Table of Contents

Letter from the editor

Greetings from the editor, who hopes that all readers will enjoy this the last number (38.2 (2009)) of *SAL* in its traditional format, i.e., with the print version as primary. The news that I wish to convey here has mostly to do with *SAL*'s transition from this primarily print format to a primarily electronic and open-access format. Let me state initially that *SAL* will always be available to our subscribers in hard copy, but the format and payment arrangements will be slightly different, as described below. More importantly, the review process will not change. Our status as a blind, peer-reviewed journal will not be affected, and our editorial board remains intact. I begin by characterizing the new format of the electronic version to begin with our next number, 39.1 (2010).

The new format

For the many reasons detailed in our last issue (38.1) and in a letter to subscribers (2 Feb 2010), the Editorial Board of *SAL*, in consultation with many others, decided to change the format of the journal to an electronic format accessible to all without charge via the internet. At the same time we decided to also continue with a print version, available as a single volume hard-copy version containing two numbers. The first volume available in this way is volume 39, which will contain both 39.1 and 39.2. It can be ordered on a pre-paid basis roughly six months after the electronic copy appears and on demand thereafter. More details on purchasing the hard copy appear below.

The reasons for switching have much to do with our special audience in Africa but also with the economics of publication today and with the resources made available to us by *e-Language*. As part of the Linguistic Society of America, *e-Language* is the umbrella organization for the online, open-access publication of linguistics journals (http://elanguage.net/). Because *SAL* is a free-standing corporation ("Studies in African Linguistics, Inc.") with no ties to publishers, we were able to join *e-Language* without many complications.

What the new format means to readers

The new format allows any interested party with access to the internet to read and download all of the articles published by *Studies in African Linguistics* (*SAL*). We are still in the process of uploading past articles now and expect to be finished by the end of this year (2010). Readers can see what is there now by

visiting our web site under *eLanguage* (*SAL* is officially a "co-journal), as below,

http://elanguage.net/journals/index.php/sal/index

A number of readers have already discovered this resource (in addition to web crawlers and trolling bots), and we hope many others will do so.

What the new format means to contributors

We soon hope to avail ourselves of the reviewing and editing facilities of *e-Language*, allowing us to carry on much of the reviewing process of line. Contributors will be guided through the process as we gradually acclimate ourselves.

The most exciting news is the expansion of space we can allow contributors. Since there is virtually no limit on the amount of data that can be uploaded, this is an expanded opportunity for data inclusion, including illustrations, sound files, links, etc. Contributors are welcomed, even encouraged, to provide their submissions with accompanying materials and data sets. Not all of these materials will be included in the hard-copy version, however, especially illustrations in color and pictures.

Although the length of an issue or volume is in fact unlimited, we will follow the established pattern of previous volumes in each comprising two numbers and the pattern of previous numbers with each comprising 3-4 articles.

Ordering hard copies

Individual volumes will be available roughly six months after the appearance of the second number of each volume. The price will be something less than our current prices, which are given below (from the *SAL* website),

	North America	*Elsewhere*
Individuals:	$25.00 per year	$33.00 per year
Institutions:	$50.00 per year	$60.00 per year

Those interested in purchasing a bound volume containing the two issues of volume 39 (2010) should send payment via PayPal at our website,

http://sal.research.pdx.edu/subscribing%20via%20Paypal.html

once we have a final fix on the price.

Thanks to referees

Finally I would like to thank the many reviewers who contributed their time and expertise to refereeing the manuscripts submitted over the past year. This includes, of course, articles appearing in volume 38 and others submitted since I began my editorship in the fall of 2009.

Thanks particularly to the editorial board, especially those members who have stepped into the breach when the reviewing pool dried up a bit. When my predecessor David Odden introduced me to the myriad responsibilities of an editor, he cautioned me that finding prompt and thorough reviewers would be the hardest task I would face. He was right. For those of you who did agree to review a manuscript or two, thanks again. The journal could not maintain its high standards without your conscientious and timely application.

The following individuals (listed in alphabetical order) have helped out in the review process over the past year:

Enoch Aboh
Felix Ameka
Nana Aba Appiah Amfo
Per Baumann
Thomas Bearth
David Beck
Jill Beckman
Wolfgang Berndt
Lee Bickmore
Bruce Connell
Catherine Demuth
Gerrit Dimmendaal
Jeff Good
Catherine Griefenow-Mewis
Carolyn Harford

Brad Hopkins
Larry Hyman
Phil Jaggar
Angelika Jakobi
Omar Ka
Francis X. Katamba
Roland Kießling
Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu
Seunghun Lee
Rose M. Letsholo
Eva van Lier
Carol Lord
Jouni Maho
Lutz Marten
Martin Mous

Derek Nurse

Kweku Osam

Tom Payne

Gèrard Philippson

Franz Rottland

Kofi Saah

Ron Schaefer

Russ Schuh

Guillaume Segerer

Andrew van der Spuy

John Victor Singler

It is only with your/their assistance that we are able to maintain the high standards of the journal and our top-level ranking.

Thanks again to everyone, especially to my assistant, Jedd Schrock, who has done practically everything outside of reviewing manuscripts, and I'm sure he could do that, too! Thanks finally to Bill Feyerherm, the head of Research at PSU, for a generous grant to support Jedd's invaluable assistance.

Tucker Childs

Editor, *SAL*

THE CURIOUS CASE OF AUXILIARY –*MANY'A* IN LWITAXO

Robert Botne
Indiana University

Lwitaxo, one of the Luhya languages of Kenya, has an auxiliary verb of the form *-many'a* that occurs in compound constructions that express either a generic reading ("normally do V") or a culminative reading ("ended up V-ing"). This verb is identical in form to the lexical verb *-many'a* '(come to) know'. However, while there are attested cases of KNOW verbs grammaticalizing as habitual/generic auxiliaries, there are no such attestations of KNOW verbs grammaticalizing as indicators of culmination. The author proposes that auxiliary *-many'a* is the unique result of a convergence of factors—sound change, morphophonological analogy, and semantic reinterpretation—that led an original auxiliary, *-mala* 'finish', to shift in form to resemble lexical *-many'a*.

1. Introduction

In Lwitaxo[1] (JE.411 [ida][2]), one of the languages of the Luhya macrocluster of southwest Kenya, there occur two complex periphrastic auxiliary verb constructions, both incorporating the auxiliary verb *-many'a*. One construction has the form SP-*many'-a* SP-BASE-*a*[3] with a GENERIC reading, "normally/ ordinarily/typically V", as in (1). The second has the form SP-T-*many'-a ni*-SP-BASE-*a* and has a CULMINATIVE reading, often suggesting a consequence: "end up Ving", "ultimately V", or "in the end", as in (2).[4]

---

[1] There are alternative forms for the name of this language: Lwitaxo, Lwidakho, Itakho, Idakho. Here I have adopted that which is closest to the phonetic representation, including the class prefix. I wish to thank Phoebe Wakhungu for her assistance in providing, gathering, and interpreting data. Tone is marked where possible; some examples are from unrecorded texts. Tone occasionally differentiates lexical items some verbal forms. However, it does not appear to play any role in functions related to auxiliary *-many'a*.

[2] For lesser known languages, the three letter Ethnologue (www.ethnologue.com) code is provided in brackets.

[3] See the list of abbreviations at the end of the article

[4] Interestingly, in neither case did the consultant think of *-many'a* as 'know' or derived from 'know', hence the basis for glossing them as -MANY'- and not 'know'.

(1)   a.   *Mu-saxulu na ba-ana   ba-anje   ba-**many'**-a ba-xony'-a xu-ny'ol-a*
             1-husband   and 2-children 2-1S.POSS 2-MANY'-F   2-help-F   15-find-F

             tsin-gutsa.
             10-vegetables

             'My husband and children **normally** help get vegetables.'

        b.   *Ba-shiele   ba-ny'ishi ba-**many'**-a ba-bu-luk-a*
             2-old_woman   2-many   2-MANY'-F   2-14-make_porridge-F

             bu-shuma   noho ba-teex-a ma-remwa, ma-pwoni   noho
             14-type_of_porridge   or   2-cook-F   6-bananas   6-sweet_potatos or

             tsin-duma xu-lya mubasu
             10-yams   INF-eat afternoon

             'Many women **ordinarily** make *bushuma*, or cook bananas, sweet
             potatoes, or yams to eat in the afternoon.'

        c.   *Tsí-ng'ó:mbé tsi-many'-á tsi-tsy-á mu-mu-chélá xú-ng'wá ˈmâ-:tsi.*
             10-cattle   10-MANY'-F 10-go-F   18-3-river   INF-drink 6-water
             'Cattle **typically** go to the river to drink.'

(2)   a.   *I-sí:mba i-**many'**-í   n-í-xuts-a.*
             9-lion   9-MANY'-REC FOC-i-die-F
             'Lion **ended up** dying.' [recent past]

        b.   *Xu-rúla   lwénolŏ ba-a-**mány'**-a   ni-bá-ˈcháák-a xu-húlila*
             15-come_from then   2-PST-MANY'-F FOC-2-begin-F   15-feel

             bu-tsuni, bu-lwále, xali   xu-xútsa.   [Good News program (GNp)]
             14-pain   14-sickness also   15-die

             'From that time, **consequently** they began to feel pain, sickness, and
             also death.'

c. *Ly-a-**many'**-a ni-li-chimil-a   mu-shiele   oyo   ni-li-eny'-a*
   5-RM-MANY'-F FOC-5-grasp & hold-F   1-old_woman   1.that PRT-5-want-F

xu-mu-lya.
15-1-eat

'It [ogre] **ultimately** got hold of that old woman, wanting to eat her.'

The culminative constructions in (2) differ from the generic constructions in (1) in that they always (seem to) require the focus marker *ni-*.[5] All fifteen of the culminative examples in the data occur with *ni-*, while none of the six generic examples do. This is not surprising as the culminative use focuses on the event as the culmination of a series of events, while the generic does not refer to any specific event. This distinction is crucial, ultimately, for the difference in analysis of the two homophonic auxiliaries.

What is curious about this case is not the constructions per se, but rather the form and use of the auxiliary verb itself. It has the same form as the verb '(come to) know' *-many'a*, yet there appear to be no cases attested in the literature of KNOW verbs grammaticalizing in other languages with a sense of culmination 'consequently, ultimately, in the end' noted here. Significantly, however, Appleby (1943) notes a comparable auxiliary verb construction for central Luhya languages having the same culminative sense found above for Lwitaxo, but incoporating instead the auxiliary *-mala* 'finish'. The verb *-mala* 'finish' is found in Lwitaxo as well, but it expresses a completive function, not the culminative function noted for this particular auxiliary verb construction. Intriguingly, a cognate form of *-mala* (from Proto-Bantu *-mad- (Bastin et al. 2003))—*-màn- 'finish'— is attested in western Bantu zones, but there are no reflexes of it attested in either zones E or J where Lwitaxo is located. So, does this *-many'a* case represent a new and unique grammatical evolution of KNOW, an extension to the range of *-màn-, or something else?

There is no published linguistic literature specifically on Lwitaxo. There do exist a grammar and a dictionary of Luhya by Appleby (1961, 1943, respectively) that may have been based in part on Lwitaxo data. Data for this study come primarily from Phoebe Wakhungu, a native speaker from Kakamega district, through direct elicitation and both recorded and written texts,

---

[5] I thank Tucker Childs and an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this distribution. There are five different functions associated with the form *ni-*: copula (COP), participial (PRT), sequential (SEQ) (often equivalent to 'and' or 'then'), temporal 'when', and focus (FOC). Focus is the only one that occurs as a prefix on the second (complement) verb in complex periphrastic constructions, such as the generic and culminative cases with *-many'a*.

supplemented by texts from other sources (e-mail messages, facebook messages, the Good News Program). There is no standard orthography for Lwitaxo, although there has been an attempt to standardize an orthography for Luhya as a whole.[6]

2. Auxiliary verbs in Lwitaxo

Auxiliary *-many'a* is one of seven verbs that play an auxiliary role in Lwitaxo. Each has an aspectualizing function, of which there are three types: event phase aspectualizers (3a), sequencing aspectualizers (3b), and iteration aspectualizers (3c). The general form of the construction each occurs in is listed with each type. A representative exemplar accompanies each type.

(3) Aspectualizing auxiliaries

   a. Event phase aspectualizers [SP-T-AUX-F INF-STEM]
       -ránga 'start', *-anza* 'begin', *-mala* 'finish'

       *Lwa kw-a-**mal**-a   xu-lya, kw-a-anz-a   xu-londa harufu ya*
       when 20-PST-finish-F 15-eat   20-PST-begin-F 15-follow 9.smell 9.LNK

       ba-ana.
       2-children

       'When it [ogre] finished eating [the houses], it began to follow the smell of the children.'

   b. Sequencing aspectualizers [SP-T-AUX-F (ni-)SP-BASE-F]
       -ránga 'first(ly)', *-many'a* 'ultimately, in the end'

       *Ni-y-axa-rul-a   xu-kaasi, a-**rang**-a   a-hulux-a*
       when-3S-PF-come_from-F   LOC-work, 3S-do_first-F 3S-rest-F

       n-a-shi-li   xu-teexa
       when-3S-still-be INF-cook

       'When she has come [home] from work, she first rests before cooking.'

---

[6] The digraph *ny'* has been used to represent phonetic [ɲ]. This is comparable to *ng'* used to represent phonetic [ŋ].

c. Iteration aspectualizers [SP-T-AUX-F (ni)-SP-BASE-F]
-meny'a 'repeatedly', *-many'a* 'normally'

*A-**mény'**-i   n-á:-ts-a   i-Musíngu.*
3S-ITER-PFV FOC-3S-go-F 23-M.
'He repeatedly went to Musingu.' [yesterday/today]

The sources of these verbs, other than *-many'a*, are transparent for the most part. The verb *-ránga* 'do first; start' derives from Proto-Bantu *-táng- 'go ahead (of)', *-anza* 'begin' from PB *-jandi- 'begin' (Bastin et al. 2003), *-mény'a* 'repeatedly' from *-mény'a* 'live', a conceptual shift similar to that found in Gikuyu [kik] and Aztec [nhk] (Heine & Kuteva 2002:196). We turn now to a consideration of the *-many'a* cases.

3. Generic *-many'a*

Generic *-many'a*, as noted in the introduction, expresses the normal, typical nature of the situation named by the verb, as in (4). It occurs as well in physically and genetically closely related Lulogooli (JE41 [rag]), as in (5). Conceptually, it is close to the habitual. Indeed, Bybee et al. (1994:151-52) point out that the distinction between habitual and generic is not particularly clear, that the difference is often determined only by specific versus generic subject. Consequently, and directly related to the case at hand, Bybee et al. (Ibid. 154) show that one source for habitual (and generic, we can presume) auxiliaries is a KNOW verb.

(4)   *Ba-ndu ba-li nende tsi-shilinji ni-b-o   ba-many'-a ba-reeb-a*
2-people 2-be   with   10-money   COP-2-REF 2REL-AUX-F 2-ask-F

ba-ndu ba-li nu   bu-hasio ba-ba-lim-il-i mi-limi chi-abo.
2-people 2-be with 14-group 2-2-till-AP-SUBJ 4-fields 4-3S.POSS

'People who have money are the ones who normally ask people who are with a group to till their fields for them.'

(5) Lulogooli (Bantu JE41 [rag], Kenya)

> *a-many'-a   a-som-ang-a*
> 1-MANY'-F   1-read-IMPV-F
> 'He usually reads.'(Angogo Kanyoro 1983:106)

Instances of KNOW verbs attested as habitual or generic auxiliaries, according to Bybee et al. (1994:155) and Heine & Kuteva (2002), can be found in Haitian Creole *kôn* (from French *connaitre* 'to know, be acquainted with') and Tok Pisin ([tpi]) *savi* (from Portuguese *save* 'he knows'), both of which express habitual uses, present in Tok Pisin, past in Haitian Creole. The Tok Pisin use appears to be a calque from its prominent substrate language, Tolai (also known as Kuanua [ksd]), which uses *la* 'know' in like manner, as in (6). In contrast, I have found no evidence of such use in Kwa languages, which are considered the primary substrate of Hatian Creole.

(6) Tolai (Western Oceanic [ksd]; Papua New Guinea)

> *u   la   vana*
> 2S   know go
> 'You usually go.' (Mosel 1980:124)

Similar cases are found in the Khmer auxiliary *ceh-tae* 'always, typically' (< *ceh* 'know (how to)') (7a), and in Mooré (7b), which has the sense 'usually'. Papiamentu *sa* (from *sabi* 'know') exhibits both habitual and generic readings (8).

(7)   a. Khmer (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer [**khm**]; Cambodia [**khm**])

> *koət **ceh**-tae   niyiəy   phiəsaa-baraŋ*
> 3ʳᵈ   AUX   speak   language-French
> 'He/she/they always/typically speak/s French.' (Huffman 1970:269)

   b. Mooré (Niger-Congo, Gur [mos]; Burkina Faso)
> *a **mi**   n loda ka*
> 3S know ?? pass here
> 'he usually passes here' (Alexandre 1953:251, cited in Heine et al. 1993:132)

(8) Papiamentu (Creole [pap]; Netherlands Antilles)

　　a. Habitual

　　　E　ora　　ei,　el　a　　kambia　rumbo　trot　purá-purá　bai subi
　　　This moment then　he　PFV change　　direction trot　rapidly　　　go climb

　　　sinta den un　mata grandi　ku　tabatin pegáku boka　　di　e　　pos
　　　sit　in　a　　tree large　　that IMPV　near　　　mouth　of　the well

　　　*kaminda　su　kasá tabata **sa**　　bai saka awa　tur　dia.*
　　　where　　his wife　IMPV AUX　go　draw water every day

　　　'A that moment, he took another direction, trotting rapidly to sit above
　　　a large tree near the well where his wife went to draw water every
　　　day.' (Henriquez 1981:15, cited in Maurer 1988:122)

　　b. Generic

　　　*no　a　　tend nunka ku makaku no　　**sa**　kana ku kurason*
　　　NEG PFV　hear　never　　that monkey NEG AUX　walk with heart

　　　den kurpa?
　　　In　body

　　　'Have you never heard tell that normally monkeys do not walk about
　　　with their heart in their body?' (Kleinmodig n.d.:54, cited in Maurer
　　　1988:123)

　　　　In its generic reading, then, we can propose that auxiliary *-many'a* has
developed from lexical *-many'a* '(come to) know'. As a lexical verb, *-many'a*
has followed a common path of generalization of meaning from mental ability
(9a) to physical ability (9c). In all cases, it expresses a state. Although Bybee et
al. suggest that it is the general sense of experience that may lead to the habitual
use, it seems likely that, in the case of the generic, it was also expression of a
characteristic mental state ('knowing that') that was extended to expression of
characteristic physical behavior ('characteristically does that').

(9)　　a. *níba　y-á:-many'-a injila,　shichilá　shi-a-bul-í　xu-mú-mani-iny'-a?*
　　　　　　if　　3S-ST-know-F 9.path　7-reason　7-3S-lack-PFV 15-3S-know-CAUS-F
　　　　　　'if he knows the way, why did he not show you?'

b. *keny'exá mú:ndu   muxáli a-many'-é   xu-li:nda ba:na*
   should   1.person   1.female 1-know-SUBJ 15-tend   2.children
   'a woman should know (how) to care for children'

c. *y-á:-many'-axu-tééxa buláyi*
   3S-ST-know-F INF-cook   well
   'she knows (how) to cook well'

That *-many'a* should have grammaticalized in Lwitaxo as a marker of a generic state, then, may be relatively uncommon, but is nevertheless attested in a variety of languages. The semantics of this shift are transparent; the generic state denoted by *know* in, for example, *they know (how) to cook porridge* becomes the basis for understanding the narrated activity as typical or normal, as in *they normally/typically cook porridge*. Assuming, then, *-many'a* 'know' as the source for *-many'a* generic auxiliary, we turn to an examination of *-many'a* in its culminative function.

4. Culminative *-many'a*

In its culminative use, as illustrated by the examples in (10), *-many'a* denotes some situation as the final stage of some series or sequence of events, translated typically as *ultimately*, or *in the end*. This differs from completive use as defined in Bybee et al. (1994:54) as "do[ing] something thoroughly and to completion", such as "eat up" or "shoot someone dead". Thus, completive refers to the final stage of a single event, culminative to the last of a sequence of events.

(10) a. *Maama   w-anje   y-a-many'a   ni-y-ibul-a   ba-ndi*
         1a.mother 1-1S.POSS   1-PST-MANY'-F   FOC-1-give_birth-F   2-other

         ba-ana   sita xu-londa   inzi.
         2-children   six   15-follow   1S

         'My mother **ultimately** gave birth to six other children following me.'

b. *Ny'asáye y-a-**mány'**-a   n-á-lomb-á   mu-ndú xu-bá mu-rúch-i*
   1a.God   1-PST-MANY'-F FOC-1-make-F 1-person 15-be   1-rear-AG

   wí-tsi-ny'ama   tsy-óosi.
   1.LNK-10-animal 10-all

   '**In the end**, God made man to be caretaker of all animals.'[GNp]

c. *Xulwá   y-ak-ô.,   y-a-**mány'**-a   n-á-bá-xung-a-mu.*
   based_on DEM-12-DIST 1-PST-MANY'-F FOC-1-2-drive_out-F-18
   'Based on that, he **ended up** driving them out from there.'   [GNp]

I have been unable to locate any documented case of a verb grammaticalizing as an auxiliary denoting culmination (e.g., Heine & Kuteva 2002, Heine et al. 1993). If this is, indeed, the case, then Lwitaxo *-many'a* 'know' as culminative marker would appear to be a unique case. Yet, the forms clearly match; the semantics also conform. In Lwitaxo, *-many'a* 'know' is not a pure stative verb, but a change-of-state achievement verb, with a punctual nucleus and stative coda phases.[7] Consider the differences in interpretation *of -many'a* with suffixes *-i* (perfective) and *-í* (recent past) in the examples in (11). In (11a), the perfective indicates a perspective at utterance time (UT) in the stative coda phase (bold bar), hence, subject *I* knows the path with no indication of when that knowing came about (i.e., at the punctual nucleus). In (11b), in contrast, the focus is on the change of state, the point (Nucleus) at which cognitive realization occurred at some time in the recent past. In both (12) and (13), it is this point of realization that is denoted.

(11)   a. *many'-i   in-jila*
          1S.know-PFV 9-path
          'I know the way'

   b. *many'-í   in-jila*
          1S.know-REC 9-path
          'I know the way'
          ['I recently became cognizant of the way and, hence, know the way']'

---

[7] See Botne (2003) for a detailed discussion of the temporal structure of Achievement verbs. Nucleus denotes the characteristic core phase named by the verb, Coda a post-nucleus phase which, in Achievements, is a state.

(12) *Lwá a-mal-í   xu-lomaloma many'-í   ndí a-beh-á tâ:we.*
      when 3S-finish-REC INF-talk   1S.know-REC that 3S-lie-F NEG
      'When s/he had finished talking, I realized (knew) that s/he was not
      lying.'

(13) *Akumba   y-a-húlil-a li-nání ní-lí-chend-ang-a; ly-a-mány'-a ndí*
      1a.Akumba 1-RM-hear-F5-ogre   PRT-5-walk-IMPV-F 5-RM-know-F that

      mú:ndu y-a-li   n-a-li hí:mbi xú ly-a-xááb-a mú:ndu mwé:neyó
      1.person 1-RM-be   ??-1-be 16.near so 5-RM-search-F 1.person 1.same.16

      wá-y-a-li   ní-y-í-bís-i.
      16.LNK-1-RM-be FOC-1-RFLX-hide-PFV

      'Akumba heard an ogre walking; it [ogre] realized (knew) that someone
      was nearby, so it searched for where that person had hidden herself.'

As an achievement verb, then, *-many'a* is equivalent in part both to
English *realize* and *know*, the former denoting the point of transition, the latter
the state. It is not difficult to imagine a semantic shift from mental *realize* 'come
to know fully' to physical *realize* 'bring to realization', the basis for culmination
being ultimately, or in the end, realized.

A similar kind of grammaticalized change appears to have occurred in
Gikuyu (E51 [kik]) with the achievement verb *-kora* 'find, discover; realize'.
Heine et al. (1993:86) label *-kora* a "finality marker", illustrated in (14).

(14) Gikuyu (Bantu E51 [kik], Kenya)

    a. *Hĩndĩĩo tũ-gũ-kor-ũo   tũ-kiny-ĩte   mũciĩ*
       time   that 1P-PST-find-PASS 1P-arrive-PFV   village
       'By then we [were found we] had reached the village.'

    b. *Rũũĩ rũ-a-kor-ũo   rũ-hũ-ĩte,   ma-kĩ-ring-a*
       11.river 11-PST-find-PASS 11-subside-PFV 2-then-cross-F
       'When the river [was found it] had subsided, [then] they crossed.'
       (Heine et al. 1991; Barlow 1960)

Nevertheless, though a change from lexical 'know' to grammatical
culminative marker is certainly plausible, Lwitaxo appears to be unique in this
development. Neighboring central Luhya languages closely related to Lwitaxo,

according to Appleby (1943), have a very similar complex construction, but with auxiliary *-mala* 'finish' rather than *-many'a*, as in (15).

(15) Luhya

    a. *y-a-mal-a   n-a-tsy-a*
       3S-RM-finish-F   FOC-3S-go-F
       'In the end, he went.'

    b. *y-a-siny'ikh-a   po, ne shi-y-a-mal-a   n-a-khol-a   eshindu ta*
       3S-RM-be_angry-F very and NEG-3S-RM-finish-FFOC-3S-do-F 7.thing   NEG
       'He was very angry; and in the end he didn't do anything.' (Appleby 1943:70)

    FINISH verbs are often attested as grammaticalizing as auxiliaries or affixes that denote some kind of completion or culmination (Heine et al. 1993; Bybee et al. 1994; Anderson 2006) of a situation, as in Engenni (16), Spanish (17), and Wolio (18).

(16) Engenni (Niger-Congo, Edoid [enn]; Nigeria)

    a. *bhùsye   dhe sise*
       you   remove finish put
       'You take it right off [the fire] and put it down.'

    b. *ànị ậlibò   dire pạdhe ạkì*
       wifeof.tortoise cook finish   pot
       'Tortoise's wife finished cooking.' (Thomas 1978:110, 172)

(17) Spanish

    acab-ó   escrib-iendo la   carta
    finish-3S.PST.IND   write-GER   DEF letter
    'Finally he wrote the letter.' (Halm 1971:160, cited in Heine et al. 1993:90)

(18) Wolio (Austronesian [wlo], Malayo-Polynesian; Indonesia)

    a-pade-a a-kande-a
    3-finish-e   3-eat-3
    'he ate them all up' (Anceaux 1988, cited in Anderson 2006:308)

Luhya languages are similar in that *-mala* 'finish' is used in complex constructions to denote completion. Lwitaxo is not unlike other Luhya languages, such as neighboring Luwanga [lwg], in this respect, in that either completion of a situation—(19) for Luwanga, (20) for Lwitaxo—or ultimate affectedness—(21) for Luwanga, (22) for Lwitaxo—can be denoted through use of *-mala*.

(19) Luwanga *-mala* as completive (Botne 2010)

    a. *xo, ly-axa-mal-a oxu-lya, ni-li-sung-a li-ri …*
       so 5-PF-finish-F 15-eat   SEQ-5-ask-F   5-QUOT
       'So, having finished eating, it [ogre] would ask ...'

    b. *ómwaayi wayô: y-a:-mal-íré   oxu-ula ewa:bu*
       1.herder   1.LNK.its 1-P2-finish-PFV 15-arrive 24.LNK.their
       'Its herder had already arrived at his home.'

(20) Lwitaxo *-mala* as completive

    a. *Ni-b-axa-mal-a   xu-ng'wa i-chiai, b-ochits-a bi-kombe.*
       when-3P-PF-finish-F INF-drink 9-tea   3P-wash-F 8-cups
       'When they have finished drinking [their] tea, they wash out the cups.'

    b. *Lwa ba-a-mal-a   xu-teexa, mu-shiele   oyo y-a-bool-el-a ba-ana ..*
       when 2-PST-finish-F 15-cook   1-old_woman 1.this 1-PST-tell-APP-F 2-child
       'When they finished cooking, that old woman told her children ...'

(21) Luwanga

    Paápa,   eshitáli shi-litáari; e-mal-íré   oxu-kásya
    Papa   7.bed   7-be_ready 1S-finish-PFV 15-prepare
    'Papa, the bed is ready; I have made [it] all up.'

(22) Lwitaxo

> *Ku-nani yoko kw-a-ly-a   xali tsin-g'o:mbe, tsim-buli, nende*
> 20-ogre 20.that   20-PST-eat-F   even 10-cattle   10-goat   and
>
> *ma-ko:ndi. Lwa kw-a-mal-a   xu-lya kw-a-rang-a xu-kaluxa*
> 6-sheep   when 20-PST-finish-F15-eat 20-PST-start-F   15-return
>
> *mu-mu-chela*
> LOC-3-river

'That giant ogre ate even the cattle, goats, and sheep. When it finished eating [up all the livestock], it set off to return into the river.'

Auxiliary *-mala* is one of three event phase aspectuals in Lwitaxo that typically occur with an infinitival complement, as *-mala* does in (20) and (22). These verbs profile and highlight specific phases of an event. Two verbs select for initial phases— *-ranga* 'start' for the onset of the event, *-anza* 'begin' for the initial phase of the nucleus of the event—one for the final phase—*-mala* 'finish' for the end of the situation nucleus (23).

(23)   Situation phase aspectuals in Lwitaxo

_{Event}[Onset [Nucleus   ]

       ↙   ↙   ↑

    -ranga   *-anza*   *-mala*
    'start'   'begin'   'finish'
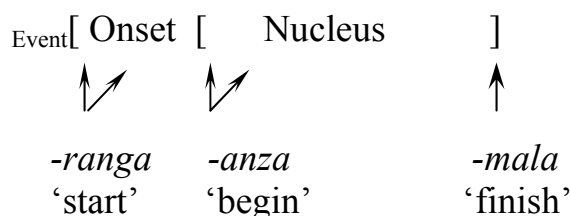
This use of auxiliary *-mala* as denoting a completed situation is common to both languages; its use to denote culmination of a sequence or series of events is not. In fact, it is this use that is unusual. That Lwitaxo would have *-many'a* in the same role where neighboring Luhya languages have *-mala* suggests that they were likely the same originally, but one has subsequently changed. Given the absence of attestation of KNOW grammaticalization as a culminative auxiliary in any language, the likely candidate to have undergone change would appear to be *-many'a*.

