48th Annual Conference on African Linguistics
Indiana University Bloomington
March 30-April 2, 2017
ACAL 48 Local Organizing Committee

Samuel Obeng, Chair
Robert Botne, Member
Samson Lotven, Member (Organizing Coordinator)
Damir Cavar, Member
Antonia Schleicher, Member
Noor Abo Mokh, Webmaster

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Indiana University African Studies Program
African American and African Diaspora Studies
National African Language Resource Center & Center for Language Excellence
Indiana University Linguistics Department
### 48th ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

#### Program of Events

**Thursday, March 30, 2017**

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<tr>
<td>3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Registration Check-in</td>
<td>East Lounge</td>
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<td>4:30 p.m. – 5:45 p.m.</td>
<td>Poster Session w/Refreshment</td>
<td>Frangipani Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>7:00 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.</td>
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**Friday, March 31, 2017**

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<tr>
<td>8:00 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.</td>
<td>Registration Check-in</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 a.m. – 10:15 a.m.</td>
<td>Welcome</td>
<td>Frangipani Room</td>
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<td>10:15 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Lunch (on your own)</td>
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<td>1:00 p.m. – 2:15 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Sessions</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Sessions</td>
<td>Maple, Walnut, SR East</td>
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<td>6:00 p.m.</td>
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**Saturday, April 1, 2017**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>8:00 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00 a.m. – 10:15 a.m.</td>
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<td>10:15 a.m. – 11:45 a.m.</td>
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<td>Maple, Walnut, Sassafras</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:00 p.m. – 2:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Poster Session w/Refreshment</td>
<td>Frangipani Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>Maple, Walnut, Sassafras</td>
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<td>4:15 p.m. – 5:45 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Sessions</td>
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<td>5:50 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>7:30 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>8:00 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.</td>
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<td>Tree Suite Lounge</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Sessions</td>
<td>Maple, Walnut, Sassafras</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30 am – 10:45 a.m.</td>
<td>Beverage Break</td>
<td>Tree Suite Lounge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Concurrent Sessions</td>
<td>Maple, Walnut, Sassafras</td>
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### Thursday Evening, March 30, 2017

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<tr>
<td>4:30-5:45</td>
<td>Poster Session 1</td>
<td>Frangipani Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Lexical Underspecification of Bantu Causatives and Applicatives</td>
<td>Wechsler</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shona Subjects are Subjects</td>
<td>Kodner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Morpho-Syntax of Two Types of Factive Clauses in Seereer</td>
<td>Torrence</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Relativization in Kaakye</td>
<td>Abunya &amp; Osam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Emai Coordination Strategies for Clause Linkage</td>
<td>Schaefer &amp; Egbokhare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Comparative Study of the Nominal System in Wolof, Bedik and French</td>
<td>Sall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Linguistic Genocide Against Development of Signed Languages in Africa</td>
<td>Asonye, Edward, Ezinne &amp; Anike</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Toward a Better Knowledge of Speech-Language Disorders in Africa: Analysis of Child Speech Disorders</td>
<td>Takam</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Phonemic Quantity Distinction in Normal and Perturbed Speech in Twi</td>
<td>Adu Manyah</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Foot Construction in Anaan Denominalisation</td>
<td>Udoh</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Quantitative Methods in African Linguistics-Predicting Plurals in Hausa</td>
<td>Guzmán Naranjo &amp; Becker</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>The Subjunctive Mood in Giryama and Tanzanian Nyanja</td>
<td>Ngowa &amp; Ngonyani</td>
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<td>6:00-7:00</td>
<td>Plenary 1</td>
<td>Frangipani Room</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chair: Robert Botne</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Need for an Alternative System of Nominal Licensing in Bantu</td>
<td>van der Wal</td>
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### Friday Morning, March 31, 2017

#### 9:00-10:15 Plenary 2
**Chair:** Paul Newman

- **Frangipani Room**
  - **Vocalogenesis in (Central) Chadic Languages**
  - Wolff

#### 10:30-12:00 Semantics 1
**Chair:** Robert Botne

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<td>Maple</td>
<td>A Closer Look at <em>bi</em>: An Epistemic Indefinite Analysis</td>
<td>Owusu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walnut 1</td>
<td>Walnut</td>
<td>The Rusty Speaker Paradox: Nyang’i Personal Pronouns and Semi-speaker-based Language Description</td>
<td>Beer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maple 2</td>
<td>Maple</td>
<td>Logophoric Reference in Ibibio</td>
<td>Newkirk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walnut 2</td>
<td>Walnut</td>
<td>Rhetorical Ecologies Driving Linguistic Change in West Africa</td>
<td>Agbozo &amp; Odebunmi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maple 3</td>
<td>Maple</td>
<td>Logophoricity and Coreference Constraints in Gengbe Attitude Reports</td>
<td>Grano &amp; Lotven</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walnut 3</td>
<td>Walnut</td>
<td>Language, Gender, and Ideology: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Ifeoma Fafunwa’s 'Hear Word!' Naija Woma'</td>
<td>Ofulue</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Room East</td>
<td>State Room East</td>
<td>The Phonetic Realization of High Tone Spans in Luganda</td>
<td>Myers, Selkirk &amp; Fainleib</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Room East</td>
<td>State Room East</td>
<td>Tone Assimilation in Yorùbá Agentive Affixed Nominals</td>
<td>Ehineni</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Room East</td>
<td>State Room East</td>
<td>Register Lowering and Tonal Overwriting in Limbum Deverbal Nouns</td>
<td>Nformi Awasom</td>
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<td>Oppong-Asare Ansah</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>On the State Distinction and Case in Kabyle Berber</td>
<td>Felice</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Indexical Shifting in Dhaasanac and Somali</td>
<td>Nishiguchi</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>A Survey of Negation Patterns in the Kwa Language Family</td>
<td>Schneider</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Disappearing Lexemes in the Igbo Language: An Effect of Language Variation and Change</td>
<td>Obiamalu &amp; Nkamigbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Focus Constructions in Ibibio</td>
<td>Anyanwu, Nwogu, Orji &amp; Okoro</td>
</tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Consonant Mutation in Esahie</td>
<td>Akanlig-Pare &amp; Owusu-Ansah</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Word Order in Senufo Nafara DPs</td>
<td>Baron</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Person and Animacy Interaction in Akan and Ga Post-positions</td>
<td>Korsah</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Causative in Lubukusu and Other Bantu Languages</td>
<td>Wasike</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Presuppositions and Other Projective Contents in Kiswahili</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>The Syntax and Semantics of Akan HIT Verbs</td>
<td>Eshun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Session 1</td>
<td>Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:30-</td>
<td>Syntax 1</td>
<td>Maple</td>
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<td>4:00</td>
<td>Chair: Steven Franks</td>
<td>Chair: Alwiya Omar</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nguni Phrase-final Focus Particles and Antisymmetry Theory</td>
<td>Carstens &amp; Zeller</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pieces of the Periphery: A Glance into the Cartography of Ibibio's CP Domain</td>
<td>Doherty</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Complement Clause C-Agreement with Matrix Subject and Tense in Ikalanga</td>
<td>Safir &amp; Letsholo</td>
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<td>4:30-</td>
<td>Syntax 2</td>
<td>Maple</td>
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<td>6:00</td>
<td>Chair: Ron Schaefer</td>
<td>Chair: Sandra Kübler</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>A Syntactic Description of Experiencers in Sereer-siin</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Comitative Constructions in Fon</td>
<td>Lambert-Bretiere</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Chair: Stuart Davis</td>
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<td>Tone in the Luyia Varieties of Western Kenya and</td>
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<td>Eastern Uganda</td>
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<td>10:15-11:45</td>
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<td>Chair: James Essegbey</td>
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<td>Descriptive</td>
<td>Walnut</td>
<td>Chair: Alwiya Omar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Phonology 2</td>
<td>Sassafras</td>
<td>Chair: Kris Ebarb</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Raising to Object in</td>
<td>Mitchley</td>
<td>Hung</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lubukusu</td>
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<td>Vowel Processes in Gusii</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Swahili Passive and</td>
<td>Ngonyani</td>
<td>Legère</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Stative Extensions</td>
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<td>The Typology of NC Sequences in Central Tano</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and their Interaction</td>
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<td></td>
<td>with the Applicative</td>
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<td>Tense Agreement in</td>
<td>Pietraszko</td>
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<td>Ndebele Light-verb</td>
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<td>Vowel Split in Kinshasa Lingala</td>
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<td>Constructions</td>
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**Saturday Afternoon, April 1, 2017**

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<th>1:00-2:15</th>
<th>Poster Session 3</th>
<th>Frangipani Room</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Musical Notation Analysis of Tonal Downtrends in Anaañ Reduplicative Constructions</td>
<td>Udoh, Ekong, Usoro, Ita &amp; Ntuk</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>A Phonetic Study of Yoruba Vowel Deletion: A Case of Incomplete Neutralization?</td>
<td>Danis</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Toward a Typology of Niger-Congo Complementation</td>
<td>Schaefer, Duah &amp; Egbokhare</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Benefactive Applicatives and Animacy in Ndebele</td>
<td>Sibanda</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Syllable Simplification Processes in Fròʔò</td>
<td>Traore &amp; Fery</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Saving the Face of Kings: The Ideology of Superiority in Yoruba Discourse</td>
<td>Aluko</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ultrasound Imaging of [d], [d], and [gb] in Gengbe</td>
<td>Lotven, Berkson &amp; Lulich</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>An OT Analysis of Consonant Deletion in Ijẹsà Yorùbá</td>
<td>Alabi</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Elucidating Dogon Prosodic Structures: The Case of Liquid 'Flip-frops' in Beni (Dogon)</td>
<td>Dow, Green &amp; Hendrickson</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Phonetic Properties of Kihehe Stops</td>
<td>Steimel &amp; Nyamahanga</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Prosody and Cohesion in Ékegusií (Kisii) Narrative</td>
<td>Hieber</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Ghanaian Social Interactions: An Ethnopragmatic Approach</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bafut Loanwords: An Optimality Theory Analysis</td>
<td>Birnschein</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>2:30-4:00</th>
<th>Syntax 4 Chair: Ken Safir</th>
<th>Maple</th>
<th>Semantics 2 Chair: Patricia Amaral</th>
<th>Walnut</th>
<th>Phonology 3 Chair: Abbie Hantgan</th>
<th>Sassafras</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wh Interrogatives in Ibibio: Movement, Agreement and Complementizers</td>
<td>Major &amp; Torrence</td>
<td>Near Synonyms in Lugungu and their Meaning Differences</td>
<td>Oriikiriza</td>
<td>Prosodic Restructuring in Somali Nominals</td>
<td>Downing &amp; Nilsson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A-bar Agreement and the Tense-Aspect System in Bamileke Medumba</td>
<td>Keupdjio</td>
<td>Lexical Density of the JUMP Domain in Maa</td>
<td>Payne</td>
<td>Herero Verb Tone</td>
<td>Ebarb &amp; Raksachat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Causing by Social Interaction</td>
<td>Schneider-Zioga &amp; Mutaka</td>
<td>Universal Quantification in the Nominal Domain in Kihehe</td>
<td>Kasper-Cushman</td>
<td>Sonorant Acquisition in Yoruba Child Phonology</td>
<td>Isaiah</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>4:15-5:45</th>
<th>Syntax 5 Chair: Phil LeSourd</th>
<th>Maple</th>
<th>Semantics 3 Chair: Tom Grano</th>
<th>Walnut</th>
<th>Phonology 4 Chair: Kelly Berkson</th>
<th>Sassafras</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Two Types of Focus in Limbum (Grassfields Bantu)</td>
<td>Nformi Awasom, Driemel &amp; Becker</td>
<td>A Typological Study of Modality in Luhya Languages</td>
<td>Gluckman, Bowler, Diercks, Sifuna &amp; Alulu</td>
<td>Atypical Opacity in Rutooro Phonology</td>
<td>Bickmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Two Strategies for Affirmative Response to Polar Questions in Bamileke Medumba</td>
<td>Keupdjio &amp; Wilschko</td>
<td>Towards a Unified Account for na in Akan</td>
<td>Essegbe &amp; Hatav</td>
<td>Domains and Directionality in Gua Vowel Harmony</td>
<td>Obiri-Yeboah &amp; Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Adjectives in Sɛlɛɛ</td>
<td>Agbetsoamedo</td>
<td>Event Semantics of Akan Separation Verbs</td>
<td>Agyepong</td>
<td>The Syllable Structure of Buli Words</td>
<td>Akanlig-Pare</td>
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### Sunday Morning, April 2, 2017

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<th>Presenters</th>
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The Need for an Alternative System ofNominal Licensing in Bantu

Jenneke van der Wal (Harvard University)

A core purpose of human language is to convey information about events. In many languages the information about ‘who did what’ is encoded in the syntax by grammatical roles such as subject and object that license the occurrence of nominals in the clause. These roles are also at the basis of many typological generalisations and theoretical models of nominal licensing. However, they do not seem that important at all in the grammar of Bantu languages (spoken in sub-Saharan Africa), posing a challenge for models based on these roles. Instead, it appears that the relative discourse salience of arguments affects nominal licensing at a more fundamental level than in many well-studied European languages: whether a referent is given information, or contrasted with an alternative can determine word order, morphology and syntactic operations.

