

WORKSHOP 1: APPROACHES TO MORPHOSYNTACTIC MICRO-VARIATION IN BANTU

CONVENORS: HANNAH GIBSON AND EVA-MARIE STRÖM

Toward Microvariation Parameters of Persistentive in Lake Tanganyika Bantu

Yuko Abe, ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

This presentation focuses on the persistentive aspect and persistentive-derived changes in some Bantu languages near the Lake Tanganyika, including Bende(F12), Pimbwe(M11), Fipa(M13), Mambwe-Rungu(M14-15), Taabwa(M41), Bembe(M42), Holoholo(D28), Ha(JD66), Fuliuro(JD63), and Lubumbashi Swahili(G40F).

The persistentive is a type of imperfective aspect that occurs widely and specifically across Bantu languages. Nurse (2007) has stated imperfective that “some (Bantu) languages have one morphological category to express imperfectivity; in others imperfective includes distinct categories such as progressive and habitual, and sometimes continuous and persistentive...” This paper classifies strategies how to express persistentive in the Lake Tanganyika Bantu, in relation to other imperfective aspectual categories, and proposes six microvariation parameters for the further typology.

The persistentive typically affirms that a situation has held continuously since an implicit or explicit point in the past up to the time of speaking. Standard Swahili refers to the aspect by using progressive *na-* and an adverb *bado* as in *Tunafanya kazi bado*. ‘We are still working.’ while Lake Tanganyika languages have a special verbal prefix to express the persistentive aspect. For example, Bende verbal prefix *syá-* refers to both persistentive and inceptive aspects, as in the example (a). The latter inceptive use has emerged in the grammaticalization path of persistentive. The inceptive use has further developed into another construction type “*syá-lí* + Gerund” as in the example (b) that focuses on incompleteness of the act.

(a) Persistentive / inceptive aspectual marker *syá-*

tu-syá-kol-a *mú-límó*

1PL-PER-do-F CL3-work

‘We are still working.’ / ‘Let us work first (We are about to work).’

(b) Development of inceptive

tu-syá-lí *kú-kol-a mú-límó*

1PL-PER-be GER-do-F CL3-work

‘We have not worked yet.’

The presentation proposes the parameters derived from persistentive-related microvariation in Lake Tanganyika Bantu as seen above, if the parameters are reasonable enough in the context of Bantu and general linguistics.

Morpho-syntactic variation in a Xhosa microvariation project: the case of the Immediately After Verb position

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In order to investigate how specific the questions asked need to be in order to find the morpho-syntactic differences within a language or dialect cluster, this paper will present recent findings from a project on variation in the Nguni Bantu language Xhosa. As a micro-variation project, it differs from traditional dialect research in that it focuses less on lexicon and phonology and more on morpho-syntactic structures. The data and analysis are based on elicitations and natural spoken data collected from speakers in across the Eastern Cape in South Africa.

Specifically, the presentation is concerned with the occurrence of the subject in post-verbal position. This is possible with the conjoint form of the verb and the default class 17 subject marker, as in example 1, or with the disjoint form of the verb which agrees with the post-verbal subject, as in 2:

1. *kú- lí-m- e uThá:ndi*
17SM-cultivate-PERF Thandi
'Thandi has cultivated'
2. *ú- lím- ile uThá.ndi*
1SM-cultivate-PERF Thandi
'Thandi has cultivated'

Example 1 can be the answer to 'who cultivated?' The subject is in the Immediately After Verb position, focused, and followed by a prosodic phrase break that indicates that the subject is within the verb phrase. Example 2 is also accepted by speakers as the answer to this question. Curiously, for this speaker, there is no penultimate lengthening of the disjoint verb form.

In previous analyses of Nguni languages, it has been shown that the disjoint form of the verb marks a phonological phrase boundary, and what follows the disjoint form, whether object or subject, is dislocated (van der Spuy 1993 ; Buell 2008). The diagnostics for determining this phrase boundary is penultimate lengthening (Cheng and Downing 2009). This would mean that the subject in example 2 is not dislocated. I will show how speakers vary in this respect and what implications this might have for our current knowledge of right-dislocation.

Moreover, for at least some speakers, example 1 as well as 2 can occur asthetic sentences in my data. This is rare from a cross-linguistic perspective (van der Wal 2008). This presentation will examine and analyse variation with respect to the information structure of phrases such as the above.

Buell, Leston. 2008. VP-internal DPs and right-dislocation in Zulu. In: M. van Koppen and B. Botma (eds.) *Linguistics in the Netherlands 25*, pp Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cheng, Lisa L. and Laura J. Downing. 2009. Where's the topic in Zulu? In: H. de Hoop and G. van Bergen (eds.) *Special issue on Topics cross-linguistically, The Linguistic Review 26*, pp 207-238.

van der Spuy, Andrew. 1993. Dislocated noun phrases in Nguni. *Lingua 90*, pp 335-355.

van der Wal, Jenneke. 2008. Agreement inthetic VS sentences in Bantu and Romance. In: C. De Cat and K. Demuth (eds.) *The Bantu-Romance connection: A comparative investigation of verbal agreement, DPs, and information structure*, pp 323-350. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Parametric approaches to morphosyntactic variation in Bantu

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The study of morphosyntactic variation has become a key research topic in linguistics in recent years, giving rise to dialect atlas projects, on-line data bases, and theoretical-conceptual discussion of the nature and analysis of variation. A specific approach to capturing variation is the use of parameters, which structure the large amounts of data necessary for comparative work, and which shed light on the underlying reasons and limitations of variation.

Parametric studies of Bantu morphosyntactic variation include work on object marking, double object constructions, subject inversion, and copula constructions, and taken together are based on data from about 50 Bantu languages. This work on parametric variation has shown that variation in morphosyntax requires a different approach to lexical variation, and has led to a number of novel results as well as to conceptual questions, some of which will be addressed in this talk, along three areas:

Conceptual foundations

- Dependent and independent parameters: The value of one parameter is logically in/dependent on the value of another parameter
- Granularity: The level of grammatical detail targeted by a set of parameters
- Balance: The conceptual breadth and depth of the set of parameters overall

Empirical scope

- Languages: Variation in a small, closely related set of languages ⇔ cross Bantu variation
- Constructions: Variation within a small set of related constructions ⇔ Variation across a range of construction types

Data analysis and use

- Quantitative analysis of language comparison (e.g. by using phylogeny)
- Frequency and distribution of features
- Typological implications and language universals
- Analysis of language history and contact
- Identification of gaps in the data

The talk will provide an overview of current research with reference to these three areas and highlight possible directions for the future.

Bax, Anna & Michael Diercks. 2012. Information structure constraints on object marking in Manyika. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Sciences* 30(2): 185-202.

Marten, Lutz & Jenneke van der Wal. 2014. A typology of Bantu subject inversion. *Linguistic Variation* 14(2): 318-368.

Marten, Lutz, Nancy Kula & Nhlanhla Thwala. 2007. Parameters of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 105: 253-338.

Petzell, Malin & Harald Hammarström. 2013. Grammatical and lexical comparison of the Greater Ruvu Bantu languages. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 22: 129-57.

Zeller, Jochen & Jean Paul Ngoboka. 2015. On parametric variation in Bantu, with particular reference to Kinyarwanda. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 113: 206-231.

Cross-Bantu Variation in the Expression of Predicate-Centered Focus and Its Implications for the Study of Grammaticalization

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The present work investigates two forms that express predicate-centered focus – focus on the lexical content of the verb and verb operators such as polarity and tense/aspect/modality. One form that is used to express predicate-centered focus is verb doubling observed in a subset of Bantu languages (zones A, B, E, F, H & K); the other is a complex predicate construction with a defective or invariable verb coupled with a fully-inflected main predicate. These forms express varying interpretations across the relevant Bantu languages, and the interpretational variation seems to coincide with the grammaticalization cline from focus to tense-aspect marking suggested in the literature (cf. Güldemann 1996, 2003). The data illustrate that the study of macro-variation in Bantu often provides insight into processes of grammaticalization.

Verb doubling in Kikuyu expresses contrastive focus on the lexical content of the verb in the perfective, and focus on the aspect - in particular, progressive - in the imperfective. In Mbukushu (zone K), the same construction is used to express truth-value focus. In Cizali (zone H, West Congo), it is used to express either focus on the lexical verb or progressive; and in Kindibu (zone H, Central Congo), proximal future (de Kind et. al 2014). The isomorphism between forms of predicate-centered focus and those of tense-aspect such as progressive can be explained if we place this synchronic variation in interpretation in the diachronic process whereby a form that is used to express predicate-centered focus is grammaticized to progressive aspect and to proximal future. This formal parallel is observed in a complex predicate construction in Kikuyu and similar auxiliary-like constructions in Yeyi and Xhosa that express predicate-centered focus on the one hand, and immediate perfect on the other. These cross-Bantu data thus provide a potential diachronic grounding for Hyman & Watters (1984)'s insight that certain (marked) tense-aspect features such as progressive and perfect are inherently focused.

References

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- Güldemann, T. 1996: *Verbalmorphologie und Nebenprädikationen im Bantu: Eine Studie zur funktional motivierten Genese eines konjugationalen Subsystems*. Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 27. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.
- Güldemann 2003: Present progressive vis-à-vis predication focus in Bantu: A verbal category between semantics and pragmatics. In (ed.), *Studies in Language*, 323-360.
- Hyman, L. & J. Watters 1984: Auxiliary focus. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 15(3), 233-273.

La subordonnée relative en kituba et dans quelques langues du Kouilou-Niari.

Par Guy N'Douli (ULB)

Introduction

La recherche que nous menons porte sur la comparaison du kituba (RC) / kikongo ya leta (RDC) (Lumwamu 1986 ; Mufwene, 1990) et cinq langues koongo suivantes : le cisuundi, le kidoondo, le kikaamba, le kikunyi et le civili dans le but d'établir la variation aussi bien dans les structures que dans les différents marqueurs employés par les locuteurs de l'une ou l'autre langue. Nous établissons une comparaison entre ces différentes langues qui, non seulement partagent la même aire géographique, mais surtout sont étroitement apparentées. Si les cinq dernières langues appartiennent à des communautés linguistiques traditionnellement reconnues comme faisant partie de la zone koongo (H10), la première par contre est une langue par essence véhiculaire qui, de nos jours, est considérée comme une langue créole. Les langues bantu sont connues pour exprimer la relative sans marqueur spécifique, par l'usage du déterminant démonstratif ou avec le connectif. On note l'existence de deux catégories de relatifs : le relatif subjectif et le relatif objectif. Ce dernier peut comprendre deux sous-catégories : le relatif objectif à sujet grammatical et le relatif objectif à sujet lexical. (Nsuka Nkutsi, 1982). Cette étude est d'un intérêt tout à fait primordial car que les langues locales prises en compte n'ont, en général, jamais fait l'objet d'une analyse morphosyntaxique, notamment celle touchant l'expression de la relative¹.

Objectifs :

Cette recherche vise les objectifs suivants : 1) Relever les différentes stratégies de construction de la relative en kituba. 2) Faire le rapprochement avec le kidoondo, le kikaamba, le kikunyi et le civili dans le but de déterminer laquelle des quatre langues a pu influencer directement le kituba. 3) Etudier l'évolution des marqueurs de la relative employés dans les différentes langues précitées. 4) Etablir une répartition spatiale, d'une part, des différentes variantes du kituba ; d'autre part, des langues locales en fonction des types de constructions et des formes de marqueurs employés dans ces constructions.

Résultats préliminaires : Les premières analyses permettent de réaliser que les langues comme le civili, le cisuundi et le kikunyi peuvent produire des subordonnées relatives sans l'usage d'un relateur tant pour le relatif subjectif que pour le relatif objectif.