5. Culminative *-many'a* from *-mala*?

The fact that neighboring languages have a comparable culminative periphrastic construction based on auxiliary *-mala* 'finish', a verb commonly grammaticalizating with some kind of completive/culminative function, and that *-many'a* '(come to) know' is unattested with this function, suggests that *-mala* was, in fact, the source of the culminative auxiliary in Lwitaxo, the extant nature of *-mala* notwithstanding. The question is, how would the auxiliary come to have the same form as the lexical verb *-many'a*?

Interestingly, one widespread reflex of PB *-mad-* 'finish' is *-mana,* in which we find a nasal in place of the oral stop. However, there is no evidence to support an analysis of auxiliary *-many'a* as a cognate reflex of *-mana, which is found exclusively in the western zones of the Bantu domain (i.e. zones A, B, C H, K, L M, R), not in the eastern (Bastin et al. 2003) (see map in Appendix 3). Moreover, there is no evidence to support its ever having occurred in the eastern zone. Nevertheless, there is some circumstantial support for a possible change from [l] to [ɲ] in Lwitaxo. The causative suffix *-its-* is realized as *-iny'-* following a preceding nasal consonant, hence, *-lema* 'become lame' > *-lem-iny'-a* 'make lame' (cf. *-yanz-a* 'like' > *-yanz-its-a* 'please'). This alternation, the only one involving nasal harmony in Lwitaxo (apart from assimilation in NC clusters), is unknown for causatives in Bantu in general. Be that as it may, the correspondence between coronal consonant and palatal nasal does exist in the language.

Second, we find that aspectualizing auxiliary verbs typically have a root-final nasal consonant or cluster: *-rang-a* 'be first', *-anz-a* 'begin', *-meny'-a* 'repeatedly', *many'-a* 'normally'. Auxiliaries *-many'a* 'normally' and *-meny'a* 'repeatedly' (derived from lexical *-meny'a* 'live') are particularly relevant because they, too, are grammaticalized verbs having forms like or very similar to *-many'a*. Significantly, *-meny'a* also occurs as an auxiliary of repeated or continual action in other Luhya languages—both in Lusaamia (see Botne 2008) and Luwanga (Botne field notes)—suggesting that it preceded the occurrence of *-many'a* in Lwitaxo.

Both auxiliary *-meny'a* and *-many'a* occur in a construction in which the [ɲ] is situated between two nasal consonants:

      SP-T-N V N-*a ni*-SP-BASE-*a*
          -m e ɲ - n
          -m a ɲ - n

Assuming *-many'-* was originally *-mal-*, there may have been pressure to nasalize the [l] of *-mal-* to conform to a perceived general pattern of nasalization as *-mala* grammaticalized in this syntactic context. We would expect, then, to find *-mana,* which in fact does not occur. I propose that, in this instance, the [l] nasalized, but was realized as [ɲ] rather than as [n], for three reasons: (1) phonologically, like coronal [ts] of the causative, coronal [l] was replaced with a palatal nasal; (2) phonologically, by analogy with the palatal nasals in *-meny'a* and *-many'a* whose forms and functions are very similar to the auxiliary use of *-mala*; and (3) semantically, the achievement verb *-many'a* 'come to know' was an appropriate fit for the culminative sense. This analysis, then, suggests a chain of development something like that illustrated in (24), in which phonological and semantic factors converged to change *-mala* to *-many'a*, making auxiliary *-many'a* appear to be a grammaticalization of *-many'a* 'come to know'.

(24) Stages in the development of auxiliary *-many'a* 'ultimately, in the end'
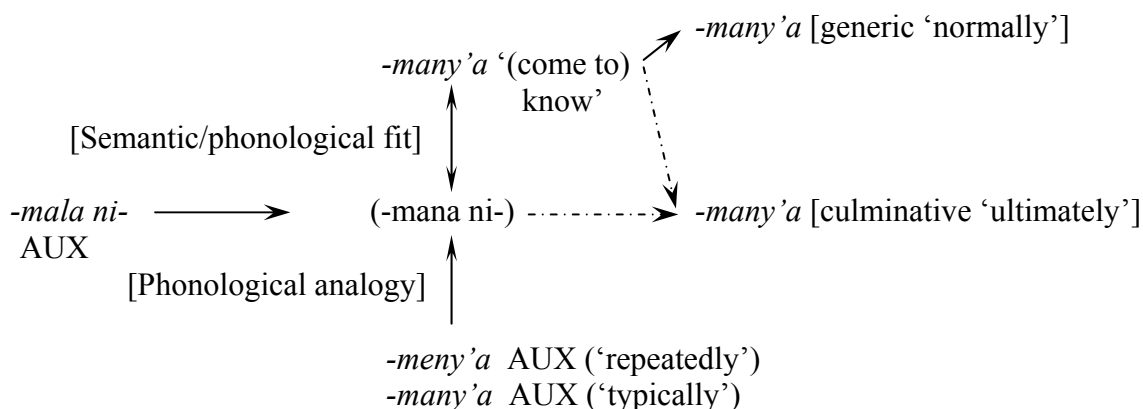
Auxiliary *-mala* used as a completive marker of a [simple] situation did not shift in form, as it occurred in a different phonological and syntactic environment: there was no nasal following the verb, since the complement of *-mala* 'finish' was the infinitival form in *xu-*: SP-T-NVC-*a xu*-STEM.

6. Conclusion

The curious occurrence of *-many'a*, an apparent verb of knowing, as an auxiliary of culmination in Lwitaxo has been attributed here to a convergence of phonological, analogical, and semantic factors that conspired to shift an original auxiliary verb form *-mala* (lexically 'finish') to a form that resembles the lexical verb *-many'a*. That the original form was not *-many'a* seems highly likely for three reasons. First, there appear to be no other languages that have grammaticalized a KNOW verb as culminative marker. Second, FINISH verbs such as *-mala* have been attested to grammaticalize with completion and/or culmination. Third, just such an auxiliary construction occurs in neighboring languages with the verb *-mala* 'know', Lwitaxo standing out by its difference. Consequently, we conclude that *-mala* was the original source, change triggered by a nasalizing environment, with *-many'a* the ultimate realization. Thus, it may be the process, itself, rather than the source, that is rare or unique.

Abbreviations used:

AG	agentive suffix	IND	indicative	RFLX	reflexive
AUX	auxiliary	INF	infinitival prefix	REC	recent past
CAUS	causative	LNK	linking element	RM	remote past
DEF	definite article	LOC	locative clitic	SP	subject agreement prefix
DEM	demonstrative	NEG	negative	ST	stative present
DIST	distal	PF	perfect	SUBJ	subjunctive
F	final vowel	PFV	perfective	T	tense marker
GER	gerundive	PRT	participial	1S	first person singular
IMPV	imperfective	PST	past	3S	third person singular

References

Alexandre, Gustave. 1953. *La langue Moré*. Tome II: Dictionnaire moré - français. Dakar:IFAN.

Anceaux, J. C. [1952] 1988. *The Wolio Language: Outline of Grammatical Description and Texts* (2nd). Dordrecht: Foris.

Angogo Kanyoro, Rachel. 1983. *Unity in Diversity: A linguistic survey of the Abaluhyia of Western Kenya*. Vienna: Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien.

Anderson, Gregory D. S. 2006. *Auxiliary Verb Constructions*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Appleby, L. L. 1943. *A Luluhya-English Vocabulary.* Maseno, Kenya: C.M.S.

Appleby, L. L. 1961. *A First Luyia Grammar.* Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

Bastin, Yvonne, André Coupez, Evariste Mumba, and Thilo C. Schadeberg. 2003. *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions 3*. [Online: www.metafro.be/blr]

Botne, Robert. 2010. Perfectives and perfects and pasts, Oh my!: On the semantics of *-ile* in Bantu. *African Linguistica*. XVI: 31-64

Botne, Robert. 2003. To die across languages: Toward a typology of achievement verbs. *Linguistic Typology* 7,2: 233-278.

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Good News program (C18971). www.ind.globalrecordings.net/program/c18971.

Halm, W. 1971. *Moderne spanische Kurzgrammatik*. München: Max Weber Verlag.

Heine, Bernd, Tom Güldemann, Christa Kilian-Hatz, Donald A. Lessau, Heinz Roberg, Mathias Schladt, and Thomas Stolz. 1993. Conceptual Shift: A lexicon of grammatical processes in African languages. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 34/35.

Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huffman, Franklin E. 1970. *Modern Spoken Cambodian*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Maurer, Philippe. 1988. *Les modifications temporelles et modales du verbe dans le Papiamento de Curaçao (Antilles Néerlandaises)*. Hamburg: Helmu Buske Verlag.

Mosel, Ulrike. 1980. *Tolai and Tok Pisin: The influence of the substratum on the development of New Guinea Pidgin*. Pacific Linguistics No. 73, Series B. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Thomas, Elaine. 1978. *A Grammatical Description of the Engenni Language*. Dallas: SIL and the University of Texas, Arlington.

Robert Botne
Indiana University
Department of Linguistics
Memorial Hall 322
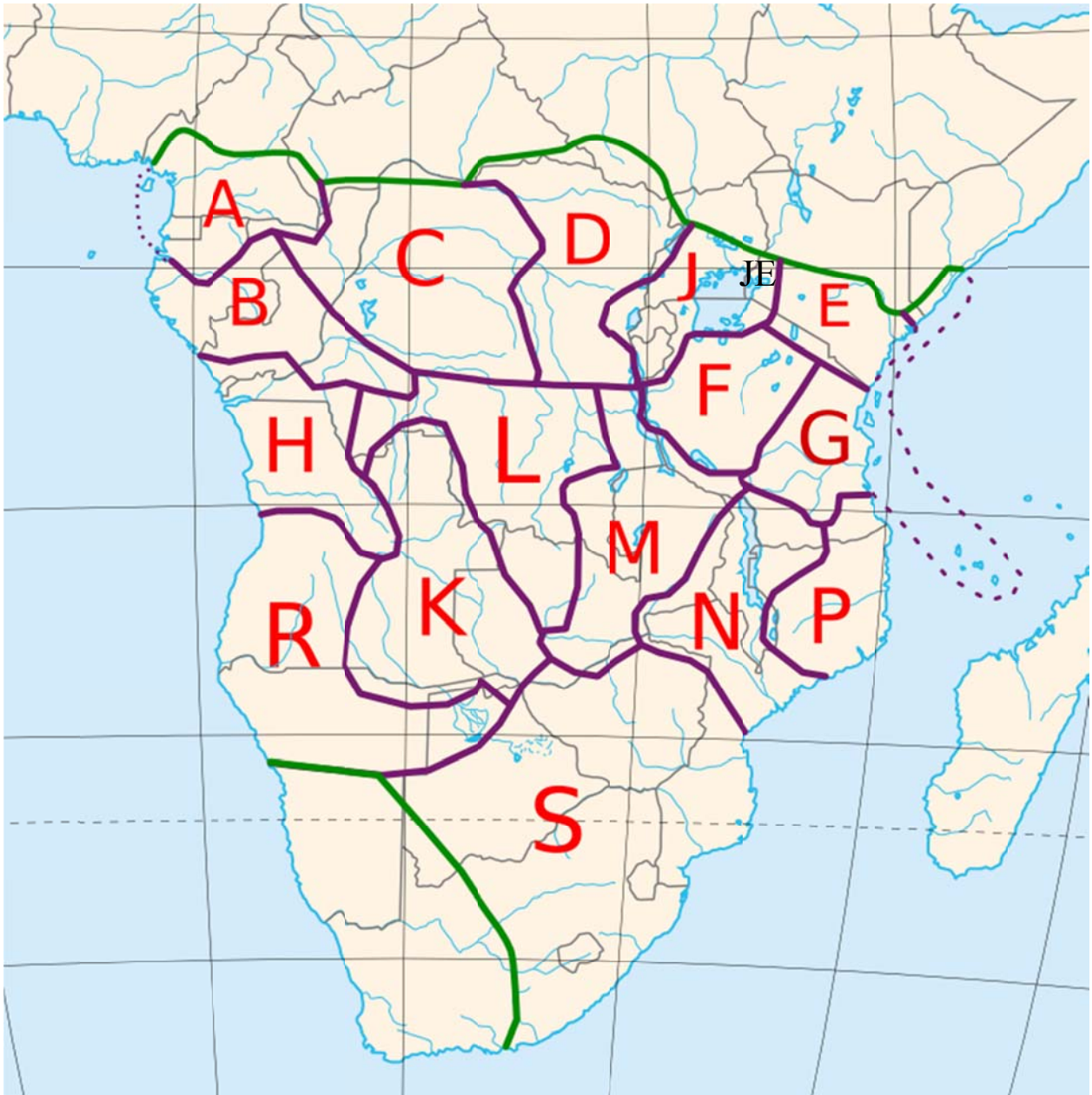Bloomington, IN 47405
botner@indiana.edu

Appendix 1: Map of the Luluhya macrocluster of languages
[adapted from Angogo Kanyoro 1983]

Appendix 2: Map of Bantu zones
[creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en]

WHAT HAPPENS TO CLASS WHEN A LANGUAGE DIES?
LANGUAGE CHANGE VS. LANGUAGE DEATH[1]

G. Tucker Childs
Portland State University

1. Introduction

This paper presents the first documentation of the noun class system of the dying language Mani (**buy**), "Bullom So" in *Ethnologue*, a.k.a. Mmani, Mandenyi, etc.) spoken in Guinea and Sierra Leone. Mani has some few hundred speakers, all of whom speak either Soso (**sus**) or Temne (**tem**) as their everyday language. The Mani are concentrated in a restricted coastal area straddling the border between Guinea and Sierra Leone near the town of Morebaya, Kambia District, in Sierra Leone. A few other speakers are scattered in the littoral region from Conakry to Freetown (see Map 1 below).

In the speech of what should probably be considered only "semi-speakers" (Dorian 1977; see the discussion around Table 2 below), the noun class system seems in total disarray, showing extreme variation across speakers and even within speakers. Throughout this discussion I make no real distinction between "rusty" speakers or semi-speakers (see Winford 2003 for some discussion of the terminology) and speakers of a dying language, for I believe they are one and the same, a question of telling the dancer from the dance. The processes at work on their language, however, can be differentiated.

Some processes can be seen as normal or expected, given what is happening to other languages in its sub-group and more generally in Atlantic. These are the normal processes of language change. The representative comparator language for identifying these general processes of language change

here is Kisi (**kss** and **kqs**; Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone), a well-documented, closely related language; I will also make reference to several languages more closely related to Mani but poorly documented and also dying. The second set of processes, however, are not of the same nature and represent what happens to a relatively complex or opaque morphological system when a language dies.

Map 1 Towns with Mani speakers
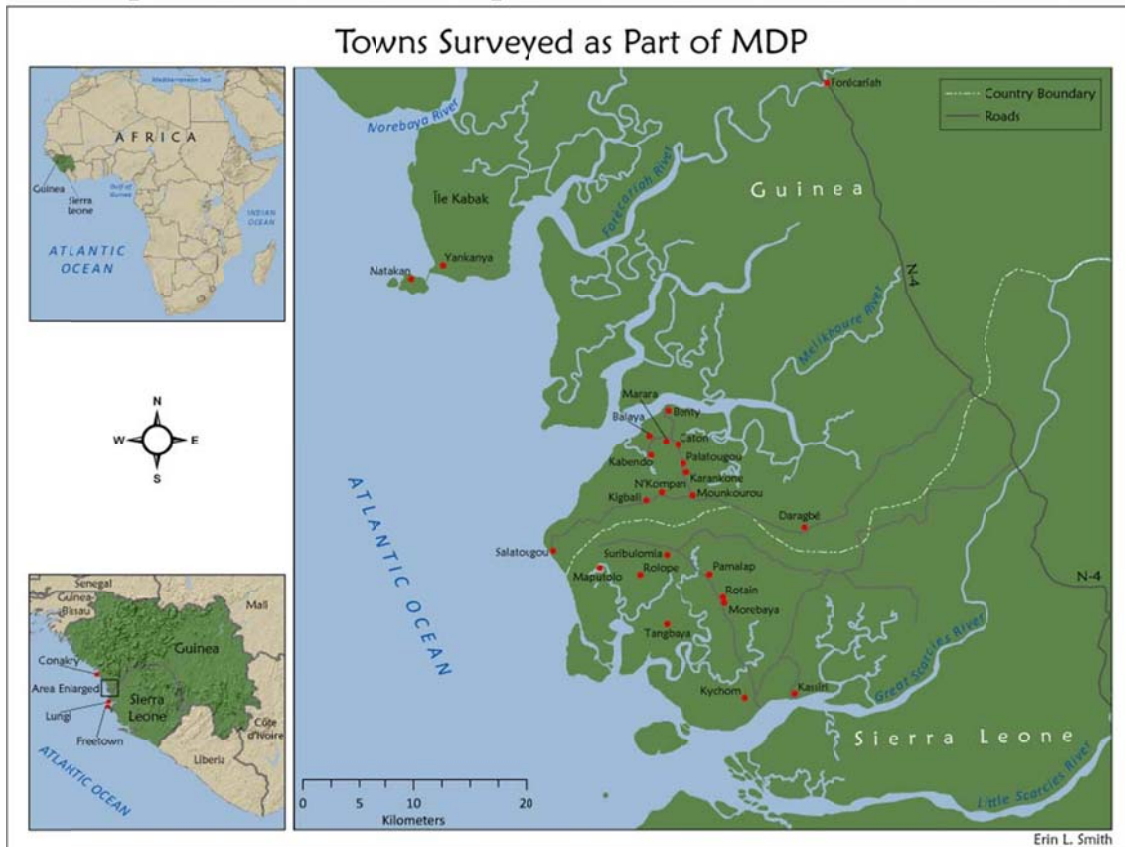
Very often the two processes (language change and language death) are difficult to tease apart, but on the basis of a comparison with Kisi, an analysis of the Mani noun class system reveals ways of distinguishing the two. This analysis is, of course, facilitated by the moribund state of the language, i.e., the changes are extreme and evident even to the casual observer.

The languages to be discussed are characterized in the next sections, first as to their genetic relationship, secondly as to their different states of morbidity. I then characterize the noun class system of Mani and in the following section identify and analyze the "mistakes" made by Mani speakers. The paper concludes with some discussion of the significance of those mistakes.

1.1 Language classification. The South Atlantic languages, a branch of Niger-Congo, are shown below in Figure 1, following (Blench 2006).

Figure 1 South Atlantic (Niger-Congo)

South Atlantic
    A. Mel languages
    1. Temne; Baga Maduri, Baga Sitemu, Baga Koba, Landoma, etc.
    2. Bulom languages: **Kisi**; **Mani**, Sherbro, Kim, Bom
    3. Gola
    B. Limba

Although other South Atlantic languages will be mentioned, the two languages of focus are the fairly closely related languages, Kisi and Mani (in bold),[2] as characterized, respectively, in Childs 1995 and Childs To appear.

1.2 Endangerment. The Bullom languages are generally imperiled. Of the five languages in the group, Bom has a few hundred speakers but Kim has fewer than twenty. Mani has some few hundred as well (MDP 2004-06), and Sherbro less than 20,000 (Chris Corcoran 2010 p.c.).[3] Despite these comparatively higher numbers, Sherbro has also shown sure signs of endangerment with speakers shifting to Mende (Hanson 1979), as is the case also with Kim and Bom. Kisi may be the only viable Bullom language with nearly 500,000 speakers (Childs 1995) in a geographically coherent area (cf. Childs 2002). Thus, the macro sociolinguistic conditions of Mani and Kisi, as seen in the geography and demography, contrast sharply: Mani totters on the edge of death while Kisi remains quite viable and vital (for a while).

    That Mani is endangered is evident not only by its numbers but also by its status within the community. An anecdote will illustrate the low esteem in which the language is held by the local citizenry, even ethnic Mani, such as Alia Fadega, a town chief on the isle of Kabak on the southern Guinea coast (see Map 1). When questioned about the use of Mani in his town of Kakende, he told us that he had heard only "the old people" speaking Mani. Furthermore, they

---

[2] An analysis based on the Swadesh "First 100", showed a shared lexicon of 50% between Kisi and Mani, as opposed to higher percentages among the three other Bullom languages (Sapir 1971:47, Table 1). In a slightly later study Mani and Kim were found to share some 34% of elicited vocabulary (Iverson and Cameron 1986)

[3] Other earlier totals are much more generous: a range of 75,000 to 167,000 speakers identified in Hanson 1980 and 200,000 in Rogers 1967; compare this to the estimate of 135,000 in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009).

used it in only a few domains. One place the old people used their language, he averred, was in speaking to their dogs. In addition, he said that sometimes his grandfather would go to a large kapok (cottonwood) tree behind the village and talk "*au diable et aux fétiches*" ('to the devil and to the fetishes). His second example of Mani's use doubtless involved communication with the ancestors, who have now been demonized by Muslim proselytizers. In addition to showing the low esteem in which the language is held, this anecdote points to the devastating effect that Islam or any religion can have on traditional cultures and languages (see, e.g., Mühlhäusler 1996).

Other incidents show the same stigmatization of Mani by both children and adults. Soso-speaking children make fun of other children who speak Mani. Furthermore, two old Mani women were not allowed to participate in a Guinean culture festival with their Mani songs. The reason given (by the Soso speakers in charge) was that, "No one will understand." The sociolinguistic conditions, then, at both the macro and micro levels signal the end of the Mani language (and culture), a demise with significant ramifications for the noun class system as will be seen. Kisi stands at the other end of the continuum with its noun class system vital and intact. Because the two languages are closely related, it is presumed that they would be structurally close; if there are dramatic structural differences they would likely be attributable to external factors such as those precipitating language shift and language death.

1.3 Language change vs. language death. With regard to external factors, at least one way in which the language change may be distinguished from language death is by the absence of (extensive) language contact. Although Kisi speakers are in contact with speakers of other languages, there is none of the overwhelming evidence for language shift, as there is among the Mani. Nonetheless, it is likely that at the early stages of language death, the two processes are indistinguishable, but at the extreme state of Mani the linguistic signs of language death are unmistakable.

Such behaviors as (unknowingly) substituting a word from the dominant language (here Soso) into the receding one are obvious to the investigator, and at the least suggest the possibility of language shift. Other behaviors are more subtle. For example, in elicitation sessions speakers of the target language are often not able to recall words, and there will be much more variation in their speech than is normal, i.e., found in known fully competent speakers. What is important and sometimes difficult in the analysis of moribund languages is understanding the extreme variation, deciding what is part of normal variation or language change and what is part of language death.

This analysis raises the more provocative theoretical question of whether they are indeed the same, concluding that they are not. They are different primarily due to the sociocultural conditions in which language death occurs. The dying language is stigmatized, it is spoken only by a segment of the population, used only infrequently, etc. Moreover, the changes can take place very quickly, in a single generation.

These sociocultural factors are all part of the "External Setting", a range of extralinguistic factors: cultural sociological, ethno-historical, economic, etc. (Sasse 1992b), which constitute the "trigger" for language shift. Speakers change their "Speech Behavior", e.g., reducing the number of domains in which they use the language, which eventually leads to "Structural Consequences", as seen in the noun class system of Mani. A number of comparable formal differences are presented in Sasse 1992a and many others in the work of Dorian, e.g., Dorian 1981, and Dressler, e.g., Dressler 1981. Campbell and Muntzel 1989 provide a typology and further examples. The variation is greater, and the process of change is quicker when extinction is near – Mani itself is long past the "tip" (Dorian 1986a) and thus would be expected to exhibit such structural effects.

2. Mani's noun class system characterized

South Atlantic languages have a noun class system of the type found throughout Niger-Congo. In most cases there are prefixed noun class markers (NCMs)[4] indicating a noun's membership in a single noun class and controlling agreement on dependent elements. In at least one language of South Atlantic, Kisi, the normally prefixed NCMs are suffixed, which changeover has been analyzed as a case of renewal (Childs 1983),[5] documented elsewhere in Niger-Congo within and outside the Atlantic Group (Greenberg 1977, 1978). In example (1), I present the suffixed NCMs of Kisi and the regular agreement patterns from four different classes. The name for each class (its pronoun) is indicated in the first column. In the second column appear nouns simple and modified and in the third column are simple glosses of the Kisi examples.

---

[4] Other abbreviations used are: NCP 'noun class pronoun'; sg 'singular'; pl 'plural'.
[5] The term "renewal" here refers to Kisi having lost all prefixed NCMs and replaced them with suffixed NCMs.

(1) Suffixed NCMs in Kisi and dependent agreement patterns

 o   wὲὲŋ-ó   'lady'
     lady-NCM
     wὲὲŋ yùwέí-ó   'old lady'
     lady old-NCM

 ma   mὲŋ-áŋ   'water'
     water-NCM
     mὲŋ-mà yùwέí-áŋ 'old water'
     water-NCP old-NCM

 la   lὲὲŋ-là yùwέí-áŋ   'old cutlasses'

 ŋ   bĕl-ŋ yùwέí-áŋ   'old palm kernels'

Renewal can be seen as representing the vitality of the system to the language's speakers: in the face of or concomitant with phonetic erosion, a language develops a new way of maintaining a grammatical contrast increasingly obscured by the loss of phonetic substance. Other languages in the group can be arranged in a cline illustrating different stages in the process of changeover from a prefixing to a suffixing system, as shown in Childs 1982.

  Despite its apparent vitality in the Southern Branch, one way in which the noun class system can be seen as decaying or collapsing is in a reduction in its original or historically reconstructable number, i.e., how many classes there are. Related is the loss of semantic identity or coherence to each noun class. Suggestive evidence for collapse and semantic blurring comes from a consideration of Bantu reconstructions, a sub-group of Benue-Congo and a sister group to South Atlantic.

  The semantics of noun class systems can be reconstructed in Proto-Bantu to configurational notions, along with such semantic features as [ANIMACY], [NUMBER], and [COLLECTIVE] (Creider and Denny 1975, Denny and Creider 1986), a reconstruction which is probably extendable to Proto-Niger-Congo and thus to South Atlantic. Some of the configurational features are given in (2).

(2) Configurational basis to noun class systems (Creider and Denny 1975)

> LENGTH OR THINNESS, e.g., sugar cane stalks, hoes, tails
> SPHERICALITY, e.g., pebbles, oranges, eggs
> LIQUIDITY, e.g., water, palm oil

Thus, if synchronic noun classes show combinations of these meanings in a single class, i.e., a single class contains distinct sets of nouns with these features, it is likely that the combination represents a syncretism. This combination also represents the loss of a noun class as one class has absorbed the members of another class; such facts obtain in several Atlantic languages, as demonstrated in Childs 1983.

The Bullom languages of South Atlantic possess fewer noun classes than the non-Bullom languages (exemplified by Temne and Limba, the top and bottom languages in Table 1, enclosed in parentheses), and many fewer than their North Atlantic counterparts, e.g., Manjaku (Karlik 1972), which languages likely represent an earlier state of the system.[6]

Table 1 Number of classes in South Atlantic languages

(Temne	10	Wilson 1961)
Sherbro	6	Rogers 1970
Kim	9	Pichl 1964
Mani	7	Childs To appear
Kisi	7	Childs 1982
Gola	8	Westermann 1921
(Limba	13	Berry 1958)

Thus, the total number of classes is a possible reduction of a once more extensive system, but hardly diagnostic of language death for both Kisi and Gola, two more vital languages, also have relatively small inventories.

---

[6] It is also possible that the number of noun classes has been augmented, as pointed out by one reviewer, but for these languages one can see in the semantics evidence for the collapsing of several classes, as discussed below.

In terms of decay, moreover, Mani exhibits the same patterns of attrition found in Kisi with noun class merger and unclear semantics of some classes. For example, the *ma* class in Mani contains: plurals of internal body parts (liver, intestines); plurals of some fish and animals; plurals of plants; mass nouns such as grains; and liquids (see Table 3). The *ma* class in other languages typically contains liquids; in Kisi it is entirely liquids but in Mani and other dying languages other classes are combined that were likely once distinct. One can see the evidence of mergers in Mani not only in the lack of semantic coherence to the classes (detailed in Childs To appear), but also in the disproportionate sizes of one singular and one plural class (see   Table 3 below). There is also phonetic erosion in Mani, e.g., the vowels of NCMs being reduced to [ə]), and NCMs being totally absent in some environments, especially the 3sg prefix (the *wɔ*-class prefixed marker *ù*-), even when produced in isolation (its citation form). This is, however, the general pattern (of language change) within the Bullom sub-group. All of this is expected on the basis of what is happening in Kisi and elsewhere. Such facts are suggestive but not diagnostic, then, in differentiating language death from language change.

Mani speakers produce other forms, which are incapable of being analyzed in the same way, i.e., as representing language change, and must be construed as "mistakes" and the result of language death. This is the topic of the next section and constitutes another way in which we see the decay of the noun class system. These mistakes represent the loss of competence and are no doubt directly attributable to the language no longer being used, signaling the death of the language. The noun class system of Mani, then, is in disarray due to the moribund state of the language, which disarray represents a significant challenge to analysis (cf. Dorian 1986b).

3. Noun class "mistakes" by rusty speakers

Before embarking on a discussion of what are here considered mistakes or errors, I should say something more about the speakers producing the data and then something about the system. The following scale has been used to rank speakers in terms of their linguistic competency. Most of the speakers discussed in this paper likely belong to the "Weak" or perhaps the "Imperfect" category. None of them was young – the only speaker under forty was the son of another one of the speakers, and he said he was thirty-two.

Table 2 Competency rankings (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 181)

S   Strong or (nearly) fully competent

I   Imperfect, for reasonably fluent semi-speakers

W   Weak semi-speakers with more restricted speaking competence (perhaps akin to the "last speakers" of Elmendorf 1981)

R   "Rememberers" who know only few words or isolated phrases ("word inserters" may belong to this group: see Vogelin and Vogelin 1977)

Although we did find a few fully competent speakers, most of our subjects belonged to the categories representing less competent speakers.

