowels which function in two sets in roots and across morpheme boundaries: /i, ə, u/ are [+ATR], and /i, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ/ are [-ATR]. [+ATR] quality is dominant and spreads to vowels not underlyingly specified for [ATR], either from roots to affixes or from affixes to roots, only being limited by word boundaries.

The related languages of Bari and Kuku have 10 vowel phonemes, including the [+ATR] mid vowels /ɛ/ and /o/. The Mundari mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ that are synchronically raised to [i] and [u] may have at one time been [+ATR], since the [+ATR] mid vowels /ɛ/ and /o/ in Bari and Kuku are raised through the same morphology as Mundari—when suffixes with [+ATR] high vowels are attached.

Although mid vowels in Laru and Fur are raised because of vowel co-occurrence restrictions, Mundari mid vowels can be argued to be raised for a diachronic reason involving vowel height assimilation through [+ATR] spreading.
Noun Classes and Toponyms in Shüpamem
LYDIE CHRISTELLE TALLA MAKOUDJOÙ & VICTOR LOUMNGAM KAMGA

A toponym is the general term for any place or geographical entity. Shüpamem is a language spoken by people called the “Bamun” in the West region of Cameroon. Hyman and Dunstan have identified 6 noun classes of the Shüpamem referring to the plural and the singular of humans, animal, inanimate and so on. However, there is no reference to locatives in their classification. This paper aims at analyzing toponyms as noun classes in Shüpamem; more precisely, it objective is to study the specificity of locatives in this language. Given that the study of noun classes requires affixes, it falls within the field of morphology. In order to reach the above goal, maps of the Bamun were collected as well as a corpus of the place-names such as the hydronym and the oronym of the area. As for the results, we can say that, unlike in the Proto-bantu where classes for locatives refer to proximity, the latter rather refer to altitude in Shüpamem. Furthermore, some place-names are not static in Shüpamen; they agree with the direction and the manner. A keen observation of toponyms in the language is thus of a great relevance both at the linguistic as well as the geographical and the anthropological level. Considering classes 16, 17 and 18 of the Proto-bantu classification, we suggest that classes for locatives should also be included in the language. This will also be a major contribution to the documentation and preservation of the Shüpamen.

What About African Story Grammar?
HEIKE TAPPE

Educators all over the world use the concept of a ‘canonical’ story grammar to both teach as well as to assess narrative skills. ‘Canonical’ narrative story grammar and story schema are even widely used for international comparisons of educational systems. Yet there seems to be surprisingly little impact of cross-linguistic research on narrative text structure, which clearly reveals language-specific rhetorical styles (e.g. Slobin, 2004).

The current research is motivated by the hypothesis that many narratives produced by African children may not conform to the widely used story grammar (e.g., Anderson and Evans 1996) and story schema (e.g., Mandler, 1982). Narratives elicited from bilingual Chichewa-English speaking children in Malawi (Hara, in preparation; Tappe & Hara, 2013) provide evidence for such an assumption. We hence argue that language proficiency measurements ideally should take into consideration a child’s ‘narrative socialisation’ and that it is necessary to investigate the nature of African story grammar and African story schema. Current assessment methods might be inappropriate to capture the children’s full potential in terms of their actual narrative skills. We propose that the teaching and the assessment of narrative text structure needs be based on “[…] linguistic descriptions of ethno-linguistic discourse patterns (contrastive rhetoric)” (Barnitz, 1986: 95). Such a perspective could lead to an emancipation of African narratives and a culturally restorative pedagogy. This in turn could contribute to both eliminating “stereotypical misrepresentations of and negative affect attaching to African cultures” (Haire and Matjila, 2008: 160) and to preserving the rich repertoire of oral traditions.
Language in Traditional Drumming in Ibibio  
IMELDA UDHOH, BASSEY A. OKON, GRACE EKONG & EDIMA-ABASI UDHOH IMARA

