ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 51-52

PUSHING THE BOUNDARIES

A virtual conference hosted by
The University of Florida
April 8th-10th, 2021

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Dear ACAL Attendees:

When we agreed to host ACAL 52 three years ago, we were excitingly looking forward to once again welcoming everyone to our beautiful campus here at the University of Florida, bringing together all of our friends and colleagues who share a passion for African languages and linguistics. Gainesville is beautiful in April. An outing to see some Florida wildlife and a conference dinner at the botanical gardens were definitely on the agenda. Then COVID hit. When Rutgers' ACAL 51 was wisely cancelled due to COVID 19, we worked with its organizers to allow papers accepted there to be presented a year later here at UF and we set about planning an in-person conference in the hope that the pandemic would be controlled enough to at least allow a hybrid conference with many attendees in person. Alas, by December 2020 it was clear this would not happen and the difficult decision was made to create an all virtual conference, something none of us had any experience with. We learned what we could from what others had done and simply did our best with the resources we had. We are grateful for the financial support offered by various academic units on campus.

While we're certainly missing the opportunities for good conversation over good food and drink that a typical ACAL would offer, we are still incredibly pleased that ACAL will include a wide variety of presentations representing some of the most interesting and exciting research in African linguistics from around the world. We will even be ending the conference with a musical performance from Ghana that we are all looking forward to.

We hope you take full advantage of the scholarly presentations this year at ACAL 51-52. Use the Q&A time to ask questions, download handouts from our website, and reach out to scholars with questions and requests. Don't let our physical distance this year stop us from networking, encouraging one another, and initiating collaborations over shared interests.

As we write this, another mass vaccination event is taking place here on our campus and COVID 19 rates in our community have dropped dramatically from a few months ago. There is hope on the horizon. We hope there are signs of that in your community as well – soon if not already.

Sincerely,

Your ACAL 51-52 Organizing Committee
James Essegbey
Brent Henderson
Fiona McLaughlin

Please visit the conference website for the latest updates to the schedule

ACAL 51-52 Program Schedule					
DAY 1 (THURSDAY)					
	SESSION 1	**SESSION 2**	**SESSION 3**	**SESSION 4**	**SESSION 5**
10:00-10:40	OPENING				
10:40-10:45	BREAK				
10:45-11:15	**DEMIR** Grammatical tone interaction in Rere	**KANDYBOWICZ & NCHARE** Integrated appositve relative clauses in Shupamem	**HALPERT** Licensing external arguments: Some Bantu case puzzles revisited	**PEDAVOAH** Language policy and planning in the urban home: the nanny as an unrecognized agent	**OLSEN** Labial-velar to labial sound changes in Luto
11:15-11:45	**ODDEN** Logoori noun tone 2.0	**FERNANDEZ GUERRERO** Strategies of clausal complementation in Rere	**CARSTENS** Unlocking coordinate structures: Agreement with conjoined objects in Swahili	**ANSAH & ANSAH** The use of persuasive language in Christian fundraising: Coercion or motivation?	**HAWTOF, BELEK & FRANICH** Acoustic analysis of implosives in Rikpa language
11:45-12:15	**BREAK**	**FINHOLT & GLUCKMAN** A corpus study of Swahili's dual-complementizer system	**KIM & GREEN** Copular constructions in Mbat: grammatical and classificatory considerations	**BREAK**	**CAHILL** Where do labialvelars go?
12:15 – 1:00	LUNCH				
	SESSION 1	**SESSION 2**	**SESSION 3**	**SESSION 4**	**SESSION 5**
1:00 - 2:00	PLENARY SESSION 1: **Amina METTOUCHI** *Giving wings to our race against time: Auto-documentation and the Amazigh languages*				
2:00 – 2:15	BREAK				
2:15 – 2:45	**HASSEN, KALDHOL & ROSE** Tira participant marking: The role of tone	**SANGARE & ROY** Inverted copular sentences in Bambara	**BOSSI** Encoding negative bias in Kipsigis belief reports	**KERR, LI & VAN DER WAL** Bantu word order between discourse and syntactic relations	**FELICE** The morphosyntax of Ga subject pronominals
2:45 – 3:15	**HODIEB** Tone and dissimilation in Wushi	**LEWIS** The affixal article in Mandinka	**JORDANOSKA** The pragmatics of Wolof *daal*	**SCHWAB** Inalienable kinship relations in colloquial isiXhosa: towards a syntactic analysis	**ALEISSA** Subject vs. non-subject extraction symmetries in Senoufo Nafara
3:15 – 3:45	**RUSSELL** A unified account of grammatical tone (and length) in Ga	**SMITH** The SOV structure of Mende	**ADJEI, AMPONG & MAKAFUI** Towards a pragmatic study of name-calling on Ghana Web	**GOBENA** Copula and possession in Oromo: a typological perspective	**NGWASI** The non-reflexive functions of the reflexive prefix in Hehe, Nilamba and Nyaturu
3:45 – 4:15	**MARLO & ODDEN** Logoori Tiriki comparative noun tone	**GOERTZEL** Pseudo-incorporation and the structure of Mandinka DPs	**END**	**END**	**STRUTHERS-YOUNG** Multiple exponence of nasality in Northern Toussian

DAY 2 (FRIDAY)					
	SESSION 1	**SESSION 2**	**SESSION 3**	**SESSION 4**	**SESSION 5**
10:00-10:30	**AKUMBU** Vowel quality and stress in African tone languages: The case of Babanki	**DOHERTY** Non-future tense in non-neutral contexts in Ibibio	**BLUM** On the definition of adjectives in Dinka	**ILORI & ONUORA** A syntactic reappraisal of polar question constructions in Igbo	**RESCUE** The place of African languages in multilingual classrooms: towards an intersectional approach to language of education in Ghana
10:30-11:00	**DOWNING & KRÄMER** Phrasal vowel harmony: the view from Africa	**DUNCAN & KANDYBOWICZ** Diagnosing restrictivity and non-restrictivity in Ikpana relative clauses	**ABUBAKARI & ISSAH** Particles and ex situ focus in Mabia (Gur) languages: a grouping based on inventory	**PATERSON** Clause final negation and double negation in Northwest Kainji	**ZHANG** 'New' changes in Tigrinya: internal development or Amharic influence? Language change and contact influence reflected in textbooks
11:00-11:30	**HUANG** Does Rere have vowel harmony?	**AMAECHI** Islands and perfective (non-)extraction in Igbo	**SCHAEFER & EGBOKHARE** Starting points for tense-aspect analysis	**TAMBA** Wh-questions in Paloor	**VAN PINXTEREN** The concepts of discerned and designed languages and their relevance for Africa
11:30-12:00	**DEKLU** Vowel harmony in Ewe: implications for theories of underspecifcation	**BOWDEN, DU, GRIFFIN & TROTTER** Detecting perfective and imperfective constrast in central Dagaare	**HARLEY** Vowel systems in Nigerian languages: genetic typology vs. areal characteristics	**BANI YOUNES & HELLMUTH** Resolving the debate about the disambiguation of disjunctive questions: Egyptian and other Arabic dialects	
12:00 – 1:00	LUNCH				
	SESSION 1	**SESSION 2**	**SESSION 3**	**SESSION 4**	**SESSION 5**
1:00 -- 2:00	PLENARY SESSION 2: **Laura McPHERSON** *Beyond talking drums: African languages in musical form*				
2:00 – 2:15	BREAK				
2:15 – 2:45	**LEHMAN & BARON** Vowel hiatus resolution as a (non-)categorical phonologically conditioned process: evidence from Avatime and Ikpana	**BROWN & TORRENCE** The syntax of predicate focus doubling in Dschang	**AKUMBU** The expression of qualities in Babanki	**KOVAL** The hypersensitive agreement in Akebu	**FLECK** A possessor raising light verb in Tigrinya
2:45 – 3:15	**KUZMIK & PASTER** Vowel hiatus resolution in Kikuyu	**KANDYBOWICZ, SCHURR, NCHARE, BUCKNOR, MA, MARKOWSKA, TAPIA** On the absence of (Certain) islands in Shupamem	**BOBUAFOR** Cut or uproot the rice: the cultural semantics of harvesting crops in Tafi	**SANDE** Phonological evidence for two different kinds of syntactic movement in Guébie	**PAYNE** Instrumental and dative applicatives in Maa

3:15 – 3:45	**GREEN** Minimality, margins, and metrical structure: more on the mora in Somali	**DYER** Wolof universal dependency parsing	**LEE** On the syntactic and semantic properties of *doo* in Mandinka	**HENDERSON** Resumption in Chimiini passives	**SIBANDA** Reciprocity and quantification in Ndebele
3:45 – 4:15	**KIEFFER** Variant glide repair strategies in Kinyarwanda	**FONG** Feature licensing and the inter-pretation of bare nominals in Wolof	**GIBSON, JERRO & KULA** Post-verbal clitics and particles in Bemba: partitive and focus readings	**GOTAH** On sentence- final particles in Tongugbe	**FURUMOTO** Grammaticalisation of the Kimakunduchi demonstrative into a pronominal topic marker
DAY 3 (SATURDAY)					
	SESSION 1	**SESSION 2**	**SESSION 3**	**SESSION 4**	**SESSION 5**
10:00 – 10:30	**WIEBE** Tone absorption and the decomposability of tone features	**GUITANG** Frozen reduplication and repetition in Gizey	**BAR-EL & PETZELL** On the Bantu 'imperfective' morpheme -ag	**WELLER, FAYTAK, STEFFMAN, TEIXEIRA, MAYER & TANKOU** Tongue root position and laryngeal state in Yemba vowels	**RUDD** 'Wajinga nyinyi' You fools: lessons in a Kenyan supervernacular from King Kaka
10:30 – 11:00	**ZHU** Tones and melodies of Tuwuli nouns	**LANGA da CAMARA, DIERCKS, COLANTES, KUZMIK, LY, ZHOU** Object marking in Cinyungwe	**CZUBA** Temporality and aspectuality in Dschang	**OLEJARCZUK & OTERO** Voice quality and purported ATR in Mòoré: a preliminary acoustic study	**AYUGHA** Bringing the Big Man down: the social function of Bokyi diminutives and augmentatives
11:00 – 11:30	**BICKMORE** Town Nyanja verbal tonology	**MA** Why no double objective construction in Shupamem	**IYAMU** Pluractionality in Edo	**FAYTAK, STEFFMAN & TANKOU** Phonetics of voiced aspirates in Yemba (Dschang)	**AMPONG, YEGBLEMENAWO, ADJEI-FORSON & ARTHUR** Verbalising emotions against reality: a pragma-stylistic analysis of the Akan football commentary
11:30-12:00	**McPHERSON, CISSÉ & ZHENG** Acquisition of tone among Bambara-speaking children	**KHARYTONAVA** (Some) dialectal variation in nominal systems in Kimbundu	**ABUBAKARI** Verbal alternations in Kusaal and related languages	**FRANICH** Glottalization, f0, and tonal variation in Medʉmba	
12:00 – 1:00	LUNCH				
1:00 -- 2:00	PLENARY SESSION 3: **Enoch ABOH** *Are we learning enough from African languages*? *The case of Gbe (Kwa)*				
2:00 – 3:00	ACAL Business Meeting				
3:00 – 4:00	CONCERT by Mt. Zion Choir, Odorkor, Ghana				

Invited Speakers

Dr. Enoch Aboh, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam and Director of the Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication. His research investigates the learnability of human languages with a special focus on syntax, language creation, and language change, particularly in Niger-Congo, Romance, Germanic, Atlantic creoles, and Sign languages. He is also a co-founder of the African Linguistics School.

Dr. Amina Mettouchi, Professor of Berber Linguistics at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris, and member of the LLACAN CNRS research unit. Her research focuses on the documentation and analysis of Berber/Amazigh languages, as well as the role of spoken corpora in cross-linguistic research. She is particularly interested in the fundamental role played by prosody at the core of language structure.

Dr. Laura McPherson, Associate Professor in Linguistics at Dartmouth College. Her primary research focuses on phonology, morphology and language documentation. Her current project involves documenting and analyzing the linguistic underpinnings of musical surrogate languages around the world.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Giving wings to our race against time: Auto-Documentation and the Amazigh languages

Amina Mettouchi
Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes - PSL (Paris) & CNRS LLACAN

Throughout the world, linguistic diversity is dwindling at an accelerated pace. While most of Africa seems to fare better than other parts of the world, with its two thousand or so languages and its many still vibrant local cultures, it is obvious that even on this continent, there is no chance whatsoever of achieving the academic documentation of more than ten percent of the remaining non- or under-described languages, given the ratio of researchers and funding to languages.

It is therefore urgent to create an alternative, sustainable strategy that could scale up linguistic and cultural documentation, as well as empower speakers and communities. I call this strategy "auto-documentation", and consider it distinct not only from standard academic documentation, but also from "remote fieldwork" or speaker-assisted documentation ("community-training", "crowdsourcing", etc.). In this approach, auto-documentation is defined as the constitution, by and for speakers/communities, of a body of recordings of their own language and culture, using methods and tools that do not involve academic institutions or funding, NGOs or other external support, but are accessible to any speaker or community in their local environment.

For this kind of autonomous strategy to be successful, it is crucial that the internal and external factors of endangerment should be identified, and the technical, social and political obstacles (and facilitators) to auto-documentation clearly established. I will present a survey of those factors for Amazigh languages and cultures, and the subsequent elaboration of a two-year campaign involving social media (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube), as well as resource- and capacity-building. In doing so, I will specify the underlying assumptions involved and make the architecture of the strategy explicit, so as to facilitate the transfer and adaptation of auto-documentation methods to other communities throughout Africa and beyond.

Ultimately, at the onset of the International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022-2032) engaging in auto-documentation is an act of empowerment for local activists and a way for them to stand in their rightful place, at the core and in control of the documentation of their own languages and cultures, in their own terms.

Abstracts are in no particular order

Copula and Possession in Oromo: A Typological Perspective

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The copular clauses in Oromo involve the copular particles *-ɗa* and *-ti* that function in the present affirmative clauses; however, some nominals that end in short vowels may occur with zero copula for some phonological environments. For their uninflected nature, they typologically refer to the *invariable particles* among Payne's (1997:115-118) copular categories that include verbal, pronominal, and derivational copulas. Concerning the functions, possession is pervasive through their realizations especially with the POSM subject and POSR complement among the several functions of copula that are listed in Dixon (2010:159). This copular function embodies existential proximity within the possessive relations.

As in many languages, copulas express possession in their varied realizations, but the copula *-ti* is special for its primary connection with possessive function in Oromo. The possessive copular suffix *-ti* on the POSR constituent is in allomorphic variation with the other copulas. This copula follows the long terminal vowel on the POSR nominal while the POSR constituents that end in short vowels have the overt copula *ɗa* with the possibility of zero copula as exemplified below. [Note: Cor – stands for 'coreferential' because the particle *kan* has a function a place taking element for the POSM nounin order to avoid repetition.]

(i) kitaab-ʧi kan isa-a-ti
book-Def Cor 3sm-Poss-Cop
'The book is his.'

(ii) *kitaab-ʧi kan keeŋŋa-ɗa*
book-Def Cor 1Pl:Poss-Cop
'The book is ours.'

(iii) *kitaab-ʧi kan keeŋŋa-Ø*
book-Def Cor 1Pl:Poss-Cop
'The book is ours.'

The copula *-ti* seems typical to possessive clauses as on (i) that is shown compared to other declarative copula *ɗa* on (ii) and the zero copula on (iii) above all of which occur in possessive copular clauses. Besides, there are several other peculiarities in manifestations of the grammatical relations between copula and possession including the doubled possessive copula

for succession of possessive relations, cleft constructions where the copula *-ti* emphasizes the possessive notion occurring in a separate copula clause, and others.

The non-present possessive copula clauses take the past form of the existential verb *ʤɨr-* 'there is/exists' that is *tur-* 'there was/existed' as an auxiliary. The present copula mostly implies future; however, the uncertainty expressing word *taʔ-* 'will be' is also employed as future a copula. The present paper is an attempt to explore the typological features of copula and possession in Oromo along with their functional relations.

Key words: copula, typology, grammaticalize, possession, morphosyntax, clause

References

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Vowel quality and stress in African tone languages: The case of Babanki

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The interrelation of tone, stress and vowel quality has been neglected in the study ofAfrican tone languages (Dimmendaal 2012). In Babanki, a Grassfields Bantu language of North-West Cameroon schwa is excessively present in affixes and less frequent in roots than the other seven vowel phonemes of the language. At the sametime affixes containing schwa have the least intense articulations suggesting that Babanki schwa represents vowel quality reduction under the influence of stress. Thestudy is based on recordings of representative nouns from two male and two female speakers analyzed in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2016). The nouns were drawn fromthe relevant noun classes and include the two basic tone patterns of the language,
i.e. High and Low to ensure that tone is not the determining factor. Since there are interactions with tone and other unknown factors, further investigation is required to fully establish that the over proportionate representation of schwa in affixes withrespect to the other vowel qualities results from the influence of stress in Babanki and other African tone languages.

Keywords: Vowel quality, stress, tone, Babanki, affixes, rootsReferences

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Bringing the 'Big Man' Down: The Social Function of Bokyi Diminutives and Augmentatives

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It seems obvious that there are some aspects of the morphology of Nigerian languages, which have not received adequate attention. This deprives Linguists of the opportunity to enjoy the whole of the richness that is found in African languages. One of such aspects is Evaluative Morphology, which studies, among other things, diminutives and augmentatives – a seemingly rare phenomenon of most Nigerian languages. The purpose of this study is to fill this gap. The paper presents a preliminary description of the diminutives and augmentatives of Bokyi, a Bendi language of upper Cross River State. The Bendi languages are some of the least documented and published in Nigeria, which has made their classification more challenging. It is hoped that this study would provide a little more data that might be useful in the classification of the Bendi languages, as well as arouse the interest of linguists in the study of this area that has remained unstudied to for too long. The study adopts a form and function approach. First, the forms of the diminutives and the augmentatives are identified. Secondly, the function of the identified forms, as well as the semantic and pragmatic constraints regarding their use are highlighted. Data for this study was collected through conversations, stories, folk songs, and translated scripture. The study reveals that, while Bokyi diminutives ***kaa*** and ***boo***, and the augmentatives ***kee*** and ***bee***, have something to do with 'smallness' and 'bigness', they also perform other semantic and pragmatic functions – they cause the 'Big man' to look like a child. Also, while other languages use suffixation to mark diminutives and augmentatives, Bokyi uses prefixation. An interesting aspect of this feature of the Bokyi language is that it has a Bokyi term, *Ebwan.*

Keywords: Bokyi, diminutives, augmentatives, evaluative morphology, Big man

“Wajinga Nyinyi” You Fools: Lessons in a Kenyan Supervernacular from King Kaka

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In 2017, a Supreme Court decision gave the incumbent presidential administration a second term silencing the Kenyan electorate and spreading discontent nationwide. Feeling unheard, residents of Nairobi’s informal settlements riot, public university lecturers strike, and university students across the country protest. Late 2019, King Kaka (Kenyan rap artist Kennedy Ombima) releases “Wajinga Nyinyi” (You Fools), a song descrying the state of democracy in Kenya. The lyrics employee an ex-colonial language (English), an indigenous lingua franca (Swahili), a language of the bourgeoisie (Engsh), and a language of the proletariat (Sheng) and disclose “new ways of doing sociolinguistics” (Juffermans, Blommaert, Kroon & Li, 2014). With a “strategic purchase in the field of social policy” (Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton & Spotti 2016), this paper reveals lessons for *linguistic citizenship* (Stroud 2008). First, the lyrics reflect a *supervernacular*, the “new forms of semiotic codes emerging in the context of technology driven globalization processes” (Blommaert 2011). English plays the role of the familiar to a global audience and provides a “hip-hop authenticity” (Wang 2017). Next, global norms are colored (Velghe 2011) by the regional accent (Swahili) and the original and local accents (Engsh and Sheng), an englobalization-and-deglobalization process of localization disclosing an *emergent normativity*, poetically creative and individual, but “infrastructural” in that it conforms to the local norms in the social and cultural universes of Kenya (cf, Wang 20l7). “Wajinga Nyinyi” then is a paragon of how global-local identity is constructed (Alim et al. 2009; Mitchell 2001; Pennycook 2007; Westinen 2014). The results find that though politicians silence voices, Kenyans can “develop a voice worth hearing” (Hymes 1996) by unifying as a national voice (rebranded and attractively repackaged as Engsh and Sheng) in order to force out of power those who are not beneficial to a more just Kenyan body politic.

Resolving the Debate about the Disambiguation of Disjunctive Questions: Egyptian and other Arabic dialects

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Disjunctive Questions (DQs) in English, such as alternative questions (altqs) and disjunctive yes-no questions (dynqs) are string-identical. For example, *have you visited London or Cairo?* can be an altq (answer: London) or a dynq (answer: yes). The different prosodic features of each question type (dynqs: final rise; altqs: a fall) are what disambiguate these two question types in English (Pruitt & Roelofsen, 2013 etc.). Pruitt and Roelofsen ran a perception study in English to evaluate the role of prosody in disambiguating altqs and dynqs. There are difficulties in replicating their study in Arabic because in Egyptian Arabic (EA), for instance, it is still unknown how such similarly-worded DQs are disambiguated given that the literature used two disjunctive elements (DEs), which are equivalent to English *or*: *ʔaw* and *willa*. There has been considerable debate for EA regarding which DE can be used in which DQ type (Soraya, 1966; Eid, 1974; Winans, 2012; 2019). This paper asks whether intonation or DE choice disambiguates the two types of DQ, to resolve this debate in the literature on EA.

A replication of Pruitt and Roelofsen's perception study was first run to explore the relative contribution of the possible disambiguating factors (intonation or DE choice) in Jordanian Arabic (JA). This experiment was extended to cover EA, Kuwaiti (KA), and Syrian (SA) Arabic, with the aim of finding out which cue reliably disambiguates DQs and which DE is accepted in the two types of DQs in the four dialects. In addition, the perception experiment compared and contrasted the four dialects to find similarities and differences in their disambiguating cues. There were 74 JA, 52 EA, 70 KA, and 48 SA participants. Mixed-effects logistic regression was used to analyse the results. The fixed effects were intonation (rise vs. fall) and DE choice (*ʔaw* vs. *willa*). A rising intonational contour is the typical contour of yes-no questions (ynqs) reported for all four dialects, and the falling contour is reported to be canonical of altqs.

The results showed that all four dialects showed a main effect of contour choice and of DE choice (except for SA). Thus, all of these dialects, like English, employ choice of contour in disambiguating DQs when one of the DEs can be used in both types of DQ. However, they are different from English in employing DE choice as a further disambiguator. The results also showed that both DEs were accepted in both types of DQ in all four dialects, which is in line with Soraya's (1966) observation on EA that both DEs can appear in both types of DQs. However, this finding contradicts Winans' (2019) observation for EA that *ʔaw* can only be used in dynqs whereas *willa* can only be used in altqs. The results also do not support Eid's (1974) claim that *ʔaw* cannot be used in dynqs, but they support her claim that *willa* can appear in both types of DQs. The implications for the other dialects will be presented in the full presentation in the conference.

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Minimality, margins, and metrical structure: More on the mora in Somali

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This paper explores the mora's role in satisfying word shape/minimality requirements, governing syllableshape distribution, and in the parsing of metrical feet in Somali. The mora is already well-established as the language's tone bearing unit (Hyman 1981), but few works question its function elsewhere in the language. This paper takes up matter of coda moraicity, illustrating that Somali coda consonants do not consistently contribute weight to a syllable. Rather, they appear moraic for some phenomena but non- moraic for others, particularly for High tone assignment. That Somali codas are inconsistently moraic departs from longstanding viewpoints, notably Saeed (1999), who considers them non-moraic, stating thatclosed syllables pattern with other light syllables in all instances.

While the mora has been considered almost exclusively an attribute of Somali vowels, some haveraised doubts. Orwin (1994, 1996) appeals to the possibility of "early" coda moraicity in accounting for reduplication patterns, while Orwin (2001) and Orwin & Gaarriye (2011) illustrate that closed syllables are metrically illicit in certain scansion positions in some poetic genres, again suggesting coda weight.

I present new evidence based on a survey of word shapes extracted from two Somali-English dictionaries(Zorc & Osman 1993, Puglielli & Mansuur 2012) and from my own fieldwork that clearly implicate codamoraicity in word shape and in syllable type distribution.

Minimal content words are CVC, CVV (long vowel or diphthong). These syllable shapes are alsopermitted word-internally before another syllable. CV sequences are limited to function words and clitics,however, suggesting they are subminimal. CVVC syllables occur word-finally but not internally. This suggests that word-final CVVC codas are perhaps extrametrical (like in Arabic) or otherwise vacate their mora due to a finality condition. However, word internal codas cannot be treated as such, so their absencemust be attributed to some other factor. What is surprising is that CVVG syllables (closed by a geminate)*are* found word-internally. This calls into question contemporary views concerning the moraic representation of singleton vs. geminate consonants. The patterning of word-internal CVVC vs. CVVG syllables in Somali may ultimately provide support for the hybrid, two-tiered timing/gestural approach to geminates proposed by Baker (2009) and discussed further by Davis (2011).

Another apparent role for the mora in Somali is in the parsing of metrical feet. I show that Somali parses at least one foot, either syllabic or moraic, depending on word size. Its location renders predictablethe distribution of V/Ø alternations in both nouns and verbs.

Relative to each of these phenomena, I show that coda consonants behave as if they contribute to syllable weight. However, it is well-known that codas are not counted in calculating the location for assignment of Somali's penultimate mora H tone. While others have assumed a moraic analysis of Somaliin the spirit of Hyman (1985), this paper take a step further in providing clear evidence substantiating an early role played by consonantal moras, despite them being lost later in word formation.

Verbal Alternations in Kusaal and Related Languages

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This paper seeks to examine the Conjoint/Disjoint (CJ/DJ) verbal alternations in Kusaal and related Mabia (Gur) languages of Ghana: Dagaare, Dagbani and Mampruli. The main purpose of the study is to explain some observed co-occurrence restrictions exhibited in the verbal morphology of most of these languages where the perfective aspectual forms of the verb with the suffix *–ya* blocks complements or adjuncts. This is illustrated in (1) with data from Kusaal.

(1) a O sa kul yin
3SG PAST go.home.PERF.**CJ** house
'S/he went home yesterday.'

b. *O sa kul
3SG PAST go.home.PERF.**CJ**
'S/he went home yesterday.'

c. O sa kulya.
3SG PAST go'home.PERF.**DJ**
'S/he went home yesterday.'

d. *O sa kulya yin
3SG PAST go.home.PERF.**DJ.** home

The occurrence of verbal alternations is exhibited in the aspectual markings of the languages where the verbs take inflections. The morphology of these verbal forms has direct correspondence on the ability of the verb to take a complement or adjunct (Meussen 1959; van der Wal 2017 among others). Table (1) shows aspectual suffix morphemes and their corresponding CJ/DJ forms in Dagaare, Dagbani, Kusaal and Mampruli.

Table 1.

Verbal Alternations	Languages/CJ/DJ forms/aspectual suffix morphemes							
Aspectual Types	Dagbani	Suffixes	Dagaare	Suffixes	Kusaal	Suffixes	Mampruli	Suffixes
Imperfective AspectA [Habitual]	CJ	-ri/di/ti	CJ	-re	CJ	-t/-d	CJ DJ	-ri -ra
Imperfective AspectB [Progressive]	DJ	-ra/da/ta	CJ	-rɛɛ	CJ	-tnɛ/ -dnɛ	CJ	-ri
Perfective Aspect A	CJ	-Ø	CJ	-Ø	CJ	-Ø	CJ	-Ø
Perfective Aspect B	DJ	-ya	CJ	-e/-ɛ	DJ	-ya	DJ	-ya

The main questions that guide this research include: (i) What is the nature of the verbal morphology of these languages? (ii) How does the CJ/DJ phenomenon relate to them?

The hypothesis is that the conjoint/disjoint alternation phenomenon exists in Mabia languages but at a rather gradually fading stage: (i) it is fully available in Dagbani (Issah 2015), partially available in Kusaal, and unavailable in Dagaare.

This research is entirely qualitative and it is carried out using data gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The phenomenon will be examined taking into consideration works such as (Bodomo 1997; Ines 2017; Issah 2015; Van der Wal 2017; Van der Wal and Hyman 2017).

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Tones and Melodies of Tuwuli Nouns

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This project analyzes Tuwuli tonal alternations in noun class markers (Harley 2005) with melody and accentual analysis, in an optimality theoretical framework. Tuwuli has three surface tones: H(igh), L(ow), and F(alling). Noun class markers carry either the H or L tone. The environments where the prefix is H- or L-toned are listed in the following table.

(Prefix) H	(Root) H, HH, HHH, F, HL, HF, HHL, HHF
(Prefix) L	(Root) L, LL, LLL, H, H, HHH, LH, LHH F, HL, HF, HHL, HHF, LF, LHF

Based on the observations that the prefix is L-toned when the root tone beginswith L/H/F, and H-toned when the root tone begins with H/F, we propose (i) atonally unspecified prefix, which copies the first toneme in the root stem, as the underlying form of the noun class marker, and (ii) an underlying R(ising) tone that always surfaces as H, for some roots with an L-toned prefix.

A melody analysis (Zoll 2003) is adopted to generalize the underlying tonal in-ventories of Tuwuli nouns, with five melodies: H, HL, L, LH, LHL. Each melody in the underlying representation maps to the syllables in various ways, and outputs the tonal patterns in the surface representation. Furthermore, an accentual anal- ysis (Hyman 2006) captures more precisely the mapping mechanisms between tones and syllables.

As the first melodic analysis for Tuwuli, this project implements the OT frame-work in Zoll (2003) to formalize the tonal alternations. Combining melody and accentual analysis, our research predicts all the tonal patterns of Tuwuli nouns, and calls for reconsideration of accentual marking in tone melodies.

Vowel hiatus resolution in Kikuyu

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This paper describes vowel hiatus resolution (VHR) in Kikuyu (E.51, Kenya), presenting new data to fill gaps in previous descriptions (Armstrong 1940; see also Mugane 1997) and address divergence from those descriptions. Factors we haveidentified in VHR outcomes are given in (1).

(1) V1 quality & length
V2 quality & length
presence/quality/length of V preceding V1
presence/type of C (velar vs. non-velar)
preceding V1 V vs. C following V2
presence/quality/length of V following V2 presence/type of C (nasal vs. oral)
following V2 boundary type between V1 and V2 (morpheme vs. word)

The vowel inventory of Kikuyu is {i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u} (+ long counterparts). While our ultimate goal is a complete description of all V1+V2 combinations in all relevant contexts, the combinatorics of the parameters in (1) produce an unwieldy number of contexts. Therefore, as the basis for a broader description, we begin with a subset of the contexts: V1+V2 sequences across a word boundary where both vowels are short, V1 is preceded by a non-velar consonant, and V2 is followed by an oral consonant. (2) shows VHR outcomes in these conditions (due to word count limits we only includecombinations where changes apply).

(2)					
	e+o → io	mòtè óyó	→	mòtìòyó	‘this tree’
	e+u → iu	gèʃóhè úgà	→	gèʃóhìúgà	‘Gĩcũhĩ, say something!’
	ɛ+e → ɛɛ	ŋɔ̀ɔ̀bɛ̀ èɣéðìé	→	ŋɔ̀ɔ̀bɛ́éɣèðìè	‘the cow went’
	ɛ+a → ea	dɔ̀ɔ̀nìré áðùùrì	→	dɔ̀ɔ̀nìréáˡðúúrì	‘I saw the elders’
	ɛ+ɔ → eɔ	kàmààdé ɔ́yà	→	kàmààdéɔ́yà	‘Kamande, lift!’
	ɛ+o → eo	nààwé óɣékúúdékáɣé	→	nààwéóɣékúúdékáɣé	‘and you continue tying’
	ɛ+u → ɛu ~ eɔi	kàmààdé úgà	→	kàmààdéúgà ~ kàmààdéɔ́ígà	‘Kamande, say something!’
	a+e → ɛɛ	nyààbùrá étèkà	→	nyààbùréétèkà	‘Nyambura, answer!’
	a+ɛ → ɛɛ	nyààbùrá éhérà	→	nyààbùréɛˡhérà	‘Nyambura, stand aside!’
	a+ɔ → ɔɔ	tààtà ɔ́yà	→	tààtɔ́ɔ́yà	‘Aunt, lift!’
	a+o → ɔɔ	nà òrééhè	→	nɔ̀ɔ̀rééhè	‘and bring...’
	a+u → au ~ ɔi	bùrá úrà	→	bùráˡúrà ~ bùrɔˡírà	‘rain, come down!’
	ɔ+e → oɛ	gèkɔ̀nyɔ́ étèkà	→	gèkɔ̀nyóétèkà	‘Gĩkonyo, answer!’
	ɔ+o → ɔɔ	mòtàrɔ́ óʃíɔ̀	→	mòtàrɔ́ɔ́ʃíɔ́	‘that drain’
	ɔ+u → ɔu ~ ɔi	gèkɔ̀nyɔ́ úgà	→	gèkɔ̀nyɔˡúgà ~ gèkɔ̀nyɔˡígà	‘Gĩkonyo, say something!’

In this context, there are three points of disagreement between our description and Armstrong’s. First, Armstrong (1940: 27) describes *e+o* as surfacing unchanged (*eo*), whereas in our data this surfaces as *io*. A second difference is thatin our data, *ɛ+o* yields *eo*, while Armstrong (1940: 20) describes this sequence surfacing as *eɔ*. And finally, two changes described as invariant by Armstrong (1940: 21, 25) (*ɛ+u* → *eɔi*, *a+u* → *ɔi*, and *ɔ+u* → *ɔi*) are optional for our speaker. In the paper we address these and other differences between

our description and Armstrong's including an expanded range of glide formation contexts and different VHR outcomes depending on boundary type.

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Town Nyanja Verbal Tonology

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Nyanja is one of Zambia's seven national languages. While the Nyanja spoken in the Eastern Province is a very close dialect of neighboring Chichewa (spoken across the border in Malawi), a variety of Nyanja is also spoken in Zambia's capital city, Lusaka, often referred to as "Town Nyanja." Somewhat surprisingly, little has been published on the tonology of either Nyanja variety. This paper attempts to begin to fill that gap in the literature by providing a robust description and analysis of the verbal tonology of Town Nyanja.

The tonology of Town Nyanja can be productively contrasted against Chichewa/Eastern Province Nyanja in several important respects. First, the tonal contrast evident in verb roots in Chichewa is not found in Town Nyanja, as illustrated in (1). (All Chichewa data from Downing & Mtenje 2017.)

(1)	Chichewa	Town Nyanja
a.	kù-témbénùùz-à INF-turn.over-FV 'to turn over'	c. kù-témbénùùz-à
b.	kù-támbálàál-á INF-stretch.legs-FV 'to stretch legs'	d. kù-támbálààl-à

Whereas there are two possible tonal patterns in Chichewa verbal infinitives resulting from a distinction in toneless (1a) and High toned (1b) roots, there is only a single pattern in Town Nyanja (1c,d).

Next, it is well known that Chichewa is one of the relatively few Bantu languages with some High-toned verbal extensions; specifically the intensive /-íts/, the stative /-ík/ and the reversive intransitive /-úk/. These, as well as all other extensions in Town Nyanja are toneless.

(2)	Chichewa	Town Nyanja
a.	kù-yáŋán-ìíts-à INF-look.at-INT-FV 'to look at (intensive)'	b. kù-yángán-ììs-à

Whereas a second High tone (from the extension) is apparent in the Chichewa intensive form (2a) (where the root is toneless), no such extra High tone is present in the Town Nyanja intensive form (2b).

Finally, there are a number of additional differences between Chichewa and Town Nyana in the finite verbal system. As Hyman & Mtenje (1999) and Downing & Mtenje (2017), among others, have shown, Chichewa exhibits a quite complex verbal tonology, which can be analyzed as inflectional properties (e.g. tense/aspect/mood, negation, etc.) assigning grammatical/melodic High tones to various morphemes and positions within the verb stem. Downing & Mtenje

document 8 distinct overall patterns. One contributing factor in this regard is that a melodic H tone is sometimes assigned to the stem-final TBU and sometimes to the penultimate one. It will

be shown that in Town Nyanja there are fewer overall patterns, partly due to the fact that while the stem-penultimate vowel is a possible target, the stem-final one is not. It will be shown that the Town Nyanja patterns can be accounted for via melodic H docking and several common tonological processes motivated by the Obligatory Contour Principle.