(1) a. *Cisuundi – (relatif sujet)*

mùkèntó wúlúndá bímà (bidya)
mu-kento wu-lund-a bi-ma (bi-dy-a)
1-femme PA1-garder-FV 8-nourriture
 La femme qui garde la nourriture.

b. *civili (relatif sujet)*

ńtséétù wùswéék-à bílyà
 ń-tséétu wu-n-swéék-à bí-li-à
1-femme PA1-PRS-cuisiner-FV 8-repas-AG
 La femme qui garde la nourriture.

c. *kikunyi (relatif sujet)*

díkàyá dí múkúningànà
dí-kàyá dí-mú-kú-ningàn-à
5-feuille 5-PRG-15-bouger-FV
 La feuille qui bouge

f. *kikunyi (relatif objet)*

máambà mátúsékùlà
má-ámbà má-tú-sékùl-à
6-eau PA6-PV1-renverser-FV
 L'eau que nous renversons

Il se pose des problèmes d'accord et d'agencement des morphèmes que nous expliquerons lors de notre présentation. On note que les deux variantes du kikongo véhiculaire peuvent produire des phrases à la forme relative dénuées de tout marqueur spécifique. Le kituba de la République du Congo a la particularité d'employer systématiquement le démonstratif **yina**, comme marqueur du relatif.

(2) mwana yina me sala
mu-ana yina me sal-a
1-enfant DEM PRF travailler-FV
 L'enfant qui a travaillé

alors que la variante du kikoongo véhiculaire parlée en République Démocratique du Congo peut employer le connectif **ya** ou le faire précéder du démonstratif **yayi**.

(3) a. **mono ya kéle**
1SG CON être1SG
 moi qui suis

b. **mono yayi ya kéle**
1SG DEM CON être
 moi qui suis

Résultats attendus+Méthodologie

Les données que nous utilisons sont collectées par nos soins lors de nos différentes missions de terrain. Les analyses porteront essentiellement sur la possibilité d'établir une micro-classification, d'abord, au sein des différentes variantes koongo en présence ; ensuite entre les variantes koongo et le kituba et enfin, à l'intérieur même du kituba / kikoongo ya leta. Il sera également question de vérifier si la typologie proposée par Nsuka Nkuti (1982 : 203) peut se vérifier dans les langues soumises à notre analyse.

Références bibliographiques

1. Nsuka Nkuti F. 1982. *Les structures fondamentales du relatif dans les langues bantoues*. Sciences Humaines n°107.

¹ Lumwamu (1973 : 176) présente le syntagme relatif en l'illustrant par des exemples tirés essentiellement d'une variante kongo qui serait de notre point de vue du kilari. Aucun exemple n'a été tiré d'une autre langue que de cette variante du H16.

Developing parameters for mapping morphophonological and morphosyntactic micro-variation - a methodological approach

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This paper presents methodological issues related to mapping morphophonological and morphosyntactic micro-variation. We developed a set of parameters in order to investigate the structural relation between closely related language varieties in a dialect continuum in the Morogoro region, Tanzania. The method used is mainly interviews, but also distribution of questionnaires. Our main questionnaire is based on the comparative study of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu languages by Marten et al. (2007). Their study includes parameters such as symmetric/asymmetric object marking and locative inversion, which is typical for a number of Bantu languages. In addition, toward the end of the questionnaire, we created a story to translate, the ending of which had been taken out. This was done in order to get spontaneous speech/writing and to let the speakers use their own words.

Even though we could use parameters from Marten et al. (2007), the majority had to be developed for this particular study. The reason for this is that the languages are so closely related that the parameters used for Bantu languages in general are not fine-grained enough. For instance, we added parameters pertaining to the devoicing of nasals and the internal ordering of verbal extensions. In turn, out of the 40 adopted as well as created parameters that we set out with, only 27 turned out to be viable in the end.

Our parameters are logically independent, and they are binary. This facilitated a quantitative comparison in addition to a qualitative one. The parameter values can be used to investigate areal and genealogical relationships. Compared to lexicon, one may suspect that typological parameters are less prone to borrowing. Issues that cannot be explained in terms of areal and genealogical contingencies may be interpreted as functional dependencies between parameters, and are, as such, of interest for general linguistic theory.

References

Marten, Lutz, N.C. Kula, and N. Thwala. 2007. Parameters of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 105 (3):253–338.

Noun-modifying construction: the forms and the head-modifier relation

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The relation between the head noun and modifying clause can be divided into three types: (a) internal relation, in which the head noun can be inserted as part of the modifying clause, so that the head noun becomes an argument of the modifying clause; (b) appositive, in which the modifying clause expresses the content of the head noun; and (c) other relations, usually a logical relation of causality between the head noun and the modifying clause.

Bantu languages are generally considered to be highly similar in structure, and relative clauses of similar construction can be seen in many Bantu languages. However, the range of head-modifier relations in which a relative clause can be used as a modifier depends on the language. In languages like Jambiani, a dialect of Swahili, where a relative clause can be used to modify a noun in any relation, the relative clause construction is used regardless of the type of head-modifier relation as shown in (1). Other languages such as Herero permit a relative clause to modify the noun only in the case of internal relation. Such languages make use of different constructions depending upon the type of head-modifier relation as shown in (2).

(1) Jambiani (Miyazaki 2012)

- (a) *kitabu a-cho-nunu-a Maria* ‘the book which Maria bought’
book7 SM1-RM7-buy-BF Maria1 [SM: subject marker, RM: relative marker, BF=basic final]
- (b) *hadithi a-yo-shindw-a sungura mashindano* ‘the story that the hare lost the race’
story9 SM1-RM9-lose-BF hare1 race6 (the story in which the hare lost the race)
- (c) *pesa n-zo-kuz-a gari* ‘the money which I sold a car’
money10 SM1SG-RM10-sell- BF car9 (the money which I got through selling a car)

(2) Herero (Yoneda 2014)

- (a) *ómítiri ndji-yá-yandj-á embo komuhongwá* ‘the teacher who gave a book to a student’
teacher9 RM9-SM9.PST-give-NPF book5 LOC.student1 [NPF: non perfect final]
- (b) *óngwizikiró kutja má-tú-hakáén-é pondátú* ‘the appointment that we meet at 3 o’clock’
appointment9 COMP PROG-SM1PL-meet-NPF LOC.three (our appointment at 3 o’clock)
- (c) *ómúnúko wokutja onyáma ma-i-tét-á* ‘the smell of which meat is burning’
smell3 poss3. COMP meat9 PROG-SM 9-burn- NPF (the smell caused by burning meat)

Moreover, languages like Kikerewe make use of different constructions even for the internal relation (a) depending upon the grammatical relation of the head noun. In this paper, I will demonstrate the variation of noun-modifying constructions in Bantu languages depending on the relation between the head noun and modifying clause, as one of the micro-variation parameters.

references

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WORKSHOP 2: THE EXPRESSION OF MOOD AND MODALITY IN BANTU
LANGUAGES (MoMod)
CONVENORS: MAUD DEVOS AND FERDINAND MBERAMIHIGO

Ablaut/Umlaut in Bantu A: the case of Lombe and Mokpe

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Abstract

Vowel alternation in verb roots or a complete change in the verb root is not a strange phenomenon. One of the well-known morphological features of the verb in Germanic and Romance languages is the phenomenon of ‘ablaut’, ‘apophony’ or ‘umlaut’, a morphophonological operation whereby the vowel of the verb form changes: sing~sang~sung, ring~rang~rung, (English), or parlo~parli~parlai (Italian) (Radford et al. 1999). This grammatical inflection by alternation of the vowel of the verb root can signal change in tense (present to past: ring~rang), change in mood (indicative to subjunctive: parlo~parli). Bantu languages like Lombe and Mokpe also show vocalic alternation in their verb roots in the imperative, subjunctive and volitional, as shown in the imperative forms of the verbs ‘give’ and ‘eat’:

ḃḵḡ	<i>give!</i>	but	ndí	tā	ḃḵḡ	<i>let us give!</i>	ḃē	ḃḵḡ	<i>you (pl) give!</i>	Lombe
			let	us	give		you	give		

lâ	<i>eat!</i>	but	î	lé	<i>let us eat!</i>	é-	lê	<i>You (pl) eat!</i>	Mokpe
			let.us	eat		you	eat		

The concern of this paper is to look at the conditions under which vocalic alternation occurs in these languages, in order to better understand the functioning of their verb systems in the languages of Zone A. It is well-known that the morphological behaviour of the verb led linguists to classify languages into four categories: isolating (Vietnamese), agglutinative (Bantu: Lombe and Mokpe), inflectional (Germanic languages: English) and polysynthetic (Chukchee) (Radford et al. 1999). The verb feature noted in Lombe and Mokpe being a characteristic of inflectional languages, this indicates that a classification with compartments being completely tight does not exist and that some features are just universal.

Reference

Radford, Andrew, Atkinson, Martin, Britain, David, Clahsen, Harald and Spencer, Andrew. 1999. *Linguistics: An Introduction*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: CUP.

Convenors: Maud Devos (RMCA), Ferdinand Mberamihigo (Université du Burundi)

On the modal verb *-hoto(l)-* in Manda (N.11)
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The aim of this study is to offer a description and analysis of the polyfunctional behavior of the modal verb *-hoto(l)-* in Manda, by trying to reconstruct its path of evolution from a pre-modal lexeme to an auxiliary and its subsequent development and conceptual shift(s) within the domain of modality.

In synchronic Manda, the verb *-hotol-* is almost exclusively used in complex constructions with an infinitive verb to denote concepts related to possibility/potentiality (glossed here as POT). As shown in example (1) - (3), all subdomains of modality (as they are defined in e.g. Auwera & Plungian 1998) are covered by this verb. As seen in (2) and (3) and further discussed below, the verb may be reduced to just *-hoto*.

(1) **ahótóla** kusógha
 a- **hotol** -a ku- sogh -a
 SM3SG **POT** FV INF swim FV
 ‘She can swim’ [**participant-internal modality**]

(2) **uhótó** kusígála
 u- **hoto** ku- sigal -a
 SM2SG **POT** INF remain FV
 ‘You may stay’ [**participant-external (>deontic) modality**]

(3) kwáli **nihótó** kuhícha
 kwali ni- **hoto** ku- hich -a
 perhaps SM1SG **POT** INF come FV
 ‘Perhaps, I might come’ [**epistemic modality**]

Albeit rare in synchronic Manda data, the lexical source of this potential marker can be traced to a lexical verb (roughly) meaning ‘overcome, overpower’ (cf. *-sóból-* in Luganda, a verb with both similar lexical meaning and modal functions; Kawalya et al 2014).

(4) muk**ihotole** kiwifu pa kukita kinofu
 mu- ki- **hotol** -e ki- wifu pa- ku- kit -a ki- nofu
 SM2PL OM7 **overcome** SUBJ NCP7 evil LOC16 INF do FV NCP7 good
 ‘[...] overcome evil by doing good’ [N.T 1937, Romans 12:21]

This study argues that the polyfunctionality of *-hoto(l)-* originates from the recruitment of this lexeme into a mutual process of grammaticalization and *subjectification*, i.e. the extension in semantic scope from coding more objective concepts of innate ability of the subject to expressing the speaker’s subjective view on the situation (Traugott 2010). Synchronic variation, including the phonetic reduction in the examples above and other loss of categorical properties, indicates that there is a formally marked cut-off point between a more event-oriented dynamic usage of *-hoto(l)-* (as in ex 1) and a more speaker-oriented use (as in ex 2 and 3). Moreover, the lack of epistemic denotations of *-hoto(l)-* in both neighboring languages and in the diachronic data that exists, suggests that this use derives from a more recent semantic extension in Manda.