Identifying the Mani noun classes was a frustrating experience for the project because of the variation/mistakes, even in the speech of what were considered accomplished speakers. Before I illustrate these phenomena, I need to give a few more details of the Mani noun class system.

In Mani every noun (stem) belongs to at least one noun class. Furthermore, all Mani nouns govern agreement on various dependent elements. It is this membership and agreement which define nouns as a word category. The system of concord and its formal manifestation constitute Mani's noun class system. In Table 3 appears a representation of the noun class system. The "Name" of the noun class in the first column is the noun class's pronoun; "NCM" in the second shows each class's characteristic prefixed noun class marker.

Table 3 Sizes and semantic characterizations of noun classes

Name	NCM	Semantic characterization	No.
wɔ	*ù-*	Human sg; most other sg; default sg	742
ŋa	*à-*	Human pl (and sometimes animals)	125
lɛ	*dì-*	Some sg; diminutive, abstractions	14
si	*à-*	Most animal plurals	49
nyɛ	*ì-*	Sg animals, sg everyday objects, some pl, some collectives, abstractions, time words	213
ta	*tì-*	Most inanimate plurals	170
ma	*ǹ-*	Internal body parts, pl of some animals, pl of plants, grains, liquids	222
		Total	1535

N.B. The total does <u>not</u> represent the total number of nouns since most nouns belong to more than one class.

It is possible the system presented in Table 3 represents a somewhat idealized or earlier version of the synchronic system.

As can be seen in (3) below, nouns and their dependent elements are prefixed and replicate the "relentless rhythm" of Latin (E. Sapir, as quoted in Greenberg 1978:53). Here the replicated element is the noun class marker *a-*, prefixing every dependent element (low numbers, articles, adjectives, etc.).

(3) The noun class system of Mani: agreement patterns

à-bùlɔ́	'farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-cɛ́	'the farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old Mani farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-pót à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old lazy Mani farmers'
à-bùlɔ́ à-màní à-kàtɔ́l à-bɛ̀n à-cɛ́	'the old industrious Mani farmers'

Because speakers have shifted to other languages and Mani is slowly dying, the system has fallen into desuetude. Speakers have less control of its complexities and commit what would be regarded as errors by fully competent speakers of a vital version of the language.

"Errors", then, were identified on several criteria. One was system regularity. If a form did not follow the patterns expected on the basis of patterns established in Mani and in other closely related languages, it was suspicious. Another criterion was best-speaker production; if a form contrasted with the produced by the better speakers ("S" speakers in Table 2), it was considered a mistake. The MDP was extremely lucky in having a language consultant, Foday J. D. Kamara, who was not only a fluent speaker of Mani and English but also possessed a great deal of linguistic sophistication and sensitivity. His intuitions were very often decisive. The final criterion was non-linguistic: if the speaker did not fit the "best-speaker" profile, e.g., was not old, was hesitant or unsure in speech, etc., productions were immediately suspect.

Considerations of regularity, however, were always overridden by the judgements of fully competent speakers. One such speaker's comment on the absence of the *wɔ*-class marker reveals how systematic quirks or irregularities are accepted grammatical features of Mani and that regularity is not necessarily the sign of fully competent speech. The picture is more complicated and can only be successfully resolved by evaluating the production and intuitions of competent Mani speakers, as the following anecdote reveals. Bundu Sisi of Matakan on the Isle of Kabak, a fully competent speaker, offered an explanation for the absence of a (regular) feature. The prefixed *ù*-class NCM showing *wɔ-*

class agreement is used only by people do <u>not</u> know the language (2000 p.c.). In other words, the prefix is not used by those who speak the language well but rather by people who are not fully competent. This suggests the regularization and simplification of the language by those without full control of the language, as found by others, e.g., Campbell and Muntzel 1989. Thus, the absence of this "irregular" feature in a speaker's production may be a sign of the language's decay and such facts must be taken into consideration when identifying errors.

The most obvious mistakes, aside from lexical ones and giving different answers on different occasions (internally inconsistent productions), were those involving pluralization and agreement. With regard to the first, speakers usually had trouble producing plurals and simply used the adjective *gbér* 'much, many' to pluralize singular nouns, retaining the singular marker on the adjective in some cases. Some examples with discussion follow. The examples in (4) illustrate the singular in the first line and the plural in the second. "Correct" forms are bolded and underlined; these are forms that conform to the patterns of the best Mani speakers and to the patterns found in related languages.

For the singular of 'nose' two different forms were given, as shown in the first line of (4) a., the first with an NCM, the second without. For the plural (second line of (4) a.) the singular was given with the adjective *gbér* 'many', i.e., 'many nose(s)' but with two different NCMs. The agreement marker *tì-* belongs to a totally different class (the default plural *ta*-class marker *tì-*), as seen in the second rendering of 'noses'. Similar facts appear in b., c., and d. The d. example shows two different plurals for 'door'.

(4) Pluralization and other "mistakes"

　　　a.　'nose'　　　　　　　**ì-mín** / mín

　　　　　'noses'　　　　　　ì-mín　　　ì-gbér　　/　mín tì-gbér
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　NCM-nose　NCM-many　　nose NCM-many

　　　b.　'breast'　　　　　　**mɔ́**　ì-**wɔ́**
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　breast　NCM-her

　　　　　'breasts'　　　　　mɔ́　　gbér
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　breast　much

　　　c.　'body hair (sg)'　**ì-kùp**

　　　　　'body hair (pl)'　ì-kùp ì-gbér

    d. 'door'   **fɔ̀nfɔ́l**

        'doors'   **tì-fɔ̀nfɔ́l**   /   ǹ-fɔ̀nfɔ́l

There are also inconsistencies in marking inalienable possession; fully competent speakers would cite body parts only with a possessive (as in (4) b. 'breast'). Those without control of the language would sometimes not ((4) a. 'nose' and 'noses'; b. 'breasts'; c. 'body hair (sg) and (pl)'.

    Speakers made other agreement errors: non-agreeing NCMs on dependent elements, as shown in (5) a., for example, where the noun is marked with one NCM (*ǹ-* from the *ma* class) and the definite marker with another (*ì-* from the *hi* class). In the b. example, although the possessive marker (*-mì*) has the correct NCM *tì-*, the dependent adjective (*-sànà*) has no agreeing NCM. The c. example in (5) shows the plural of a prepositional phrase, given as the singular. This production is not as odd as the plural, where two different markers are used, and the word for 'many' is used again. All correct forms are again bolded and underlined.

(5) Agreement "mistakes"

    a. 'salt/s'   **ì-hɛ̀l**   / **ǹ-hɛ̀l**
                 NCM-salt   / NCM-salt

       'the salts' ǹ-hɛ̀l ì-cɛ́   (**ǹ-hɛ̀l ǹ-cɛ́**)
                 NCM-salt   NCM-DEF

    b. à tɔ́k dòmwá tìmì sànà
        à   tɔ́k   dòmà tì-mì   0-sànà (**tì-sànà**)
        1SG wash clothes NCM-1SG.POSS 0-new
        'I washed my new clothes.'

    c. kò cùkɛ́   ǹ-cùkɛ́ tì-gbér   (**ǹ-cùkɛ́**)
        'to (the) sky'   'plural'

    The form for 'one salt' in (6) a. shows agreement with the NCM of 'salt' (singular) also on the number 'one'. But the same agreeing NCM is also used (erroneously) for the numbers following the plurals given in b. and c. The NCM should be different; number is one of the semantic features distinguishing noun classes, as shown in Table 3. Moreover, the subject regularly mispronounced

the word for 'two'; fully competent speakers pronounced it [cə̀ŋ] rather than [cèŋ], as he did.

(6) Individual variation, agreement errors, pronunciation error

    a. **ì-hὲl**   **ì-bùl**   'one salt'
       NCM-salt NCM-one

    b. ì-hὲl   ì-cèn   c.ŋ̀-hὲl ì-cèn   'two salts'
      ì-hὲl   ì-rà   ŋ̀-hὲl ì-rá   'three salts'

Thus, there were different renderings by different speakers and even by a single speaker.

    The noun class system was just one place where uncertainty reigned; others were more subtle. Another relatively obvious symptom was also found in the nominal part of the grammar – a lack of lexical knowledge. Subjects had difficulty in producing forms, of the types shown in (7).

(7) Lexical problems

- Speakers substituted the word 'cow' for 'elephant'; others used the Soso word
- An elderly midwife could not come up with word for 'umbilical cord'
- The use of generic names for particular species, e.g., 'spider', for all species of spider

    As with a particular spider, everyday birds and insects were given generic and sometimes incorrect names. People were upset that they could not remember a word in Mani, and always said that they would find out the words for us but rarely did. In recorded and transcribed discourse, many Soso words appeared, as they did in everyday conversation. The word *awa* 'okay, all right, good, (new topic)', for example, was ubiquitous. Thus, there were many other linguistic signs besides the decay of the noun class system signaling language death.

    In summary, the Mani represents the decay of a noun class system distinct from normal language change. As Sasse found when comparing Heine's 1980 Elmolo data [Heine 1980] to Hayward's material on Arbore (Hayward 1984): "Elmolo [seems to be] a broken-down form of Arbore" (Sasse 1992a:76-77). Mani today is obviously a dilapidated version of what it once was.

4. Conclusion

The identifying features discussed here are special to a particular part of the grammar, but it is likely other morphosyntactic systems will exhibit similar decay as a language disappears. I have tried to show that decay in some cases is indeed distinguishable from language change but not without a consideration of related languages and socio-historical circumstances.

A fruitful comparison would be to analyze Mani speakers switching to Temne, for Temne has a small literature, e.g., Kanu and Tucker 2010, because the two languages are related and typological similar (see Figure 1). Soso, the language to which most Mani have switched, is the typological opposite of Mani and would be expected to distinctively affect Mani structures.[7] Temne, on the other hand, is closely related to Mani, possessing a similar phonology and a similar morphosyntax. The expectation here is that the features identified as decay would not be so extreme.

Throughout this discussion I have said little about the cognitive consequences on individuals, for these are not immediately evident. The emotional and psychological consequences, however, are obvious in the laments of speakers in private and in recordings. It is probably there that the death of a language and culture takes its greatest toll.

---

[7] All of the speakers featured here have switched to Soso.

References

Berry, Jack. 1958. Nominal classes in Hu-Limba. *Sierra Leone Studies* New Series 11:169-173.

Blench, Roger M. 2006. *Archaeology, Language, and the African Past*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Campbell, Lyle, and Muntzel, Martha C. 1989. The structural consequences of language death. In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. Nancy C. Dorian, 181-196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Childs, G. Tucker. 1982. The evolution of noun class markers in the Southern West Atlantic languages, thesis, Linguistics, University of California.

___. 1983. Noun class affix renewal in Southern West Atlantic. In *Current Approaches to African Linguistics 2*, eds. Jonathan D. Kaye et al., 17-29. Dordrecht, Holland and Cinaminson, NJ: Foris Publications.

___. 1995. *A Grammar of Kisi: A Southern Atlantic Language*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

___. 2002. Borrowings into Kisi as evidence of Mande expansionism and influence. *Journal of West African Languages* 29, 2:81-120.

___. To appear. *A Grammar of Mani*. New York and Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Creider, Chet A., and Denny, J. Peter. 1975. The semantics of noun classes in Proto-Bantu. In *Patterns in Language, Culture, and Society: Sub-Saharan Africa (Proceedings of the Symposium on African Language, Culture, and Society, Columbus, 1975)*, ed. Robert K. Herbert, 142-163. Columbus: Ohio State University.

Denny, J. Peter, and Creider, Chet A. 1986. The semantics of noun classes in Proto-Bantu. In *Noun Classes and Categorization*, ed. Colette Craig, 217-240. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1977. The problem of semi-speakers in language death. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 12:23-32.

___. 1981. *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

___. 1986a. Abrupt transmission failure in obsolescing languages: How sudden the "tip" to the dominant language communities and families. In *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (February 15-17, 1986)*, eds. Vassiliki Nikiforidu et al., 72-83. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

___. 1986b. Gathering language data in terminal speech communities. In *The Fergusonian Impact : In Honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (Vol. 2. Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language)*, eds. Joshua A. Fishman et al., 555-573. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1981. Language shift and language death - a Protean challenge for the linguist. *Folia Linguistica* 15:5-28.

Elmendorf, W. W. 1981. Last speakers and language change: Two Californian cases. *Anthropological Linguistics* 23, 1:36-49.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1977. Niger-Congo noun class markers: prefixes, suffixes, both or neither. *Studies in African Linguistics* s. 7:97-104.

___. 1978. How does a language acquire gender markers? In *Universals of Human Language*, eds. Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles A. Ferguson and Edith A. Moravcsik, 47-82. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hanson, Walter R. 1979. *Collected notes towards a phonology of the Sherbro language*. Freetown: The Institute for Sierra Leone Languages (TISLL).

___. 1980. *Statement of achievement and goals*. Freetown: Institute for Sierra Leone Languages.

Hayward, Richard J. 1984. *The Arbore Language*. Hamburg: Buske.

Heine, Bernd. 1980. *The Non-Bantu languages of Kenya (Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya, 2)*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

Iverson, Janelle, and Cameron, Barbara. 1986. *A sociolinguistic survey of the Bullom languages of Sierra Leone*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: Institute for Sierra Leonean Languages.

Kanu, Sullay M., and Tucker, Benjamin V. 2010. Illustrations of the IPA: Temne. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 40:247-253.

Karlik, Jan. 1972. A Manjako Grammar with Special Reference to the Nominal Group, thesis, Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Lewis, M. Paul ed. 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 16th ed.* Dallas: SIL International.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1996. *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region*. London: Routledge.

Pichl, Walter J. 1964. Comparative notes on Sherbro and Krim. *Sierra Leone Language Review* 3:42-46.

Rogers, Henry E. 1967. The phonology and morphology of Sherbro, thesis, Linguistics, Yale University.

___. 1970. The Sherbro noun class system. *African Language Review* 9:27-33.

Sapir, J. David. 1971. West Atlantic: an inventory of the languages, their noun class systems and consonant alternation. In *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa (Current Trends in Linguistics 7)*, eds. Jack Berry and Joseph H. Greenberg, 45-112. The Hague: Mouton.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1992a. Language decay and contact-induced change: similarities and differences. In *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*, ed. Matthias Brenzinger, 59-80. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

___. 1992b. Theory of language death. In *Language Death: Practical and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*, ed. Matthias Brenzinger, 7-30. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Vogelin, C. F., and Vogelin, F. M. 1977. Is Tübatulabal de-acquisition relevant to theories of language acquisition? *International Journal of American Linguistics* 43:333-336.

Westermann, Diedrich. 1921. *Die Gola-Sprache in Liberia: Grammatik, Texte, und Worterbuch*. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co.

Wilson, W. A. A. 1961. *An Outline of the Temne Language*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Winford, Donald. 2003. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell.

G. Tucker Childs
Portland State University
Department of Applied Linguistics
632 SW Hall
Portland, OR 97207-0751
childst@pdx.edu

THE 'FORGOTTEN' STRUCTURE OF IKALANGA RELATIVES

Rose Letsholo
University of Botswana

Demuth and Harford (1999) contend that in Bantu relatives, the verb raises from I-C if the relative morpheme is a bound morpheme while the subject remains in spec-IP resulting in subject –verb inversion. Ikalanga, a Bantu language spoken in Botswana has no subject verb inversion in relatives although the relative morpheme appears to be a bound morpheme. This observation challenges the conclusion reached in Demuth and Harford (1999). This raises the question, What then is the structure of the relative clause in languages like Ikalanga and Luganda? This paper argues that Ikalanga relative clauses differ from other Bantu relative clauses in that the projection that houses the relative feature (RelP) projects below TP while in Bantu languages where subject verb inversion is observed such as Shona it projects higher than TP. Thus, the variation in the structures of Bantu relative clauses can be accounted for if we understand that there is a parametric variation in the position in which RelP projects; lower than TP or higher than TP.

1. Introduction

Relativization in Bantu languages has been a topic of interest to linguists for some time. Among the many who have investigated this topic are Meeusen (1971), Bokamba (1976), Demuth (1995), Zwart (1997), Demuth and Harford (1999), Ngonyani (1999, 2001), Zeller (2004), Henderson (2006, 2007), and Simango (2007). Most of these works discuss the typology of Bantu relatives and have reached a consensus that there are at least three types of relatives found in Bantu languages. Henderson (2007) classifies the three types as follows:

Type 1: agreement with the subject and relativized NP
Type 2: agreement with the subject only
Type 3: agreement with relativized NP only

Type 1 is illustrated by the Shona example below. In this example, the relative marker *dza-* agrees with the relativized NP *mbatya* while the verb agrees with the subject NP of the relative *vakadzi*.

(1)   mbatya   dza-va-kason-era   vakadzi   mwenga
       clothes10   RL10-SA2-sewed-APL1   women2   bride2
       'clothes which the women sewed for the bride' (Demuth and Harford
       1999)

Type 2 is exemplified by the Swati example. The relative marker agrees with the subject NP *tintfombi* but not with the relativized NP *umfati*.

(2)   umfati   tintfombi   leti-m-elekelela-ko
       woman1   girl10   RC10-OC1-help-RS
       'the woman whom the girls help' (Zeller, 2004: Ex 22)

Type 3 relative is exemplified by Dzamba in example (3).

(3)   imundondo   mú-kpa-aki   omoto
       jug5   AGR5.REL-took-IMP   person
       'the jug which the person took' (Bokamba 1976)

In Type 3 relative clauses, there is no segment which is classifiable as a relative marker. Rather, relativization is achieved through the supra-segmental feature of high tone on the verb. The agreement observed on the verb is triggered by the relativized NP and not the subject this time. The subject NP is post verbal as in Type 1 relatives.

Clearly the categorization above leaves out languages such as Ikalanga and Luganda which have a different strategy for forming object relatives than all three types of languages discussed above[2]. Consider example (4) from Ikalanga and example (5) from Luganda.

---

[1] See list of abbreviations at the end of the article.

[2] In fact, Demuth and Harford (1999) discuss this structure in a footnote noting that this particular method of forming relative clauses is marked in Shona.

    (i) mbatya   vakadzi   dza-   va-kasonera   mwenga
        clothes$_{10}$ women$_2$ REL$_{10}$-SA$_2$-sewed for   1bride
        'clothes which the women sewed for the bride'(Demuth & Harford, 1999 Ex (i))

(4)   ngumbá   Lúdo   ya-á-ká-báka
        house9   Ludo1a   RELAgr9-SA1-past-build
        'the house that Ludo built'

(5)   emikeeka   abawala gye-ba-a-luka   te-gi-gasa
        mat4   girl2   RELAgr4-SA2-past-plait neg-4-be.of.use
        'The mats the girls plaited are unsuitable (Ashton et al. 1954:144)

Notice that in examples (4) and (5) the relative marker is a subminimal prosodic unit which attaches to the verb and that there is no subject verb inversion in both of these examples. This is contra the characterization made in Demuth and Harford where it is claimed that if the relative marker is a subminimal prosodic unit the verb raises to C and the subject is left in spec IP and that this results in subject verb inversion. In addition, examples (4) and (5) do not fit in the typology of Bantu relatives posited by Henderson (2007). For example, while they are similar to Henderson's Type 1 relatives in that the relative marker agrees with the relativized NP and is a subminimal prosodic unit which attaches to the verb, they differ from Type 1 relatives in that Ikalanga and Luganda have no subject verb inversion. Ikalanga and Luganda are similar to Type 2 relatives in that the relativized NP and the subject NP linearly follow one another in that order. However, they are different from Type 2 in that the SA in Type 2 relatives precedes the OM while in Ikalanga and Luganda there is no OM; instead there is a relative marker which linearly precedes the SA. In relation to Type 3, Ikalanga and Luganda can be said to be similar to these relatives in that, at least in Ikalanga, relativization is partly achieved through the use of a supra-segmental feature, namely low tone on the morpheme that agrees with the relativized NP (i.e. the relative marker). They are different from Type 3 in that in both Ikalanga and Luganda there is no subject verb inversion.

The data from the different Bantu languages described above suggests that the position of the relative marker may differ from one Bantu language to another (see section 6 for a further discussion of this point). Table 1 below summarizes characteristics of direct relatives of the Bantu languages discussed in this paper.

Table 4 Summary of characteristics of direct relative clauses in some Bantu languages

Language	S-V inversion	Relative Pronoun	Relative precedes SA	Relative clitic	Rel agrees with relativized NP	Tone
Ikalanga	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Luganda	X	X	✓	✓	✓	?
Shona (marked)	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Shona (unmarked)	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Swati	X	X	X	✓	X	?
Dzamba	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Sotho	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X

Given the scenario described above, three questions arise, namely:

1. What is the syntactic position of the relative marker in Ikalanga?
2. What is the structure of the Ikalanga relative clause?
3. How can we account for the difference between the Ikalanga/Luganda relative clause (which has no subject verb inversion) and the relatives of other Bantu languages, such as Shona, which have subject verb inversion?

2. Background

Ikalanga is usually described as one of the six dialects in the Shona cluster of languages. The following is a list of Shona dialects: Karanga, Zezuru,, Korekore, Manyika, Ndau, and Ikalanga. Shona is the major language group of Zimbabwe, one of Botswana's neighbors. Guthrie (1967-71, v. 4) classifies Ikalanga as an S.16 language. Area S includes other southern Bantu languages such as Setswana, Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa, Venda & Tsonga. In Botswana, Ikalanga is spoken in the north eastern and central parts of the country. It is estimated that there are150, 000 speakers in Botswana although there are probably many more by now (Mathangwane, 1999). Speakers of the language are collectively referred to as Ba-kalanga (class 2), while a single speaker is referred to as N-kalanga (noun class 1).

Ikalanga is a tone language. There are two tones in the language, namely, high and low. These tones can bring about a lexical semantic distinction as

illustrated in example (6) and they can bring about a grammatical distinction as shown in example (7).

(6) a. mbilá   'thin porridge fed to babies'

 b. mbíla   'rock rabbit'

(7) a. ngwanáná   wá-ka-ízela[3]
 girl1   SA1-prg-sleep
 'The girl is sleeping.'

 b. ngwanáná   waká-ízela
 girl1   Rel. AGR1-sleep
 'the girl who is sleeping.'

 Examples (6a) and (6b) are minimal pairs whose semantic distinction is brought about by the differential placement of tone. Similarly examples (7a) and (7b) are grammatically distinctive with (7a) being a declarative and (7b) being a subject relative clause. Again, the distinction between the pair is brought about by the placement of high tone on the subject marker in (7a) with the relative marker in (7b) having a low tone. These examples follow the general Bantu pattern of distinguishing subject relatives from declaratives through tone marking.
 Secondly, agreement plays an important role in the grammar of this language. For example, the class of a noun used in a sentence, clause or phrase determines the morphological shape of the agreement on either the verb or the adjective describing a noun (see Letsholo 2004 for a detailed discussion of this). The examples in (8) illustrate.

(8) a. chibúlúlú   chá-ka- ízéla
 lizard7   SA7- past-sleep
 'The lizard is sleeping.'

---

[3] The morpheme 'ka-' in Ikalanga is a portmanteau morpheme: it can be used to express the present progressive e.g. in example (7a), as part of the relative agreement marker e.g. in (7b) or as a past tense marker as in the sentence :
ii) Ludo   wa-ka-bika   madekwe.
 Ludo$_{1a}$ SA$_1$-past-cook yesterday
 Ludo cooked yesterday.

    b. n-lúmé   n-lefú
       man1   AGR1-tall
      'the man who is tall'

      In example (8a) the noun *chibúlúlú* which belongs to class 7 selects the agreement morpheme *ch-* which attaches to the verb and its other extensions. Similarly, in example (8b), the noun *n-lúmé*, which belongs to class 1, selects class 1 agreement morphology, which is prefixed to the adjective *-lefu* to describe the man.

      Like other Bantu languages, e.g. Kilega (Kinyalolo 1991) and Kindendeule (Ngonyani 1999), Ikalanga has no independent relative pronoun, that is, it does not have the kinds of relative pronouns that one finds in languages like English, which occur independently of the verb. Rather, Ikalanga has a relative marker, an element which has no independent status as it forms part of the verbal morphology and is distinguished from SAs by its low tone. However, WH words do exist in the language. For example, *ani* = who, *ni* = what, *pi* = which, *ngayi* = where, *chini* = how/how come. In addition, Ikalanga has no articles equivalent to 'a/an' or 'the' in English. Further, Ikalanga is a discourse-configurational language. These kinds of languages display flexibility because they use topic and focus strategies, which result in the placement of NPs in different positions such as those observed in the examples in (9) (see Bresnan and Mchombo 1987 for a discussion of topic and focus constructions in Bantu and Kiss 1995, Jelinek 1984, for a full discussion of the features of discourse configurational languages).

(9)   a. ludó   wá-ka-téngá   lóri.
          ludo1a   SA1-past-buy   car9
          'Ludo bought a car.'

    b. wá-ká-téngá   lóri   Ludó
          SA1-past-buy   car9   Ludo1a
          'She bought a car, Ludo.

    c. Lórí   wá-ká-í-ténga   Ludó
          Car9   SA1-past-OM9 - buy Ludo1a
          'The car, Ludo bought it.'

In example (9a) the subject NP *Ludo* is in its canonical position. In (9b) the subject NP is dislocated to the right, and in (9c) the object NP *lori* is topicalized.

Before any further discussion of the Ikalanga data is discussed, I outline the theoretical assumptions underpinning the analysis in the next sub-section.

3. Theoretical assumptions

I follow the Minimalist theoretical framework proposed in Chomsky (2000) in which syntactic operations such as movement are driven by features attracting others which have similar properties as them. Formally speaking, "attract" is a syntactic operation in which a category β is displaced from its base position because another category α has matching features with it. β has un-interpretable features and therefore α attracts β to check these un-interpretable features. This operation results in displacement of β from its original position A to a new position B. Displacement is constrained by universal principles of grammar, in this case the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). PIC is an economy principle that requires that in order to overcome computational complexity, a derivation proceeds strictly by phases. The Complementizer Phrase (CP) and the Verb Phrase (*v*P) are considered to be strong phases, that is, phases whose edges can attract other elements. The Complementizer Phrase is the highest level grammatical construction at which operations such as WH movement take place. The CP domain is also commonly referred to as the left periphery in the literature. The next highest level after CP is the Inflectional Phrase (IP). IP is the equivalent to the Sentence (S) in earlier versions of Government and Binding Theory.

3.1 The syntactic position of the relative marker. There is controversy regarding the status of relative markers in Bantu languages. While Meeusen (1971) and Kinyalolo (1991) maintain that the relative marker is not a relative pronoun but rather an agreement morpheme which agrees with an abstract relative pronoun, Ngonyani (1999), Harford and Demuth (1999), and Demuth (1995) contend that the relative marker is a head which occurs in the left periphery, specifically the head of CP. My position is similar to Kinyalolo (1991) in seeing that the relative marker is not itself a relative pronoun but an agreement marker agreeing with a phonologically null relative pronoun. The fact that the relative pronoun is null in Bantu languages such as Ikalanga is consistent with the fact that these languages have null articles.

In this paper, I argue that the relative marker is a subminimal prosodic unit which comes into the lexicon as part of the verb in relative clause constructions, but that since it is on this morpheme that the low tone of relativization is marked or assigned, the checking of this relativization feature must occur in a projection higher than IP, otherwise there is no way of

distinguishing between relatives and declaratives such as (7a) and (7b) above, if both the relative feature and the SA features are checked in the same domain . The question now becomes, if the relative marker comes into the lexicon as part of the verb as alluded to above, is there any evidence to support the idea that the verb moves out of VP in Ikalanga? I address this question next.

3.2 Relatives and adverbs in Ikalanga. As illustrated in ex (10) below, relatives in Ikalanga can be modified by adverbs:

(10)   a. Néo   wá-ka-bíka   shadza   zubuyanána
           Neo1a   SA1- past-cook   porridge   well
           'Neo cooked porridge well.'

       b. * Néo   zubuyanána   wá-ka-bíka   shádza
             Neo1a   well   SA1.past.cook   porridge
           'Neo cooked porridge well.'

       c. *Zubuyanána   Néo   wá-ka-bíka   shádza
             Well   Neo1a   SA1 - past-cook   porridge
           'Neo cooked porridge well.'

Sentence (10a) is a grammatical structure because the verb has moved to a position higher than the adverb *zubuyanana*, which we assume is adjoined to VP. I assume that the position that the verb moves to is within IP. Example (10b) is ungrammatical because the verb has not moved out of VP while (10c) is ungrammatical because the adverb is adjoined either to IP or to a position higher than IP. Further evidence that the verb moves from VP to Infl comes from the fact that the verb is always adjacent to Infl categories, namely, the tense marker and the subject agreement marker, and no element is allowed to intervene between the verb and these categories. Consider the examples below:

(11)   a. *Néo   wá-ka- zubuyanána bíka shádza
           Neo1a   SA1 - past-well-cook   porridge
           'Neo cooked porridge well.'

       b. *Néo   wá- zubuyanána-ká-bíka   shadza
           Neo1a   SA1 -well-past-cook   porridge
           'Neo cooked porridge well.'

Based on the evidence above, I conclude that the verb in Ikalanga moves out of VP to an Infl position. In section 5 I discuss adverb placement in relation to the position of the relative marker. Next, I investigate whether relativization in Ikalanga is a left periphery phenomenon.

3.3 Left periphery characteristics of Ikalanga relatives

3.3.1 Co-occurrence with conditionals. The relative marker is mutually exclusive with other elements that occur in the C domain, e.g., conditionals (see Letsholo 2002 for detailed discussion, and Ngonyani 1999 for a discussion of similar phenomena in KiSwahili).

(12) a. Lori   a-yá-ka zhá,   Néo   ú-noo-í-ténga
          car9   cond-SA9-arrive   Neo1a   SA1a-will-OM-buy
          'If the car has arrived, Neo will buy it'.

      b. *Lori   a -ya-ká-zhá,   Néo   ú-noo-íténga.
          car9   cond-RelAgr9-arrive Neo1a   Neg.SA1-will.-OM-buy
          'If the car has arrived, Neo will buy it'.