The use of drum and drum language is an integral part of the Ibibio society. The drum is used not just for music, but also to propagate information in the community, and it produces music as well as speaks the language of the people. This instrument is highly endangered today because it is no longer in much use in Ibibio traditional ceremonies. Modern technological advancements in communication and contemporary choreography have overshadowed their traditional importance. This paper attempts a documentation, description, and classification of the instrumental ensemble of some aspects of the Ibibio traditional music, with particular regard to the instruments used in two traditional dances: the mbopo – female dance aimed at preparing young maidens for marriage; and the Asian Ubo Ikpa – another dance which showcases young maiden’s beauty. The instrumental ensemble under consideration include the Òbódom – Slit wooden drum; Ábáñ – Pot drum; Íb ð – Skin drum; Êkón - Xylophone; Ñtákọrọ – Woodblock; Ñsák – Rattle; and Ñkwóñ – Metal gong. This paper, therefore, aims to:

• Document the traditional musical instruments in Ibibio;
• Classify these instruments and their roles in Ibibio musicology and communication;
• Describe the surrogate instruments;
• Describe the language they speak.

To achieve these aims, the documentation is done following Woodbury 2003; the classification is done in line with the Sachs-Hornbostel 1914 System and Akpabot’s Family Tree paradigm; and the analysis of the surrogate language is done using the Sibelius Music Notation Software.

Homorganic KP Nasal Assimilation in Ibibio  
MFON UDINONYANG

According to Cahill (1998, 1999) and Sagey (1990), a nasal (N) may assimilate to a following labial-velar stop (KP) either partially, surfacing as [ŋ] or completely, surfacing as [ŋm]. Partial assimilation gives rise to the sequence [ŋKP], while complete assimilation yields the sequence [ŋmKP]. Most languages make exclusive use of one such strategy, but some adopt both (i.e. Konni).

Both Cahill and Sagey claim that the assimilation of a nasal to a following labial-velar ([kp] and/or [gb]) as [m] is not attested in any language. In this talk, I provide evidence of the assimilation of /N/ to [kp] in Ibibio, a Lower Cross Niger-Congo language of southeastern Nigeria, in the form of data showing that Ibibio syllabic nasal prefixes may be realized either as [ŋ] or [m] before the voiceless labial-velar stop [kp]. I show that these two forms are in free variation in the language. Unlike in the languages examined by Cahill (1998, 1999), Sagey (1990) and others, homorganic nasal assimilation in Ibibio is restricted to contexts in which the nasal is a word-initial syllabic prefix preceding [kp]. That is, I show that Ibibio homorganic KP nasal assimilation does not occur across word boundaries. The data presented here will contribute to the typology and analysis of homorganic KP nasal assimilation and the phonology of assimilation in Ibibio.
Adjectives in Lubukusu
AGGREY WASIKE

Lubukusu adjectives are interesting in a number of respects. For instance their structure is identical to that of nouns in having a pre-prefix, a class prefix and a root. This being the case, it is sometimes difficult to clearly distinguish between nouns and adjectives. For example it is not immediately clear whether *omubofu* ‘blind person’ and *omutaambi* ‘poor person’ are nouns or adjectives. This paper suggests how adjectives in Lubukusu can successfully be distinguished from nouns. I also discuss the relationship between Lubukusu adjectives and a sub-category of verbs. It is interesting that some adjectival meanings are expressed by use of verbs rather than true adjectives. This is similar to the languages analyzed by Baker (2001). According to Baker, languages such as Mohawk lack adjectives altogether. Instead they express adjectival meanings by use of verbs. For Lubukusu, adjectives do indeed exist. Only a small number of adjectival meanings are expressed by verbs. Part of the task of this paper is to show clearly which adjectival meanings are expressed by verbs. In addition the paper identifies and discusses the commonalities that these adjectival verbs have. Baker (2001) proposed the Adjective Neutralization Parameter to account for the absence of adjectives in some languages and the associated use of verbs to express adjectival meanings. Baker (2003) has also argued that verbs that express adjectival meanings are underlyingly adjectives. Contrary to Baker, I argue that such verbs in Lubukusu are not adjectives in the underlying structure.