Building on last year’s ACAL plenary by Jeff Good, in this lecture I first indicate how Bantu languages are problematic for our current theory of nominal licensing by examining a range of phenomena in the areas of 1. agreement (subject and object marking), 2. dependent marking (tone cases, augment), and 3. valency (passive, applicative, adverbial/argument distinction). These all show that traditional nominal licensing (Case, grammatical roles) is unsatisfactory as an explanation, but that at the same time there are syntactic restrictions on nominals. The second part of the lecture suggests an alternative licensing system based on grammaticalised discourse salience, and outlines how this could be studied.

Vocalogenesis in (Central) Chadic Languages

H. Ekkehard Wolff (University of Leipzig)

Why doesn’t the comparative method work for vowels in (Central) Chadic? Why do present-day Chadic languages have such disparate vowel systems with between only one (or even none) and 17 vowels? Are there, in diachronic perspective (and possibly synchronically underlying), any ‘true’ vowels in (Central) Chadic, or are we dealing with a set of [±syll] ‘vocoids’ from the start rather than with [±syll] ‘vowels’? Where and how do ‘weak radicals’ (as known from Semitic scholarship) and ‘long components’/‘prosodies’ (palatalization, labialisation, single and combined) come in, which appear to sometimes affect surface vowels, sometimes consonants, and sometimes both – across syllables and the word? These are some of the questions that could drive comparative Chadicists insane.

In the plenary talk, I will present a diachronic theory of ‘vocalogenesis’ for (at least: Central) Chadic to explain how languages with no or only one vowel, underlying and/or arrived at by internal reconstruction, could be assumed to end up with ten or more vowels in synchronic descriptions. – My renewed interest in these issues was triggered by Richard Gravina’s challenging study on The Phonology of Proto-Central Chadic. The Reconstruction of the Phonology and Lexicon of Proto-Central Chadic, and the Linguistic History of Central Chadic Languages (PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2014.)
The Luyia languages of western Kenya and eastern Uganda have some of the most complicated systems of tonal morphology among Bantu languages. Luyia varieties commonly have 7-8 or more inflectional tonal patterns in verbs, and as many as 12 are reported in one Marachi dialect, possibly marking the peak complexity within Bantu.

Although segmental and lexical differences among Luyia varieties tend to be relatively minor, there is considerable diversity among Luyia verbal tonal systems. Eastern varieties like Idakho and Tachoni have historically conservative systems with a contrast between /H/ and /Ø/ verb roots. In these languages, some tenses are inflected with a ‘melodic H’ that links to a position at one of the edges of the stem, e.g. second mora, final vowel. Southwestern Luyia varieties like Khayo and Saamia have developed into so-called ‘predictable’ systems in which there are no lexical contrasts in verb roots, and all tenses are inflected with a melodic tone. Yet other Luyia varieties have hybrid properties, with a lexical contrast between two tonal types of roots, and a melodic tonal inflection in all verb forms. Some of these systems, e.g. Nyole and Nyala East, appear to have inverted root H tones as synchronically /L/, while others, e.g. Bukusu and Wanga, are more ambiguous as to whether historically *H verb roots are synchronically /H/ or /L/.

Throughout Bantu, nominal tone is less well studied than verbal tone, due to the fact that nouns are morphologically simpler and tend not to have inflectional alternations. However, emerging research suggests that at least some Luyia noun tone systems rival their verbal tone systems in complexity. For instance, eight distinct lexical tonal patterns are attested in disyllabic noun stems in the central Luyia variety Wanga—a historical doubling of the four patterns reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (LL, HH, LH, HL). Two patterns surface all L in phrase-final position: toneless *omu-limi ‘farmer’ vs. L-final *axashi ‘maternal cousin’. These two patterns distinguish themselves phrase-medially. Three other tone patterns are characterized by a single H that occupies different positions: *efi-láaro ‘shoe’ vs. *omu-laáme ‘heir’ vs. *i-koofyá’d ‘hat’. Three further patterns are characterized by two Hs, again differing in the positions of the Hs: *efi-muú*ná ‘squirrel’ vs. *efi* ‘i-túúyu ‘rabbit’. Three further patterns are characterized by two Hs, again differing in the positions of the Hs: *efi-muú*ná ‘squirrel’ vs. *efi* ‘i-túúyu ‘rabbit’ vs. *ii-téété ‘grasshopper’.

As seems to be the norm in Luyia, there is also significant internal diversity in the lexical tonal patterns of nouns. For example, four main lexical patterns are attested in Bukusu. There is the familiar toneless pattern, e.g. *omu-limi ‘farmer’. The other three patterns have a H on the augment, and differ from one another in whether there is a second H on the stem, and, if so, its location: *kúmu-xono ‘arm’ vs. *kúmu-xomwá’‘whip’ vs. *kúmu-báno ‘knife’ (realized as *kúmu-báno due to a rule of plateau).

This talk aims to begin the challenging task of explaining the diversification and complexification of modern Luyia tone systems.
Relativization in Kaakye

Levina Abunya (University of Ghana)
E.Kweku Osam (University of Ghana)

This paper describes relative clauses (RC) in Kaakye. It shows that Kaakye RC is postnominal and the head and its referent within the RC are obligatorily expressed. Kaakye uses pronoun retention and gap strategies to indicate the positions the head occupies in the RC. With pronoun retention, a resumptive pronoun co-references the head in person, number and animacy to state the referent of the head within the RC. All NP positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy are relativizable. Kaakye employs the ‘bracketing device’ in relativization where two enclosing relative markers are placed at the beginning and end of the RC. Evidence from the language suggests that the relative markers have developed from demonstratives.

Phonemic Quality Distinction in Normal and Perturbed Speech in Twi

Kofí Adu Manyah (KNUST, Kumasi, Ghana)

Non-pathological perturbed speech is examined. Previous studies indicate that consonant lengthening after short vowels may contribute to enhancing phonological distinction. What happens to quantity distinction under increased speaking rate conditions and the compression that measured parameters might undergo?

The overwhelming evidence from acoustic data shows that increase in speech rate leads to a compression of absolute durations of vowels as well as post-vocalic consonants. Irrespective of the expansion or compression of the acoustic signal, phonemic quantity distinction emerges consistently in the VC domain, and seems indeed to be a robust phonological feature in the Twi language.

Adjectives in Sɛɛɛ

Yvonne Agbetsoamedo (University of Ghana)

This paper describes the various means by which properties attributed to entities are expressed in Sɛɛɛ, a Ghana-Togo Mountains (GTM), Kwa (Niger-Congo) language spoken by the people of Santrokofi in the Volta Region of Ghana. Sɛɛɛ has three groups of adjectives: (a) two underived adjectives, kple ‘big’ and le ‘good’; (b) adjectives derived from verbs by adding enclitic –le to the verb root; for instance the verb sɛɛ ‘to be ripe’ becomes sɛele ‘red’; and (c) a large group of ideophonic adjectives which is characterized by reduplicative stems and long vowels. These include kpelɔkpelɔ ‘slippery’, kpalakpala ‘sour’ and tii ‘rigid’.
Rhetorical Ecologies Driving Linguistic Change in West Africa

G. Edzordzi Agbozo (Michigan Technological University)
Tolulope Odebutum (Michigan Technological University)

In West Africa of the 21st century code-switching and pidgin have moved from being used for informal conversations to being rhetorical tropes, especially in marketing ads. MTN, a telecommunication company, shows this in their ad:

MTN, e-de bee keke
MTN, it is beautiful [Ga-Adagme] just
MTN, it is just beautiful.

A political party in Ghana used this expression as their 2012 and 2016 campaign slogan – NDC, ede bee keke. Here there is a code-switching among Ga-Adagme, Ghanaian Pidgin and English acronym. This study points to a changing pattern of language use and offers a new perspective of the decolonial project in contemporary West Africa.

Event Semantics of Akan Separation Verbs

Dorothy Agyepong (University of Cape Town)

Separation verbs can be classified into two main categories; CUT and BREAK. CUT verbs lexicalize a causal agent whereas BREAK verbs do not. For this reason, BREAK verbs and not CUT verbs are able to participate in the causative/inchoative alternation. This paper examines the semantic properties of these verbs in Akan, Kwa (Niger-Congo) and argues that data from Akan show some deviations from this claim. In the presence of certain types of NPs, the quintessential BREAK verb behaves semantically and syntactically like CUT verbs and vice versa. The paper presents the various contexts of such deviations.

Consonant Mutation in Esahie

George Akanlig-Pare (University of Ghana, Legon)
Victoria Owusu-Ansah (University of Ghana, Legon)

Esahie, also known as Sewhi, is a Tano/Central-Comoe language of the broader Kwa language family which is spoken in the South-eastern part of Ghana, and parts of the Ivory Coast. It displays a complex series of consonant alternations known as consonant mutation in the realization of allomorphs of morphemes. Unlike assimilatory processes where sounds in adjacent positions exert change influences on each other based on featural differences per se, in the case of consonant mutation, the sound changes are induced not so much by such featural differences, but primarily by morpho-syntactic functions. In this presentation, we examine voicing, stricture and place mutations that are triggered in the process of marking number in nominals as well as tense/aspect inflection on verbs in this language.
The Syllable Structure of Bùlì Words
George Akanlig-Pare (University of Ghana)

This paper discusses the structure of the syllable in Bùlì, a Gur language spoken in the northern part of Ghana. It contends that the maximal syllable in the language is a CV-syllable and that even though at the surface level, CVC-syllable types are realized, these are mostly surface alternates of disyllabic CVCV forms. In the surface CVC form, the realization of the coda is also constrained. Only three nasals and two obstruents out of 23 consonants may occur here. Among them, only one, a nasal is coronal, and the one which has the least incidence of occurrence. Apparent VC and V-syllable types are also normally articulated with a glottal stop in onset position and in loanwords with coda, such coda are re-syllabified into onset through epenthesis. VC-syllables characteristically have the [Coronal,+Anterior] nasal in the coda, which in normal speech nasalizes the vowel and gets deleted. Further evidence in support of a CV-syllable type for Bùlì is derived from comparing cognates from closely related Gur languages. Where in Bùlì, these cognates are realized as CVC, in the related languages, they are CVCV-syllable forms.