(12b) is ungrammatical under the reading in which *ya* is a relative marker, but grammatical if *ya* is a subject marker as in (12a). The ungrammaticality of (12b) suggests that the relative marker cannot co-occur with the conditional. This might mean that they compete for the same syntactic slot.

3.3.2 Evidence of A-bar movement—island constraint violation. Chomsky (1977) discusses tests that have come to be considered as classic diagnostic tests for A-bar movement. Some of these include the fact that A-bar movement allows movement across an intervening noun phrase, allows cyclic cross-clausal movement and obeys island constraints. In the examples that follow, I apply these tests to the Ikalanga data to show that these data suggest that Ikalanga relatives undergo A-bar movement. I begin with the lack of relativized minimality effect in example (13).

(13) isípá$_i$*Op*$_i$ Néo   cha-á-ká-pá   Nchídzi t$_i$
      soap7   Neo1a   Rel.AGR7-SA1-past-give Nchidzi1a
      'the soap that Neo gave Nchidzi'

In example (14), the operator moves across the NP *Nchidzi* in order to get to the position before the subject NP *Neo* and this sentence is grammatical, suggesting that no relativized minimality effect (Rizzi, 1990) is incurred in the

course of the operator movement. This kind of result is associated with A-bar movement. Next, consider example (14), an example of an island constraint violation.

(14)   *[DP nyama [CP *OP*i   [TP Nchídzí   ya-á-ká-bóná   [DP baisána
            meat9   N1   Rel.AGR9-SA1-see   boy2
       [CP bá-ká-ja   [VPti]]]]]]
            SA2-past-eat
       'the meat that Nchidzi saw the boys who ate'

Example (14) is ungrammatical because the operator skips over spec CP of the embedded clause since it is occupied by the null relative pronoun. Skipping over a CP constitutes violating an island constraint or, in Minimalist terms, violating the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). The fact that (14) is ungrammatical is consistent with the fact that a universal principle of grammar has been violated. Now consider example (15). Example (15) illustrates that relatives allow cyclic cross clausal movement.

(15)   [DP nyama   [CP *OP*i [TP Nchídzí ya-á-nó-álákáná   [CP ti kuti [TP
       meat   N1   Rel.AGR9-SA1-think   that
       baísána   bá-ka-ténga [VP ti]]]]]]
       boy2   SA2-past-buy
       'the meat that Nchidzi thinks that the boys bought'

Example (15) is grammatical because the movement of the operator from the embedded clause to the matrix clause is cyclic, that is, the operator lands in intervening empty spec CP positions consonant with PIC. In the example above, spec CP of the embedded clause is unoccupied and therefore the operator lands here before moving further to the matrix clause.

3.3.3 Tone Marking. Consider the examples in (16):

(16)   a. nlúmé   wa-ká-ízela
          man1   Rel.AGR1-asp-sleep
          'the man who is sleeping'

       b. nlúmé   wá-ka-ízela.
          man1   SA1-asp-sleep
          'The man is sleeping.'

The only thing that marks (16a) as a relative clause as opposed to the declarative clause in (16b) is that the relative marker has a low tone while the subject agreement marker has a high tone. This means that low tone, an important sign of relativization in Ikalanga, is a feature of the left periphery and therefore a verb which carries a relative marker needs to raise to the left periphery where this feature is checked. If this relative feature is not checked, then the resulting sentence will just be another declarative sentence (16b), or if it is a sentence involving object relativization, then an anomalous sentence would result ((17) below). Example (17) is anomalous because a relative agreement morpheme cannot take a high tone such as that of the subject marker or a neutral tone.

(17) *lori   yá -á-ká-ténga   yá-ka-míla.
       car9   Rel.AGR9-SA1-asp.-buy   SA9-past-lost
       'The car which he bought is lost.'

3.3.4 Summary. The fact that other elements that occur in the left periphery can occur in the same position occupied by the relative marker suggests that this element occurs in the left periphery. I therefore conclude that the relative marker is an agreement morpheme that is hosted by the verb, the combination of which raises to some projection within the left periphery to check the relative feature of the relative marker.

4. The structure of relatives

In this section I discuss several alternative analyses, all of them following Chomsky's (1977) analysis of relative clauses. In this analysis, the verb selects an operator as a complement. The operator is co-indexed with the head noun of the relative clause. To check the WH feature, the operator moves from the complement position of the verb (in relativized objects) to spec. CP as shown in example (18) below.

(18)   DP
                                  /\
                                 D'
                               /   \
                              D   NP
                             the   /   \
                                 NP_i   CP
                                 /\   /   \
                        picture of himself OP_i   C'
                                         /\   /   \
                                               C   IP
                                             which   /\
                                                        t_i
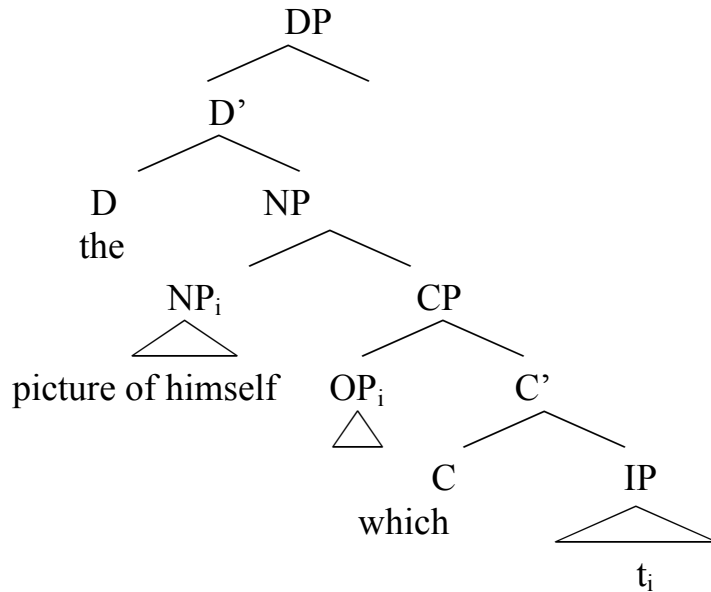
I begin by discussing Demuth and Harford's (1999) analysis of Bantu languages
showing how this analysis falls short in capturing Ikalanga relatives.

4.1 Demuth and Harford's analysis (1999). The crux of Demuth and
Harford's (1999) (henceforth D&H) analysis of Bantu relatives is the idea that
Bantu matrix clauses are IPs, and not CPs. They maintain that when the relative
marker is a subminimal prosodic unit, it raises to C, leaving the subject in spec
IP**.** The raising of the verb to C results in subject-verb inversion. On the other
hand, if the relative marker is a phonological word, then verb raising from I to C
resulting in subject-verb inversion is blocked because the relative
marker/pronoun occupies C, and therefore the verb cannot move into an already
occupied position. Using the Ikalanga sentence *Nlume wa-ba-ka-bona boNeo
wa-enda* 'The man who Neo and others saw has left' to illustrate, if we adopted
D&H's (1999) analysis, then the resulting structure of the Ikalanga relative is
(19).

(19)

```
                            IP
                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                  NP_j             VP
              ┌────┴────┐      ┌────┴────┐
            spec       N'    wa-enda t_j
          nlume_k   ┌───┴───┐
                    N      CP
                        ┌───┴───┐
                     t_k/Op_k   C'
                            ┌────┴────┐
                            C        IP
                      wa-ba-ka-bona_i ┌──┴──┐
                                  boNeo_n   I'
                                        ┌───┴───┐
                                        I      VP
                                        t_i  ┌──┴──┐
                                            t_n    V'
                                               ┌───┴───┐
                                               V      NP
                                              t_i     t_k
```
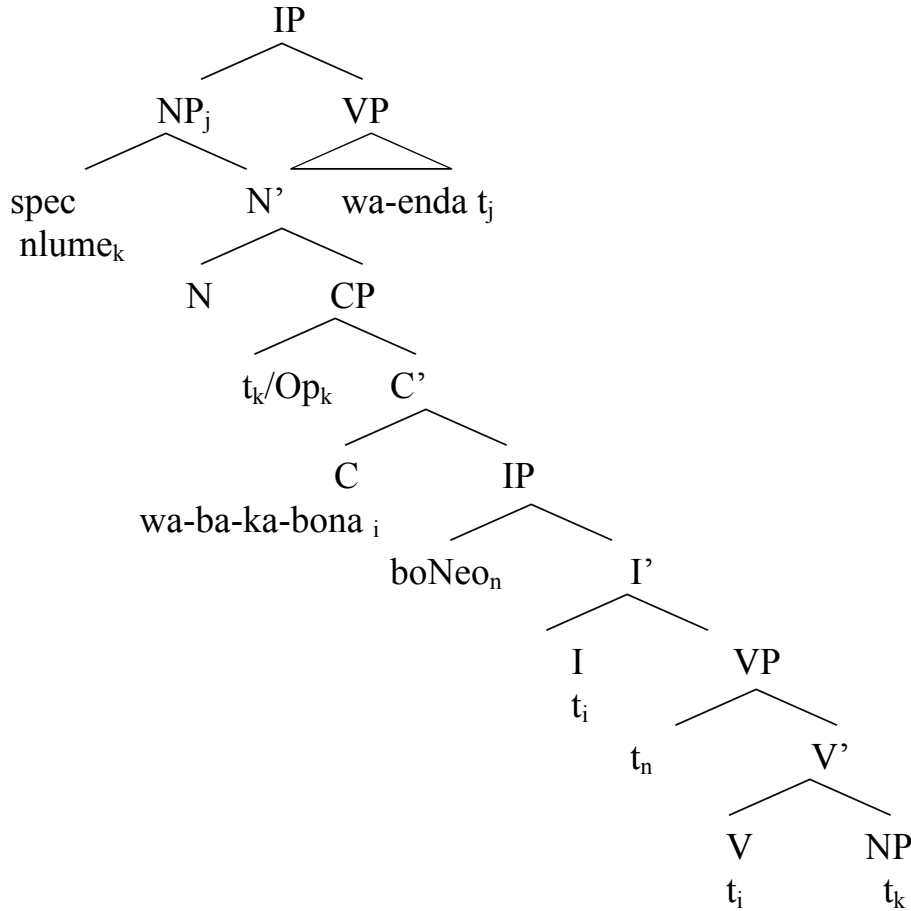
Recall that the relative marker in Ikalanga is a subminimal prosodic unit and not a phonological word. Thus following D&H's (1999) analysis, we predict that there should be subject verb inversion in Ikalanga relatives as illustrated in example (19). However, this prediction is not borne out. The derived sentence using D&H's analysis is (20):

(20) nlúme   wa-bá-ká-bóna   boNéo
      man1   Rel.AGR1-SA2-past-see   Neo.and.others
      'the man who Neo and others saw'

Example (20) is not the canonical Ikalanga relative clause since in Ikalanga there is no subject verb inversion. This means that D&H's (1999) analysis of Bantu relative clauses fails to account for the Ikalanga relative clause, although it nicely accounts for the Sotho and Shona relative clause. One might argue that perhaps the subject of the relative clause *boNeo* moves to spec-CP, giving us the correct Ikalanga grammatical word order. However, movement of the subject NP to spec-CP would be illicit because spec-CP is occupied by the trace of the relativized NP *nlume* (or Op, depending on the analysis). Due to the limitations

of D&H's analysis discussed here, I do not adopt this analysis as a tool for analyzing Ikalanga relatives. I explore other alternative analyses below.

4.2 Analysis No. 2.   In this analysis I assume with others (D&H 1999, Harford and Demuth, 1999, Zeller, 2004, Ngonyani, 2001, 2002, Buell, 2005, Letsholo, forthcoming) that finite verbs in Bantu move out of VP to T to check the Tense feature and that the morphological shape of the agreement morpheme on the verb is determined by the noun involved (Pak, ms). In addition, I assume that the relationship between such a noun and the verb is attained via grammatical agreement between the head noun and the verb through a spec-head agreement relation. Further, I assume that the verb comes into the lexicon inflected with all its morphology. With these assumptions in mind, let us now turn to the Ikalanga data below. Consider example (21):

(21)   Nlume   boNéo   wa-bá-ká-bóna   wá-énda.
       Man1   Neo2a   Rel.AGR1-SA2-past-see SA1-leave
       The man that [Neo and others] saw left.

(22)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{DP}_j \qquad \text{T'} \\
\end{array}
$$

TP
— DP_j — T'
  — Spec nlume_j — TP
    — boNeo — T' — DP_j
      — T wa-ba-ka-bona — AgrOP
        — Op_i — AgrO'
          — AgrO t_o — VP
            — V t_o — DP t_i
  — T — VP
    — V wa-enda — V'
      — 2
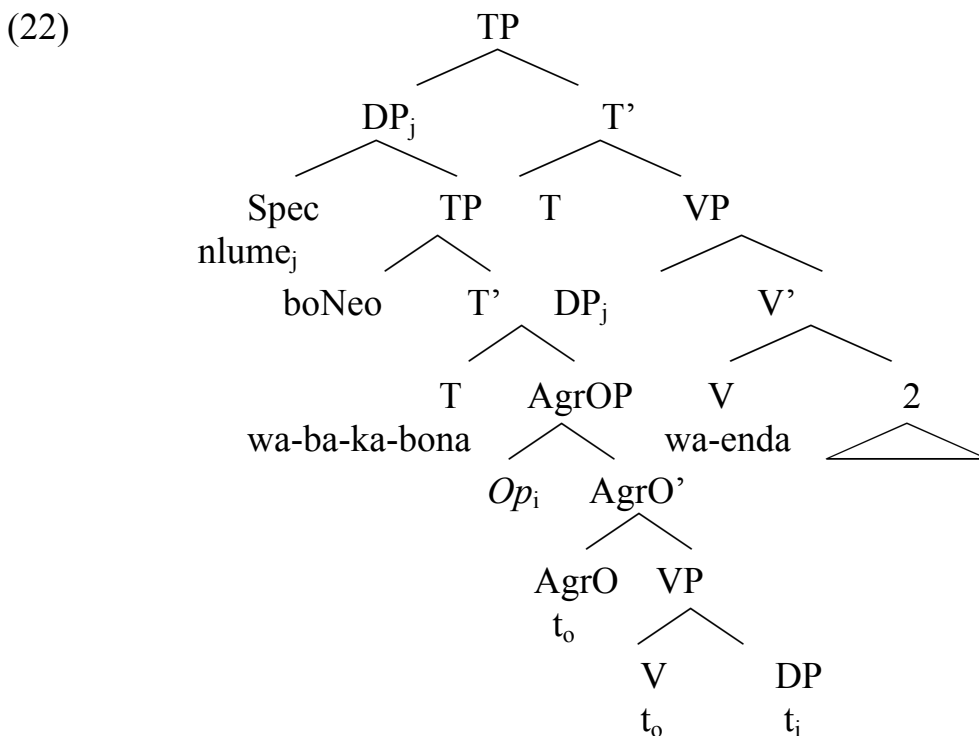
Sentence (22) above, according to our analysis is derived as follows: First, V moves to Agr to check its agr feature, then on to T to check tense. The operator moves to spec-AgrOP where a spec-head relation is established with the verb or its copy. The relativized NP is merged in spec-DP. This analysis is

simple and straightforward. However, it does not account for how the relative feature of the relative marker cliticized to the verb checks the relative feature without V moving to the left periphery. Thus it is not clear at all how such a structure can even be distinguished from a simple declarative clause. Due to this shortcoming, I reject this analysis and consider a third analysis below.

1.1 Analysis No. 3. The third analysis I wish to explore here makes use of Rizzi's (1997) expanded CP analysis where CP breaks down into projections such as Topic Phrase (which is recursive) and Focus Phrase. The same assumptions discussed in analysis no. 2 above hold here the only difference being that while in analysis 2 the relative clause structure is analyzed as a TP, in this analysis it is analyzed as a CP. The resulting derivation in this analysis is (23).

(23)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                      D'
                     /  \
                    D    NP
                        /  \
                     NPᵢ    TopP
                      △    /   \
                   nlume boNeo  CP
                              /   \
                           Opᵢ    C'
                                 /  \
                                C    TP
                          wa -ba-ka bona
                             saw    bo-Neo   T'
                                          /   \
                                         T    AgrOP
                                             /   \
                                          Opᵢ    AgrO'
                                                /   \
                                              Agr    VP
                                         wa -ba-ka bona
                                                     /   \
                                                    V     DPᵢ
                                              wa- ba-ka-bona  Opᵢ
```
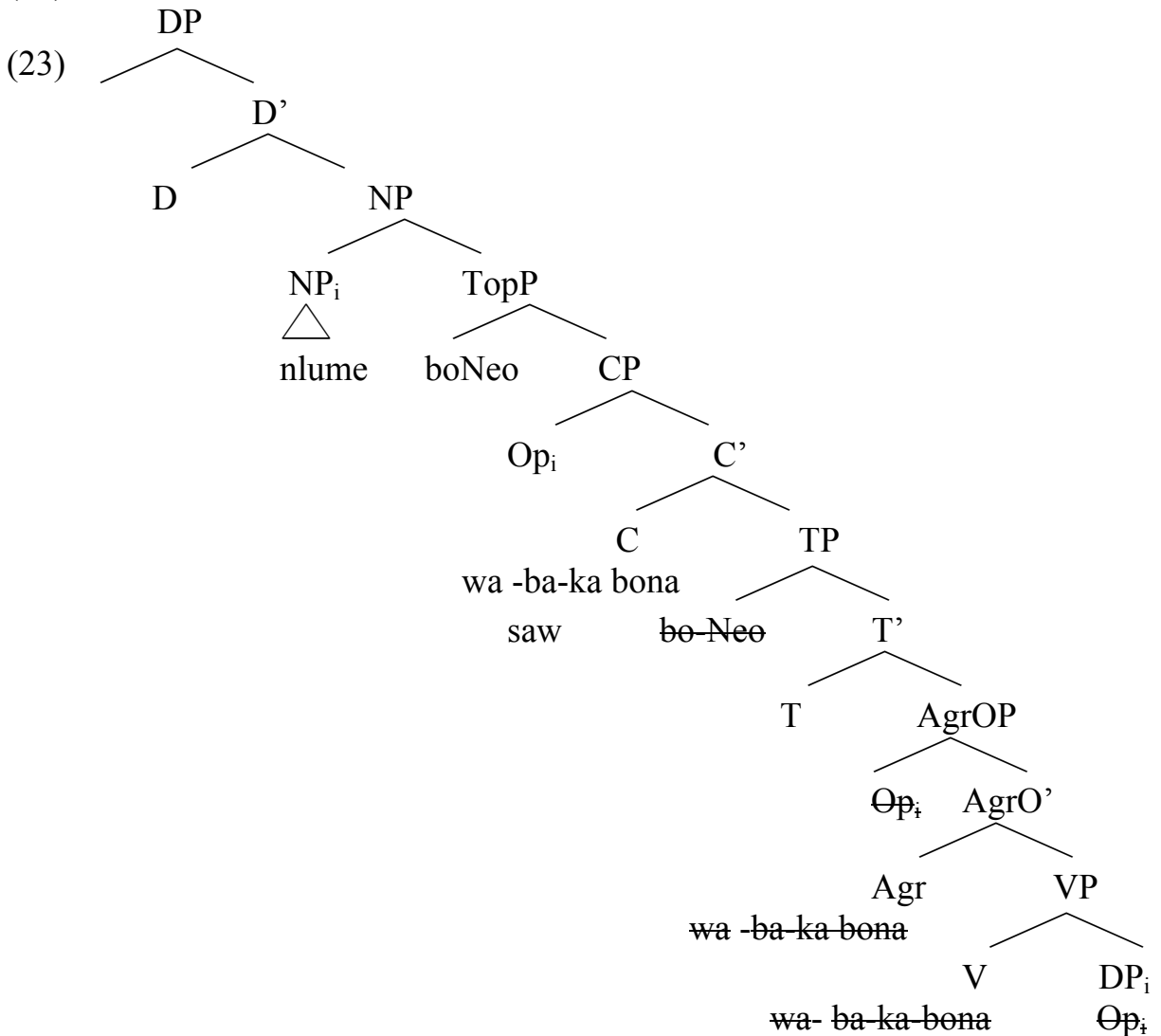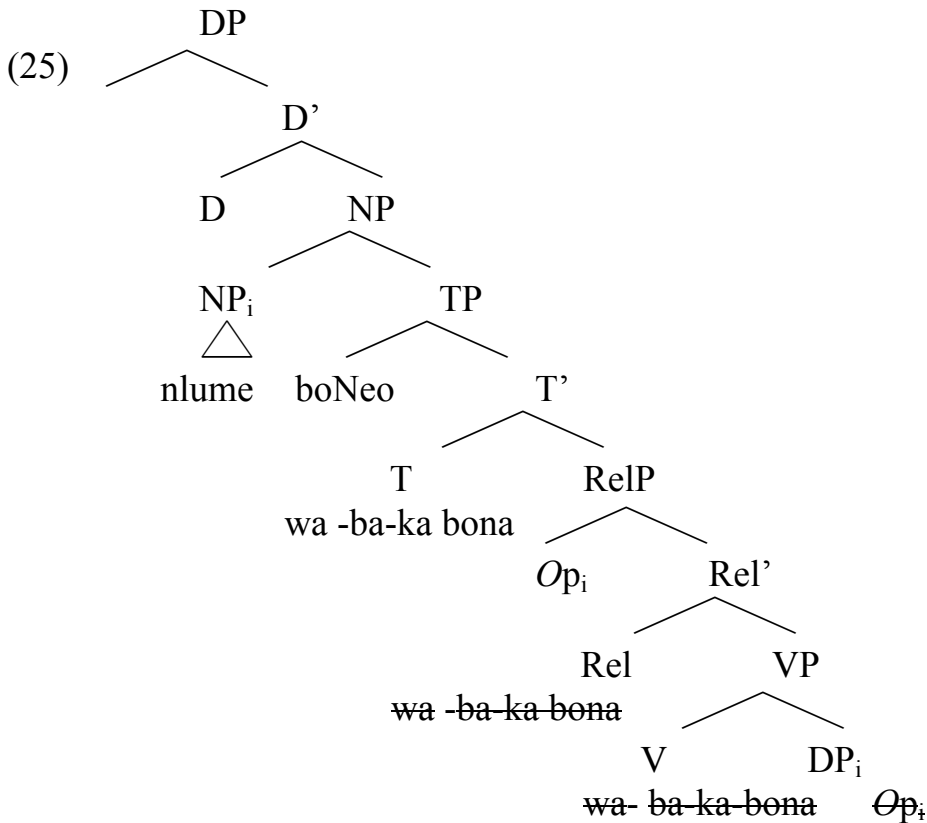
In this analysis, V first moves to Agr to check its Agr feature, then on to T to check tense and finally to the complementizer layer, that is, to C, to check its relative feature. The operator (Op) moves to spec-AgrOP where a spec-head relation is established with the verb or its copy. The operator moves further to spec-CP to check its relative feature. The head noun *nlume* which shares features with the operator (and is co-indexed with it) is merged in spec DP. The subject NP of the relative clause, *boNeo* raises from spec VP to spec TP to check its T features, and I propose that it has a topic feature which makes it move further to spec-TopP to check the topic feature. This analysis has the advantage that it makes it clear how the relative clause construction checks its relative feature. However, the issue of word order particularly relating to the order of the relativized NP and the subject is problematic because it requires stipulating that the subject in relative clauses has a topic feature which forces it to move to some topic projection. More problematic with the CP analysis is the fact that no material that usually resides in CP, e.g., adverbs, can intervene between the relativized object NP *nlume* and the subject NP *boNeo*. As illustrated in example (24), adverbs cannot intervene between the relativized NP and the subject of the relative clause. Consider the example below:

(24)   *Foúni   pangwe   mbísána   ya-á-ká-súmbíka   yá-ká-túra.
       $phone_9$ perhaps boy_1 Rel.AGR_9-SA_1-past-hide SA_9-past-expensive
       'The cell phone that (perhaps) the boy hid is expensive.'

That none of the informants find this sentence acceptable suggests that no CP-related material is allowed to intervene between the relativized NP and the subject NP. This leads to the conclusion that although we have seen evidence that Ikalanga relatives display left periphery characteristics, they are not really CP structures. What then is the structure of the Ikalanga relative? I explore one more analysis below.

4.4 Analysis No. 4. In this analysis, I propose that the Ikalanga relative clause, although a left periphery structure, is not a CP but rather a structure that exists lower than the CP projection itself. A similar proposal was made in Pak (ms) regarding Luganda relatives. I make the same assumptions as those in analysis no. 3, the only difference being that here I do not assume that the relative clause in Ikalanga is a CP but a sub-CP projection. This is consonant with Rizzi's (1997) proposal that the left periphery consists of much finer structures than just CP. In addition, consonant with Ndayiregije (1999) and Sabel & Zeller (2006) who propose that there is a FocP layer below TP which selects VP as its complement, I propose that in Ikalanga relatives, there is a projection RelP

lower than TP, which selects VP as its complement. I propose (25) as the derivation of the Ikalanga relative.

(25)