Egyptian Arabic Broken Plurals in DATR
LINDLEY WINCHESTER

This paper examines the plural inflectional processes present in Egyptian Arabic, with specific focus on the complex broken plural system. The data used in this examination is a set of 114 lexemes from a dictionary of the Egyptian Arabic variety by Badawi and Hinds (1984) collected through comparison of singular to plural template correspondences proposed by Gadalla (2004). The theoretical side of this analysis builds upon Alain Kihm’s realizational “Root-and-Site Hypothesis”, which categorizes concatenative and non-concatenative morphological processes as approachable in the same manner when discussing inflection as not only represented in segments but also as “sites” where inflectional operations may take place (Kihm 69). In order to organize the data through a computational lens, I emulate Kihm’s approach in the development of a DATR theorem that generates the grammatical forms for a set of both broken and regular plural nouns. The hierarchically-structured inheritance of the program’s language allows for default templates to be defined as well as overridden, permitting a wide scope of variation to be represented with little code content. To conclude, the paper expands upon the current theorem by positing possible variations to its structure. Such changes in the future could consolidate as well as allow for the representation of plural inflection in other Arabic dialects.
Optional Ergativity and Information Structure in Beria
ANDREW M. WOLFE & TAJELDIN ABDALLA ADAM

Jakobi & Crass (2004) and Jakobi (2006) describe the particle =gu in Beria (Saharan, Chad/Sudan) as a focus marker with ergative properties, used only to focus A arguments and not O or S. To date, examples of =gu have lacked discourse context to determine more precisely its pragmatic properties. The present study offers preliminary findings from non-elicited text data showing that, other than marking argument focus (Lambrecht 1994), =gu may also establish a new agentive topic with a definite third person referent and an affirmative comment. In a separate finding, certain instances of =gu appear on the A argument of internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs), the existence of which has not been noted in previous literature on Beria. In view of these broader uses of =gu, then, we reclassify the particle as an optional ergative marker (OEM).

Apart from the Kube dialect described by Jakobi & Crass, this study reviews data from a second dialect, Tuba, previously only briefly described in Wolfe (2001) and Anonby & Johnson (2001). Our data for Tuba offer no evidence of =gu. This dialect, however, employs the dative case marker =ru as its own OEM, serving to demote or background A arguments in pseudo-passive constructions, IHRCs, and other assorted subordinate clauses.

These preliminary findings further recent discussion of OEM systems (McGregor 2010, inter alia), supporting the connection between OEM and nuanced descriptions of discourse features. Typologically, Beria is noteworthy as the second OEM system described in Africa besides Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001).

How Multilingual Policies Can Fail: Language Politics Among Ethiopian Political Parties
MEHARI ZEMELAK WORKU

Because language has instrumental as well as symbolic values the issue of language will always have a political aspect. Often, the choice of language and its use is construed as one of the central traits to people’s definition of themselves. Besides, any given state must overtly or covertly determine the language that it deems appropriate to carry out its development and to generate, disseminate and enrich the knowledge necessary for such development. However, such a decision is not an easy one to reach at when it comes to Africa, particularly, in highly multilingual nations like Ethiopia where every language carries a weighty luggage of identity. Hence, this study will survey the movement the country’s language politics has made- starting from the imperial regime to the current government of FDRE through the period of the revolution, and tries to look at the future via examining the recent language policy proposals provided by several political parties of Ethiopia regarding language use for administrative purposes as well as education. It also tries to evaluate the value their policies give to endangered languages. After perusing the history of language politics in the country, the current language policies of the parties will be analyzed from a sociolinguistic perspective. The study also assesses the motivation beneath the language policies of the political parties. Finally, recommendations will be offered.
Arada: Sociolinguistic and Linguistic Features of the Urban Youth Language of Addis
MEHARI ZEMELAK WORKU

The grand objective of this paper will be to throw light to sociolinguistic as well as linguistic features of \( \text{yäarada } q\text{ anq}^*\text{a} \) (literally means Language of the Smart), the urban youth language in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia and Amharic. This is basically a qualitative research where the analysis is done in a descriptive manner. This anti-language is also known as \( \text{yäwäf } q\text{ anq}^*\text{a} \) (Language of Birds) by the mainstream public for it is usually spoken by the youth- to the exclusion of any outsider from involving in their conversation. Among the youth, speaking this language indicates a person’s belongingness to the “smartest” class of people while using this same language before the elderly can provoke reprimand or suspicion. Despite its highly ephemeral characteristic, this language, has contributed expressions and words to the standard Amharic dictionary. Moreover, although this language is always in flux in continuous recreation and reinvention through everyday use by the youth, it has some major persistent structural features that stand out to define the language. It also shows considerable structural as well as sociological similarities with other African urban youth languages such as Camfranglaise of Cameroon and Sheng/English of Kenya.

Experiencer Predicate Constructions in Hausa
LAWAN DANLADI YALWA

Psychological state denoting predicates have for long been at the centre of much debate in syntactic theory. However, in spite of this heated debate amongst scholars no discussion has so far appeared on the behavior of these predicates in Hausa grammatical descriptions. Most of the attention on these predicates however has been on PSYCH PREDICATES. These predicates include adjectives, verbs, predicates that can occur in both classes of verbs and adjectives, as well as phrasal verbs (as in the Hausa predicate form \( V + \text{NP} + \text{NP/AP} \), which elsewhere in 1995, I termed as ‘Complement Taking Expression [CTE]). The most elaborate debate is on how to explain the exceptional binding of anaphors appearing in pre-antecedent position (cf. Stowell, 1986, Belletti and Rizzi 1988 etc.). Some examples to be discussed in this presentation include the following:

   Audu is sad/happy/angry/wondering (= surprised) (that Ali has left)

2. Audù yaa tsàni/kyàmàci/soo Aabù.
   Audù hated/abhorred (resented)/likes (loves) Aabù.

   Audù’s attitude/behavior angered/worried/pestered Àli.

4. *[hootunà-n juunaa(n-sù/kansu)] sunàa dàamù-n ‘yan siyaasà-nì.
   Pictures of each other/themselves annoy/disturb the politicians.

I will specifically show that the kind of exceptional binding found in some languages is not available in Hausa. That is, I will argue that Hausa anaphors must obey Condition A of the Binding Theory in that they must be C-commanded by their antecedents in their governing categories.
The Structure of Relative Clauses in Maay Maay
ELLY ZIMMER

This study describes the structure of relative clauses in Maay Maay, a language spoken by approximately 1.8 million speakers in Somalia. The data for this study was gathered over the course of three months of elicitation sessions with a single native speaker of Maay Maay. It provides a basic documentation of the structure of Maay relative clauses, illustrating their properties with respect to several typological factors. An example of a Maay relative clause is shown in (1).

(1) nin-kə [(ow) raʃin-kə kari -oj -e] sefas indi luw-e
man-DEF.M (that) food-DEF.M cook-PROG-3SG/M. well dance-3SG/M

‘The man who is cooking the food dances well.’

This data shows that Maay relative clauses are initially-headed and can be marked by an optional complementizer ‘ow’. This complementizer can appear in other types of embedded clauses such as sentential complements to nouns and focus constructions; however, it must follow certain other grammatical elements. Because of this, I argue that ‘ow’ is a complex NP marker which occupies the head of CP. I then argue that the other grammatical elements with which it co-occurs are demonstratives which occupy the SPEC CP position and mark for sentential complements and focus complements. The analysis of these elements as demonstratives is supported by the fact that they share certain phonetic and morphological properties with other determiners in the language. This analysis supports several accounts which have argued that demonstratives are generated in SPEC positions (Giusti, 1993; Brugè 2002).

Evidence on Aspects of Language Maintenance through Asynchronous Computer Mediated Communication among Young Algerian Users: The Case of Berber in Algeria
MIMOUNA ZITOUNI & ABDELKADER LOTFI BENHATTAB

In this research, we will display the role of asynchronous Computer Mediated Communication (SMS and e-mail) as an element of language maintenance for an endangered language variety in Algeria, namely the Berber variety, and consider to what extent asynchronous CMC could be a driving force of Berber promotion in Algeria.

To achieve this, we shall present results of a study undertaken on young Algerians Berber users of SMS and e-mail communication in the speech community of Oran. A central question in this concern is to focus on the use of languages and more particularly Berber, and how this choice is creatively manifested.

The main results obtained in this study show that language use in SMS and E-mail communication among young Algerians Berber users is creatively used and well suited to achieve the communication situation needs. Berber, in SMS and e-mail language, is found to be represented through unconventional spelling based on a Romanized version of Berber together with numbers to replicate Berber’s sounds. The use of this new written version of Berber is mainly used to facilitate imitating the colloquialism that young Algerians Berber speakers are acquainted with in daily conversations. We suggest, ultimately, that the creative writing of Berber appears to serve foster Berber’s maintenance and may contribute to the promotion of the Berber variety in Algeria, in the Maghreb, and even in the Arab world.
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