The Typology of NC Sequences in Central Tano
Akinbiyi Akinlabi (Rutgers University)
Augustina Owusu (Rutgers University)

The Central Tano languages of Ghana and Cote D’Ivore, including Akan, Nzima, Anyi, Baule and Anuf, have varying degrees of alternation in NC sequences. In this paper we discuss the variation among the languages. In Akan, voiced obstruents become nasals, keeping their underlying places of articulation. Voiceless obstruents on the other hand are faithful to their underlying form in voicing, nasality and place of articulation. In Anyi, voiced obstruents become nasals, as in Akan. However, voiceless obstruents become voiced after the nasal, unlike Akan. Finally, affricates, voiced or voiceless, resist change. The facts of Nzima forms are broadly similar to those of Anyi. However, only the relics of the NC alternation remain in Baule, where only the labial obstruent [b] completely changes to [m] after nasals. The facts of the four languages are accounted for with interactions the same set of markedness and faithfulness constraints.

An OT Analysis of Consonant Deletion in Îjèşà Yorùbá
Victor T. Alabi (Indiana University)

I examine consonant deletion in Îjèşà dialect of Yorùbá using Optimality Theory. The Yorùbá language, a member of the Benue-Congo language family is spoken as a lingua franca in South-West Nigeria. Several Yoruba dialects are spoken in this region, e.g. the Îjèşà dialect, spoken by the people in Ìlèṣà, Òṣun State. I compare the (Standard) Yorùbá and Îjèşà Yorùbá exploring the deletions of glide /w/ and liquid /r/ before any rounded vowel in Îjèşà Yorùbá with *Onset-W: assign a constraint violation for the consonant /w/; and *Onset-R: assign a constraint violation for the consonant /r/; being the highest ranked constraints.
Saving the Face of Kings: The Ideology of Superiority in Yorùbá Discourse

Yewande Aluko (Indiana University)

This paper is a research into the ideology of superiority reflected in some Yorùbá proverbs, idomatic expressions, euphemisms, and circumlocutions, employed in some speech events. Applying Fairclough and van Dijk's approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis and Mey's Perspectivization on data collected from native speakers of the Yorùbá language, novels situated in the Yorùbá culture, and Yorùbá Movies, it was observed that some of these communication strategies were not only reflecting politeness but are also ideological representations of superiority, and this indexicalizes the value the Yorùbá places on position and status.

Focus Construction in Ibibio

Ogbonna Anyanwu (University of Uyo)
Aaron Nwogu (University of Calabar)
Mark Orji (University of Calabar)
Immaculate Okoro (University of Uyo)

The Ibibio focus constructions present a syntactic process that moves the focus constituent to the left periphery, thus allowing focused maximal projections (i.e. elements of the type XP) to surface at the left-adjacent position to the morpheme ke, the focus marker leaving an empty category in the IP-internal position. It is argued in the paper, that the focus strategy in Ibibio requires a leftward movement of the focused constituent into the specifier or head position of a functional projections FocP whose head, Foc is specified as [+F]. It is further proposed that Ibibio focus constituents are subjected to a licensing condition that is satisfied in overt syntax (i.e. at PF) with the requirement that any constituent specified as [+F] must be in Spec-Head configuration with a [+F] head and vice-versa. It is under such a symmetrical checking domain that the focused constituent must raise in overt syntax to check its focus features (Aboh 2004; Rizzi 1991, 1996, 1997; Brody 1990; Chomsky 1995).

Male and Female Parents’ Indigenous Occupational Roles and Intergenerational Transfer of Indigenous Vocabulary: Evidence from Igbo

Ogbonna Anyanwu (University of Uyo)
Aaron Nwogu (University of Calabar)
Mark Orji (University of Calabar)
Immaculate Okoro (University of Uyo)

The paper examines male and female parents’ indigenous occupational roles and their influence on intergenerational transfer of indigenous Igbo vocabulary items. The data for the study were gathered from male and female respondents between the ages of 15 to 25 years who live with both parents engaged in indigenous occupations in the sub-urban areas of the capital cities of the five South-Eastern States of Nigeria where Igbo is indigenously spoken. The findings of the study reveal that there is evidence of endangerment of indigenous Igbo vocabulary items associated with both male and female
indigenous occupational activities. Both the male and female respondents had higher performance percentage scores in their knowledge and identification of indigenous lexical items peculiar to the women occupation. The female respondents however, had higher performance percentage scores in the lexical items associated with the men/women occupational activities hence, it is the females, that constitute strong agents in the intergenerational transfer of the Igbo language.

Linguistic Genocide Against Development of Signed Languages in Africa
Emmanuel Asonye (University of New Mexico, Albuquerque)
Mary Edward (University of Brighton, Easbourne)
Georgeline Ezinne (Save the Deaf and Endangered Languages Initiative)
Ndidi Anike (Save the Deaf and Endangered Languages Initiative)

This paper argues that the African Deaf communities are rich in signed languages which have continued to suffer from lack of development due to linguistic genocide; it argues that African signed languages have unique grammatical structures deserving to be developed, and demonstrate patterns of the effects of linguistic genocide on signed languages in Africa and their users. A multidisciplinary approach was used in the data collection and analyses - simple questionnaires and interviews from deaf individuals, deaf educators and sign language instructors. Findings show that these sign languages have developed unique structural features distinct from the ASL or any other imposing sign language.

Automated Classification of Ideophonic Sound Patterns in Wolof
Rebekah Baglini (Stanford University)
Arthur Hjorth (Northwestern University)

Common in African languages, ideophones are marked words which iconically depict sensory experiences. Because of their non-arbitrary form-meaning associations, ideophones tend to have unusual phonotactics. This project uses computational tools Bayesian classification to investigate the degree to which phonotactic features distinguish ideophones from non-ideophonic verbs in Wolof (Niger Congo, Atlantic Branch; Eth:Wo). We extracted a set of three distinct phonetic features from a corpus of 200+ ideophones and 900+ non-ideophonic verbs drawn from the Wolof Wikipedia. Using these features, we trained and tested a Bayesian classifier and found that it was able to identify ideophones with a high level of accuracy.

An HG Analysis of Word-Final Vowel Deletion and Reduction in Gulmancema
Maggie Baird (Dartmouth College)

Gulmancema (Gur, Burkina Faso) displays an overall dispreference for word-final tense vowels phrase-medially. Repairs include vowel reduction and vowel deletion, which vary both across and within phonological contexts. This work will provide an overview of the complex data patterns and describe a weighted constraint approach to the data patterns using a Maximum Entropy Harmonic Grammar.
Weighted constraints are preferred to ranked constraints due to variability in the data and to account for cases of constraint ganging, including superadditivity.

**Word Order in Senufo Nafara DPs**

*Bertille Baron (Georgetown University)*

Senufo Nafara DPs show the particularly rare unmarked word order [N AP Def Dem Numeral]. In this cartographic account, the proposed derivation uses roll-up and spec-to-spec movement operations to generate this word order (Aboh 2004, Cinque 2005). This analysis relies on two main claims: there is an inflectional domain ΣP under Num in which modifiers are in the specifier position of their own functional projections (Aboh 2004); and EPP-features are generalized to all Φ-features (Baker 2003, Carstens 2005). This analysis buttresses Aboh’s work on Gbe and shows promise in accounting for other West African languages showing rare DP-internal word orders.

**The Rusty Speaker Paradox: Nyang’i Personal Pronouns and Semi-speaker-based Language Description**

*Samuel Beer (University of Colorado Boulder)*

In semi-speaker-based language description, forms found in free or natural speech (e.g. in narratives) are often more reliable than forms produced under duress (i.e. in direct elicitation). On the other hand, semi-speakers’ use of avoidance strategies in narratives often means that paradigms based on narrative data are inevitably incomplete. Using the personal pronoun system of Nyang’i (Kuliak, Uganda), a language remembered by a single semi-speaker, I illustrate the above methodological paradox and explore the utility of comparative and internal reconstruction in harmonizing data collected via the disparate methods.

**“We’re All Speaking Gibberish Here:” Discourses of Speakerhood in Iyasa**

*Anna Belew (University of Hawaii)*

This paper presents an investigation of language ideologies regarding speaker status in Iyasa, an endangered Bantu language of Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea. Using a discourse-analytic approach to data from sociolinguistic interviews, this study examines the ways in which Iyasa people construct the identity of ‘good’ or ‘authentic’ speakerhood—such as positioning rural, elderly men as language authorities—and the ways in which local language ideologies may come into conflict with those brought along by an outside academic researcher. Finally, this study considers the implications of local ideologies of speakerhood for conducting effective language documentation and revitalization.
Atypical Opacity in Rutooro Phonology

Lee Bickmore (University of Albany)

Rutooro, a Ugandan Bantu language, exhibits both Mid Vowel Harmony, where a high vowel lowers to mid when the preceding vowel is mid, as well as Consonant Mutation, where certain suffixes induce lenition of the immediately preceding consonant. Given the descriptions of these two processes, they arguably stand in a bleeding relationship. But what actually results in Rutooro are forms which are neither the result of the bleeding or counterbleeding of these two rules. It is argued that resulting opaque surface forms, unless somewhat arbitrarily complicated, exemplify an atypical opacity, and are problematic for both rule-based and constraint-based accounts.

Bafut Loanwords: An Optimality Theory Analysis

Kathy Ann Birnschein (Baptist College of Ministry)

In this paper I analyze English loanwords from Bafut (Tamanji 2009), an Eastern Grassfields Bantu language of Cameroon, using an Optimality Theoretical framework. I demonstrate that Bafut has four inviolable constraints that disallow consonant clusters, require a minimum word length, limit the syllable coda to a nasal, and require that the left edge of the stem align itself with the left edge of the syllable. It employs vowel epenthesis and consonant deletion to resolve consonant clusters in the onset and coda, respectively, and so requires three violable constraints ranked with respect to each other and below the inviolable constraints.


Comparative Constructions in Tafi

Mercy Bobuafor (University of Ghana)

This paper describes constructions for coding similarity, equality or superiority among two or more entities in Tafi, a KA-Ghana-Togo-Mountain language. Superiority and equality are expressed in SVCs: V1 denotes the PARAMETER while the V2s (‘exceed’ and ‘be.equal’) co-lexicalise both the MARK and INDEX of the comparison. Similarity involves verbless topic-comment structures, the connective nânsí ‘like.say’ which marks and indexes the STANDARD or the verb yi ‘resemble’ as the MARK and INDEX linking the COMPAREE and the STANDARD. Comparison can also be inferred from verbs such as busó ‘do.first’. Tafi does not formally code a superlative. It is inferred.

Optional Past Tense in Wolof

M. Ryan Bochnak (Leipzig University)
Martina Martinovic (Leipzig University)

We discuss the tense morpheme (w)oon in Wolof (Niger-Congo), where tense is not an obligatory category. Plungian & van der Auwera (2006) analyze (w)oon as “discontinuous past”, meaning roughly “past and not present”. We argue (w)oon denotes a plain past tense, similar to optional tenses in the Native American languages Washo and Tlingit, and that the meaning “…and not present” is a cessation
implicature, which can be defeated, arising due to the existence of tenseless clauses. Our analysis adds to the mounting cross-linguistic evidence that “discontinuous past” does not exist as a grammatical category, but rather that cessation inferences are due to the optionality of past marking.

**Intensifying Ideophones in Three Luhya Languages**
*Margit Bowler (UCLA)*  
*John Gluckman (UCLA)*

Ideophones are described as “marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse 2011: 25); they are documented in many languages, particularly in Africa (Voeltz & Killian-Hatz 2001, Hinton et al. 1994, among others). Ideophones have received relatively little attention in the formal literature, despite the interesting puzzles that they raise for theories of morphology, syntax, and semantics. We provide a case study of ideophones in three Luhya languages (Luragooli, Lunyore, and Lutiriki: Bantu, Kenya), show that they differ from other documented ideophone systems in Africa, give a degree-based proposal for their semantic contribution, and discuss the theoretical puzzles that they raise.

**Tone, Orthographies, and Phonological Depth in African Languages**
*Michael Cahill (SIL International)*

Marking of tone in African orthographies is a challenge, not only for analytical reasons, but also because most designers of these have been educated in a non-tonal language. This paper reviews various ways that both lexical and grammatical tone are marked in several East and West African languages, as well as when tone is not marked. In light of more recent phonological theory than Chomsky and Halle (1968), I examine the phonological level at which tone marking should be based, both for underlying tones and for the results of tone rules. Finally, I close with tentative recommendations for orthographical implementations.

**Nguni Phrase-Final Focus Particles and Antisymmetry Theory**
*Vicki Carstens (Southern Illinois University)*  
*Jochen Zeller (University of KwaZulu-Natal)*

Zulu and Xhosa express 'only' with the phrase-final particle *kuphela*.

(1)  
Ngu-Sipho *kuphela* o-ya-sebenza *kuphela*.  
*COP.AUG-1a.Sipho only 3s.REL-DISJ-cook only*  
'It's only Sipho who only works'

We show that *kuphela* must c-command its associate, like English 'only'. That *kuphela* appears to the associate’s right is a serious challenge for antisymmetry theory (Kayne 1994) under which hierarchy maps invariantly into linear order. We also show that recent LCA-inspired approaches to phrase-final particles fail (see Biberauer et al 2014, Erlewine 2016) and conclude that *kuphela* is an adjunct exempt from the LCA (Takano 2003).
Vowel Processes in Gusii
Jonathan Choti (Michigan State University)

This talk is a description and analysis of vowel processes in Gusii, a relatively under-described Bantu language of Kenya. The target phonological processes are observed across adjacent morphemes and words. This work accounts for these alternations in terms of phonetic and phonological conditioning. The relevant processes include fusion, gliding, deletion, harmony, lengthening, and insertion. These are illustrated in (a-e):

a. /e-bi-ino/  
   AUG-CL7-tooth  
   ‘small teeth’  
   à [ebi:no] (fusion)

b. /o-mo-ana/  
   AUG-CL1-child  
   ‘child’  
   à [omwa:na] (gliding, lengthening)

c. /o-go-soom-i-a  
   AUG-CL15-teach-CAUS-FV  
   ‘to teach, teaching’  
   à [ogoso:mi] (deletion)

d. /ó-mo-ko/  
   AUG-CL1-brother/sister-in-law  
   ‘brother/sister-in-law’  
   à [ɔmɔkokɔ] (harmony)

e. /N-tom-e/  
   1SG-send-FV  
   ‘I send’  
   à [(i)ntome] (insertion)

Rural vs. Urban Zulu: The Loss of yi in Reduplication
Toni Cook (University of Vermont)

This paper presents Zulu data from rural and urban areas of South Africa’s KwaZulu-Natal province. The variable in question is word-internal yi in the reduplication of monosyllabic verb stems. The results show that yi is stratified along sociolinguistic lines, with this morpheme being lost in reduplication among urban speakers. Although these speakers retain yi in the imperative of monosyllabic verbs, it is unavailable in reduplication. Along with a rural-urban divide, the data suggest an age effect as well, with younger rural speakers less likely to produce or accept reduplications containing yi than older rural speakers. This trend indicates that rather than stable variation, it is better understood as a change in progress.

A Phonetic Study of Yoruba Vowel Deletion: A Case of Incomplete Neutralization?
Nick Danis (Rutgers University)

A phonetic study of Yoruba vowel deletion (/CV₁+V₂→[CV₂]) shows that the vowel that remains after deletion is slightly but significantly longer than a short vowel in non-deletional contexts (p<0.001). The experiment controlled for inherent vowel duration and voicing/manner of articulation of the surrounding consonants. Previous phonological accounts (e.g. Akinlabi & Oyebade 1987; Ola Orie &
Pulleyblank (2002) analyze this process as full vowel deletion, but because the resulting vowel is incompletely neutralized with a simple vowel, alternative analyses are discussed. This also relates to a similar result with Yoruba tone (Ajibóyè et al. 2011) in the same syntactic configuration.

Did SA’s Political Parties Promote ‘Multilingualism’ During the Last Elections?

Thabo Ditsele (Tshwane University of Technology)

The spirit of South Africa’s Constitution is that ‘multilingualism’ should be promoted as a means to foster social cohesion and nation-building, with a view to unite its people in a country with a centuries-long history of racial segregation. However, English and Afrikaans remain the country’s dominant languages. This study aimed at investigating the extent to which political parties used the country’s 11 official languages to promote ‘multilingualism’ during the last elections held on August 3, 2016. Data were gathered in Tshwane (or greater Pretoria) and focused on the biggest political parties in Tshwane.

Pieces of the Periphery: A Glance into the Cartography of Ibibio's CP Domain

John-Patrick Doherty (University of Kansas)

Cartographic studies of the left periphery identify a constant ordering of phrases at the clausal edge. This order is hypothesized as the result of a predetermined functional sequence that is part of Universal Grammar. Proposals for this universal sequence make testable predictions about the ordering of projections within any CP. These phrases are visible through activation by syntactic phenomena that make them overt. Ibibio (Niger-Congo) features a rich array of peripheral elements and structure. The relative ordering of the phrases in Ibibio examined here reflects proposed universal underlying hierarchical structure of the left periphery, but may require additional projections.

Elucidating Dogon Prosodic Structures: The Case of Liquid ‘Flip-Frops’ in Beni (Dogon)

Michael Dow (Université de Montréal)
Chris Green (Syracuse University)
Ryan Hendrickson (University of Michigan)

Liquids in Beni (Heath 2009) are subject to strict linear restrictions across certain root-suffix boundaries, where all combinations collapse onto [l...r] (e.g., /sru-li/ à [sli-ri] ‘moist-INCH’). These patterns are particular to derivational morphology (e.g., [li:li] ‘accompany’), and inflectional suffixes fail to trigger stem alternations. In our analysis, lateralization feeds lateral dissimilation (e.g., /sru-li/ > [sli-li] > [sli-ri]). We look to lateralization and other processes as evidence of Beni’s prosodic structure, where the second syllable onset position of words show metrical weakness, in line with previous trochaic analyses.
Prosodic Restructuring in Somali Nominals
Laura J. Downing (University of Gothenburg)
Morgan Nilsson (University of Gothenburg)

It is uncontroversial that in Somali no more than one High tone can occur per Phonological Word (PWord). More problematic is to determine which morphological constructions contribute a High tone and to provide a formal account of the position and number of High tones that occur. Preliminary results of our study of the prosody of nominal constructions, based on elicitation data, shows that some morphological constructions do not have the High tone patterns expected from work like Hyman (1981), Saeed (1999) and Green & Morrison (2015). We propose the patterns are the result of prosodic restructuring, which appears to be typical of these kinds of tonal systems.

Herero Verb Tone
Kristopher Ebarb (University of Missouri)
Milintra Raksachat (University of Missouri)

This talk overviews the tonal phonology of Herero verbs (Bantu, Namibia, R.30). We identify three tonal classes of verbs, and describe the effect of the tone classes, inflectional tone melodies, and high-toned affixes on verbal stem tone patterns. We also discuss the relationship of lexical tone classes with a pattern of segmental allomorphy related to tense-marking. Some constructions, e.g. the Recent Past, are inflected with a final vowel (FV) the quality of which is determined partly by the verb’s tonal class, the number of stem syllables, and the identity of the final consonant and vowel of the root.

Tone Assimilation in Yorùbá Agentive Affixed Nominals
Taiwo Ehineni (Indiana University)

This paper examines tone assimilation in Yoruba derived contexts. Based on data within the context of agentive affixed forms in Yoruba, I argue that tone assimilation in Yoruba affixed agentive nominals is influenced by the tonality structure of the base where only the M L and M H verb base forms assimilate tone from a nominalizing prefix and also the tonal quality of the affix. That is, prefixes carrying Low tone, unlike Mid tone prefixes, may trigger tone assimilation within the affixal construction.

A Pragmasemantic Investigation of Metaphor (Un)translatability in Arabic Religious Discourse
Kamel A Elsaadany (Gulf University of Science and Technology)

This study investigates metaphor (un)translatability in Quran. It aims to analyze different translations of selected metaphors in Quran and to explore the problematic areas in translating them. Its theoretical framework adopts a pragmasemantic approach in analyzing metaphor translations in the Quran. The study findings show that there is no one-to-one equivalence between the metaphoric elements in Arabic/English. The process of translating metaphors in Quran into English is problematic because of the linguistic and socio-cultural diversity of both Arabic and English. The principles of conceptual metaphor theory proved suitable for everyday metaphors, but they encounter many challenges in rendering
metaphors in religious texts that challenge translators who struggle to convey the intended meaning of Quranic metaphors. The challenge is clear for both oriental and western translators of metaphors in the Quran.

**Negotiating Identity through Personal Names among Nigerian Pentecostals**

*Ngozi Ugo Emeka-Nwobia (Ebonyi State University, Nigeria)*

Applying Fishman (2006)'s principle of Sociology of Language and Religion the paper explores the nexus between Pentecostalism as a subculture and its effect on personal names as a linguistic resource for identity construction. Data from selected Pentecostal churches and schools in Nigeria reveal a shift from African names that reflect the linguistic, philosophical and geographical information of the name giver/bearer. There is growing linguistic preference for names in English forms but with retention of indigenous thought patterns. The paper argues that names, just like language provide means of expression of identity; and religion plays a pivotal role in language shift and maintenance.

**The Syntax and Semantics of Akan HIT verbs**

*Emma Sarah Eshun (University of Ghana)*

This paper explores the syntactic and semantic properties of HIT verbs in Akan, a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language spoken in Ghana. HIT verbs in Akan exhibit monomorphemic, serial verb lexicalization and reduplication properties. Dowty (1991:576) argues that in Thematic roles as Prototype, the Proto-roles do not classify arguments exhaustively, some arguments may share the same role. The study reveals that in deserialized constructions, some inanimate subject entities uniquely share Agent/Instrument role as unitary element and display impact of causative character. Some HIT concepts also exhibit polysemous denotations. The study uses data from various published Akan sources; Fante Bible, novels and dictionaries.

**Towards a Unified Account for na in Akan**

*James Essegbey (University of Florida)  
Galia Hatav (University of Florida)*

Grammatical accounts of *na* in Akan identify 2 different forms: low-tone *nà* (LT-na) and high-tone *ná* (HT-na) to which different functions are attributed. We argue that all uses of *na* are subcategories of a super-category, Root-na. Root-na links the *na*-clause with something in the common ground, i.e., something that appeared in the previous context or is presupposed. It is spelled out as a LT-*na* or HT-*na*, depending on the kind of linking. LT-*na* marks discourse coherence relations such as focus and narrative-sequence. HT-*na* is an intensional marker which links times or possible worlds.
On the State Distinction and Case in Kabyle Berber

Lydia Felice (McGill University)

In Kabyle, nominals may appear in the Free State or Construct State. Free State nominals are characterized by presence of the prefix a-. Construct State nominals lack this prefix. Nominals in the Free State appear as preverbal subjects, complements of certain prepositions, and objects of the verb. Nominals in the Construct State appear as postverbal subjects and complements of certain prepositions. I assume that the Free State morpheme is an intrinsic case marker occupying $K^0$. Nominals in the Construct State are DPs that must be licensed structural case, while nominals in the Free State are KPs that receive case from the FS morpheme a-. I propose that treating the FS vowel as $K^0$ accounts for the full distribution of Free State and Construct State nominal.

Efik Nominal Tonal Alternations as Phrasal Morphology

Eleanor Glewwe (UCLA)

Certain Efik nominal constructions exhibit fixed tonal melodies that overwrite nouns’ underlying tones. Previous analyses of these alternations (Welmers 1973, Kim 1974, Cook 1985) are purely phonological. Working in a constraint-based framework, I propose that the tonal alternations are actually phrasal morphology (McPherson 2014). The tonal melodies are overlays encoded in lexicalized constructional schemas that relate idiosyncratic phrasal phonology with specific syntactic constructions. The constructional schemas are enforced by constraints. The Efik case extends the observed range of phrasal morphology by demonstrating that constructional schema constraints and phonological constraints can interact to determine a construction’s surface tones.

A Typological Study of Modality in the Luhya Languages.

John Gluckman (UCLA)
Margit Bowler (UCLA)
Michael Diercks (Pomona College)
Maurice Sifuna (Kenyatta University)
Kelvin Alulu (United States International University in Nairobi)

We present a crosslinguistic study of modality in six Luhya languages (Bantu, Kenya): Llogoori, Lubukusu, Lunyore, Lusaamia, Lutiriki, and Luwanga. We show how the Luhya modal system conforms to the typology of Nauze (2008) and also challenges his system. Our data come from original fieldwork in the United States and Kenya, and were collected using a modified version of Vander Klok’s (2014) modal fieldwork questionnaire. This is the first in-depth descriptive study of modality in Bantu, and directly contributes to the body of research on modal typology (following e.g. van der Auwera and Plungian, 1998; Palmer, 2001; van der Auwera and Ammann, 2011).
Logophoricity and Coreference Constraints in Gengbe Attitude Reports

Thomas Grano (Indiana University)
Samson Lotven (Indiana University)

We report on novel and puzzling field data concerning clausal complementation in Gengbe (Gbe, Niger-Congo). The core puzzle is that a logophoric subject under ‘want’ is obligatorily bound by an antecedent in the immediately higher clause when the ‘want’-complement has potential mood but obligatorily bound by an antecedent in a more remote clause when the ‘want’-complement has jussive mood. We document these and related facts and consider their implications for theories of control, logophoricity, and mood. We argue that control complements are property-denoting and that logophoricity and jussive mood are two independent routes for creating property-denoting clauses.

Towards a Typology of Tonal Compactness in Mande

Christopher Green (Syracuse University)

Tonal compactness (TC) involves the neutralization of the lexical tonal melody of one or both elements in morphologically complex words and some phrases. Only two types of TC are reported in the literature; this paper proposes two additional types. I show that each has in common that the head PWd contributes its tonal melody to the maximal PWd encompassing the larger construction. The maximal PWd receives the head’s tonal melody, distributing it across other elements; however, the outcomes of distribution and the units across which tones are distributed are type-specific.

Quantitative Methods in African Linguistics - Predicting Plurals in Hausa

Matías Guzmán Naranjo
Laura Becker

We will present a case study on Hausa plural classes. Hausa shows an extremely complex plural system, with over 40 plural markers, including broken plurals and reduplication, which can be grouped into 15 major classes Newman (2000). Additionally, multiple nouns exhibit overabundance. We propose a computational implementation of an analogical model using neural networks. We implement this model by using formal features of the singular form of the nouns: last consonant, last two vowels (with their tone), the length of the singular and the CV structure of the last four segments.

Implications of Absolute Neutralisation on Harmonic Serialism: A Jóola Case Study

Abbie Hantgan (SOAS)

In Jóola Bandial the verb stems, [ɛ-xɔx] 'to tie', [na-xɔγ-ɛ] 's/he tied' illustrate that the same consonant, [x], in the context expected for the same type of lenition, that being following a vowel, surfaces as [x] and as [y] respectively. In this paper, I provide an alternative analysis to (Bassène 2012: 126) in which
the underlying form of this root is /-kɔk/ ‘tie’, and that the two processes of lenition are sensitive to the application of stress in the language. The results are discussed with respect to Harmonic Serialism (McCarthy J. J. & Pater J. 2016).


**Prosody and Cohesion in Ékegusi (Kisii) Narrative**

*Daniel W. Hieber (University of California, Santa Barbara)*

This paper shows how prosodic features lend cohesion to discourse by signaling the transitions from one unit of discourse to the next, the relations that hold between them, and their relative prominence. I examine six prosodic features across 25 narratives in Ékegusi (Kisii), a Great Lakes Bantu language of Kenya – pause, vowel elision, prosodic accent, pitch reset, isotony (intonational parallelism), and intonational contour. I exemplify the ways these features demarcate conceptually cohesive units of discourse, create ties between one segment of discourse and another, and indicate how – and how closely – the new discourse topic relates to the old one.

**A Descriptive Overview of Noun Classes and the Morphosyntax of Agreement in Zaramo**

*Toby Hei Nok Hung (Georgetown University)*

Bantu languages are known for their rich morphosyntactic systems. This descriptive project highlights agreement in Zaramo (G33), a previously undocumented, moribund language spoken primarily by the Zaramo group in the Pwani and Dar es Salaam regions of Eastern Tanzania. The presentation will begin with a system of organizing Zaramo noun classes, including their semantic categories, then move onto the rules that govern agreement marking, particularly the occurrence of the object marker under different valency conditions in the verbal complex. The findings suggest that noun classes and agreement in Zaramo are highly similar to Swahili, despite several key differences.

**Number and Animacy in the Teke Noun Class System**

*Larry M. Hyman (University of California, Berkeley)*

*Florian Lionnet (Princeton University)*

*Christophère Ngolélé (Université Catholique d’Afrique Centrale)*

In this paper, we trace the development of Proto-Bantu noun classes into Teke (Bantu B70, Ewo dialect), showing that formal reflexes of classes 1, 2, 5-9, and 14 are detectable. We further show that animacy, abstractness, and number allow us to determine the fate of classes 3, 4, 10, 11 and identify the following singular/plural genders: 1/2 (animate <PB 1/2, some 9/10), 1/8 (inanimate, <PB 3/4), 14/8 (abstract, <PB 14/8), 5/6 (<PB 5/6), 5/9 (<PB 11/10, with 10>9 merger), 7/8 (<PB 7/8), and 9/6 (<PB 9/6). Such reassignments provide a window into probing parallel noun class changes in other Northwest Bantu and Niger-Congo in general.
Sonorant Acquisition in Yoruba Child Phonology
Adebola Ayoola Isaiah (Kwara State University)

Segmental acquisition has universal developmental stages and language-particular developmental stages. In this paper I address the acquisition of consonantal sonorants in words by Yoruba children. I show that there is a particular developmental pattern common to all children. This pattern can be accounted for by (a) assuming the emergence of segmental markedness constraints, (b) assuming that there is an interface between phonetics and phonology in the outcome of the child’s sound inventory at each developmental stage, and (c) noting that the substitution of consonantal sonorants is done with another consonantal sonorants but not obstruents. Irrespective of the variations among children, the systemic simplification method used by all children is categorial substitution.

The Stative Morpheme in Kinyarwanda
Kyle Jerro

I describe the stative morpheme –ik in Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Rwanda), which has anticausative, stative, and potential readings. I present a formal semantic analysis of -ik as a detransitivizing morpheme in which the different readings follow from verb meaning, the tense/aspect of the clause, and idiosyncratic restrictions of the root. The lattermost fact is evidence against the Bifurcation Thesis of Roots (BTR), which proposes that syntactic roots cannot entail a change. Specifically, the –ik morpheme is only available with roots which entail a change, and it is unexpected on the BTR that the root determines the derivational strategy.

Presuppositions and Other Projective Contents in Kiswahili
Jessi Jordan (Ohio State University)

This poster investigates presupposition projection in Kiswahili based on fieldwork with two native speaker consultants. Six triggers are examined: kumaliza ‘to finish’, kuacha ‘to stop, to quit’, kujua ‘to know’, tena ‘again’, pia ‘too’, and appositive noun phrases (such as mwalimu wangu ‘my teacher’ or kakangu mdogo ‘my little brother’). The methodology follows diagnostics for projection proposed by Tonhauser et al. 2013, allowing for cross-linguistic comparison with their reports on the phenomenon in English and Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupí Guarani).

Vowel Split in Kinshasa Lingala
Philothe Kabasele (University of Calgary)

This paper investigates the split of /o/ into [o] and [u] (herein s[o] and s[u]) in Kinshasa Lingala and determines whether split s[o]/s[u] occupies different phonetic space from the already existing [o]/[u], respectively. The study investigates whether this split is primary or secondary (Korchin, 2013: 614). A Picture Elicitation Task was administered to 26 participants to elicit the data. I used Praat to extract the frequency measurements of the vowels. I used Lobanov (1971) z-score formula to normalize the data. The results show that /o/ is realized as s[o] or s[u] which have merged into [o] and [u], respectively.
The Semantics of -ILE in Nyamwezi
Ponsiano S. Kanijo (University of Gothenburg)

Nyamwezi is one of the Bantu languages in which -ile encodes a resultative reading with inchoative verbs. Nevertheless, some inchoative verbs, including “perception” verbs, posture verbs and those verbs denoting mental processing and physical condition, do not neatly encode a resultative reading. These verbs give a continuative reading, in which there is no fine line separating prior eventuality and the current state. The same continuative reading occurs with motion verbs. My analysis will provide some insights and give further evidence on the relationship between resultative and continuative readings, based on elicitation data.

Universal Quantification in the Nominal Domain in Kihehe
Kelly Kasper-Cushman (Indiana University)

This study provides a description of the universal quantifiers mbe-ag2-li (‘all’) and kila (‘every’) in Kihehe, a Bantu language spoken in south-central Tanzania (G.62), and thus contributes to the scant literature on quantification in Bantu languages in general (Zerbian & Krifka 2008). Following a description of the properties of these quantifiers within the NP, this study analyzes how the Kihehe data bear on the phenomena of collective vs. distributive interpretations and the partitive construction. Finally, this study argues that the Kihehe data support Matthewson’s (2001) hypothesis of no variation crosslinguistically in the semantics of quantifiers.

A-bar Agreement and the Tense-Aspect System in Bamileke
Medumba
Hermann Keupdjio (University of British Columbia)

A-bar agreement (also known as wh-agreement) is the morphological reflex of A’-movement. Medumba “tense-marking” morphemes are sensitive to A’–extraction. I propose that A-bar agreement is a move-based phasal Agree operation. Therefore, agreement is predicted to appearance with subjects as subjects move once to Spec-C. Extracted objects first move to the edge of vP where agreement is reflected on V, then to Spec-C where agreement is reflected on T. When there is more than one tense-marking morpheme, three instances of A-bar agreement are spelt-out. I propose that in those cases, there is an intermediate phase between CP and vP headed by α. Thus, the object crosses 3 phases: first vP, then αP and finally CP.

Two Strategies for Affirmative Response to Polar Questions in Bamileke Medumba
Hermann Keupdjio (University of British Columbia)
Martina Wiltschko (University of British Columbia)

In Medumba, there are two ways to say “yes” as a response to a polar question. A polar question can be answered with either ƞƞ or ƞƞƞ. The question that arises is whether they differ from each other, and if so how. This paper shows that the two response markers differ in their response target. While ƞƞ is used
to respond to the propositional content of the polar question, ŋ́ ŋ́ is used to respond to a bias introduced in the polar question.

**Antiagreement in Berber and Theory of Agreement**  
*Kunio Kinjo (Rutgers University)*

One of the issues that have been lively discussed in the recent literature of theory of agreement based on Chomsky’s (2000) probe-goal system is on directionality of Agree: whether it proceeds downwards or upwards (Zeijlstra 2012, Wurnbrand 2014 a.o). In this study I claim that (a) probing is always downward, and (b) phrases can serve as probes, through an investigation of the so-called antiagreement effect in Berber (AAE; Ouhalla 1993), an agreement suppression effect caused by subject extraction, with a special focus on a hitherto unaccounted for case of AAE that is triggered by a negative concord item (Ouali 2005).

**Shona Subjects are Subjects**  
*Jordan Kodner (University of Pennsylvania)*

There has been debate over the status of Shona pre-verbal subjects. Traditional analyses assume that its pre-verbal subject position is an A-position (Harford 1983, etc), while some recent analyses suggest that Shona and other Bantu pre-verbal subjects actually occupy a topic, A'-position (Bliss & Storoshenko 2008, etc). We provide new evidence for the A-position analysis from NSI pre-verbal subjects and the lack of weak crossover. Additionally, we counter claims made in favor of the subject-as-topic analysis related to supposed strong crossover effects. The arguments presented here may prove insightful applied to the subject-as-topic analysis for other Bantu languages as well.

**Person and Animacy Interaction in Akan and Gã Post-Positions**  
*Sampson Korsah (Leipzig University)*

This paper proposes that the overt versus null realisations of pronominal complements of post-positions in Akan and Ga result from the general mechanism that regulates the realisation of pronouns in both languages i.e. the overt ones move, and the null ones are deleted in in-situ.

Like several of their Kwa neighbours, in Akan and Ga, the realisation of a pronominal complement of a post-position is a function of the animacy property of its nominal antecedent; animate ones are always pronounced, but inanimate ones are often deleted. Interestingly, this pronunciation distinction obtains only for third person pronouns. To formally account for these patterns, I assume that:

- The nominal complement of a post-position starts out as a complement (to the right) of the post-position (see Aboh 2005, 2004). The fact that it appears to the left of its selecting head suggests some kind of displacement in course of the derivation.
- Animacy is the semantic correlate of person in syntax (see Richards 2015). This means that all animate pronouns (including first and second person pronouns, which are never inanimate) have a person feature in syntax, while inanimate pronouns do not.
c. Nominal elements with person features are attracted to a higher position (see Woolford 1999). This means that animate nominals are attracted from their base-position.

d. Linearisation follows Kayne (1994)’s system i.e. high-to-low maps left-to-right.

It follows therefore that the null post-positional complements in Akan and Ga do not move higher, forcing their deleted in-situ, in order to make linearisation possible. Animate pronouns on the other hand, due to their person feature, escape this deletion mechanism because they are attracted to a higher specifier by some higher functional head bearing an person probe.

### Comitative Constructions in Fon

*Renee Lambert-Bretiere (University of Maryland, Baltimore County)*

Fon, a Kwa language mainly spoken in Benin by almost 2 million speakers, exhibits two types of comitative constructions: one comitative serial verb construction with the verb xá ‘to turn’ in the second of the series, and one construction expressing comitativity via an adpositional phrase kpó(ɖò)...kpó/kpán. The two comitative constructions in Fon have quite different properties. The aim of this presentation is to investigate their similarities and differences in forms and functions from a functional-typological point of view. I demonstrate that the distinction between the two comitative constructions in Fon lies in which argument is the primary participant, and which one is the secondary one.

### Common Plant Names in South Nilotic Akie

*Karsten Legère (University of Vienna)*

This presentation has to do with common names for plants in the Akie language of Tanzania. The identification of these plant names (and plant uses from an ethnobotanic perspective) in field work and subsequent specimen analysis (in the Herbarium/University of Dar es Salaam) resulted in a rich data collection that is available in the DoBeS archive, MPI Nijmegen/Netherlands. The 450 plant names will be analysed for the origin (i.e. Akie, borrowing from Maa resp. true Maa synonym or Bantu [mainly Swahili or neighbouring Ngulu]), the selection of language specific singular – plural patterns and word structures as well as etymological aspects.

### The Inflection of the Bembe Verb

*Derek Legg (University of Kentucky)*

This paper presents an analysis of verbal data from Bembe, a Bantu language spoken primarily in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Based on data from Iorio (2015) and elicitations of Bembe speakers in Louisville, KY, I use the Network Morphology framework (Brown & Hippisley 2012) to account for seemingly irregular patterns in Bembe inflection such as the polyfunctionality of subject, object, and relativizer marking, linking the framework with the f-structure in LFG (Bresnan et. al 2016).
Stem-Initial Prominence in West and Central Africa: Niger-Congo, Areal, or Both?

Florian Lionnet (Princeton University)
Larry Hyman (University of California, Berkeley)
Christophère Ngolele (Hekima University College)

In this paper, I focus on the distribution of stem-initial prominence (SIP) in West and Central Africa. Based on a preliminary sample of ca. 100 genealogically and geographically diverse languages, I show that 1) SIP is attested almost exclusively in Niger-Congo languages occupying the geographical core of the Niger-Congo spread zone; and 2) the few non-Niger-Congo languages with SIP in this area are in contact with Niger-Congo languages, suggesting areal effects. I conclude that, despite the fact that it is attested mostly in Niger-Congo, SIP is better characterized as an areal feature within the core of the Niger-Congo spread zone than as a Niger-Congo feature.

Ultrasound Imaging of [d], [ɖ], and [ɡ̃b] in Gengbe

Samson Lotven (Indiana University)
Kelly Berkson (Indiana University)
Steven Lulich (Indiana University)

This research presents three-dimensional imaging of the articulation of typologically unusual sounds in Gengbe, a Gbe language spoken in Southern Togo and Benin. Of note in the Gengbe consonant inventory is the uncommon coronal contrast between [d] and [ɖ] as well as labial velar double articulation [ɡ̃b]. Recent advances in ultrasound technology make it possible to capture detailed three-dimensional images of the tongue surface during the articulation of these sounds, about which much remains to be learned.

Wh-Interrogatives in Ibibio: Movement, Agreement and Complementizers

Travis Major (UCLA)
Harold Torrence (UCLA)

In this talk, we investigate the syntactic properties of wh-question constructions in Ibibio, a Lower Cross language of Nigeria. We show that Ibibio exhibits three wh-strategies: wh-in-situ, partial wh-movement, and full wh-movement. We then examine how the wh-question strategies in Ibibio interacts with the complementizers: ke (declarative), mme (interrogative), and nana. We also examine the interaction of wh-interrogation with focus morphology and agreement on the verb by looking at the properties of antiagreement in long distance A'-extraction contexts.
Tonal Inequalities in a Four-Tone Language: the Case of Seenku’s Middle Tones
Laura McPherson (Dartmouth College)

Seenku is a four-tone Mande language spoken in Burkina Faso, contrasting extra-low (X), low (L), high (H), and super-high (S). While X and S are free to appear in many different environments, the middle tones L and H are subject to restrictions at both the level of the lexicon and on the surface. Drawing on distributional data from a corpus of texts, I discuss the role diachrony played in the development of such inequalities and how they are maintained by the synchronic grammar.

Raising to Object in Lubukusu
Hazel Mitchley (Rutgers University)

In Lubukusu DPs cannot hyper-raise past the agreeing complementizer AGR-li. Carstens and Diercks (2009) argue that this is because AGR-li is a high C, which acts as a phase head, while the non-agreeing complementizer is a low C, and therefore not a phase head. A potential problem for this theory lies in the fact that is possible to ‘raise to object’ across AGR-li. This talk attempts to distinguish the exact locus of the raised DP (matrix DP vs left periphery of the embedded clause), and determine the theoretical implications of the DP’s position.

The Lexicon of the Mixed Language Ma’á/Mbugu
Maarten Mous (Leiden University)

Ma’á/Mbugu is a mixed language with a joint grammar and parallel lexicon sharing meaning and morphosyntactic properties but with two different forms, one of which is “normal” Mbugu, a Pare lect, and the other form different with a variety of sources. This talk is concerned with correlations between the various sources of the deviant Ma’á words and their semantic fields taking a diachronic perspective, as well as with the words that are not doubled, their origin and their semantic fields and I link this to studies of language attrition and the lexicon.

A Corpus Study of Swahili Relative Clauses
Mohamed Mwamzandi (University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill)

The main objective of this study is presenting, via corpus analysis, possible explanations for the choice between the tensed-relative and the amba-relative clauses in Swahili (Niger-Congo, Bantu). 100 amba-relatives and 102 tensed-relatives were extracted from the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili. Analysis of the dataset indicates that the amba-relative is used in instances where the tensed-relative is restricted. This study presents a new perspective in the understanding of the pragmatics of the two forms of Swahili relative clauses. The results of the study show that the tensed relative is unmarked – more frequently used.
The Phonetic Realization of High Tone Spans in Luganda
Scott Myers (University of Texas at Austin)

Luganda has short high tone spans, limited to a single syllable, as well as long ones, covering an unbounded number of syllables. This study compares these two classes in f0 scaling and timing, and also compares lexical high tones and intonational boundary tones subject to the same tone spread processes. The boundary tones had a smaller f0 rise and fall excursion than lexical high tones. In short spans the f0 rise was completed earlier in the syllable and the subsequent f0 fall began later compared to long spans. This suggests that long tone spans have long transitions, like long segments.

Logophoric Reference in Ibibio
Lydia Newkirk (Rutgers University)

I present novel data from Ibibio (Cross River, Nigeria) logophoric pronouns, suggesting that they behave like shifted indexicals (as in Anand, 2006), despite being distinct pronominal forms. This raises questions about the semantics of logophoricity, as well as syntactic/morphological questions about the realization of logophoric elements. I propose that Ibibio logophors are sensitive to both a context-shifting operator as well as a binding operator in the scope of an attitude verb. The analysis will have impact for the typology of logophors and other logophoric elements cross-linguistically, suggesting that logophoric pronouns and shifted indexicals are not so easily distinguishable semantically as previously thought, and raising syntactic and morphological questions about the realization of logophoric elements found cross-linguistically.

Two Types of Focus in Limbum (Grassfields Bantu)
Jude Nformi Awasom (Leipzig University)
Imke Driemel (Leipzig University)
Laura Becker (Leipzig University)

Limbum (Grassfield Bantu, spoken in Cameroon) has two focus constructions that involve two different markers and positions in the clause. As in many other West African languages, verb focus is encoded by the doubling of the verb. By applying tests for exhaustivity, contrastiveness, and addressing the interaction with focus-sensitive operators (e.g. also, even, only, universal quantifiers) we will show that the two focus strategies in Limbum express two functions: information focus and identificational focus (Kiss 1998). We will account for the syntax of the two constructions and test, whether they involve a high and low focus position.

Register Lowering and Tonal Overwriting in Limbum Deverbal Nouns
Jude Nformi Awasom (Leipzig University)

With novel data from Limbum (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon), I present an account of an interesting behaviour of tone in nominalised verbs. I show that the nominalizer in the language comprises a floating tonal circumfix (L·L) which triggers different kinds of lowering effects on the edges of verb roots. I assume the model of tonal representation proposed by Snider (1999) and provide an OT-analysis of the
data. Nominalisation involves combining the circumfix whose prefixal segment forms part of a noun class marker and a verb root. The effect of this process is that the tone of the verb root lowers. The H and L of the first syllable become M and LL (Super-low) respectively while the H and M of the second syllable both become L. Lowering of the tone of the first syllable results from association of the floating l-register of the prefixal part of the circumfix to the tone it precedes and delinks its original register if it was h. The suffixal overwrites the tone of the second syllable, hence H and M change to L. The tone of the first syllable is however not overwritten by the suffixal. I argue that the root-initial syllable is a prominent position whose segments are preserved by a positional faithfulness constraint which makes the insights of these system better expressed in OT.

**Swahili Passive and Stative Extensions and their Interaction with the Applicative**

*Deo Ngonyani (Michigan State University)*

This paper examines two constructions in Swahili that fail to assign an external θ-role, namely, passive and stative, and their interaction with the applicative. Although both the passive derivation and the stative derivation suppress the external argument, they exhibit several significant differences. In applicative constructions, the passive promotes the applied object while the stative promotes the direct object. The paper proposes that the passive extension is generated as the head of VoiceP, while the stative is a head that takes the VP as its complement. The analysis provides an account for the relative positions of the two extensions in terms of syntactic derivations and the Mirror Principle.

**The Subjunctive Mood in Giryama and Tanzanian Nyanja**

*Nancy Jumwa Ngowa (Pwani University)*

*Deo Ngonyani (Michigan State University)*

The subjunctive has often been associated its semantic distribution to irrealis in contrast to the indicative, which is associated with realis. However, there is plenty of data from different languages that show that the subjunctive does occur in realis environments of complements of factive verbs and causative verbs. Using the prototype approach to morphosyntax, we argue that irrealis may not be a necessary and sufficient condition for the subjunctive. However, we demonstrate using data from the Bantu languages of Giryama and Nyanja of Tanzania that constructions that give irrealis and weaker manipulation readings provide the best exemplars of subjunctives in these two languages.

**Monsters in Dhaasanac and Somali**

*Sumiyo Nishiguchi (Tokyo University of Science)*

In Dhaasanac, I in the embedded clause can refer to either the matrix subject or speaker, and you shifts its reference in the relative clause. Yesterday, today and tomorrow optionally shift reference in the embedded clause while the locative indexicals, e.g., here, remain context dependent. Such shifting pattern does not fit into the three types of monsters identified in Slave (Anand and Nevins 2004). Therefore, I claim the existence of a fourth kind of monster.
In Somali, the person and temporal indexicals optionally shift under the verb yi `say' while locative indexicals remain unshifted. If the context-shifting operator only allows shift-together of all indexicals in its scope, unshiftable indexicals are not really indexicals but demonstratives or definite descriptions as Sudo (2010) suggests.

Disappearing Lexemes in the Igbo Language: An Effect of Language Variation and Change
Greg Obiamalu (Nnamdi Azikiwe University)
Linda Nkamigbo (Nnamdi Azikiwe University)

Many words of the Igbo language are fast becoming obsolete as a result of technological and societal changes. This paper discusses the disappearing lexemes in the everyday speech of especially younger speakers of Igbo. The paper provides ample examples of such words as collected from different Igbo dialect areas and expresses the obvious fear that with the passage of time, such words would completely disappear from the Igbo lexicon. The paper concludes on the note that there is urgent need to conduct multimedia documentation of these lexical items before they completely disappear from the Igbo lexicon.

Domains and Directionality in Gua Vowel Harmony
Michael Obiri-Yeboah (University of California, San Diego)
Sharon Rose (University of California, San Diego)

This paper reports on the domain and directionality of Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) vowel harmony in the Boso dialect of Gua, a Guang language of Ghana. Gua has nine phonemic vowels and an allophonic vowel derived via ATR harmony. Harmony is enforced within the root and within nominal and verbal stems. In addition, the harmonic domain can extend to the last vowel of a preceding word. Gua shows exclusively regressive directionality, a typologically unusual pattern. We compare Gua vowel harmony to other Guang languages such as Nkonya, Lête and Nkami, which differ in terms of the domain of harmony, but all show regressive directionality.

The Augment in Logoori
David Odden (Ohio State University)

This paper investigates the augment in Logoori (Bantu). The question “does Logoori have the augment” cannot be trivially answered, since presence of the augment is variable, according to speaker and phonological context. If the class prefix is CV and not C, the augment is more likely to be omitted. Other facts indicate phonological deletion: speakers differ in terms of the influence of those factors. In some morphosyntactic contexts, the augment is either missing or required for all speakers, including those that never use the augment in citation forms: it is required unless its syntactic slot has been usurped.
“Moral Panic” in Ghanaian Political Discourse: A Preliminary Study
Emmanuel Amo Ofori (University of Cape Coast)

Moral panic occurs “when a social phenomenon or problem is suddenly foregrounded in public discourse and discussed in an obsessive, moralistic and alarmist manner” (Cameron, 2012:82). In this paper, I examine the extent to which Ghanaian political discourse evokes moral panic. The paper addresses the question: How is language used in the creation of moral panic? To answer this question, I analyze three news stories perceived to be moral panics in Ghanaian political discourse: Kennedy Agyapong’s sex for job insult on Ghana’s Electoral Commissioner; the two ex-Guantanamo Bay detainees in Ghana; and montie three. At the end of the analysis, it was observed that the discourses surrounding these stories were alarming, obsessive, exaggerated and can be least described as instances of moral panic. The language used by the media in reporting these panics was full of emotions and sensationalism.

Language, Gender and Ideology: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Ifeoma Fafunwa’s ‘Hear Word! Naija Woman Talk True’
Christine Iyetunde Ofulue (National Open University of Nigeria)

The paper explores the role of language in contemporary gender equality discourse in a Nigerian society and context where gender inequality is encoded by cultural and social practices. Using an ethnographic approach, the theatrical presentation of Ifeoma Fafunwa’s play ‘Hear Word! Naija Woman Talk True’ is used to highlight issues of discrimination and inequality. The findings show that Naija (aka Nigerian Pidgin) a lingua franca with an history of language inequality and sociolinguistic variables are used as tools to index social differentiation and social group identities, thereby empowering actors to change traditional stereotypical narratives in a contemporary context.

Interjections in Ga
Yvonne Ollenu (University of Ghana)

Interjections are seen as part of language or non-words indicating feelings. The paper focuses on interjections in a Kwa language, Ga, and examine what they communicate among the Gas. It answers the question of whether interjections are part of the language or not. The paper examines the morphopragmatic uses of the interjections by employing the Relevance Theory. Data used was gathered from natural conversations and interviews. The paper shows that interjections may occur sentence initial/final or alone to mean a whole utterance or used spontaneously. They communicate emotional feelings such as surprise and anger of the speaker.
Language Barrier as Hindrance to Information Dissemination: A Critical Observation

Juliet Oppong-Asare Ansah (Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology)

This study addresses the effect of language barrier as a hindrance to information dissemination. It examines the causes of violation of certain rules in the Kumasi Metropolis. Data is drawn, through content analysis, from cases presented to the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly such as; drivers parking at spots with obvious “no parking” inscriptions. The study establishes that people violate these rules because they are handicapped in terms of reading, and others too violate the rules due to certain socio-psychological reasons.

Near-synonyms in Lugungu and their meaning differences

Celestino Oriikiriza (Makerere University)

The paper presents research on near-synonyms in Lugungu. The research aimed at using Lugungu as a test language to establish the criteria for disambiguating the meaning of near-synonyms. It involved compiling a Lugungu word list, obtaining synonyms of each word, using the synonyms in sentences and identifying their distinctive features. The results showed that much as there are similarities between the meanings of a set of near-synonyms, there are differences of denotation, connotation and pragmatic inference. Therefore, the three are the basis on which the meaning of near-synonyms can be disambiguated. Various examples of Lugungu are given as illustrations.

A Closer Look at bi: An Epistemic Indefinite Analysis

Augustina Owusu (Rutgers University)

The aim of this study is to shed light on an interpretation of the Akan determiner bi which has hitherto not been discussed. We highlight the use of the determiner as an epistemic indefinite (EI). Previous studies have analyzed it as a referential and specificity marker. We argue that when bi is used, the speaker signals that he does not have access to all the information that is required to ‘know’ a referent in a particular context. We employ Aloni (2001) and Aloni and Port’s (2015) theory of conceptual covers and methods of identification to determine ‘knowledge’ of a referent in a particular context.

Language and National Unity: A Case Study of Igbo Traders in Ibadan, Nigeria

Solomon Oyetade (University of Ibadan)

The Nigerian Policy on Education (NPE) is aimed at engendering national unity. It stipulates that every child learns one of the major Nigerian languages. This paper adopts linguistic accommodation theory to survey Igbo traders in Ibadan (Yorubaland) to find out the levels of awareness of NPE and integration of the Igbo. Findings indicate lack of awareness of NPE, low proficiency in Yoruba and strong ethnic identity linked to the Igbo language. While Igbo is used at intimate domains, Yoruba and Pidgin are used in business transactions. Thus, the feasibility of NPE in achieving national unity through formal education is doubtful.
Lexical Density of the JUMP Domain in Maa

Doris L. Payne (University of Oregon)

Some languages have high lexical density in a given semantic domain. Maasai finely divides the JUMP domain by distinctions in degree of profiling cognitive and syntactic features of ARGUMENT STRUCTURE, MANNER, PATH elements that the FIGURE traverses, and cultural features. For instance, intransitive a-igis ‘to jump straight up and down’ reflects a salient characteristic of Maasai dancing; transitive a-dookí ‘to jump over sth. in a downward direction’ typically brings to mind wild animals jumping over a fence and into a kraal. The Maa JUMP domain also informs how semantic root-level features can be overridden by applicative and aspectual derivations.

Tense Agreement in Ndebele Light-Verb Constructions

Joanna Pietraszko (University of Chicago)

A type of light-verb constructions in Ndebele exhibit tense agreement between the light verb and the lexical verb — the latter can surface as past subjunctive or present/unmarked subjunctive. I provide an analysis of such tense co-variation based on an independently motivated system of INFL-agreement between verbs and functional heads in the clausal spine. It is shown that tense agreement in Ndebele is not the result of a direct relationship between the subjunctive verb and T, but rather between the verb and the closest inflectional head. Evidence comes from compound tenses, where intervention of an aspectual category breaks tense agreement.

Research and Revolution: Text Messaging as Tactical Tool

Philip W. Rudd (Pittsburg State University)

Text messaging is a daily expression of literacy in Africa. Supported by the Center for Advanced Study of Language (CASL) at the University of Maryland (UMD), this project created a corpus of texting in Sheng, an African urban vernacular spoken in Nairobi, Kenya. This paper, modeling text messaging as a fieldwork tool, examines the results. Messages refract into the argotic, deviating, slang-like, rebellious, and postcolonial (Achebe 1975; Deumert & Masinyanya 2008) strata of African Urban and Youth Language (AUYL) dynamics.

Complement Clause C-Agreement with Matrix Subject and Tense in Ikalanga

Ken Safir (Rutgers University)
Rose Letsholo (University of Botswana)

Ikalanga clausal complements are introduced by the complementizer kuti, which is invariant, and a small set of verbs can use another form, AGR-ti, that agrees with the matrix subject phi-features, but is also sensitive to mood, voice, and tense. Both AGR-tí and the invariant form have the root of a verb meaning ‘say’, -ti, and cannot appear when matrix ‘say’ is present. AGR-ti lacks the full morphology of its main verb counterpart, masking agreement in certain ways. We show how the agreement is masked by truncation and propose a syntactic account of the local agreement relations manifested on AGR-ti.
Comparative Study of the Nominal System in Wolof, Bedik and French

Adjaratou Oumar Sall (IFAN-CAD, Dakar University)

The purpose of this study is to analyse the syntactic and semantic features of the noun and the noun phrase in Wolof, mënink and French, all spoken in Senegal. French is the official language of the country, Wolof is the lingua franca and Bedik is a minority language spoken in eastern Senegal. The structuring of the noun and the noun phrase is different in the three languages and these are syntactic categories causing many problems in learning and translation. We will show how these three languages belonging to different families group will influence each in their own way on the syntax of the language but will also find themselves, despite their differences, through the universals.

Language Policy and Linguistic Ideology in Senegal

Adjaratou Oumar Sall (IFAN-CAD, Dakar University)

The language policy of Senegal aims to promote the main national languages as culture languages and to keep French as an official language and international communication medium.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the linguistic landscape of Senegal with a focus on:

- How the country’s linguistic ideology is reflected in its landscape,
- How languages are shaped and used by Senegalese in their common practices and in the institutions,
- Finally, the gap or dichotomy between the language policy established on the paper and the linguistic landscape in Senegal.

Emai Coordination Strategies for Clause Linkage

Ron Schaefer (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville)
Francis Egbokhare (University of Ibadan)

We examine properties of clause coordination in Emai, a forest zone Edoid language. Our data emanate from oral tradition documentation as well as dictionary construction and reference grammar description. Emai links clauses with adversative àmàà and disjunctive dà; there is no conjunctive. Adversative and disjunctive constructions are highly constrained. Each requires coordinands showing subject identity and a polarity contrast. Disjunction further limits mood and verb phrase expression. Although these constraints seem Edoid specific, the clause linkers themselves appear to reflect sustained contact with the Lake Chad Confluence Zone, where Arabic àmmā ‘but’ and râ, là ‘or’ have become widely adopted.
Toward a Typology of Niger-Congo Complementation

Ron Schaefer (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville)
Reginald Duah (University of Ghana)
Francis Egbokhare (University of Ibadan)

We seek to highlight the nature of S-complements in Niger Congo. Initial survey results of West African subfamilies reveal contrasting systems. A differentiated system is evident in West Benue Congo’s Edoid, where Emai shows S-complements for indicative khi, subjunctive li and conditional si. More streamlined is Kwa, where Akan relies on se and Ewe on bé. While these Niger Congo forms correlate with independent/dependent time reference and epistemic functions, we note that Edoid articulates these functions by pairing S-complements with clause internal categories, while Kwa relies exclusively on clause internal categories.

A Survey of Negation Patterns in the Kwa Language Family

Lauren Schneider (Trinity Western University)

Extensive literature exists on negation but only recently have studies expanded beyond Indo-European. Often cited patterns, Jespersen’s cycle and negative concord, are nearly absent from Kwa (Niger-Congo). There are common patterns of negation in Kwa using a preverbal nasal morpheme. One exception is a small number of Guang languages that do not have this feature. Larteh (Leteh) utilizes a verbal prefix bÉ- which resembles morphemes found in other African language families. Other branches of Kwa also do not rely on preverbal nasal negation marking. This paper’s intent is to survey negation strategies in Kwa to contribute to the negation literature.

Causing by Social Interaction

Patricia Schneider-Zioga (California State University Fullerton)
Philip Ngessimo Mathe Mutaka (University of Yaounde 1)

We examine sociative causation in Kinande, where a distinct bound morpheme encodes the idea that causation is accomplished by “helping.” We demonstrate this type of causation means: x did Q to help y do Q. There is not a comitative meaning of “doing together.” Instead, each agent does only part of the activity. This has consequences for the types of verbs that can undergo sociative causation. We establish that the sociative causative head takes a root, rather than a larger unit such as a vP. We investigate how the sociative-causative head interacts with functional projections in the extended verbal domain.

Benefactive Applicatives and Animacy in Ndebele

Galen Sibanda (Michigan State University)

This study focusses on the claim that the benefactive applicative is usually animate especially since “benefaction usually implies that the BENEFICIARY is capable of using the result of the denoted event for his/her purposes in some way” (Kittilä & Zúñig 2010:6). The paper shows that in Ndebele animacy is not equally important in the categories of ‘recipient’, ‘plain’ and ‘substitutive’ beneficiary. It is further argued that benefactive applicatives are best explained by appealing to the notion of teleological
capability, “the inherent qualities and abilities of the entity to participate in the eventuality denoted by the predicate” (Folli & Harley 2007:191).

The Phonetic Properties of Kihehe Stops

Kenneth Steimel (Indiana University)
Richard Nyamahanga (Indiana University)

We are presenting on the phonetic realization of [-continuant] consonants in Kihehe. Kihehe (heh) is a G62 Bantu language spoken in the Iringa region of Tanzania. This language has a large variety of contrastive stop consonants. Nasality, glottalization and syllabicity are used to create these distinctions which we refer to as ‘articulatory class’. This sizable inventory of [-continuant] consonants features articulatory classes that are acoustically distinct. Differences in intensity, duration, and change in intensity over time characterize these classes. Spectrogram analyses of these sounds also illuminate their differences.

GETCASE is Violable: Evidence for Wholesale Late Merger

Abdul-Razak Sulemana (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

The goal of this talk is to show that wh-questions in Bùlì, a Gur language spoken in Ghana, provides new evidence for Wholesale Late Merge (WLM) Takahashi and Hulsey (2009), Stanton (2016). In particular, I argue that the outcome of overt movement in the language is as a result of ranking the constraint LATEMERGE, which requires WLM above GETCASE, which penalizes a Caseless NP and *TOOLATE, which assigns a violation to late merge if the relationship it establishes is not the structurally highest of its type. I argue that the interactions of these constraints are responsible for reconstruction distinctions between Bùlì and languages like English.

Toward a Better Knowledge of Speech-Language Disorders in African Countries: Analysis of Child Speech Disorders in Cameroon

Aurélie Takam (University of Toronto)

Child speech and language disorders are generally unknown in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the impact of these disorders for children education are well established. From a sample of 1127 children, 6% of children had speech disorders which included speech delays, articulation and phonological disorders. Boys were more concerned than girls. Fricatives were the most altered sounds through omission and substitution. Also, complex syllables were the most disrupted. These results are generally consistent with the literature both in terms of the linguistic profile of disorders and in terms of their prevalence. We discuss the impact of these disorders for children education.
A Syntactic Description of Experiencers in Sereer-Siin
Khady Tamba (University of Kansas)

This study investigates object experiencers in Sereer-Siin a dialect of Sereer, a West Atlantic language of the Niger Congo family spoken in Senegal. I argue that in Sereer-Siin, experiencers can be used to extend Belletti and Rizzi’s traditional classification of experiencers. I also show that some object experiencers behave like regular transitive verbs with a causative component, whereas others show properties of unaccusative verbs contra Landau’s arguments that all objects experiencers are unaccusative. These different properties of object experiencers verbs account for asymmetries with respect to constructions like passive, antipassive and nominalization.

Ghanaian Social Interactions: An Ethnopragmatic Approach
Rachel Thompson (Griffith University)

This study focuses on expected communicative behaviors during asymmetrical interactional events among Ghanaians. Drawing on the ethnopragmatic techniques of semantic explication and cultural scripts (Ameka & Breedveld, 2004; Goddard & Ye, 2015), it demonstrates how the Ghanaian concept of social hierarchy (i.e. the thought that some people are ‘above’ others) influences verbal interaction in specific ways. Five cultural scripts are proposed for interactions with (1) chiefs; (2) elders; (3) people older than oneself; (4) socially powerful individuals; and (5) respected professionals. The study attempts to show the possibility of describing Ghanaian communicative norms in simple cross-translatable terms, so as to enable non-Ghanaians to understand the viewpoint of cultural insiders.

The Morpho-Syntax of Two Types of Factive Clauses in Seereer
Harold Torrence (UCLA)

This talk describes the morpho-syntactic properties of two factive clause constructions in Seereer, an Atlantic language of Senegal. The two constructions are types of relative clauses and involve the presence of complementizers that also occur in headed relative clauses. In the verb copy construction, there is minimally a copy of the verb on the left edge of the relative clause. In the ne-construction, only the complementizer is present on the left edge. This talk focuses on the copying DP arguments and adjuncts, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and verbal inflectional and derivational affixes in the verb copy construction.
Syllable Simplification Processes in Fròʔò
Yranahan Traore (University of Frankfurt)
Fery Caroline (University Frankfurt)

Topic of the poster are syllable structure, phonotactics and syllable simplification processes in Fròʔò, a Tagbana (Senoufo, Gur, Côte d’Ivoire). Phonotactic restrictions influence loanwords adaptations - a glottal stop cannot appear word initially, although it can be a word-medial syllable onset, - [r] and all non-low vowels is always preceded by [h] word initially (route → [heruti].
Three processes of syllable simplification are illustrated: fusion (1), apocope and liquid deletion (2).

(1) pē wí nà → pū nà
they 3.SG.PRO3 see ‘They have seen him/her’
(2) kpọ- + kpọ-ʔọ → kọ kpọ-ʔọ
car big-CM ‘big car’

A Musical Notation Analysis of Tonal Downtrends in Anaañ
Reduplicative Constructions
Ememobong Udoh (University of Uyo)
Grace Ekong(University of Uyo)
Nsidibe Usoro (University of Uyo)
Hogan Ita
Mike Ntuk

This paper seeks to ascertain the type(s) of tonal downtrend that the Anaañ base syllables undergo during reduplication. Using the key C major on the treble clef, the analysis reveals that, for stems with Low-High tone (e.g. àbóm àbóm-àbóm ‘taboo/in a forbidden manner’), the F0 of the second high tone drifts down by two semitones when compared with its corresponding high tone in the leftmost morpheme. This drift seems to be conditioned by the neighbouring low tone because, in the case of stems with High-Low tone composition (e.g. idòt idòt-idòt ‘bitterness/bitterly’), the second high tone on the first syllable of the rightmost morpheme also drops by two semitones vis-à-vis its corresponding leftward tone. This syllable initial high tone drifting in the second morpheme does affect the succeeding low tone which, in effect, drops by four semitones, in relation to its corresponding low tone in the leftmost morpheme. While the High-Low and Low-High stems undergo tone down drifting, those with the Low-Low tonal composition undergo declination.

Foot Construction in Anaañ Denominalisation
Ememobong Udoh (University of Uyo)

This paper examines the mapping patterns and constraints that account for the construction of Anaañ foot during denominalisation. It was discovered that Anaañ denominal/deadjectival, which is characteristically binary footed, does construct both heavy-light and light-light syllable trochees with reference to the functional unity of denominal-specific and universal constraints. Also, while the right-aligned (RED)uplicant morpheme is constantly a CV suffix, certain phonological configurations in the input condition a bimoraic or monomoraic base syllable. For instance, the input with an N-prefix or a back vowel neither takes a coda nor allows vowel doubling. On the other hand, bimoraic base syllables are derived from CV inputs with a V-prefix, inputs with glide codas, /p/ codas, non-back vowels and
trimoraic syllables. Findings also revealed that denominalisation-induced phonological processes do take place only within the foot, and any segment outside the foot may remain unaffected.

Causative in Lubukusu and other Bantu Languages

Aggrey Wasike (University of Toronto)

This paper discusses the morphological causative in Lubukusu, Kiswahili, Kinyarwanda and Chichewa. These languages manifest some similarities in causative marking, but they also differ from each other with regards to unspecified object deletion, form~semantics correlation, and object~oblique alternation. For example, while Chichewa freely allows object~oblique alternation, Lubukusu does not. The paper then considers the merits and demerits of analyzing the causative construction in Bantu as a two-place predicate on the one hand and a three-place predicate on the other. Following this discussion, I propose to derive the causative through incorporation and syntactic movement that applies to a structure containing a causative functional projection.

The Lexical Underspecification of Bantu Causatives and Applicatives

Mattie Wechsler

Pylkkänen (2008) proposes two kinds of applicative heads and three kinds of causatives, both typologies based on merge height. A task in comparative syntax, then, is to establish where applicative and causative heads merge in a given language. My evidence from Bantu (Shona in particular) shows that, at least for Bantu languages, causative and applicative heads are underspecified for complement selection (height) in the lexicon. I argue this by providing evidence of an additional merge location for applicative heads, examining the semantic interpretations of causative-applicative co-occurrence, and observing similarities between causatives and applicatives that merge in similar locations.