```
                  DP
                 /  \
                     D'
                    /  \
                   D    NP
                  /    /  \
               NPᵢ        TP
               /\        /  \
           nlume  boNeo     T'
                          /  \
                         T    RelP
                  wa -ba-ka bona  /  \
                               Opᵢ    Rel'
                                    /  \
                                  Rel   VP
                            wa -ba-ka bona  /  \
                                          V    DPᵢ
                                   wa- ba-ka-bona   Opᵢ
```

According to (25), the verb *wa -ba-ka bona* merges with the operator Op. The verb then moves to T where it checks its Agr and tense features and ultimately to Rel to check the relative feature. Similarly, the operator moves to Spec-Rel where its relative feature is checked against the verb which also has a relative feature. In this analysis, there is no CP layer above TP and therefore the problem of subject-verb inversion, which is problematic for the Ikalanga data in D&H's (1999) analysis, does not arise. This analysis is simple and straightforward and alleviates not only the problem of subject-verb inversion encountered in D&H's (1999) analysis but also the problem of stipulating that the subject NP has a topic feature in Ikalanga relatives. I therefore adopt analysis no. 4 as the best analysis for the Ikalanga data. The question then is Can this analysis be applied to other Bantu languages successfully? Let us take a few example languages and subject them to this analysis.

5. Relatives in other Bantu languages and how they differ from Ikalanga

The analysis proposed above can equally successfully be applied to other Bantu languages if we analyze the languages from the perspective of whether they have subject inversion or not in relative clauses and also adopt all the assumptions discussed under analysis no. 2, which hold for Bantu languages. However, I posit that there is a parametric variation in Bantu languages in whether the Rel projection occurs within TP or above TP. In languages like Ikalanga and Luganda, RelP occurs below TP. In languages like Shona, Sesotho, Tsonga, Venda, the RelP (or CP if there is evidence of the existence of a CP in relatives in these languages) occurs above TP. Taking the following examples from Shona, Sesotho, Swati and Luganda respectively to illustrate how this analysis would work, beginning with the Shona example (26), their derivations proceed as follows:

Shona

(26) Mbatya   dza-va-kason-era   vakadzi   mwenga
      Clothes10   RL10-SA2-sewed-APL   women2   bride1
      'clothes which the women sewed for the bride' (Demuth and Harford 1999)
      [DP[NP mbatya$_i$ [RelP/CP Op$_i$ [Rel dza-ba-ka-sonera$_j$ [TP[VP vakadzi[V t$_i$t$_j$ [NP mwenga]]]]]]]]

Sesotho

(27) setulo   seo   basadi   ba-se-rek-ile-ng   kajeno
      chair7   REL7   women2   AGR2-OBJ7-buy-PERF-RL   today
      'the chair which the women bought today'   (Demuth 1995)
      [DP [NP setulo$_i$ [RelP/CP Op$_i$ [Rel/C seo [TP basadi$_k$ [T ba-se-rekileng$_j$ [VP t$_k$ t$_j$ t$_i$]]]]]]]]

Swati

(28) umfati   tintfombi leti-m-elekelela-ko
      woman1   girl10   RC10-OC1-help-RS
      'the woman whom the girls help' (Zeller, 2004: Ex 22)
      [DP [NP umfati$_i$ [TP tintfombi$_k$ [T leti-m-elekelela-ko$_j$ [RelP Op$_i$ [Rel t$_j$ [VP t$_k$ t$_j$ t$_i$]]]]]]]]

Luganda

(29) emikeeka   abawala gye-ba-a-luka   te-gi-gasa
      mat4   girl2   rel4-SA2-past-plait   neg-be4.of.use
      'The mats the girls plaited are unsuitable.' (Ashton et.al 1954:144)
      [DP [NP emikeeka$_i$ [TP abalwa$_k$ [T gye-ba-a-luka$_j$ [RelP *O*p$_i$ [Rel t$_j$ [VP
      t$_k$ t$_j$ t$_i$]]]]]]]]

As can be seen from the derivations of the Shona, Sotho, Swati and
Luganda sentences above, the analysis proposed here accounts for the
derivations of relative clauses in these different languages if we recognize that
there is a parametric difference in Bantu languages in terms of whether the
relative projection in a given language projects below or higher than TP. Thus,
while in Shona (unmarked relatives) and Sesotho RelP projects higher than TP
the Swati object relative cited in this paper patterns with Ikalanga and Luganda
relatives in that their RelP projects lower than TP. Similarly, the marked Shona
object relative discussed in Demuth and Harford and illustrated below, also
patterns with Ikalanga and Luganda.

(30) mbatya   vakadzi   dza-va-kasonera   mwenga
      clothes10   women2   REL10-SA2-sewed.for   bride1
      'clothes which the women sewed for the bride'(Demuth & Harford, 1999
      Ex (i))

6 Conclusion

Using lack of co-occurrence of the relative marker with other left
periphery occurring elements such as conditionals and island constraints tests as
evidence, I have argued that the relative marker in Ikalanga relatives is located
in the left periphery. I have further argued that although the relative marker
displays left periphery characteristics, evidence from adverb placement suggests
that the Ikalanga relative clause is not a CP structure as in English type
languages. Consistent with what Pak (ms) has proposed for Luganda relative
clauses, I have also proposed that the Ikalanga relative clause structure is a sub-
CP structure which can be accommodated if we analyze it in terms of Rizzi
(1997)'s expanded CP analysis.

I proposed that the relative clause structure of Ikalanga (and Luganda)
projects a RelP below TP where the relative feature of the relative clause is
checked. Since RelP is below TP, the relative feature is checked below TP. The
verb, which hosts the relative marker, checks this feature and moves to T to
check tense and agreement features there. The subject of the relative clause

moves to spec-TP, its final landing place, just like in any other sentence. This accounts for the lack of subject verb inversion (predicted in D&H's (1999) analysis) in Ikalanga although its relative marker is a unit that prosodically cliticizes to the verb. The relativized NP is merged in spec-DP of the relative clause phrase.

I have proposed that the structural differences between Ikalanga/Luganda relatives and other Bantu languages such as Shona and Sesotho can be accounted for if we recognize that there is a parameter in Bantu relatives regarding where the projection that checks the relative feature in these languages projects: it can project lower than TP, for example in Ikalanga, Luganda, and Shona marked relatives (i.e., in languages that have no subject-verb inversion in relative clauses) or it can project higher than TP e.g. in Shona (unmarked) and Sesotho (i.e., languages that have subject-verb inversion in relative clauses). I also note that Shona seems to employ both strategies, i.e. RelP can project lower than IP or higher depending on stylistic preference.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations used

Agr	agreement	Op	operator
Apl	applicative	Prg	progressive
Cond	conditional	Rel	relative marker
IMP	Imperfective	RelP	Relative projection
$N_{1,2,3}$	number of the class to which a noun belongs	SA	subject agreement marker
Neg	negation	Rs	Relative Suffix
OM	object marker		

References

Ashton, E.O., E.M.K. Mulira, E.G.M. Ndawula & A.N. Tucker. 1954. *A Luganda Grammar*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Bokamba, Eyamba. G. 1976. *Question formation in some Bantu languages*. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.

Bresnan, Joan & Sam Mchombo. 1987. Topic, pronoun, and agreement in Chichewa. *Language* 63, 741-782.

Buell, Leston. 2005. *Issues in Zulu morphosyntax*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist Inquiries. The Framework. In *Step by Step*s: *Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. ed. Martin, Roger, David Michaels & Juan Uriagereka (eds.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 89-155.

Chomsky, Noam. 1977. On Wh-Movement. In Culicover, Peter, Thomas Wasow & Adrian Akmajian (eds.). *Formal Syntax*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 71-132.

Demuth, Katherine & Harford, Carolyn. 1999. Verb raising and subject inversion in Bantu relatives. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 20, 1, 41-61.

Demuth, Katherine. 1995. Questions, Relatives, and Minimal Projection. In *Language Acquisition*, 4(1&2), 49-71.

Guthrie, Malcom. 1967-71. *Comparative Bantu*. Volumes 1-4. Farnborough Heights: Gregg International Publishers.

Harford, Carolyn & Demuth, Katherine. (1999). Prosody outranks syntax: An optimality approach to subject-verb inversion in Bantu relatives. *Linguistic Analysis* 29, 1-2, 47-68.

Henderson, Brent. 2007. The syntax of agreement in Bantu relatives. In Frederick Hoyt, Nikki Seifert, Alexandra Teodorescu & Jessica White (eds.), *Texas Linguistics Society* 9: *Morphosyntax of Underrepresented Languages*:167-184.

Henderson, Brent. 2006. Multiple agreement, concord and case checking in Bantu. In Olaoba F. Arasanyi & Michael Pemberton (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Cascadilla Proceedings Project: 60-65.

Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. Empty categories, case and configurationality. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 2, 39-76.

Kiss, Katalin. 1995. *Discourse Configurational Languages*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Kinyalolo, Kisangati. 1991. *Syntactic dependencies and the spec-head agreement hypothesis in Kilega*. Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, Los Angeles.

Letsholo, Rose (forthcoming) The syntactic distribution of argument and adjunct WH constructions in Ikalanga, *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*.

Letsholo, Rose. 2004. The role of tone and morphology in the syntax of the Ikalanga DP. In *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 24(3), 291-309.

Letsholo, Rose. (2002). *Syntactic domains in Ikalanga. Ph.D*. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Mathangwane, Joyce. 1999. *Ikalanga phonetics and phonology: A synchronic and diachronic study*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Meeussen, A.E. 1971. Relative clauses in Bantu. *Studies in African Linguistics.* Supplement 2, 3-10.

Ndayiragije, Juvenile. 1999. Checking economy. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30, 3: 399-444.

Ngonyani, Deogratias. 1999. XO movement in Kiswahili relative clause verbs. *Linguistic Analysis* 29: 1-2, 137-159.

Ngonyani, Deogratias. 2001. Evidence for head raising in Kiswahili relative clauses. *Studies in African Linguistics* 30, 1, 59-73.

Ngonyani, Deogratias. 2002. Sentential negation and verb movement in Bantu languages, *Proceedings of BLS* 28, 201-212.

Pak, Majorie. *Relative clauses without CPs in Luganda* (ms). University of Pennsylvania.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Haegeman, L. (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, Dordrecht: Kluwer: 281-338.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Sabel, Joachim & Zeller, Jochen. 2006. WH question formation in Nguni. In Mugane, John, John P. Hutchison, Dee Worman (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics: African Languages and Linguistics in Broad Perspective:* 271-283.

Simango, Ron. S. 2007. Verb agreement and the syntax of CinSenga relative clauses. In *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 24(3), 277-290.

Zeller, Jochen. 2004. Relative clause formation in the Bantu languages of South Africa. In *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 2004, 22 (1&2), 75-93.

Zwart, Jan,W. 1997. *A short note on relative constructions in Lega and Swahili*. (ms). University of Groningen.

Department of English,
University of Botswana, Private
Bag 00703, Gaborone,
Botswana
Letsholor@mopipi.ub.bw

SYMBOLIC INDEXING IN OROMO[*]

Mi'eessaa Yaachis
and
Robbin Clamons

Metropolitan State University

This paper identifies a general phonic pattern of indexing on referential, spatiotemporal, and logical structures in Oromo. Final *–n(V)* marking across these different grammatical forms correlates with assumed accessibility of referents and of other information in discourse across a range of syntactic and semantic elements. The primary data for this study are from a spontaneous Guji narrative. Previous research on the form of referring expressions and the cognitive status of their referents in other Oromo dialects is extended through the consideration of the nominal constructions in this narrative. Furthermore, by the examination of other constructions, this *–n(V)* indexical is identified as a general pragmeme that functions to mark expressions for accessible referents and information on a range of forms across a discourse in Oromo.

Oromo, a Lowland Eastern Cushitic language of the Afro-asiatic phylum, and the majority language of Ethiopia, exhibits sound patterns in speech that reliably index the status of information across the conceptual space of a discourse. Eligible expressions in Oromo that index referents or other information that may be assumed by a speaker to be accessible to the addressee, i.e., activated in consciousness to some degree, are marked *-n(V)* on the right edge. By exploring the relationship between the structures of referring expressions and other information marking forms, and the status of referents and other information in Oromo discourse, this study identifies a consistent phonic pattern that is used to create a reliable map of the domain of a discourse for the interlocutors. In this

---

study, the forms of subjects and objects and the cognitive status of their referents in a discourse are examined first, and then other indexical expressions are identified and the status of information encoded in them is explored.

Peirce (1974) explicates a theoretical framework in which three cardinal sign types are recognized. An iconic sign bears a physical resemblance to its referent. For example, the onomatopoeic word *meow* signifies the sound a cat makes and also sounds like the sound a cat makes. An indexical sign establishes an existential relationship with interlocutors and a referent in time and space. For example, pronouns and demonstratives depend on discourse or real world context to successfully refer. A symbolic sign expresses conventionalized meaning, as recognized within a speech community. Burkes (1949) considers the original Peircean notion of index and analyzes indexical symbols that are deictic in the immediate domain. He argues that while each token of a non-indexical symbol, e.g., *red,* has the same conventional meaning regardless of its spatiotemporal location, an indexical symbol, e.g., *now*, has a unique value depending upon the spatiotemporal location of each token. Although each token of an indexical symbol has the same conventional meaning as its type, e.g., *now* means the time at which this *now* is uttered, each token carries additional information since it stands in a unique existential relationship with the interlocutors. In Oromo, each token of referring, temporal, spatial, or logical expressions that bears –n(V) marking functions to index referents, times, places, or logical relationships that are accessible to the interlocutors within a domain of discourse, while also encoding a conventional meaning.

The primary data for this study are from a near death experience narrative by a Lowland Guji Oromo, who also provides native judgments about interpretations and acceptable, appropriate alternative constructions and felicitous expressions.[1] Claims about the status of information indexed by certain expressions are made throughout this paper, and therefore the transcription of the complete narrative is provided in an appendix to allow the reader full consideration of the data within the context of the discourse.[2]

---

[1] This narrative was elicited on 10/29/99, shortly after his arrival in America. He responded to a request to recount, in Guji Oromo, an incident in his childhood when he was terrified. The narrative was recorded on video and audio tape, and subsequently transcribed. Our intention was to collect the most genuine sample of uninterrupted Guji Oromo possible.

[2] The data are represented phonemically. Long vowels and consonants are represented with double letters or digraphs, the intermediate length vowel with an acute accent, the dental ejective with *x,* the retroflex implosive is represented with *dh*, the alveopalatal fricative with *sh,* alveopalatal affricate with *c*, the alveopalatal affricate ejective with *ch*, the velar ejective with *q*, and the palatal nasal with *ny.* Abbreviations are: Amh 'Amharic', F 'feminine', far

Although this is a small corpus, a rich sample of expressions emerges that exhibits a characteristic sound pattern that maps accessible information in Oromo discourse. Where natural examples of grammatical constructions do not occur, conventional elicitation methods have been used to explore appropriate pragmatic marking in extended contexts. Equivalences, as well as differences, between the Guji data and attested data from other dialects of Oromo are indicated throughout.

1. Referring Expressions

Givenness, i.e., a speaker's assumptions about how conscious the addressee is of a referent at any given moment in the discourse, is a critical factor in the choice of appropriate forms. The Guji data from the narrative are examined to investigate and extend the analysis proposed for Oromo in Clamons, Mulkern, & Sanders (1993), which is based on the framework presented in Gundel, Hedberg. & Zacharski (1993). The Givenness Hierarchy for Oromo that is introduced in Clamons et al. (1993) is based on conversations constructed by a speaker of Harar Oromo. This present study tests and extends the suggested analysis to include both the Guji data and another genre, the narrative.

Chafe (1976) asserts that givenness, topicality, subjecthood, definiteness, and contrastiveness are all relevant to the speaker's evaluation of how the addressee is able to process what is being said against a particular discourse and real world context. Although the exploration of givenness and the selection of expressions by the speaker is central in this study, topicality, subjecthood, definiteness, and contrastiveness must also be taken into consideration, because each of these is shown to influence the speaker's choices. Throughout the narrative, topicality is found to be crucial in choosing subject forms. Indefiniteness, definiteness, and contrastiveness are also signaled formally. Sasse (1984b:245) has pointed out that Eastern Cushitic languages "… are more or less discourse oriented …", that topicality, focus, definiteness, etc. shape the syntactic form in these languages more than syntactic relations. In Oromo, both grammatical relations and pragmatic status are extensively marked.

The hierarchy proposed in Gundel et al. (1993) posits six cognitive statuses, where each status reflects a necessary and sufficient condition for the

dem 'distal demonstrative', EMPH 'emphasis marker', IMP 'imperfective, INDEF 'indefinite marker', M 'masculine', near dem 'proximal demonstrative', N 'noun', OBJ 'object', PL 'plural', pro 'pronoun', PST 'past', SUBJ 'subject', T 'topic', TB 'topic boundary marker', Som 'Somali', 3 'third person'. Only analysis relevant to this discussion is included in interlinear glosses.

appropriate choice of forms. If a referent is type identifiable, the lowest cognitive status, the speaker need only assume that the addressee can identify what kind of entity the referent is. If the referent is referential, the speaker assumes that the addressee can both identify the kind of entity the referent is and understand that the speaker can identify that referent uniquely. If the referent is uniquely identifiable, the speaker assumes that the addressee can also pick out the exact referent, either from the immediate real world context, the discourse context, or because the referent can be reasonably inferred from either context. If the referent is familiar, the speaker assumes that the referent is not only identifiable, but is immediately recognizable to the addressee. If the referent is activated, the speaker assumes that the referent is currently in the awareness of the interlocutors. If the referent is in focus, the highest status, the speaker assumes that the participants' attention is centered on the referent.[3] In Figure 1, a set of examples is given to illustrate the forms chosen in English, depending on the cognitive status of the referent of *dog*.

Figure 1. English Illustrations of the Givenness Hierarchy

I couldn't sleep at all last night.

In Focus   >   … *She* was barking all night.
Activated >   … *THIS dog* was barking all night.
Familiar   >   … *That dog* was barking all night.
Uniquely Identifiable > … *The dog* was barking all night.
Referential >   … *This DOG* was barking all night.
Type Identifiable >   … *A / Some dog* was barking all night.

Clamons et al. (1993) explores the relationship of five cognitive statuses and referring expressions in constructed conversations in Harar Oromo and identifies formal distinctions between topic and non-topic subjects, as well as subjects and objects. The Givenness Hierarchy for Oromo that the authors propose is reproduced in Figure 2.

---

[3] The term *focus* is only used in this cognitive sense to avoid the confusion described in Hajičová (1986) in the use of the term. These statuses are hierarchical, not discrete categories. The lower statuses are implied by the higher statuses, and speakers choose among expressions depending on the status of a referent and other considerations, sometimes selecting forms appropriate for lower statuses because of factors such as definiteness, contrastiveness, or relevance. Gundel et al. (1993) argue that the interaction of the Givenness Hierarchy and Grice's maxim of quantity interact to account for the frequent choice of lower status forms in discourses where a higher status form could be chosen.

Figure 2. Givenness Hierarchy for Oromo (Clamons, Mulkern & Sanders 1993)

	In Focus >	Activated >	Familiar >	Uniquely > Identifiable	Type Identifiable
topic subject	Ø	pronoun + *n* N+*n*+near dem far dem	N+*n*+far dem	N + *n*	--
non-topic subject	--	pronoun N+near dem far dem	N+far dem	N	N (*takka*)
object	Ø	pronoun far dem	N+far dem N+near dem	N	N (*takka*)

By considering subject and object noun phrases from this study's Guji narrative and comparing the correlation between the forms that have been chosen and the status of the discourse referents, the generalizations that hold across the dialects are identified and the hierarchy is expanded to include further data. Figure 3 represents an extended Givenness Hierarchy for Oromo, expanded to include the data in this study.

Figure 3. Givenness Hierarchy for Oromo[4]

	In Focus >	Activated >	Familiar >	Uniquely Identifiable >	Referential >	Type Identifiable
topic subject	Ø	pro + *ni* N+*ni*+*tun/kun*	N+*ni*+*sun* N+*ni*+*tuun/* *kuun* *sun*	N+*ni*	N+*ni takká/* *tokkó((t)ti)*	--
non-topic subject	--	pro N+*tana/kana*	N+*san*	N		N *(takká/* *tokkó) ((t)ti)*
object	pro(-*n*)	N+*tana/kana*	N+*san* N+*taan/kaan*	N		N *(takka/tokko)*
oblique	pro-*n* +*n(v)*	N + *tani/kani* N+*taanii/* *kaanii*	N+*sani*	N		N *(takka/tokko)*

This Givenness Hierarchy represents the cognitive statuses that are minimally necessary for choice of the forms given for all dialects of Oromo. The forms are given, rather than the grammatical descriptions, so that the general pattern of *-n(V)* marking, uniform across higher statuses and grammatical categories, can be clearly seen. The *–n(V)* index is always found on all appropriate overt referring expressions: on all eligible elements of the subject for a referent that is at least referential, and on every noun phrase for any referent that is familiar.

1.1 Type Identifiable. If a referent is type identifiable, the speaker assumes that the addressee can identify what kind of thing the referent is. In Guji, as in Harar and the other Oromo dialects, subjects for type identifiable referents, have a higher toned final vowel on the final eligible element of the noun phrase. Example (1) exemplifies the form of expression used for such referents from the narrative.

> (1)   Gizee   hedduu   ammoo… …   <u>lolá-tti</u>   ka'a.
>   time (Amh)   many   but   war-SUBJ.EMPH   get up
>   'Often … <u>a war</u> breaks out.'   (7)[5]

---

[4] The indefinite markers M/F are: *takka/tokko.* The far demonstrative forms are subject: *sun,* object: *san,* and oblique: *sani.* The near demonstrative forms are subject M/F: *tun/kun,* object M/F: *tana/kana,* and oblique M/F: *tani/kani.* The 'other' demonstrative forms are subject M/F: *tuun/kuun,* object M/F: *taan/kaan,* and oblique M/F: *taanii(i)/kaanii(i).*

The form chosen for 'a war' is *lolá-tti*. This form, characteristic of non-topic subjects, is chosen because the referent cannot be a topic because it does not refer to a unique entity that can be picked out by the interlocutors. A war has not been previously referenced in the discourse, nor does it occur in the immediate realm of the narrative, and no specific war can be inferred from the context. Thus the narrator can only assume that the audience is able to identify the referent of *lolá-tti* as a kind of thing, 'a war'.[6]

The longer high toned final vowel on the nominal stem is characteristic of non-topic subjects, and contrasts with both the short and voiceless final vowel found on citation, direct object, and predicate nominal forms, and the long final vowel of oblique forms, as illustrated in (2a), (2b), and (2c).[7]

(2) a. Tanaaf,… <u>lola</u> gara   garaa,... baana.
       Therefore… war   different kind…   escape 3PL
       'Therefore, … we escape different kinds of <u>war</u> ...'   (29)

---

[5] The numbers to the right of the data in the examples in this paper correspond to the numbers used for the sentences from the full narrative in the Appendix.

[6] The *-(t)ti*, an emphasis marker, is found optionally on eligible non-topic subject forms in Guji and corresponds to the markers: *–tu*, *-ti*, and *-titu* in Harar Oromo, *–tu* in Wolleggan Oromo, and *–(t)ti* in Boraana Oromo. This optional emphasis marker is found on other forms, e.g., *achi* 'there' to create *achi-tti* 'right there' in our narrative. Goshu and Meyer (2003:165) identify this as *–tu*, focus marker on subjects, objects and oblique objects in Wellegan Oromo. Stroomer (1995:113-144) characterizes this marker as an indicator of the scope of the verb that '…may emphasize the noun phrase to which it is attached…' in Boraana Oromo. Clamons et al. (1993) discusses the Harar Oromo forms and claim that this emphatic marker appears only on subject forms that are non-topical. Kebede (1989) argues that this form is one of three unique copular forms. Bender (1986) puts forward arguments explicitly rejecting Kebede's analysis of the genitive *–ti* as copular. Moreover, Kebede (1989:88) himself provides facts that support the analysis of the *-ti* marker considered here as a non-topic subject emphasis marker rather than a copula. He reports that it "…is purely focusing the subject …to which it is suffixed," and it is never found at the end of the sentence as is the other copular form.

[7] This intermediate length vowel is discernable to the native speaker. We thank Sarah Dart for helping us establish the physical characteristics of the intermediate length vowel in the experimental phonetics laboratory of Macalester College. Stroomer (1995:94) identifies the phonetic quality of this vowel in Boraana as a fully voiced vowel and voiceless vowel combination. The strengthening of the final vowel in this subject form applies vacuously to the long vowel in the stem. Strengthening also applies vacuously to final long vowels. Sasse (1984b:246) points out that Konso, a closely related language, also has a lengthened vowel on the focused subject, as in *án-<u>aa</u> toóye* 'I am the one who saw'.

b. Garuu kun <u>lola</u> dhuga'aatii moti…*'*
    but   this war real   not.be
    'But this was not a real <u>war</u>…'   (30)

c. … yennaa <u>lolaa</u> tana keessa...
    … during   war this in
    '… during this <u>war</u>...'   (10)

Even though, the 'person' in (3) has been an important player within the discourse, first mentioned in (11) in the narrative and persisting throughout, the identity of this person in the real world is unknown to the interlocutors. The only possible assumption is that the everyone knows that this is some person from the community; therefore the subject nominal *namumá-tti* 'just someone' is the appropriate choice. All subject noun phrases in the narrative are so marked.

(3)   … <u>nam -umá -tti</u>   achuma   keessaa bayee nu sobe.
      person just SUBJ EMPH there.right from.in   came us tricked
     '…just someone from within came out and tricked us.'   (30)

In Guji, as in the Harar dialect, type identifiable subjects and objects may be followed by *takka/tokko*, the (F/M) indefinite marker. The subject phrase *muka tokkó-tti* 'one tree' in (4) and the object phrase *ulee dheertuu takka* 'a long stick' in (5) both have the overt indefinite form.[8]

(4)   …<u>muka tokk-ó   -tti</u> ...   qabu jigee …
    …tree   INDEF SUBJ EMPH…   had fallen
    '… <u>one tree</u>… had fallen…'   (19)

(5)   ...ka   <u>ulee dheertuu takka</u>   harkattiqabatee …
    …who stick long   INDEF   hand.by had …
    '…[who] had <u>a long stick</u> in his hand…'   (11)

1.2 Uniquely Identifiable. If a referent is uniquely identifiable, the speaker assumes that the addressee will be able to identify the unique entity referred to. All eligible elements of subjects that index referents that are assumed to be at least uniquely identifiable to both speaker and addressee are marked with *-ni* in addition to the higher toned subject marker that is also found on non-topical subjects.[9]

---

[8] Notice that the case marking is found only on the final eligible element of a non-topical subject phrase, e.g., only on *tokkó* , not on *muka,* in (4).

[9] The *–ni* marking has been identified across dialects as a 'subject' or 'nominative' form by many scholars; however, the difference in inflectional marking on topic and non-topic

Our Guji story begins, as in (6), with the narrator referring to himself with *ani* 'I'. This is appropriate, as he can assume the audience can uniquely identify him at once, as he is directly before them.

(6)   Gaafa <u>ani</u>   diqqeenna keessa jiru tokko...
        time   I+*ni*   childhood   in   be INDEF
        'Once when I was a child....'   (1)

As expected, first person reference is the most frequent throughout the narrative, with the topic subject form *ani* and object forms as well as null subject forms chosen throughout. (See the discussion on in focus referents in section 1.6.)

In (7), a new topic is introduced in the Guji narrative. The expression chosen to introduce this new topic is the subject form appropriate for a type identifiable referent, *muka tokkó-tti* 'a tree', but at next mention, in the following clause, the expression chosen is the topic subject form with N+*ni*, *muki* 'the tree'.

(7)   ...muka tokkó   -tti,   <u>muki</u>   qoree qabu jigee... gogee jira.
        tree   INDEF SUBJ EMPH tree+*ni* thorn   have fell   dried   exists
        '... there was one tree, a thorn <u>tree</u>, that had fallen … and dried up.'   (19)

Another example of this form occurs in (8). The 'person' in this example is generic.[10]

---

subjects has also been observed in descriptions across the Oromo dialects: in Gragg (1976:193) and Goshu and Meyer (2003:165) for Wellegga, Moreno (1939:110-11) for Tulama, Andrzejewski (1978:351-352) and Stroomer (1995: 94,105-6) for Boraana, and Owens (1985:108) and Clamons et al. (1991,1993,1999) for Harar. Clamons et al. (1991, 1992, 1993, 1999) argue that this is a topic marker that is found on eligible subjects.

[10] In a cross-linguistic study Lee (1996) argues that generic noun phrases reference uniquely identifiable referents, because they denote things familiar to both interlocutors, and points out that in article-less languages like Oromo, as in Korean and Japanese, generic phrases are marked as topics. Gundel (1988:231) finds in her study of topic and comment structure that an expression referring to a topic is typically definite or generic.

(8)   Obbaan   kundaggala   marraa   gudda'aa , <u>nami</u>   keessaa hin
       reeds   this bulrushes grass   high   <u>person+*ni*</u> in   not

       mudhdhatu.
       be seen

       'These reeds, the bulrushes are so high <u>you</u> can't be seen.' (18)

Verbs associated with topic subjects exhibit agreement marking for gender, person, and number, while verbs associated with non-topic subjects lack agreement marking.[11] There are no examples in the narrative that show this lack of agreement, as all of the non-topic subjects in the narrative are singular and masculine and therefore the verbs associated with them have no overt gender or number marker. In Guji Oromo, however, as in the other Oromo dialects, there is in fact no inflection for gender, person, or number on the verb when the referent of the subject is only type identifiable. This is illustrated in the directly comparable constructed conversations in (9) and (10).[12] Consider the first example pair in (9).

(9)   S1:   Adaadaa-n   abuyyaa dhagg-it   -e?
             aunt   +*ni*   uncle   see   F   PST?
             'Did auntie see uncle?'

       S2:   Ee, adaadaa-n   abuyyaa dhagg-it -e.   or   Ee, dhagg-it-e.
             yes aunt   +*ni*   uncle   see   F   PST   yes see   F PST
             'Yes, auntie saw uncle.'   'Yes, she saw him.'

---

[11] Hetzron (1974), Gragg (1976), Andrzejewski (1978), Owens (1985), Clamons et al. (1991, 1993, 1999), and Goshu and Meyer (2003) observe this difference in formal marking on non-topic and topic subjects. Hetzron (1974) assumes that Proto-Cushitic had subject verb agreement with all subject types and that agreement paradigms were impoverished as a result of a leveling of morphological distinctions. Sasse (1984a and 1984b) suggests that the only plausible explanation for the existence of limited agreement in Cushitic languages is that it is the result of fossilization of cleft constructions, where the subjects that do not trigger verb agreement are those which were originally heads of cleft constructions. Clamons et al. (1992) have argued that the agreement system of modern Oromo is conservative rather than innovative, and that the origin of subject verb agreement in all languages of the Afroasiatic family stems from a pattern of the Oromo type, from which some languages have generalized topic subject verb agreement to subject verb agreement.

[12] Compare these with the Harar Oromo examples (2) and (3) in Clamons et al. (1993:523), which show the same agreement facts, although the lexical items are different.

In the pair in (9) *adaadaa-n* 'aunt', is topical, and the verb must be marked feminine in agreement with subject. In the following question and answer pair in (10), however, the subject, *adaadaa* 'aunt', is non-topical, only type identifiable for the first speaker, who is actually seeking the information about 'who' it was who has done the seeing. The verb, therefore, is not marked for agreement.

(10) S1: Eennú -(tti)   abuyyaa dhagg -e?
         who SUBJ EMPH   uncle   see   -PST?
         'Who saw uncle?'

      S2: Adaadaa -(tii)   abuyyaa dhagg -e.
         aunt   SUBJ EMPH   uncle   see   -PST
         'Auntie saw uncle.'

These Guji examples of a topical subject with a uniquely identifiable referent, and a non-topical subject with a type identifiable referent display the same formal characteristics that the Harar data in Clamons et al. (1993) exhibit. If the subject is topical, it is marked with *–ni*. If topic subject verb agreement is assumed, then no special exception for non-topical subjects is necessary, as verbs are marked for agreement only with subjects that are topical.