Auwera, Johan van der & Vladimir Plungian. 1998. *Modality’s Semantic Map*. Linguistic Typology 2, p 79-124.
 Kawalya, Deogratias, Koen Bostoen & Gilles-Maurice De Schryver. 2014. *Diachronic semantics of the modal verb -sóból- in Luganda: A corpus-driven approach*. International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 19(1), p 60-93.

Traugott, Elisabeth. 2010. Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. 2010. In: Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte, & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.) *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*, p 29-70. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

From usually going to epistemic possibility. Origin and development of an epistemic sentence adverb in Swahili

Maud Devos (Royal Museum for Central Africa) & Gilles-Maurice de Schryver (Ghent University)

Adverbs are one of the least studied word classes in Bantu linguistics. In this paper we look at the origin and development of the Swahili adverb *huenda* ‘maybe’ used to express epistemic modality.

In the utterances in (A) and (C) *huenda* is used as a main verb in the habitual tense and as a sentence adverb denoting epistemic possibility, respectively. We look at this synchronic variation from both a comparative and a diachronic angle.

Whereas a discrete habitual form derived from a copula followed by an infinitive (/ni+ku/>nku>nkhu>khu>hu) is widespread in Sabaki languages (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993, Miede 1979), the use of *huenda* to express epistemic possibility appears to be restricted to Swahili (southern and northern dialects). We discuss whether *huenda* can be considered a proto-Swahili innovation.

The usage patterns of *huenda* in a diachronic Swahili corpus (currently under construction at Ghent University) suggest intriguing syntagmatic and semantic developments. The sentence adverb *huenda* apparently developed out of a (serial verb) construction involving *huenda* immediately followed by a semantic main verb in the *-ka-* tense, as seen in (B), (B’).

The evolution of *huenda* is on the interface of grammaticalization and lexicalization, with the change from A to B being reminiscent of grammaticalization processes and the change from B to C being more akin to lexicalization/pragmaticalization (Norde 2007, Diewald 2011).

The semantic change from habitually going to epistemic possibility is not a common development (Ramat & Ricca 1998). However, a metonymically motivated change from usually doing something to possibly doing it is not unlikely. Still, the complete bleaching of the lexical verb ‘go’ is remarkable (Hopper 1991 on ‘persistence’). Finally, recent instances of *huenda* suggest a possible evolution towards an epistemic sentence adverb expressing both possibility and necessity (D), again an exceptional development cross-linguistically (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998).

Examples:

- (A) **baada ya ma-somo Hasani hu-end-a maktaba-ni**
 after CONN₉ NP₆-class hasani HAB-go-FV library-LOC
 ‘after class Hasani usually goes to the library’
- (C) **huenda ma-tatizo y-ao ya-ta-pungu-a**
 maybe NP₆-problem PP₆-POSS₂ SP₆-FUT-grow.less-FV
 ‘maybe their problems will grow less’
- (B) **a-li-po-ku-w-a a-ki-safiri Tippu Tip hu-end-a a-ka-wa-ajiri**
 SP₁-PST-REL₁₆-NP₁₅-be-FV SP₁-SIT-travel T.T. HAB-go-FV SP₁-NAR-OP₂-hire
wa-pagazi kw-a Wa-hindi
 NP₂-porter PP₁₇-CONN NP₂-hindi
 ‘whenever Tipu Tip travelled, he went and hired porters from the Indians’ (Velten 1907)
- (B’) **ku-end-a a-ka-j-a leo**
 HAB-go-FV SP₁-NAR-come-FV today
 ‘he might come today’ (Krapf 1882)
- (D) **huenda bila shaka a-li-ku-w-a mbingu-ni kw-a mw-enyemungu**
 maybe without NP₅.doubt SP₁-PST-NP₁₅-be-FV NP₁₀.heaven-LOC PP₁₇-CONN NP₁-God
 ‘for sure, he must have been in heaven with God’ (Mkangi 1995)

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Expression of modality in Gyeli

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Gyeli, an endangered A80 language of Cameroon, differs radically in its expression of modality from what is generally reported for Bantu languages. While Bantu languages are generally said to express mood (and tense) by means of verbal affixes (Meinhof 1906), in Gyeli, tense and mood categories form an interlocking system: every tense category belongs to either the realis or irrealis mood through tonal marking. Data stem from my own fieldwork and corpus collection.

The diagnostics for delimiting tense, mood, and aspect in Gyeli are formal-structural. Tense and mood are primarily expressed through tonal processes, while aspect marking is mainly achieved through lexical-segmental material. Tense-mood categories are encoded by tonal modification of i) the subject-clause-operator (SCOP), ii) the final verb tone in phrase final position, as shown for a part of the paradigm in (1), and iii) the final verb tone in non-phrase final position relating to metatony (Hyman & Lionnet 2011), as in (2).

(1)

a.	mé	dè.	b.	méè	dè.	c.	mè	dé.
	mɛ-H	dè		méè	dè		mɛ	dè-H
	1S-PRES	eat		1S.FUT	eat		1S.PST1	eat-PST
	'I eat.'			'I will eat.'			'I ate (recently).'	

(2)

a.	mé	dé	békwàndò.	b.	méè	dè	békwàndò.
	mɛ-H	dè-H	H-be-kwàndò.		méè	dè	H-be-kwàndò
	1S-PRES	eat-R	OBJ.LINK-be8-plantain		1S.FUT	eat	OBJ.LINK-be8-plantain
	'I eat plantains.'				'I will/might eat plantains.'		

The presence or absence of the metatonic H tone cross-cuts the realis/irrealis distinction: the presence of the H tone corresponds with realis (glossed 'R') (present, inchoative, recent and remote past) and the absence with irrealis (imperative, subjunctive, and future). Findings from the Gyeli system broaden our understanding of possible deviations from more canonical mood expression forms in Bantu. First, each tense category is grammatically affiliated to either the realis or irrealis mood, the future clustering with subjunctive and imperative rather than with other tense-mood categories. Second, Gyeli is special in primarily marking mood information tonally rather than by verb affixes or lexical means. And third, the function of the metatonic H tone as mood distinction device is unique to my knowledge since metatony is typically related to a conjoint/disjoint distinction and focus marking in the literature (Costa & Kula 2008, Makasso 2012).

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On the use and origins of conditional markers in Luganda (JE15)

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In this paper, we present the nature, semantics and origins of conditional markers in Luganda (JE15). Like in many other languages, there doesn't seem to be a single dedicated marker for conditionality. Although the conjunction **singa** 'if' can appear in protases of all types of complex conditional sentences (Chesswas, 1963: 85), it can be substituted by other markers or strategies, most notably **-ba** 'be' (cf. Kirwan & Gore, 1951: 69). Moreover, unlike in most languages, where protases are overtly marked but apodoses not (Comrie, 1986: 88), Luganda tends to mark both, especially in counterfactual conditionals. Although the available Luganda literatures provide some information on conditional marking, many questions remain unanswered. For example, a complete inventory of conditional introducers and possible markers of the apodosis is unknown; other possible non-conditional meanings of conditional markers, particularly modality meanings – that are usually associated with conditional markers (cf. Abusch, 2012), are not clearly articulated; and, clear origins of the different conditional markers are not provided. We want to provide answers to these questions by carrying out a general as well as a diachronic analysis of our electronic Luganda corpus, now standing at 5.3m tokens and covering a time depth of 120 years. Preliminary findings indicate that in addition to **singa**, a conditional clause can be introduced by other markers such as **-ba** 'be', **nga** 'like, as', **-andi-** 'would (have), should (have)', as well as other strategies including eliding the protasis altogether. Similarly, in the apodosis, apart from the most common marker **-andi-**, which is also involved in the expression of modality (Ashton, Mulira, Ndawula, & Tucker, 1954: 324; Kamoga & Stevick, 1968: xiv), other markers and strategies are used, such as **singa** and the auxiliary **-li(+PAST)** 'be'. Following the situation in closely related Haya (JE22), where conditional marking is associated with the future (Salone, 1979), one would tentatively link **-andi-** to the future marker **-li-** in Luganda. The use of **-li(+PAST)** would also support a different line of argument, i.e. that **-andi-** developed from the auxiliary **-li** 'be' through a process of grammaticalization, whereby a more autonomous auxiliary morpheme **-li** evolved into a less autonomous bound morpheme **-andi-** and became associated with more grammatical meanings such as conditionality and modality. Conversely, degammaticalization seems to have played a role in the formation of **singa**, whereby a formerly bound conditional affix **-nga-**, a reflex of the Proto-Bantu conditional affix ***-nga-** has combined with the negative marker **si-** to become an independent morpheme. A careful analysis of corpus data and comparison of Luganda with neighboring languages is, therefore, expected to provide useful leads into these and other issues on the nature and evolution of conditionality in Luganda.

Key Words: Conditionals, protasis, apodosis, counterfactual conditionals, modality, corpus

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Modal Devices in Kirundi : A Corpus-Driven Approach

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Modality is an understudied topic in Bantu languages, either on the comparative point of view or on a monographic level. The aim of our paper is to carry out a thorough analysis of modal markers in Kirundi (J61). It will focus on the four types of modal devices which are used in this language : affixes, auxiliary verbs, lexical verbs and epistemic adverbs. Concerning affixes, two kinds are used : first of all, the affix **-oo-**, traditionally labeled conditional/potential in Bantu, which is the most widely used and has the largest semantic scope and the greatest number of modal values. Therefore, it stands as the grammatical morpheme dedicated to the expression of modality in Kirundi. Second, the extension **-ik-**, labeled neutro-passive. The affix **-oo-** is exemplified in (1) below :

(1) *Ubutungane n'amahoro vyorama tuvuyitumye.*

‘Justice and peace can last if we want it.

u-bu-tuúngaane na a-ma-hóro bi-oo-ram-a tu^H-bi-ítúm-ye
AUG₁₄-NP₁₄-justice and AUG₆-NP₆-peace SC₈-POT-last-FV SC_{1PL}.CJC-OC₈-want-PFV

The second type of modal marker is a set of verbs used as auxiliaries. Seven verbs express possibility: **-shóbor-** (be able), **-shóbok-** (be possible), **-báash-** (be able), **-kúund-** (be possible), **-bón-** (be able), **-rekuriw-** (be allowed) and **-émerew-** (be allowed); each of them covering a modal scope in its way. Seven others are involved in the expression of necessity: **-tégerezw-** (must), **-bwírizw-** (must), **-kener-** (need), **-riind-** (need), **-kwíir-** (should), **-béer-** (be necessary) and **-goomb-** (must). Besides, Kirundi expresses modality also through a number of lexical verbs which have not undergone a semantic change to the extent of auxiliary verbs. One of them is **-sáang-**, “meet”. It can be used alone or reinforced by the modal affix **-oo-**. Finally there are a set of epistemic adverbs.

The present research will be corpus-driven and will operate on a Rundi corpus of about 2,000,000 tokens. Through an onomasiological description, we will show the specificity of each kind of marker to inspire future investigations into such a pattern in other Bantu languages.

Key Words : modality, Kirundi, affix, auxiliary, lexical verb, epistemic adverb, onomasiological approach.

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Tense, Aspect, and Modality in isiXhosa

Abstract

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The present study aims to investigate the temporal, aspectual, and modal semantics of the rich verbal paradigm of isiXhosa by means of two corpora which contain various genres: RMA isiXhosa Genre Classification Corpus and AST Text Corpus. In this analysis, special attention is given to the relation between tense, aspect and modality, on the one hand, and pragmatics, information structure and discourse organisation, on the other.