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The concepts of discerned and designed languages and their relevance for Africa

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The paper starts from the position that the current theoretical debate on language use in Africa has been stuck for a while, with few if any new developments in recent years: for years, linguists have been pleading in favour of increased use of African languages in educational and other domains, butthese pleas continue to fall on deaf ears. This paper should be seen as a contribution that might helpbring the debate further.

It starts with introducing the 'roads' metaphor for looking at languages. This metaphor makes the point that traditionally, languages were seen as 'paths' produced by people walking/communicating.Nowadays, just like roads, languages can also be seen as part of a planned and contested infrastructure. In Africa, this infrastructure is suffering from neglect and disrepair.

The paper goes on to introduce the concepts of *discerned* and *designed* languages, inspired on the earlier concepts of 'Abstand' and 'Ausbau' languages as introduced by Heinz Kloss. The concept of discerned languages is a more linguistic concept. The concept of designed languages is more sociological and is similar to that of intellectualized languages. Using these two concepts together has the advantage that they point to the social and political nature of how languages are classified and they point to the possibility that one designed language can serve as a formalized language forspeakers of a number of related discerned languages. This is of great relevance to Africa.

The paper discusses the relevance of these concepts also in relation to the concept of 'languoids' aspropagated by Pennycook and others.

The paper gives a few examples of how the concepts would be relevant in African settings and wouldhelp in the development of a limited number of designed languages for use in education and other domains.

Based on this conceptual innovation, the paper proposes five principles for rational designedlanguage choices:

1. Develop a **limited number** of designed languages for education.
2. Designed languages should be **easy to learn** for as many speakers of discernedlanguages as possible.
3. Strive for **inclusivity**: so that all have to exert a relatively low but relatively equaleffort to learn them.
4. Make use of **bilingualism** as a resource.
5. Build incentives for **linguistic collaboration** among linguistic communities.

The paper ends by pointing to a number of research and policy questions that use of these conceptswould lead to.

Copular constructions in Mbat: grammatical and classificatory considerations

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The place of Jarawan languages like Mbat (iso:bau) relative to other Narrow Bantu and Southern Bantoid languages remains an open question. Contemporary perspectives on the matter are based primarily on lexicon, as these languages remain severely underdescribed. This paper is the first to begin to shed light on Mbat syntax by first discussing its copular constructions. We provide an overview of these constructions and thereafter compare them to constructions involving what might appear to be similar morphology in Basáa (Bantu, A40) and Bafut (Southern Bantoid, Eastern Grassfields).

Mbat has several canonical sentence types which one would expect to contain a copular construction. These immediately reveal what appear to be overt vs. covert copulas:

(1) mʊs **gha**
cat **exist**
'There is a cat.'

(2) ɗʊghʊl la **na** John
name POSS.1SG **?** John
'My name is John.'

(3) mʊs ɗɐ́ba
cat animal
'(A) cat is (an) animal.'

It is clear that Mbat has an overt existential copula *gha* (cf. 1), but the nature of the language's linking or equative copular element(s) is less clear in (2) and (3). Some constructions like (3) contain no overt copular element, but this raises the question of how (2) differs. Looking more closely, we find both structural and semantic distinctions between (2) and (3) related to the element *na* and its variant *-n*, shown below. The behavior of *na* and *-n* suggest that rather than functioning as a copula, they can be implicated in focus marking. This is illustrated in the comparison of (4a) and (4b), and between (5a) and (5b). These further show that the two allomorphs of the focus marker are predictably distributed according to the lexical category of the subject, noun vs. pronoun. As such, the behavior of *-n* suggests that it is a cliticized variant of*na*.

(4a) yi ɓwa mə kam-gʊr
3.SG person REL teach-thing
'He/she is a teacher.'

(4b) yi-**n** ɓwa mə kam-gʊr
3.SG-**n** person REL teach-thing
'It is he/she who is the teacher.'

(5a) John ɓwa mə kam-gʊr
John person REL teach-thing
'John is a teacher.'

(5b) John **na** ɓwa mə kam-gʊr
John **na** person REL teach-thing
'It is John who is the teacher.'

Establishing the presence of different copular constructions and the presence of focus marking is important descriptively, but also from the standpoint of classificatory comparison. As such, we compare Mbat's *na/-n* to the morphologically similar *n-cleft* phenomenon in Basáa and the *nɨ-cleft* construction in Bafut. Our comparison shows structural parallels found among the three languages, in terms of morphological shapes of the focus elements and their linear positions. Less clear are the parallels in the clefting phenomena, which suggest the potential necessity of reinterpreting structural realization of the semantic focus in Mbat. Our broader goal is to consider implications that copular constructions in Mbat have for a theory of copulas cross-linguistically. One immediate question that these data speak to is whether copula is a required element in the deep structure or an optional element that emerges in linearization.

On Sentence-Final Particles in Tongugbe

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Dialects of Ewe (Gbe-Kwa) have sentence-final particles (SFPs). In this paper, I explore sentence- final particles in the Tongugbe dialect. I show that Tongugbe SFPs make significant contributions tothe syntax of yes/no questions and *wh*-questions. In particular, I argue, following Rizzi (1997) and related analysis for Gungbe in Aboh (2004), that the SFP *à* in Tongugbe, shown in (1) and (2a), heads the Interrogative Phrasal projection of the Split C hypothesis. In deriving (1) and (2a) then, the TP undergoes leftward movement from the complement position of FinP. I demonstrate that the rich structure of the Split C provides the necessary tools to obviate anti-locality (à la Abels 2003)in the course of the derivation. Specifically, the TP moves to the specifier of InterP, skipping spec, FinP. The derivation is shown in (3). Further, I argue that, in (2), the English-type T-C movement is banned in Tongugbe, as illustrated in (2b), because the SFP exhausts the Inter head under the Split Canalysis.

(1) Kofi ɖù nù à?
Kofi eat thing PRT
'Did Kofi eat?

(2) a. Kofi lə ŋù à
Kofi be awake PRT
'Is Kofi awake?'

b. *Lə Kofi ŋù à?
be Kofi awake
Q 'Is Kofi
awake?'

(3) [$_{ForceP...}$ Force [$_{FocP...}$ [Foc^{o} [$_{InterP...}$ Inter^{o}[$_{FinP...}$[Fin^{o}[TP]]]]]]]

The other SFP I consider is the vowel that occurs at the right edge of *wh*-questions, as shown in (4)and (5) below. I contend that this SFP also heads an InterP projection.

(4) Mə́kà nyɔ́ yɔ́-wò ò?
who FOC call-2SG PRT
'Who called you?

(5) Mə́kà nyɔ́ kpɔ́ ntsú yə̄ nyə̀-mə̀-kpɔ́ ò ò
who FOC see man REL 1SG-NEG$_1$-see NEG$_2$ PRT
'Who saw the man I didn't see?'

The question that arises is: what is the status of the *wh*-phrase at the left periphery? I argue that *wh*-fronting in Tongugbe is focus movement. Analogous arguments are adduced for Bulgarian (Bošković 1998b, Bošković 1999, Izvorski 1993) and Russian (Stepanov 1998) where multiple *wh*- phrases are fronted. A comparison between canonical focus movement and the movement of a *wh*-phrase in Tongugbe, i.e. examples (6b) and (4)-(5), showing the presence of a focus head, attests tothe focus movement argument advanced here.

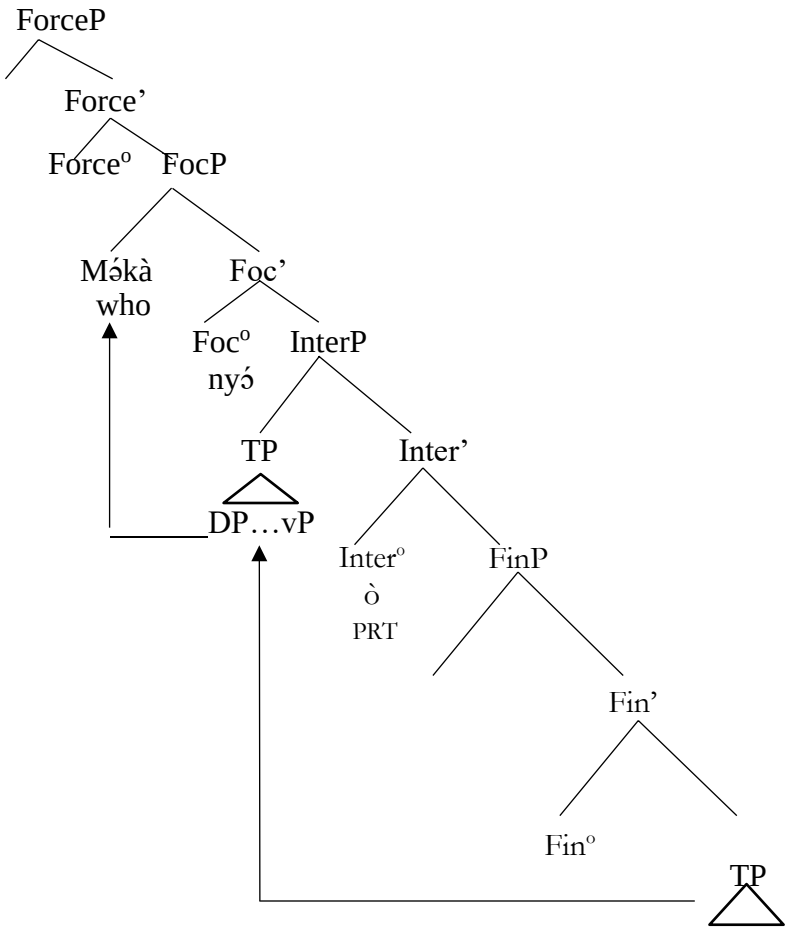
(6) a. Polisi-o lə́ Kofi.

Police-PL arrest Kofi
‘The police arrested Kofi.’

b. Kofi nyɔ́ polisi-o lə́.
Kofi FOC police-PL arrest
'It is Kofi the police arrested.'

Bearing this focus movement analysis in mind, in deriving Tongugbe *wh*-questions, the TP moves tospec, InterP to check the interrogative feature. The wh-phrase then subextracts to spec, FocP to check the focus feature. The structure for the derivation is illustrated in (7) below.

(7)



A comparative note to make here is that the analysis presented here differs slightly from the state of affairs in Gungbe. While the Split C hypothesis may work for all the Gbe languages, variations abound.

Vowel harmony in Ewe: Implications for theories of underspecification

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Previous studies (Clements 1974) on the vowel harmony system of Ewe overlook some of the differences that exist in the various dialects of Ewe. In this presentation, I introduce new data on the vowel harmony system of Ewe, focusing on the northern dialect, based on which I highlight the areas of similarities and departures from Clements' (1974) data. I also rely on the theory of underspecification (e.g. Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1986; Abaglo & Archangeli 1989) and lexical phonology (e.g. Kiparsky 1973, 1982, 1985; Booij & Rubach 1987; Itô & Mester 2003; Rubach 2008) and propose that /ɛ/ and /a/ are unspecified for the features [low] and [back] respectively in the underlying representation.

Harmony occurs when the enclitic vowel, underlyingly /e/, is cliticized to a word ending in a vowel. The clitic assimilates to the height specification (i.e. [low] or [high]) of the immediately precedingstem vowel. The clitic functions as the focus marker (1) or as a 3SG pronoun.

(1) Height harmony (Clements 1974:290)

a.	ə̀sì	-í	c.	àvu	-í	e.	əʋlɛ	-e	→	əʋlɛ-ɛ	
	water	-FOC		dog	-FOC		weaver bird	-FOC			
	'it's water'			'it's a dog'			'it's a weaver bird'				
b.	ə̀yè	-é	d.	ə̀sɔ́	-ɛ́	f.	agba	-e	→	agbɛ -ɛ	
	spider	-FOC		horse	-FOC		load	-FOC			
	'it's a spider'			'it's a horse'			'it's a load'				

When the root vowel is /a/, a stem vowel fronting rule causes /a/ to be realized as /ɛ/ when there is an adjacent front vowel (1f). The stem vowel fronting rule is ordered before the harmony rule. According to Clements (1974), the pattern seen in (1) above does not change irrespective of whether the enclitic is realized as a focus marker or a 3SG pronoun.

In the northern dialect of Ewe, two processes occur depending on whether the enclitic is the 3SG pronoun or the focus marker. When the enclitic is realized as the 3SG pronoun, it harmonizes to the height features of the root vowel (2). In stems with root vowel as /a/, /a/ fronts to be realized as /ɛ/ and the enclitic harmonizes to the [low] feature to be realized as /ɛ/ (2b). When the root vowel is /ɛ/, (unlike in (1e)) the enclitic causes the root vowel to harmonize to its [-low] feature (2d).

(2) Height harmony in Northern dialect of Ewe

a.	ku	-e	→	ku	-i	c.	tsɔ	-e	→	tsɔ	-ɛ
	fetch	-3SG					take	3SG			
	'fetch it'						'take it'				
b.	ta	-e	→	tɛ	-ɛ	d.	fɛ	-e	→	fe	-e
	draw	3SG					split	3SG			
	'draw it'						'split it'				

When the enclitic is realized as a focus marker, on the other hand, it only harmonizes to the [low] feature of the root vowel. The asymmetry regarding /ɛ/ and /a/ seen in height harmony does not occur in this process.

(3) Low harmony in the northern dialect of Ewe

a.	tu	-e	→	tu-e	(cf ku-i 3SG)	c.	atɔtɔ	-e	→	atɔtɔ-ɛ	
	gun	-FOC					ant	-FOC			
	'it's a gun'						'it's an ant'				
b.	aba	-e	→	aba-ɛ	(cf ta-e =tɛ-ɛ 3SG)	d.	atɛ	-e	→	atɛ-ɛ	(cf fɛ-e=tee 3SG)
	bed	-FOC					pineapple	-FOC			
	'it's a bed'						'it's a pineapple'				

Based on the theory of radical underspecification I argue that /ɛ/ is underspecified for the feature [low], thus its inability to pass [-low] to the enclitic in height harmony. [low] harmony unlike height harmony, occurs at a later level of derivation, after /ɛ/ is specified for [low]. Therefore it is able to trigger [low] harmony when functioning as the focus marker but not in the 3rd person singular forms. I discuss the vowel fronting process as well as theoretical issues that arise from this analysis.

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Bantu word order between discourse and syntactic relations

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Discourse function is a strong factor in conditioning Bantu word order (Downing & Hyman 2015, Downing & Marten 2019), as is visible for example in (i) locative inversion, which presents a topical element preverbally and a non-topical 'subject' postverbally (1), and (ii) dedicated focus positions – immediately before the verb (IBV) in (2):

(1) (What has happened on the bridge?)
A-ha-ru-tindó ha-a-rabá=hó e-mótóka ny-îngi.
AUG-16-11-bridge 16SM-N.PST-pass=16 AUG-9.car 9-many
'On the bridge have passed many cars.' [Rukiga]

(2) (Who attacked the hunter?)
Mu-bhií kí-mbúlí kí-siim-i.
1- hunter 7-lion 7SM-attack-PST
'[The lion]FOC attacked the hunter.' [Teke-Kukuya]

As a result of such data, it has been proposed that Bantu word order is best captured by reference to discourse roles, for example as Topic-Verb-Nontopic (see e.g. Good 2010 for Naki, Yoneda 2011 for Matengo, and Morimoto 2000, 2006 for Bantu discourse configurationality in general). Nevertheless, we typically see statements such as 'The default order of sentence constituents across Bantu is S (Aux) VO (Adjuncts)' (Nurse & Philippson, 2003:9) and these traditional syntactic roles of 'subject' and 'object' continue to shape our descriptions and analyses.

This talk therefore explores the question *How far can we get in describing Bantu word order without reference to syntactic roles?* We show that switching to a discourse-configurational approach can allow us to capture many word order generalisations in a more natural way, and on the other hand such a switch allows us to pinpoint precisely where we *do* still need syntactic relations.

We present new comparative data from Tunen (A44, Cameroon), Teke-Kukuya (B77, Republic of Congo), Kîîtharaka (E54, Kenya), Rukiga (JE14, Uganda), Makhuwa (P31, Mozambique), and Copi (S61, Mozambique), languages we studied specifically on their expression of syntax and information structure. Our results show that the languages vary in interesting ways with respect to the degree of influence that syntactic relations have on the word order.

Two of the examples of variation concern the presence of a dedicated focus position (cf. Gibson et al. 2017), and the restriction of the preverbal domain to (aboutness, contrastive, and familiar) topics, as summarised in the table below:

	Tunen	Kukuya	Kîîtharaka	Rukiga	Makhuwa	Copi
Focus position?	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗
Preverbal only topic?	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓

Syntactic relations only come into play for word order where subject-object asymmetries are found that cannot be captured in terms of discourse roles. Some languages show more evidence of such asymmetries than others: in Tunen and Makhuwa subjects cannot be focused postverbally like objects, but in Copi any argument can be focussed postverbally. This has

interesting consequences for the centrality of the notions 'subject' and 'object'.

We thus take a first step towards a more integrated and parsimonious account of Bantu word order by disentangling where discourse notions make the better generalisations (cf. Li & Thompson 1976, É.Kiss 1995) and where the balance with syntactic relations lies (cf. Öhl 2010). This has implications for typology and the idea of 'types' of languages, where we argue that no language is completely 'discourse configurational' or 'syntax-configurational'.

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Towards a Pragmatic Study of Name-Calling on GhanaWeb

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Impoliteness, a previously under researched area in pragmatics is now receiving massive scholarly attention following ground-breaking scholarly works in the area. These seminal works have highlighted the rich depth of linguistic creativity and dynamisms that typically characterize impoliteness discourse. The introduction of internet has globally revolutionized human communication. This new trend has attracted academics from different disciplines especially linguists to the study of computer-mediated communication. However, from the Ghanaian scholarly perspective, online study of name-calling, an impoliteness concept remained under researched. Virtual communication has been identified as one major area that aggressive and offensive language thrive. The attacks come either in the form of trolling, flaming, insults or cyberbullying where users hide behind the space of anonymity to attack the positive face of targets. The present study explores name-calling, a face threatening phenomenon by commenters on Ghana's foremost online platform, GhanaWeb. As a qualitative descriptive study, we adopt Culpeper's impoliteness model to explore the various name-calling tags created by commenters on GhanaWeb online platform. Also, we will investigate the pragmatic strategies that underlie the created names. Lastly, the study will seek to establish a taxonomy of name-calling from dataset from commenters' created names on GhanaWeb. Findings from the study identified the following name-calling tags; old thief, pussy beggar, skin bleaching frog, ugly gorilla girl, cry baby, whore. Regarding the typology of name-calling, commenters used both descriptive and evaluative benchmarks to create those derogatory names. The following taxonomy was established; physical appearance, intelligence, animal referencing, behavior, neologism. The names are underlie with both negative and positive impoliteness strategies. In terms of significance, the study further reveals that, the created names showcase commenters' sociocultural and political ideology. The present study further extends and deepens scholarship in the impoliteness as it highlights the pragmatic savviness and linguistic creativity of online commenters.

On the definition of adjectives in Dinka

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This paper presents an investigation into the status of adjectives in Dinka (West Nilotic, South Sudan). The morphology of Dinka is expressed mostly stem-internally, via independent contrasts in vowel length, voice quality, and tone. Dinka tone systems can vary significantly cross-dialectally, both interms of tonal inventory and contextual tonal processes. Previous work on adjectival items in Dinka (Andersen 2014, 2019, 2020) has focused on a single dialect; this paper presents the results of a cross- dialect study. I analyze adjectives as a sub-class of intransitive verbs, identified by two criteria involving tone and vowel length. Because tone is quite variable, cross-dialect evidence is needed for description of Dinka as a whole, and allows criteria from previous studies to be refined.

An adjectival intransitive verb in Dinka has a low tone in the unmarked form (1a) and lengthens to overlong (VVV) when used attributively and followed by another modifier, as in (2). (1a) and (1b) show the similarities in morphosyntax between adjectival and non-adjectival intransitive verbs; without viewingfull verb paradigms, one cannot know that *ràac* is adjectival and *nìin* is not. In (2a–c), *ràac,* used attributively, lengthens to *rɛɛɛc*, though the tone varies between dialects.

1. a) ràaan ă-**ràac**
   person DECL.SG-bad
   'The person is bad.'

   b) ràaan ă-nìin
   person DECL.SG-sleep
   'The person is sleeping.'

   Hol, Bor South, and Ngok (Padang) dialects

2. a) ràaan **rɛ̌ ɛɛc** bạ̀aar
   person bad tall
   'the bad, tall person'
   Hol dialect

   b) ràaan **rɛ̌ ɛɛc** bɛ̰̀ɛɛr
   person bad tall
   'the bad, tall person'
   Bor South dialect

   c) ràaan **rɛ̀ɛɛc** bɛ̰̀ɛɛr
   person bad tall
   'the bad, tall person'
   Ngok dialect

Abbreviations: DECL = declarative; SG = singular; ̀v = low tone; ̌v = rising tone

My classification criteria hold cross-dialectally, despite differences in tone and vowel quality. *Bad* is adjectival in all three dialects; the vowel quality change between the two forms of *bad* is not relevant. This is a change from previous classification, which suggests that specific patterns of vowel quality andlength alternations should be considered; I show that this is not the case.

Given this cross-dialect definition of the adjectival sub-class in Dinka, it becomes clear that using these morphophonological criteria makes it difficult to provide a coherent semantic definition of the sub-class. Meanings that are canonically adjectival—black/white, big/small, good/bad—often do fit the classification criteria of adjectival intransitives. However, this is not always the case, and there are also adjectival verbs that are not semantically attributes. For example, the word *break* (in an unaccusative sense) fits the adjectival criteria, but the attribute *proud* does not, and *green* is nominal. Therefore, Dinkais relevant to larger questions of whether adjectives are a universal word class and what an adjective is cross-linguistically.

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Post-verbal clitics and particles in Bemba: Partitive and focus readings

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The paper investigates a small group of post-verbal clitics and particles in Bemba: *-po, -ko, -mo, -fye*. The use and distribution of these elements is currently not well understood, and only limited work has examined particles, both in Bemba specifically and in Bantu languages more broadly (although see Schneider-Zioga 2015 and Taji 2019).

Cross-linguistically, particles typically perform grammatical or pragmatic functions but do not neatly fit into other parts of speech categories (e.g. noun, verb). In Bantu languages, particles are typically short, often monomorphemic, uninflected forms; in many languages, they denote locational meanings (see, e.g., Jerro 2016 and Diercks 2013). In Bemba, *-po*, *-ko*, and *-mo* derive from the class 16, 17 and 18 locative clitics. In contrast to the noun class prefixes however, these clitics exhibit more varied semantics, including partitive and exclusive interpretations. Independently of its locative function in (1a), post-verbal *-ko* can encode a benefactive interpretation of performing an action on behalf of someone (Marten & Kula 2014), as well as result in a partitive reading in relation to the verb (2a). Post-verbal *-po* also allows for partitive readings, as in (2b), in addition to the locative use in (1b). In contrast to the other two forms, only a locative reading has been identified for post-verbal *-mo* (1c).

(1) Locative interpretation
   a. twal-a=ko ‘take there’ [LOC class 17)
   b. biik-a=po ‘put on there’ [LOC class 16]
   c. biik-a=mo ‘put in there’ [LOC class 18]

(2) Partitive interpretation
   a. (i) kafy-a=ko
      ‘warm (food) a bit’
      (ii) ipik-a=ko elyo u-salul-e
      cook-FV=KO then 2SM2SG-fry-SBJV ‘cook it a bit and then fry’
   b. buul-a=po ‘take some’
      send-a=po ‘take some’
      sal-a=po ‘choose one’
      sek-a=po ‘laugh sometimes’

We also consider the particle *fye*, whose meaning includes ‘only’, ‘just’, ‘in vain’, which appear to be extensions of its independent lexical meaning of ‘nothing’ or ‘empty’. In addition to its lexical meaning (3a), it also conveys exclusive focus (3b, 3c), and intensive readings (3d) that are reminiscent of those seen across Bantu more widely (see e.g. Ashton 1947 for Swahili, van der Wal 2009 for Makhuwa, Taji 2019 for Chiyao).

(3) a. inganda i-li fye [lexical meaning]
   9house 9-COP fye
   ‘The house is empty’
   b. ku-aci-ba fye inkoko [*only* reading]

17LOC-PAST2-be fye 9chicken
'There was only chicken'

c. mu-kashana fye [*just* reading]
1-girl fye
'She is just a girl'

d. tu-li fye a-bengi [intensity reading]
SM1PL-COP fye 2-many
'We are very many/a lot of us'

The particle *fye* can be used with nouns and verbs, after complementisers, in copula constructions and in genitive/associative constructions. Positionally, *fye* typically appears in the immediately after the verb position, before objects and adverbs.

The talk describes the distribution and function of these particles with a focus on Bemba. It contributes to our understanding of this category as well as the ways in which particles are different from – and are similar to – other categories such as adverbs and clitics. It also furthers our understanding of particles in the Bantu language family more broadly, where particularly the discourse and pragmatically-salient functions of particles remain under-examined.

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Starting Points for Tense-Aspect Analysis

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Natural languages express tense-aspect (T-A) notions within a clause via distinct constituent types, either grammatical morphemes at/near the verb or lexical items with an adverbial status. In many descriptions, the starting point for T-A analysis is the verb and associated grams, as exemplified by studies of Bini (Ẹ̀dó) from Nigeria's Edoid group (Amayo 1976, Omoruyi 1991, Yuka and Omoregbe 2011). An alternative initiates T-A inquiry with adverbial elements followed by examination of gram expression. We follow the latter strategy.

We start with Edoid and its equivalents for day/night cycle adverbials ('yesterday,' 'today,' 'tomorrow'). Next we assess a larger context with West Benue Congo, East Benue Congo plus Bantoid and Proto Bantu receiving attention, and more distantly the Niger Congo phylum, specifically Kwa. An even broader context arises from a brief survey of day-unit adverbials in languages of the Wider Lake Chad Region: Hausa and Kanuri. For all these languages we also identify grammatical morphemes that code futurity, both affirmative and negative.

Regarding day-cycle adverbials, we find two patterns in Edoid that code day_{-1}, $day_{0,}$ day_{+1}, where day_0 refers to deictic center. Coding is geographically circumscribed and often syncretic. Distinct terms occur for each of day_{-1}, $day_{0,}$ day_{+1} in northern varieties but southern varieties conflate day_{-1} and day_{+1} under one term relative to a day_0 term. Similar syncretism appears in WBC and Kwa, although their terms pattern with an east-west orientation. EBC, including Proto Bantu displays conflation, whereas daughter languages tend toward distinctive coding. In languages of the Wider Lake Chad Region, no conflation is evident; distinct terms prevail for each day unit.

As for futurity and its negation, their expression in Edoid is compared to nearest neighbors, all WBC. In affirmative contexts, Edoid reveals two basic patterns, either a grammatical morpheme in conjunction with tone or simply tone. It also codes futurity with two degrees of remoteness ('will' vs. 'about to'). In negatives, Edoid manifests either gram substitution or gram addition. Systems in central and north-central Edoid tend to consist of a vowel or consonant-vowel gram for future that appears cognate with a form in Igbo and much of Nupoid. One Edoid language in this area, Emai, shows no affinity to the Igbo/Nupe form. Instead, its future affirmative appears to emanate from Yoruba, although not from a future marker. Rather, Emai's future gram appears derived from a Yoruba verb that expresses motion toward a goal, *lọ* 'go to,' a grammaticalization path featured in Bybee and Dahl (1989) and Heine and Kuteva (2002). Nonetheless, similar contact with Yoruba does not account for futurity's day-cycle adverbial or negative future substitutes. We conclude with discussion of these Emai domains, noting that their lexical and grammatical morphemes appear to reflect internal developments, including re-allocation of T-A subsystem resources for coding negative futurity.

Variant Glide Repair Strategies in Kinyarwanda

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The inventory of consonant clusters in Kinyarwanda (JD61) is very unusual when compared to cross linguistic norms. In Kinyarwanda, most glide clusters are illicit, while clusters made up of consonants of equal sonority are common. These unusual phonotactics do not act as evidence against the sonority sequencing principle (Clements 1990), but are rather a result of strong markedness constraints against most glide clusters. Only clusters made up of a /w/ and a back consonant are licit. The clusters with unusual sonority sequencing derive underlyingly from glide clusters, as shown by morphological, allophonic, orthographic, and comparative data. Figure 1 provides some examples of these changes.

Figure 1 Glide Clusters in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1979)

<ubwoko>	/ubu-oko/	14-race	[ú.bgóːko]	“race”
<umutwe>	/umu-twe/	3-head	[u.mú.tkwe]	“head”
<gusya>	/ku-sja/	INF-grind	[gu.sca]	“to grind”
<gucya>	/ku-kja/	INF-be.dawn	[gú.ca]	“to be dawn”
<ibiryo>	/ibi-ɾjo/	8-food	[i.βi.ɾɟo]	“food”
<umwana>	/umu-ana/	1-child	[ú.mŋáː.na]	“child”
<ihwa>	/i-hwa/	5-thorn	[í.hwa]	“thorn”

While no analysis of Kinyarwanda’s glide clusters has been done using OT, such work has been done on the related language Kirundi (JD62), which has a similar phenomena, in Kochetov 2016. Both have complex and variable systems of avoiding glide clusters. Most consonant glide sequences are avoided and resolved, with Kinyarwanda using fortition, palatalization, epenthesis, and imbrication; and Kirundi using just fortition and palatalization. Resolution methods in both languages are sensitive to the place of articulation of the consonants, and to the morphemic make up of glide clusters, distinguishing between heteromorphemic and tautomorphemic clusters (Kimenyi 1979 and Kochetov 2016).

Kochetov’s OT rankings quite accurately and elegantly predict the correct forms for Kirundi. Despite the close genetic relation between Kirundi and Kinyarwanda, and the similarities between their glide resolutions, Kochetov’s rankings are not transferable to Kinyarwanda, as its resolution methods are more variant. This is because Kinyarwanda utilizes a wider variety of resolution methods, and because in Kinyarwanda clusters of different placesof articulation and morphemic structures rarely resolve the same way.

Kinyarwanda’s glide cluster resolution systems can be split into two separate ranking systems, dependent on the morphemic make up of the cluster. The heteromorphemic clusters, which are usually only found in verbal suffixes, primarily imbricate, a process of consonant mutation that stems from Proto-Bantu “superclosed vowels” (Zoll 1995). Tautomorphemic clusters on the other hand utilize fortition, epenthesis, and palatalization. The method of resolution in tautomorphemic glide clusters is accurately predictable from the place of articulation of the consonant and the glide it is clustered with. My analysis will only be

addressing the tautomorphemic clusters.

Kochetov uses the markedness constraints *C + pal and *C + vel to motivate the resolutions. I have tweaked these for my rankings, using *C^{Front}+V̬ and *C^{Back}+C^{j} instead, where

*C^{Front}+V̰ assigns violations for front consonants preceding glides, and *C^{Back}+C^{j} assigns violations for back consonants preceding palatal consonants. By combining these two markedness constraints with a variety of faithfulness constraints, I am able to account for the range of tautomorphemic glide cluster outputs.

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Phonological evidence for two different kinds of syntactic movement in Guébie

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The behavior of particle verbs in Guébie (Kru) provides insight into the relative order of syntactic movement operations and phonological evaluation. Word order in Guébie varies between SVO and SAuxOV (1,2). When an auxiliary is present, the verb surfaces clause-finally, and for particle verbs, the **particle** surfaces as a prefix on the verb, undergoing root-controlled ATR harmony (1). The data presented herewas collected in collaboration with the Guébie community between 2013 and 2020.

(1) **SAuxOV order**

a. e^{4} ji^{3} ɟaci$^{23.1}$ **jɔku**-ni$^{2.3.4}$
I FUT Djatchi PART-visit

b. ɟaci$^{23.1}$ ji^{3} ɔnɛ$^{3.3}$ gbɔgɔ$^{2.2}$ **jɔkʊ**-ŋ^{w}ɔsa$^{2.3.3.1}$
Djatchi FUT 3SG.POSS leg PART-scrape
'Jachi will scrape his leg'

When there is no auxiliary and the verb surfaces after the subject (SVO), the particle surfaces clause-finally with its default vowel quality (-ATR vowels in the examples in (2)).

(2) **SVO order**

a. e^{4} ni^{4} ɟaci$^{23.1}$ **jɔkʊ**$^{2.3}$
I visit.PFV Djatchi PART
'I visited Djatchi.'

b. ɟaci$^{23.1}$ ŋ^{w}ɔsa$^{3.1}$ ɔnɛ$^{3.3}$ gbɔgɔ$^{2.2}$ **jɔkʊ**$^{2.3}$
Djatchi scrape.PFV 3SG.POSS leg PART
'Jachi scraped his leg'

The fact that the particle in SVO clauses does not show vowel harmony with the verb suggests that the verb moves to its higher clause position (T, according to Sande 2017) before phonological evaluationof the clause-final Particle-Verb construction takes place.

In contrastive verb focus constructions, non-particle verbs double; one copy of the verb surfaces onthe left edge, and another in the lower position: VSAuxOV or VSVO. For particle verbs in verb focus constructions, the particle surfaces clause-initially: PartSAuxOV or PartSVO (3).

(3) **Particle fronting constructions**

a. **jɔkʊ**$^{2.3}$ ɔ^{3} ni=ɔ$^{4.2}$
PART 3SG.NOM see.PFV=3SG.ACC
'It's seeing him that he did.'

b. **joku**$^{2.3}$ ɔ^{3} k=ɔ^{32} ni^{4}
PART 3SG.NOM PROSP=3SG.ACC see
'It's seeing him that he's about to do.'

In PartSVO particle-fronting constructions (3a), the particle surfaces with its default vowel quality. In PartSAuxOV particle-fronting constructions (3b), though, the particle harmonizes with the lower verb. This shows that either a) phonological evaluation resulting in vowel harmony between the particle and verb in SAuxOV constructions occurs before movement of the particle to the left edge, or b) the verb moves along with the particle to the left edge in SAuxOV contexts but not SVO contexts. I analyze these facts in a phase-based spell-out approach to the syntax/phonology interface, where verb movement to the post- subject position (SVO) and particle or verb movement to the left edge in focus constructions are subject to two different movement processes as proposed by Harizanov & Gribanova (2019). I show that these facts have implications for our understanding of types of movement, as well as the order of phonological and syntactic operations.

The SOV structure of Mende

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The Mende language spoken in Sierra Leone has a rigid Subject Object Verb X (SOVX) structure in whichonly the subject and direct object nominal can appear before the verb, with all other nominals following it.

(1) Peter mbe-i yeya-i-lɔ
Peter rice-DEF.SG buy-PST-ASP
'Peter bought the rice'

This structure is typical of the broader Mande language family that is spoken throughout west Africa (Creissels 2005). In this paper I will analyze the SOV word order of Mende and argue that this order is a result of the subject, object, and verb all having moved from their base positions in the VP shell. This argument is based on four sets of data.

First, in a canonical Mende transitive sentence, even though the direct object always precedes the verb, it is possible to strand a quantifier to the right of the verb (2), or for the direct object to pied-pipe it into a preverbal position (3).

(2) Peter mbe-i yeya-i-lɔ **gbi**
Peter rice-DEF.SG buy-PST-Lɔ
all 'Peter bought all the rice'

(3) Peter mbe-i **gbi** yeya-i-lɔ
Peter rice-DEF.SG all buy-PST-Lɔ
'Peter bought all the rice'

Quantifier float, then, indicates that the direct object starts to the right of the verb, even though it never surfaces there. Subjects can likewise strand quantifiers post-verbally, indicating that they merge to the right of the surface position of the verb.

(4) ndopo-isia ti mangu-i me-i-lɔ **gbi**
child-PL they mango-DEF.SG eat-PST-Lɔ all
'All the children ate the mango'

Second, while Mende is canonically OV, there are a class of verbs that have direct objects to their *right*. These direct objects are always introduced by 'a.'

(5) nya {* **nike-i** } lo-ngɔ a {**nike-i**}
I {cow-DEF.SG} want-STAT A {cow-DEF.SG}
'I want a cow'

Third, there **is** a class of unergative verbs that permit their cognate direct object to either precedeor follow the verb.

(6) Peter {**ngɛlɛ jɛmbɛ**} yɛlɛ-i-lɔ a {**ngɛlɛ jɛmbɛ**}
Peter {smile big} smile-PST-lɔ A {smile big}

‘Peter smiled a big smile’

The final evidence comes from verb ellipsis. In (7) while the direct object, dative object, and adjunct are all elided, the verb remains. This can be explained under the analysis that the verb, but none ofthe other elements, has raised out of the VP prior to ellipsis.

(7) Ngi [lemon-sia **ve-i-lɔ** Lawrence wɛ a ngendɛ-i ji] kɛ [Peter bɛ _ **fe-i-lɔ**___]
I lemons-PL give-PST- ASP L. to at morning-SG.DEF this and Peter too give-PST-ASP
‘I gave the lemons to Lawrence this morning and Peter gave too [the lemons to L. this morning]

This analysis, based on recent fieldwork, builds on previous descriptive work (Innes 1971) and represents a step toward the first comprehensive theoretical treatment of Mende clausal syntax. The paper will also contribute to our understanding of the typology of OV languages, as well as the small body of analytical work on the broader Mande language family.

Phrasal Movement and Number Marking in Mandinka DPs

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Mandinka nouns and adjectives all end with either /o/ or /aː/ in citation form. I argue that this apparent idiosyncrasy is attributable to the presence of an enclitic determiner /-o/ (Creissels & Sambou 2013). Vowel-final words that host this clitic undergo hiatus resolution processes that result in the deletion of most underlying final vowels, preserving only /aː/ unchanged.

The distribution of /-o/ has several unusual properties. In simple noun phrases its presence is mandatory and compatible with both definite and indefinite readings (see (1)). Both readings remain available when adjectives are added, although /-o/ must follow the adjective rather thanthe noun, as in (2). Numerals also attract /-o/, however the clitic is optional in such cases, and its presence forces a definite or specific interpretation (see (3) vs. (4)).

(1) kambani*(-o) boi-ta
boy-D fall-PRF
'A/The boy fell.'

(2) beri(*-o) fiŋ*(-o) boi-ta
stone black-D fall-PRF
'A/The black stone fell.'

(3) kambani kiliŋ boi-ta
boy one fall-PRF
'One boy fell.'

(4) kambani kiliŋ-o boi-ta
boy one-D fall-PRF
'The one boy fell.'

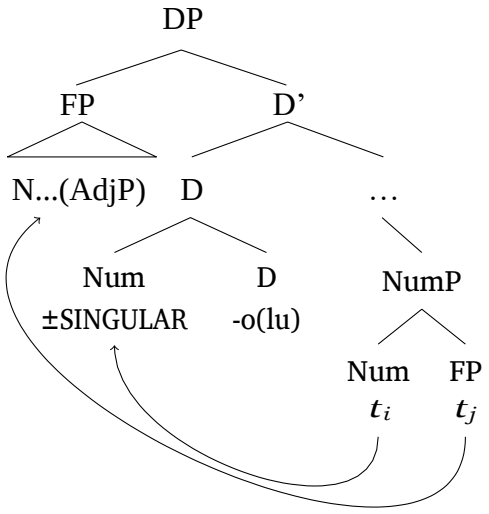
In further evidence of the relationship between number and definiteness, the Mandinka plural morpheme /lu/ only appears following the /-o/ clitic. Indefinite plural DPs containing numerals cannot include /lu/, as in (5). For this reason, I analyze /-o/ and /-olu/ as the same syntactic element, which agrees in number with the noun.

(5) kambani d͡ʒaŋajaa fula(*-lu) boi-ta
boy tall two fall-PRF
'Two tall boys fell.'

(6) kambani d͡ʒaŋajaa fula-olu boi-ta
boy tall two-D.PL fall-PRF
'The two tall boys fell.'

To derive the position of /-o(lu)/ after N and most nominal modifiers, I propose that some functional projection (FP) containing N and its modifiers raises to spec-DP. In order to derive the close relationship between /-o(lu)/ and number, numerals along with a [+/- SINGULAR] feature generated in NumP raise to D. This explains why numerals always surface as the rightmost element before /-o/. And this movement brings the [+/- SINGULAR] feature to the position where /-o(lu)/ isrealized.

(7)



Additionally, I propose that Mandinka does not allow the [+/- SINGULAR] feature to be zero-marked. When numerals are present, they realize this feature, and /-o(lu)/ has the expected distribution of a definite determiner. Without a numeral, indefinite DPs would not have any overt realization of [+/- SINGULAR]. In such cases, /-o(lu)/ is added as a sort of expletive, where it serves to realize the number features, but does not contribute its own meaning of definiteness.

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Grammaticalisation of the Kimakunduchi demonstrative into a pronominal topic marker

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In the Kimakunduchi dialect of Swahili, the proximal and medial demonstrative has monosyllabic contracted forms in addition to the uncontracted basic forms (Racine-Issa 2002). In (1), the basic form *yuno* modifies the subject noun *m̩ tʰu* 'person', while the contracted form *=yu* follows the verb.

(1) m̩ tʰu yuno ka-ja=yu
1.person DEM.PROX.1 SM1-come.PFV=DEM.PROX.1
'This man came.'

A notable morphosyntactic feature of the contracted demonstrative is that it occurs in postverbal position and 'agrees' with the preverbal constituent regardless of that constituent's syntactic status (e.g. core arguments, locative NPs, temporal adverbial phrases and NPs denoting possessors). Assuming that the preverbal position hosts the topic constituent in Kimakunduchi as in other Bantu languages. (Kimenyi 1980, Yoneda 2011), I first propose that the contracted demonstrative is related to topic-marking. The following three observations support this proposal by showing that the contracted demonstrative cannot refer to non-topics (cf. Lambrecht 1994, Jacobs 2001).

1. The contracted form corresponding to the preverbal subject cannot occur when the entire clause is focused and the subject is not a topic expression.
2. The basic, but not the contracted, demonstrative can convey new information. It has been pointed out that new information cannot be topic.
3. The contracted demonstrative cannot agree with NPs including *kila* 'every'. In general, universally quantified NPs cannot be topic expressions as they have no specific referents.

I furthermore propose that the contracted demonstrative is in the process of grammaticalisation into an anaphoric pronominal topic marker which encodes the pragmatic aboutness relation between its referent and the proposition (cf. Lambrecht 1994). To my knowledge, similar grammaticalisation of demonstratives has not been reported in other languages. However, assuming that the subject and the object prefixes are derived from anaphoric pronouns which refer to topics (Givón 1976, cf. Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, Morimoto 2002), it appears that the Kimakunduchi demonstrative has been on a similar path of functional change.

This paper not only describes the function of the Kimakunduchi contracted demonstrative, which has previously been unclear, but also provides a case study of the development of bound pronouns, which occur cross-linguistically.

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Verbalising emotions against reality: a pragma-stylistic analysis of the Akan football commentary

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Human behaviour mostly operates under self-interest logic. This phenomenon is also evident in the way people present their arguments in speech, thus, biases feature prominently in human discourse. In recent times, there is an increasing interest in studies of the use of emotions which affect judgement in sports commentaries but little attention has been given to radio football commentaries in the Akan language in Ghana. Research has shown how stereotyping has been a feature of media broadcast of football matches where representation of national identity or local affiliations were evident. This current work describes qualitatively how verbal expressions and emotions are indices of national identity and/or local affiliations in Akan football commentaries on selected radio stations in Ghana. Radio commentaries on two matches played by Asante Kotoko and Accra Hearts of Oak and another two played by the Ghana Black Stars and the Nigeria Super Eagles were recorded and transcribed. Data gathered were analysed from a pragma- stylistic perspective. Major findings of this study show that, the use of the first and third person personal pronouns, insider/outsider relations and tonalities (high and low tones) are exhibits of bias in the Akan football commentaries. This research has implications for both the academia and professionals in communication and media studies with focus on sports journalism.

The Morphosyntax of Gã Subject Pronominals

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An important question which distinguishes syntactically oriented morphological frameworks is whether morphological operations are sensitive to linearity, as in Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle&Marantz 1993), or not, as in Spanning (Svenonius 2012). I present a novel test case from Gã (Kwa: Ghana) pronominals, which expone aspectual features in certain syntactic contexts. I demonstrate that PF operations like Fusion are necessary to account for the data, which cannot be handled by current syntax-only formulations of Spanning.

Data: An overt subject is obligatory in Gã (1a-b). The morpheme *e* in (1a) is a subject pronoun on D, not agreement morphology; it is in complementary distribution with other subject DPs in non-focus contexts and binds an anaphor.

(1) a. e naa loflo-o
3SG.NOM see.HAB bird-DEF
'He/She/It sees the bird.'

b. loflo-o naa lɛ
bird-DEF see.HAB 3SG.ACC
'The bird sees him/her/it.'

Progressive aspect is generally expressed by the verbal prefix *n-* (2a). However, when a singular nominative pronoun is immediately followed by progressive aspect marking, progressive aspect and the pronominal are exponed on a single morpheme (2b). The singular pronominal forms are presented in Table 1. A similar pattern occurs with future tense (excluded for space).

(2) a. amɛ n-na mi
3PL.NOM PROG-see 1SG.ACC
'They are seeing me.'

b. ee na lɛ
3SG.PROG see 3SG.ACC
'She/he/it is seeing him/her/it.'

Table 1: Gã Singular Pronominal Forms and Features

	Default ([+NOM])	Progressive([+NOM,PROG])
[+1 -PL]	í	míí
[+2,-PL]	o	oo
[-1,-2,-PL]	e	ee

The data is typologically unique because aspectual features on Asp and phi-features on D are expressed as a single morpheme (Corbett 2005). Insensitivity to aspectual features is a proposed characteristic distinguishing pronominalclitics from agreement affixes (Nevins 2011).

DM analysis: The proposed DM analysis utilizes the postsyntactic operations Concatenation (Embick 2010), which linearizes the hierarchical structure, and Fusion (Halle&Marantz 1993), which combines concatenated nodes. In Gã, Fusion applies when a node D with features [-PL,+NOM] is Concatenated with a node Asp bearing a feature [PROG]. After Fusion, phi-features on D and aspectual features on Asp are unified on a single feature bundle, whichmay be targeted for Vocabulary Insertion.

Alternative- Spanning: Spanning allows multiple nodes to be simultaneously targeted for Vocabulary Insertion ifthey form a hierarchically contiguous region (a Span) within an extended projection. D ([+N]) and Asp ([+V]) aremembers of different projections (Grimshaw 1990); thus, they do not meet the structural requirement for a Span. **Additional Support for DM:** DM predicts that linear intervention of an adjunct between the pronoun and aspectnodes will block Fusion. Spanning predicts that an adjunct will not intervene in the calculation of a Span (Svenonius2019). The DM prediction is borne out; if an adjunct, like the prepositional phrase *kɛ awalé*, linearly intervenesbetween the pronoun and the verbal complex, the pronominal and progressive marking surface as independentmorphemes (3).

(3) í kɛ awalé n-ho amada-í
1SG.NOM with spoon PROG-cook plantain-PL
'I am cooking plantains with a spoon.'

Fusion is sensitive to linear order. In (3), D and Asp are not linearly adjacent and Fusion is blocked, so thepronominal and aspect features are realized by separate morphemes. Spanning cannot account for these data.

Cut or uproot the rice: The cultural semantics of harvesting crops in Tafi

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This paper examines the verb expressions and constructions used by Tafi (tcd) speakers to talk about the gathering of crops after they are matured. The verbs used are action verbs which reflect the conceptualization of the harvesting process in terms of the manner of separating the matured crop from the plant. Thus, separation verbs such as bhui 'cut', tɛ̃́ 'cut', dzyínī 'break', tsú 'dig up', kpɛ̌ 'uproot' and bú 'remove, take out' are used in describing the harvesting process (cf. Bobuafor 2018). Significantly, the verbs covertly categorise the different crops according to the manner of harvesting. I discuss the syntax and semantics of these verbs and show that the emblematic and culturally important crop amɔ́ 'rice' has a specialized verb for talking about its harvesting, pɔ́ í, but like for other crops such as maize, many more verbs can be applied to its harvesting depending on the manner employed. Rice can be harvested by cutting or by uprooting the plant. An attempt is made to describe the meanings of the verbs in the harvesting frame in Tafi and "painting a picture" of the activities involved (cf. Heath and McPherson 2009). It is shown that different perspectives are evoked about the elements in the semantic frame of 'gathering food' as the nouns that name the crops have regular polysemantic structures, e.g. nikpɛ̌ can mean both the maize plant and the maize fruit. The way such ambiguity is resolved in discourse is discussed.

A corpus study of Swahili's dual-complementizer system

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Tanzanian Swahili uses two distinct complementizers, *kwamba* and *kuwa*, to introduce a finite indicative clause under a clause-embedding predicate, (1). The complementizers are reported to be in free variation, with no interpretive distinction (Ashton, 1944); (Thompson & Schleicher, 2006).

(1) *Hamisi a-li-ni-ambia* ***kwamba/kuwa*** *a-na-penda kusoma*
Hamisi 1SM-PAST-1SG.OM-tell COMP/COMP 1SM-PRES-like read.INF
'Hamisi told me that he likes to read.' (Mpiranya, 2015:220)

Based on a growing body of research on so-called **dual-complementizer** systems and the factors that influence complementizer selection cross-linguistically, we report the findings of a large-scale corpus search. Using a regression-based analysis of Tanzanian Swahili data extracted from the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0 (≈25 million words), we show that choice of complementizer in (Tanzanian) Swahili is affected by a subset of factors shown to influence complementizer selection cross-linguistically. We illustrate with two factors here, and discuss more in our paper.

Predicate class. Our model identifies three classes of verbs as significant predictors of comple- mentizer choice: Doxastic Factives (*-jua* 'know') and Emotive Factives (*-hofia*, 'fear') are strongly correlated with *kwamba*, while Speech Act Verbs (*-sema* 'say') are strongly correlated with *kuwa*. Proportionally, 61% of Doxastic Factives (n=1329) and 52% of Emotive Factives (n=304) occur with *kwamba*, while, conversely, 70% of Speech Act Verbs (n=7270) occur with *kuwa*. This result is *prima facie* surprising, since *kwamba* is itself a Speech Act verb meaning 'to say/tell;' *kuwa* means 'to be.'

Matrix subject. The presence of first-person subject morphology on the matrix verb (sg. or pl.) correlates with *kwamba*, while third-person subject morphology correlates with *kuwa*. Of all tokens involving a first-person matrix subject (n=4366), 71% occur with *kwamba*, and 29% with *kuwa*, while for all tokens involving a third-person subject (n=13103), 30% occur with *kwamba*, and 70% with *kuwa*.

Dominance. Of the two factors discussed above, matrix subject morphology is the strongest indi- vidual predictor. Indeed, we find that among all of the additional factors we consider (including main clause negation, topic/focus in the lower clause, embedded clause subjunctive mood), the subject of the matrix verb is *always* the strongest predictor of complementizer choice, potentially overriding other influencing factors.

Implications. Our findings illustrate that *kwamba* and *kuwa* in Tanzanian Swahili are not in free variation, but rather appear in distinct contexts. However, the choice in complementizer is not tied to one specific factor, but rather is contingent on a number of potentially interacting conditions, complicating the view that clauses are selected by an embedding predicate (Bresnan, 1972) *a.m.o.* We tentatively suggest that *kwamba* is used to "anchor" the embedded clause to the subject of the embedding verb. With an evaluative factive, *kwamba* conveys that the embedded clause is taken to be true according to the local subject, but potentially not endorsed by the speaker. With a first-person subject, *kwamba* conveys that the speaker explicitly endorses the lower clause. In contrast, the speaker uses *kuwa* to remain neutral as to the (relative) truth of the embedded clause.

The affixal article in Mandinka

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Gambian Mandinka is an affixal article language. The suffix article is *-o*. When a word ends in *-aa*, vowel coalescence obscures the *-o* suffix. Plural requires the presence of *-o* (2).

(1) ber-o
stone-D
'the/a stone'

(2) beri fiŋ-*(o)-lu
stone black-D-PL
'the black stones'

(3) beri fiŋ waramaa-∅
stone black big-D
'the/a big black stone'

I argue that *-o* occurs on the head D. I argue that the absence of *-o* entails the absence of D. Affixal article languages may not project DP if it is syntactically or semantically vacuous to do so (Talić, 2017). I show that Mandinka is no exception, but there are at least two instances where DP must be present where other affixal article languages can drop it.

(1) illustrates where *-o* (D) does and does not occur in noun phrases with Ã*amaa*, 'many'. What is important is that it can be omitted in (4a) and (4d). I give a derivation for these in (5).

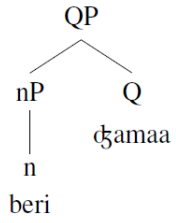
(4) a. beri ʤamaa(-lu)
stone many(-D-PL)
'(the) many stones'

b. beri ʤamaa fiŋ-o-lu boj ta
stone many black-D-PL fall PERF
'many black stones fell (all of them are black)'

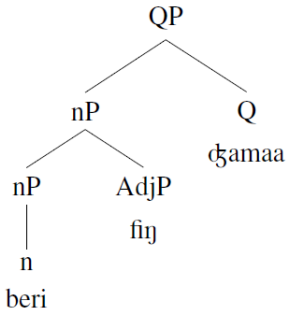
c. beri fiŋ-o-lu ʤamaa
stone black-D-PL many
'many of the black stones'

d. beri fiŋ ʤamaa boj ta
stone black-PL many fall PERF
'many black stones fell (many of them are black)'

(5) a. (4a) without -lu



b. (4d)



In some ways, noun phrases without *-o* behave like they do not project DP. Talic´ (2017), following Partee (2006) and Bošković (2012), suggests only DP possessives presuppose exhaustivity (a uniqueness inference that you have *exactly* X number of N). In Mandinka, only those noun phrases with an overt *-o* presuppose exhaustivity (6b). This is just like Bulgarian, an affixal article language.

(6) a. (no exhaustivity)
n na kitabu wule fula boj ta
1SG POSS book red two fall PERF
'My two red books fell' (I might have three red books)

b. (exhaustivity)
n na kitabu wule fulo-o-lu boj ta
1SG POSS book red two-D-PL fall PERF
'My two red books fell' (they're my only ones)

However, in a plural superlative where *the* is semantically superfluous in English (it does not contributeto the definiteness interpretation), and in which other affixal article languages can drop their D, *-o-lu* is obligatory, *-o* being obscured by *-aa*.

(7) beri wule-maa-*(lu)
stone red-SUP-PL
'the reddest stones'

I will show that Mandinka also cannot license reflexive possessives (*John saw hisself's book*), also possible in affixal article languages (Despic, 2011).

These are one-way correlations; affixal article languages do not have to allow these phenomena. We should, however, want to predict why the option of dropping D is unavailable in (7) and with possessive pronouns, but available in (6). I explore independent syntactic constraints that require DP to be projectedin (7) and with possessive pronouns in Mandinka, but not in (6).

On the syntactic and semantic properties of *doo* in Mandinka

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This talk describes and analyzes the syntactic and semantic properties of the indefinite expression *doo* in Mandinka. The meaning of the indefinite article *doo* is twofold: *doo* expresses weak indefiniteness like English *some* (von Heusinger, 2019), as in (1); it can express the relation of *subset-superset*, i.e. partitivity (Ladusaw, 1982). Partitivity is usually expressed by *doo* in combination with the plural marker -*lu*. As in (2).

(1) Kambani ***doo*** lafita suŋkutoo-lu bee la
Boy some like girl-Pl all LA.
a) There is some boy who likes every girl. (∃ > ∀)
b) For every girl, there is some boy who likes her. (∀ > ∃)

(2) Beri **doo** kulijaa fiŋo-**lu** boj-ta
Stone some heavy black-Pl fall-PERF
'(Literal) Some heavy black stones fell.'

The picture is complicated in that the readings of *doo*-constructions vary according to the position of *doo* in an NP/ DP. While (2-5) all express the subset-superset relation: 'some heavy and black stones fell', the felicity condition of each sentence is different.

The felicity conditions for (2) and (3) are the same:
Context 1: Among the stones, some subset of the black and heavy ones fell.

[N+***doo***+Adj1+Adj2-***lu***] = (2)

[N+Adj1+Adj2+ ***doo***-***lu***] = (3)

(3) Beri kulijaa fiŋ **doo-lu** boj-ta
Stone heavy black some-Pl fall-PERF

For (4), the felicity condition requires the subset of heavy stones which fell to be black:
Context 2: Among the stones, some of the heavy ones which were black fell.

[N+Adj1+ ***doo***+Adj2-***lu***]

(4) Beri kulijaa **doo** fiŋo-**lu** boj-ta
Stone heavy some black-Pl fall-PERF

For (5), the felicity condition requires the subset of black stones which fell to be heavy:
Context 3: Among the stones, some of the black ones which were heavy fell.

[N+Adj1+***doo***+Adj2-***lu***]

(5) Beri fiŋ **doo** kulijaa-**lu** boj-ta
Stone black some heavy-Pl fall-PERF

Based on the above, I present two proposals: (i) the partitive *doo* modifies the preceding [nominal(+Adj)], and (2) *doo* also functions as a focus operator which introduces a set of alternatives to the ordinary semantic value. In (4), for example, *doo* imposes focus on the stone which are black in the set of heavy stones. The ordinary

semantic value is the heavy stones which are black. *Doo* introduces a set of alternatives: the heavy stones in colors other than black. (Rooth 2016).

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(Some) Dialectal Variation in Nominal System in Kimbundu

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This talk documents and examines the nominal system and its agreement in five dialects in Kimbundu (H20) spoken in Angola. The data comes from two fieldwork trips (winter 2019 and 2020) to Luanda, where speakers were interviewed. The preliminary data analysis of the noun classes and their comparison to the previous works (Châtelain 1889, Nascimento 1903, Pedro 1993, Xavier 2012), which do not focus on dialectal variation, suggests that these dialects seemto have three key features:

a) many nouns, although not consistently, preserved the traditional class system: e.g. I singular and I plural, II singular and II plural (as shown in 1);
b) several nouns no longer belong to the same class system and shifted noun class in plural, as shown in (2), for a more productive class;
c) some dialects show novel class prefixes where many nouns seem to be re-assigned (as shown in 3).

(1) a. di-tadi — b. ma-tadi — (Ngoya, Quissama, Mbaka)
1.sg-stone — 1.pl-stone
'stone' — 'stones'

(2) a. di-yaki — b. ma-yaki — (Ngoya, Quissama, Mbaka)
4.sg-eff — 4.pl-egg
'egg' — 'eggs'

c. Ø-yaki — d. ma-yaki — (Libolo)
9.sg-egg — 4.pl-egg
'egg' — 'eggs'

(3) a. Ø-soba — b. e-soba — (Quissama)
9.sg-king — novel.class-king
'king' — 'king'

This paper analyzes the phonological variation in these dialects, namely consonant, vowel change, and phonological alternations. The Libolo variant seems to be the most distant dialect, and Mbaka is considered to be a standard variant and is the closest to what was documented inearlier works. The talk also looks at the variation in the pronominal and nominal agreement system and examines the tonal variation that plays a grammatical function.

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Tongue root position and laryngeal state in Yemba vowels

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Production of voiced stops is associated with advanced tongue root, which is thought to facilitate voicing during stop closure via oral cavity expansion (Westbury 1982, Ahn 2018). However, enhancement of aspiration noise through root *retraction* may also drive the observed differences in some languages and is difficult to rule out. Furthermore, acoustic effects on following vowels remain unexplored. Yemba (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon) presents an opportunity to examine independent effects of voicing and aspiration on lingual articulation: Yemba has contrastive stop voicing and *voiceless* post-aspiration, all combinations of which occur (Bird 1999). We investigated the tongue position used for vowels after the four stop types using acoustic indices of tongue position (formant frequencies) and ultrasound tongue imaging. We expect voicing to condition tongue root advancement or tongue body lowering of the following vowel, reflected in *raised* F1 or F2. Conversely, aspiration ought to condition root retraction or body raising, reflected in *lowered* F1 or F2.

Methods. Two speakers' audio data were recorded in-lab, producing stops contrasting in aspiration and voicing preceding vowels /i ʉ u/. Comparable data for two more speakers were drawn from an audio lexicon (Bird 2003). 504 tokens were analyzed in total. F1 and F2 frequencies were extracted at vowel midpoint. Ultrasound video (Telemed Micro, 82 fps, 184 tokens) was recorded for one participant in the audio study. Tongue surface contours were extracted at vowel midpoint.

Results suggest independent effects of voicing and aspiration on tongue position: root advancement for voicing and root retraction for aspiration. Acoustic data (Fig. 1) were modeled using Bayesian mixed-effects regressions, predicting F1 and F2 as a function of vowel type, preceding aspiration, voicing, and their interaction, with by-speaker random intercepts. *Voicing* credibly raised F1 (β=21.0, 95%CI=[8.3,43.9]), and raised F2 (β= 68.14, 95%CI=[26.7,109.2]), consistent with a lowered tongue body and tongue root advancement, respectively. *Aspiration* had no credible effect on F1, but did credibly lower F2 (β= -64.5, 95%CI=[-105.4,-22.9]), consistent with tongue root retraction. No interactions reached significance. Smoothing-spline ANOVAs of ultrasound contours (Fig. 2) directly show root advancement after voiced stops and root retraction after aspiration.

Discussion. Both effects observed here - cavity expansion in vowels following voiced stops, and cavity contraction following aspirated stops - are of interest for research on vocalic [±ATR] contrasts: the laryngeal state of nearby consonants may present a confound.

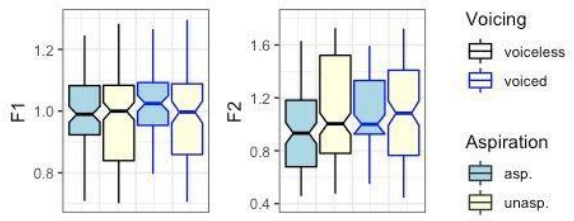

Fig. 1: Nearey-normalized F1 and F2 by preceding consonant type.

By voicing **By aspiration**

Fig. 2: Tongue surface splines for one speaker bypreceding consonant type; left is front.

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Why No Double Objective Construction in Shupamem

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Shupamem[1] doesn't allow double object construction (DOC). Only prepositional dative construction (PDC) is available.

(1) a. Mimsha fá gàtô nɔ́ Raje.
Mimsha give cake to Raje.
'Mimsha gave a cake to Raje.'

b. * Mimsha fá Raje gàtô.
Mimsha give Raje cake.
intended: Mimsha gave Raje a cake.

Recent studies have concluded that PDC and DOC are not related to each other derivationally (see, Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 2008), although the underlying structures are still under debate. The two most widely accepted theories are the semantic decomposition approach (Harley, 2002) and the applicative approach (e.g. Marantz, 1993). This study applies both approaches to explain why Shupamem doesn't allow DOC.

Harley (2002) revised Pesetsky (1995) and proposed two structures for PDC and DOC.

(2) a. PDC: [$_{vP}$ DP[$_{v}$ [$_{v}$ CAUSE[$_{PP}$ DO [$_{P}$ P$_{LOC}$[$_{PP}$ P IO]]]]]]
b. DOC: [$_{vP}$ DP[$_{v}$ [$_{v}$ CAUSE[$_{PP}$ IO[$_{P}$ P$_{HAVE}$ DO]]]]]

The verb 'give' is decomposed into a CAUSE component and an abstract preposition head either encodes location (P_{LOC}) or possession (P_{HAVE}). Harley (2002) further predicts that if a language doesn't have P_{HAVE}, (a) it doesn't allow DOC; (b) it doesn't use verbal 'have'[2] to express possession; (c) the possessor does not always c-command the possessee.

Prediction (b) is true since Shupamem expresses possession through a light verb 'GɛEt', which can mean 'to make' or 'to have'.

(3) Raje **ɣɛ̌t** gàtô.
Raje **have/make** cake.
'Raje has a cake.' or 'Raje made a cake.'

Prediction (c) is also true because Shupamem also expresses possession with 'COPULA + yˇɪ[3]', where the possessee proceeds the possessor.

(4) a. nʃə **mɔ̌n**$_k$ ɣɛ̌t jɣ́:ʃá-**ʃí:**$_{k/i}$.
every child$_k$ have dream-his$_{k/i}$.
'Every child$_k$ has his$_{k/i}$ dream.'

b. jɣ́:ʃá-**ʃí:**$_{i/*k}$ pâ yǐ: nʃə **mɔ̌n**$_k$.
dream-his$_{i/k*}$ COP that of every child$_k$.
'Every child$_k$ has his$_i$ dream.'

As shown in (4b), 'his$_{k*}$ dream' can't refer to 'every child$_k$'s dream'; thus the possessor doesn't c-command the possessee. The evidence above suggests that Shupamem doesn't allow DOC because it lacks P_{HAVE}.

Marantz (1993) proposed two structures for PDC and DOC based on the Voice theory.

(5) a. PDC: [$_{VoiceP}$ DP[$_{Voice}$ Voice[$_{VP}$ DO[$_{V}$ V[$_{PP}$ P IO]]]]]
b. DOC: [$_{VoiceP}$ DP[$_{Voice}$ Voice[$_{ApplP}$ IO[$_{Appl}$ Appl[$_{VP}$ V DO]]]]]

In DOC, the indirect object (IO) is introduced by an applicative head. A language must havean empty applicative head in order to derive the word order for DOC.

Shupamem doesn't have a typical applicative construction. The benefactive applicative[4] is introduced through a verbal phrase 'fá n@'.

[2]One common claim is that all languages represent 'have' underlyingly as BE+PREP. Merging PREP and BE results in the verbal 'have' (Freeze, 1992; Kayne, 1993; Guéron, 1995)

[3]According Nchare (2012), 'yˇɪ:' is a possessive pronoun that can be roughly translated 'that of'

[4]The BA can encode different meanings, including recipient, substitutive beneficiary and concrete benefi-ciary(Kittilä, 2005). All three readings are available in Shupamem.

(6) Mimsha jóng gàtô **fá** **nɔ́** Raje.
Mimsha buy cake **give to** Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake for Raje.'

(7) Mimsha ʃikɛ́t **fá** **nɔ́** Raje.
Mimsha speak **give to** Raje.
'Mimsha spoke for Raje.'

Therefore, the lack of empty applicative head could account for the lack of DOC in Shupamem.

Discussion: Both approaches can explain the lack of DOC in Shupamem. Further studies could investigate the typology of DOC based on P_{HAVE} and the applicative head.

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A Unified Account of Grammatical Tone and Length in Gã

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This study investigates grammatical tone and length alternations in Gã [Kwa: Ghana]. In Gã, many tense, aspect, mood and polarity (TAMP) distinctions are exponed by changes in tone. These grammatical tones may be realized on a subject pronoun, as in (1), or on a verbal TAMP prefix when the subject is not pronominal, as in (2). Previous analyses of this phenomenon (Kropp Dakubu 2002; Paster 2003) differ in the representation of the underlying forms. I present new data collected with a native speaker of Gã that sheds light on these processes, specifically through examples of the progressive and serial verb constructions, which have not previously been discussed in relation to grammatical tone in Gã. I argue that this data provides evidence for an analysis in which floating suprasegmentals (tones and moras) are aligned with specific positions within the verb and must be realized on the surface.

(1) é-↓bá
3SG.SBJV-come
'He should come.'

(2) kòfí á-↓bá
Kofi SBJV-come
'Kofi should come.'

Prior literature centers around two main analyses to account for these alternations. Kropp Dakubu (2002) describes these processes as resulting from the deletion of the TAMP prefix before a pronoun, in which the tone of the pronoun delinks and reassociates to the pronoun. While this approach is able to neatly account for why segmental allomorphs are not predictable from the surface, the mechanism Kropp Dakubu proposes seems to be at odds with phonological processes elsewhere in the language, like the directionality of tone spreading. Paster (2003), on the other hand, argues that the process of prefix deletion before pronouns is not part of the synchronic phonology. She points out that there is no independent motivation in Gã for such deletion rules and proposes that these pronouns should be analyzed as portmanteaux STAMP (subject TAMP) morphs, in which the pronoun marks TAMP as well as person/number specifications. New data from work with a native speaker shows that the portmanteau analysis is not tenable for all contexts: in serial verb constructions like (4), a constituent can optionally intervene between subject and verb, in which case TAMP must be marked solely on the verb. I also present novel data connecting progressive marking (3-4) to grammatical tone: prog is realized as either vowel lengthening on the pronoun (3) or a homorganic nasal prefix on the verb (4). I argue that this should be analyzed as a floating mora (Remijsen and Gwado Ayoker 2020) exponing the progressive, parallel to the comprehensive system of floating grammatical tones in Gã, extending my analysis beyond tone to account also for length alternations.

(3) èè-kánè nɪ̂ɪ̂ jɛ̀ skú
3SG.PROG-read thing COP school
'He is reading at school.'

(4) è jɛ̀ skú ŋ̀-kánè nɪ̂ɪ̂
3SG COP school PROG-read thing
'He is reading at school.'

I argue that floating tones (and, in the case of the progressive, floating moras) are aligned witha certain position: for instance, the right edge of the pre-stem, or the left edge of the verb root.If there is no segmental material available in that position, the segmental allomorph surfaces in order to realize the suprasegmental. This analysis bears on prior literature on grammatical tone in Gã, incorporating different aspects of prior analyses, and has implications more broadly on our understanding of STAMP phenomena. New data from fieldwork with a native Gã speaker provides evidence that different kinds of suprasegmentals — here, tone and length — pattern identically and can be analyzed within a single unified account across the language, as well as that the realization of those suprasegmentals is sensitive to the presence of segmental material in its specified position.

Temporality and Aspectuality in Dschang

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This talk reports on ongoing fieldwork and documentation of the temporal and aspectual system in Dschang, anunderstudied Grassfields Bantu language of Western Cameroon. I will present the system as a whole and show systematic morphosyntactic and semantic sensitivity of a number of phenomena to tense and aspect in Dschang,especially verbal presnasalization, verb-object inversion under negation, and the interaction thereof.

Dschang temporality exhibits an articulated system of gradient, relative remoteness distinctions from past tofuture. These tenses are marked either by overt morphosyntactic material, as exemplified in (1) below; grammatical tone, as seen in (2); or a combination of both. (2) also combines tense with grammatical aspect:

(1) Shufo kə́ káŋ m̀ báp
Shufo YST.PST fry meat
'Shufo fried the meat (yesterday).'

(2) Shufo xá ǹ-zá m̀ báp
Shufo PRS.HAB$_1$ CNS-cut meat
'Shufo cuts meat (habitually).'

Dschang has basic SVO word order and negation is canonically bipartite, with one negative morpheme always occuring preverbally and another occurring sentence-finally. Interestingly, there is a left-right asymmetry with respect to NEG$_1$ and tense: past tense markers always precede NEG$_1$ (3), while future markers must follow it (4):

(3) Shufo kə́ - ti káŋ m̀báp á
Shufo YST.PST NEG$_1$ fry meat NEG$_2$
'Shufo didn't fry the meat (yesterday).'

(4) Shufo tɨ́ kʉwə^h káŋ m̀báp á
Shufo NEG$_1$ TDY.FUT fry meat NEG$_2$
'Shufo won't fry the meat (today).'

I also show that different tenses and aspects correlate with the morphologically distinct verb forms. For example,in the distant past, as in (1), the verb is bare. In (5), with the prospective future, the verb takes a nasal "consecutive" prefix and an object marker suffix that varies according to the object's noun class:

(5) Shufo xə́mə ǹ-káŋ-á mbáp
Shufo PRS.FUT CNS-fry-OM meat
'Shufo is about to fry the meat.'

I also investigate *Negative Inversion* (NI) – whereby object and verb may invert in negative sentences, as in (6).Specifically, while NI is possible in some past tenses, it is ungrammatical in all future tenses, a contrast which can be observed in comparing (4) to (7):

(6) Shufo kə́ - ti m̀báp káŋ
Shufo YST.PST NEG$_1$ meat fry
'Shufo didn't fry the meat (yesterday).'

(7) *Shufo tɨ́ kʉwə^h m̀báp káŋ
Shufo NEG$_{1a}$ TDY.FUT meat fry
'Shufo won't fry the meat (today).'

Finally, I show that consecutive marked verbs cannot undergo NI. Dschang has two habitual constructions: (2)/HAB$_1$ with an overt marker and conseutive verb form; and (8)/HAB$_2$ – purely tonal with no prenasalization.

(8) Shufo za m̀báp
Shufo ø-cut.PRS.HAB$_2$ meat
'Shufo cuts meat (habitually).

The following examples show that while NI is impossible with HAB_1, it is perfectly grammatical with HAB_2:

(9) * Shufo xá tɨ̀ m̀báp ǹ-zá
Shufo PRS.HAB_1 NEG_1 meat CNS-cut
'Shufo does not cut meat (habitually).'

(10) Shufo tɨ̀ m̀báp ǃza
Shufo NEG_1 meat ø-cut.PRS.HAB_2
'Shufo does not cut meat (habitually).'

We'll show how the cross-linguistic typology may be enriched by comparing these observations with other Grassfields languages, e.g. Nweh and Shupamem. I will also discuss multiple tense markers intraclausally.

Tone absorption and the decomposability of tone features

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The literature debates whether tone should be decomposed into multiple features. Clements et al. (2010) and Hyman (2010) have argued that there is little analytical benefit to this. Yip (1980, 1989, 2002), Hollenbach (1988), Bao (1990), Duanmu (1990), Snider (1988, 1990, 1999), and more recently, McPherson (2016), have argued contrary. Hyman states: "...although tone features may occasionally beuseful, they are not essential." Contra this, McPherson states: "... tonal features show an analytic advantage over tonal primitives".

This paper presents evidence that decomposing tone features is an advantage, and even a necessity, to handle tone absorption in Bena-Yungur ((presumed) Benue-Congo, Nigeria) (Idiatov & Van de Velde2018) and Soyaltepec Mazatec (Otomanguean, Mexico) (Beal 2011).

Hyman (2004) defines absorption as "loss of part of a contour when followed [or preceded] by a liketone". In Bena-Yungur, a L in a HL contour is absorbed into a following L:

1a) kálsâ # bəmbəm → kálsə́ bəmbəm
'fat monkeys (sp.)'

but also into a following M:

b) kwá:nô # yā → kwá:nə́ yā
'this plate'

I&VdV state: "L and M tones often behave as if they were identical in the application of the tone absorption rule". If tones are represented as single non-decomposable features, absorption of L by M isarbitrary. To capture the "like-ness" of L and M as against H, sub-features are needed. Without this, itseems there is nothing in the theory to prevent other arbitrary tone absorption rules such as ML#H → M#H.

In Soyaltepec Mazatec, a four-tone-level language (H, M1, M2, L), in appropriate environments we getrightward spreading, absorption, or register effects (downstepping):

2a)	$na^{M2}ʃu^{M1H}$, 'flower'	$i^{M2}su^{M2}$, 'blue'	$na^{M2}ʃu^{M1}$ $i^{H}su^{M2}$ 'blue flower'	H of M1H spreads right
b)	$na^{M2}ʃu^{M1H}$, 'flower'	$si^{M2}nɛ^{H}$, 'yellow'	$na^{M2}ʃu^{M1}$ $si^{M2}nɛ^{H}$ 'yellow flower'	H of M1H absorbed(!)
c)	ngu^{M2M1}, 'one'	$na^{L}t\ ʃu^{L}$, 'squash'	ngu^{M2} $na^{M1}t\ ʃu^{L}$ 'one squash'	M1 of M2M1 spreads right
d)	tu^{M2M1} 'fruit'	$si^{M2}nɛ^{H}$, 'yellow'	tu^{M2} $^{↓}si^{M2}nɛ^{H}$ 'yellow fruit'	M1 of M2M1 downsteps

Beal's analysis uses decomposable tone features, call them [+/- upper] (register) and [+/- raised] (pitchrelative to register), though we don't specifically intend Yip's (1989) model. Independently motivated feature analysis turned out to explain the absorbed (disappearing) H tone in (2b): due to OCP, its [+upper] feature merges with that of the following M2, and its [+raised] feature merges with that of the preceding M1. Also, assuming a relative (not absolute) register feature, as in the model of Snider (1990), the [-upper] feature of M1 downsteps the whole word 'yellow', since M2 and H share a [+upper] feature which is replaced by the spread of [-upper]. Without these decomposable features, rules would have to build in arbitrary stipulations that (e.g.) H merges / M1_M2, and M1 downsteps but M2 does not, and the formalism would not capture these natural classes / generalizations.

For these reasons it seems that decomposable features are necessary to handle tone absorption in theselanguages.

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The hyper-sensitive agreement in Akebu

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In this paper I introduce a new type of Ā-sensitive agreement found in the Kwa language Akebu (GTM; [keu]). In Akebu the subject agreement marker reflects ϕ-features of the subject and it cross-references the presence of the Ā-movement. I demonstrate that the Akebu pattern provides empirical support for the central assumption of the morphological theory of special inflection (Baier 2016, Lochbihler & Matieu 2013, Miyagawa 2010). Namely, I argue that the Ā-feature is visible to Agree.

The baseline pattern found in Akebu is shown in (1) where the regular subject agreement marker for the noun class NU (ø-) turns into the special inflection marker (*n*-) in the presence of Ā-movement (*wh*-movement, focus fronting, relativization). (1-a) shows that the special inflection in Akebu is not a clause-typing mechanism. (1-b) and (1-c) show that the special inflection emerges in both subject and object *wh*-questions, i.e. it is different from the anti-agreement effect (Baier 2016, Ouhalla 1993).

(1) a. māré ∅-lá́á-tā àɲālūpí
Mary.NU NU-HAB-like ice.cream.PE
'Does Mary like ice cream?'

b. ə́lɛ̄ n-(l)áá-tā àɲālūpí
who.NU Ā.NU-HAB-like ice.cream.PE
'Who likes ice cream?'

c. kɛ̀ wə́ māré n-(l)áá-tā
what.TE FOC Mary.NU Ā.NU-HAB-like
'What does Mary like?'

In the paper itself I also show the morphophonological evidence that separates the hyper-sensitive agreement in Akebu from the *wh*-agreement (Henderson 2006, Kinyalolo 1991, Bokamba 1977). The crucial difference there is that in Akebu the loci of subject agreement and Ā-agreement coincide and both are spelled-out at as a part of T as shown in (2).

(2) a. [T, ϕ] ⇔ /∅-/ regular ϕ-agreement
b. [T, ϕ, Ā] ⇔ /*n*-/ hyper-sensitive ϕ-agreement

The central claim of this paper is that the Ā-feature must be distinguished from ϕ- features and both must be visible to Agree (i.e. to the mechanism(s) that is/are respon-sible for Ā-features appearing on T). The logic of the argument is as follows. I adopt a common assumption that two sets of features that appear on the same head are either ontologically different (i.e. ϕ and Ā) or indistinguishable from each other (i.e. there is no ϕ_1 and ϕ_2) (Bobaljik & Sauerland 2018, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Nevins 2010, Harbour 2008). If the special inflection in Akebu is triggered by two sets of ϕ-features on T, we expect (1-c) and (3) to be acceptable with the same agreement marker, since both have DPs of classes TE and NU agreeing with T and their sets of ϕ-features are supposed to be indistinguishable from each other. Yet (3) is ungrammatical. It follows that the agreement pattern in Akebu shows sensitivity to the Ā-feature itself.

(3) *ə́lɛ̄ wə́ ḍāpúpú-ʈə̀ n-(l)áá-tā
who.NU FOC crow-TE Ā.NU-HAB-like
int. 'Who does the crow like?'

Wolof Universal Dependency Parsing

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Wolof is one of eight African languages for which a coded Universal Dependency (UD) Treebank is available, out of the 90 languages that are represented in UD treebank format. The goal of this study was to train and test a natural language parser for Wolof based on this UD treebank. The research question is whether parsing improves if multiple part of speech tags are collapsed into one based on shared morphological features, and if dependency structures are consistent for identical syntactic structures.

Models were trained and tested for two different parser pipelines using the Wolof UD Treebank (Dione, 2019). By editing the dependency structures and labels to account for morphological and syntactic uniformity, the accuracy of both parser pipelines was improved.

For each parser pipeline, one model was trained on the original treebank, and one was trained on the edited treebank. According to the results for each parser pipeline, the accuracy of the edited treebank was higher than the original for both the dependency relations and dependency labels. In the model that showed the greatest increase in accuracy, accuracy for universal dependency relations improved 2.90% while accuracy for universal dependency labels increased 3.38%. Consistent increases in accuracy illustrate the benefits of uniform morphosyntactic analyses for universal dependency parsing. The results suggest that referencing syntactic analyses can inform computational development of African languages, despite their underrepresented in projects such as UD Treebanks.

Reviewing the potential of and limits to pedagogical translanguaging in South African classrooms

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South Africa's linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms pose multiple challenges to both teachersand students. One uniqueness of the Motherland scenario resides in many students' having to switchto new languages of instruction at successive levels of their education.

The talk will commence with a succinct portrayal of the language policies in the country and itseducation system, and a critical synthesis both of the multiple transitions during the scholastic processand the inherent educational challenges. An appropriate course of action that naturally presents itselfas well-suited in this context is the theoretical stance, set of communicative practices, and pedagogicalapproach that have collectively been referenced under the umbrella term of *translanguaging* (TLAN).Although the concept has now gained world recognition and popularity in the scholarly literature and among teachers 'on the ground', its interpretation and implementation are by no means without problems and caveats.The talk will discuss the ramifications of translanguaging practices in the narrow sense of a multilingualresource-based set of pedagogical practices and the limits to its applicability. We shall examine how TLAN maybe less transformative and critical than has been suggested, how the demographics—and language repertoires—of SA teachers often fail to align with those of the student population, how TLAN practices may unintentionallyreproduce disadvantages and reinforce inequalities and the hegemony of majority languages, how languagesingletons in particular face steeper challenges, that SA students' home language (HL) is not always theirstrongest language, that not all students appreciate the opportunity to use their HL, that TLAN does *not* workeverywhere or all the time, that pupils may not find it liberating at all, and that it may actually cause a *decrease*in well-being, that there is a necessary trade-off between the provision of translanguaging, the need to 'cover'the content required by the oft-overloaded curriculum within the allocated time, doing so in a mannercomprehensible to the students, and providing sufficient exposure to the concepts in the language of instruction,and the need to reconcile the acknowledgment of students' linguistic diversity, freedom of expression, andrespect for the equality of languages with making them learn the register or language that is the target of instruction…

Naturally, many aspects and practices of TLAN are worthwhile and salvageable. The final minutes of the talk will focus on these, concluding with a recommendation of critical, reflective pedagogy that always takes into account the circumstances and ecologies of the classroom and the subjectivities of the students.

Jespersen's Cycle in Ndendeule Negation

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Jespersen (1917) noted that sentential negation marking exhibits tendencies to change in cycles. It progresses from one mark which becomes phonetically weak and is subsequently strengthened by another marker resulting in double negation. This is followed by the loss of the initial marker. Over time, the remnant marker also becomes weak and is strengthened by another marker. Dahl (1979) named this Jespersen's Cycle.

For languages with historical documents, this process can be demonstrated to have taken place historically. Languages without historical documents may also provide evidence of the cycle. Ndendeule (ISO 639-3 *dne*), a Bantu language spoken in southern Tanzania, is only now being documented. It has four negation marking strategies: : (a) post-verbal negative particle *jɪ*, (b) inceptive verbal prefix *nga-*, (c) prohibitive periphrastic *kɔtɔ*, and (d) prefix *na-* that appears on an infinitive verb. Some of the negation marking strategies seem to combine into double negation. The paper describes the four negation marking strategies mostly using data from Ndendeule folktales. It explores the categorical features of the negation markers.

The dominant strategy for sentential negation *jɪ* is shown to behave like an adverb. This may be consistent with Jespersen's Cycle if it co-occurs with another negation marker. Such co-occurrence does exist. There are cases in which the verbal prefix *na-* is indeed reinforced by the negative marker jɪ. One particular conditional clause in Ndendeule uses double negation, as shown here.

(1) a. [na-ku-hik-a yɪ]*p* [b-andu ku-hyom-a]*q*
COND-INF-come-FV NEG 2-person INF-be angry-FV
'unless (he/she) comes, people will be angry'

b. [hula na-ku-tony-a yɪ]*p* [li-mbaku cha-li-yum-a]*q* 9.rain
COND-INF-rain-FV NEG 5-tobacco FT-5OM-dry-FV 'if it does not rain, the tobacco plants will dry'

In the *if*-clause in (a), the prefix *na-* appears before the *kuhika* 'coming.' The appearance of a similar form in (b) is accompanied by a preverbal nominal phrase *hula* 'rain' which is the subject. Therefore, *na-* is not the subject prefix and does in other contexts appear as the sole negation marker.

The data in Ndendeule is inconclusive with respect to the sequence of changes. However, the presence of double negation in some of the strategies strongly suggests a transitional stage in negation making changes.

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A Syntactic Reappraisal of Polar Question Constructions in Igbo

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Assumptions in the literature (Nwachukwu 1976, Emenanjo 1987, Uwalaaka 1997, Amaechi 2018, etc.) suggest that Igbo language employs a combination of a low-tone and a resumptive pronoun which agrees with R-expression subjects of question clauses to derive polar questions. This study, however, identifies a high-pitch intonation, apparently missed out in the earlier studies, as a crucial functional item in Igbo polar questions (IPQs). This informs a reappraisal of the syntactic projection of IPQ constructions undertaken in this paper. Relying on insights from minimalist grammar (Chomsky 1995 to 2015) and other works within the generative tradition (Polock's 1989 split IP hypothesis; Rizzi's 1997, 2001 split-CP hypothesis and cartography of the left periphery; Cheng's 1991 clause-typing hypothesis; Abney's 1987 DP hypothesis, etc.) alongside acoustic investigation of pitch tracks of relevant speech samples on Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2014), the paper proposes a complex but split pre-clausal functional morpheme which subcategorizes for declarative TPs as complement and subsequently, via internal merge, sandwiches either the Pronominal/R-expression subject of IPQs or the declarative TP of IPQs having clause-final particles toderive convergent polar question constructions in the language.

Tira participant marking: the role of tone

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Factors such as person, animacy, or saliency can dictate how and which participants are indexed on verbs. In some Kordofanian languages of the Nuba Mountains, Sudan, the position and interpretation of subject and object markers depends on whether the referenced object is 3rd person (Stevenson 1942/2009, Schadeberg & Kossmann 2010, Rose 2020). In this paper, we provide primary data from **Tira** [tic], that highlights the role of tone in distinguishing participants. Previous research on this topic (Stevenson 1942/2009) had not indicated tone.

Main clause verbs have a noun class agreement prefix which usually indicates the 3rd person subject (k-/ŋg-(sg) or l-(pl) in (1ab,ef)). 1st and 2nd persons add subject prefixes (1c,d, 1g,h), and in imperfective, class agreement is also present (1g-h). Tone can distinguish subjects (Watters 1993): 1plex ɲà- vs. 2pl ɲá- (1c-d, g-h). Each tense-aspect-mood (TAM) has a tone pattern on the root+final vowel: perfective is LL-H and imperfective is HL-L.

(1) PERFECTIVE: CLAGR/SUBJ-root-PFV IMPERFECTIVE: SUBJ-CLAGR-IPFV-root-IPFV

a.	kə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɔ́ ðáŋàlà	‘he pulled a sheep’	e.	ŋ-g-á-vɔ́lɛ̀ð-à ðáŋàlà	‘he will pull a sheep’
b.	lə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɔ́ ðáŋàlà	‘they pulled a sheep’	f.	l-á-vɔ́lɛ̀ð-à ðáŋàlà	‘they will pull a sheep’
c.	ɲà-vəlɛ̀ð-ɔ́ ðáŋàlà	‘we (ex) pulled the sheep’	g.	ɲà-l-á-vɔ́lɛ̀ð-à ðáŋàlà	‘we (ex) will pull a sheep’
d.	ɲá-vəlɛ̀ð-ɔ́ ðáŋàlà	‘you all pulled a sheep’	h.	ɲá-l-á-vɔ́lɛ̀ð-à ðáŋàlà	‘you all will pull a sheep’

Object pronominals are expressed by a person marker, shown in blue in (2). Their position is determined by the TAM of the verb - suffixes in perfective (2a-c), prefixes in imperfective (1d-f). If the object marker is low-toned, high tone cannot occur on the root (2d-e). The vowel preceding some 1st person forms is fronted due to fusion with initial [i] of the following prefix.

(2) PERFECTIVE: CLAGR/SUBJ-root-PFV-OBJ IMPERFECTIVE: SUBJ-CLAGR-IPFV-OBJ-root-IPFV

a.	kə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɛ́-ŋì	‘he pulled me’	d.	ŋ-g-á-ŋì-vəlɛ̀ð-à	‘he will pull me’
b.	lə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɛ́-ŋì	‘they pulled me’	e.	l-á-ŋì-vəlɛ̀ð-à	‘they will pull me’
c.	kə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɛ́-ɲárɛ́	‘he pulled us (ex)’	f.	ŋ-g-é-ɲár-vɔ́lɛ̀ð-à	‘he will pull us (ex)’

If the object is 3rd person, the class agreement is interpreted as the object, and the subject is expressed by person markers. In the perfective, tone is the only distinguishing characteristic (3a vs. b); in the imperfective, different segmental prefixes appear (3c ŋì- vs. 3d í- (á-í → [é])).

(3)

PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE	
a. kə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɛ́-ŋì	‘he pulled me’	c. ŋ-g-á-ŋì-vəlɛ̀ð-à	‘he will pull me’
b. kə-vəlɛ̀ð-ɛ́-ŋí	‘I pulled him’	d. ŋ-g-é-vɔ́lɛ̀ð-à	‘I will pull him’

Subjects can still be distinguished by tone when they appear in the suffix position: (4a)--(4b) and (4d)--(4e), but their corresponding object forms are identical: (4c,f).

(4)	PERFECTIVE			IMPERFECTIVE	
a.	kə-vəlɛ̀ð-á-ɲà	‘we (ex) pulled him’	d	ŋ-g-á-ɲà-vəlɛ̀ð-à	‘we (ex.) will pull him’
b.	kə-vəlɛ̀ð-á-ɲá	‘you all pulled him’	e.	ŋ-g-á-ɲá-vəlɛ̀ð-à	‘you all will pull him’
c.	kə-vəlɛ̀ð-á-ʈɛ́	‘he pulled us(ex)/you all’	f.	ŋ-g-á-ʈɛ́-vəlɛ̀ð-à	‘he will pull us(ex)/you

In summary, tone differences can indicate the person of the subject, or, if the object is 3rd person, the participant roles; tone is key to interpreting subject/object roles in the system.

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Multiple exponence of nasality in Northern Toussian

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The Northern Toussian language of Burkina Faso employs a non-past morpheme consisting of two floating features, a nasal component and low tone component, realized at the right edge of the Subject-Aux complex. In certain environments, this morpheme is copied onto other morphemes in the string, nasalizing the final vowel and applying downstep. Although this phenomenon resembles nasal harmony, this paper will show that the phenomenon involves morphologically-restricted copying. The data are drawn from primary research.

The word order is SAuxOV. Several auxiliaries can cooccur in this auxiliary complex; the non-past morpheme is the rightmost auxiliary, realized as nasalization on the preceding element. If there is no other auxiliary present and the subject bears a lexical H tone, the subjectwill be realized with a falling tone (1a), otherwise downstep is applied, as shown in (1b).

(1) Perfective — Non-past

a. púpó bú wé — púpo̰ bú wé
'The sheep saw the cheetah' — 'The sheep will see the cheetah'

b. m̄bīɛ̄ bú wé — m̄bīɛ̰̄ ˡbú wé
'The bird saw the cheetah' — 'The bird will see the cheetah'

In (2), the non-past marker is copied, appearing on the subject and each auxiliary.

(2) Nasal copying

a.	púpo̰	ˡto̰	ˡpḭ̄	ˡbú	wé
	sheep	again	FUT	cheetah	see

'The sheep will see the cheetah again'

Other particles in the auxiliary complex do not trigger copying. They receive nasalization, butit will not be transmitted leftward. Some of these morphemes are phonologically quite similarto *pī* and *tó* (2), such as the immediate sequencing morpheme *pɔ̄* (3)a and dubitative *sa̰* (3)b.

(3) Restrictions on copying

a.	púpó	pɔ̰̄	ˡbú	wé
	sheep	IS	cheetah	see

'When the cheetah will see the sheep...'

b.	púpó	sa̰	ˡto̰	ˡbú	wé
	sheep	DUB	again	cheetah	see

'I doubt the cheetah will see the sheep.'

Though this phenomenon resembles nasal harmony, it differs in several ways: it affects only the final vowel of a word, consonants do not interact with it, and the transmission is dependent on the morphemes themselves rather than their phonological qualities. The non-past morpheme can be transferred to the left of *pī* but not *pɔ̄,* though both are M toned particles beginning in /p/. Likewise, both *tó* and *sá̱* are H toned particles beginning in voiceless obstruents, but the morpheme's realization differs. Finally, in slow speech, the morpheme doesnot surface as vowel nasalization, but rather as a nasal stop cliticized to the following word, triggering downstep.

(4) Normal speech slow speech

púpô̱ bú wé púpó m̀ bú wé

'The sheep will see the cheetah'

This appears to be an example of multiple exponence. The non-past morpheme is assigned at the right edge of the auxiliary complex with the element to its left as host. Certain hosts such as *pī* and *tó* are specified as transmitters, which copy the morpheme to their left. Others will only host the morpheme and it will not copy further. This study presents an intriguing case of multiple realization of a floating morpheme, resulting in multiple exponence.

Tone patterns and dissimilation in Wushi

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Like other Grassfields Bantu languages, Wushi has a complex tone system. The abundance of floating tones is one of the main explanations for the numerous perturbations happening at the surface level. Although underlyingly Grassfields Bantu languages have only two tones, high (H) and low (L) (Watters 2003:236), what one hears is a wide and sometimes disconcerting variety of tones, including high-low (HL), low-high (LH), mid (M), and low-high-mid (LHM). However, a closer examination of the tense-aspect-mood (and modality) in Wushi shows that the tonal system is more predictable than it looks. More precisely, data reveal specific tone patterns particularly for each mode. For example, with the modality expressing possibility, we have the sequence L-H-L where the first L is the modality, H is the subject and L the verb, as seen in (1) and (2).

(1) *làkə wə́ gɛ*
POSSIBL you go
'You are free to go.'

(2) *làkə̀ ŋə́ tì dʒʉ*
POSSIBL he NEG come
'He cannot come.'

In (2) there are two more tones, H-L, added to the sequence, and therefore following the pattern L-H-L which appears to be governed by a dissimilation rule.
Moreover, assimilation and dissimilation processes take place between what I called prosodic groups. I identified three of them: the subject group, consisting of the subject pronoun only, the tense-aspect group, and the verb(-object) group. Whereas tone assimilation or copy occurs within a group, a dissimilation rule prevents two groups from having the same tone patterns. This is what happens in (3) and (4).

(3) *ŋə́ ti kə jɔ̀ʔ*
he NEG PAST sing
'He did not sing.'

(4) *ŋə́ ti wɔ zə! ŋgɔ̀ːkə̀*
he NEG FUT eat banana
'He will not eat the banana.'

In both examples, a quite regular tone pattern is repeated, only the tone of the verb – which is underlyingly L for 'sing' and H for 'eat' – and the object differs. We will see with more examples that there is actually a constraint in Wushi that governs the distribution of tone in indicative sentences. Following Snider (2018), I believe tone is more about patterns, not only at the lexical level but also at the syntactic level.

Frozen reduplication and repetition in Gizey

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In many contemporary Chadic languages, reduplication is a common productive process for deriving new words and encoding various morphosyntactic categories (Allison, 2012; Dougophe, 2015; Frajzyngier, 2002; Newman, 2000; Schuh, 1998; Viljoen, 2013). Newman (1990) has suggested that Proto-Chadic was likely to have used prefixal *CV- reduplication as the primary means for forming pluractionals (see Schuh, 2002 for a different view). Suffixal *-VC(V) reduplication has also been considered, though unavailingly, as a means for forming noun plurals in Proto-Chadic (Newman, 1990). While our reading of the place of the process in Proto-Chadic is still fragmentary, its evolution in present-day languages appears to be puzzling. One issue, for example, is the fact that some present-day languages do not have it as an active derivational and/or inflectional process. This is the case of Masa North (Melis, 2019) languages, and especially, of Gizey, the language under study here. Gizey contains only a few frozen reduplicatives in the noun and ideophone classes. Gizey thus stands out among Chadic languages in that active reduplication is neither used to mark pluractionality in the verbal class nor any other morphosyntactic feature in other classes. After a comprehensive description of the formal and semantic properties of frozen reduplicatives, I will argue that Gizey now mostly relies on syntactic repetition to mark pluractionality, unlike many Chadic languages which are known to do so via reduplication. The data presented here mainly include a) primary data (narrative texts) collected by the author and b) secondary data consisting of lexical items deriving from previous studies of Gizey (Ajello & Melis, 2008), Masana (Melis, 1999), Musey (Roberts & Soulokadi, 2019), Marba (Melis, 2006), Zimé (Vincent, 2000) or comparative wordlists like (Ajello et al., 2001).

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Instrumental and Dative Applicatives in Maa

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Like other Nilotic languages, Maa (Eastern Nilotic; Kenya, Tanzania) has a 'dative' applicative construction with *-akɪ(n)* which licenses RECIPIENT, GOAL, and BENEFACTIVE applied objects. Maa also has an 'instrumental' (INST) applicative *-ie(k)*. This paper discusses the radial semantic structure of the 'instrumental' applicative while also demonstrating its syntactic effects. The study is based on a corpus ofaround 100 texts, plus elicited data to probe the syntactic effects.

In (1), *-ie(k)* operates on a transitive root *jut* 'wipe' to create a ditransitive stem with 'cattle' as the INST- object. The INST-NP 'cattle' is gapped from the bracketed relative clause because it is co-referent with theTHEME-object of 'give'.

(1) níkɪnchɔ siî nɪnché ɪlalashara inkíshú [naa-pûô áa-jut-**ie** irkíyio]
1PL.give also them brothers cattle REL.PL-go.PL INF.PL-wipe-INST tears
'we also give our brothers cattle which they go and wipe (their) tears with'

Corpus data show that LOCATION is one of the most common interpretations of the so-called INST- applicative, as seen in (2) where *-ie(k)* adds a LOCATIVE-object to the otherwise intransitive root 'remain'.

(2) nébik-**ie** ɛnkáŋ
3.remain-INST home
'S/he remains in the home.'

Some applied INST-LOCATIVES are stationary places where a situation holds true, as just seen in (2). But others are SOURCES from which a movement trajectory begins. By metaphorical extension from SOURCE,a REASON interpretation may result if the applied object is a situation rather than a physical place.

An applied INST-object licensed by *-ie(k)* can also be a semantic COMITATIVE. This is seen in (3) where*iyíóók* 'us' is a COMITATIVE co-AGENT with the ones who should flee. The comitative sense is likely based on a meaning shift from "a thing used by the agent" (typically also "located with" the agent while being used) to just "a thing that is located with the agent."

(3) é-nyoitó é-ísik-**íé** iyíóók
IMPERATIVE.PL-wake.up IMPERATIVE.PL-flee-INST us
'You all get up and flee with us.'

If the applied INST-object of a Class 2 stem is animate, it can be interpreted as a CAUSEE. In (4), *-ie(k)* operates on transitive *ɪŋat* 'flee from' to derive 'make flee from'. The causee meaning extension proceedsfrom "(inanimate) instrument," to "indirectly accomplishing something via an animate intermediary," to "direct causee."

(4) áa-ɪŋat-**íé** ɔlŋátúny
3>1SG-flee.from-INST lion
'He made me flee from the lion.'

The overall results show how features of NP referents (place, a situation, animacy) can contribute to the interpretation of notions like RECIPIENT/GOAL/BENEFACTIVE; or INSTRUMENT, SOURCE, REASON, etc., which some approaches have said should have their ontology in predicates, adpositions, and elements likeapplicatives – but not in features of referents themselves. Saving a predicate-based view of argument rolescalls for a macro-role approach to what is syntactically-relevant (cf. Van Valin & LaPolla). I suggest that *-akɪ(n)* licenses a macro-GOAL as the applied object, while *-ie(k)* licenses a macro-ITEM.WITH.AGENT but is polysemous in also licensing a macro-NON.GOAL locative.

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Object Marking in Cinyungwe

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We will present ongoing work on the object marking (OMing) system of Cinyungwe (Bantu N43, Mozambique). OMing in Cinyungwe is 'symmetrical' in that either object may be object-marked on the verb, but shows consistent asymmetries as well. OMing indirect objects is natural without addition pragmatic context, as shown in (1):

(1) yavu a-ku-**mu**-pas-a ma-luwa.
1.grandmum 2SM-FUT-**1OM**-give-FV 6-flowers
`Grandmum will give her flowers.'

OMing the theme object (flowers) is infelicitous in neutral discourse contexts, but acceptable if the indirect object is focused.

(2) %yavu a-ku-**ma**-pas-a mw-ana.
1.grandmum 2SM-FUT-**6OM**-give-FV 1-child
`grandmum will them (flowers) to the child.'
OK as an answer to an indirect object question# otherwise

Asymmetry between themes and recipients also appears in relative clauses: an extracted theme object may optionally be OMed (3), but OMing is obligatory when extracting an indirect object (4):

(3) Siriza a-wereng-a livu l-omwe nd-a-**(li)**-gul-a dzulo.
Siriza 1SM.PST-read-FV 5.book 5-COMP 1SG.SM-PST-5OM-buy-FV yesterday
'Siriza read the book that I bought yesterday.'

(4) wa-na omwe u-ndza-***(wa)**-pas-a ma-livu a-fik-a.
2-children 2.that 2SG.SM-FUT-2OM-give-FV 6-book 2SM.PST-arrive-FV
'the children that you will give the books arrived'

This puzzle intersects with another in Cinyungwe, which (similar to Korean and Japanese) shows distinct word order properties for lexical ditransitives (Jung and Miyagawa 2004; Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).Benefactive applicatives (5) show the expected recipient-theme word order, but lexical ditransitives like 'give' and 'show' (6) have canonical theme-recipient word order.

(5) Kapenu a-ndza-gas-ir-a a-kazi moto
1Kapenu 1SM-FUT-start.fire-APPL-FV 2-women fire
'Kapenu will start fire for the women.'

(6) yavu a-ku-pas-a ma-luwa mw-ana.
1grandmum 2SM-PRS-give-FV 6-flowers 1-child
'grandmum is giving flowers to the child'

Similar to Zulu, an OM-doubled object appears naturally at the right of manner adverbs and to the right of ditransitive objects, and is infelicitous otherwise, suggesting that (like Zulu) OM-doubling in Cinyungwe is linked with movement outside the verb phrase (Zeller 2015).

(7) Kapenu a-ndza-**wa**-gas-ir-a moto, a-kazi
1Kapenu SM.cl1-FUT-2OM-start fire-APPL-FV fire 2-women
'Kapenu will start fire for the women.'

(8) yavu a-ku-**ma**-pas-a mw-ana, ma-luwa.
1grandmum 2SM-FUT-OM6-give-FV 1-child 6-flowers
'Grandmum is giving them (flowers) to the child.'

Similar to Bukusu (Sikuku et al 2018), there is an emphatic reading that appears in some OM-doubling contexts. The initial generalization seems to be that this reading arises when movement does not occur out of the verb phrase (assuming the manner adverb demarcates the edge of *v*P):

(9) baba a-da-ci-phik-a mwakuyipa ci-mbamba
1.father 1-PST-7OM-cook-FV poorly 7-beans
"Father cooked the beans poorly."

(10) baba a-da-ci-phik-a ci-mbamba mwakuyipa
1.father 1-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans poorly
'Father **really** cooked the beans poorly, I am certain of it.'

The work is ongoing. The main contribution of this work is detailed syntactic/pragmatic description and analysis of object marking in Cinyungwe. That said, the mix of overlapping properties with the best-documented Bantu object marking patterns (Zulu, Bukusu) paired with the range of distinctions that are emerging about the properties of ditransitives offers promise of adding to our understanding of the broader Bantu patterns as well.

Particles and *ex-situ* focus in Mabia (Gur) languages: A grouping based on inventory

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Although focus expression has received attention in the literature of Mabia languages, little is done in the typologization of these languages in the context of focus structures. The current paper seeks to show that the use of particles constitutes a key strategy in *ex-situ* focus realization by drawing data from Dagbani, Dagaare, Kusaal, Gurenɛ, Likpakpaanl and Sisaali. We show that each of these languages employ the use of independent syntactic elements in the marking of the information structural notion of focus. We demonstrate that whereas Kusaal, Dagbani, Gurenɛ and Sisaali have two *ex-situ* focus markers each: *ka/n*, for Kusaal and Dagbani, *ti/n* for Gurenɛ, *rɛ*/*nɛ* for Sisaala, languages such as Dagaare and Likpakpaanl have one ex-situ focus maker each: *la* for Dagaare and *le* for Likpakpaanl. Casting our empirical facts within the theoretical tenets of the Minimalist syntax, we further assume that these particles project functional heads, triggered by the interpretable focus feature they carry. Additionally, we attempt to classify these languages using the inventory of the focus particles available for *ex-situ* focus marking. Based on the inventory of these particles, we group the languages into two categories, those that employ one focus marker and those that use two focus particles. We also explore how the availability of these focus inventory reflects in the syntax of the focus constructions in these languages. This paper is important because it makes a significant typological contribution to our understanding of focus constructions in the Mabia languages of Ghana. This research will be carried out using both primary and secondary data gathered from native speakers of these languages and from already published research papers. The native speaker intuitions of the authors will also help in the grammaticality judgement of data from Dagbani and Kusaal. The research is entirely qualitative.

Encoding negative bias in Kipsigis belief reports

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1. **Introduction** This paper describes and analyzes the interpretation of two belief verbs in Kipsigis (Kalen- jin; Nilo-Saharan). The verbs *bar* and *bwat* both mean 'think', though use of *bar* indicates that the speaker views the reported belief as false or poorly evidenced, while *bwat* is more neutral. The semantic contribution of belief reports is generally straightforward: simply that some individual has a particular belief. Based on the belief holder's reliability, discourse participants are inclined to believe that the belief holder is correct. However, the Kipsigis construction with *bar* goes against this tendency and indicates that the belief holder is incorrect or unreliable. In analyzing this construction, this paper contributes to a growing body of work on negatively biased belief verbs (e.g. Glass 2020; Anvari et al. 2019) and postsupposition—modeled as a restriction on output contexts.

2. **Data.** Kipsigis *bar* and *bwat* translate as 'think', but use of *bar* indicates that the speaker views the reported belief as false or poorly evidenced. For instance, *bar* is natural when the speaker knows the belief holder to be incorrect (1a) but is unacceptable when the speaker knows the belief holder to be correct (1b).

(1) Bar-e kaamee-nyun a-mnyon-i.
think-PROG mother-my 1SG-be.sick-PROG
'My mother thinks I'm sick.'

a. Context: ✓We know I'm healthy, but my mother thinks I'm sick because I fooled her to skipschool.

b. Context: #We know I'm sick, and my mother knows it too.

The same pattern emerges when the speaker has reason to doubt the belief holder's reliability, even if theydo not know the truth or falsity of the belief (2).

(2) Context: Arap Bett's drunk and acting confused, so I have reason to doubt his reliability.

Ma-a-ngen koto ka-∅-goit arap Ruto anan tomo, lagini ∅-bar-e arap Bett
NEG-1SG-know if PST-3-arrive son.of Ruto not yet but 3-think-PROG son.of Bett
ka-∅-goit.
PST-3-arrive

'I don't know if arap Ruto has arrived yet, but arap Bett thinks he has.'

3. **Analysis** Following Glass's (2020) analysis of Mandarin *yǐwéi*, I analyze the negative bias associated with *bar* as a semantico-pragmatic effect. I assume a framework in which sentences are updates to the CommonGround—the set of propositions that all interlocutors agree upon. Semantically, use of *bar* indicates that the reported belief must not be added to the Common Ground (i.e. a postsupposition), whereas *bwat* leaves open this possibility. Given this minimal semantic difference, *bar*'s negative bias arises as a pragmatic implicature; a speaker's choice to use *bar* over the neutral alternative *bwat* suggests that the speaker musthave a reason for not wanting the reported belief to become Common Ground. This reason could be that the speaker knows the reported belief to be false—as in (1a)—or to come from an unreliable source—as in (2).

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Subject vs non-subject extraction asymmetries in Senufo Nafara

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Abstract. Senufo Nafara is an understudied Niger-Congo language spoken in Korhogo, Cote d'Ivoire. The unmarked word order in the language is S O V X, where X represents where locative and temporal adjuncts may appear. In WH-questions two asymmetries arise. The first asymmetry concerns extraction from the highest subject position which always gives rise to an agreeing pronoun. Such pronouns are illicit when extraction targets object position. I take the occurrence of the obligatory agreeing pronoun as evidence that the WH-subject has landed in a structurally higher position than its canonical position, i.e., SPECTP.

1- ŋa *(wu) tɔ? *WH-subject*
who 3SG.1 fell
"who fell?"

2- *ŋa tɔ ?*WH-question is illicit without agreeing pronoun*
who fell
"who fell?"

The second asymmetry concerns the positions where non-subject WHs may appear. While ex-situ is the only possible strategy for forming subject WH-questions, non-subject WHs have the freedom to either appear clause-initially or remain in-situ.

3- cholo ma ga lijr? *WH-object in-situ*
Cholo AUX what read
"What did Cholo read?"

4- ga_i cholo ma t_i lijr? *WH-object ex-situ*
what cholo AUX read
"What did Cholo read?"

5- wu tʃje sã? *WH-adjunct in-situ*
3SG go where
"Where did s/he go?"

6- $sã_i$ wu tʃje t_i? *WH-adjunct ex-situ*
where 3SG.1 go
"Where did s/he go?"

I adopt the Criterial Freezing approach (Rizzi 2006; Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007), to address these issues in Nafara WH-questions. More specifically, I show that SPECTP is a freezing position through which WH-subject cannot pass to a higher projection, i.e.,SPECFOCP. Alternatively, WH-subject skips the subject criterial position and pass through SPECFINP before landing in SPECFOCP. Consequently, I argue that the pronouns realized lower than WH-subject are φ-features being spelled-out at FIN to satisfy the subject criterion. As for why subject WHs cannot remain in-situ, I review some accounts and data, with special reference to African languages. Some of these accounts suggest subject position are anti-focus position (Sabel and Zeller 2006, among others), and thus incompatible with WH-phrases. On the other hand, some accounts suggest that there are two possible positions for focused items, one being in the left periphery, i.e., CP, and the other being internal to the VP shell (Aboh 2007). Adopting this latter account, I argue for two similar positions in Senufo Nafara: the left peripheral focus position which is accessible for both WH-subject and non-subject WHs alike, and the VP-internal focus position which is accessible only for non-subjectWHs.

Inverted copular sentences in Bambara

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This paper investigates the syntax and semantics of *yé...yé* copular sentences in Bambara (Mande family), which are commonly described as expressing an identity relation in an equative sentence (1) (Dumestre 2003, Pustet 1995, a.o.).

1. Musa yé1 Lajinè nyèma yé$_2$
   Musa *yé* Guinea president *yé* 'Musa is the President of Guinea'

While *yé$_1$* is the real copula (like other copulas it has a negative form (*Musa **tè** Lajinè nyéma yé* 'Musa is-not the President of Guinea') and combines with Tense (*Musa **tun yé**Lajinè nyéma yé* 'Musa was the President of Guinea')), the nature of the second occurence of *yé*, i.e. *yé$_2$*, remains an open question.

Based on the analysis of the information-structural properties of *yé...yé* sentences, we argue for an inversion analysis on a par with recent analyses of specificational sentences and equatives (Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2004, den Dikken 2006, a.o.). We, first, argue that contrary to common belief, *yé...yé* sentences are not equatives: (i) they can express a predication (2), (ii) they can take adjectives and PP predicates (3), and (iii) they do not allow for agreement between the two nominal members (4).

2. Musa yé karamago yé
   Musa *yé* teacher *yé* 'Musa is a teacher'
3. A nyèkisè yé bilenman yé
   his eyes *yé* red(ish).adj *yé* 'His eyes are red'
4. Ne ni Hawa yé kalanden(*w) yé
   me and Hawa *yé* student(*pl) *yé* 'Hawa and I are students'

Second, *yé...yé* sentences are special in that they allow for inversion (5), while elsewhere Bambara exhibits very strict (SOV, head final) word order:

5. Musa yé Lajinè nyèma yé vs. Lajinè nyèma yé Musa yé
   Musa *yé* Guinea President *yé* Guinea President *yé* Musa *yé*
   'Musa is the president of Guinea' 'The President of Guinea is Musa'

Third, we demonstrate that pairs such as given in (5) behave on a par with canonical vs. inverted sentences in languages like English (Heycock 1995, 2008) or French (Roy & Shlonsky 2020) suggesting that, while the first member of the sentence is a Topic, the second member expresses new information Focus. *Yé$_2$*, introduces new information focus (cf. questions test (6)):

6. Q: Musa yé jon yé? A: Musa yé magasin tigi yé/ #magasin tigi yé musa yé
   musa *yé* who *yé* musa yé shop owner yé shop owner *yé* musa *yé*

   Q: Magasin tigi yé jon yé? A: Magasin tigi yé Musa yé/ #Musa yé magasin tigi yé
   shop owner *yé* who *yé* owner shop *yé* Musa *yé* Musa *yé* shop owner *yé*

Bambara raises, accordingly, an interesting question regarding the availability, across unrelated languages, of a strategy, based on focalization, to invert copular sentences and the 'universality' of inverted copular sentences.

Wh-questions in Paloor

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This paper provides a syntactic description of question formation strategies in Paloor, an endangered and understudied language spoken in Senegal. According to Pich (1966) Paloor belongs to a group of five languages referred to as the cangin group. The latter includes Ndut, Noon, Saafeen, Lehar and Paloor. Contrary to Wolof, which is the dominant language in the area, Paloor has not been the subject of many studies, particularly at the syntactic level.
It uses different strategies regarding Wh-question formation as shown in (1) for subject wh-questions and (2) for non-subject wh-questions.

(1) Subject Wh-questions

a. Awa ñam -pe maala
Awa eat -PERF rice
"Awa ate the rice"

b. (ɗuwa) *(daa) ñam maala?
who FOC eat rice.CL.DEF
"Who ate the rice?"

(1)a shows a regular SVO sentence in Paloor whereas (1)b is an interrogative question targeting a subject. A very striking aspect of Paloor Wh-question is the fact that the wh-word can be dropped without ungrammaticality. A closer look at Wh-questions provide evidence that Paloor is an in situ language as shown in (2)a-b.

(1) Non-subject Wh-questions

a. kukóy-á ot ɗuwa?
boy- CL.DEF see who
"Who do you see?"

b. kukóy-á ñam yi?
boy- CL.DEF eat what
"What did the boy eat?"

c. kukóy-á ñam di?
boy- CL.DEF eat where
"Where did the boy eat?"

d. kukóy-á ñam ɗi?
boy- CL.DEF eat how
"How did the boy eat?"

e. yi daa tax kukóy-á ñam?
what FOC cause boy- CL.DEF eat
"Why did the boy eat?"

In (2)a-e all the wh-words appear in situ with the exception of *yi daa tax* "why" in (2)e which must appear ex situ. This asymmetry noted with the "why" and the other wh-words has been discussed in the literature (see Torrence & Kandybowicz 2015). Along with Torrrence & Kandybowicz I argue that the idiosyncracy of this question word can be accounted for by the fact it is base-generated in the left periphery of the clause.

Another interesting feature of Paloor is that it allows wh-movement to the left periphery of the clause but only in some contexts. Indeed, contrary to a language like English, wh-movement in Paloor is used in echo questions. These types of questions, according to Bayer and Cheng (2017:2) do have "very special contextual and prosodic requirements" and as such are never used to ask regular questions. This is illustrated in (3).

(3) Wh-movement questions

a. dìwa daa fu ot___?
who FOC 2SGNOM see
"Who do you see"

b. yi daa kukóy-á ñam _?
what FOC boy- CL.DEF eat
"What did the boy eat?"

c. dì daa kukóy-á ñam _?
how FOC boy- CL.DEF eat
"How did the boy eat?"

d. yi daa tax kukóy-á ñam ?
what FOC cause boy- CL.DEF eat
"Why did the boy eat?"

In this study, I use data collected from native speakers to shed more light on the principles that account for wh-movement, wh-in situ, partial movement and islandhood in this endangered language.

A Possessor Raising Light Verb in Tigrinya

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In Tigrinya the two verbal elements, *ʔallo and ʔɨyyu,* predicate individual-level characteristics (*ʔɨyyu*) and stage-level characteristics (*ʔallo*), as well as temporal and stative readings (both *ʔallo*) . These stage/individual level predicates can be seen in (1) and (2) below. Kifle (2011) gives a descriptive account of *ʔallo* and *ʔɨyyu.* Her claim is *ʔallo and ʔɨyyu* belong to the same category, copula (COP), and they only differ on their predicational properties. This classification is inaccurate, and instead I argue that *ʔallo* is a light verb that allows for possessor raising out of small clauses.

(1) Yonas ṣ̊ɨbbuq̄ ʔɨyyu
Yonas.M good.MSg Pres.IDcop-be-SM.3MSg
'Yonas is handsome' (Kifle 2011:50, (47b))

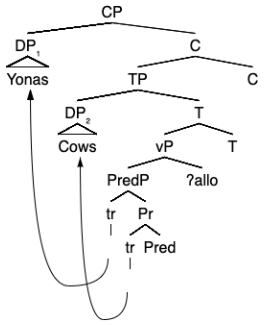
(2) Yonas ṣ̊ɨbbuq̄ ʔallo
Yonas.M good-Pres Pres.LOcop.exist-SM.3MSg
'Yonas is fine' (Kifle 2011:50, (48a))

I argue, within a minimalist and transformational analysis, that while *ʔɨyyu* is correctly categorized as a copula, *ʔallo* exhibits behavior that questions its classification as a copula, especially given its dissimilarity to *ʔɨyyu. ʔɨyyu* has the behavior of a copula: it cannot have object agreement, it co-occurs with verbs. *ʔallo* does not behave in this manner: it does have object agreement, and while there is some evidence that it can co-occur with verbs the data is not conclusive. Instead, *ʔallo* is a light verb.

However, this possessor raising is not of a typical variant. Rather than having an embedded DP, like in traditional possessor raising (Deal 2013), a small clause is the embedded phrase instead. This also accounts for the issues of agreement patterns and marking of nominals in Tigrinya.

This interpretation of *ʔallo* accounts for the agreement patterns, for nominals, and other problems in Tigrinya; amongst these are the issues of object and subject agreement. That is, in possessor/possessum configurations, the possessor is subject marked while the possessum is object marked, this is not the case for Tigrinya as can be seen in (3). In (3) the possessor is instead object marked, and the possessum is subject marked. While, *v* agrees with Yonas, and T agrees with cows.

(3) (nɨ-) Yonas lam ʔallo-wu-wo
(Obj-) Yonas cow.FSg Pres.Loc-loc.exist-SM.3FSg-OM1.3MSg
'Yonas has cow/For Yonas there are cow that exist' (Kifle 2011:51, (49a))



(4) ʔab-'t-i gäza säb ʔall-o
Prep-Det-3MSg house person Pres.exist-SM.3MSg
'There exists a person in that house/In that house exists a person.' (Kifle 2011:51, (50))

This possessor-raising hypothesis is suitable for constructions with clear objects/subjects of possession. However (5), does not have an explicit 'possessor', that can be raised, unlike (3). Typical possessor-raising has a DP raised from a bigger DP, the appearance of a PP would be highly unusual. In my possessor-raising proposal, a preposition is being raised, but it is being raised out of a small clause, mitigating the abnormality of a raised PP. This possessor-raising proposal accounts for both Tigrinya subject and object marking, and correctly categorizes *ʔallo*.

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Department of Linguistic, Literary and Aesthetic Studies University of Bergen

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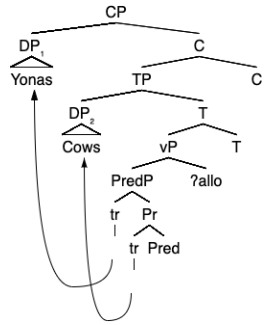
(4)(4)



This small clause proposal suits Tigrinya, since having an embedded DP would create a barrier for agreement.

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Logoori Noun Tone 2.0

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This paper analyzes lexical noun tone patterns in the Bantu language Logoori. The challenge is that free combinatorics of tone primitives both overgenerates and undergenerates patterns for a given root shape, and there is little evidence for choosing an analysis based on phonological alternations. Given that the language has H, L and Fall as tone properties of syllables, as well as contrastive downstep, and considering phonotactic restrictions such that Fall is only possible on a long penult before L, 10 tone patterns within the stem are predicted for trisyllabic roots. Yet only 5 patterns exist, for example, the pattern L.L.H simply does not exist.

Additionally, the root is the locus of tone contrast in nouns (class prefixes are underlyingly toneless) but some noun stems unpredictably assign H to the preceding class prefix, e.g. *í- ! ngó ró ve* 'pig', cf. *ɪ-bíríga* 'kettle'. Prefixal H is not a free representational variable to be combined *ad libitum* with contrastive stem tone, instead, prefixal H is closely correlated with the tone and syllabic pattern of the following stem. Prefix H only appears if there is a second H in the noun, which appears on one of the last two stem syllables.

By abstracting away from root-shape specifics (syllable count and location of long vowels), one can identify general patterns for classifying nouns. One option is that a noun has no H (*ɪri-goongoro* 'millipede'). A noun may have one H, which is contrastively on the first root vowel (*ɪkɪ-hírɪmɪtɪ* 'hawk (sp.)') or second (*ama-barábaande* 'loquats'). A noun may also have two Hs: in that case, the second H is lexically on the final vowel or the penultimate, and the location of H_1 is determined by the location of H_2 plus the shape of the stem. If a noun has a word-final H, it always has a stem-initial H_1 – there are no single-H nouns with final H. H_2 then spreads to the left (*ɪkɪ-síí*ˆ*mbííkírá* 'whydah', *ɪ-sí*ˆ*ríínjí* 'shilling', *ɪkɪ-já*ˈ*máŋó* 'squirrel'). However, H_1 is on the prefix rather than the stem in case the root is disyllabic (*ɪkí*ꜜ*-sáásó* 'splinter', *ɪrí*ˈ*-várú* 'safari ant'). If H_2 is on the penultimate vowel and the stem has 4+ syllables, H_1 is root-initial (*ɪ-mbí*ꜜ*rámbírízi* 'bird sp.', *ɪ-mbá*ˈ*rábára* 'road'). If the stem has 3 syllables, H_1 is also on the root-initial vowel if the penult is long (*e-sóó*ˈ*góóni* 'market', *ɪ-sá*ˈ*dááka* 'alms'), but is on the prefix if the penult is short (*ɪrí*ˈ*-sáándágu* 'trunk', *ʊmó* ꜜ*-ndéréva* 'briver'). Then if the root has the shape CVVCV, H_1 is on the prefix (*ʊmó* ꜜ*-yááyɪ* 'boy') – two-H nouns with the shape CVCV and penult H_2 do not exist.

The final complication is that there is a contrast between long H versus long Fall in the penult. Penult Fall is either root-initial (*eke-róori* 'heifer'), or in a two-H pattern *ʊvó* ꜜ*-cháafu* 'filth', *ɪri-chí*ˈ*nyéeri* 'rock hyrax', *ɪri-ká*ˈ*rádáasi* 'paper'). A set of rules and representations is given, which account for these surface patterns.

Where do labialvelars go?

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Here we discuss the historical changes commonly undergone by the labialvelar obstruents /kp, gb, ŋm/ (hereafter generalized as KP). Since these are only known to occur in non-Indo-European languages, the historical development of labialvelars is not discussed in most historical linguistics textbooks. Several researchers have discussed them in relation to individual languages or language families (e.g. Edoid in Elugbe 1986, Guang in Snider 1990, Northern Mande in Long 1971, Mande in Dwyer 1989, Lower Cross in Connell 1995), but larger cross-linguistic tendencies have gone largely unnoted, with the exception of some of Connell's work (e.g. Connell 1994). The reflexes of *KP are quite constrained. In this paper, we note two major historical changes labialvelars undergo (resulting in labial or voiced reflexes), and propose explanations for these patterns.

First, labialvelars tend to have labial reflexes (*KP > P). For example, Snider (1990:50) notes the "clear innovation" of *kp > p in Coastal Guang. A phonetic motivation lies behind this process. The gestures of KP are asynchonous, with the labial component slightly trailing the velar one, producing a distinctively labial release. Perceptually, the release of a consonant is more salient than the onset; as a result, a KP is more likely to be perceived as P than K (noted as far back as Westerman & Ward 1933). Though some languages appear to have K as a reflex of KP, these are distinctly in the minority. In some cases, this reflex is due to sociolinguistics pressures, and sometimes the direction of a putative *KP > K change is open to alternate interpretations: which is actually the proto-segment?

Second, and less recognized than the above, is the fact that in the clear majority of cases, when *kp, *gb merge into one reflex, the result is synchronic /gb/, not /kp/ (Cahill 2008). This is somewhat surprising, since typologically, a language is more likely to have a voiceless series of stops than a voiced series. However, several phonetic details of the pronunciation of a typical /kp/ are also those which typically are characteristic of voiced rather than voiceless stops. A /kp/ is either unaspirated or has a much shorter VOT than other voiced stops in a language. Second, there is often at least a partially ingressive air mechanism, which is much more common with voiced stops. Finally, there is often partial voicing even of the "voiceless" /kp/. Cases in which *kp, *gb merged into /kp/ are often in languages in which no distinctive voiced stops exist at all – all stops merged into voiceless ones.

These two tendencies are both concretely illustrated in the development of Supyire (Gur, Senufo subgroup). Supyire has no labialvelar stops, unlike most other Senufo languages (Carlson 1994). The labialvelar stops in northern Senufo languages first merged *kp and *gb into /gb/ (e.g. Sucite in Garber 1987), then Supyire changed this /gb/ to /b/. Correspondingly, the Supyire /b/ is disproportionately common, the results of combining the frequencies of words with *b, *gb, and *kp.

Feature licensing and the interpretation of bare nominals in Wolof

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Several languages allow for their nominals to occur without any functional morphology, including determiners and number. They are dubbed B(are) N(ominals). BNs are often number-neutral, i.e., there is no commitment to a singular or plural interpretation. E.g., the Portuguese sentence *A Maria consertou* ***carro*** ('Maria fixed **car**') is true whether Maria fixed one or more cars. The same holds of BNs in Mandarin, Amharic, and Malagasy, a.m.o. In Wolof, however, BNs are exclusively singular. This can be argued based on the impossibility of saturating a collective predicate (1), on the fact that they must be referred to by a singular pronoun and they they cannot be the antecedent of plural reflexives [not shown].

(1) *Jangalekat b-i dajeele-na **xale** (...).
teacher CM.SG-DEF gather-NA.3SG child
Lit.: 'The teacher gathered child (...).'

However, the presence of plural morphology renders a plural interpretation available:

(2) Jangalekat b-i dajeele-na **xale** [RC y-u Samba xam] (...).
teacher CM.SG-DEF gather-NA.3SG child [CM.PL-COMP Samba know]
'The teacher gathered some students who Samba knows (...).'

If there is no plural morphology, no "pluralizing" effect obtains.

(3) *Roxaya dajeele-na **fécckat** brezilien.
Roxaya gather-NA.3SG dancer Brazilian

This effect can be seen by the contrast between two types of possessive nominals. Possessive determiners contain a number suffix [-y] that is sensitive to the number of the possessum. If the latter is a BN, the absence and the presence of [-y] coincide with a singular and plural interpretation of the BN, respectively (4). In genitive possessives, there is no number morphology and BN possessum is always interpreted in the singular (5).

(4)	a.	sama **nit**	POSS.1SG person	'a friend of mine'
	b.	sama[-y] **nit**	POSS.1SG-PL person	'some friends of mine'
	c.	sama[-y] xaj y-i	POSS.1SG-PL dog CM.PL-DEF	'the dogs of mine'
(5)	a.	**muus**-u Mareem	cat-GEN Mareem	'a cat of Mareem's'
	b.	a-y xaj-u Kadeer	INDEF-CM.PL dog-GEN Kadeer	'some dogs of Kadeer's'

The generalization is that BNs in Wolof are singular, unless nominal plural morphology is exponed. I propose an extension of Béjar & Rezac's (2009) Person Licensing Condition to number:

(6) **Number-Licensing Condition**
A marked number feature (i.e. plural) must be licensed by Agree.

BNs in Wolof can be singular or plural: this alternation is available for full nominals in the language. In the absence of a nominal-internal probe that Agrees with the [PLURAL] of the BN, (6) is violated, causing the derivation to crash. Unmarked number, i.e., [SINGULAR], does not obey (6), so the derivation converges, yielding a singular BN. However, if there is a number probe, which is exponed as complementizer agreement (2) or the possessum [-y], (6) is satisfied, allowing a derivation to converge where the BN is plural.

If correct, this analysis accounts for the unusual behavior of BNs in Wolof and provides support for the view that valued features may be responsible for nominal licensing (Kalin: 2019).

Grammatical Tone Interaction in Rere (Koalib) Possessives

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Possessives in Rere (Kordofanian; Sudan) express person distinctions with grammatical tone. Accusative case is marked by changing the tone of noun roots. A third layer, intonational tone, may also be added. This paper addresses how these tone layers interact and demonstrates that tonal person distinctions are maintained at all three layers. Data are drawn from ex-situ fieldwork with a native Rere speaker.

In the nominative, 3rd person inalienable possessives are distinguished from 1st/2nd person. 1st/2nd person is marked with HH on the possessive adjective (PA) such as [t̪-íːɲí], which is optionally dropped (1a). 3rd person is marked with a LH melody on the PA [t̪-ùːŋún] (1b), but this melody shifts to the possessed noun when [t̪-ùːŋún] is absent (1c). This provides evidence that 3rd person LH is grammatical tone.

1. a) t̪-ə́ɾɲ-ə́ɾí (t̪-íːɲí) t̪-ijàw
   CL.t-father-POSS.1 (CL.t-POSS.1SG) CL.t-be.good
   'My father is good.'
   b) t̪-ə́ɾɲ-ín t̪-ùːŋún t̪-ijàw
   CL.t-father-POSS.3 CL.t-POSS.3SG CL.t-be.good
   c) t̪-ə̀ɾɲ-ín t̪-ijàw
   CL.t-father-POSS.3 CL.t-be.good
   'His/her father is good.'

Accusative case marking in Rere involves four allomorphic patterns (suffixation, tone change, suffixation+tone change, or no case marking), but there is no fixed accusative grammatical tone melody. Inalienable possessives utilize tone change. The 1st/2nd possessed noun is marked with L-HH (2a), instead of H-HH (1a). The 3rd person accusative possessed noun is marked with H-H (2b) instead of L-H (1c) when occurring alone. However, when the PA is present, the noun is H-H, creating a tone distinction with the 1st/2nd accusative forms (cf. 2a to 2b) but not between 3rd person nominative and accusative forms (cf. 1b to 2b).

2. a) ɲí g-⁺t̪-ámɽí t̪-ə̀ɾɲ-ə́ɾí (t̪-íːɲí) pə̀ðβə̀ðt̪ə̀n
   I CL.g-HAB-love CL.t-father-POSS.1 (CL.t-POSS.1SG) very.much
   "I love my father very much."
   b) ɲí g-⁺t̪-ámɽí t̪-ə́ɾɲ-ín (t̪-ùːŋún) pə̀ðβə̀ðt̪ə̀n
   I CL.g-HAB-love CL.t-father-POSS.3 (CL.t-POSS.3SG) very.much
   "I love his/her father very much."

I propose that there are two allomorphs of accusative tone based on person: L on the noun root forthe 1st/2nd person possessors and H for the 3rd, which overwrite the tone from the inner possessive layer. The HH (1st/2nd) vs. LH (3rd) distinction is maintained on the PA. This supports tone interaction studies which suggest internal layers are overwritten by outer morpho-syntactic layers (Andersen, 1992; Inkelas, 2011; Hyman, 2016; Rolle, 2018).

When possessive phrases are utterance-final, a L boundary tone (L%) lowers all preceding H tonesto L up to the next L (cf. 2a to 3a). The LH 3rd person PA is lowered to LL; however, the noun remains H-H (3b). The L% extends to the noun [t̪-ə̀ɾɲ-ə̀ɾì] in (3a), but not to [t̪-ə́ɾɲ-ín] in (3b). The 1st/2nd vs. 3rd persondistinction is still maintained except when the PA is missing (cf. 3a to 3c). Intonation preserves the person distinction, but based on phonology.

3. a) ɲí g-⁺t̪-ámɽí t̪-ə̀ɾɲ-ə̀ɾi (t̪-iːɲi)
   I CL.g-HAB-love CL.t-father-POSS.1 (CL.t-POSS.1SG)
   "I love my father."
   b) ɲí g-⁺t̪-ámɽí t̪-ə́ɾɲ-ín t̪-ùːŋùn
   I CL.g-HAB-love CL.t-father-POSS.3 CL.t-POSS.3SG
   c) ɲí g-⁺t̪-ámɽí t̪-ə̀ɾɲ-ín
   I CL.g-HAB-love CL.t-father-POSS.3
   "I love his/her father."

In conclusion, Rere possessive tone supports models of layered tone interaction.

The non-reflexive functions of the reflexive prefix in Hehe, Nilamba and Nyaturu

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This paper has two goals. First, it presents field-work data showing that in three North-Eastern Bantu languages, Hehe (G62), Nilamba (F31) and Nyaturu (F32), the reflexive prefix encodes reflexive and reciprocal functions as well as middle voice. That is, unlike many Bantu languages, these languages have not preserved the Proto- Bantu distinction between the reflexive prefix **(j)i*, the reciprocal suffix **-an*, and the neuter suffix **-ik* for spontaneous meaning (cf. Schadeberg & Bostoen 2018; Dom *et al*. 2016; Polak 1983). Rather, they are similar to most South-Western Bantu languages (Zones H, K, and R; Bostoen, forthcoming), losing distinct affixes for reflexive, reciprocal and middle.

The following data from Hehe in (1) and (2) respectively demonstrate that the reflexive prefix *i-* is a productive reflexive and reciprocal marker; similar data can be found in Nilamba and Nyaturu:

1. a - ka - **i**- on - a
   3SG-PST-REFL-see-FV
   'S/he saw her/himself.'

2. va - ka - **i** - on -ile
   3PL-PST-REFL-see-PFV
   'They saw each other/themselves.'

The reflexes of the Proto-Bantu reciprocal suffix **-an* only occur in few verbs denoting natural reciprocal events where in most cases it is fossilized. For example, the verb denoting the natural reciprocal event 'to meet' has the fossilized reciprocal suffix *-an* in all three languages. i.e. *ku-i-taang'**an**a* (Hehe), *ku-i-taang**an**a* (Nilamba), and *u-khaang**an**a* (Nyaturu).

Furthermore, the reflexive prefix *i-* can express spontaneous events, and, rarely, occur with some *media tantum* verbs, as shown by examples from Hehe (3) and (4), respectively; similar data can be found in Nilamba and Nyaturu. These other non-reflexive functions of the reflexive prefix *i-* fit well in the domains listed by Kemmer (1993) as typical for the middle voice.

3. i- ki – tabu ki -ku **-i**- guts-ag-a wunofu
   AUG-CL7-book 7.SM-PRS-REFL-sell-HAB-FV well
   'The book sells well.'

4. a - ka **-i**[lap] - ite
   3SG-PST-REFL[swear]-PFV
   'S/he swore.'

Second, I will argue that the development of non-reflexive functions for the reflexive prefix can be explained as the result of two grammaticalization processes: (i) reflexive > reciprocal (cf. Heine and Narrog (2009), and reflexive > middle (cf. Heine and Kuteva (2002). The proposed scenario disagrees with Heine's (2000) grammaticalization chain: body, head > emphatic reflexives > reflexives > reciprocal > Middle > Passive, which implies that reflexive markers must pass through the reciprocal stage before encoding middle functions. Nor can Heine's (2000) grammaticalization chain account for the situation in other Bantu languages, such as Swahili (G42) and Zulu (S42), where reflexive prefixes encode middle functions, without encoding reciprocal function. Thus, positing two grammaticalization processes, instead of one grammaticalization chain proposed by Heine (2000), makes it possible to account for the grammaticalization of reflexive prefixes in Bantu languages, where they are used both to encode reflexive, reciprocal and middle, and to encode several functions of the middle cluster without encoding the reciprocal meaning.

Acquisition of tone among Bambara speaking children

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L1 acquisition of African languages remains drastically understudied (Cissé 2014), and the situation is comparable for the acquisition of tone, especially outside of Chinese languages (Singh and Fu 2016). This paper presents the results of a pilot study on the acquisition of lexical and grammatical tone in Bambara. Bambara is a two-tone language (L and H), with most vocabulary falling into one of two tonal classes: H and L(H). In addition to lexical tone, the language has two salient grammatical tone processes: a floating L marking definiteness and 'tonal compactness' (*compacité tonale*), a process of tonal overwriting in compounds and noun-adjective sequences (Green 2018). Thus, lexical tone is simpler than and typologically distinct from the more thoroughly studied cases of Mandarin (e.g. Li and Thompson 1976) or Cantonese (e.g. So and Dodd 1995), but grammatical tone is more robust. The Bambara system is more similar to that of Sotho, the acquisition of which was studied by Demuth (1995) who found that grammatical tone alternations complicated the acquisition of lexical melodies. While Chinese children had largely mastered their tone system by age two, three-year-old Sotho children were still making mistakes in lexical tone classification of verbs.

Our study of Bambara draws on data gathered originally to examine the development of the segmental phonology (Cissé 2014). Pertinent tonal data are drawn from a longitudinal study of three children living in Bamako, Mali between the ages 1;6 and 2;10 when the study began. Data (hour-long naturalistic audio and video recordings) were gathered with each child at their home every two weeks over 7-8 months to track their linguistic development. Segmental data were transcribed using Praat, while tonal data were treated in Excel by two transcribers independently; any discrepancies between transcribers were resolved by listening again and coming to a consensus. Children's tonal productions were compared to adult targets, as indicated by tone marking in the online Bambara Reference Corpus and Dictionary (Bailleul et al. 2011-2019). When in doubt on adult tone, the children's utterances were elicited and recorded from an adult speaker of Bambara.

Preliminary results show that by the age of 2, children have learned that nouns fall into different tonal classes, especially H and L(H), but they do not correctly categorize them. For instance, at 2;0, subject HS correctly pronounced 43% of H-toned words and 50% of L-toned words; just two months later, she produces 100% of H-toned words correctly, compared with 71% of L-toned words, supporting the cross-linguistic finding that children acquire and overgeneralize H tone first and suggesting that the lack of extensive alternations makes Bambara tone simpler to acquire than Sotho. Most nouns are pronounced with a final fall, however, which indicates that either children have acquired the floating L definite early on or that they have misanalyzed the final L as part of the lexical melody for nouns.

In sum, this talk aims to help fill the gap in our understanding of tonal acquisition and the acquisition of African languages.

Phrasal vowel harmony: the view from Africa

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Vowel harmony is usually claimed to be word bound, with the 'word' normally taken to refer to the phonological word, not the grammatical word, since compounds are often disharmonic. Indeed, vowel harmony is said to rarely cross lexical word boundaries, either within compounds or within phrases. (See, e.g., Archangeli & Pulleyblank 2007, Hyman 2002, Kaisse 2019, Krämer 2003, Rose & Walker 2011, van der Hulst & van de Weijer 1995.)

However, it is not difficult to find cases where vowel harmony applies in a domain larger than the prosodic or grammatical word, especially in African languages. Cross-word harmony is well-attested in ATR harmony systems of languages from different parts of Africa, such as: **Akan** (Kügler 2015), **Kinande** (Schlindwein 1987; Mutaka 1990, 1995, 2007; Archangeli & Pulleyblank 2002; Hyman 2002; Kenstowicz 2009, Downing & Krämer 2019), **Luo** (Swenson 2015), **Nawuri** (Casali 2002), **Somali** (Andrzejewski 1955, Hall et al. 1974, Nilsson & Downing 2019), **Vata** (Kaye 1982), and **Wolof** (Ka 1994, Sy 2005). And it seems to be particularly common in **Kwa** languages (Akanlig-Pare & Asante 2016; Casali 2002; Dolphyne 1988; Kaisse 2019; Kügler 2015, p.c.; Obeng 1995; Obiri-Yeboah & Rose 2018; and Hannah Sande, p.c.).

In this talk we survey patterns of cross-word vowel harmony in African languages by looking at a small set of cases chosen to illustrate attested parameters of variation. For example, almost all cross-word harmony systems seem to be regressive except for **Chumburung** and **Wolof**, which show a progressive pattern. (As Hyman 2002 notes, vowel harmony is, in general, most commonly regressive.) In many systems, cross-word harmony only affects one vowel in the word adjacent to the trigger, while in others, several syllables are affected. In some systems vowels in lexical words are targeted, and in others the harmonic feature only spreads to functional items. While in some languages there are clearly syntactic restrictions on the domain of vowel harmony, there are numerous clear cases of non-isomorphism with syntactic domains.

These properties of African cross-word vowel harmony patterns contradict Kiparsky's claim, reiterated by Kaisse (2017, 2019), that cross-word processes such as vowel harmony "start life as natural local effects and these effects are not sensitive to grammatical information but rather to temporal adjacency (Kiparsky 1982 et seq.)." We conclude that if vowel harmony is typically claimed to be a word-bound process, then that is most likely due to underreporting. There are very few phonetic studies of ATR harmony systems, and most of the phonetic studies we know of look only at vowel harmony within words. Phrases are not included in the data set. In short, to understand how common phrasal harmony might be and what its properties and its parameters of variation are, we need more phonetic and phonological studies of more harmony systems which include more phrasal data. Specifically, more work on African languages is essential to deepening our understanding of cross-word harmony, given the prevalence of vowel harmony in the languages of Africa (Clements & Rialland 2008).

"New" Changes in Tigrinya: Internal development or Amharic influence?
—Language change and contact influence reflected in textbooks

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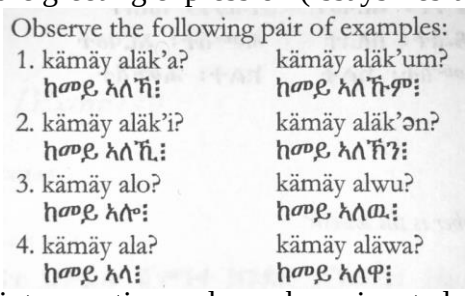
In the new Tigrinya textbook published by NALRC, the conjugation of the III-*w* verb *ʾallo* (√*ʾlw*) is introduced as part of the greeting expression (Issays Tesfamariam 2018, 19):



Observe the following pair of examples:

1. kämäy aläk'a? ከመይ አለኻ፧	kämäy aläk'um? ከመይ አለኹም፧
2. kämäy aläk'i? ከመይ አለኺ፧	kämäy aläk'ən? ከመይ አለኽን፧
3. kämäy alo? ከመይ አሎ፧	kämäy alwu? ከመይ አለዉ፧
4. kämäy ala? ከመይ አላ፧	kämäy aläwa? ከመይ አለዋ፧

This expression consists of an interrogative and a verb conjugated according to the addressee:

(1) ከመይ አለኻ
kämäy ʾallä-ḵa
how be_present\PERF-2MSG
'how are you?'

The relevant paradigms are provided with this *ʾall**ä***- base by Tadross and Abraham Teklu (2015, 26), which is found in many other instructional publications: e.g. Mesfin Ghebrehiwet (1996, 24), Zärʾay Täḵlämarəyam (2016, 24).

However, in older grammars, we do not find this base. Praetorius (1871, 288), Schreiber (1887, 53), de Vito (1895, 37), da Offeio (1915, 81-82), da Leonessa (1928, 85), Conti Rossini (1940, 63-64), Ullendorff (1985, 23), Amanuel Sahle (1987, 13; 1998, 24-25), Mason (1994, 29), and Mulugeta Girmay (2001, 68), all provide *ʾall**o***- in the paradigms, e.g. the transliterated one provided by Ullendorff:

Common 'quasi-verbal' elements

ʾəyyä *copula*	**ʾalloḵu** I am, exist	**ʾallonni** I have
ʾiḵa	**ʾalloḵa**	**ʾallokka**
ʾiḵi	**ʾalloḵi**	**ʾallokki**
ʾəyyu	**ʾallo**	**ʾallowwu**
ʾəyya	**ʾalla**	**ʾallowwa**
ʾina	**ʾallona**	**ʾallonna**
ʾiḵum	**ʾalloḵum**	**ʾallokkum**
ʾiḵən	**ʾalloḵən**	**ʾallokkən**
ʾəyyom	**ʾalläwu**	**ʾallowwom**
ʾəyyän	**ʾalläwa**	**ʾallowwän**

The same *ʾallo*- form is also used in the possessive construction and as an auxiliary for compound tense forms, discussed throughout Voigt (1977). Now, these usages also contrast *ʾallo*- in older sources with *ʾallä*- newer sources (Kidanä Wäldäyäsus 2004, 52).

The fact that *ʾall**ä***- is not simply a mistake is supported by its occurrences in both foreign and local publications as well elicitation (Arık 2013) and field records (Nakano 2006, 162). In addition, both bases are provided by Kane (2000, 1410) as variants, and both appear in online tutorial videos (YouTube video ID: VnZMxA0QM9s vs UqUyix8FLnY). However, *ʾallä*- seems to have become prevalent, now appearing in pedagogical materials.

Etymologically, this verb is one of the isoglosses of Ethiopian Semitic, cf. Gəʿəz *hälläwä*, (suffix conjugation base *hälläw*-/*hällo*-, via *äw(ä)* > *o*). Gəʿəz attests *hällo* for 3MSG *hälläwä*,

paralleling Tigrinya *ʾallo* for 3MSG (Praetorious 1871, 83, 285). Historically, *ʾallo-* is the expected base (< **ʾalläw-*, cf. *ʾalläw-u*, *ʾalläw-a*).

The cognate verb in Amharic *ʾällä* may have influenced Tigrinya *ʾallo*, as Schreiber (1887, 58) warned its unexpected negative *yällän* being "Amharicism." See *ʾällä*'s conjugation (Leslau 1995, 528):

	አለ *allä*	
Sg. 3d m.	አለ	*allä*
3d f.	አለች	*alläčč*
2d m.	አለህ	*alläh*
2d f.	አለሽ	*alläš*
1st c.	አለሁ·	*allähu*
Pl. 3d c.	አሉ·	*allu*
2d c.	አላችሁ·	*allačč̣əhu*
1st c.	አለን	*allän*

Praetorius (1871, 288) also conjectures Amharic *ʾällä* led to the formation of Tigrinya 3FSG *ʾalla* instead of the expected *ʾallot*.

However, it is also important to highlight the Tigrinya internal mechanisms for this change. As noted by Schreiber (1887) and Leslau (1941), not only do Tigrinya III-*w*/*y* verbs have variant forms ('he loved': *fätäwä* / *fätäyä* / *fätə* / *fätä*), but the two classes of verbs also tend to merge in some morphological environments (well-known also in other Semitic languages). Since *-äy(ä)* becoming *-ä* is typical of III-*y* verbs, e.g. *sätäyä* / *sätä* 'he has drunk,' *sätäy-ka* / *sätä-k̠a* 'you (M) have drunk,' I argue that the "new" *ʾallä-* base resulted from an analogical extension rooted in the original Tigrinya system which was accelerated by contact influence from Amharic. The change is further reflected by the III-*w* paradigm in the textbook with theme vowel *-ä-* instead of the expected *-o-* (Issays Tesfamariam 2018, 294-295).

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Strategies of clausal complementation in Rere

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Rere is an understudied Kordofanian language from the Nuba Mountains in the Republic of Sudan. With novel field data, I describe the three different types of clausal complementation. Particularly, the third strategy is unattested elsewhere in the language family, adding to the understanding of complementation and co-reference.

The first strategy involves predicates whose clausal complement has matrix-like class and number agreement with the embedded subject (ú/ñ-class, lenited to [r] in 1).

(1) ŋá g^{w}-òðòðùn-á ʈɔ́ŋɔ̀r rì-ʈ̪-áβìðì
2.SG CL.k^{w}-forget-PST CL.ʈ-boy CL.ʈ-HAB-play
'You forgot the boy (habitually) played.'

Next, there are two morphologically impoverished strategies. The first of these two is in- finitival, lacking class and number agreement, as well as tam-features (segmental or tonal). Instead, an *àDà-* marker occurs to the left of the embedded verb (2). Only the mobile plural object maker *-é˙ı* may occur on these complements.

(2) ʈɔ́ŋɔ̀r ʈì-ɣìʈ̪àð-ù àðà-kúlàw ùmì lùrjà
CL.ʈ.boy CL.ʈ-hope-PST INF-CL.k.cat catch CL.l.mouse
'The boy hoped the cat caught the mice.'

The third strategy, which is available to the smallest, closed class of verbal predicates, also lacks matrix-like number and class agreement, and tam-marking on embedded verbs.However, the morphology on left edge of these complement clauses (**bolded**) is conditioned by the tam-properties of the matrix predicate. In (3), the matrix verb *-óGÐà* 'convince' is perfective and thus the left edge has a *ní-* marker. If the verb were in the habitual form, then it would surface with *ʈ̪í-*. If it were in the future, the left-edge would be zero-marked. Moreover, these complements posses a separate set of subject agreement markers (boxed in 3), similar to, but distinct from, object markers.

(3) ʈ-ɔ́ŋɔ̀r ʈ-ùɣðàð-ì-ɲí **ní-**ɲ-àβìð-àlò
CL.ʈ-boy CL.ʈ-convince-PST-1.OBJ **ní-**1.SG-play-PARTICLE
'The boy convinced me to play.'

Table 1	tam	edge
Realis	Pst Prog Rec.Pst Rem.pst	*ní-*
Habitual	Hab	*ʈ̪í-*
Irrealis	Fut Imp	*Ø*

I divide matrix tam-properties into three groups de- pending on the conditioning effect they have on the left- edge of these complement clauses (Table 1). Except for the progressive, which I show is morphologically de- rived from the perfective, the first group constitutes re- alis moods. The habitual form constitutes its own group. Then, the future and imperative forms pattern together as irrealis. This complementation strategy can additionally only mark one argument on the verb. Arguments compete based on their function, as opposed to a nominal hierarhcy (cf. Jenks & Rose 2015).

I compare which verbal predicates allow for which type of complementation, comparing these observations to those found in Moro for raising and control verbs (Jenks & Rose 2017). The third strategy opens questions about the syntactic nature of clausal complementation and co-reference of arguments, distinct from control and raising.

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Vowel Systems in Nigerian Languages: Genetic Typology versusAreal Characteristics

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Nigerian languages display an impressive variety of vowel systems, ranging from those with ten basic phonemic vowel qualities to those that have been analysed with just a single underlying vowel. Although certain systems, like the symmetrical seven or nine vowel systems, are fairly common, a variety of lesser known systems are also found, like the one, two or three vowel systems of many Central Chadic languages, or the various asymmetrical six and seven vowel systems with different numbers of front and back vowels, including a few rare systems with more front vowels than back vowels. This paper presents the findings of a survey of over 240 Nigerian vowel systems, including dozens of minority languages that have little or no previous documentation, making it one of the largest comparative surveys of its kind in West Africa. It covers languages from 25 different sub-families, and reveals an impressive 45 different basic vowel inventories.

The results clearly reveal certain typological patterns such as the widespread five and six vowel systems of West Chadic languages, or the nine vowel systems of many Ijoid and Edoid languages. Some largely contiguous groups like Defoid, Idomoid and Ijoid have fairly homogenous vowel systems, whereas more fragmented groups like Jukunoid, Cross-River and Plateau have much more diverse systems. The results also show that certain vowel features have sometimes crossed genetic boundaries through language contact. For example, Ywom, one of the few West Chadic languages known to have three central vowel phonemes, seems likely to have acquired a third central vowel through contact with Tarok, a neighbouring Plateau language, while Kushi and Tangale have not only picked up extra vowels from their Adamawan neighbours, but also a functioning ATR harmony system, which is extremely rare in West Chadic. Another observation is that although relatively few Niger-Congo languages have retained the proposed original 10-vowel system, such systems are now mostly restricted to a few small geographic pockets, suggesting that a larger vowel inventory is more likely to be preserved if it is in contact with other languages with similarly rich vowel inventories.

The paper thus not only reveals broad typological patterns in vowel inventories in Nigerian language families but also which properties of vowel systems have spread to neighbouring languages through language contact. The paper builds upon the work of earlier typological studies (e.g. Williamson 2004), and serves to shed more light on the huge diversity of vowel inventories in this most linguistically complex of African countries.

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Does Rere have vowel harmony?

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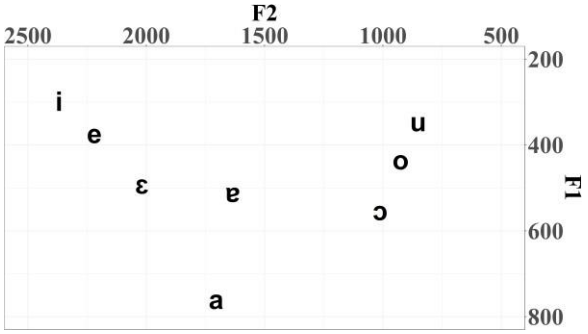
Quint (2009) has shown that Rere (Nuba Mountains, Kordofanian, Niger-Congo) has an eight-vowel system /i, e, ɛ, ɐ, a, u, o, ɔ/ and has robust vowel height harmony where words only contain vowels of the same height, including loanwords. Vowel harmony is found in constructions with the instrumental suffix *-Ci/e* 'with' where the suffix vowel alternates with the height of the stem vowel, and in causatives where low vowels in derived verbs undergo raising: /e ɛ, a, o ɔ/ → [i, ɐ, u]. This paper both confirms and challenges Quint's findings. While there are vowel height alternations, counterexamples are found word- internally, and with respect to alternations where harmony does not apply or shows variation in Rere.
Particularly, the vowel /e/ may be shifting to become a higher /ɪ/ (low F1) based on acoustic analysis (Fig.1).

Fig. 1. Mean F1 and F2 of the vowel phonemes.



Disharmonic words. Vowels within words do not always agree in height, e.g., **já:rì** 'ash'; **kɽít͡ʃ çâ** 'wine';**ô:ɾì** 'red'; **ɗùkkâ** 'stick'; **kòkòɽɐ̀ŋ** 'few'; **l̪ùbòŋ** 'tree-hole'; **frìjàr** 'flash of light'. This suggests that the vowel harmony may not be enforced word internally.

Instrumental case. The instrumental suffix alternates between *-Ci* and *-Ce,* conditioned by the high or lowvowels of the stem. The current data in (1) confirms the harmony patterns and shows counterexamples (rightmost column) where stems containing the low vowel [e] can condition either suffix form.

(1)

High V	With + X	Low V	With + X		
wùrúṯ-ṯì	'antelope'	ʈóŋór-ðè	'elephant'	**l̪è-l̪ì**	'with eye'
kɐ́ɳɗɐ̀ŋ-ɣî	'knife'	ʈáŋòr-rè	'boy'	**ŋè**:**ɽè-ŋî**	'with goat'
kímìji-kî	'kitchen knife'	lɛ̀blɛ́ʈ-l̪è	'cloud'	**kél̪-kè**	'with seed-hole'
				l̪è:**ðè-l̪ê**	'with pine tree'

(2) shows more counterexamples where the stems with low vowels are suffixed with *-Ci,* or the same wordcan take *-Ci* or *-Ce,* such that the phonetic realizations of the suffixed forms were not stable and the suffixcan be produced with both vowel qualities.

(2)

ŋèà-ŋî	'with poison'	kwɔ́àj-ɣî/ê	'with slave'	kɐ́ɲ-ɣî/ê	'with salad'
kwórtò-ɣì	'with rich person'	kwá:rál̪-ɣì/è	'with antelope'	ámlà-wî/ê	'with trap'
kâl̪-ɣì	'with stone'	ʈúl̪ùŋ-rî/ê	'with silo'	ʈé-ðì/è	'with arm'

Causatives. According to Quint (2009), low vowels in derived causative forms should be raised such that /a/→/ɐ/, /o, ɔ/→/u/, /e, ɛ/ → /i/. However, the low vowel /e/ did not raise to /i/ (/èntèré/ → [ìndìrí]), as other vowels do in (3). But if we transcribe /e/ as /ɪ/, because /ɪ/ is already high, it would not raise further.(3)

Simple verb	**èndèrè** 'sleep'	ɛ́l̪ɛ̀ 'go'	màːnì 'cook'	ɔ́rɔ 'become'	òn̪d̪ ò 'be dry'
Derived verb	**èndèrè** 'makesleep'	íl̪ì 'make go'	mɐ̀ːnì 'make cook'	úrù 'make become'	ùn̪d̪ ù 'be dried'

In sum, vowel harmony is not as categorical as Quint (2009) suggests, allowing room for variation withalternations. There are disharmonic words and system appears to be in flux (cf. Tabaq, another Nuba Mountains language, due to language contact; Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, 2014), especially the vowel /e/, which appears to be shifting to a higher /ɪ/, its phonological properties are shifting, too.

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The pragmatics of Wolof *daal*

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This paper concerns the pragmatics of the particle *daal* in Wolof (Atlantic, Niger-Congo). There has been no previous research concerning this par- ticle, save for a mention in Diouf's (2003:40) dictionary and (2009:204)grammar, where gives the translations *vraiment* 'really', *en quelque sorte* 'ina way' and *tout compte fait* 'all in all'. *Daal* can occur sentence-finally or in second position, as illustrated in (1-a) and (1-b) respectively:

(1) a. Gis naa ci garab ak a-y këër **daal**.
see PFV.3SG LOC tree and INDF-NC.PL house DAAL
'I see a tree and houses in it.'

b. Dëkk bi **daal** dëgër na, neex na.
country NC.SG-DEF.PROX DAAL be.hard PFV.3SG be.sweet PFV.3SG
'The country, it is tough, (but) it is (also) sweet.'

In (1-a) the speaker is describing a picture. He had already mentioned that he sees a tree and houses and ends with (1-a). In (1-b) the speaker is involved in a discussion about what life in Senegal is like, where the facts that it is tough and sweet have already been mentioned. He finishes his turn with (1-b). These sentences come from recordings gathered in various locations in Senegal. Based on these recordings and elicitation, I analyze *daal* as a discourse marker with a **summarizing** function, similar to *so* in English (Müller 2005). It is felicitous: i) following **literal repetition** of the utterance, (1-a), ii) when the speaker wants to make a **conclusion**, (1-b) iii) in **concessive** contexts, (2) and iv) **imperatives**, (3).

(2) Context: two people are looking at a picture. Person A says they see a duck, person B doubts it.

A: A-b kanaara la walla... ab picc-picc
INDF-NC.SG duck CFOC.3SG or INDF-NC.SG bird
walla kanaara **daal**. Ci mala yooyu la **daal**.
or duck DAAL LOC animal NC.PL.DEM CFOC.3SG DAAL
'it is a duck or... a bird or a duck. In any case it is one of those animals.'

(3) Elicited context: Your friend tells you a man has been following her around lately. You think he might be dangerous. You say:

S: Moytu-l **daal**!
be.careful-IMP DAAL
'Be careful!' (advice)

Crucially, the use of *daal* in (3) gives the imperative a flavour of 'advice' and is infelicitous if the context is such that there is urgency, for example,when your friend wants to cross a busy road.

All of the four uses shown in (1-a), (1-b), (2) and (3) can be seen as flavours of the summarizing function. In every case *daal* signals that the utterance is the final contribution the speaker wishes to make: in (1-a) the speaker thought they would continue saying more about the picture, but they decide to keep it at 'I see a tree and houses', in (1-b) the speaker draws a conclusion based prior discourse, in (2) the speaker makes their final contribution less strong than initially intended and in (3) the speaker concludes that being careful would be the best thing to do in that situation. Furthermore, the position of the particle makes no pragmatic difference.

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LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IN THE URBAN HOME: THE NANNY AS AN UNRECOGNIZED AGENT

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Studies abound on language choice in the home and on the role of parents in transmitting their languages to their children, as well as on home language planning more generally. Anderson et al. (2009), Agyekum (2009), Ansah (2014), Anderson and Ansah (2015), Nutakor and Amfo (2018), Afrifa et al (2019) have observed that children acquire and develop language in a social context such as the home. However, the role of nannies who form a part of many homes in urban and peri urban Ghana has not been given attention. This is regrettable considering the fact that many parents (working- class) tend to leave their Pre-school / kindergarten children in the care of nannies for long hours, meaning that it is nannies who potentially have the most influence on the children's language choice and use during the work week. Taking the family as a sociolinguistic environment, the study takes an in-depth look at the nanny as an influenced factor. Drawing on Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory, this study examines the role of nannies in reinforcing language policy and planning in multilingual elite / working homes in two suburbs of Accra, Ghana. The database for the study comprises semi-structured interviews and participant observation on language choice, use and attitudes from 10 purposively selected homes. The findings will have implications for family language planning research, the study of children's language learning, parents' choice of nannies,and agencies for recruiting nannies.

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INTEGRATED APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SHUPAMEM

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the interpretation and structure of relative clauses (RCs) in Shupamem that would qualify as appositives by virtue of the fact that they modify proper names and pronouns. Based on original fieldwork, we argue that Shupamem has no non-restrictive RCs and that RCs modifying proper names and pronouns in the language are actually restrictive in nature. We then propose a structural analysis that treats RCs headed by proper names and pronouns in the language as restrictive appositive RC structures headed by *pro* (1).

(1) I know Mimsha$_i$/you$_i$, [*pro*$_i$ REL saw Raye].

2. Shupamem "Appositive" RCs

Shupamem RCs headed by proper names (2b) and pronouns (2c) are formally identical to RCs headed by nominals (2a) – all three are syntactically and prosodically indistinguishable.

(2) a. mə̌ jì [mɨ̀n juə́ í jɨ̀ɣə̀n Râjè nə́].
I know person REL.SG 3RD.SG see.PST Raye COMP
'I know the person that saw Raye.'

b. mə̌ jì [Mɪ́mʃə̀ juə́ í jɨ̀ɣə̀n Râjè nə́].
I know Mimsha REL.SG 3RD.SG see.PST Raye COMP
'I know Mimsha, who saw Raye.'

c. mə̌ jì [ŋú juə́ í jɨ̀ɣə̀n Râjè nə́].
I know you.SG REL.SG 3RD.SG see.PST Raye COMP
'I know you, who saw Raye.'

RCs in the language also look the same regardless of whether the antecedent is a quantified expression that licenses a discourse referent or not. A variety of syntactic and semantic considerations suggest that this formal similarity across RCs reveals a deeper unity – all RCs in the language are restrictive.

3. Evidence that Shupamem "Appositives" are Restrictive

Demirdache (1991) observed that only nominals modified by restrictive RCs can appear under the scope of matrix negation. In Shupamem, all RCs may appear under the scope of matrix negation. Jackendoff (1977) pointed out that only restrictive RCs can stack. Shupamem RCs headed by nominals, proper names, and pronouns all permit stacking. Srivastav (1991) showed that restrictive RCs can be in the scope of intentional verbs, but non-restrictive RCs cannot. All RCs in Shupamem can appear in the scope of intentional verbs. Engdahl (1997) found that extraction from restrictive RCs is possible, whereas extraction from non- restrictive RCs is impossible. In Shupamem, extraction from RCs headed by

nominals, proper names, or pronouns is equally allowed. McCawley (1988) discovered that the antecedent of VP ellipsis may include a restrictive RC, but not a non-restrictive RC. In Shupamem, regardless of whether the RC is headed by a nominal, proper name, or a pronoun, elided VPs are interpreted as anteceded by the entire RC. McCawley (1988) pointed out that only restrictive RCs can extrapose. All Shupamem RCs may extrapose. Cinque (1988) observed that certain non-restrictive RCs can take split antecedents, but restrictive RCs cannot. In Shupamem, regardless of the head, no RC may take a split antecedent. Safir (1986) showed that only restrictive RCs can host parasitic gaps and give rise to weak crossover effects. In Shupamem, RCs headed by nominals, proper names, and pronouns all host parasitic gaps and give rise to weak crossover effects.

ON THE ABSENCE OF ISLANDS IN SHUPAMEM

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1. Introduction

Shupamem is an Eastern Grassfields Bantu language spoken by about 400,000 people in the Western Province of central Cameroon. Based on original fieldwork, we argue that Shupamem lacks several syntactic islands and therefore calls into question the universality of certain island configurations. More specifically, we show that complex NP structures (relative clauses and clausal complements of nouns), sentential subjects, and a variety of adjunct clauses (temporal clauses, reason clauses, and conditional clauses) freely permit A-bar extraction from within and therefore do not qualify as opaque extraction domains. Given the bi-clausal cleft structure of *wh*- constructions in Shupamem (1b) and the internal structure of possessive DPs in the language, we do not consider *wh*- islands or left branch configurations, as they would not be expected to give rise to island configurations for independent reasons.

2. A Lack of Islands

Space limitations prevent us from demonstrating the A-bar transparency of each of the domains listed above. Here, we provide a demonstration of the non-island status of just one of these configurations – the clausal complement of noun structure that constitutes half of the so-called Complex Noun Phrase Island. Sentence (1a) illustrates such a structure and (1b) shows that it is possible to *wh*- cleft the embedded object.

(1) a. Mɪ́mʃə̀ jú? sàŋgǎm [mì: Râjè jɨ̀ pɛ̀n].
Mimsha hear.PST story COMP Raye eat.PST fufu
'Mimsha heard the story that Raye ate fufu.'

b. â **kɨ̀** juə́ Mɪ́mʃə̀ jú? sàŋgǎm [mì: Râjè jɨ̀ ___] nə́?
it what REL Mimsha hear.PST story COMP Raye eat.PST COMP
'What is the X such that Mimsha heard the story that Raye ate X?'

Extraction (both topicalization and focus movement) from clausal complements of nouns is not limited to the object position. Clause-internal subjects and adjuncts may undergo A-bar extraction from this environment as well. A-bar movement out of relative clauses, sentential subjects, and all varieties of adjunct clauses is possible in the same way.

3. Diagnosing Movement

A reasonable reaction to data such as (1b) is to be skeptical that *wh*- movement occurred in the first place.How can we be sure that the peripheral *wh*- expression isn't base generated in the left periphery and that the island-internal gap isn't a null (resumptive) pronoun, as in left dislocation constructions? We offer four arguments that in all Shupamem "island" configurations A-bar movement out of the "island" has indeed taken place: 1) we observe both strong and weak crossover effects; 2) we detect Condition A- based reconstruction effects; 3) the purported movements license parasitic gaps inside the "islands"; and
4) we observe the loss of idiomatic interpretations inside the "island" when idiom chunks are extracted (idioms are strictly surface phenomena that require string adjacency at Spell-Out). We also show that considerations of superiority are not useful diagnostics of movement out of islands, as the language lacks superiority effects in general.

Voice Quality and purported ATR in Mòoré: a preliminary acoustic study

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In this preliminary acoustic study, we address the puzzle of the purported Advanced Tongue Root [ATR] feature in the vowel system of Mòoré [mos, ISO 639-3], a Gur language spoken predominantly in Burkina Faso. Mòoré has been analyzed with a seven-vowel /i, ɪ, e, a, o, ʊ, u/ phonemic inventory with additional length and nasality contrasts (Peterson 1971, Canu 1974, Kabore 1985). Gur vowel systems are claimed to contrast in [ATR] (Naden 1989, Casali 2003), yet the distribution of Mòoré vowels has resisted a coherent ATR analysis. Consider the phonetic distribution of oral vowels in bimorphemic disyllables below. Ignoring [a], the stem vowels [i, u] and [e, o] trigger classical [+ATR] agreement in the suffix vowels, which surface as [i, u] and [e, o], respectively. However, [-ATR] [ɪ, ʊ] stem vowels are followed by [+ATR] [e,o], indicating *disharmony*.

Stem Vowels	Suffix
Vowelsi, u	i, u, ə
ɪ, ʊ	e, o, a
e, o	e, o, a
ɛ, ɔ	a
a	e, o, a

Phonetic distribution of Mòoré oral vowels in disyllables

These distributional facts have motivated Rennison (1996, 2016) to re-classify [ɪ, ʊ] as [e, o] [+ATR] vowels, and [e, o] as [ɪ, ʊ] [-ATR] vowels, which in turn enabled a Government Phonology-based analysis of the harmony. However, the re-classification also makes implicit phonetic predictions: if [ɪ, ʊ] are indeed [-high, -low, +ATR] and [e, o] are [+high, -ATR], the acoustics should bear this out, as both height and [ATR] have well-established acoustic correlates. For example, *F1* is negatively correlated with both tongue height and [ATR], and [+ATR] vowels often have a breathy voice quality (Hess, 1992; Starwalt, 2008; Olejarczuk et al.,2019).

To test these predictions and to understand the acoustic properties of the vowel system more generally, we analyzed 919 tokens of oral vowels from speech samples of a male, native speaker of the Ouagadougou variety of Mòoré. Measurements included formant values and several measures of voice quality. Results indicated that, in stems, [e, o] featured higher *F1* values than [ɪ, ʊ]. Moreover, phonetic evidence supported the presence of [e, o] rather than [ɪ,ʊ] in the suffixes, further justifying the standard vowel classification. That said, [ɪ, ʊ] featuredhigher *H1*-H2** (corrected difference between the amplitudes of the 1st and 2nd harmonic) than [e, o], indicating a more ATR-like quality and thus supporting the alternative classification. Finally, and most surprisingly, [ɪ, ʊ] did not significantly differ in formant structure from [i, u]; instead, the contrast was manifested in Harmonics-to-Noise Ratio (HNR),where [i, u] featured higher periodicity (more modal phonation).

Taken together, these findings suggest that [ɪ, ʊ] are indeed higher than [e, o] in Mòoré, supporting the conclusion that a coherent ATR analysis of the language remains elusive. Furthermore, the results suggest that voice quality plays a more prominent role in the Mòoré vowel system than previously thought, and thus warrants further investigation.

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DIAGNOSING RESTRICTIVITY AND NON-RESTRICTIVITY IN IKPANA RELATIVE CLAUSES

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1. Introduction

How do we diagnose (non)restrictivity in relative clauses (RCs)? Trained native speaker linguists consult their intuitions as an analytical first step. But how do we proceed when working on unfamiliar languages with linguistically naïve speakers? We rely on a complex of what appear to be cross-linguistically valid syntactic/semantic diagnostics. The goal of this talk is to assess which of the existing diagnostics are equipped to diagnose (non)restrictivity in Ikpana, an endangered Kwa language of Ghana, and by extension, (non)restrictivity in West African languages. We argue that most of the diagnostics are lacking in some way - they either fail to differentiate restrictive RCs from non-restrictive RCs in the language or they successfully reveal asymmetries, but in a direction opposite of what is claimed for other languages.

2. Ikpana RCs

Ikpana RCs can be introduced by two relative pronouns.

(1) [ɔ-sa: **jé**/**xé** Sása ɔ-tɔ́] ɔ-da.
CM-man REL Sasa SM-push.PST SM-be.big
'The man Sasa pushed is big.'

Evidence that *jé*/*xé* are not merely phonological variants comes from focus constructions. In Ikpana, focus constructions are cleft structures built on relative clauses. In these constructions, *jé* is available and *xé* is systematically unavailable (2).

(2) mɛ́ jé/*xé Fafa o-kplò a-fân u-dântʃî-ɛ?
what REL Fafa SM-fry CM-home CM-morning-DET
'What is it that Fafa fried at home this morning?'

Given the restrictive nature of focus constructions, it is plausible to entertain the possibility that *jé* is a restrictive operator, while *xé* is its non-restrictive counterpart. Further evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that Ikpana RCs headed by proper names and pronouns are incompatible with *jé* and well- formed with *xé*.

(3) [Kofí/amú *jé/xé ɔ-tɔ́ Sása] ɔ-da.
Kofí/1ST.SG REL SM-push.PST Sasa SM-be.big
'Kofí/I, who pushed Sasa, is/am big.'

3. Assessing Diagnostics of Restrictivity in Ikpana RCs

Ross (1967) observed that unlike restrictive RCs, non-restrictive RCs cannot have quantified antecedents. We show that this is a valid diagnostic of restrictivity in Ikpana – *xé* RCs, unlike *jé* RCs, cannot be anchored to quantified DPs. Demirdache (1991) found that nominals modified by restrictive RCs can appear under the scope of matrix negation, while non-restrictive RCs cannot. We demonstrate that in Ikpana the reverse holds. Only non-restrictive *xé* RCs may be within the scope of matrix negation. Jackendoff (1977) noted that only restrictive RCs can stack. In Ikpana, there is no stacking asymmetry. Both restrictive

and non-restrictive RCs can stack, rendering this diagnostic ineffective/cross- linguistically unstable. Ogle (1974) showed that sentential adverbs can appear inside non-restrictive RCs, but not in restrictive RCs. Here too, we show that this diagnostic is not applicable in Ikpana because there is no asymmetry in the language. Sentential adverbs can appear in both restrictive and non-restrictive RCs. Srivastav (1991) pointed out that restrictive RCs can be in the scope of intentional verbs, but non- restrictive RCs cannot. We show that this is also not a useful diagnostic in Ikpana because both restrictive and non-restrictive RCs can appear under the scope of a variety of intentional verbs.

Non-future tense in Non-neutral Contexts in Ibibio

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This talk presents an analysis of Ibibio tense that provides insight into the typology of Non- future marking, where novel and synthesized data show how a phonologically-empty morpheme derives the Non-neutral morphological paradigm that language specialists describe for Ibibio clauses associated with focus (cf. Kaufman, 1969; Essien, 1990; Willie & Udoinyang, 2012). Sentences like (1) motivate this analysis by the interpretation of bare verb stems, infelicitous in Future contexts:

(1) ènyé ∅ é-fɛ́ɣè.
3PL NFUT SM-escape
i. 'She/He is escaping, [not doing something else].' Non-neutral: #PERF ✓PRES #PAST
ii. 'She/He (has (just)) escaped.' Neutral: ✓PERF #PRES ✓PAST
iii. #'She/He will escape.' any: #FUT

Previous research has proposed a three-way tense distinction between past (*ma*), future (*ya*) and present (?) as in Table 1. Based on evidence that *me* distributes with Aspect, subsequent research argues Ibibio tense makes a two-way distinction (cf. Table 2). I bring the data together with word-order e↵ects from TP-selecting adverbs based on diagnostics in Wurmbrand (2014) thatconfirm the presence of zero-marking at tense for sentences like (1), as included in Table 3:

Table 1: Ibibio tense: Tripartite+Allomorphy (Essien, 1985; Kaufman, 1969)

	NEUT	NNEUT
PAST	màá	ké
PRES	mé/∅	∅
FUT	yáá	dí

Table 2: PRES reexamined: Bipartite+Allomorphy (Essien, 2016; Willie, 2012)

	PAST	FUT	
NEUT	má	yá	PROX
		yà	NPROX
NNEUT	ké	dí	
PERF=mé/∅			

Table 3: Current proposal: Bipartite+Aspect

∅	ya	Tense
NFUT	FUT	
PERF	PROSP	$Aspect_2$
má/mé/∅̂	dí	
ANT	INCEP	$Aspect_1$
ké	dî	

The syntactic evidence supports the bipartite models and builds on Willie (2012)'s expansionof aspect's role in marking time distinctions for Ibibio. The interpretations in (1) and word- order effects for *dí* overlap with nfut and prosp in Gitskan (Tsimshianic) as Matthewson (2009) analyzes, suggesting the zero-marker in Ibibio encodes the meaning in (2) as well:

(2) $[_{TP}\ [_{T}\ \varnothing\ ]] = [\![\text{NFUT}]\!]$ = no part of the topic time follows the utterance time[8]

This definition alone over-generates well-formed structures for Ibibio's bare verb stems. The pragmatic constraint in (3) proposed for perf in Tlingit (Na-Dene) in Cable (2015) captures Ibibio's own lexical selection. (2) and (3) together provide the licensing conditions for ø in certain clause-types where Neutral-marking triggers ungrammaticality, including restrictive relatives (Essien, 2016), small clauses (Anyanwu, 2010), conditional antecedents (Udosen, 2014), in addition to prototypical Non-neutral contexts such as constituent focus or negation (Baker & Willie, 2008).

(3) Non-neutral: the utterance time is contained in the topic time[3]

This analysis accounts for Ibibio's Non-neutral morphological paradigm without the need to stipulate contextually-determined tense allomorphy. Instead, Ibibio's lexical selection is constrained to a zero-marker for NFUT that combines with Aspect morphology in such Non-neutral contexts. The study consolidates data on Ibibio tense and brings Cross-River languages into discussions on the Non-Future, where West African languages as a whole are underrepresented.

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Clause final negation and double negation in Northwest Kainji

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Jaspersen cycles (van der Auwera et al. (forthc.)) have been proposed as explanations for the occurrence of double negation (DN) cross-linguistically. Beyer (2009, Volta River Basin languages), Dryer (2009, central Africa), and Idiatov (2018, northern sub-Saharan Africa) discuss contact phenomena as explanation for the proliferation of clause-final negation (CFN) markers for SVO languages in these regions. Although Kainji is a major branch of Benue-Congo and geographically central to these regions, Kainji languages are not well documented (McGill and Blench 2012), and therefore their diverse data cannot have been taken into account.

Based on three closely related Northwest Kainji languages (Ụt-Hun/Duka [uth], C'Lela/Dakkakanci [dri], and Ụt-Ma'in [gel]), I propose two distinct patterns of negation for Proto-Northwest Kainji:

CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION: SVONeg
DOUBLE NEGATION: SNegVONeg

Further, I propose that the "original" Northwest Kainji construction is CF and that DN is the secondary development. By investigating the detailed negation patterns of these closely related languages, we can see a diachronic explanation for the development of DN.

Dryer (2009: 317) describes Ụ t-Hun as SVONeg, having only CFN, marked by the clause-final *á*. However, Miestamo (2005:99) notes that Ụ t-Hun negative constructions also involve a high-tone preverbal element and a pronoun subject must be from a particular pronoun set.

(1) Ụt-Hun (as in Dryer (2009:317) from Bendor-Samuel et al. (1973))

kɔ́	*ɛ̄ɛ̄r*	*ə̄r-gààn*	*dɛ́*	*hár*	*wə́r*	*ɔ̀*	*ə̄n-ká*	*zūr*	*yo*	***á***
even	arrow	CM-one	it	touch	body	CM	that	lion	CM.DEF	NEG

'not even one arrow touched that lions body.'
lit: 'even one arrow didn't touch that lion's body'

C'Lela displays only DN; although the form of the marker is dependent on the TAM designation of the clause.

(2) C'Lela/Dakkakanci (Dettweiler 2015:116)

*ú-**tà**-hʷá=ʔò*	***dá***
3S-NOT.HAVE-kill=3S	not

'He did not kill him.'

(3) C'Lela/Dakkakanci (Dettweiler 2015:117)

***ʔá**-nán-gá=:nɘ*	*tʃ-hʲùbù*	***dá***.
NOT-1P.IN.ICM-MARRY=3P.OBJ	CM-co-wives	not

'Our people do not practice polygamy.'

Ụt-Ma'in demonstrates both CFN and DN: a distinction that crucially depends on whether or not the TAM designation of the clause requires the use of the preverbal negative copula, *zá*. The negative copula is required for negative progressive and negative future constructions, and crucially the main semantic verb is in a nominalized verb phrase (Paterson 2019b). This results in the DN pattern – the preverbal negative copula in addition to the CFN marker. All other TAM designations use the CFN marker only.

(4) Ụt-Ma'in: DN (Paterson 2019a: 174)
wáʔ-ɔ́=rò zɔ̄ ɔ̄ m=**zá** m-há=**dà**...
child-C1=3SG.POSS say 1SG.SUBJ=NEG 6B-go=NEG
'His child said "I am not going"...

(5) Ụ t-Ma'in: CFN (Paterson 2019a: 109)
rɔ̄-ɔ̄ já-ːg bɔ̄ ʔ-tʃàn=**dà**
god-C3 give-PST 2SG C6-feather=NEG
'creator did not give you feathers'

I propose that Ụt-Ma'in is the most conservative language of the three Northwest Kainji languages since it maintains the two distinct patterns. C'Lela uses only DN and Ụt-Hun may either be interpreted to have only CFN or only DN, if the preverbal tonal and pronoun change is taken into account.

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Glottalization, f0, and Tonal Variation in Medumba

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Glottalization and laryngealization are known to have a lowering effect on fundamental frequency/f0, thought to be due to supraglottal constriction at the aryepiglottic folds which serves to shorten and thicken the vocal folds (Lindqvist-Gauffin 1972). Here, we investigate the phenomenon of f0 lowering in Medumba (Grassfields Bantu) to see how glottalization may affect tone realization. Medumba contrasts high and low tones and monosyllabic words of either tone can end in a glottal stop, which can also be realized as laryngealization/creaky voice (Fig. 1b). We measured f0 across four high tone minimal pairs with and without final glottals (Table 1), spoken by 4 native speakers (3 female, 1 male) in phrase-final position. Each participant repeated each word 8 times. Stimuli were presented in random order.

CV	**CVʔ**
ʒu 'thing'	ʒuʔ 'understand'
bə 'be'	bəʔ 'yam'
to 'intestine'	toʔ 'box'
la 'pineapple'	laʔ 'village'

Table 1: Experimental Stimuli

F0 measurements were taken from the vowel onset until the end of periodic vocal fold vibration (prior to the onset of word-final creaky voice for tokens containing it). Mean f0 was extracted from four equal timepoints in the vowel and log-transformed. A linear mixed effects model (fixed effects of Glottalization and Timepoint with by-subject random intercept) showed an overall lowering effect of glottalization on f0 (β = -0.04; t = -4.35; $p < .001$), as well as a significant effect of Timepoint, indicating overall lowering from the beginning to the end of the vowel across both conditions (β = -0.15; t = -5.54; $p < .001$). There was no significant interaction between Glottalization and Timepoint. We note, however, that patterns varied considerably by speaker (Fig. 2): one speaker (f2) showed very little difference between conditions, two speakers (f1 and m1) showed overall lowering for the glottalized condition but a similar pitch contour across conditions, and the last speaker (f3) showed a difference in both height and contour shape across conditions (with a greater pitch fall in the glottalized condition).

We relate these results to a number of interesting tonal patterns in the language. First, a tally of words from the most comprehensive Medumba dictionary (Tchana 2003) reveals that glottal stop-final words are more than twice as likely to end in a low tone than a high tone. Relatedly, based on Proto-Grassfields reconstructions from Hyman (1979), there are some glottal-final words which historically bore a high tone which now bear a low tone. Second, there is synchronic dialectal variation in tone in Medumba for words ending in glottal stop, including for some tense and negation markers. We show how this variation may have ramifications for the analysis of morphosyntactically- and prosodically-conditioned tone processes.

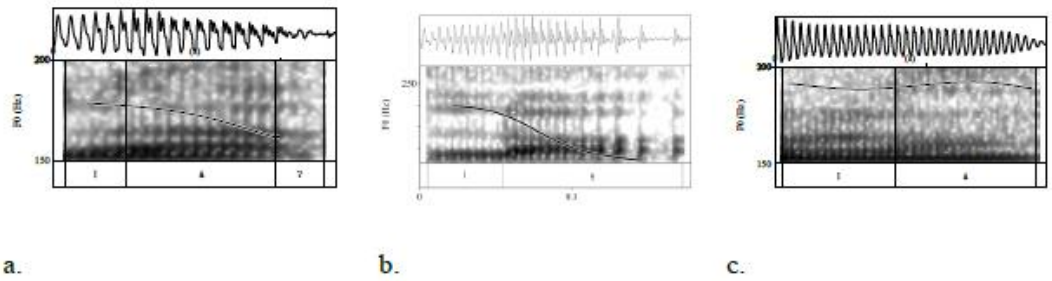

Figure 1: Spectrograms and pitch tracks for utterances of *lá?* 'village' (a,b) and *lá* 'pineapple' (c),all from speaker f3. Figure 1a shows evidence of a final glottal stop, while 1b shows evidence of laryngealization/creaky voice word-finally.

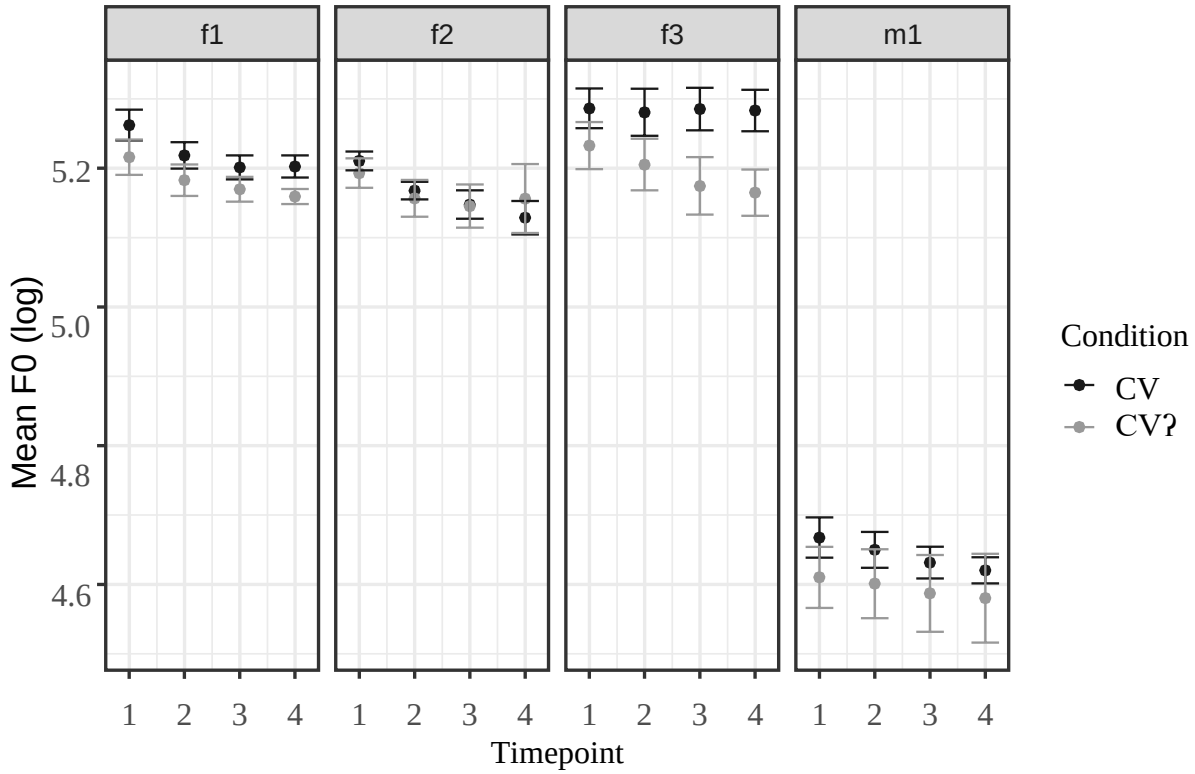

Figure 2: Time-normalized pitch tracks for each participant by condition. Note variation in height and contour differences between glottalized and non-glottalized conditions.

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Detecting Perfective and Imperfective Contrast in Central Dagaare

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Problem. In Dàgáárè (Mabia/Gur), every verb is inflected for aspect:

- the Perfective (PFV), marked by -e/-ɛ or ∅(the 'bare' form); see (1)
- the Imperfective (IPFV), marked as -V (a vowel copy), -nV, -lV, or -rV; (2)

(1) 'The child has weeded the place'

[à	bí-é	dɔ́	lá	à	zí-é]
D	child-SG	weed.PFV	FOC	D	place-SG

(2) 'The child is weeding the place'

[à	bí-é	dɔ́ɔ́-rɔ̀	lá	à	zí-é]
D	child-SG	weed-IPFV	FOC	D	place-SG

However, the distribution of Perfective/Imperfective verb forms remains poorly understood. It is not immediately obvious whether the 'past' and 'present' orientation of the forms in (1) and (2) is attributable to an aspectual (perfective/imperfective) contrast rather than to a temporal (past/present) contrast. Based on data from central Dàgáárè, we apply diagnostics adapted from Toews (2015) to confirm the Perfective/Imperfective contrast.

Detecting the (im)perfective. Diagnostics for the Perfective are given in Table 1; Imperfective in Table 2.

Table 1: detecting the perfective in Dàgáárè

		PAST	PFV
1	default past interpretation	✓	✓
2	(a) OK in non-past contexts	✗	✓
	(b) not required w/past contexts	✗	✓
	(c) combines with past	✗	✓
3	(a) *event* time<temp'l adv. boundary	✗	✓
	(b) term'n entailment: non-cont'n	✗	✓
	(c) term'n entailment: completion	✗	✓
	(d) term'n entailment: non-interup'n	✗	✓
	(e) inceptive w/punctual adv	✗	✓

Table 2: detecting the imperfective in Dàgáárè

		PRES.	IPFV
1	default present interpretation	✓	✓
2	(a) OK in non-pres. context	✗	✓
	(b) not required w/pres. contexts	✗	✓
	(c) combines with past	✗	✓
3	(a) *event* time>temp'l adv. boundary	✗	✓
	(b) no culm'n/term'n entailment	✗	✓

Aspect, Focus and Transitivity. Saanchi (2003) proposes two Perfective forms, one marked with -e/-ɛ and one unmarked. We observe that in transitive contexts such as (3), -e/-ɛ marks focus, as it is in complementary distribution with other focus markers. However, in intransitive contexts, -e/-ɛ functions asa Perfective marker, and so can co-occur with focus markers.

(3) 'The child has weeded the place'

[à	bí-é	dɔ́-ɛ́	à	zí-é]
D	child-SG	weed.PFV-FOC	D	place-SG

Analysis: In Dàgááre, aspect-marking is required on every verb. We take this to indicate that Tense obligatorily selects for an Aspect Phrase (AspP), and that V raises to Aspect via head-

movement, as in (4). Notably, in Dàgááre, Aspect Head selects for valency as well, shown by the intransitive marker occurring on intransitive perfective verbs. Aspect head can also select for certain focus markers that exhibit A' movement to the Asp head, as in (3).

(4) $[_{TP}\ T\ [_{AspP}\ [_{Asp}\ \text{V-Asp}]\ ]\ [_{VP}\ \ldots\langle V\rangle\ \ldots\ ]\ ]\ ]$

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Why No Double Objective Construction in Shupamem

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In Shupamem, the verb 'fá' is a ditransitive verb meaning 'to give' that always takes two arguments. Since Shupamem doesn't allow double object construction (DOC), the verb 'fá' can only appear in prepositional dative constructions (PDC) in (3), but not in (4).

(1) * Mimsha fá gàtô.
Mimsha give cake.
* 'Mimsha gave a cake.'

(2) * Mimsha fá nə́ Raje.
Mimsha give to Raje.
* 'Mimsha gave to Raje.'

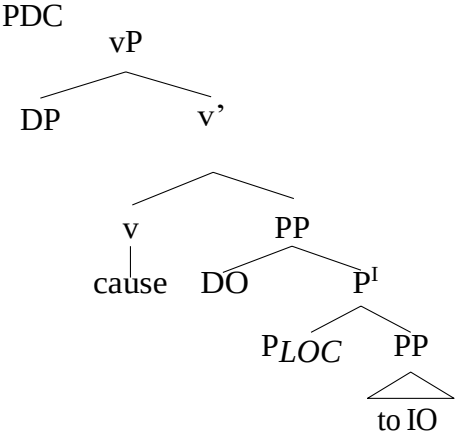
(3) Mimsha fá gàtô nə́ Raje.
Mimsha give cake to Raje.
'Mimsha gave a cake to Raje.'

(4) * Mimsha fá Raje gàtô.
Mimsha give Raje cake.
intended: Mimsha gave Raje a cake.

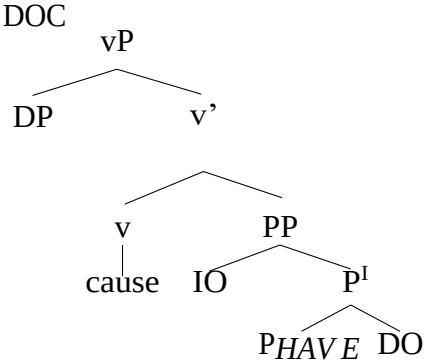
Why Shupamem doesn't allow DOC for the ditransitive verb 'fá'? This paper is going to investigate this question following Harley (2002).

Harley (2002) revised Pesetsky (1995), proposing two structures for PDC and DOC in (5).

(1) a. PDC



a. DOC



The verb 'give' is decomposed into a cause component and an abstract preposition either en- codes location (P_{LOC}) in PDC (5a) or possession (P_{HAVE}) in DOC (5b). Based on this structure, Harley made the connection of the abstract preposition expressing possession in a language and the availability of a DOC in that language, that is:

(2) If the language has $P_{HAV\,E}$, then it has DOC; if not, then no DOC.

Furthermore, she made three predictions about languages without have $P_{HAV\,E}$ and all the predictions have been attested on Irish and Navajo.

(3) If a language lacks $P_{HAV\,E}$:
   a. There is no verbal 'have'[1] to express possession.
   b. There is no DOC.
   c. The possessor does not c-commands the possessee in a sentence that denotes pos-session.

Harley's analysis provides a promising explanation for the lack of DOC in Shupamem. The lack of $P_{HAV\,E}$ could be the reason for why Shupamem doesn't allow DOC if all the predictions hold true.

For prediction (7a), there is no verbal 'have' in Shupamem. Instead, Shupamem expresses possession through a multi-functional light verb '**ɣɛt**'.. The verb '**ɣɛt**' can mean 'to make', 'to have' or 'to do'.

[1] One common claim is that all languages represent 'have' underlyingly as be+Prep, and that languages with verbal have simply incorporate the 'Prep' into the 'be' verb to produce 'have' (Freeze, 1992; Kayne, 1993; Guéron, 1995)

(8) Raje ɣɛ̌t gàtô.
Raje have/make cake.
'Raje has a cake.' or 'Raje made a cake.'

(9) nzǔ: ɣɛ̌t Mimsha ŋ-gúíə.
wine made/have Mimsha laugh.
'The wine made Mimsha laugh.'

(10) A pâ jim-pim yúɔ́ Mimsha ɣɛ̌t nɔ́.
It COP to-dance that Mimsha do COMP.
'It was dancing that Mimsha did.'

Prediction (7b) also holds true that Shupamem doesn't allow double object construction as shown in (3) and (4). For prediction (7c), it is also true in Shupamem. Apart from using the verb 'GƐt', Shupamem also expresses possession using the a possessive pronoun[2] 'yĭ:', with the possessee proceeds the possessor. As shown in (11b), the possessor doesn't c-commands possessee.

(11) a. nʃə mɔ̌n$_k$ ɣɛ̌t jɣ́:ʃá-ʃí:$_k$.
every child$_k$ have dream-his$_k$.
'Every child has his dream.'

b. jɣ́:ʃá-ʃí:$_{i/*k}$ pâ yĭ: nʃə mɔ̌n$_k$.
dream-his$_{i/k*}$ COP that of every child$_k$.
'Every child$_k$ has his$_i$ dream.'

In conclusion, all three predictions have been attested in Shupamem. One possible explanationfor the lack of DOC in Shupamem is that it doesn't have P$_{HAVE}$.

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[2]The nature of the word 'yɪ:' is still unclear. According Nchare (2012), it is a possessive pronoun.

Labial-velar to Labial Sound Changes in Luto

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In this paper we describe a recent set of sound changes in the Luto dialect of the Luto language [ndy] (Sara, CAR and Chad) that involve the conversion of labial-velar stops to labial ones:

(1) Recent sound changes in the Luto dialect (generalized as *KP > P)
a. *kp > p b. *ɡb > b c. *ŋgb > mb

Labial-velar stops exist in the Nduga dialect of Luto, and these correspond to labial stops in the Luto dialect, as shown in (2a). We provide sample cognates in (2b):

(2) a. Correspondences

Nduga		*Luto*
kp	:	p
ɡb	:	b
ŋgb	:	mb

b. Sample Cognates

Nduga	*Luto*	*gloss*
[kpā.ɾù]	[pā.ɾù]	'poison'
[ɡbā.gū]	[bā.gā]	'wing'
[ŋgbā.ɽā]	[mbā.ɽā]	'assegai (spear)'

There is also a robust set of velar stops in both dialects, as shown in (3a), so the correspondence sets k : k, ɡ : ɡ, and ŋg : ŋg are well-established. However, labial stops are quite rare in Nduga. We found only a couple of cases of the correspondence sets p : p and b : b in our data, and we found no cases of mb : mb. Sample cases are shown in (3b):

(3) a. Velar stops

Nduga	*Luto*	*gloss*
[kú.lű]	[kú.lù]	'charcoal'
[gā.zù]	[gā.zù]	'horn'
[ŋgā.lā]	[ŋgā.lā]	'heart'

b. Labial stops

Nduga	*Luto*	*gloss*
[pà.ɽā]	[pà.ɽā]	'bile'
[bá.ndǎ]	[bá.ndà]	'net'
—	—	—

Data from Boyeldieu, Nougayrol & Palayer (2006) show that Proto-Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi labial stops have largely become labial fricatives in Luto (both Luto and Nduga dialects):

(4) Sound changes from Proto-SBB to the Luto language
*p > f
*b > v
*mb > mv

The extant labial stops in the Luto dialect are not directly traceable back to proto-SBB labial stops, but rather to proto-SBB labial-velar stops. It would thus be difficult to justify positing *P > KP instead of *KP > P.

The sound changes in (4) not only explain the paucity of extant labial stops in Nduga, but they also provide a possible motivation for the sound changes in (1): The sound changes in (4) created a gap in the phonemic inventory of Luto that resulted in a somewhat asymmetric consonant inventory (cf. Pike 1947). The sound changes in (1) served to adjust the Luto consonant inventory to produce a more symmetric and typologically common sound system.

Phonetics of voiced aspirates in Yemba (Dschang)

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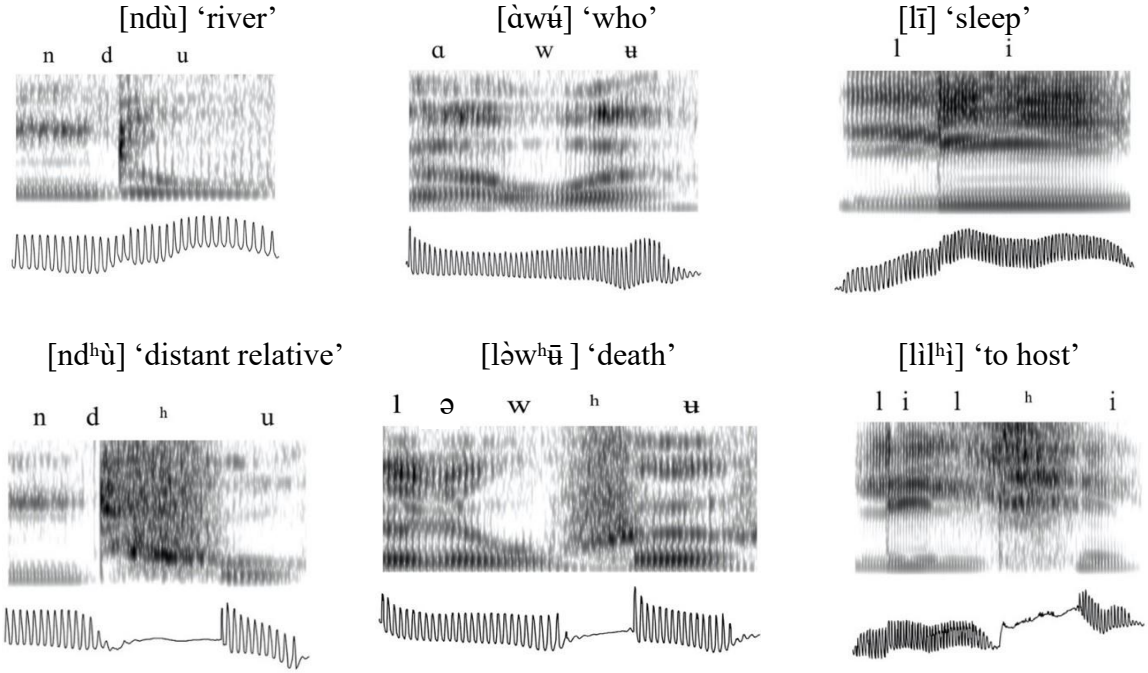
No phonetic work has been carried out on the segments of Yemba (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon). We focus on the typologically unusual voiced aspirated stops [bʰ] [dʰ] [gʰ], fricatives [vʰ] [zʰ] [ɣʰ], and sonorants [mʰ] [wʰ] [lʰ], which contrast with non-aspirated equivalents [2] (Fig. 1). In this study we show that these are "true" voiced aspirates, which are otherwise unattested [5]. Using new acoustic and electroglottographic (EGG) data, we explore the implementation of voicing and *voiceless* aspiration and its implications for the analysis of Yemba syllable structure in [2].

Methods. Time-aligned audio and EGG were recorded for two speakers (1F), who read stimuli containing voiced aspirated segments and unaspirated equivalents in a carrier phrase.

Analysis. No voice quality measures are reported for the aspiration itself because it lacked voicing almost entirely. VOT is unusually long [3], with averages above 100ms (Fig. 2). Voice quality measures were collected as the average for each voiced consonant *before* aspiration. We calculated contact quotient (CQ) from the EGG signal along with cepstral peak prominence (CPP) and H1-A3* from the acoustic signal. Measures were submitted to Bayesian mixed-effects regression, predicting each measure with respect to phonation (aspirated/unaspirated) and segment type. Relatively breathy voicing, which is expected during aspirated consonants, has lower CQ (less vocal fold contact), lower CPP (weaker harmonic structure), and higher H1-A3* [1].

Results. Voice quality measures show voiced consonants which precede aspiration exhibit breathier phonation: they have lower CPP, and sonorants show slight changes in H1-A3* (Fig. 3a-b). Articulatorily, CQ differences show that pre-aspiration voicing consists of less vocal fold contact for all segment types (Fig. 3c). These data suggest a relatively tight coupling of voiceless aspiration with the preceding voiced consonant. Such an arrangement is at odds with [2], in which aspiration is part of the syllable rhyme rather than the onset, but is closer to how aspiration is described in other Grassfields Bantu languages [4, 6].

Figure 1: Spectrogram (0-5kHz) and EGG signal for representative tokens of voiced *unaspirated* consonants (top) and voiced *aspirated* counterparts (bottom). Note *voiceless* aspiration interval in EGG signal.



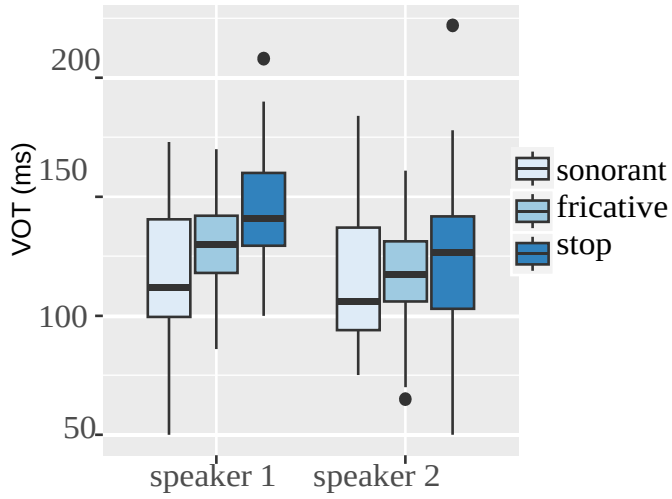


Figure 2: VOT by speaker of voiced aspirated sonorants, fricatives, and stops.

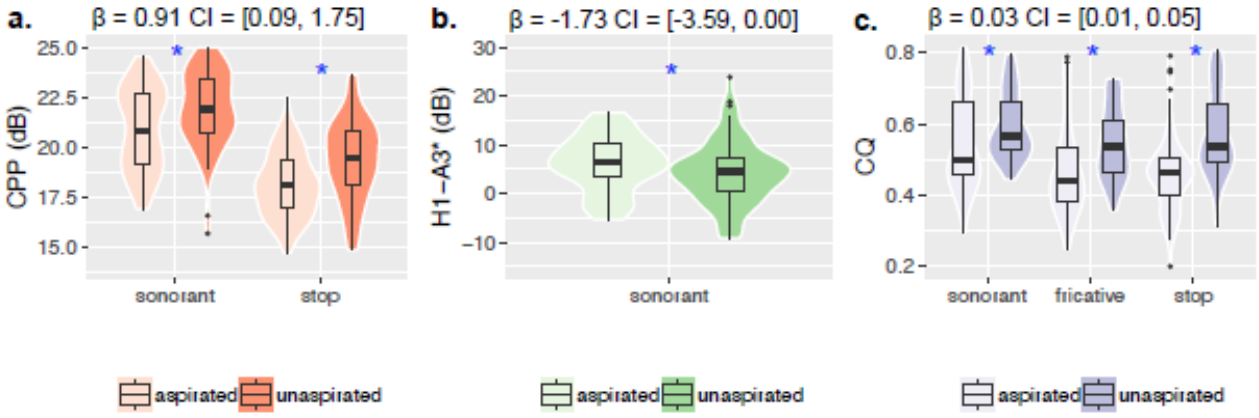


Figure 3: CPP (a), H1-A3* (b), and CQ (c) as a function of aspiration and segment type. Model estimates and 95% credible intervals for the effect of aspiration on measures are given above the plots; * indicates a credible difference between adjacent aspirated/unaspirated plots. CPP is not reported for fricatives; H1-A3* is reported only for sonorants (cf. [1]).

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The place of African Languages in multilingual classrooms: Towards an intersectional approach to language of education in Ghana

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Ghana is a heavily multilingual country having about 79 indigenous languages spoken nationwide and has approximately 50 non-mutually intelligible languages. In the country, multilingualism influences decisions on general language policy and on the languages of education. The aim of the paper is to present an intersectional approach to language of education in Ghana. Intersectionality as a theory explores the intersection of social and cultural categories. These categories are often explored in relation to each other as opposed to considering them as independent. The concept of intersectionality has been adopted in various studies including gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class, and nationality often exploring how an individual or a group of people can be described not from a single perspective but multiple perspectives that constitute their being and identity. Based on this positionality, this study explores language of education in Ghana through the lens of intersectionality where the social and linguistic experiences of teachers and learners, and the multilingual diversity of the country and communities are considered in any form of educational policy formulation and classroom code choices.

The data for the study are recordings of classroom interactions, teacher interviews, pupil focused groups, ethnographic notes, and questionnaire surveys conducted in Ho, Volta Region of Ghana. The research questions explored are: 1. What are the socio-linguistic situations in Ghana and how can that inform language of education policy and classroom code choices in the country? 2. How can the multilingual diversity of the country and communities, and the socio-linguistic backgrounds of teachers and learners inform language of education policy and implementation in Ghana? The study suggests that the intersectional approach to exploring language of education in multilingual contexts like Ghana will reveal how the linguistic repertoires and the social backgrounds of teachers and learners, and the multilingual diversity of the country and communities can be harnessed in adopting appropriate media of instruction that will contribute to achieving pedagogic goals in the classroom.

Inalienable kinship relations in colloquial isiXhosa: towards a syntactic analysis

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Inalienable possession syntax has been applied relatively rarely to Bantu languages. Certain part-whole relations like body parts which have been argued to be a type of inalienable construction in Chichewa and Swahili (Heine 1997: 169; Hinnebusch & Kirsner 1980), with some critiques proposing alternative explanations including enlargedargument structure (Simango 2007). I argue that an endearment structure for a closed class of parent-child and spousal relations in a colloquial register of isiXhosa exhibits the syntactic behavior of inalienability.

Possessive structures are formed with the possessor suffixing to a possessive morpheme <a> prefixed by noun class agreement with the preceding head noun. Phonological reduction in quick speech can elide the possessive phrase with the head noun, but in endearment constructions the noun class agreement disappears altogether.This construction is licit for “father” (1) and “son” (2), and not licit for siblings (3), non-nuclear family members (4), or inanimate objects (5).

Full form		Quick Speech		Inalienable
1. utata wam		utatwam		utatam
1.father 1.P.my	→	1.father.1.P.my	→	1.father.P.my
“My father”	=	“my father”	≠	“my dear father”
unyana wam1.son 1.P.my	→	unyanwam 1.son.1.P.my	→	unyanam 1.son.P.my
“My son”	=	“my son”	≠	“my dear son”
ubhuti wam 1.brother 1.P.my“My brother”	→	ubhutwam 1.brother.1.P.my“my brother”	→	?#ubhutam intended: my dear brother
umzala wam 1.cousin 1.P.my	→	umzalwam 1.cousin.1.P.my	→	?#umzalam
“My cousin”	=	“my cousin”		intended: my dear cousin
umbona wam3.corn 3.P.my	→	umbonwam 3.corn.3.P.my	→	*umbonam
“My corn”	=	“my corn”		intended: my dear corn

Examples (2) and (5) show that a phonological reduction analysis does not work for identical environments. Furthermore, the consistent meaning difference of endearment should lie in syntactic structure. A lexicalization approach does not hold to apparent productivity within the narrow semantics of parent-child kinship relations, as the construction is licit below in a constructed scenario where a woman treats her dog like achild:

6.	inja yam	?injam
	9.dog 9.P.my→	9.dog.P.my
	"My dog"	"my dear dog"

This endearment paradigm fulfills most crosslinguistic features of inalienability in that itis confined to attributive possession, is less morphologically marked, is confined to a closed class of kinship terms, and, I argue, involves a tighter structural bond between possessee and possessor (Heine 1997: 172). Following previous literature on Bantu DP-structure (Carstens 1991; 2008), I assume that isiXhosa head nouns move from *n* tothe NumP head for number specification, and sends agreement features down to adjective phrases and PP adjuncts (including alienable possession) through government-based agreement. The examples above show that agreement does not appear to take place in the inalienable examples (corroborated by Du Plessis & Visser 1992: 332 in an analysis of *umkam* "wife"). Thus I propose that the inalienable possession phrase must be introduced structurally lower, below *n*, prior to the spellout of noun class and agreement downwards in Num.

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On the Bantu "imperfective" morpheme *-ag*

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The morpheme **-ag/ang-* (and its various realizations) is found across the Bantu language familyand is most often associated with imperfective meanings, such as ongoing and habitual (Nurse & Devos 2019). *-ag* surfaces in several of the Greater East Ruvu (GER) languages (Kagulu, Kami, Kutu, Kwere, Luguru, and Zalamo), spoken in the Morogoro region of central Tanzania. It yields both habitual (1;Kagulu) and progressive (2;Kagulu) meanings:

1. Ha-ni-tung-**ag**-a salu.
   PST-SM1SG-bead-**IPFV**-FV 9.bead
   'I was beading beads regularly.' *[context: it was my job last year]*

2. Ha-ni-tung-**ag**-a salu fo-ya-ing-ile.
   PST-SM1SG-bead-**IPFV**-FV 9.bead TEMP-SM1-enter-ILE
   'I was beading beads when she entered.'

-ag is not obligatory in GER. Both habitual (3;Kwere) and progressive (4;Zaramo) readings are available for sentences without *-ag*:

3. Chila siku chilugulu Amina ka+o-legel-a.
   every 9.day at.6pm Amina SM1+PRS-be/get.tired-FV
   'Everyday at 6pm Amina becomes tired.'

4. Amina ka-fagil-a (kibigiti) vi-ni-vik-ile.
   Amina SM1-sweep-FV (when) TEMP-SM1SG-enter-ILE
   'Amina was sweeping when I arrived.'

In fact, when translating English or Swahili progressive constructions, or providing descriptions of progressive contexts presented using non-verbal stimuli, speakers rarely offer GER sentences with *-ag*. Auxiliary constructions (5;Zaramo), or, in the case of present contexts, the simple present construction (6;Kutu) are offered instead:

5. Vi-ni-vik-ile Amina **ka-kal-a** ku-som-a ki-tabu.
   TEMP-SM1SG-enter-ILE Amina **SM1-be/remain-FV** 15-read-FV 7-book
   'When I arrived, Amina was reading a book.'

6. Amina **ka+o-som-a** sambi.
   AMINA **SM1+NON.PST-read-FV** now
   'Amina is reading now.' *[context: I see her reading now as we speak*]

Likewise, when translating English or Swahili habitual constructions or contexts, speakers rarely offer GER sentences with *-ag*, but instead offer sentences with habitual adverbials/contexts (7;Luguru):

7. Amina ka+o-fik-a **chila ha-i-fik-a saa 12 nemihe**
   Amina SM1+PRS-arrive-FV **every TEMP-SM9-arrive-FV 9.clock 6 evening**
   'Amina arrives every day at 6pm.'

However, when asked to translate *-ag* sentences, speakers tend to interpret them as habitual rather than progressive (8;Kutu):

8. Ka-fagil-**ag**-a.
   SM1-sweep- **IPFV**-FV
   'S/he normally sweeps'; #'S/he is sweeping'

The goal of this paper is to explore why *-ag* prefers habitual readings in GER languages. Wepropose that (i) habitual readings of *-ag* are preferred due to the lack of other verbal habitual constructions in these languages, and (ii) the absence of a dedicated perfective morpheme in GER languages (i.e., perfective *-ile* found across Bantu has been lost in simple perfective GER constructions) has led to a narrowing of the function of *-ag*. Nurse & Devos (2019) suggest that the imperfective is used to contrast with the perfective. Given the loss of *-ile* in GER languages, the role of *-ag* is no longer to contrast with perfective *-ile*, but instead, *-ag* is primarily restricted to representing "an unbounded situation that lasts over a period of time" (Nurse & Devos 2019: 212).This mirrors the development of English modals (Cowper & Hall 2017).

That *-ag* is not obligatory is consistent with features of the temporal/aspectual systems of GER languages. These languages lack much of the temporal/aspectual morphology typical across Bantu; *-ag* may potentially be on route to being lost completely.

Islands and perfective (non-)extraction in Igbo

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Claim: In this study, I argue that unlike the imperfective, the perfective in Igbo constitutes an island out of which extractions are banned. I show that this is a reflex of A^t-movement in the language. I propose that extraction from perfective clauses are blocked by the same mechanism that blocks extraction from complex DP-islands. Perfective constructions in Igbo involve nominalization and this blocks A^t-movement out of them.

Data: In Igbo, A^t-movement out of an imperfective clause such as (1) is licit but extraction out of a perfective clause such as (2) results in ungrammaticality as shown in (2-b).

(1) a. Àdá nà-érí !jí.
Ada PROG-NMZL.eat yam
'Ada is eating yam.'
b. Gịnị kà Àdá nà-érí __?
what FOC Ada PROG-NMZL.eat
'What is Ada eating?'

(2) a. Àdá è-rí-é-lá !jí.
Ada NMZL-eat-SFX-PFV yam
'Ada has eaten yam.'
b. *Gịnị kà Àdá è-rí-é-lá __?
what FOC Ada NMZL-eat-SFX-PFV
'What has Ada eaten?'

The (b) sentences in (1) and (2) show wh-question of the direct object in both imperfective and perfective clauses. The perfective extraction is not only restricted to wh-questions but to all A^t-movement dependencies, as shown in (3).

(3) a. *Jí kà Àdá è-rí-é-lá __ .
yam FOC Ada PFX-eat-SFX-PFV
'Ada has eaten YAM.' *focus*
b. *Jí Àdá è-rí-é-lá __
yam Ada PFX-eat-SFX-PFV
'the yam that Ada has eaten' *relative clause*
c. *Kèdụ́ íhé Àdá è-rí-é-lá __?
WH.COP thing Ada PFX-eat-SFX-PFV
'What is it that Ada has eaten?' *cleft*

The nominalization of the perfective in (2-a) is evident by the presence of a nominalizing prefix on the main verb, as well as the "so-called" open vowel suffix (OVS) (glossed here as sfx) thatoccurs before the perfective suffix. Both affixes independently induce the genitive case on the direct object of the verb. In the imperfective clause in (1-a), the direct object gets a genitive case induced by the *e*-nominalizer, so also in (4), the object of the non-initial verb of the serial verb construction gets a genitive case induced by the OVS (Manfredi 1991, Déchaine 1993). The genitive case is marked by the downstep tone on the direct object in these examples as against the high tone the noun bears in the nominative and accusative case (cf. (3)).

(4) Àdá jì ḿmà bè-é !jí.
Ada hold knife cut-SFX yam

'Ada cut the yam with a knife.'

Analysis: Given the fact that the perfective in Igbo seems to involve some levels of nominal functional structure, I argue that the perfective construction involves two layers of nominalization. The 'low' nominalization is marked by the OVS, which I assume checks the genitive case on the direct object of the perfective. The OVS has a nominal projection above it which checks case on the object of the clause as genitive. The other 'high' nominalization realized as the *e-* verbal prefix in (2-a) nominalizes the whole clause, making it an island. Note that in the imperfective in (1-a) the *e-* nominalizing prefix is below T, since I assume that the auxiliary is in T. Hence, the whole clause is not nominalized as the nominalization is low in the structure, hence no island effect, and extraction is possible in the imperfective.

Licensing external arguments: some Bantu case puzzles revisited

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This talk explores constructions in Zulu (Bantu, S42) that shed light on whether and how nominals in the lan- guage are syntactically licensed, and on the nature of variation regarding such licensing across Bantu (see, e.g., Diercks, 2012; Halpert, 2012, 2015; van der Wal, 2012, 2015; Sheehan and van der Wal, 2018, on the debate over structural/case/Vergnaud-licensing in Bantu). I focus on two constructions in which expression of the external argu-ment (EA) becomes optional: passives and infinitives. In both, an overt EA is morphologically marked (Halpert, 2016, to appear):

(1) **Passive EA marked by copula**

leli windi l-a-bula-wa **y-izingane**
5DEM 5window 5SM-PST-kill-PASS COP-AUG.10child
'This window was broken by the children.'

(2) **Infinitival EA marked by associative**

uku-gijima **kwa-kho** ku-ngcono
AUG.15-run 15ASSOC-2SG.PRO 15SM-better
'Your running is better.'

As Halpert (2016) and Halpert (to appear) demonstrate, these EAs are unusual: despite oblique morphological marking, they behave like they are in Spec,*v*P. Unlike Spec,*v*Psubjects in finite/active constructions, however, these marked subjects are not intervenors for agreement/movement of lower arguments:

(3) a. USipho w-a-nikez-w-a **w-uMary** incwadi
AUG.1Sipho SM1-PST-give-PASS COP-AUG.1Mary AUG.9book
'Sipho was given a book by Mary.'

b. [uku-ngi-khulum-ele **kuka-Sipho** amanyala] ku-ya-ngi-casula
AUG15-1SG.OM-give 15.ASSOC-1S AUG.6nonsense SM15-DJ-1SG.OM-annoy
'His speaking nonsense to me annoys me.'

I present additional evidence that this characterization of the constructions is correct. First, possessor raising can feed passives: as Sabelo (1990) shows, *-phetwe* 'suffer from', a passive form of *-phethe* 'command' promotes inalienable possessors to subject position and marks possessees with the copula that other EAs of passives receive (4a), comparable inalienable possessor raising in active constructions (4b), suggesting that like in an active sentence, the EA here is truly in an A-position, the edge of which is accessible for the subject probe:

(4) a. umfana u-pheth-we y-izinyo
AUG.1boy 1SM-command-PASS COP-AUG.8tooth
'The boy is suffering from toothache' (Sabelo, 1990, p. 101, glosses added)

b. ingulube i-phuk-e umlenze
AUG.9pig 9SM-break-PFV AUG.3leg
'The pig's leg is broken.' (Sabelo, 1990, p.96, glosses added)

In infinitives, the object agreement can optionally feed (and is a necessary precondition of) raising in a *tough*-construction, again suggesting that these are all A-movement processes:

(5) a. imithetho i-lula uku-yi-qonda
AUG.4rule 4SM-easy AUG.15-4OM-understand
'the rules are easy to understand'

b. *imithetho i-lula uku-qonda

We typically view a null EA in infinitives as resulting from lack nominative case, or in some nonfinite nominalizations, from a truncated structure that does not project the EA; absence of an EA in passives is often assumed to be due to changes in argument structure and/or lack of accusative case. I propose that argument structure in Zulu passives/infinitives is identical to actives/finites—the optionality of EA results from lack of syntactic licensing for EA. Lack of licensing yields a PRO EA or requires oblique licensing when EA is overt. These constructions indeed pattern with diagnostics for what Sheehan and van der Wal (2018) identify as "Vergnaud-licensing." At the same time, as Halpert (2015) argues, such licensing in Zulu is not associated with T; nor, however, does the licensing identified in this abstract appear to be related to the *v*P-internal structural licensing that Halpert (2015) proposes. Instead, the evidence discussed here suggests the existence of a second type of structural licensing in Zulu.

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Plurality in Ga Deverbal Nominalizations

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Argument supporting nominalizations (ASNs), deverbal nominalizations which project arguments and retain the event structure of the verb, present varying combinations of verbal and nominal properties. Notably, ASNs have been characterized by an inability to pluralize (Grimshaw 1990; Alexiadou 2001; Alexiadou et al. 2010). Ga (Kwa) provides a counterexample to this generalization, allowing all ASNs to be plural.[1] I propose a syntactic structure for the Ga ASN which accounts for why Ga ASNs may pluralize, but previously documented ASNs in other languages may not. As this is the first in-depth study of Ga deverbal nominalizations and the literature on nominalizations is largely dominated by Indo-European languages, this paper makes an empirical and theoretical contribution.

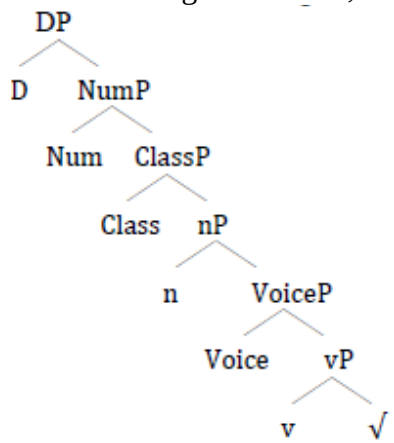
Structure:I propose a syntactic approach to Ga ASNs, whereby the deverbal nominalization consists of a nominalizing element (D or *n*) Merged with a verbal projection (Marantz 1997). ASNs in Ga, formed by the nominalizer *-mo,* denote events and may be morphologically marked for plural and definiteness (1). The ASN thus has a rich nominal structure, including at least *n*P, NumP, and DP, unlike English verbal gerunds.

(1) wɔ-dʒí há-mɔ-í-ɛ
book-PL give-NMLZ-PL-DEF ‘the givings of books’

Ga ASNs retain several verbal properties, including event and argument structure and the ability to be modified by adverbs in VoiceP (Baker&Vinokurova 2009). The Voice in ASNs is passive, and does notproject an agent or license Case.

ASNs cannot be negated or inflected for tense or aspect, which suggest the absence of NegP, TP, and AspP in the structure. I propose that ASNs have the structure in (2); the internal argument precedes theverb in the ASN but follows it in the verb phrase because the argument of an ASN must move to be licensedgenitive case, which is crosslinguistically common (Alexiadou 2017).

(2)

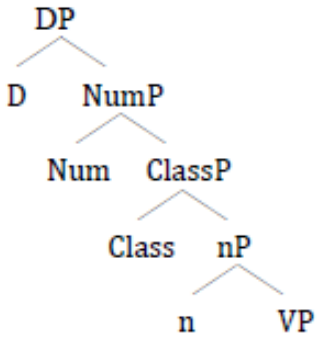


Number:ASNs in Ga differ from previously documented ASNs because they may always be plural. Alexiadou et al. (2010) propose that ASNs which contain Num may pluralize if the VP is telic; this is formalized as Agreement between ClassP and the inner aspect of the VP. Telic verbs correspond to a [+count] feature on Class, which projects NumP. Atelic verbs correspond to a [-count] feature on Class, inwhich case NumP is not projected and plurality is unavailable.

I propose that the ability of Ga ASNs to pluralize, unlike previously documented ASNs. follows from differences in syntactic structure. In the Germanic, Romance, and Slavic languages studied by Alexiadou et al. (2010), the nominalizer selects a VP. When Class is Merged, it is separated from VP by one phase boundary (*n*) (3).

[1] Data in this paper comes from fieldwork conducted in 2019. I am extremely grateful to my language consultants.

(3)



(Alexiadou et al. 2010: 550)

In Ga, the nominalizer selects a VoiceP. Two phase boundaries, Voice and *n*, separate Class from VP. Following Chomsky (2001), this means that in other languages, when Class is Merged, VP has not yetbeen spelled out and is still available for Agreement. In Ga, when Class is Merged, VP has already been spelled out and is not available for Class to Agree with. Class surfaces with a [+count] feature as a default. Therefore, ASNs in Ga may be plural regardless of telicity.

The Syntax of Predicate Focus Doubling in Dschang

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In this talk, we present an initial description of the syntax of a predicate focus construction in Dschang, an SVO (1) Grassfields Bantu language of Cameroon. This construction involves copying of the verb, with the copy appearing at the right edge of the clause (2):

(1) méri lɨ wútɛ jɔ̀n
mary DIST.PAST praise john
'Mary praised John.'

(2) méri lɨ **wútɛ** jɔ̀n **wutɛ**
mary DIST.PAST praise john praise
'Mary PRASIED John.'

The construction in (2) is of interest because, although it involves a verb copy, it is unlike canonical predicate clefting, in which the verb copy surfaces on the left edge of the clause.
We examine a number of syntactic configurations where the predicate can be copied and establish syntactic constraints on the distribution of the verb copy. We observe, for example, that the direct object cannot occur to the right of the verb copy:

(3) *méri lɨ **wútɛ** **wutɛ** jɔ̀n
mary DIST.PAST praise praise john

However, other constituents that are typically taken to be verbal complements pattern differently. Consider a control predicate like 'begin', which takes an infinitival complement:

(4) məəŋ lɨ zii [lɨ-tɔ̀ŋɔ̀ kɛti]
1SG DIST.PAST begin [INF-read book]
'I began to read the book.'

In the predicate focus construction, the infinitival complement may surface either between the two instances of the verb or to the right of the second copy (this optionality is indicated by curly brackets):

(5) məəŋ lɨ **zii** {**zii**} [lɨ-tɔ̀ŋɔ̀ kɛti] {**zii**}
1SG DIST.PAST begin begin [INF-read book] begin
'I began to read the book.'

This is unlike the behavior of the nominal verbal complement in (3). Additional data indicate that, while the verb copy occurs on the right edge in (2), it need not surface on the absolute right edge of the clause. In (6), the locative adjunct *sàá* '(at) market)' appears between the two instances of the verb. In (7) however, it surfaces to the right of the second copy of the verb:

(6) méri lɨ **zúŋ** sàá **zʊŋ**
mary DIST.PAST sing market
sing'Mary SANG at the market.'

(7) méri lɨ **zú ŋ zú ŋ** sàá
mary DIST.PAST sing sing
market'Mary SANG at the
market.'

The grammaticality of (5) and (7) show that the ungrammaticality of (3) is not due to adjacency of thetwo verbs.

The fact that the second verb copy can precede or follow certain complements and adjuncts raises the issue of exactly what focus position is involved in this construction and how this construction is related to better-studied verb copying constructions like predicate clefts. We discuss how Dschang predicate doubling behaves with different arguments and adjuncts, in embedded clauses, and the theoretical consequences that follow.

Logoori-Tiriki Comparative Noun Tone

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Within Bantu, especially the Eastern languages, tone tends to be historically volatile, and closely related languages sharing numerous features may have quite different systems. The Luhya subgroup internally manifests radical variation in tone, where some languages conservatively reflect the pattern of Lacustrine and proto Bantu; some languages reverse L and H; some eliminate lexical H/L contrasts in favor of a system of rules where tone is predictable from morphological properties. We compare the noun tone systems of two Luhya languages, Tiriki and Logoori. Geographically adjacent Logoori and Tiriki(-Isukha-Itakho) are generally considered lexicostatistically closest to one another. But in terms of phonological isoglosses, Logoori stands apart from the rest of Luhya, preserving a 7-vowel system over the general 5-vowel system of the rest of Luhya, and not undergoing the consonant changes known as Luhya Law. Against this background, we compare tones in nouns in these languages, to see how close they are tonally.

This comparison reveals striking similarity in the tones of nouns between the languages. In general, the tones of cognate words are identical, cf. (Logoori vs. Tiriki) *ɔmʊsáaza / músáatsa* 'man', *ɔmʊkóóŋe / muxóóŋe* 'sugar cane', *rɪsʊ́kʊ / líísúxu* 'lung', *ɪ́ᵑgjʊ́ʊgʊ / ɪ́ᵑgjúuku* 'groundnut', *rɪ́ˡshɑ́ágári / líɪ́ˡsyáákáli* 'lizard', *enzogu / inzeku* 'elephant'. However, there is significant divergence between the languages regarding final H. Where Logoori has a number of nouns with final H (plus a pre-stem H), corresponding nouns of Tiriki have H on the penult (*é!ngókó / ɪ́ŋgóxo* 'chicken', *ʊrʊ́ˡfʊʊ́ngʊ́ / lúˡfúúŋgu* 'key', *rɪkʊ́ˡdʊ́mání / íŋgúˡrúmáni* 'liver'). Similar correspondences are seen in *ɪkɪ̄vyá / fívya* 'metal', *ekóré / íxóle* 'he-goat' where there is no pre-stem H. Tiriki is not totally devoid of nouns with final H, so *koozá / xootsá* 'uncle' and *guugá / kuuká* 'grandfather' are tonally comparable. In fact, in the case of *séénge / seenjé* 'aunt' and *gʊ́ʊ́kʊ / kuuxú* 'grandmother', Logoori attests a tone shift not found in Tiriki.

The proto-Bantu noun contrasts *HH, *HL and *LH have all merged to HL in Tiriki and Logoori, suggesting historical loss of final H, via tone shift. Complications regarding final tones persist in nouns: we discuss two cases. Some Tiriki nouns have specified L, which blocks tonal processes, vs. the normal case that final Ø is transparent to regular tonology. The second is that Logoori also subclassifies stems, those with H.L.L tone, where H is normally assigned phrasally to the final vowel, but this is blocked in certain words. We show that these patterns are only marginally related, historically.

The other divergence between Logoori and Tiriki is that penult long vowels with H in Logoori correspond unpredictably to Tiriki H, F or H!F, as in *ɪdɑ́ɑ́ywa / ítɑ́ɑ́ywa* 'rooster', *ɪkwɑ́ɑ́ha / múkwɑ́ɑha* 'armpit', *ɪkɪ́hɪ̄̂nda / mú!hɪ̄̂nda* 'bag'. In this case we explain the F→H correspondence on the basis of an emergencing tendency in Logoori to realize penult Fall as level H, constituting a rampant synchronic variation within Logoori. Conversely, there is a tendency in Tiriki to realize H on long penults as a fall.

Vowel hiatus resolution as a (non-)categorical phonologically-conditioned process: Evidence from Avatime and Ikpana

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In this paper, we compare the phonological conditioning of vowel hiatus resolution in two Ghana-Togo Mountain languages spoken in neighboring areas of Ghana (Volta). In Ikpana ([lgq]) and Avatime ([avn]), vowel hiatus (adjacent heterosyllabic vowels) is strongly dis- preferred. In both languages, a variety of repair strategies are available to resolve cases of underlying hiatus.

In Avatime and Ikpana, vowel hiatus is commonly found at word boundaries (1).

(1) a. àyápè é-dzí ì-mwɛ́-nɛ̀
Ayape 3SG.PFV-buy CM-orange-DEF
"Ayape bought oranges." (Avatime)

b. a-vá o-zá a-zaj
CM-deer 3SG-cook.PST CM-bean
"A deer cooked beans." (Ikpana)

In both languages, underlying hiatus can either be realized as such or be resolved by glide formation, vowel elision, or coalescence. Additionally, in Avatime, it is frequently possible for a noun-class prefix-initial consonant to delete, leading to hiatus, which must then be resolved (2).

(2) a-tsà lì-kpa-lɛ̀ → [a-tsɛ̀kpalɛ̀]
3SG.PFV-cut CM-fish-DEF
"He cut the fish." (Avatime)

We show that in both Ikpana and Avatime, hiatus resolution between words is conditionedby vowel quality, vowel quality interaction, and position. In some instances, vowel quality categorically conditions hiatus resolution. In Ikpana, /u/ is (near-)categorically elided, regardless of its position in the hiatus context. In Avatime, /a/ is (near-)categorically retained word-internally [3].

On the other hand, the interaction of vowel qualities with each other, and with posi- tion, conditions variation in the output, making hiatus resolution in both languages non- categorical. At the verb-object boundary in Avatime, there is a preference to preserve V2.However, when the vowel sequence is /a+o/ (3), the output can involve any of V1 elision, V2 elision, or heterosyllabification.

(3) mà-ŋwyá ò-nò → [...{a/o/a.o}...]
1SG.PFV-throw CM-soup
"I threw the soup ." (Avatime)

In Ikpana (4), we see that when /i/ or /o/ is the first vowel in the hiatus environment, itmay or may not be realized. On the other hand, when the same vowels are found in second position, they are categorically realized. This suggests that in interaction, V1 tends to be reduced (although such reduction is not categorical).

(4) a-d(í) o-kpl(o) í-mbí
CM-frog 3SG-fry.PST CM-rice
"A frog fried rice." (Ikpana)

Casali [1],[2], based on Avatime data from Schuh [3], discusses interactions between vowel quality and position in resolving hiatus. However, the discussion is limited to hiatus reso- lution as a word-internal process, where it is nearly categorical. Crucially, novel data from Avatime and Ikpana shows variation in whether and how resolution occurs at word bound- aries. This paper aims to account for the conditioning and variability of hiatus resolution at word boundaries in both languages.

The contribution of this paper is twofold. Empirically, we contribute to the documen- tation of two related endangered and crucially understudied languages, focusing on specific phonological aspects. Theoretically, we show that certain phonological factors affecting vowel hiatus resolution are associated with more or less variation in the output. Any theoretical account for vowel hiatus resolution should be able to model such facts.

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Unlocking coordinate structures: agreement with conjoined objects in Swahili

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In Swahili, object markers (OMs) are required with [+human] object NPs (1)a and preferred with definite objects (1)b. Object 'who' questions must be doubled ((1)c). These factors lead Riedel (2009) among others to an agreement analysis.

(1) a. Ni-li-*(mw-)ona m-toto wako.
1sSA-PST-*(1OM)-see 1-child 1-your
'I saw your child.'

b. Ni-li-(ki-)nunua ki-tabu.
1sSA-PST-(7OM)-buy 7book
'I bought the book.'

c. U-li-*(mw)-ona nani?
2sSA-PST-*(1OM)-see 1who
'Who did you see?'

The Kiunguja variety of Swahili spoken by my consultant allows first conjunct OM (FCOM) but not second, with conjoined plurals (2).

(2) Ni-li-(ya)/*vi-nunua ma-sanduku na *vi-kapu*.
1sSA-PST-(6OM)/*8OM-buy 6-suitcase and 8-basket
'I bought suitcases and baskets.'

Riedel (2009) argues that a clitic-raising approach to Swahili FCOM would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint. An agreement approach better fits these facts, as for (1).

Though OM with conjoined singulars has been reported for Swahili (Marten 2005 a.o.), it is disallowed by my Kiunguja consultant unless there is a strong intonation break, indicated below with a comma. I take the post-comma constituent to be vP-external.

(3) a. Ni-li-(*ki-)ona ki-su na kalamu.
1sSA-PST-(*7OM)-see 7-knife and 9pen
'I saw a knife and a pen.'

b. Ni-li-ki-ona ki-su, na kalamu.
1sSA-PST-7OM-see 7-knife and 9pen
'I saw a pen and a knife.'

c. [[vP <V> kisu] [&P na kalamu]] (= (3)b)
knife and pen

But there is one systematic exception: a verbal suffix *-eni* encoding 2nd PL licenses a 2sOM doubling the first conjunct. Compare (4) with (5) wherein FCOM is allowed.

(4) Ni-li-ku-ambia wewe *(,) na Halima.
1sSA-PST-2sOM-tell you *(,) and Halima
'I told you, and Halima.'

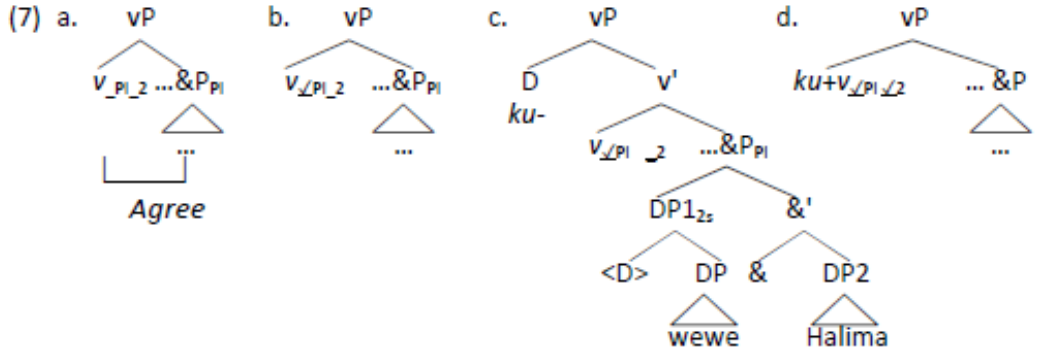
(5) Ni-li-ku-ambi-**eni** wewe na Halima/*Halima na wewe.
1sSA-PST-2sOM-tell-2PL you and Halima/ *Halima and you
'I told you and Halima.'

I argue that the ordering rigidity in (5) is an intervention effect for clitic-raising. It is not due to a constraint *[XP+pron]:

(6) Q. A-li-mw-ona nani? Ans. Halima na wewe.
1SA-PST-1OM-see 1who? Halima and you
'Who did he see?' 'Halima and you.'

To account for (5), I adopt the view that agreement can have an "unlocking" effect (Rakowski & Richards 2005, Van Urk & Richards 2015, Halpert 2018, Branan & Davis 2018). In this case, the featurally specific 2nd PL suffix on *v* probes for matching features. Finding &P, it unlocks it by agreeing with it in plurality.

This makes possible probing and raising of the 2s pronoun out of the first conjunct, via Spec, *v*P. *-Eni*'s 2nd person *u*ϕ is valued by m-merge of the 2s OM:



Summing up, Kiunguja's noun class OMs pattern as agreement. But effects of the agreeing 2nd PL *-eni* suffix argue that [+person] OMs are actually raised clitic pronouns, and that agreement can unlock anotherwise opaque domain for movement.

Acoustic Analysis of Implosives in the Rikpa Language

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INTRODUCTION Many languages of Sub-Saharan Africa are described as having implosives in their consonant inventory; however, phonetic analysis of implosives has revealed distinctive patterning across languages, likely reflecting differences in a host of articulatory mechanisms including glottal constriction, larynx lowering, and vocal fold tension (Ladefoged 1968, Lindau 1984, Wright & Shryock 1993). Our study seeks to add to the typological picture for implosive consonants by investigating how intensity, closure duration, and fundamental frequency vary across syllables with implosives vs. voiced and voiceless egressive plosives in the Bantu language Rɨkpa' (A53, Kpa), spoken in Cameroon.

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND & METHOD Rɨkpa' contrasts both bilabial and alveolar implosives inboth word-initial and medial position. Implosives can occur in both high and low tone syllables. In our study, we examined amplitude during closure, closure duration, and fundamental frequency of a following vowel for implosives, voiced egressive plosives, and voiceless egressive plosives at both places of articulation for three female speakers. Target words were elicited both in isolation and in carrier sentences.

RESULTS Results revealed no overall difference in intensity during closure between implosives and voiced plosives in initial position, but, consistent with previous studies (Lindau 1984, Nagano-Madsen & Thornell 2012) a rising intensity slope for implosives compared with voiced plosives (Fig.1). An interaction between segment type and word position revealed that intensity was overall higher for implosives than voiced plosives in medial position ($p<.001$, Fig.2), but intensity slope was more even for both types of segments in this position. Contrary to some prior research (Naganno-Madsen & Thornell 2012; Sande & Oakley 2020), we found that closure duration for implosives was significantly shorter than that for voiced plosives in initial position of the word ($p<.0001$), though an interaction between segment type and position revealed that this pattern was slightly reversed in medial position ($p<.0001$, Fig.3), where both implosives and voiced plosives had shorter closure duration than voiceless plosives ($p<.0001$). Finally, fundamental frequency was overall higher for vowels following implosives than voiced plosives ($p<.001$), with no difference between implosives and voiceless stops. However, an interaction between segment type and tone revealed differences in *f0* after implosives vs. voiced stops were reduced for low tone syllables ($p<.05$, Fig.4).

DISCUSSION Our results are consistent with an analysis of implosives as involving the hallmarkarticulatory feature of larynx lowering, as evidenced by rising intensity during closure (Lindau 1984), as well as relatively high vocal fold tension, as evidenced by pattern of increased *f0* on vowels following implosives (Painter 1977). While other studies have found implosives to be produced with following vowel *f0* intermediate between voiced and voiceless egressive sounds(Wright & Shryock 1993; Chavez-Peon 2005), we actually found no overall difference in *f0* between vowels following implosives vs. voiceless plosives, suggesting a greater role for vocalfold tension in implosive production in Rɨkpa'. In medial position, however, implosives appearto have more similar characteristics to voiced plosives, though their higher intensity indicates that the implosive distinction is not completely neutralized in that position.

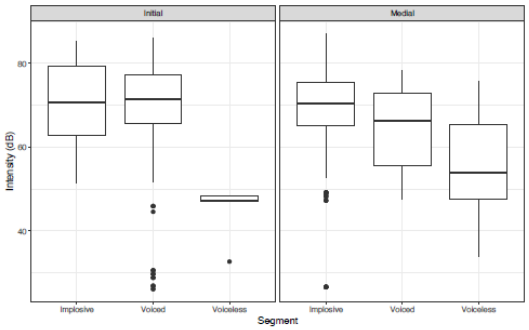

Fig.2: Intensity during closure by segment type and word position

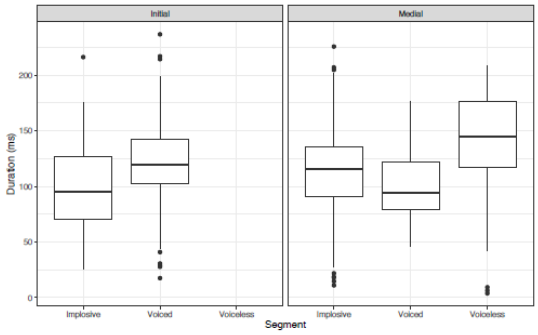

Fig.3: Duration of closure by segment type and word position

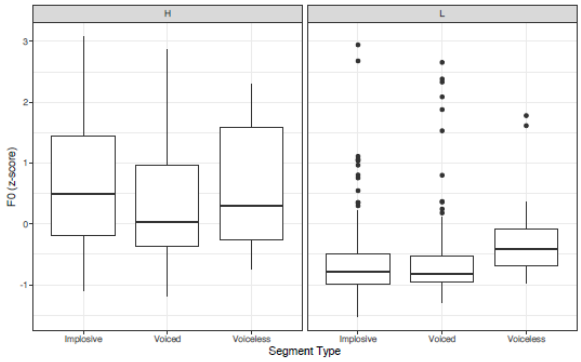

Fig.4: F0 of closure by segment type and tone

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Reciprocity and quantification in Ndebele

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The reciprocal is often viewed as expressing "a single polyadic quantifier that binds two variables in its scope, both variables ranging over one set, the restricted domain of the quantification". (Dalrymple et al 1994, 1998; Mchombo 1999). It belongs to a complex event structure that assigns the same type of participation in the event to multiple participants. (Maslova 2007). Reciprocals with quantified NPs or quantified antecedents seem to be discussed less in the literature especially with regards to Bantu languages. The quantification for such NPs generally comes from determiner quantifiers and, in most cases,reciprocity does not hold for a whole group but for only part of it, the subgroup. This study focusses on these reciprocals with quantified NPs, specifically in Ndebele (S44).

The reciprocal in Ndebele is encoded by the morpheme -an- 'each other/one another' and the following Ndebele determiner quantifiers are used in illustrating how reciprocity interacts with quantification: -onke 'all', inengi 'most', -lutshwana/mbalwa 'few', -nengi 'many' and -nye 'some'. Investigating the interaction in order to understand more about reciprocals is important especially given the complex and varied nature of reciprocity. The discussion of quantified reciprocals for English and other languages is often done within some theory, for example, the generalized quantifier theory (Westerstahl, 1989; van Benthem, 1989) or the Strong Meaning Hypothesis (SMH) (Dalrymple et al 1998). In order not to cloud issues or basic facts in theory this study is descriptive although important theoretical issues are pointed out.

The study shows that Ndebele determiner quantifiers all modify the meaning of a reciprocalsentence in different and interesting ways although basic set configurations of reciprocals are maintained. Here is an example.

(1) Aba-fana ba-ya-khab-an-a
2-boy 2-tns-kick-REC-FV
'Boys are kicking each other'

(2) I-nengi l-aba-fana li-ya-khab-an-a
5-most 5-2-boy 5-tns-kick-REC-FV
'Most of the boys are kicking each other'

(3) Bonke aba-fana ba-ya-khab-an-a
2-all 2-boy 2-tns-kick-REC-FV
'All the boys are kicking each other'

Assuming each of the three sentences refers to reciprocity in a single set of ten boys, (1) would need at least two boys to be kicking someone in the group or set to be true (with or without reciprocity) whereas quantified (2) would need more than five boys to be involved in the activity of kicking but not all (with or without reciprocity). For (3) to be true each of the boys in the set has to be kicking someone else (with or without reciprocity) unless the assumption is that more than one set is involved. When the suffix -an- is used in the sentence but with no reciprocity between set members, repetition is what is interpreted as reciprocity. What is crucial is assigning the same type of participation in the event to two or more set members whether this results in reciprocity or not. Determiner quantifiers seem todefine the number of participants in the reciprocal set(s) without changing the nature of reciprocity itself, for example, in terms of the number of sets involved or total number of setmembers.

The expression of qualities in Babanki

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The linguistic expression of property concepts has been dominated by the discourse on the universality of the lexical category of adjectives (Dixon 1982, 1999, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2004) and the size and characteristics of adjective inventories. Besides verbs on the one hand and nouns, on the other hand, adjectives have been claimed as the third most basic lexical category and grammatical universal (Dixon 2004, Croft 2003). Yet, for a considerablenumber of languages across the globe, adjectives have been found to be weakly grammaticalized as a closed and rather marginal word class (Segerer 2008, Ameka (unpublished)). Usually, no satisfying answer is provided as to the question about property concept expression in these languages. The present contribution seeks to fill this gap by widening the scope of investigation with respect to Babanki, a Ring language of Grassfields Bantu which disposes of a closed and rather marginal lexical category of adjectives of less than ten members. Setting out from an onomasiological starting point, it aims at a comprehensive exploration of the expression of property concepts, their primary distributionacross lexical categories and their potential of morphosyntactic convertibility. It identifies common Ring patterns of property expression and develops hypotheses on the emergence of an adjective category in a wider Ring and Grassfields Bantu perspective.

THE USE OF PERSUASIVE LANGUAGE IN CHRISTIAN FUNDRAISING: COERCION OR MOTIVATION?

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One major way members are committed to respond to an appeal to support church activities with their substance is the use of what Cherry (2019) refers to as "loaded words". Fundraisers employ these wordsto stimulate the congregation to act beyond their planned intention to function at a point in time.
Scholars have defined persuasion from different perspectives Perloff (2003). From communication pointof view, Andersen (1971:6) defines persuasion as process in which a communicator seeks to elicit a desired response from his receiver. In persuasion, there is always a conscious attempt to change the ideology, beliefs and attitude of others by voluntarily accepting a new cognitive pattern of overt behaviour with the help of words.

Persuasion, as a concept, is guided by three basic pillars, around which all other strategies and techniques revolve. These are logos, ethos and pathos. Logos is the ability of the persuader to create logical argument that appeals. Persuader appeal to logic by using facts, figures, case study, data and numbers. Beside these variables, persuaders also take keen note on their reputation and trustworthiness to prove the authenticity of the information given. Therefore, they use stylistic featureslike tones and posture to attract the attention of their listeners. Ethos also involves the standing character or the fundamental principles of the persuader. These include their position, achievement, tract record and authority in relation to the subject of discussion. Persuaders are, in most cases, expertsand beneficiaries of what is being "imposed" on others and they exhibit some sort of evidence that self-explains why people should come on board. The last pillar, pathos, is the ability to appeal to the audience's feelings and passions with a call to emotions (both positive and negative). Speakers use impassionate plea or convincing stories to create an emotional or imaginative impact on the listeners. They create scenarios or make reference to sensitive events that ignite the softest feelings of the listeners to adhere to their beckoning.

This paper is an expose of how certain churches in Ghana use persuasive language on the congregation to ignite their inner person to adhere to their demands and succumb to their instructions and directions. It specifically recounts persuasive expressions or utterances characterized by appeals, anecdotes, clichés, emotive words, imagery, inclusive language, logic, exaggeration, etc. used by personalities who solicit funds from congregation during fundraising ceremonies in churches. It further discusses their effectiveness in luring them to succumb to their requests. It also presents the perception and reaction ofchurch members on the subject. Through a descriptive method, recorded audios and videos which are codified will be transcribed and used for textual analysis. Section of the congregation of visited churcheswill be engaged in interactions to inquire their perception on these modes of fundraising and their effects on their economic, emotional and social lives.

“Wajinga Nyinyi” You Fools: Lessons in a Kenyan Supervernacular from King Kaka

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In the autumn of 2017, the nation of Kenya experienced a hotly contested presidential election. Political scandals and civil unrest following the Supreme court’s controversial decision to give the incumbent administration a second term attest to the discontent of thecountry’s electorate. Two years subsequently on the 14th of December 2019, King Kaka (Kenyan rap artist Kennedy Ombima) released “Wajinga Nyinyi” (You Fools), a song to descry the corruption, a prayer lamenting the state of democracy in Kenya. King Kaka’s lyrics employee a European ex-colonial language (English), an African indigenous lingua franca (Swahili), a language of the Kenyan bourgeoisie (Engsh), and a language of the Kenyan proletariat (Sheng). The song provides rich fodder for a traditional sociolinguistic analysis engaging named codes, code-mixing, and code-switching. However, in a post- structuralist sociolinguistics (Wolff 2018: 01), “new ways of doing sociolinguistics” (Juffermans, Blommaert, Kroon & Li, 2014: 48) demand the use of the terms, like translanguaging, superdiversity, and supervernacular, “in the sociolinguistic toolkit”(Blommaert & Rampton, 2011: 5). Contrastingly, Pavlenko (2019) refuses to shout,“Je suis superdiversity” because such terms hold “referential indeterminacy”, she clearly highlights how this new “mantra of sociolinguistics” (Makoni 2012) is but “a ‘hot’ brand name that adds market value” due to its “strategic purchase in the field of social policy” (Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton and Spotti 2016: 4). Crucially, these two depictions of sociolinguistics (i.e. as Oldspeak and Newspeak) work together in this paper’s analysis to reveal the lessons from King Kaka’s song. First, the language of the lyrics reflects a supervernacular because it is of the “new forms of semiotic codes emerging in the context of technology driven globalization processes” (Blommaert 2011: 02). English plays the roleof the familiar to a global audience and provides a “template that is essential in creating hip-hop authenticity” (Wang 2011: 80). Next, the norms of the global are colored (Velghe 2011) by the regional accent of East Africa (Swahili) and the original and local accent of Kenya (Engsh and Sheng), instigating an englobalization-and-deglobalization process of localization disclosing an emergent normativity, a set of expectations that King Kaka, alongwith fellow Kenya rappers, has compiled and mastered in the art of hip hop, which, thoughpoetically creative and individual, is “infrastructural” in that the practices must conform to the local range of norms found in the social and cultural universes of Kenya (as is Chinese rap in Wang 20ll). “Wajinga Nyinyi” then is a paragon of how global-local identity is constructed as postulated in current research (Alim et al. 2009; Mitchell 2001; Pennycook 2007; Westinen 2014). Second, though some scholarship (e.g., Alim 2009) contends the overwhelming “globalness” of the rap implies that the demise of nation-state has come (cf.Wang 20ll the opposite case in China), the concept of “national languages” remains very strong. Such a political fact, it is that much sociolinguistic work continues to promote boundedness of community and language. Therefore, the stance of this paper is that language is “parole, i.e., empirically accessible etic utterances, as a starting point, which
would ideally include all observable variability that speakers consider manifestations of what they refer to as “their own language” (Wolff 2018: 07). The results of this linguistic lyrical analysis suggests that, according to King Kaka, corruption was effected by avaricious politicians who distracted and easily misled an electorate who needs to focus on unifying (perhaps via a multilinguialism of indigenous languages, Swahili, and English rebranded andattractively repackaged as named languages like Engsh and Sheng) as a nation and forcing out of power those who are not beneficial to a more just Kenyan body politic.