1.3 Referential. In Guji, expressions for referents that are uniquely identifiable to the speaker and that the speaker may want to introduce as topics into the discourse may be marked with the *–ni* form and simultaneously carry the indefinite *takka / tokko* marker to signify that they are not uniquely identifiable to the addressee at this point in the discourse.[13] The form chosen in (11) to

---

[13] The classic example in English is *She wants to marry a Norwegian.* If 'she'll' settle for any Norwegian, the referent is not referential, if she wants a particular one, it is. Lambrecht (1994:131ff) points out that although subjects are the most likely candidates as topics, and subject and topic are strongly correlated in discourse, grammatical subject and discourse topic cannot be equated. As seen in the previous examples, subjects that are only type identifiable do not have the *–ni* marking. But subjects with referential referents do have this marker and they also have the indefinite marker *takka/tokko*. Using these seemingly contradictory markers, the topic marker that indicates the referent is uniquely identifiable, and at the same time the indefinite marker that signifies that the referent is not, expresses perfectly the dual cognitive status of the referent. The speaker assumes that the referent is only type identifiable to the other interlocutors, but simultaneously signals that the referent is uniquely identifiable for him, that he has a particular referent in mind. In the English translation, the interpreter has chosen 'a problem', but 'this problem', with unstressed 'this' would also be acceptable in informal spoken English.

reference *rakkin-ni tokko* 'a problem' has the *-ni* topic subject marking on the noun, but also *tokko*, an indefinite marker.[14]

(11)   ...<u>rakkin</u> -ni tokko teessoo biyya   teennaatti… dhalate.
      problem +*ni* INDF area   country   our.in   …   was born
     '… <u>a problem</u> arose back in our home country.'   (4)

Another referent, specific for the narrator at the point of mention in the narrative, while only type identifiable for the audience, is identified as *nami tokko*, 'this guy' in (12). Again, this referential status of the referent is indicated with both the *-ni* marker and the indefinite marker.

(12)   ...gaafa tokko … <u>nami</u>   tokko…   fulla'ee… nu   yaame.
      day   one   man+*ni* INDEF   appeared   to.us called
     '..one day..<u>this guy</u> … appeared ..and called out to us…'   (11)

In both of these examples, the referent that is introduced becomes a new topic of the discourse at this point and persists as a topic in the following discourse. This form is also selected for newly introduced topics in narratives of Boraana Oromo, as in (13) from Stroomer (1995:124:1) from Andrzejewski (1962:126).

(13)   Durii, namii   tokko,   horii   gosa   c'ufa   k'aba.
      once   man +*ni* INDEF   cattle kind   all   has
     'Once upon a time, <u>a man</u> had domestic animals of every kind.'

Another form for a referential referent is found in (14) from a narrative in Harar Oromo from Clamons et al. (1993: 527).

(14)   Intala   takká   magaalaa   dhuf-e.
      Girl   INDEF.SUBJ market   come-PST
     '<u>A girl</u> came to the market.'

This form, [*i*]*ntala takká* 'a girl', which is the non-topical subject form plus the indefinite marker, may be used for either a type identifiable or a referential referent. As in English, where *a girl* or *this girl* (with unstressed *this*) may be appropriately chosen in informal English to reference a girl who is uniquely identifiable to the speaker but not the addressee; in Oromo, a speaker

---

[14] Equivalent forms are also attested in the Boraana dialect. The occurrence of these forms in the other dialects could be investigated further.

also has a choice between two forms. Thus a speaker could use *rakkinaa tokkó* , as in (15) instead of *rakkin-ni tokko* chosen above in example (11), or *namá-tii*, as in (16), instead of *nami tokko* from example (12).[15]

(15)   ...<u>rakkinaa</u>   tokkó   teessoo biyya   teennaatti…   dhalate.
        problem   INDF   area   country our.in   was born
    '… <u>a problem</u> arose back in our home country.'   cf. (4)

(16)   ... gaafa tokko…   namá   -tii…   fulla'ee…   nu   yaame.
        day   one   man SUBJ EMPH   appeared   to.us   called
    '… one day … a guy … appeared … and called out to us…'   cf. (11)

Grammatical expressions that would not be appropriate alternate choices in the context of the narrative are given in (17) and (18). These forms are inappropriate because the referents are not uniquely identifiable to the audience at this point in the narrative.

(17)   ??...<u>rakkin-ni</u>   teessoo biyya   teennaatti…   dhalate.
        problem +*ni*   area   country   our.in   was born
    '… <u>the problem</u> arose back in our home country.'   cf. (4)

(18)   *??*...gaafa tokko…   <u>nami</u>…   fulla'ee…   nu   yaame.
        day   one   man+*ni*   appeared   to.us   called
    'one day..<u>the guy</u> … appeared ..and called out to us…'   cf. (11)

Using the topic subject form with no indefinite marker signals that the referents should be uniquely identifiable for all interlocutors, but the referents have not been previously mentioned, are not in the immediate domain, the physical context of the speech event, and are not inferable.

---

[15] If these forms were chosen, however, it would not be clear that the 'problem' and the 'person' referred to in these instances were referential and not just type identifiable. Similarly, for English, Gundel et al. (1993) identify the unstressed *this* N as a form appropriate for referential referents in informal spoken English. The status associated with this form is unambiguous, unlike that associated with the form *a* N, which may be chosen for a type identifiable or a referential referent. Wright and Givón (1987) explore the occurrence of these forms in English discourses. In their study, the choice of the *this* N form correlates strongly with the persistence of topics, especially when the expression is the subject. In this Oromo narrative, the non-topic subjects with the referential form are also persistent in the following discourse.

1.4 Familiar. If the referent is familiar, the speaker assumes that the referent is not only uniquely identifiable, but is immediately recognizable to the addressee, who is already aware of it. Noun phrases used for referents that are at least familiar are always *–n(V)* marked on the right edge, regardless of the other information they encode. All eligible elements of the subject phrase are marked, with the *–n(V)* iterated across the subject phrase. The demonstrative, which is found in final position, bears the marker in all cases. This is attested in all dialects of Oromo. To signal an expectation of familiarity, the distal demonstrative, *sun* or *san*, may be used, following the noun, as in (19b).

(19) a. …ani… mana   barumsaakeessa ture.
           I+*ni*… house   teaching   in   was
        '…I was… in school.'   (1)

      b. <u>Mani   barumsaasun…</u>
         house+*ni* teaching   that …
         '<u>That school</u> ….'   (2)

Oromo has another demonstrative with a range of symbolic meanings that may be chosen with nominals for familiar referents, *tuun/kuun* or *taan/kaan*, 'this or that, this other, that other, this or that not here or unseen.' After 'he' is introduced, the antihero, the classic 'other' of the narrative, is frequently referred to with this form. In (20), 'he' has been the topic of the narrative and an expression signaling a higher status could have been selected, but *kuun* is selected in (14) in the narrative, and again in (22), (23) and (25). In example (21), the whereabouts of the referent are not known and this is, in fact, a source of concern.

(20) <u>Nami kuun</u>, 'Woriyaa   dhaabadhdhu!..' jedhaa nu gula fiige.
      man+*ni* that   you.guys (Som) stop   saying us after ran
      '<u>That guy</u> ran after us calling 'Stop you guys!…'   (14)

(21) <u>Nami   kuun</u> haalaan   ifirratti   caqasaa turee…
      person+*ni* this   anticipating in.myself.onto listen   was
      'I was on pins and needles because of <u>that guy</u>…'   (22)

The unseen thorn tree into which the protagonist jumps without looking in (22a) as well as its thorns are referenced in (22b) with expressions of this form, *muka kaan* 'that tree' and *qoreetiin tuun* 'those thorns'.

(22) a. …muki   qoree qabu jigee achitti gogee jira.
        tree +*ni*   thorn   have fell   there   dried   exists
     '… a thorn tree that had fallen in there and dried up.'   (19)

     b. Ani waan ifi   jala hin laallatiniif utaalee,muka   kaan
        I+*ni* since myself under not look.self   jump   tree   that

        gubbaa yoo bu'u; qoreettiin tuun akkuma jirtuun nafa
        on   when land   thorn   these as.even   exist   body

        kiyya, addee ani   qabu mara   na woraante.
        my   place I+*ni* had   whole   me pierced

        'Since I didn't look under myself when I jumped, I landed right on
        <u>that tree</u>; <u>those thorns</u> all stuck me all over the place.'   (20)

1.5 Activated. If the referent is activated, the speaker assumes that the referent is currently in the awareness of the other participants. A noun phrase for activated referents always has the –*n(V)* final marker on the near demonstrative and the subject case -*ni* is iterated on all other eligible elements of the subject phrase as well. These forms are consistent with the data attested in the other Oromo dialects. In (23a), the narrator jumps into 'reeds' and at this first mention, the form is *obbaa*, the oblique form for a type identifiable referent. As the subject of the following clause, and a topic that is continued, the narrator can assume that the reeds are now in the immediate awareness of his audience. Thus in (23b), the reeds are indexed with the proximal demonstrative as *[o]bbaan kun* 'these reeds'.

(23) a. …utaalee obbaa keessaa bu'e.
        jump   reeds into   dropped
     '… jumped and dropped into the reeds.'   (17)

     b. <u>Obbaan kun</u>… nami   keessaahin mudhdhatu.
        reeds   this   person+*ni* in   not be.seen
        '<u>These reeds </u>… you can't be seen.'   (18)

     Similarly, in the examples in (24), once the 'war' is introduced in (24a), it is indexed in (24b) and (24c) with the near demonstrative forms in both the subject and oblique cases.

(24) a. Gizee   hedduu ammoo… <u>lolá   -tti</u>   ka'a.
          time (Amh) many   but   war   SUBJ EMPH get up
          'Often … <u>a war</u> breaks out.'   (7)

     b. <u>Loli   kun</u>… ka'e.
          war+*ni* this… got.up
          '<u>This</u> war broke out …'   (8)

     c. ...yennaa lolaa tana keessa irra   caalaa bidhdhaan ...
          while   war this   in   above all   suspicion
          '…during <u>this war</u>, very often there was a different kind of
          suspicion...'   (10)

1.6 In Focus. If the referent is in focus, the speaker assumes that the participants' attention is centered on the referent. At the beginning of his story, our narrator introduces himself and sets the scene in his childhood, choosing the topic subject form of the pronoun, *ani* 'I', appropriate for the referent in the center of the audience's attention, himself.[16] Having established himself as the central figure of the discourse, the narrator then continues to index himself with a null subject in the following clause. He assumes that he is the referent that is fixed in the center of the minds of his audience, and that therefore, an overt index is no longer necessary.

(25) Gaafa <u>ani</u> diqqeenna keessa jiru tokko   Ø… mana barumsaa
      time I+*ni* childhood in   be   INDEF I   house teaching

      keessa ture.
      in   was

      'Once when <u>I</u> was a child, <u>I</u> was… in school.'   (1)

     Similarly, in the portion from the narrative in example (26), the narrator has been established as central at this point in of the discourse. Thus, all subsequent self-reference in the immediately following segment of the narrative is null.

---

[16] This form, with –*n(V),* signals that the audience is expected to be able to identify him as the referent. The prominence of the speaker in a discourse is well recognized. Langacker (1985:113) remarks that "[a]mong the elements of the ground [the speech event, its setting and its participants], the speaker can be regarded as central, and reference to the ground can often be interpreted as reference to the speaker."

(26) Tanaaf, Ø akka dheedhdhee… bayee hin dandeenne marroo beekeef,
    therefore I   like fleeing   escape not be.able.to   since   know.for

    Ø adumaa ijoollee tana faana fiigiisatti jiruu, isaan biraa utaalee
    I even.as   children   this after   running   was   them from jumped

    dhokatiisaaf gara   laga bisaanii,… Ø… gadi   caafamee, Ø utaalee
    hide.for.to   toward gully water   I   down   turn   I jump

    Ø obbaa keessaa bu'e.
    I reeds   into   dropped

    'Therefore since I knew I couldn't flee and escape… as long as I
    was running after the children, I jumped away from them to hide, …
    I turned down…, jumped and dropped into the reeds.'   (17)

    Again, in (27), the subject is null. 'We' has been the persistent topic for several previous clauses in (9) in the narrative, and the narrator can assume that 'we' is in the central awareness of the audience and no overt index is necessary.

(27) Eega worratti   Ø   galleen duuba…
    after home.at   we got.in   after
    'After we got home…"   (10)

    Goshu and Meyer (2003:174) report that object pronouns in Wellegan Oromo may also be *-n* marked, and that "[the] difference between pronouns with and without the suffixed *–(V)n* is that the former are more specific than the latter….those pronouns marked by the morpheme *–Vn* are more prominent in the discourse than pronouns without it." The example in (28) illustrates this.

(28) Caalaa-n   isin(-iin)   rukut-e.
    Caalaa +niyou   PL OBJ (+Vn) beat PST
    'Caalaa beat you.'   cf. (Goshu and Meyer 2003:174 (28))[17]

---

[17] Goshu and Meyer (2003:165) provide slightly different glossing, as discussed in the text. I use the glosses that are consistent with those in this paper to avoid confusion.

This sentence means that Caalaa beat two or more of you, with or without the final marker, but if the object pronoun is marked with the *–Vn* index, the speaker signals that the referents are specific, known to speaker and hearers.[18]

In Guji, oblique objects for referents that are in focus, that is, that are in the central awareness of the interlocutors, are also indexed on expressions that are marked finally with *-n*. This is shown in (29).

(29) a. isaa -n bira Ø jira.
        him T with I exist
        'I am with <u>him</u>.'

     b. Isaan-<u>iin</u> bira Ø jira.
        them T with I exist
        'I am with <u>them</u>.'

Furthermore, the instrumental object form for an in focus referent may be an anaphoric *–n* that appears as a clitic on the right edge of the adposition, as in (30).

(30) isa biraa-<u>n</u> Ø jira.
       Him with it I exist
       'I am with him with <u>it</u>.'

In Harar Oromo, the direct object for an in focus referent may be indexed with *–n* cliticized on the right edge of the verb, as in (31), from a narrative.

(31) Intal   -ti-in   magaalaa'rraa deem-ti. Tokko arka-<u>n</u>.
     girl SUBJ F+ni market.from   goes F one M sees OBJ
     'The girl leaves the market. A man sees <u>her</u>.'

2. Indexical Marking of Information

Chafe (1996:37) points out that while "[g]ivenness, newness, and accessibility are properties of referents … they apply to ideas of events and states as well." In

---

[18] In the Wellegan and Harar varieties, a first person agreement marker is found to the right of topical elements. The form and privilege of occurrence of this marker varies slightly across dialects, but it always has a final *n*. Goshu and Meyer (2003:191) point out that this marker always precedes the most prominent information, thus it follows that it always attaches to the right edge of more topical information.

fact, other forms that index preceding accessible information in Oromo are *-n(V)* marked also. This right edge boundary marker reliably demarcates information that a speaker assumes is shared with the addressee at this point, and that contributes to the understanding of what follows. Although these expressions carry diverse conventional semantic and grammatical meanings as well, they invariably identify accessibility of the information preceding them in the discourse, and thereby contribute to the maintenance of a common map of the information within the conceptual space of the discourse for the participants. Just as the markers on referring expressions bear a complex of information, these other final *n* markers are portmanteaux that carry symbolic meanings, while simultaneously flagging the preceding information as accessible to the interlocutors.

2.1 Topic Boundary Marking. The right edge of those expressions that carry topical information in a sentence may be marked with *hín*.[19] This marker is found directly after the overt arguments that identify referents that are at least uniquely identifiable. It is also found after predications detailing information or events leading up to a final conclusion.[20]

Consider the contrasting examples in (32a) and (32b) in the imperfective. The *hín* is present in (32a) where the subject is in topical form, indicating a referent that is at least uniquely identifiable by all interlocutors. The *hín* is never, however, found in sentences like that in (32b), where the subject nominal identifies a referent that is only type identifiable.

(32) a. Isii-n   hín   dhuf-ti.
          she +ni TB   come.F.IMP
          'She comes/will come.'   cf. (Goshu and Meyer 2003:165 (1))

---

[19] Notice that the high tone on this marker distinguishes it from the negative marker *hin.*

[20] Notice that if the topical information, the information that a speaker assumes to be shared with the addressee at a given point in the discourse, is marked at the right edge with *hín*, then the following predication, as the new information, can only be expected to carry emphasis. Gragg (1976: 187-188), Owens (1985:60), and Stroomer (1995:72-73 all agree that this marker is related in some way to emphasis on the verb, but indicate that identifying its status in the grammar is problematic. Topic and focus markers are also found in related Eastern Cushitic languages. For example, Sasse (1984b:243) identifies the use of indicator particles in Somali to mark the beginning of the verbal complex or comment, which also follow topical information.

   b. Isí-tu   dhufa.
        she-EMPH   come
        'SHE comes/will come.'   cf. (Goshu and Meyer 2003:165 (2))

Goshu and Meyer (2003:166ff) assume that the *hín* marker in sentences of this type is a verb focus marker and that it is syntactically obligatory in intransitive imperfective sentences in the main clause, unless the subject is focused, but pragmatically motivated in clauses of all other types. If this marker is analyzed as a topic boundary marker, it follows straightforwardly that the following verb contains new information, since the referents of the subject and object are necessarily indexed as accessible for the interlocutors. Thus the *hín* marker would only occur in the main clause of intransitive imperfective sentences when the subject was marked as topical. Furthermore, Goshu and Meyer observe that "… [w]hen the verb is focused, it is very common to have a specific object which is marked with the singulative marker *–icca.*" (2003:168) This observation provides further evidence that the marker is, in fact, used by a speaker to index the preceding, at least familiar, referents of a predication, and that hence the new information can only be expected to be carried by the verb.[21]

The *hín* marker is also found following those propositions that lead up to a final conclusion as in (33), where it occurs on the right edge of the expressions that detail the events explaining the final comment: *hokkola ture* 'I was limping'.

(33)   Ani ammo taphadhdhuu qoreen miila   na   woraantee,
       I+ni but   playing   thorn   foot   me   pierced

       Ø rukkisee hin dande'u, Ø   fiigee   hin dande'u, Øhín   hokkola ture.
       I running   not could   I   hurrying   not could   I TB   limping was

       'But I had… been stuck with a thorn and I couldn't run, I couldn't
       hurry, I was limping.'   (16)

---

[21] The Goshu and Meyer syntactic analysis requires both an ad hoc stipulation cancelling the 'obligatory' *hín* in intransitive imperfective sentences with non-topical subjects, and an additional ad hoc stipulation cancelling subject verb agreement in sentences with non-topical subjects. If this marker is analyzed as a topic boundary marker, it simply occurs after topical information, and if agreement in Oromo is recognized as topic subject verb agreement, it simply does not apply when the subject is non-topical. The *hín* marker is also conventionally analyzed as morphologically annealed to the verb, although there is no evidence for this analysis. Oromo is a right edge marking language, with inflections and phonopragmemic markers occurring in word final and phrase final positions.

Hín is located structurally on the right edge of background information, information now held in the consciousness of the interlocutors, that provides context for the proposition introduced in the following verb phrase. This formal analysis conforms to the general formal *–n(V)* phonopragmemic structure that has been identified across the full range of expressions for accessible referents in Oromo.

2.2 Spatiotemporal Indexes. Gundel (1988:216) notes that topic markers not only mark a range of nominal constructions across languages, but '[t]hey also mark time and space expressions…' Chafe (1994:128) claims that orientation of a narrative is critical, especially with respect to orientation of time and space. Just as expected, our narrator begins by orienting his story in time and place. In (34) he establishes both initial time and place, with *Gaafa...tokko…* 'once…' and … *fagaadhee… mana barumsaa keessa…* '…far away… in school.'

(34) <u>Gaafa</u>… <u>tokko</u>… <u>fagaadhee… mana   barumsaa   keessa</u> .
      time   INDEF   far away   house   teaching   in
      '<u>Once</u> …, I was <u>far way … in school</u>.'   (1)

As the narrative progresses, as time and events unfold, as the narrator and the audience co-create a conceptual domain, temporal and spatial orientation are maintained. Just as expressions for referents that are familiar to interlocutors are marked with *–n(V)* in discourse to locate them on the common map, so too are temporal and spatial expressions marked with this same pragmeme in order to maintain a common orientation. After the main action of the story has been recounted, the narrator uses the spatiotemporal *achii-<u>n</u> duuba* 'after that' in (35) to reorient his audience.

(35) Achii-<u>n</u> duuba… yoo bayu,   name   kuun bakka san hin dhaabatu.
      there+n   behind   when came.out person+ni that   place   that not stood.up
      '<u>After that</u>, when I came…out…, that guy was gone.'   (25)

The *–n* mark is used again at the close of the second episode of the narrative in (36) to locate the point in time from which the story, now held in common by narrator and audience, shifts to the conclusion in (28)-(30) in the narrative.

(36) Achii-<u>n</u>   duuba fuudhanii gara   hori'ii na   deebisanii,
      …there +n   behind they.took   to   cattle   me   return
      '<u>Afterwards</u> they took and returned me to the cows, …'   (28)

2.3 Indexical Connectives. Logical connectives marked with –*n(V)* are also found on the right edge of accessible information. The disjunctive *yokiin* 'or', follows a first disjunct, the truth value of which determines the value of a following disjunct. This is illustrated in (37). The narrator identifies the language of the villain as 'Mariyaana' in the first disjunct, but if it is not 'Mariyaana', it is 'Digoodi' of the next disjunct, if neither 'Mariyaana' and nor 'Digoodi', then it is '…some [other] language that sounds like Somali'.

(37)   Afaan Mariyaanaatiin, yokiin Digoodi'iitiin, yokiin afaan gara
       mouth Mariyaana.of   or   Digoodi.of   or   mouth towards

       Somaale'eetti riiqatuutti, …
       Somali.of rub.against

       'He called to us in the language of Mariyaana, or Digoodi, or a
       language sounded just like Somali, …'   (12)

The truth value of a disjunct following *yokiin*, can be determined, based on the truth value of the disjunct that precede this *n* final connective.

Goshu and Meyer (2003:189) point out that the position of the causal subordinator *waan* 'since, because' is related to the status of information in the clause, with emphasis given to the information following *waan*. In (38), the subordinator is not at the beginning of the sentence, but follows *ani*, the topic subject form of the first person pronoun, thus iterating a right edged –*n(V)* index. The subordinator follows the subject that refers to the narrator, who is in the central awareness of the audience, indexing the preceding information on the shared discourse map.

(38)   Ani waan ifi   jala hin laallatiniif utaalee, muka kaan gubbaa
       I+ni since myself under not look.self   jump   tree   this   on

       yoo bu'u; qoreettiin tuun akkuma jirtuun nafa kiyya, addee ani
       when land thorn   these as.even exist   body my   place I+ni

       qabu mara na woraante.
       Had   whole me pierced

       'Since I didn't look under myself when I jumped, I landed right on
       that tree; those thorns all stuck me all over the place.'   (20)

In (39), *waa<u>n</u>* follows the subject noun phrase that identifies the activated villain of the narrative, through which right edged *–n(V)* markers iterate on the subject noun and on the demonstrative. It occurs once more, following the propositions that provide the background for the following *sodaanneef* 'fear of'.

(39) Nuutiille name kun <u>waan</u>   (?)   qabee nu ijjeessaa jira,
       we also   man+ni this   because (something) had   us kill   is

       yokiin qalaa   jira jennee <u>waan</u> sodaanneef haga dandeenne
       or   slaughter is   said   because fear.of   as.far could

       fiinnee jalaa bayiisaaf wodhdhaannee turre.
       ran   under escape   try   were

       'So because we were afraid (something ?) this guy would kill us or
       slaughter us, we tried to escape to as far away as we could run.'   (15)

The *waa<u>n</u>* subordinator follows the background information leading to the final proposition in (27) in the narrative also. As with the topic boundary marker *hí<u>n</u>*, the spatiotemporal marker *achii-<u>n</u> duuba* 'after that', the disjunctive *yokii<u>n</u>,* the subordinator *waa<u>n</u>* 'because' is located to the right of the information that is accessible to the interlocutors at this point in the discourse, and that contributes to a common understanding of what follows.

The topic boundary marker, the spatiotemporal marker, the disjunctive and the subordinator are all patterned with *–n(V)* and follow information that is assumed to be accessible to the interlocutors at this point in the discourse, and information that is further elaborated for the audience and addressee invariably follows. These markers reflect the same phonopragmemic patterning found on expressions for referents that are accessible. They repeat the phonic pattern and consistently mark the right edge of topical expressions.

3. Conclusion

This study identifies a critical pragmatic structural generalization across grammatical categories. In all of the dialects of Oromo, the final *–n(V)* marker is found on all eligible overt expressions used to signify referents that are at least familiar for the interlocutors, no matter what other semantic or grammatical information is encoded. These markers are portmanteaux. The conventional morphological, syntactic, and semantic information varies, but they always reliably index accessible referents in the discourse. The *–n(V)* marker is

sometimes iterated on the right edges of topical forms, as for example, on all eligible elements of a subject noun phrase for a uniquely identifiable referent, on subject phrases with demonstratives, and on object pronouns for referents that are in focus.

This *-n(V)* index is phonopragmemic. It is a phonic marker that consistently signals the accessibility of preceding information in a discourse regardless of the grammatical category or role of the form bearing it in a sentence. Every expression with this right edge sign is an indexical symbol, identifying referents, spatiotemporal orientation, or logical relationships as accessible within the conceptual domain that is shared by the interlocutors, while at the same time carrying the conventionalized morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic meaning unique to each. This is a significant generalization about the formal structure of Oromo discourse. If this generality is ignored, important aspects of Oromo discourse structure are obscured.

References

Andrzejewski, Bogumil Witalis. 1962. Ideas about warfare in Borana Galla stories and fables. *African Linguistic Studies*. 3. 116-136.

Andrzejewski, Bogumil Witalis. 1978. The dichotomy between extensive and restrictive verbal paradigms in Somali and its parallels in Oromo. In Pelio Fronzaroli (ed.), *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica Camito-Semitica*, 347-354. Florence: Instituto di Linguistica e di lingue Orientali, Universita di Firenze.

Bender, Marvin Lionel. 1986. A note on the copula and genitive in Oromo. *Afrikanistishe Arbeitspapiere*. 8. 127-135.

Burkes, Arthur W. 1949. Icon, index, and symbol. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*. 9(4). 673-689.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In Charles N. Li, (ed.), *Subject and Topic,* 25-55. New York: Academic Press.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1996. Inferring identifiability and accessibility. In Thorstein, Fretheim & Jeanette K. Gundel, (eds.), *Reference and Referent Accessibility*, 37-46. (need Publisher)

Clamons, Cynthia R., Ann E. Mulkern & Gerald Sanders. 1991. Case and topic marking in Oromo. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. 3-6 January. Chicago, Illinois.

Clamons, Cynthia R., Ann E. Mulkern & Gerald Sanders. 1992. On the history of Afroasiatic agreement. Presented at the 20th North American Conference on Afroasiatic Linguistics, Harvard University, April 12-14.

Clamons, Cynthia R., Ann E. Mulkern & Gerald Sanders. 1993. Salience signaling in Oromo. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 19. 519-536.

Clamons, Robbin, Ann E. Mulkern, Gerald Sanders & Nancy Stenson. 1999. The limits of formal analysis: Pragmatic motivation in Oromo grammar. In Darnell, Michael, E. Moravcsik, F. Newmeyer, M. Noonan & K. Wheatley (eds.), *Functionalism and Formalism in Linguistics: Case Studies*. Vol II. 59-76. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goshu, Dabala & Ronny Meyer. 2003. Focus phenomena in Wellega Oromo. *Afrika und Űbersee*. 86. 161-197.

Gragg, Gene B. 1976. Oromo of Wellega. In Bender, M. Lionel (ed.), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. 166-195. East Lansing, Michigan: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Gundel, Jeanette K. 1988. Universals of topic-comment structure. In Hammond, Micael, Edith Moravcsik, & Jessica Wirth (eds.), *Studies in Syntactic Typology*. 209-239. Philadephia: John Benjamins.

Gundel, Jeanette K, Nancy Hedberg & Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language*. 69. 274-307.

Hajičová, Eva. 1986. Focusing in Linguistics and AI. In J. Dines & Harly Sonne (eds.), *Pragmatics and Linguistics. Festschrift für Jacob L. Mey on his 60th birthday 30th October 1986*. 85-93. Odense: Odense University Press.

Hetzron, Robert. 1974. An archaism in the Cushitic verbal conjugation. IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10-15 Aprile 1972). *Quaderno N. 191: Problemi attuali di Scienza e di Cultura*, Vol. 2 (Sezione Linguistica). 275-81. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Kebede, Ishetu. 1989. The copula in Oromo. In Newman, Paul and Robert D. Botne (eds.), *Current Approaches to African Linguistics 5*. 85-93. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form*. Cambridge: University Press.

Lee, Chungmin. 1996. Generic sentences are topic constructions. In Thorstein, Fretheim & Jeanette K. Gundel (eds.), *Reference and Referent Accessibility*. 213-222. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Moreno, Martino Mario. 1939. *Grammatica Teorico-Pratica della lingua Galla*. Milan: Mondadori.

Owens, Jonathan. 1985. *A Grammar of Harar Oromo (Northeastern Ethiopia)*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Peirce, Charles. 1974. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. Charles Harshorne and Paul Weiss (eds.), Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sasse, Hans-Juergen. 1984a. Case in Cushitic, Semitic and Berber. In J. Bynon (ed.), *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*, 111-126. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sasse, Hans-Juergen. 1985b. "Noun incorporation in Eastern Cushitic languages". *Objects: Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*. Frans Plank, ed. London: Academic Press. 243-268.

Stroomer, Harry. 1995. *A Grammar of Boraana Oromo (Kenya)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Wright, S. and Talmy Givón. 1987. The pragmatics of indefinite reference: Quantified text-based studies. *Studies in Language*. 11(1). 1-33.

Mi'eessaa Yaachis and Robbin Clamons
Metropolitan State University
Dept of Literature and Language
700 East Seventh Street
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55106-5000
clamoncy@metrostate.edu

Appendix

1.   Gaafa ani   diqqeenna keessa jiru   tokko   worra   keennarraa
     time   I+ni   childhood   in   be   INDEF   family   our.from

     fagaadhee mana   barumsaa   keessa ture.
     far.away   house   teaching   in   was

     'Once when I was a child, I was far way from our family in school.'

2.   Mani   barumsaa   sun   miilaan   adoo   deemanii gara   saatii afurii
     house+ni   teaching   that   foot   while   going   about   hours   four

     fudhata.
     take

     'That school is about four hours away by foot.'

3.   Tanaaf   worri   keenna diqqeennuma   keessa biyya   teessoo
     so   family+ni   our   childhood   in   country   residence

     teennaatii fuudhee mana   barumsaatitti   na lakkisee; ani…jia
     our.in   took   house   teaching.of .from   me left   I+ni   moon

     lamaa fi   sadi   keessatti dhufanii   achitti na   ilaalan.
     two   and   three   between   come   there   me   see

     'So while I was still little, our family took me from our homeland and left
     me at school; I…they came to see me there every two or three months.'

4. Maarre gaafasi adoo ani manuma barumsaa san keessa
   thus   time   and.as.if I+*ni* right.house teaching that in

   jiruu, rakkinni tokko teessoo biyya teennaatti yokiin ardaa
   be   problem+*ni* INDEF area country our.in or ranch

   keennaatti dhalate.
   our.at   was.born

   'And then it happened this one time that while I was at that school,
   a problem arose back in our home country, or back at the ranch.'

5. Akuma beekkamu, ollaa keenna san, gara teessoo teennaatti,
   as   known   village our   that in   area   our.in

   gosa   adda addaatti jira.
   groups face face.to   be

   'As is known, in that village of ours, in our area, there are diverse
   ethnicgroups.'

6. Fakkeennaaf gochi   Oromo'oo- Arsi'ii, Booranaa fi Guji'ii-
   for example groups+*ni* Oromo.of Arsi.of   Boraana.of and Guji.of

   gochi   dhibiin   ammoo, gosa   Sidaamoo jedhamtuu, Daraasa'aa