It is argued that the compound verb forms which exhibit the auxiliary verbs *be* and *ye* mark the imperfective aspect, as opposed to the simple verb forms which represent the perfective aspect. It is also found that the form traditionally referred to as the subjunctive exhibits perfective aspectual properties (when not conveying its modal meaning), whereas the participial expresses has imperfective properties. The perfective verb forms automatically indicate that the event they denote commences only after the previous event denoted by a simple verb form has finished, thus moving the reference time towards the future. The imperfective verb forms, however, represent events the starting and the ending points of which are irrelevant for processing the temporal organisation of the narration or dialogue.

The study also confirms the assumption expressed by a number of scholars that the difference between the recent past and the remote past tenses indicates a particular distance of the event time from the deictic centre. Another significant finding regards the difference between what has traditionally been named the immediate and the remote future tenses, which is one of epistemic modality, with the certainty level being lower in the latter case.

WORKSHOP 3: BANTU HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS
BANTU HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS AND MULTI/INTERDISCIPLINARY
APPROACHES TO THE AFRICAN PAST

CONVENORS: KONGOKING RESEARCH GROUP

‘Words and deeds: Kongo Christian Vocabulary in the 17th and 18th century’

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Abstract

With the start of Christianity in the Kongo kingdom by the end of the 15th century, the issue of ‘translation’ became pertinent in many ways. How could typically Christian concepts – crucifixion, the holy spirit, the devil, etc – be naturalised, what Kongo ‘equivalents’ made sense and in what ways precisely? While these questions have been addressed to some extent by John Thornton, in this contribution we want to take the issue of Christian vocabulary further. Various alleys of research come to mind:

A first matter is the choice of translation itself: what words were translated into Kikongo and what Christian terms entered the language as Portuguese loans? Were there cases in which Kikongo terms and loans co-existed and did these differ in their range of uses and connotations?

A related matter is how this vocabulary subsequently spread (or not) throughout the region. Can the spread of the Christian vocabulary be seen in the light of attempts at political centralisation? Did Christians in the provinces use the same words as in the capital? Can we interpret the spread of Christian terms and forms of cultural expression (such as prayers, catechisms, etc) in a timeframe? Do regional variations exist in Christian vocabulary?

These questions will inform our search into ‘Words and deeds’, whilst viewing the choice of vocabulary as an act, deliberate or not.

Workshop 3: Bantu historical linguistics

Bantu historical linguistics and multi/interdisciplinary approaches to the African past

Convenors: KongoKing Research Group

Simulations as a mean to investigate phonological evolution of Tswana.

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This study presents an attempt to investigate historical development of devoicing processes in Tswana. We use computational simulations as a mean to demonstrate processes of post-nasal stops' devoicing over generations and across different social statuses in the society of speakers. According to the literature (Meinhof, 1932; Hyman, 2001) post-nasal stops from the Sotho-Tswana group present unintuitive devoicing behavior. Unintuitive in the sense that during production greater articulatory effort is required to terminate voicing than to maintain it (Westbury & Keating, 1986). It is claimed (Meinhof, 1932) that nasals preceding stops appeared in Bantu languages in order to facilitate voicing production during the stop and were lost later during evolutionary language changes, like in Swahili. However, current acoustic studies on Tswana (Coetzee and Pretorius, 2010) demonstrate not only that nasals remained in that language but also that they occur before voiceless stops much as before voiced ones.

Our hybrid simulation model is based on the framework of Wedel (2006) and Nettle (1999).

We combine approaches of Exemplar Theory and usage-based grammar structures (Bybee, 2008; Pierrehumbert, 2001) with sociolinguistic language model of language change (Nettle, 1999). Thus, the model demonstrates competition of different phonetic variants undergoing functional and social selection during language acquisition over many generations. The aim of this work is to investigate factors influencing post-nasal devoicing and its evolution over time. The model includes such elements as various social structures of the speaking community, different social interaction schemes between the interlocutors and their aging, as well as properties of the perception-production processes based on exemplar lexicon. Our approach proves that sociolinguistic factors like social distance based on social status and prominence, as well as usage-based functional phonological biases, play a role in the distribution of phonetically unintuitive post-nasal devoiced stops in Tswana.

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A Diachronic Phonological Approach to the Internal Classification of the Kikongo Language Cluster

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Abstract

Recent phylogenetic research based on basic vocabulary has shown that the Kikongo language cluster (KLC), a vast cluster of regiolects spoken in Central Africa's wider Lower Congo region, constitutes a discrete clade within the Bantu family tree and not only comprises Guthrie's H10 group, but also languages of his B40, H30, H40 and L10 groups. It has also shed new light on the internal genealogical structure of the KLC. After the initial branching off of the so-called 'Kikongoid' languages (Yaka, Suku, Hungan, Samba), the most common recent ancestor fell apart in four separate branches – labelled North, South, East and West – between which a central convergence zone subsequently started to develop through language contact (de Schryver *et al.* 2015). Although these phylogenetic subgroups are robust, uncertainty remains about how they relate among each other. Additional comparative research aiming at the identification of genealogically significant shared innovations – both phonological (Goes *et al.* 2015) and morphological (Dom & Bostoen 2015) – is therefore needed. After a preliminary diachronic phonological approach (Goes *et al.* 2015), where we mainly focused on the unconditioned reflexes of consonants reconstructed in Proto-Bantu, we wish to apply the Comparative Method here to make a more comprehensive diachronic analysis of phonological micro-variation observed in the KLC. We will not only deal with the reflexes of Proto-Bantu consonants between non-closed Proto-Bantu vowels, but also systematically consider other parameters of variation, such as spirantization, post-nasal aspiration and affrication including long-distance phonological processes, such as nasal harmony, vowel harmony, final vowel heightening and nasal-consonant cluster reductions (i.e., the Meinhof and Kongo rules). Moreover, instead of restricting our comparative approach to synchronic reflexes of existing Bantu lexical reconstructions as in Bastin *et al.* (2002), we will broaden it through the establishment of new KLC-specific comparative cognate series, which will eventually lead to the reconstruction of a new Proto-Kikongo lexicon. Finally, in the process we also include new fieldwork data from several poorly documented Kikongo varieties spoken in northern Angola, the Lower Congo Province of the DRC and Cabinda.

Keywords: Bantu, Kikongo, micro-variation, diachronic phonology, Comparative Method

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The elaboration of political power in highland south-eastern Kenya and north-eastern
Tanzania. A lexical study
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The highland regions of south-eastern Kenya and north-eastern Tanzania present an interesting gradation in the complexity of political forms, ranging from systems recognising no higher authority than local kinship groups (Kamba, Taita...), through systems where age-grades organise and inform power structures above the purely local level (Kikuyu, Meru...), to petty chiefdoms using the age-classes as an executive arm of chiefly power (Chaga, Pare...), to a strongly centralised state (Shambaa).

The analysis of the vocabulary of the afore-mentioned institutions might suggest a clue to their development (e.g. Kikuyu *mòcìrì* "able debater", Central Chaga *m̀t̪f̪ìlì* "sub-chief, chief's adviser", or Kikuyu *mòḍùrì* "elder", Dawida *m̀zùrì* "big man, influential person", and perhaps even Kikuyu *Mwà̀ṅgì* "name of one of the two ruling generation sets" < °-(b)ṅgì, general Chaga *m̀ṅgì* "chief" <°-b̀ṅgì ~ °-m̀ṅgì).

We will consider the available vocabulary for political structures, functions and processes in those languages where the information is sufficient and we will attempt to reconstruct from this lexical study the trajectory leading to the development of political institutions - note that this task should not appear as unsurmountable since chiefly power in this area does not seem to have pre-dated the XVIIIth century at the earliest.

Diachronic semantics and the concept 'poverty' in Eastern Uganda

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This paper explores the reconstruction of changes in the meanings of the concept 'poverty' in the Bantu languages of eastern Uganda beyond the period for which we have written documentation. Taking seriously the critique of the 'words-and-things' approach, that its users have focused on reconstructing form with inadequate attention to the reconstruction of meaning (Fleisch 2008), the study draws on diachronic semantics to redress this problem. This is especially important if we are to understand how key concepts, such as 'poverty,' have both changed and maintained continuity of meaning across past centuries. The paper sets out how it is possible to adapt Geeraerts's prototype theory (1997) for oral contexts and offers a model for mapping concepts and their overlapping and multiple meanings in modern languages as a first step towards tracing historical processes. It then draws on the genetic classification of the languages as a framework for tracing changes in form and meaning of relevant terms that emerge from the first stage. This paper focuses on the North Nyanza (in the E10 group) and Greater Luhya (in the E30 group) languages spoken in Eastern Uganda today, but places them in their deeper historical and broader regional contexts. The data are drawn from interviews, dictionaries and historical sources. What emerges from this is a remarkable diversity of terms related to the concept 'poverty,' suggesting dynamic processes at play. At the same time, some forms and meaning display significant continuity. For example, proto-Bantu **cāk* 'desire, wish; search for' (no. 418, Bastin and Schadeberg, BLR3) is retained, with expanded meanings, including 'poor person,' 'poverty,' and 'lack'. The paper argues that our ability to see these changes and continuities in meaning – through the turn to diachronic semantics – offers important insights into this and other key concepts across speaker communities and across time.

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What's in a Name? A Comparative Study of Kikongo Dialects Also Known as "Sundi"

Birgit Ricquier (Royal Museum for Central Africa), Heidi Goes and Sebastian Dom (University of Ghent)

Within the Kikongo Language Cluster (KLC), several dialects are named "Sundi". This denomination does not refer to one Sundi ethnic identity. Nor do the dialects in question form a neat unit within the KLC. In fact, the dialects belong to different Kikongo subgroups, more in particular West and North Kongo, as well as Central Kongo, the latter subgroup actually being a transition zone (see de Schryver *et al.* 2015). Still, the dialects mentioned have more in common, thus raising the question what "Sundi" really means in terms of shared linguistic history.

With the comparison of vocabulary from cultural lexical fields, such as cuisine, trade and politics, and the comparison of other linguistic features (phonology, syntax), the present paper aims at a better understanding of the linguistic relation between "Sundi" dialects, and the extra-linguistic reasons that tie them together. To give but one example, the comparison of culinary vocabulary reveals that Kisundi, as spoken in Boko Songho, and Cisundi, spoken in Congo's Pool Province, differ from other North Kongo languages. Instead, the mentioned dialects share various culinary words with southern and eastern dialects, and most of all, with Kimanyanga which is part of Central Kongo (de Schryver *et al.* 2015). Interestingly, Kimanyanga was formerly known as Kibwende or Kisundi (Makokila Nanzanza 2012:7). The three "Sundi" dialects thus group together with respect to one lexical field. The vocabulary in case being cultural, the shared items must be a consequence of contact that occurred after the break-up of the KLC.

The results of the present comparative study provide more insights into the effects of trade routes and the centralized Kongo kingdom on linguistic change in the state's periphery. As a consequence, this linguistic study also enlightens us about the historical role played by the forefathers of today's "Sundi" speech communities.

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WORKSHOP 4: BANTU OBJECTS AND OBJECT MARKING (BOOM!)

CONVENORS: MICHAEL DIERCKS, KEN SAFIR AND JENNEKE VAN DER WAL

Object marking in Runyankore-Rukiga

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The main objective of this talk is to describe the morpho-syntax of object marking in Runyankore-Rukiga (RR) (Bantu JE13/JE14, Uganda)

Using the parameters of Marten and Kula (2012), we base our description on an RR text corpus consisting of 149 in depth annotated texts of which 129 are public¹.

In RR, object marking is generally optional, and all nouns are capable of being object marked. A RR verb allows up to three object markers (OM), which can co-occur with overt objects. In addition locative enclitics may occur. Locative objects may become OMs as well but commonly enclitics are used, a fact we will further describe in our presentation. We further will discuss the discourse-pragmatic role of the OM marker: An OM is a pronominal affix and references familiar objects. (1) illustrates that object marking triggers a compulsory initial vowel on the object that is co-referential with the OM, and the interpretation of the entity referred to is necessarily specificity (cf. Asimwe, 2015)⁽¹⁾ Omitting the OM, on the other hand allows an indefinite interpretation of the object referred to.

(1) Waakidetera ekitabo?

“Have you brought the book?”

u aa ki reet er a e ki tabo ?
2PL PAST 7.OM bring APPL FV IV 7 book

Generated in TypeCraft.

A theoretical question that we will raise is whether OMs in RR should be regarded as affixes or incorporated pronoun, and which difference it would make to assume one or the other.

Referemces

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Our corpus can be found at:

<http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/PortalOfLanguages>

¹ <http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/PortalOfLanguages>

Contradicting findings on ‘objecthood’ in Bantu languages: The case of the morphosyntax of object marking in Nyakyusa

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Abstract

This work articulates the characteristics of object markers in the Bantu language Nyakyusa. From a comparative angle, the symmetric-asymmetric dichotomy suggested to work in other Bantu languages is re-examined, and Nyakyusa data put it in both clusters. Also, this work challenged the proposition that Bantu object markers are either pronominal clitics or agreement markers. It is argued that there are typically agreement verbs and pronominalising verbs in the language. The former triggers cliticisation of the object marker no matter what while the later has an object clitic only for definiteness readings.

Key words: Object marking, Symmetric-asymmetric Bantu, Nyakyusa

The Object Marking Domain and the Classification of Bantu Languages

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The study of the object marking domain has dominated Bantu linguistics for decades resulting in a cross section of findings for different languages. The question of whether the object marker is an agreement affix or an incorporated pronoun has been, perhaps, one of the major concerns among linguists (Baker 2008, Henderson 2006). Findings indicate that object marking has many variations based on a number of parameters such as number of object markers per verb, object ordering, and (a)symmetry relations (Riedel 2009, Thwala 2006). However, this approach led to the discovery of a variety of language specific characteristics which though descriptively important, seemed less systematic and therefore largely unreliable in contributing to the understanding of cross linguistic patterns and language relatedness. This raises the need for new approaches.

On the basis of the parameters discussed by (Marten & Kula 2012), this study focuses on two questions; i) To what extent are the variations identified in different languages systematic and therefore predictable? ii) what are the implications of the variations in the classification of Bantu languages? Preliminary data supports an investigation of object marking along these lines.

1. a) Wekesa a-p-a o-mu-aana
Wekesa SMc1-hit-fv c1-c1-child
Wekesa hit the child
- b) Wekesa a-mu-p-a (*o-mu-aana) **Lubukusu**
Wekesa SMc1-OM1-hit-fv c1-c1-child
Wekesa hit the child
2. a) *Juma a-li-pig-a m-toto
Juma SMc1-Tns-hit-fv c1-child
Juma hit the child
- b) Juma a-li-m-pig-a m-toto
Juma SMc1-Tns-OM1-hit-fv c1-child
Juma hit the child **Kiswahili**

Note that Lubukusu and Kiswahili differ systematically on two parameters: OM +Object NP is possible and is required in Kiswahili but impossible in Lubukusu. I show that predictions can be made on what other parameters apply in any given language once these two have been set. It is, for example, true that if a language selects 'possible' like Kiswahili, then it is likely to be asymmetrical, with an impoverished number of OMs on a verb and a greater chance for preverbal locative markers. In addition, the reflexive prefix is unlikely to co-occur with the OM. Whereas if the parameter set is 'impossible' as in Lubukusu, then the language is symmetrical, may only allow post verbal locative clitics, and is likely to allow at least two OMs including the reflexive prefix. I argue that these possibilities are not accidental, instead they follow from locality conditions on agree relations (Chomsky 1999, 2000). Since the OM in Kiswahili is analyzed as agreement then it is no coincidence that it puts restrictions on the type, number and order of arguments that can be selected by a predicate. Such restrictions are less available in Lubukusu. This form of analysis will not only have far reaching implications to the understanding of the object marking domain in Bantu, but will also have consequences for the classification of Bantu languages on the basis of the object marking parameters.

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Flexibility in symmetry: an implicational relation in Bantu double object constructions

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Baker et al. (2012:54) note that ‘For more than thirty years, symmetrical and asymmetrical object constructions have been a classic topic in the syntax of Bantu languages and beyond’. Languages are symmetrical if both objects in a ditransitive verb behave alike in tests like passivisation and pronominalisation. In Zulu, either object can be object-marked on the verb:

- (1) a. U-mama u-ba-nik-e in-cwadi (aba-ntwana).
1a-mama 1SM-2OM-give-PFV 9-book 2-children
‘Mama gave them a book (the children).’
- b. U-mama u-yi-nik-e aba-ntwana (in-cwadi).
1a-mama 1SM-9OM-give-PFV 2-children 9-book
‘Mama gave the children it (a book).’ (Adams 2010: 11)

Using these and other tests, languages have been divided into two classes: symmetrical or asymmetrical (Bresnan & Moshi 1990). However, it is becoming clear that the situation is not that black-and-white, with ‘symmetrical languages’ showing asymmetry in some part of the language (Rugemalira 1991, Schadeberg 1995, Baker et al. 2012, a.o.).

In this talk I present new data on double object constructions in Bantu languages, from which a **hitherto unnoticed typological pattern** emerges: A) causative, applicative and lexical ditransitive (‘give’) double object constructions can differ with respect to symmetry, B) they form an implicational relationship: if a language is symmetrical for one type of predicate, it is symmetrical for the predicate types to its right in table 1 as well:

	CAUS	APPL	DITRANS	languages
type 1	✓	✓	✓	Zulu, Shona, Lubukusu, Kĩtharaka, Kimeru
type 2	X	✓	✓	Otjiherero, Southern Sotho
type 3	X	X	✓	Luguru
type 4	X	X	X	Swahili etc. (asymmetrical)

Table 1 Symmetric properties of double object constructions cross-Bantu

Apart from the interesting **empirical predictions** this generalisation makes, it also raises **theoretical issues**. First, the appearance of asymmetries in ‘symmetrical languages’ motivates a non-base generated analysis of symmetry (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Pyllkkänen 2008). Second, I propose an analysis of symmetry as a flexibility of the low functional heads to license either the theme in its complement or the argument in its specifier (Haddican and Holmberg 2015), depending on relative topicality. When the specifier is licensed by the low functional head, little v can agree with the theme and spell out as an object marker, which accounts for the symmetry. The implicational relation of different transitives can then be captured by the parameter hierarchy as in (2) (cf. Biberauer and Roberts to appear):

- (2) Can low functional heads license their specifier?
 - 3
 - N Y
 - 4: asymmetry Can all low functional heads do so?
 - 3
 - Y N
 - 1: Zulu etc. Can all applicative heads do so?
 - 3
 - Y N
 - 2: Sotho, Herero 3: Luguru

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Featural Account for the Ordering of Object Markers in Kinyarwanda

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Contini-Morava (1983) reports an interesting phenomenon regarding the order of object markers (OMs) in Kinyarwanda ditransitive sentences. When the 1st person (1P) OM *n-* and an OM of other persons (2nd, 3rd human, and 3rd non-human) are on the same verb, the order is fixed (the 1st person OM must be closer to the verb root *ha*), and the sentence is ambiguous (1). This is a prevalent pattern in other Bantu languages which allow multiple OMs (see Marlo 2014). However, when the two simultaneous OMs are 2nd person and 3rd person human (2), or 3rd person human and 3rd person non-human (3), either order is possible. What is puzzling is that the order in which the 2nd person OM in (2) and the 3rd person human OM in (3) are closer to the verb root is ambiguous whereas the other order is unambiguous with the only interpretation corresponding to THEME-GOAL-V. The other combination (2nd and 3rd non-human) follows the same pattern as (1) with the only possible order being 3rd non-human-2nd-V. When the OM combination consists of the same person, that is, 3rd human and 3rd human, or 3rd non-human and 3rd non-human, either order is acceptable with the only interpretation being THEME-GOAL-V for both orders.

Contini-Morava (1983) gives a pragmatic analysis of this peculiar pattern that refers to the egocentricity hierarchies (i.e., human>non-human, speaker>hearer>other) and the contribution hierarchy (i.e., agent>beneficiary/goal>patient/theme). This analysis, however, does not account for the ambiguity or the unacceptability of certain sentences. This paper attempts to account for this apparently complex pattern using articulated person features of the kind utilized by Béjar and Rezac (2009) and others (i.e., [π]-[participant]-[speaker]) and, therefore, claims that this pattern derives from systematic workings of syntactic features rather than extra-linguistic factors such as the focus of speaker's interest.

- (1) a. Azakumpa/Azamumpa/Azakimpa.
a- za- {ku/mu/ki}- n- ha
CL1.SM- FUT- {2SG/CL1/CL7.OM}- 1SG.OM- give
'He will give you/him/it to me' OR 'He will give me to you/him/it'
- b. *Azanguha/*Azammuha/*Azangiha.
a- za- n- {ku/mu/ki}- ha
CL1.SM- FUT- 1SG.OM- {2SG/CL1/CL7.OM}- give
- (2) a. Azamuguha.
a- za- mu- ku- ha
CL1.SM- FUT- CL1.OM- 2SG.OM- give
'He will give him to you' OR 'He will give you to him'
- b. Azakumuha.
a- za- ku- mu- ha
CL1.SM- FUT- 2SG.OM- CL1.OM- give
Only 'He will give you to him'
- (3) a. Azakimuha.
a- za- ki- mu- ha
CL1.SM- FUT- CL7.OM- CL1.OM- give
'He will give it to him' OR 'He will give him to it'
- b. Azamugiha.
a- za- mu- ki- ha
CL1.SM- FUT- CL1.OM- CL7.OM- give
Only 'He will give him to it'

(Contini-Morava 1983: (3-6))

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WORKSHOP 5: VERBAL DERIVATION AND VERB EXTENSIONS IN BANTU

CONVENORS: SEBASTIAN DOM, LEONID KULIKOV AND KOEN BOSTOEN

Fonction syntaxique et organisation des extensions verbales peu productives en nuasue

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Deux variétés d'extensions verbales sont largement reconnues dans les langues bantu contemporaines : l'une composée d'extensions productives capables de modifier le sens et la valence des radicaux verbaux et l'autre, regroupant des extensions peu productives dénuées de propriétés syntaxiques. La disparité sémantique et syntaxique entre ces affixes conduit à penser avec Schadeberg (2003 :73) que "*bantu verbal extensions do not form a neat semantic and syntactic system*". Cependant, un examen particulier du fonctionnement des extensions peu productives en nuasue (langue bantu, du groupe yambasa central, parlée au Cameroun, coté A. 623 (Maho, 2009)) s'écarte de ces considérations. La présente communication se propose donc de mettre en évidence la fonction syntaxique des extensions verbales peu productives en nuasue et de reconstituer le système symétrique qu'elles forment sur la base d'une corrélation entre propriétés sémantique et syntaxique.

Elle montre que les extensions peu productives, généralement figées, associées aux exo-radicaux verbaux (radicaux non verbaux, tirés d'adjectifs, de noms, d'idéophones) spécifient le sens initial de ces derniers et leur attribuent une valence de base (transitive ou intransitive) afin de les rendre aptes à subir toute autre dérivation à partir d'extensions verbales productives et à fonctionner comme les radicaux verbaux primaires comme l'illustrent les exemples en (1). Les radicaux idéophonique et nominal doivent au préalable recevoir un suffixe figé (-àl et -àk) avant toute extension verbale.

- 1a.
- | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------------|---|----------------------------|
| káj | → | kU-káj-àl-à | → | [kùkèjèlèsì] |
| IDEO | | INF-IDEO-EXTSF.TR-VF | | INF-IDEO-EXTSF.TR-DUR-CAUS |
| | | « promener » | | « faire promener » |
- 1b.
- | | | | | |
|------------|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| nù-pò | → | [kùpòòkò] | → | [kùpòòkòsì] |
| cl11-grâce | | kU-pò-àk-à | | kU-pò-àk-às-ì |
| « grâce » | | INF-Chance-EXTSF.INTR-VF | | INF-chance-EXTSF.INTR-DUR-CAUS |
| | | « recevoir la grâce » | | « gracier » |

Aussi, comme le réversif, dans plusieurs langues Niger-Congo, comporte une forme transitive et intransitive, les autres extensions peu productives forment en nuasue un système symétrique où pour chaque spécification sémantique, correspondent deux formes dont l'une est toujours suffixée aux verbes transitifs et l'autre, aux verbes intransitifs comme l'illustrent les exemples en (2) pour l'extensif (EXTSF) et le positionnel (PSTNL).

(2)

- a.
- | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|--------------------------|--|------------|
| kU-káj-àl-à | | kU-lóp-àk-à | | [kùlópòkò] |
| INF-IDEO-EXTSF.TR-VF | | INF-colère-EXTSF.INTR-VF | | |
| « promener » | | « se fâcher » | | |
- b.
- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| kU-éy-ìk-ìn | [k ^w ěyìkèn] | kU-èj-ìm-ìt | [k ^w èjìmèt] |
| INF-IDEO-PSTNL.TR-APPL | | INF-IDEO-PSTNL.INTR-PFT | |
| « adosser, appuyer qlq.ch. sur » | | « s'adosser, s'appuyer sur » | |

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Multiple Reciprocity Marking in the Kikongo Language Cluster: Functional Distribution and Origins

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Many Bantu languages have only one productive marker of reciprocity, most often a reflex of the reconstructed Proto-Bantu extension **-an-* (Meeussen 1967: 92). In Kemmer's (1993: 102-106) formal trichotomy of reciprocal marking types, these Bantu languages can be classified as one-form reciprocal languages, in which the same marker encodes both productive and natural reciprocity. However, not all Bantu languages conform to this type. Several languages lost *-an-* as a productive marker of reciprocity. It was sometimes relegated to the lexicon, either conserving its reciprocal meaning or not. At other times it became productive as a marker of another voice category (Bostoen *et al.* 2015). Languages that lost *-an-* as a productive reciprocal marker either manifest a reflexive/reciprocal polysemy encoded by the inherited reflexive prefix (Bostoen 2010) or developed a new productive reciprocal extension, in which *-an-* was often integrated as a historical component (Bostoen *et al.* 2015). The latter strategy is observed in the Kikongo Language Cluster (KLC), where several varieties have two common markers of reciprocity, i.e. the simplex *-an-* and a complex *-asan-*, historically likely consisting of the causative *-is-* and the archaic reciprocal *-an-*. This situation is illustrated in the following examples from Kimbeko, spoken in the eastern Lower Congo Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo:

- (1) *Nkentu aamu ye múnu tutoma zolana kibeni.*
N₁-kentu aamu ye múnu tu-tom-a Ø-zol-**an**-a kibeni.
NP₁-woman my and me SP_{1PL}-want-FV NP₁₅-love-**RECP**-FV much
'My wife and me, we love each other very much.'
- (2) *Ngó ziyondesenengi.*
N-gó zi-Ø-yond-**asan**-idingi.
NP₉-leopard SP₉-PST-kill-**RECP**-PFV
'The leopards have killed each other.'

In this paper, we first present the results of a corpus-driven multiple logistic regression analysis of the synchronic functional distribution of *-an-* and *-asan-* in Kisikongo, Kindibu, Kiyombe and Fiote/Bwende, Kikongo varieties spoken in the Lower Congo province of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Zaire province of Angola. Grammatical descriptions of Kikongo varieties generally treat these two verbal morphemes as free allomorphs both expressing the same kind of reciprocity. Surprisingly, a first round of additional fieldwork data gathered through elicitation also did not allow the elucidation of the functional difference between both markers illustrated in (1) and (2). The overall picture that emerges from the multiple logistic regression analysis – the first true quantitative approach to this problem – is that *-asan-* is mainly used to encode productive reciprocity and that *-an-* functions as a marker of natural reciprocity/sociativity/chaining events. Kimbeko, and other Kikongo varieties, can therefore be considered as two-form reciprocal languages. They have a phonologically heavy marker encoding productive reciprocity and a phonologically light marker encoding natural reciprocity, a common tendency in the world's languages (Kemmer 1993: 105).

This synchronic approach is further combined with a diachronic corpus-driven approach that relies on Kikongo texts that date back to 1624 (Bontinck & Ndembe Nsasi 1978) as well as a historical-comparative approach to study the variation of reciprocal markers within the KLC in order to gain a better understanding of the origins and evolution of this two-form reciprocity. This may also shed new light on how the assumedly valency-increasing causative suffix *-is-* became a historical component of a valency-decreasing reciprocal marker, an issue that has a broader Bantu relevance, since a similar compound reciprocal marker exists in several South-West Bantu languages.

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The ‘neuter’ suffix *-ik-* in Bantu: middle voice or not yet?

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This paper focuses on the verbal category known in Bantu scholarship under a number of terminological labels such as ‘neuter’, ‘neuter passive’ and ‘derived intransitive’, among many others, and expressed by the suffix *-ik-*. Although this category is well-attested in virtually all Bantu languages, its functional status is not very well understood however. We argue that there are good reasons to qualify this morphological category as middle voice, although it is quite different from the canonical middle (as known from Indo-European languages). Its functional domain commonly encompasses a number of intransitive (de-agentive) derivatives such as agentless (1) and/or potential passive (2) and anticausative (3), but not reflexive and reciprocal, thus being somewhat narrower than the domain of the canonical middle.

- (1) Chichewa (N31b) (Dubinsky & Simango 1996: 751)
m-bale zi-na-tsuk-**ik**-a (*ndi Naphiri).
NP₁₀-plate SP₁₀-PST-wash-**NT**-FV by Naphiri
‘The plates were washed (*by Naphiri).’
- (2) Chichewa (N31b) (Dubinsky & Simango 1996: 759)
mu-ana uyu n-di wo-kumbatil-**ik**-a.
NP₁-child DEM SP₁-be ATTR₁-embrace-**NT**-FV
‘This child is embraceable.’
- (3) Bena (G63) (Morrison 2011: 370)
u-tu-bihi a-haa-deeny-**ih**-ile igólo.
AUG₁₃-NP₁₃-tree SP₁₃-PST-break-**NT**-FV yesterday
‘The twig broke yesterday.’

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the Bantu ‘neuter’ *-ik-* we argue that its underdeveloped ‘quasi-middle’ status may be due to the existence of competing derivatives (with the prefix *-i-* and suffix *-an-*) that express a variety of intransitive functions (such as reflexive, reciprocal and antipassive) and thus usurp some part of the middle domain.

Our paper focuses on data from a wide variety of Bantu languages, discussing similarities and differences between these ‘quasi-middle’ derivatives from a cross-linguistic perspective and elucidating the functional status of these verbal derivatives (‘extensions’) in Bantu. Special attention is also paid to valuable evidence furnished by these morphological categories for a typological analysis of the middle, instantiating some basic mechanisms of the rise and evolution of the middle voice.

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Syncretism in Cuwabo valency-increasing verbal extensions

Rozenn Guérois (SOAS) & Koen Bostoen (Ghent University)

Although most verbal extensions in Cuwabo (P34, Mozambique) are formally and semantically transparent *vis-à-vis* reconstructed Proto-Bantu forms, some of these valency-changing suffixes evolved in a non-canonical way. This paper argues that certain verbal extensions may be analyzed as a historical merger of extensions. To do so, we start from the observation made by Guérois (2015) that both causative and applicative constructions in Cuwabo are rendered by different derivational suffixes. In the first case, in addition to the productive causative *-ih-* (1a), Cuwabo has two non-productive extensions seemingly endowed with a causative function: *-ec-/ic-* (1b) and *-uc-/oc-* (1c), both manifesting vowel harmony.

(1) Causatives *-ih-*, *-ec-/ic-* and *-uc-/oc-* (Guérois 2015)

a. <i>oóddítamagiha</i>	b. <i>waawiméca</i>	c. <i>onóvítotóca</i>
o-hí-ddí-ttámag- ih -a	o-a-iméc-a	o-ni-ó-vi-totó c -a
1-PFV.DJ-OM1SG-run-CAUS-FV	NAR-OM2-rigidify-FV	1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy-FV
‘he made me run’	‘she made them stop’	‘he’s destroying himself’

Regarding applicative constructions, two productive extensions exist in Cuwabo, namely *-el-* (2a) and *-edh-* (2b).

(2) Applicatives *-el-* and *-edh-* (Guérois 2015)

a. <i>omwaaddela múkwááye</i>	b. <i>kańfiyedha vali Mariya</i>			
o-mu-add- el -a	mú-kwé=áye	ka-ní-fíy- edh -a	va-li	Mariya
NAR-OM1-say-APPL-FV	1-friend=POSS.3SG	NEG.1-IPFV-arrive-APPL-FV	16-be	Maria
‘he informed his friend’		‘he he did not arrive to (the place) Maria is’		

Whilst the causative *-ih-* and the applicative *-el-* are direct reflexes of PB **-ic-i-* and **-id-*, respectively, the status of the three other suffixes is more ambiguous. In this paper, we propose to analyse *-ec-/ic-*, *-uc-/oc-* and *-edh-* as syncretic forms resulting from a combination of extensions. In the first two cases (*-ec-/ic-* and *-uc-/oc-*), merger would have occurred between an intransitive extension (ending in **k*) and the short PB causative extension **-i-* (see Bastin 1986), whereas *-edh-* would constitute a case of combined applicative-causative morphology (**-id-* + **-i-*). Note that an alternative analysis for *-edh-* as an equivalent form to the little productive causative *-iz-/ez-* from Swahili (Miehe 1989) will also be discussed. These three cases of syncretism will be treated individually, in order to better define the syntactic behaviour and semantic value of each of these valency-increasing extensions in Cuwabo.

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Polysemy in Gikuyu verbal extensions: A Role and Reference Grammar Approach¹

Kihara, Claudius P.

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Bantu languages are known for their complex and productive verbal operations or extensions. These operations not only change the valence of the predicates (increasing, decreasing, or maintaining the arguments) but also a single derivation may have different meanings.

This paper focuses on the Gikuyu applicatives, causatives, reciprocals, and reflexives as in (1)².

- (1) a. *Mw-ana ne a-r-ε-kɔm-ε-ir-ε tɛnɛ ira.*
1-child COP 1-TNS-REFL-sleep-APPL-ASP-FV early yesterday.
'The child slept early (on his/her own accord) yesterday.'
- b. *Wamboi a-ra-thamb-ith-i-a mw-ana nyomba.*
Wamboi 1-TNS-wash-CAUS₁-CAUS₂-FV 1-child 9.house
'Wamboi is forcing/helping the child wash the house.'
- c. *A-nakɛ ne ma-ra-rum-an-a.*
2-boy COP 2-TNS-insult-RCP-FV
'The youths are insulting each other/ insulting other people.'
- d. *Guka a-a-tɛm-ε-ir-ε mo-ndo mo-gonda.*
1.grandfather 1-TNS-cut-APPL-ASP-FV 1-person 3-farm
'Grandfather cut a man on the farm/because of the farm.'

As evident in (1) verbal derivatives in Gikuyu may be ambiguous, and have more meanings other than those indicated above.

In order to elucidate both the syntax and semantics of such sentences, the Gikuyu verbal extensions are analysed within the Role and Reference Grammar [RRG], a monostratal, structural-functional linguistic theory, favouring the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in language (Van Valin 2005, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). RRG distinguishes between syntactic valence and semantic valence; capturing the semantics of predicates through the theory of lexical decomposition of verbs. The syntax-semantics interface of Gikuyu verbal operations, and in general Bantu, is elucidated.

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¹ Gikuyu [yekojo] (E51) also Kikuyu, is a Bantu language spoken in Kenya.

² Abbreviations: COP-copula, APPL-applicative, CAUS-causative, TNS- tense, REFL-reflexive, ASP-aspect, RCP-reciprocal, FV- final vowel.

Pluractionals and Associative - not so common extensions in Mozambican Ngoni

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Pluractionals are commonly thought to be a feature of Afro-Asiatic languages, not Bantu. This poster shows that Mozambican Ngoni (N.10) has developed an intricate series of suffixes on the verb, that in one way or other indicate plurality, the first two (1-2) being the usual Bantu extensions, whereas the latter (3-4) are a not so common development.

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. -an- | reciprocal: | ‘do to each other’ |
| 2. reduplication | plural of action: | ‘do many times’ |
| 3. -ang- | plural of object: | ‘do to many’ |
| 4. -anil- | plural of subject: | ‘many do’ |

-ang- as plural of object is not totally uncommon in Bantu languages (like Tumbuka in Odden 2003: 538 or Nen in Mous 2003: 289) and is seen as a reflection of the reconstructed *-a(n)g-repetitive extension (Schadeberg 2003: 72). But -anil- as plural of subject seems to be unique.

According to Newman (2012: 193) the relationship between pluractional verbs and nominal arguments “tends to be ergative-like, i.e. the fit is not with the subject as such, but rather with the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitives.” Therefore the development of two distinct suffixes for plural of subject and plural of object seems to be rather unusual.

Another unusual feature in Ngoni is the associative clitic =naku or =nau meaning ‘together with’ developing into an extension. -naku/-nau most frequently appears with the copula *kuvela*: *kuvenaku* or *kuvenau* means ‘to have’, but it is freely used with other verbs as well: *kuhikanaku* ‘to come with’, *kulyenaku* ‘to eat with’, *kuhigalanau* ‘to stay with’ to name only a few.

I will show the degree of grammatical integration of these extensions into the verb and will look at possible reasons for this development.

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WORKSHOP 6: MELODIC TONES IN BANTU LANGUAGES CONVENORS: LOTTA AUNIO AND LAURA J. DOWNING

Melodic tones in Simbiti

Lotta Aunio (University of Helsinki) & John B. Walker (SIL International)

In this paper we will present the melodic tone system of Simbiti (JE431) spoken in the Mara Region of western Tanzania. Simbiti – like all other JE40 languages in the Mara region – has lost the lexical tone contrast of verb roots, but Simbiti verbal inflection makes use of tonal melodies.

In Simbiti, the tone bearing unit is the mora, and Simbiti assigns melodic tones in relation to the left edge of the macrostem: melodic tones are assigned to the first, the third, or the fourth (but not the second) mora of the macrostem. The Simbiti tone system is similar to that of Kuria (JE43), but Simbiti melodic tones do not spread like the tones in Kuria, apart from syllable-internal spreading to avoid contour tones. Also in line with Kuria, the domain of melodic tones is sometimes extended to the whole verb phrase. Specifically interesting in Simbiti is the negation post-clitic *he* which is regarded as belonging to the domain of melodic tones. However, it is possible for the post-clitic to occur after other post-verbal words like explicit objects.

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Title: Melodic tones in Bantu nouns
Lee Bickmore, University at Albany

While melodic tones in Bantu are most typically found in the finite verbal system, they can sometimes also be active in nominal forms. In this paper I consider a range of Bantu languages (drawing heavily from those described in Odden & Bickmore 2014) which exhibit melodic tones in conjugated verbal forms, and look to see whether there is any evidence of melodic tones in nouns. Within nouns, I examine class 15 verbal infinitives, deverbal nominalizations, as well as nouns with underived stems. The first interesting generalization stems from whether the language in question has a lexical tone contrast in verb roots. In languages which do not (the so-called “predictable” tone languages (Odden 1988) infinitival forms all exhibit melodic tones, whereas languages which do have the lexical tone contrast in verbs divide up into two groups: those where the infinitives exhibit melodic tones and those which do not. Melodic tones appear in deverbal nominalizations in a wide variety of languages, whether there is a lexical tonal contrast in verbs or not, and whether infinitives exhibit melodic tones or not. While it is not unusual to find melodic tones in underived nouns in languages with no lexical tone contrast in verbs, it is rather rare to find them in nouns which do have such a lexical tone contrast. Examples from a range of languages from each of the above categories will be described and discussed, and analyzed from both a synchronic as well as an historical/comparative perspective.

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Odden, D. (1988) “Predictable tone systems in Bantu,” in H. van der Hulst & N. Smith (eds.) *Autosegmental studies on pitch accent*, 225-251. Dordrecht: Foris.

Mwani melodic tones

Salimo Calawia (*Universidade Pedagógica Nampula*) & Maud Devos (*Royal Museum for Central Africa*)

In Mwani, a Mozambican Bantu language closely related to Swahili, many tenses can only be distinguished tonally. The segmentally identical verb forms in (1) are some of the possible minimal pairs in Mwani inflection.

Tone thus plays a crucial role in Mwani TAM, which is rather poor morphologically. Only a few TAM morphemes, mainly dedicated to the expression of aspect, can be distinguished: perfective final *-ire* and the prefixal markers *-ki-/-ka-*. However, every inflection has one (or more) out of 5 melodic stem tone patterns assigned to it: no H, ultimate (U) H, penultimate (PU) H, antepenultimate (APU) H and stem-initial (S1) as well as PU H (S1PU). In (2) an example of each pattern is given in combination with *-zungunukira*.

Some tenses belong to different patterns depending on subject specifications and/or the presence or absence of an object prefix. When the perfective verb in (2) has a plural subject prefix or includes an object prefix, an APU melodic pattern is assigned to it.

This paper gives a detailed description of every melodic tone pattern based on new fieldwork data. Special attention is paid to the so-called APU pattern for which the position of the melodic H depends on the number of mora's of the macro-stem and possibly also on syllable weight.

Mwani has previously been described either as a tone (Floor 2000) or a pitch-accent language (Philippon 1993,1992,1989). We describe Mwani as a language in which tone has a restricted lexical function (cf. (3)) in nominal morphology and a clear grammatical function in verbal morphology. Rather than trying to force one or the other type on Mwani, we aim, in line with Hyman 2009, to list all the properties of the verbal tone system in order to better understand which interesting in-between-systems languages can come up with.

Examples:

- (1) **wá-ń-sakúl-a** /SP₂-OP₁-want-IPFV/ 'they want her/him'
wa-n-sákul-a /SP₂-OP₁-want-PFV/ 'they have wanted her/him'
wá-ń-sákul-a /SP₂-OP₁-want-PST.IPFV/ 'they wanted her/him'
- (2) **ni-zungunuk-ir-a** 'I (have) turned around towards' no H
SP_{1SG}-turn.around-APPL-PFV
zungunuk-ir-á 'turn around towards!' U
turn.around-APPL-IMP
a-wa-zungunuk-ír-e 'they have not turned around towards' PU
NEG-SP₂-turn.around-APPL-PFV
a-wa-zungunúk-ir-a 'they do not turn around towards' APU
NEG-SP₂-turn.around-APPL-PRS
ku-zúngúnuk-ír-a 'to turn around towards'S1PU
NP₁₅-turn.around-APPL-FV
- (3) **kipâma** 'wall' / **kipáma** 'fish (sp.)'

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Verbal tone in Kikongo (H16): A comparison of Kimanyanga (H16b) and Kintandu (H16g)

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It is a well-known fact that in many Bantu languages the verbal domain exhibits an extraordinary complex tonal system (Odden & Bickmore 2014). Within Bantu, the Kikongo Language Cluster has long represented a lacuna with respect to the study of verbal tone. Even though some works discuss verbal tone to a certain extent (for Kizombo, cf. Carter 1973; 1974; for Kintandu, cf. Daeleman 1966), their description and formal analysis is often idiosyncratic, at some times incomprehensible, or the study is written in a language (e.g. Dutch) which makes it hard for international scholars to access. This study therefore focuses on the verbal tone systems of two Kikongo varieties, viz. Kintandu and Kimanyanga, both from a descriptive and comparative perspective. Tonal studies in these language varieties have mainly focused on nominal tone (for Kimanyanga, cf. Odden 1991; for Kintandu, cf. Daeleman & Meeussen 1983). The few descriptive grammatical accounts of these languages present only a basic introduction on lexical tone, mostly referring to minimal pairs as illustrated for Kintandu in (1) and Kimanyanga in (2), although some list a small number of tonal rules (Laman 1912: 40-41; Makokila 2012: 76-77).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) KINTANDU (Daeleman 1966: 99)
-sak- ‘shake’ vs. -sák- ‘worsen’ | (2) KIMANYANGA (Makokila 2012: 59)
-loomba ‘ask’ vs. -loombá ‘become black’ |
|---|---|

Moreover, even though these descriptions provide a limited amount of information on tonal patterns of TAM inflections, a systematic study and inventory of tonal phenomena pertaining to the conjugational system in these language varieties is still lacking. The first aim of this paper is to provide such an extensive overview of the TAM tone systems in Kintandu and Kimanyanga, and more specifically to address the issue of melodic tone, taking into account the many factors that influence tone patterns in the verbal domain (Kisseberth & Odden 2003; Odden & Bickmore 2014). Our second aim is to provide historical explanations for specific developments in the tonal TAM systems of the two language varieties by comparing the TAM tone systems of Kintandu and Kimanyanga. The data for this research is obtained through the method of paradigmatic elicitation as described in Marlo (2013), gathered during a recent fieldwork trip in the Lower Congo province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

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Melodic High Tones and Reduplication in Chichewa

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Chichewa is said to be the only Bantu language with tonal transfer under reduplication: the tones of the reduplicative morpheme (RED) match those of the Base. However, this is only partially true on the surface, as work like Hyman & Mtenje (1999b), Moto (1989), Mtenje (1988) and Myers & Carleton (1996) show. To take the verb paradigm illustrated in (1), two High tones are potentially realized on the verb stem: one is associated with the syllable immediately following the prefix, *ku-*; and, in High-toned verbs, a H is associated to the stem-final syllable. We might expect both High tones to be copied and have the same realization in the Base and the RED (underlined), but this expectation fails:

(1) Verbal reduplication in the infinitive paradigm (adapted, Hyman & Mtenje 1999b: 119; Moto 1989: Chapter 6)

a.	Low-toned stems		
	ku-méenya	ku-ményá- <u>meenya</u>	‘to hit’
	ku-thándiiza	ku-thándíza- <u>thandiiza</u>	‘to help’
	ku-vúndikiila	ku-vúndíkila- <u>vundikiila</u>	‘to cover’
	ku-fótókozeela	ku-fótókozela- <u>fotokozeela</u>	‘to explain to’
b.	High-toned stems		
	ku-péeza	ku-pézá- <u>peézá</u>	‘to find’
	ku-námíizá	ku-námízá- <u>namiizá</u>	‘to deceive’
	ku-thámángiilá	ku-thámángilá- <u>thamangiilá</u>	‘to run to’
	ku-khúlúluukiilá	ku-khúlúlukilá- <u>khululukiilá</u>	‘to pardon; forgive’

We can identify two sources of tonal mismatch in the above data. One is phonological: general tonal processes (tone doubling; OCP effects; final tone retraction) apply within the reduplicative complex only when their context is met, so they do not equally affect tones in the Base and the RED. For example, we find final retraction in the RED of High-toned verbs, but not in the Base, because the stem-final High tone of the Base is not phrase-final. The second source of mismatch is morphological: the High tone associated immediately after *ku-* is not copied; only the High tone associated with stem-final syllable is.

Accounting for why a locally associated melodic High tone (i.e., the one contributed by *ku-*) does not copy, while the one associated with a particular position in the stem does, is a classic problem for Chichewa verbal reduplication. I show that the analysis developed in Downing (2003) straightforwardly extends to account for this asymmetry. The High tone assigned to a stem position copies because both the Base and the RED provide a Stem target. The High tone associated with local reference to a prefix does not copy because its target of association is not defined with respect to the Stem. Reduplication thus provides a window into the morphological representation of melodic High tones and into the morphological constraints on their realization.

**On the expression of the Melodic H in Wanga:
(In)variable targets and tonal interactions**

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University of Maryland – CASL

Michael R. Marlo
University of Missouri

This talk considers new data that refines our understanding of Wanga tone melodies, building on Ebarb et al. (2014). Wanga has a reversive system: verb roots are underlyingly toneless (/Ø/) or have an initial /L/; all verbal contexts are inflected with melodic tone. We focus on the targets of Melodic H (MH) assignment and the complex interactions of MHs with underlying tones of the root and prefixes.

The ability of the MH to associate to its target in Wanga is affected by the presence of a lexical /L/. Some melodic patterns, e.g. the Hodiernal Perfect (1), require an absolute target: the MH associates to the stem-initial mora in /Ø/ verbs (and doubles to the right), but in /L/ roots, the MH fails to be expressed because its stem-initial target is occupied by the root tone.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) a. /Ø/ a[kálúxaane]
1.SBJ[turn_around.PFV]
'he has turned around' | b. /L/ a[βotooxaane]
1.SBJ[go_around.PFV]
'he has gone around' |
|---|--|

Others melodic patterns, e.g. the Hesternal Perfect (2), have more flexible targets: the MH targets the first mora of the leftmost free syllable, i.e. the stem-initial mora of /Ø/ verbs, and the first mora of the second syllable of /L/ verbs.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2) a. /Ø/ y-aa[léxúúlire]
1.SBJ-PST[release.PFV]
'he released' | b. /L/ y-aa[fumámífiye]
1.SBJ-PST[invert.CAUS.PFV]
'he inverted' |
|---|--|

The expression of MHs is also influenced by tonal processes acting on lexical tones. Tense markers may contribute a /H/, and prefix Hs typically spread rightward. In the Remote Past (3), the H of the tense prefix /á-/ spreads onto the stem-initial syllable, the contrast between /Ø/ and /L/ verbs is neutralized, and the MH fails to surface.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3) a. /Ø/ y-á[sáámbula]
1.SBJ-REM.PST[de-roof.FV]
'he de-roofed' | b. /L/ y-á[fúúmama]
1.SBJ-REM.PST[invert.FV]
'he inverted' |
|---|--|

When an object prefix is present (4), the lexical contrast is de-neutralized. The H of /á-/ spreads onto the following object prefix, and the MH, which absolutely targets the stem-initial mora, surfaces in /Ø/ verbs.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (4) a. /Ø/ y-á-mú'[lómálomera]
1.SBJ-REM.PST-1.OBJ[talk.APPL.FV]
'he talked for him' | b. /L/ y-á-mú'[teejera]
1.SBJ-REM.PST-1.OBJ[cook.APPL.FV]
'he cooked for him' |
|--|---|

We illustrate the complexity of these interactions, their implications for the expression of MH, and the support that they provide for a synchronic /L/ vs. /Ø/ contrast in Wanga verb roots.

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Melodic tone in Fwe (Bantu, K402)

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This paper describes the use of melodic tone in the tonal patterns of verbal inflections in Fwe, a Bantu language of Zambia and Namibia. It has become increasingly recognized that melodic tone plays an essential role in Bantu languages (Odden & Bickmore 2014), and descriptions of tone that include reference to melodic tone are available for languages closely related to Fwe, such as Totela (Crane 2014) and Tonga (Carter 1962). This paper presents an analysis of melodic tone in Fwe and how it interacts with lexical and grammatical tone, vowel length and tone rules, showing that the use of melodic tone in Fwe is quite different from that in related languages.

Verbal inflections use one of three melodic tone patterns: a high tone (H) on the final stem syllable (1), H on the second stem syllable (2), or H on the subject concord (3). One minor pattern without melodic H is found (4).

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|
| (1) tù-kà-bòòr-á
SC _{1PL} -DIST-return-FV
'We return tomorrow.' | zyôná
tomorrow | (3) mbò-ndí-shòtók-è
FUT-SC _{1SG} -jump-FUT
'I will jump.' |
| (2) ndì-kòmók-èt-w-à
SC _{1SG} -surprise-STAT-PASS-FV
'I am surprised.' | | (4) nd-à-kù-tòmbwèr-à
SC _{1SG} -PST-PROG-weed-FV
'I was weeding.' |

In addition to melodic H, lexical tone, vowel length and tonal processes also play a role in verbal inflection. Fwe verb stems have either a high or a low (toneless) lexical tone, which is deleted in some inflections, such as the present tense, but maintained in others, such as the remote future.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (5) kù-ùr-à
INF-buy-FV
'to buy' | ndì-úr-à
SC _{1SG} -buy-FV
'I buy.' | nà-ndí-nà-ùr-à
FUT-SC _{1SG} -FUT-buy-FV
'I will buy.' |
| (6) kù-ték-à
INF-fetch-FV
'to fetch' | ndì-ték-à
SC _{1SG} -fetch-FV
'I fetch.' | nà-ndí-nà-ték-à
FUT-SC _{1SG} -FUT-fetch-FV
'I will fetch.' |

An additional observation is that in certain cases grammatical tones, such as high-toned object markers, erase all melodic and lexical Hs of a verb. Vowel length also manifests itself as a factor in that, in the present tense, verbs with a short penultimate vowel have a different tone from verbs with a long penultimate vowel.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (7) ndì-dám-à
SC _{1SG} -beat-FV
'I beat.' | (8) ndì-â:mb-à
SC _{1SG} -speak-FV
'I speak.' |
|---|--|

Finally, tonal processes involved in verb inflection are the retraction of high tones and the realization of high tones as falling in utterance-final context.

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Tonal melodies in the Limbum verbal system

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This paper presents the melodic tone system of Limbum, a Narrow Grassfields Bantu language spoken in the North West of Cameroon. It is a language which has various inflectional tone patterns which are determined by the tone of the tense, aspect and mood (TAM) markers. Comprising only monosyllabic and disyllabic verb roots and often preceded by TAM features, Limbum verb roots display a H and L tonal contrast. Even so, Bradley (1994) portrays that M tones are the most regular in Limbum verbs especially when collocated with TAM markers. The tones of TAM markers condition changes on the tonal melodies of verb roots and so there is a relatively complex non-melodic verb tone system in the language. Various tonal processes including tone raising and lowering are responsible for non-melodic verb tones. In order to satisfy OCP, adjacent H tones are lowered. Although the language shows a lexical distinction between L and H, the H tone is very rare when TAM markers combine with the verb stem (Bradley 1994). I argue in this paper that M tones in certain positions within the verb system are actually H tones. I therefore consider these as melodic H tones.

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Melodic tones and the *-ide suffix in northeastern Bantu
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The study of Melodic tone patterns in Bantu languages has drawn considerable interest over the last few years, as exemplified by the special issue of *Africana linguistica* (XX, 2014) dedicated to them. As pointed out by the editors of the latter volume: "The typical autosegmental analysis is that the H are floating tones, which are (partial) exponents of inflectional morphemes. Meeussen's proposal that there may have been multiple "final" suffixes with the same segmental content but different tones can be seen as a segmental version of this idea" (p. 5). They immediately add, however, that "...systems of melodic tones are much more complex [than]... just adding... H's to a stem" (id.).

The present contribution would like to explore Meeussen's proposal by examining a sub-set of Melodic tones, those introduced by the suffix *-ide, whose variable tonal behaviour prevents positing a unitary tone pattern for it. A synthesis will be attempted of its behaviour in connection with its inflectional functions for tense, aspect, polarity and relativization. In order to keep the study within manageable limits, the languages examined will be restricted to the north-easternmost quarter of the Bantu area (Guthrie's zones E, F and G) and languages with predictable tone patterns will be ignored. It is expected that a first classification of the types of tonal behaviour associated with this suffix will emerge and will be able to be fruitfully extended at least to the other common -VCV suffix, i.e *-a(n)ga.

Melodic tones in Mbugwe (F34) verbs

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Most TAM forms in Mbugwe (F34) display lexical tone only, so that the verb root either has a H tone on the initial syllable, or there is no tone on the verb root. For some TAM forms, however, there are additional melodic High (MH) tones which are assigned to a syllable of the derivational verb stem (Odden and Bickmore 2014). In this paper, the various patterns of the MH tones are presented. An overview of the patterns for the MH is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Overview of TAM forms with MH in Mbugwe

Pattern	TAM form
1a) MH on the ultimate	Conditional \emptyset verbs Irrealis Far Past \emptyset verbs Subjunctive \emptyset verbs Subjunctive H verbs W/O OP
1b) MH on ultimate with left spread till σ_2	Conditional H verbs Irrealis Far Past H verbs Subjunctive H verbs W/ OP
2) MH on σ_2 -ultimate	Far Past Perfective verbs
3a) MH on penultimate	Imperative singular \emptyset verbs
3b) MH on penultimate with left spread till σ_2	Imperative singular H verbs Hodiernal H verbs and \emptyset verbs with H SP/OP
4) MH on σ_2 -penultimate	Hodiernal \emptyset verbs with \emptyset SP/OP Imperative plural verbs

In Pattern 1 the MH is assigned to the ultimate syllable of the verb stem. In verbs with a lexical tone, the MH tone spreads to the left, so that the whole verb stem surface as H (1b). For the subjunctive, the verb roots with a lexical tone and no object marker behave in the same way as verb roots with no lexical tone. The far past perfective verbs have a H tone on the whole verb stem except for the initial syllable of verbs with no lexical H tone (pattern 2). In pattern 3a) and 3b) the MH docks on the penultimate syllable of the verb stem, and spreads to the second syllable of the verb root in verbs with a lexical tone. This is the case for imperative singular verb forms, and hodiernal verbs with a lexical tone. Hodiernal verbs with no lexical tone, but a H tone present in the subject prefix (SP) or object prefix (OP) behave in the same way as the hodiernal verbs with a lexical tone. Hodiernal verbs with no lexical tone and no H tone present in the SP or OP behave according to pattern 4), where the whole verb stem after the initial syllable is H. The imperative plural verbs also pattern after pattern 4.

Reference

Odden, D. & L. Bickmore 2014. Melodic tone in Bantu: Overview. *Africana Linguistica* XX: 3–13.