   groups+*ni* other+*ni* but   group Sidamo   called   Daraasa.of

   fi   Maryaanaa, Digoodi'ii, ta yokiin dhaloonni isaanii gadi
   and   Maryaana.of Digoodi.of that or   descendants their   down

   deemee Somale'een wolta   ejju   ta akkasii san.
   came   Somali   together joined that like   that

   'For example, groups of Oromo- of Arsi, of Boraana, of Guji- but also
   other groups, called Sidamo, and of Daraasa and of Maryaana, of
   Digoodi, whose descendants come down from Somali groups all mixed up
   together with each other.'

7. | Gizee | hedduu | ammoo | wodhakkaa | Oromo'ootii | fi | yokiin |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | time (Amh) | many | but | between | Oromo | and | or |

Guji'iitii	fi	wodhakkaa	Somale'ee	yokiin	Digoodi'ii,	Maryaana
Guji	and	between	Somali	or	Digoodi	Maryaana

worra	jedhanu	kana	wodhakkaa	lolá	-tti	ka'a.
people	called	this	between	fight	SUBJ EMPH	get up

    'Often between Oromo and or Guji and Somali or those people
    who are called Digoodi or Maryaana, a war breaks out.'

8. | Loli | kun | gaafa | ani | mana | barumsaa | jiru | san | adoo | ani |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | war+*ni* | this | time | I+*ni* | house | teaching | was | that | while | I+*ni* |

quba	hin qabaatin;	adoo	ani	manuma	barumsaa	jiruu,	ardaa
finger	not have	while	I+ni	house.right	at.teaching	was	ranch

keennatti	yokiin	teessoo	worri	keenna	jiraatutti	ka'e.
our.at	or	place	family+ni	our	being.at	got up

    'This war broke out while I was at school, when I didn't even have a clue;
    while I was still at the school, it broke out in the living area of my family.'

9. | Adoo | nuu | -ti | hin dhageinuu, | isaan | baqatanii | gara | badda'aa |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | Before | we | SUBJ EMPH | not heard.even | they | fled | to | forest.area |

gosa	dhibiirraa	fagaatanii	qubatanii	jiran,	jechaa	oduun	nu	geettee,
other	from	far.away	settled	were	say	news+ni	us	got

mana	barumsaa	kaanii	nulle	eegee	duubarra	miilumaan
house	teaching	this.from	we.also	tail	behind	by.foot

baaddiyaa	keessa	worratti	galle.
country	through	family.to	left

    'Before we even had heard anything about it, we got the news that they
    had fled to the highland area far away from the others and settled; finally
    we also left the school and went behind on foot through the countryside to
    our family.'

10. Eega worratti galleen   duuba, yennaa lolaa tana   keessa irra   caalaa
     after home.at we.get.in after   during war this   in   above   all

     bidhdhaan... yokiin sodaan, mama adda addatti   biyya   keessa jira.
     suspicion   or   fear   doubt face face.to   country in   be

     'After we got home, during this war, very often there was a different kind
     of suspicion, fear, or doubt in the country.'

11. Nuuti gaafa tokko ani ijoollee obboleeyyan tiyyaa woliin   loon
     we   time INDEF I+ni children siblings   my   together cattle

     keessa kama   tissiisatti jirru, nami   tokko ka   woyaa adii
     in   while pasturing   were man+ni   INDEF who   cloth white

     uuffatee   jiru, ka   ulee dheertuu takka harkatti qabatee jiru,
     dressed.up was   who   stick long   INDEF hand.by had   was

     adoo   nuuti itti hin seynuu [kama] loon   keessa jirruu, nuun
     while we   at   not expect as   cattle in   were   to.us

     gamaan fulla'ee, 'Woriyaa   dhaabadhdhu, woriyaa!'
     across appeared   hey you guys (Som)   stop   you guys (Som)

     jedhee nu yaame.
     say   uscalled

     'One time, the children, me and my brothers and sisters, were pasturing
     the cattle, this guy who was dressed in white clothes and had a long stick
     in his hand, when we weren't even expecting it, appeared across from us
     while we were among the cattle, and called out to us 'Hey, you guys! Stop
     you guys!'

12. Afaan Mariyaanaatiin, yokiin Digoodi'iitiin, yokiin afaan   gara
     mouth Mariyaana.of   or   Digoodi.of   or   mouth towards

     Somaale'eetti riiqatuutti, 'Woriyaa!'   jechuun, 'Abboo, namana,
     Somali .of   rub against you guys (Som)   mean   mister you.guys

     yokiin gurbaa - intalaa,'   jechuu.
     or   boys   girls   mean

     'He called to us in the language of Mariyaana, or Digoodi, or a language
     that sounded just like Somali, what 'Woriyaa' means is 'Hey mister,
     guys, boys and girls!'

13. Tanaaf, 'Woriya!' jecha kaan dhageennee jennaan, akka malee
     therefore you guys word   this heard   when   like except

     sodaannee, rifannee, nama Mariyaanaatti yokiin Digoodi'ii
     terrified   stunned   person Mariyaana.of   or   Digoodi.of

     tokkó-tti   dhufee nu ijjeecha'aaf nu yaame seenaa
     INDEF.SUBJ- EMPH   came   us for.to.kill   us called assuming

     rifannee, lafaa   kaanee   rukkinne.
     stunned   ground   got.up   ran

     'Therefore, having heard this word , 'Woriya!', we were totally terrified,
     stunned, assuming a Mariyaana or Digoodi guy came in order to kill us;
     we were stunned and got up off the ground and ran.'

14. Nami   kuun, 'Woriyaa   dhaabadhdhu! Woriyaa dhaabadhdhu!
     man+*ni* that   you guys (Som) stop   you guys stop

     Woriyaa   dhabaadhdhu!' jedhaa nu gula fiige.
     you guys (Som) stop   saying us after ran

     'That guy ran after us calling 'Stop you guys! Stop you guys! Stop you
     guys!'

15. Nuutiille nami kun   waan   (?)   qabee nu ijjeessaa jira
    we.also   man+ni this because (something) had   us kill   is

    yokiin qalaa   jira jennee waan   sodaanneef haga dandeenne
    or   slaughter is   said   because fear.of   as.far could

    fiinnee jalaa bayiisaaf wodhdhaannee turre.
    ran   under escape   try   were

    'So because we were afraid something(?) this guy would kill us or
    slaughter us, we tried to escape to as far away as we could run.'

16. Ani ammoo gara   bulii sadii-afuriitiin duratti, adumaa ijoollee
    I+ni but   before night three-four   first   while   children

    obboleeyyan tiyyaatiin woliin   taphadhdhuu qoreen miila na
    siblings   my   together playing   thorn   foot me

    woraantee,rukkisee hin dandeu, fiigee   hin dande'u, hín hokkola
    pierced   running not could   hurrying   not could   TB limping

    ture.
    was

    'But I had, just three or four nights before, while playing together with my
    brothers and sisters, been stuck with a thorn and I couldn't run, I couldn't
    hurry, I was limping.'

17. Tanaaf, akka dheedhdhee nama   kana jalaa bayee hin dandeenne
    therefore like fleeing   person this from escape not be.able.to

    marroo beekeef, adumaa ijoollee tana faana fiigiisatti jiruu, isaan
    since   know.for even.as childre this after   running   was   them

    biraa utaalee dhokatiisaaf gara   laga bisaanii, ka   bisaan
    from   jumped hide.for.to   toward gully water   which water

galaana... bisaan Sokoraa jedhanu, ka   yaa'u tokkó   -tti
river   water   Sokoraa   call   which flow   INDEF SUBJ EMPH

jiraa, gara   laga kaanii gadi   caafamee, utaalee obbaa keessaa
exists   toward gully that   down   turn   jump   reeds   into

bu'e.
dropped

'Therefore since I knew I couldn't flee and escape from this guy as long
as I was running after the children, I jumped away from them to hide,
toward a creek, that flows with river water, that waters called the Sokoraa
River, I turned down towards that gully, jumped and dropped into the
reeds.'

18.   Obbaan kun   daggala   marraa   gudda'aa, nami   keessaa hin
       reeds   this   bulrushes   grass   high   person+*ni* in   not

       mudhdhatu.
       be.seen

       'These reeds, the bulrushes are so high you can't be seen.'

19.   Tanaaf ani   achi keessa utaalee yoo   ani   bu'u, ammoo   muka
       therefore I+*ni*   there in   jump   if   I+*ni*   land   but   tree

       tokkó   -tti,   muki   qoree qabu jigee   achitti gogee jira.
       INDEF SUBJ EMPH tree+*ni*   thorn   had   fallen   there   dried   exists

       'But when I jumped and landed in there, there was one tree, a thorn tree,
       that had fallen in there and dried up.'

20.   Ani waan ifi   jala hin lallaatiniif utaalee,   muka kaan gubbaa
       I+*ni* since myself under not look.self   jump   tree   this   on

       yoo bu'u; qoreettiin tuun akkuma jirtuun nafa kiyya, addee ani
       when land thorn   these as.even   exists   body my   place   I+*ni*

qabu   mara   na woraante.
had   whole   me pierced

'Since I didn't look under myself when I jumped, I landed right on that tree; those thorns all stuck me all over the place.'

21.   Ani ammoo   nama   nyaapha [ifirratti   eegatiisatti] jiru   marroo
       I+*ni* but   person enemy   myself.onto   to.wait.upon exist because

       tee'ef, qoree   taan laaleffadhdhee yokiin miidhame jedhee
       to.be   thorn   this felt.the.pain   or   I .am.hurt say

       ifirraa   buqqifatiisa hin dandeennee achumatti cadhdhi jedhee
       myself.out.from pull   not can   right.there silenced said

       riphe.
       snuck

'Because I was afraid of the enemy sneaking up on me, I could not feel the pain or admit to myself that I was hurt or pull the thorns out; I hid in silence.'

22.   Nami   kuun haalaan   ifirratti   caqasaa turee, akka inni
       person+*ni* this anticipating in.myself.onto listen   was   like he+*ni*

       karaa san   dhufee natta gadi   goru   yokiin ijoollee obboleeyyan
       road   that came   me.to down   veered or   children siblings

       tiyyaa taan ari'u.
       my   this chase

'I was on pins and needles because of that guy, did he veer off down that way towards me, or did he chase after my brothers and sisters?

23.   Ammoo nami   kuun na faana hin dhunnee, nu hin ariinee
       but   person+*ni* that me after   not came   us not chase

       ifirrumatti   eegaa dhaqee gara saati lamaatiin duubatti, 'Malaaf
       upon.myself wait   go   for   hour two.after   said   maybe

nami   kunuu   nu faana   hin jiruu, yokiin numa   sobiisaaf
person+*ni* that.very us after not exist   or   us.just trick

'Woriyaa!'
Woriyaa

'But that guy wasn't coming after me, he didn't chase us, about two hours after waiting for him to come and get me, I said Maybe that guy hadn't been after us, or was just tricking us by saying 'Woriya!'

24. Jedheenu yaaamejedhee eega yadeen duubatti, laanumaan   chacho'ee
     said   us called said   after think said   really.slowly to.stir

     harka mumunyuufadhee, qoree   taan nafarraa bubuqqifadhdhe.
     hand   maneuver.reflex thorn   this me.from pull.out

     'I said after I thought of that, I stirred and maneuvered my hand very slowly and pulled thorn after thorn out of myself.'

25. Achiin   duuba laanaan obbaa kaan keessaa yoo bayu,   nami
     there+*n* behind slowly reed this in   when came.out person+*ni*

     kuun bakka san hin dhaabatu.
     that place that not stood.up

     'After that, when I came slowly out of those reeds, that guy was gone.'

26. Laanumaan ammo hokkolaa gara   worra keennaa galee waan te'e
     very.slowly or   limping toward famil your   go   since be

     kaan, waan nutta gale kaan worra keennatti odeessee jennaan,
     this   since us.to get.in this family ours.to   story   tell

     worri keenna ammoo nutta kollee.
     family our   but   us.to laugh

     'Limping slowly, going towards home, whatever happened, whatever happened to us when I told the story to our family they laughed at us.'

27.   (?)nama maan,   nyaapha maan -ti   biyya tana jiraa
        person what SUBJ   enemy   what   SUBJ EMPH country this   exist

        nyaaphi dhufee addee tanatti isin qabu, yokiin, isin qalu
        enemy   came   place   this.at you   catch or   you   slaughter

        yokiin isin   ijjeesuu hin dandeu; tun namuma   biyyaatitti   isin
        or   you   kill   not can   this person.just   country.of SUBJ   you

        rifachissiisaaf   'Woriyaa!' jedhee isin   sobe, nuun   jedhanii, naan
        to.make.terrified   woriyaa   saying you.to   lied   to .us   they.said to.me

        jedhanii, akkanumatti natta murganmale   womaayyuu   waan
        they.said like.exactly   us.at   mocked except   absolutely.nothing   since

        guddootti hin laakkonne isaan.
        thing.big.of not measure   they

        'Who could you be talking about? What enemy could be in this country
        that could come to this place and catch you, and slaughter you? No one is
        able to kill you. Someone from around here pretended; 'Woriyaa?' is what
        they said to fool you; they just mocked us; they didn't think it was any big
        deal.

28.   Achiin   duuba fuudhanii gara hori'ii na deebisanii, ijoolleen
        there+n   behind they.took   to   cattle   me return   children

        obboleeyyan tiyyaalleen horii kaan keessaa baqattee bakka   bakkatti
        siblings   my.even   cattle this   from   flee   place   place.at

        dhokattee turtee, ijoollee taan mara   guuranii gara horiii   deebisan.
        hide   were   children this all   gather   to   cattle   return

        'Afterwards they took and returned me to the cows. My brothers and
        sisters had also fled from the cattle and were hidden in different places,
        they gathered all those kids and returned them to the cows.'

29.   Tanaaf, diqqeenna keessa yennaa hedduu akkuma kana lola
        therefore childhood in   when   much   like.just this   war

        gara garaa,   bineensa   gara garaa baqataatuma, makaraa adda
        different.kind   wild.animals   different.kind fleeing.just   hardship front

addaa waan hedduu jalaa   baana.
front   since many   under   escape

'Therefore, during childhood, just like this many times we escape, fleeing
from different kinds of war and different kinds of wild animals, and many
different kinds of hardship.'

30.   Garuu kun loladhuga'aatii moti, yokiin nyaapha dhuga'aatti
        but   this   war real   not   or   enemy   real

dhufee nu ari'e jechaa adoo   hin te'in nam-umá-tti
came   us chase mean   and.as not be   person-just-SUBJ EMPH

ach-uma keessaa bayee nu sobe.
there-right from   came   us tricked

'But this was not a for real war, or a for real enemy that came and
chased us, it wasn't like that, it was just someone from within came
out and tricked us.'

Publications received

Dr. Sebastian K. Bemile

Winner of the Goethe Medal

Publisher's blurb: Sebastian K. Bemile
Dàgàrà Proverbs (*Sprache und Oralität in Afrika, Band 25*)
Sofort lieferbar. Erschienen März 2010
342 S., 17 × 24 cm, Ln
ISBN 978-3-496-02834-5
79,00 € [D] | 112,00 SFR [CH]

The work contains a selection of proverbs collected from the Dagara society in West Africa. Most of them are obsolete and scarcely known. Some are used only rarely today; others are still very popular. Yet others are completely new creations. The author also draws parallels to the proverbs of the Occident.

Contents:

• note on Dàgàrà sounds and orthography • etymology and definition Z´Vkpár • types, creation and use of proverbs • background and method of collection of proverbs
• background: differences in expression of thought; geographical and historical aspects; religious and mystical beliefs; habits and social attitudes, training and education; respect, tolerance and reciprocity; gender relationships
• literary and linguistic aspects, e.g. metaphor, personification, metonymy, synecdoche, irony, innuendo, paradox, antithesis, onomatopoeia, paronomasia, epigram, repetition, rhyming, alliteration, comparatives, contradiction, simile, climax, hyperbole, parody, phonetic, sound system, syntax, language use
• approaching universality
• corpus of proverbs: accountability, activity, destiny, eating habits, family, general world view, human nature, human relations, judgement, power

Chindali language materials

Botne, Robert. *The Chindali Language of Malawi: Volume 1 A Chindali and English Dictionary; Volume 2 A Grammatical Sketch of Chindali; Volume 3 Narratives of Ndali Life and Culture*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society (Lightning Rod Press). 2008. Volume 1: Pp. xxiii, 485. ISBN 978-1-60618-909-2, Pbk. $45.00. Volume 2: Pp. xiv, 201. ISBN 978-1-60618-910-8, Pbk. $35.00. Volume 3: Pp. viii, 323. ISBN 978-1-60618-911-5, Pbk. $40.00. Complete 3-volume set $100.00.

This 3-volume set of Chindali as it is spoken in Malawi comprises a dictionary with English-Chindali index and index to Proto-Bantu roots, an extensive sketch of the language, and a collection of narratives describing various aspects of Ndali life. The dictionary includes approximately 3,600 head entries for Chindali. Entries include phonetic and grammatical information, as well as numerous examples of use. There are seven appendices listing kinship terms, pronoun and demonstrative paradigms, numbers, and verbs of perception, location, and motion. A general map of the location of Chindali is also included.

The grammatical sketch is divided into nine major parts: phonology, noun morphology, noun modification, verb structure and morphology, verb types, verb constructions and phrases, ideophones, syntax, and invariable forms. There are two appendices: verb templates and a sample paradigm of the verb *uku.lima* 'till, cultivate'. The volume includes a list of references and an index.

The third volume in the set comprises 25 texts written by 16 different speakers. The texts cover a variety of genres and subject matter: folk histories, birth of a child, death and funerals, marriage, food and food-producing activities, music, musical instruments, old and new traditions, folk art: tales and poems. All texts are transcribed phonetically and glossed. On the left-hand page appears the Chindali text with English translation; on the right-hand page the transcription and gloss.

Caron, Bernard ed. 2008. *Subordination, dépendence et parataxe dans les langues africaines (Afrique et Langage 12)*. Louvain and Paris: Peeters.

Summary: De nombreuses langues africaines ont la particularité d'avoir des subordonnées non marquées segmentalement. Le lien de dépendance entre les propositions n'est pas marqué par un morphème spécifique, pourtant, l'enchaînement des propositions construit un lien de subordination qui présente des propriétés sémantiques spécifiques. Il s'agit de ce qu'on appelle généralement « parataxe » par opposition à « hypotaxe ». Ces phénomènes de hiérarchisation sans marque segmentale posent, entre autres, la question des limites de l'énoncé et celle de la nature des mécanismes par lesquels se construisent hiérarchisation et dépendance.

Le présent volume rassemble dix contributions originales sur ce thème, fruit d'une Opération de Recherche menée dans le cadre du LLACAN (*Langage, Langues et Cultures d'Afrique Noire*, UMR 8135 CNRS-INALCO). Ce programme s'inscrit dans une perspective de typologie des langues africaines visant, à partir d'analyses comparatistes, à dégager des régularités, des types structurels ainsi que d'éventuels invariants.

Book URL: http://www.peeters-leuven.be/boekoverz.asp?nr=8585

Kandybowicz, Jason. 2008. *The grammar of repetition: Nupe grammar at the syntax-phonology interface*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. ISBN 978-90-272-5519-8. Cloth.

Abstract: Displacement is a fundamental property of grammar. Typically, when an occurrence moves it is pronounced in only one environment. This was previously viewed as a primitive/irreducible property of grammar. Recent work, however, suggests that it follows from principled interactions between the syntactic and phonological components of grammar. As such, the phonetic character of movement chains can be seen as both a reflection of and probe into the syntax-phonology interface. This volume deals with repetition, an atypical outcome of movement operations in which displaced elements are pronounced multiple times. Although cross-linguistically rare, the phenomenon obtains robustly in Nupe, a Benue-Congo language of Nigeria. Repetition raises a tension of the descriptive-explanatory variety. In order to achieve both measures of adequacy, movement theory must be supplemented with an account of the conditions that drive and constrain multiple pronunciation. This book catalogs these conditions, bringing to light a number of undocumented aspects of Nupe grammar.

Book URL: http://www.benjamins.com/cgi-bin/t_bookview.cgi?bookid=LA%20136

Lambert-Brétière, Renée. 2010. *Les constructions sérielles en fon. Approche typologique*. Louvain-Paris: Peeters.

Summary: Cet ouvrage porte sur la description d'un aspect syntaxique problématique de la grammaire fon : la sérialisation verbale. Le fon est une langue kwa (groupe gbe), parlée principalement dans le sud du Bénin par près de 2 millions de locuteurs. La sérialisation verbale est un phénomène linguistique largement observé dans les langues d'Afrique de l'Ouest comme le fon et dans d'autres langues typologiquement variées.

Après avoir présenté un aperçu de la grammaire du fon et un tour de la question concernant la sérialisation verbale, l'auteure se consacre à l'examen des constructions sérielles en fon dans une approche typologique et fonctionnelle, intégrant des paramètres sémantiques et pragmatiques à l'analyse morphosyntaxique. Neuf types de constructions sérielles sont étudiés : les causatives, les instrumentales, les directionnelles, les comitatives, les

comparatives, les aspectuelles, les résultatives, les séquentielles et les compositionnelles. L'ouvrage apporte une contribution typologique à trois niveaux. Premièrement, il propose un modèle pour aborder la description de la sérialisation verbale dans d'autres langues. Deuxièmement, il contribue à enrichir la typologie des constructions sérielles en précisant pour le fon leurs fonctions, leurs origines possibles et les corrélats conceptuels liés à leur utilisation. Enfin il montre que l'étude des constructions sérielles permet de raffiner les typologies actuelles concernant la classification des langues sérialisantes.

Book URL: http://www.peeters-leuven.be/boekoverz.asp?nr=8840

Rilly, Claude. 2010. *Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique (Afrique et Langage 14)*. Louvain-Paris: Peeters.

Summary:
La famille linguistique du méroïtique, la langue du royaume pharaonique de Méroé, au Soudan, a été depuis plus d'un siècle l'objet de débats passionnés. Était-elle couchitique, nilo-saharienne ou isolée comme le sumérien et l'étrusque? Aucune réponse certaine ne pouvait être apportée tant que la langue n'était pas mieux connue, et notamment son vocabulaire fondamental, le plus utile pour repérer une filiation linguistique. Tout au plus savait-on que la piste couchitique (ou chamito-sémitique en général) était très peu vraisemblable et la piste nilo-saharienne la plus plausible.

La première partie de cet ouvrage est consacrée à l'accroissement du lexique de base au moyen d'une étude philologique serrée des textes méroïtiques. Dans un second temps, ces données font l'objet d'une «comparaison de masse» destinée à repérer au sein du nilo-saharien le groupe où les ressemblances sont les plus nombreuses. Il s'agit d'une branche nouvelle, nommée «soudanique oriental nord» (SON), qui comprend quatre ensembles de langues ou de dialectes: le nubien, le nara, le taman et le nyima, tous situés sur une région du Sahel qui va du Tchad à l'Érythrée. Dans la partie suivante, la méthode comparative classique est utilisée pour reconstruire le proto-nubien, puis, en amont, le proto-SON. Dans la dernière partie, l'auteur démontre que les données méroïtiques s'intègrent parfaitement dans cet ensemble, et étend les correspondances au niveau de la phonologie et de la morphologie. Un scénario historique est enfin proposé pour déterminer l'origine géographique du proto-SON et les modalités de sa dispersion, liée aux changements climatiques en Afrique durant la période

néolithique. Les chercheurs disposent désormais d'une base solide pour progresser vers la traduction des plus anciens textes de ce continent.
Book URL: http://www.peeters-leuven.be/boekoverz.asp?nr=8660

Applied Language Documentation in Sub-Saharan Africa (ALDSA)

Date: 14-May-2011
SOAS, University of London
Contact Person: Oliver Bond <oliver.bond soas.ac.uk>
Web Site: http://www.hrelp.org/events/workshops/aldsa/

Call Deadline: 17-Jan-2011

Keynote Speakers:

Dr Jeff Good, University at Buffalo, NY
Dr Guy De Pauw, University of Antwerp and AfLAt (African Language Technology)

The last twenty years have seen a dramatic worldwide increase in funding for community-based linguistic fieldwork. This has largely been motivated by a concern for language endangerment, leading to the emergence of a new sub-discipline known as 'Documentary Linguistics' (Himmelmann 1998). Language Documentation is characterized by Woodbury (in press) as 'the creation, annotation, preservation, and dissemination of transparent records of a language'. While a considerable number of grants have funded the documentation of African languages
(e.g. http://www.hrelp.org/languages/index.html)
to date, research in applied language documentation is heavily skewed towards the linguistic situations found in Australia and the Americas. In these former settlement colonies, language revitalization efforts benefit from levels of civil infrastructure and literacy that do not exist in large parts of Africa. As a consequence, this workshop aims to provide a scholarly environment for the exchange of ideas about the application of language documentation within the contextual setting of Africa in order to arrive at an understanding of how site-specific applications of language documentation can benefit language communities. As such, it aims to provide recommendations about technological choices and the structure and implementation of corpora, in order to increase the impact of documentation projects.

Abstracts are invited for 30 minute presentations discussing how the central themes of language documentation relate to improving site-specific applied language documentation. These include:

-How corpus design might help/hinder local dissemination of language documentation outcomes;

-How new technology and media can be employed in applied language documentation to overcome prevailing problems with dissemination in community settings;

-Ways in which site-specific community participation in language documentation can lead to more effective application of language documentation goals;

-How multi-disciplinary approaches to language documentation might provide lasting impact in African language support and maintenance.

Each speaker will have 30 minutes for their presentation plus 10 minutes for discussion. All speakers will be asked to include practical recommendations for applied Language Documentation in sub-Saharan Africa as part of their talk. These recommendations will form the basis for a panel discussion at the end of the workshop.

Abstracts should be anonymous, a maximum of one page in length and 12pt font (not including any references). Abstracts should be sent to: elap soas.ac.uk, by abstract deadline.

Abstract deadline: 17th January 2011

Abstract notification: 4th February 2011

This workshop is running as part of HRELP's Endangered Languages Week 2011.

42nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics (ACAL 42)

Dates: 10-12 June 2011
Location: College Park, MD, USA
Contact Person: Tristan Purvis
Meeting Email: 42ndACAL@gmail.com
Call Deadline: 14-Jan-2011

The 42nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics (ACAL) will be held on June 10-12 at the University of Maryland, College Park. The theme of this year's conference is 'African Languages in Context.' The organizers of ACAL 42 would like to invite papers that address the conference theme, or any other topic relating to African languages and linguistics. Further information for the abstract submission deadline can be found in the Call for Papers, with a conference website to be available shortly.

Call For Papers

Anonymous abstracts for 20-minute individual paper or 30-minute forum/panel presentations on any indigenous and/or transplanted African language(s) (viz., English, French, and Portuguese) are invited. Each abstract, including the title and illustrative data (wherever necessary), must not exceed 500 words. The 500-word abstract should be single-spaced and not be more than a single page. Abstracts must be submitted as a portable (i.e., PDF) or Microsoft Word document. Priority consideration will be given to papers that address the substance of the conference theme, but abstracts on any topic are welcome.

Invited Speakers: **Professor Enoch Aboh,** University of Amsterdam
Professor Vicki Carstens , University of Missouri
Professor Samuel Gyasi Obeng, Indiana University, *Textuality, Contextuality, and Intertextuality in African Political Text and Talk*
Professor David Odden, Ohio State University

Paper Topics: We invite papers on any of the following sub-fields or combinations/interfaces thereof, and we especially welcome submissions that address the conference theme:

-Sociolinguistics (including: code-switching/-mixing, language contact (in Africa & in the African Diaspora), language endangerment, bi- /multilingualism,

language in African literature, language planning, language spread, language use, language variation, etc.)

-Computational linguistics
- Historical linguistics
- Language acquisition (first/second/additional language)
- Language pedagogy
- Lexicography
- Morphology
- Neurolinguistics
- Phonetics
- Phonology
- Pidgin and Creole languages
- Pragmatics
- Semantics
- Syntax
- Tonology

Abstract format: All abstracts should be in English with glosses or translations for words or examples in any other language. Abstracts containing special characters must be submitted in a PDF format. All abstracts must be submitted in a font that is not smaller than 11 point, and have to be accompanied by a second page containing the author's name, institutional affiliation, and contact information, including email address. Submission of abstracts by fax is not acceptable. Individuals who do not have regular access to e-mail may submit one copy of their abstract by regular mail on a compact disk (as a Microsoft Word document). Electronic Submissions: To submit abstracts electronically, please send your abstracts to: 42ndACAL@gmail.com

Submissions by Post: To mail a CD containing your abstract, please use the following address:
ACAL 42 Organizing Committee
c/o Tristan Purvis
7005 52nd Ave
College Park, MD 20740

Deadline: The deadline for receipt of abstracts is 14 January 2011. Please be advised that late submissions may not be considered. Because of visa requirements, prospective international participants are urged to submit their

abstracts at the earliest date possible. Participants will be notified of the acceptance of their proposal by 28 February 2011.

Workshop on Africa's response to language endangerment

December 2-5, 2010
http://www.africa.ufl.edu/News_Events/endangeredlanguages.html

THURSDAY DECEMBER 2

9:00 – 9:15 WELCOME: Leonardo Villalón (Director, Center for African Studies) Caroline Wiltshire (Chair: Linguistics Department)

Session 1. The big picture
9:15 – 10:00 Friederike Luepke (ELAP, School of Oriental and African Studies): "Typologies and ideologies of language endangerment - moving (West) Africa to centre stage"
10:00 -10:30 Coffee Break
10:30 – 11:15 Gerrit Dimmendaal (The University of Cologne): Different cultures, different attitudes: But how different is "the African situation" really?
11:15 – 12:00 Brent Henderson (University of Florida): Archaeological Linguistics: Language Documentation out of Context

12:00 – 2:00 Lunch

Session 2. Multilingualism and language endangerment
2:00 – 2:45 Fiona McLaughlin (University of Florida): African cities and language endangerment: the view from Dakar
2:45 – 3:30 Bruce Connell (York University): The role of colonial languages in African language endangerment
3:30 – 4:00 Break

Section 3. Orality, standardization and literacy
4:00 – 4:45 James Essegbey (University of Florida): "Is this my language?": Preparing documentary outputs for an endangered-language community.
4:45 – 5:30 Frank Seidel (University of Florida): "Use By ... . How long should a grammar last?"

FRIDAY DECEMBER 3

Section 4. Capacity building
9:00 – 9:45 Eno-Abasi Urua (University of Uyo): 'Come over to Macedonia and help us' –language documentation to the rescue in Nigeria!
9:45 – 10:30 Gerard Kedereogo (CNRST/INSS, Ouagadougou): Safeguarding the endangered languages in Burkina Faso: the case of Sillanka
10:30 – 11:00 Break
Keynote
11:00 – 12:15 Felix Ameka (Leiden University): Unintended consequences of methodological and practical responses to language endangerment in Africa
12:15 – 2:00 Lunch

Section 5. Student panel
2:00 – 2:30 Todd Hughes (University of Florida): Wakhi of Tajikistan and beyond
2:30 – 3:00 Geeta Aneja (University of Florida): The Cultural Transition of Second Generation Indian-Americans
3:30 – 4:00 Mfon Udoinyang (University of Eastern Michigan): Reversing the Trend of Language Endangerment within the Lower-Cross
4:00 – 4:30 Waleed Alrowsa (University of Florida): Proposal to Document Mehri, a South Arabian Language
5:00 – 6:00 Discussion

SATURDAY DECEMBER 4

Section 6: Interdisciplinarity
8:45 – 9:30 Ronald Schaefer (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville): Archaeological Agitation: Directions for Edoid Linguistic Studies
9:30 – 10:15 Megan Biesele: (Kalahari People's Fund, Austin, TX): "Anthropology, Linguistics, and the Namibian Ju/'hoan San Transcription Project"
10:15 – 11:00 Peter Rohloff (Children's hospital, Boston/ Wuqu' Kawoq): Development, culture, and language revitalization - collaborative approaches from Guatemala
11:00 – 11:30 Break

Section 7. Methodology
11:30 – 12:15 Mark Dingemanse (Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics): How to do things with ideophones.

12:15 – 1:00 Birgit Hellwig (RCLT, La Trobe University, Melbourne):
Linguistic software: handling the challenges presented by African languages
1:00 – 2:00 Lunch
2:00 – 5:00 Hike on the La Chua Trails

3rd International Conference on Mande Languages (14-16 Sept 2011)

Date: 09-Nov-2010
From: Valentin Vydrine <vydrine@gmail.com>
Subject: 3rd International Conference on Mande Languages

Date: 14-Sep-2011 - 16-Sep-2011
Location: Paris, France
Contact Person: Valentin Vydrin
Meeting Email: vydrine@gmail.com
Web Site: http://llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr/fichiers/mande2011/index2.htm

Call Deadline: 30-Apr-2011

Meeting Description: The Conference concerns languages of Mande family
(Niger-Congo). The decision to call the 3rd Conference is in conformity with the
will of the participants of 2nd Conference (St. Petersburg, 2008) to meet three
years later and to make it a regular forum. We invite specialists in all Mande
languages, of any generation, from any country, of any theoretical persuasion, to
participate in the Conference. We also invite specialists in the languages of other
families with long-established contacts with Mande languages to take part in the
Conference in order to discuss external links of the Mande language family. The
panels will be organized according to 'traditional' divisions ('Phonology',
'Morphology', 'Syntax', 'Discourse', 'Lexicology and lexicography', 'Comparative
studies', 'Sociolinguistics', etc.). At the same time, specialized sessions can be
scheduled too, if necessary. Initiatives to organize specialized sessions are
welcome. Round tables and working groups may also be proposed, for topics
that merit broad discussion or tasks that require detailed planning. The final list
of panels and sessions will be defined with respect of the initiatives of the
participants. The working languages of the Conference will be English and
French.

Call For Papers

Abstracts and full texts of communications are to be sent to Valentin Vydrin, or vydrine@gmail.com, or vydrine@yandex.ru, in format DOC and PDF. The selection will be performed by the Organizing Committee. The abstracts will be posted on the site of LLACAN. The articles written on the basis of the communications to the Conference will be published in the Mandenkan journal (according to the regular procedure).

The following deadlines are proposed:
March 31, 2011: Proposals of the topics of workshops and specialized sessions.
April 30: Submission of abstracts or full texts of communications.
May 31: Announcement of the results of the selection.

[NigerCongress] News (28 Oct 10)

from NigerCongress mail@nigercongo.com
http://www.nigercongo.com/

Dear All,

The Organizing Committee of the Niger-Congo International Congress (NigerCongress) is announcing the start of the fundamental project of preparing the two-volume collective paper on the comparison of Niger-Congo languages and the reconstruction of Proto-Niger-Congo.

The first volume will be devoted to the reconstruction of middle-range family proto-languages. The second volume will propose a reconstruction of various elements of phonology, morphology, and lexicon of Proto-Niger-Congo.

The Congress will take place in Paris in September 2012 to discuss preliminary results of these studies and elaborate reliable solutions. Speakers and participants are invited to submit their topics before August 2011.

The publication of Volume 1 of the book is planned for 2013.

The latest classification of the Niger-Congo macro-family of languages, which will serve the foundation for the research, is now accessible at the Congress' website.

Best regards, Kirill Babaev
On behalf of the Organising Committee
NigerCongress
http://www.nigercongo.com

Towards Proto-Niger-Congo: Comparison and Reconstruction
International Congress
LLACAN, Paris, 19-21 September 2012 *(dates to be confirmed)*

It has been long since the latest international gathering on general Niger-Congo comparative linguistics took place. Considerable advance has been achieved in the field since then, and therefore it is high time for the scholars to gather for the new international event.

The topics for discussion will cover both the general Niger-Congo issues and those analyzing the specific families within it, to include:

1. Genetic classification of Niger-Congo and its sub-families: evidence and hypotheses.
2. Proto-language phonological system reconstruction.
3. Morphological reconstruction.
4. Lexical correspondences and the proto-language lexicon.
5. Historical and prehistoric migrations and language convergence in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The meetings will be held for three full days. Speakers will be allowed 30 minutes for presentation of their reports, including 10 minutes of the Q&A session.

The event will be followed in 2013 by the publication of a fundamental 2-volumed compendium on the Niger-Congo historical comparison and reconstruction summarizing the latest achievements in the field and the topics of the Congress. An ultimate objective will be to issue the first ever draft reconstruction of Proto-Niger-Congo and its sub-family proto-languages, to replace [Greenberg 1963] as the main reference in the discipline.

The Proceedings of the Congress will also be published following the event.

Financial support will be provided for speakers only.

Participants may register for participation before 31 December, 2010 by sending an email at mail@nigercongo.com or at the Congress' website:

http://www.nigercongo.com.

A separate call for papers will be announced by the end of 2010.

Organizing Committee Kirill Babaev, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Jean-Marie Hombert, Larry Hyman, Derek Nurse, Gérard Philippson, Konstantin Pozdniakov, Guillaume Segerer, Anne Storch, Viktor Vinogradov, Valentin Vydrin

New York University in Ghana (5 Oct 10)

Opportunities for students to study linguistics and African languages at NYU-in-Ghana, a satellite campus of New York University.

NYU now has an academic center in Accra. Students who go there for a semester take classes at the center itself and at the University of Ghana and Ashesi University. Chris Collins and John Singler, professors of linguistics at NYU, have developed a program whereby a set of linguistics courses will be offered each spring at NYU-in-Ghana, beginning in spring 2011.

There is still time to sign up for spring 2011. For information about the application procedure, go to http://www.nyu.edu/studyabroad/application .

If you or any of your students have questions, feel free to ask either Chris Collins (cc116@nyu.edu) or John Singler (john.singler@nyu.edu).

Nordic Journal of African Studies (NJAS) 18:4 and 19:1

Dear Colleague,

Volume 18 Number 4 and Volume 19 Number 1 of NJAS (Nordic Journal of African Studies) have now appeared in:

http://www.njas.helsinki.fi

NJAS is a refereed international journal, and, sponsored by the Nordic Board for Periodicals in the Humanities and the Social Sciences (NOP-HS), it appears as a free web edition.

Manuscripts for publication should be sent to: njas-info@helsinki.fi

Other types of correspondence concerning NJAS should be addressed to the Editor, Professor Axel Fleisch (axel.fleisch@helsinki.fi).

Berlin Bantu Conference (B4ntu) (21-Sep-2010)

Date: 07-Apr-2011 - 09-Apr-2011
Location: Berlin, Germany
Contact Person: Laura Downing
 Meeting Email: b4ntu@hu-berlin.de
Web Site: http://www2.hu-berlin.de/b4ntu/ (from 31 March 2010)
Call Deadline: 01-Nov-2010

Special theme: Historical Bantu Linguistics, 7-9 April 2011
Held at the Seminar für Afrikawissenschaften, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

The Fourth International Conference on Bantu Languages brings together specialists in all aspects of the study of Bantu languages. Abstracts are invited for conference presentations addressing any aspects of the analysis, description or comparison of Bantu languages. We especially welcome contributions on the conference theme, Historical Bantu Linguistics.

2nd Call for Papers

Deadline for abstracts: 1 November 2010

Invited Speakers (confirmed): Koen Bostoen, Jeff Good, Thilo C. Schadeberg

Organizing Committee: Laura J. Downing, Tom Güldemann, Kristina Riedel, Andreas Wetter

Besides the general sessions, two workshops are organized in conjunction with the conference:

Workshop 1: Bantu and its closest relatives
Organized by Jean-Marie Hombert and Larry Hyman

The purpose of this workshop is to examine the origin and evolution of Bantu linguistic specificities especially with regards to corresponding features in closely related linguistic groups of languages. Five main themes will be covered (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, classification) with one main paper for each theme followed by one or two discussants per paper.

Workshop2: Tone and Intonation in Bantu
Organized by Sophie Manus and Cédric Patin

While tone and intonation were for a long time considered separate research topics, their relationship has recently received more attention (Hyman & Monaka 2008, Michaud 2008, Zerbian et al. 2009). This workshop aims to address, among many others, the following questions: is it (always) necessary to make a distinction between tonal and non-tonal intonation? How do lexical tones and intonational tones interact? Do intonational tones share the properties of lexical tones (e.g. the ability to shift, to spread)? Papers that address the relationship between tone and other elements of prosody (e.g. intensity, voice quality, speech rate, rhythm, phrasing, etc.) will also be welcome.

Abstract Submission
We are using the Linguist List's EasyAbs system for abstract submission. Abstracts should be uploaded to the B4ntu conference page on the EasyAbs site by 1 November 2010:
http://linguistlist.org/confcustom/berlinbantu

Instructions for abstract submission

-Abstracts should be no more than 500 words long, plus data and references (one A4 page in all, maximum). Longer abstracts will not be considered. Papers will last around 30 minutes including time for questions.
-submissions are restricted to one single-authored and one co-authored abstract at most
-the conference language is English or French: abstracts and talks will be in English or French
-deadline for submission: November 1, 2010
-page format: A4, 2,54 cm (one inch) margins on all sides, 12-point font, simple line spacing
-file formal: .pdf
-file name: submissions for the main conference: [title-main.pdf], e.g. blahblahblah-main.pdf
-submissions for the workshops: [title-workshop1.pdf OR title-workshop2], e.g. blahblahblah-workshop1.pdf

Please contact the conference organizers if you are unable to submit your abstract via the EasyAbs website: b4ntu@hu-berlin.de or b4ntu@zas.gwz-berlin.de

Further important details concerning abstract submission are available on the conference website. Please make sure that you consult these before submitting an abstract: http://www2.hu-berlin.de/b4ntu/.

We aim to finalize the program and to contact abstract-senders by around 20 December 2010, and we will contact all those who have sent abstracts as soon as the decisions have been made.

Note that there is limited financial support available for scholars based in Africa whose abstracts have been accepted for the conference.

Program announced: early January 2011

Please distribute among interested friends and colleagues. All welcome!

Morphopragmatics of Diminutives in African Languages, 2nd call

Full Title: Morphopragmatics of Diminutives in African Languages

Date: 03-Jul-2011 - 08-Jul-2011
Location: Manchester, United Kingdom
Contact Person: Nana Aba Amfo
Meeting Email: morphopragmatics@gmail.com
Call Deadline: 30-Sep-2010

Diminutives have been studied quite extensively. They are known to have varied range of senses, including small size, affection, approximation, intensification, limitation, female gender, etc. It has even been suggested that diminutives may communicate contradictory meanings such as appreciation and depreciation, intensification and attenuation, etc (Jurafsky 1996). While some researchers insist that diminutives primarily denote smallness and meaning components like affection or evaluation are secondary, others claim that the meanings communicated by diminutives are primarily affective and evaluative. An attempt to provide a satisfactory account of the different and sometimes even contradictory meanings of diminutive forms have led some researchers to consider pragmatic alternatives to the analyses of the different meaning components communicated by a single diminutive form, arguing that the relevant specific reading of a diminutive form can be appropriately determined only within a given context. Recent diminutive research has recognized the need to combine formal and functional approaches in accounting for the functions of diminutives since an adequate understanding of language use is achieved when the interaction between different domains of grammar is studied (Schneider 2003, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994).

In spite of the rich history of diminutive research, not much has been done on the form and communicative import of diminutives in African languages. The minimal diminutive research on African languages has mostly concentrated on Bantu languages, particularly Swahili (Contini-Morava 1995). The panel will thus seek to increase our knowledge of the nature and use of diminutives in African languages and, in so doing, help to provide a fuller picture of the nature of diminutives in the world's languages as well as test the robustness of existing theoretical accounts of the meaning of the diminutive and provide alternatives where these are found to be inadequate.

The panel aims to provoke discussion on the forms and communicative significance of the diminutive in a number of African languages, particularly, yet not restricted to languages of the Volta basin. Proceeding on the assumption

that the diminutive is a universal category, the panel will on the one hand, seek to explore the forms and origins of the diminutive in respective languages and on the other hand, account for the range of meanings that are often associated with a single diminutive form. Another point of interest is the productiveness (or otherwise) of the diminutive forms and how it reflects on the different meanings communicated by the same diminutive form.

2nd Call For Papers

We invite contributions focused on the form(s), meaning(s) and pragmatic function(s) of diminutive markers in African languages. Contributions may aim at addressing the following questions, indicating clearly the relevance of the work for pragmatics

- What is/are the form(s) of the diminutive in the respective language?
- How are the various forms of the diminutive formally related?
- What is/are the meaning(s) of the diminutive?
- How are the various meanings of the diminutive related?
- What is/are the pragmatic function(s) of the diminutive form(s)?
- Where a language has no diminutive morpheme, how is/are diminution and/or related meaning components expressed?

Abstracts (not exceeding 500 words) should be sent as an email attachment to:
Nana Aba Appiah Amfo
Clement Kwamina Insaidoo Appah
Email: morphopragmatics@gmail.com

Please note that:
- if accepted, abstracts will have to be submitted via IPrA conference site before 29 October 2010, following the instructions available at
http://ipra.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=.CONFERENCE12&n=1403
- submitting the abstracts in accordance with the general guidelines is the individual responsibility of contributor(s)
- IPrA membership is required for the submission of abstract and for participation in the conference
- it is not acceptable to have more than one contribution with the same person as first or single author.

West African Linguistics Congress (WALC) (25 Oct 10)

Date: 14-Aug-2011 - 20-Aug-2011
Location: Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire
Contact: Firmin Ahoua

The West African Linguistics Society on behalf of the President and the Council members is organizing its 27th Congress in Abidjan, Côte d´Ivoire from the 14th of August 2011 to the 20th of August 2011. The main theme is: Language Typology and Language Documentation

The keynote address will be given by: Prof. Ekkehard Wolf.

The Society apologizes for the delay and the shift of venue which is due to difficulties related to local constraints in Burkina Faso and Togo.

The Society announces that the African Linguistics School in Benin and the Summer School on language documentation will probably hold their sessions a few weeks before the Congress. We expect a strong involvement of the participants from these schools.

7th World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL7)
University of Buea, Cameroon

Congress Theme:
LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION AND DOCUMENTATION FOR
DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION AND THE PRESERVATION OF
CULTURAL HERITAGE IN AFRICA

 Sub-themes

1. Language in Education in Africa

In the last three decades there has been a growing awareness of linguistic human rights that guarantee, *inter alia,* the rights of a people to receive education and information in their own language (Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Robert Philipson (1992), etc. Thus at the global level, with the fall of the iron curtain (and even before), many countries of Eastern Europe shook off the

shackles of the hegemonic domination of the ex-USSR and in the wake of a new nationalism, adopted and developed national languages for education and governance (Armenia, Azeria, Bialorusse, Estonian, Georgian, Kazakh, Kirghize, Letton, Lituanian, Moldave, Ouzbek, Tadjik, Turkmen, Ukrainian, etc.) The advocacy of some linguists and nationalists of the European continent led to the Council of Europe's linguistic policy that constrains member countries of the European Union to make constitutional provisions for the development and use of hitherto languages of territorial minorities in education.

The United Nations, through its appropriate agencies (UNESCO, UNDP, etc), has, in the face of the avalanche of evidence by experts, extolled the virtues of the use of the mother tongue in education.

The African Union in its current language policy adopted at the 2006 Khartoum submit of Heads of States (articulated in the document "The Language Action Plan of Africa"), requires of member states, the development and use of African languages in education and government business.

While a policy for the use of African languages in education and national development is unassailable from the scientific and ideological perspectives, the multilingual setting of African nations, the presence of exoglossic languages of the colonial legacy (English, French Portuguese, Spanish), the reality of the imperatives of globalisation and the attitudinal polarisations vis-à-vis these languages constitute, *inter alia,* challenges of considerable and varying magnitudes in need of clarification and elucidation. The relevant questions include the following:

1. What are the challenges at the policy formulation (or status planning) level and how can they be objectively mitigated?
2. What should be the nature of mother tongue based bilingual or multilingual education policy?
3. What factors need to be taken into consideration in the process of implementation or at the level of corpus planning?
4. What should be the status and function of emerging lingua francas like pidgins, creoles and youth argots in the process of education and national development?
5. What role should exoglossic languages like English, French, Portuguese, etc. play in education in future Africa?

2. Language Documentation

One of the most recent approaches to Language Documentation (LD) research has been centred on identifying, revitalizing, sustaining and preserving endangered languages in the world (Blench (2007), Brenzinger (1998, 2001, 2007), Himmelmann (1998, 2006), etc. The framework for these LD researches has been motivated by the indicators of the assessment of language vitality and degree of endangerment propagated by the 2003 UNESCO report. It is no doubt that the position occupied by language in man's existence and wellbeing in his society cannot be underestimated. This fact and essence of LD to man is buttressed by Brenzinger (2007), when he says 'Languages are formed by and reflect the most basic human experiences. Without proper scientific documentation, the decline of these languages will result in the irrecoverable loss of unique knowledge that is based on specific cultural and historical experience. Furthermore, the speech communities themselves will often suffer from the loss of their heritage language as a crucial setback of ethnic and cultural identity.'

As research in this area of LD continues, lots of challenges emerge. Two of these are particularly urgent:

a. The essence of LD is to save a language from total extinction. In the process, conscious of the need to make their work available for use by future speech communities to teach, learn and revitalize their languages, scholars face new challenges in the way they gather materials and in the way they present their findings. The ultimate question then is how to improve on and channel current efforts in collecting, recording, and archiving endangered languages in writing, sound, and video such that they can be relevant and useful to future language practitioners, learners and speakers.

b. In June 2010, the UN summit met to assess and evaluate the success of various nations in implementing MDGs and the road to be covered before the 2015 deadline. The world does not come to an end in 2015 and so projects designed during this last phase of the period need to look beyond 2015. Work continues on devising the most effective ways and means of meeting challenges in terms of the policies, institutional mechanisms and resources required to meet the final objective. While the formula for success must include many factors, LD will indisputably play an essential role in realizing most of the MDGs either directly or indirectly. For instance, anthropological and historical documentation of any language serves to preserve the cultural heritage and traditional knowledge on

biodiversity for the speech community. This is in line with MDG number 7. MDGs 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 can be enhanced from the functional and practical pedagogic materials developed from the LD research findings (e.g. through greater availability of health and reproductive information, training of medical personnel and teachers, giving opportunity and voice to women, expanding access to education and training).

Research on the documentation of the ways in which the people conceive and use their environment; engage in life-sustaining activities like fishing, hunting, trading, farming, etc. will be crucial in finding out how environmental knowledge and skills guide them as they carry out these activities. It will also be interesting to find out how plants are identified in the area of research – whether such identification is based on practical matters of availability and use or according to plant physiology and even their medicinal values. LD research would open another window onto how ethno-zoological knowledge is managed so as to be able to verify, for example whether animal behavior and body parts are termed by the same vocabulary like that for human behavior and body parts. This knowledge of ethno-biological vocabulary and the ways these domains are structured can be examined in relation to the culture and history of the people to understand how they function. This background knowledge will serve as a solid standpoint to greatly enhance the propagation of the importance of consuming safe drinking water, ensuring environmental sustainability, reducing under-five mortality and maternal mortality and reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS. Through the examination of the above mentioned aspects LD will be directly influencing MDGs 2, 4, 5, 6 and7.

3. The Social Dimensions of Language

Sociolinguistics is perhaps the best single label to represent a very wide range of contemporary research at the intersection of linguistics, sociology and social theory, social psychology and human communication studies (Coupland and Jaworski 1997). At the heart of sociolinguistics is language and society.

As a social force, language serves both to strengthen the links that bind the members of the same group and to differentiate the members of one group from those of another. In many countries there are social dialects as well as regional dialects, so that it is possible to tell from a person's speech not only where s/he comes from but what class s/he belongs to.

Language is probably the most important instrument of socialization that exists in all human societies and cultures. It is largely by means of language that

one generation passes on to the next its myths, laws, customs, and beliefs, and it is largely by means of language that the child comes to appreciate the structure of the society into which s/he is born and his/her own place in that society. It is also largely via means of language that one comes to understand the way society structures and functions and the problems inherent in the daily lives of a community. And, ultimately, it is through language that a society begins a search for solutions to its daily problems.

In every situation, what one says and how one says it depends upon the nature of that situation, the social role being played at the time, one's status vis-à-vis that of the person addressed, one's attitude towards him, and so on. Language interacts with nonverbal behaviour in social situations like these and serves to clarify and reinforce the various roles and relationships important in a particular culture such that what one says and how he says it has repercussions on the outcome of a speech act.

A lot has been written and said about language and society (Trudgil 1974, Coulmas 1997, Coupland and Kaworski 1997, Wardlaugh 1992, Holmes 1992) in the Americas, in Europe, in Asia and in Africa but comparatively, that is in terms of linguistic complexity and social variation, a lot still has to be said about the African continent where multilingualism and social/ethnic differentiation are particularly evident. A large number of issues remain unresolved and a meaningful search in the direction of the suggestions below will lead to a more universally acceptable conceptualisation and theorisation in sociolinguistic research.

1) How do attitudes to language reflect and perpetuate social, economic and political divisions on the African continent and could a better understanding of language in society alleviate these problems?

2) What role does language and our attitudes to language play in igniting and/or resolving social/ethnic conflicts and tensions?

3) How can a better understanding of language and gender related issues enhance the search for equity in the community, at the work place and in politics?

4) What are the most efficient ways of collecting sociolinguistic data on a linguistically complex and socially diverse continent like Africa?

5) Etc.

4. 'Contact languages' in the growth and development of African states

One inevitable consequence of the coming together of a multiplicity of languages in different African countries is the emergence of various kinds of *contact languages* including lingua francas, pidgins, creoles, and youth vernaculars. Until very recently, these categories of languages have been treated with some contempt and lots of prejudices. They are considered not as creative adaptations but as degenerations; not as systems in their own right, but as deviations from other systems resulting from inherent ignorance, indolence and inferiority. Pidgins and creoles for instance have generally been viewed as uninteresting phenomena, being notable mainly for linguistic features that they have been said to lack such s articles, the copula and grammatical inflections, rather than those they possess and those who speak them have been treated with disdain, even contempt (Wardhaugh 1992). Hymes (1972:3) points out that before the 1930s pidgins and creoles were largely ignored by linguists, who regarded them as 'marginal languages' at best. (Some linguists were even advised to keep away from studying them lest they jeopardize their careers!) Because of their origins, their association with poorer and darker members of a society, and through perpetuation of misleading stereotypes, most interest, even when positive, has considered them merely as 'exotic curiosities'. Lingua francas that have an indigenous community of mother tongue speakers, have managed to escape the brunt of denigration and negativity often associated with such languages which are used to break major communication barriers. Even then, we still find labels with negative connotations such as '*trade man's language*' and '*auxiliary language*' associated with them. Youth argots have been criticised as being somehow illegitimate and debased. Because they are essential ephemeral, they are worth studying.

All these point to one observation: public and scholarly perception of 'contact languages' has been prejudicial. Recent studies, however, have demonstrated that 'contact languages are central to our understanding of language and central too to the lives of the millions of people who speak them (McLaughlin 2009). Bamgbose (2000) for instance has demonstrated the usefulness of Nigerian Pidgin English which serves as mother tongue to some Nigerian communities already. Laitin (1992) has argued extensively that pidgin languages, as opposed to indigenous languages with mother tongue speakers, have greater chances of being accepted by the multi-ethnic communities of the African continent as national languages. Africa's cities today are characterised by predominantly youthful populations. In the absence of infrastructure in many areas such as housing, health, education, etc. life becomes very challenging to the youths giving way to various kinds of improvisation including innovations in

language use. A careful study of the 'improvised speech forms' used by the urban youth portrays an interesting interplay of creativity, imagination and foresightedness.

The steps taken in the direction of giving contact languages a positive social value are laudable but in a continent where the people have for long been made to internalise self-denigration vis-a-vis contact languages, a lot more needs to be done. Among many others, we identify the following as challenges that need urgent attention:

a) Identifying all contact languages and giving them full attention through descriptive studies;

b) A sociolinguistic survey of the contact languages including demographic details and geographical coverage is equally relevant;

c) Establishing the functional load of each contact language and proposing other possible domains in which the language can be profitably used by its community of speakers;

d) Addressing the issue of how contact languages can influence the linguistic landscape of the African continent.

5. Intercultural communication

Intercultural communication or communication between people of different cultural backgrounds has always and will probably remain an important pre-condition of human co-existence on earth (Allwood, 1985). In recent decades, the study of language as the engine of interpersonal communication in various contexts has become an area of great academic interest. The importance of written and unwritten language as a powerful tool for constructing interpersonal and cross-cultural networks is increasingly being recognised. In a fast globalising world, characterised by the growing utilisation of the information super highway, social mobility and interpersonal interactions are greatly facilitated. Global spaces are becoming more and more multicultural as businesses, diplomacy, education and other forms of social networks enjoy expansion and consolidation.

Intercultural communication covers a wide gamut of interactions between individuals and groups across cultural boundaries. Communicating with people from other cultures at home, in class or in the workplace requires learning more

than just their languages. Grappling with words, phrases and sentences can be the cause of embarrassment between persons communicating. Breaking unspoken cultural rules, whether consciously or unconsciously, could potentially lead to disaster for people involved in communication across cultures. Effective communication across cultural boundaries thus necessitates understanding and interpretation not only of spoken words but also of the context or specific situation in which words are spoken. It requires knowledge of the world as well as knowledge of the words and sentences (Scollon & Scollon, 2001).

Communication between individuals and groups covers situations that go far beyond same-group or in-group participants to involve those from across cultural boundaries. It recognises the existence and need for the respect of other identities, languages and modes of cross-cultural communication (Holliday, Kullman & Hyde, 2004). In our present world, and for numerous and varied reasons, people from different cultural backgrounds are permanently in need of communication. The need for such communication is made even more acute by increased social mobility caused by such factors like wars, political discriminations and persecutions, business, diplomacy, etc. Ideally, the instrument for building cross-cultural communication effectiveness among these people is language instruction. Systematic instruction in the language of the other empowers participants in cross-cultural communication to encode and decode linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour, whether this is intentional or unintentional.

Language instruction for intercultural communication requires that great attention be paid to the ways in which language is tied to cultural patterns. Effective communication necessitates some significant level of intercultural competence, the basis of which is cognitively learnt knowledge of the cultures involved (Beamer, 1992). Africans are noted for their gift of multilingualism, with the average individual using more than one language in everyday social interactions. The languages involved are both African and non-African languages. While communication in African languages between Africans may not pose any major intercultural problems particularly with regard to non-verbal signals, that involving Africans and non-Africans is quite often problematic. Decoding and encoding both verbal and non-verbal messages for African and non-African participants is not an easy task. This leads us to ponder on the contributions of communicative behaviour in this context to the theorisation of intercultural communication. The following questions are therefore relevant:

1) What do the difficulties involved in encoding and decoding linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour contribute to our understanding of the way language functions in the process of communication?

2) What are the peculiarities of non-verbal communication with respect to African languages?
3) Are there non-verbal communication similarities in Africa?
4) How can these be integrated into processes of language instruction for non-native learners?
5) Etc.
6) Linguistic analyses

   phonetics, phonology, morphology, lexicology, syntax, historical

   linguistics, language classification, etc.

References

Allwood, J. 1985 "Intercultural Communication" In Allwood, J. (ed) *Trärkulturell Kommunikation, Papers in Anthropological Linguistics 12*, University of Göterborg, Department of Linguistics

Bamgbose, Ayo. 2000. *Language and Exclusion*. Münster – Hamburg – London: LIT Verlag

Beamer, L 1992 "Learning Intercultural Communication Competence" *Journal of Business Communication*

Blench, R. 2007. "Endangered Languages in West Africa" in *Language Diversity Endangered*, M. Brenzinger (ed) 140-162. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter

Brenzinger, M. (ed) 2007 *Language Diversity Endangered;* The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter

Brenzinger, M. 2001. "Language Endangerment through Marginalisation and Globalisation", in *Lectures on Endangered Languages 2*; From Kyoto Conference 2000 (ELPR Publication Series C002) 91-116

Brenzinger, M. (ed) 1998. *Endangered Languages in Africa*; Koeln: Ruediger Koeppe

Coulmas, Florian (ed). 1997. A Handbook of Sociolinguistics. Oxford: Blackwell

Coupland, Nikolas and Adam Jaworski. 1997. Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Course Book. London: Macmillan

Himmelmann, N.P., J. Gippert, Ulrike Mesel, (eds) 2006. Essentials of Language Documentation; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Hemmelmann, N.P. 1998. "Documentary and Descriptive Linguistics" *Linguistics 36*; 161-195

Holliday, A., Kullman, J. & Hyde, M. 2004 *Intercultural Communication: an advanced resource book;* London: Routledge

Holmes, Janet. 1992. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman

Hymes, Dell 1972. "Models of the interaction of language and social life", in J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds) *Directions in Sociolinguistics*; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Pp35-71

Laitin, David. 1992. *Language repertoires and state construction in Africa*. Cambridge: CUP

Mc Laughlin, Fiona (ed) 2009. *The Languages of Urban Africa*. Continuum International Publishing Group: London.

Phillipson, R. 1992. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
Scollon, R. & Scollon, S.B. 2001 *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach*. Wiley: Blackwell

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2000. *Linguistic Genocide in Education or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Mahwa/New Jersy/London: L. Erlbaum Ass.

Trudgil, Peter. 1974. Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society. Penguin Books Limited: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England

Wardhaugh, Roland. 1992. *Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell