

ACAL47

47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics

March 23-26, 2016
University of California, Berkeley

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Acknowledgments

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- The Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities
- UC Berkeley Department of Linguistics

We are also grateful for the generous contribution of time by all of the ACAL 47 conference volunteers, who are essential to the success of the conference, and to the guidance of the Association of Contemporary African Linguistics during the planning process.

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John Merrill
Nicholas Rolle
Hannah Sande

Wednesday, March 23 (Afternoon)

Registration: 1:00pm (Dwinelle Main Lobby, Level D)

Salutation: 1:45pm (145 Dwinelle)

Talk Session 1: 2:00-4:00

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2:30	DEBORAH MORTON (PENN STATE) <i>Syllable weight and prosodification in Anii: Underlyingly non-moraic vowels</i>	CHRISTOPHER GREEN, EVAN JONES (MARYLAND-CASL) <i>A first look at the morphophonology of Marka</i>	ABDUL-RAZAK SULEMANA (MIT)	MARIA KHACHATURYAN (UC BERKELEY) <i>Semantics of perfective aspect and topic time: The case of Mano (Mande)</i>
3:00	LAURA DOWNING (GOTHENBURG) <i>Tumbuka Prosody: Between Tone and Stress</i>	WILLIAM G BENNETT (RHODES) <i>"Backwards" sibilant palatalization in Setswana</i>	SAMUEL AKINBO (UBC) <i>The syntax of na: Focus, relative, and associative constructions in Cifungwa</i>	STEPHANE PEPE (OSMANIA) <i>Meanings and Functions of Interjections in Baule</i>
3:30	TATIANA NIKITINA (CNRS) <i>Tone and syntactic domains in Wan</i>	KENT RASMUSSEN (ARLINGTON/SIL) <i>Ndaka: Another Bantu D30 language with nine vowels and depressor consonants</i>	SAMUEL AWINKENE ATINONO (U OF EDUCATION) <i>The semantic properties of CUIT and BREAK verbs in Gurene Gurene</i>	

Break: 4:00-4:15

Plenary Address: 4:15-5:15 (145 Dwinelle)

JEFF GOOD (BUFFALO)

Stability under contact as a guide to reconstruction: Noun classes, argument alignment, and the Macro-Sudan belt

Special Tribute: 5:15-5:30 (145 Dwinelle)

Remembering William. E. Welmers on the Occasion of His Centenary (1916-2016)

Reception: 5:30 (370 Dwinelle/371)

Thursday, March 24 (Morning)

Registration and Coffee: 8:30am (Dwinelle Main Lobby, Level D)

Talk Session 2: 9:00-11:00

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9:30	HEIDI GOES, GILLES-MAURICE DE SCHRYVER, KOEN BOSTOEN (GHENT) <i>The reconstruction of Proto-Kikongo segmental phonology</i>	JOANNA PIETRASZKO (CHICAGO) <i>The Ndebele relative marker as a non- inal linker</i>	MICHELLE MORRISON (MARYLAND- CASL) <i>Sóó and sí: Contrasting 'self' and 'other' in Somali deictics</i>	MICHAEL AHLAND (CAL STATE/SIL) <i>Topic, subject, and switch-reference: The story of Northern Mao's ubiqui- tous /iʃ/</i>
10:00	LEE BICKMORE (ALBANY) <i>Liquid realization in Rutooro</i>	RUTH KRAMER (GEORGETOWN) <i>The syntax of number: Three Afroasi- atic case studies</i>	RODICA IVAN, DENIZ OZYILDIZ (UMASS) <i>The Somali microscope: pronouns, determiners, and possession</i>	REBECCA BAGLINI (STANFORD) <i>The lexical semantics of Wolof ideo- phones</i>
10:30	JONATHAN CHOTI (MICHIGAN) <i>Hiatus resolution in Swahili</i>	SAMPSON KORSAH (LEIPZIG) <i>How syntactic copying yields Ga neg- ative polarity items</i>	PATRICIA SCHNEIDER-ZIOGA, PHILIP NGESSIMO MATHE MUTAKA (CAL STATE, YAOUNDE 1) <i>Sociative causation in Kinande</i>	MENA LAFKIOUI (LLACAN- CNRS), ERNEST NSHEMEZIMANA, KOEN BOSTOEN (GHENT) <i>Cleft constructions and information structure in Kirundi</i>

Break: 11:00-11:15

Plenary Address: 11:15-12:15 (145 Dwinelle)

CLAIRE HALPERT (MINNESOTA)

Surmountable Barriers

Lunch Break: 12:15-1:30

Thursday, March 24 (Afternoon)

Talk Session 3: 1:30-4:00

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ANDREW LAMONT (INDIANA) 1:30 <i>Typological obstacles for gradualness-Evidence from Musey, Bari, and Afrikaans</i>	ELISABETH SELKIRK (UMASS) <i>Edge-sensitivity in Bantu sentence tonology: Luganda, Xitsonga, Bemba from Kikuyu</i>	KENYON BRANAN (MIT)	FRIDAH (MAKERE) <i>Revitalising the indigenous languages of Uganda with specific reference to Runyakitara</i>
SAMSON LOTVEN, KELLY BERKSON (INDIANA) 2:00 <i>Depressor consonants in Gengbe: a phonological and phonetic survey</i>	LELAND KUSMER (UMASS) <i>Prosody and the conjoint/disjoint alternation in Tshivenda</i>	NAGARAJAN SEIVANATHAN (RUTGERS) <i>A case-based account of Bantu IAV-focus</i>	KELECHUKWU IHEMERE (U OF WESTMINSTER) <i>Insertion strategies used with lone English verbs in otherwise Igbo utterances</i>
MARY PASTER (POMONA) 2:30 <i>On the representation of vowels in Kipsigis</i>	LEE BICKMORE, LAUREN CLEMENS (ALBANY) <i>Phonological phrasing in Rutooro</i>	CHRISTEN HARRIS (WESTERN)	NATHAN SEVERANCE, DORIS PAYNE (Oregon) THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM OF VIEMO
KATHERINE HOUT (UCSD) 3:00 <i>ATR harmony and exceptional chain shifts in Bari</i>	TONI COOK (VERMONT) <i>Tonal constituency in Durban Zulu</i>	RODRIGO RANERO (MARYLAND) <i>The syntax of object dislocation in Luganda</i>	THABO DITSELE (TSHWANE U) <i>Setswana-based Tsotsitaal in the North West province of South Africa</i>
DEMOLA LEWIS (IBADAN) 3:30 <i>Interaction of tonal absorption and underspecification in West Benue-Congo pronoun polarisation</i>	ESTHER ASONGANYI (BUEA) <i>Evidence for the existence of the international and phonological domains in Babanki</i>	ROSE-MARIE DÉCHÂINE (UBC) <i>Shona root classes: implications for the lexicon and beyond</i>	B. PILLION, L. GRENOBLE (CHICAGO), E. NGUE UM (YAOUNDE), S. KOPPER (MICHIGAN STATE) <i>Verbal gestures in Cameroon</i>

Break: 4:00-4:15

Poster Session: 4:15-5:30 (Dwinelle Hall, Level D)

Banquet [ticket required]: 6:00-11:00 (Alumni House)

Poster Session: Thursday, March 24

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2 <i>Nominal modifiers in Ikwere</i>	ROSELINE ALERECHI (PORT HARCOURT)
3 <i>Endangered indigenous skills and vocabulary items: Evidence from Igbo indigenous agentive nouns</i>	O. ANYANWU, C. IBE, O.K. ANDREW, A. ONOTEH, C. DIMKPA (UYO)
4 <i>Inherent complement verbs in Ibibio</i>	O. ANYANWU, M. PETERS, E.C. OSUAGWU, J. UDUDOM, E. OKON (UYO)
5 <i>Depressing behavior from non-depressors in a Gbe tonal system with trends of consonant interaction</i>	VIRGINIA BEAVON-HAM (LEIDEN/SIL)
6 <i>Prosodique phrasing in Moore</i>	LAETTIA COMPAORÉ (PARIS7)
7 <i>Not all tone is lexical: Evidence for a sentence-final L boundary tone in Limbum</i>	SIRI GJERSOE, JUDE NFORMI, LUDGER PASCHEN (LEIPZIG)
8 <i>Logoori hiatus resolution: A new analysis</i>	ELEANOR GLEWWE (UCLA)
9 <i>Implosives in Bantu A80? The case of Gyeli</i>	NADINE GRIMM (ROCHESTER)
10 <i>Tulibi M'Ebembe: Features of Ebembe Proverbs</i>	T. THORNES, L. HOLMGREN, M. KAMULETE, A. MUZALIWA, (BOISE STATE, AFRICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT-BOISE)
11 <i>Clause combining in Bantu: A structural-functional approach</i>	CLAUDIUS P. KIHARA (HEINRICH-HEINE, DÜSSELDORF)
12 <i>Evaluative markers (EMs) in Kilega as quantifiers</i>	KASANGATI K.W. KINYALOLO (KIRKWOOD)
13 <i>Control and related constructions in Ibibio</i>	DAVID KUMMER (KANSAS)
14 <i>The morphology of Nata verbal reduplication</i>	ZOE WAI-MAN LAM (UBC)
15 <i>Relative clause constructions in Duya</i>	ANNA MARGGRANDE (GOETHE, FRANKFURT AM MAIN)
16 <i>The spirit touches you and immediately switches your tongue: On the phonology and pragmatics of Ghanaian Christian Glossolalic prayer</i>	SAMUEL OBENG (INDIANA)
17 <i>Property concepts in Ga</i>	YVONNE OLLENNU (WINNEBA)
18 <i>The adverb 'Tún' and insights into Yoruba splitting verbs</i>	ALICIA PARRISH, CARA FELTSCHER (MICHIGAN STATE)
19 <i>Hausa chat jargon: Spontaneous semantic extension versus borrowing</i>	TRISTAN PURVIS (AMERICAN U-NIGERIA)
20 <i>Complementizer agreement in Kipsigis</i>	MEGHANA RAO, MICHAEL DIERCKS (POMONA)
21 <i>Melodic tone in Ebembe</i>	L. HOLMGREN, M. KAMULETE, A. MUZALIWA, T. THORNES (BOISE STATE, AFRICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT-BOISE)
22 <i>Numerals in Adamawa languages: Common roots, diversity of strategies, and logical changes</i>	ALEXANDER ZHELTOV (ST. PETERSBURG)

Friday, March 25 (Morning)

Registration and Coffee: 8:30am (Dwinelle Main Lobby, Level D)

Talk Session 4: 9:00-11:00

	Historical Linguistics		Syntax 3		Semantics 2	
	Tone 1					
	156 Dwinelle S. Inkelas	160 Dwinelle A. Garrett	182 Dwinelle H. Sande	183 Dwinelle A. Skilton		
9:00	HILDE GUNNINK (GHENT) <i>Tone in Fwe</i>	COLLEEN AHLAND (SIL) <i>Gumuzoid: A new language family (subgroup?) in eastern Africa</i>	JENNEKE VAN DER WAL (CAMBRIDGE) <i>Two curious gaps and one wrong analysis for Bantu object marking parameters</i>	MEREDITH LANDMAN (POMONA) <i>Quantification in Kipsigis</i>		
9:30	ANDREI ANGHELESCU (UBC) <i>Tone alternation in the associative construction in Nata</i>	HANNAH GIBSON (SOAS) <i>The grammaticalisation of verb-auxiliary order in East African Bantu: present, future, and beyond</i>	HAROLD TORRENCE (UCLA) <i>Subject oriented complementizer agreement in Ibibio</i>	LILIA SCHUERCKS (POTSDAM) <i>Domain restriction and specificity in Sousou and Malenke</i>		
10:00	KEITH SNIDER (SIL) <i>Tone in Chumburung nouns</i>	G. DE SCHRUYVER (GHENT), R. GROLLEMUND (READING), S. BRANFORD (READING), K. BOSTOEN (GHENT) <i>Dating language dynamics in the Lower Congo region</i>	TROY MESSICK, IRINA MONICH (UCONN) <i>Agreement in Nuer speech reports</i>	JOASH GAMBARAGE (UBC) <i>Pre-prefixes and argumenthood in Nata: an assertion of existence account</i>		
10:30	PIUS AKUMBU (BUEA) <i>A featural analysis of mid and down-step high tone in Babanki</i>	MANUEL OTERO (OREGON) <i>Reconstructing pronominal morphology in Koman languages</i>	REGINALD DUAH (GHANA) <i>Exhaustive focus marking in Akan</i>	JOHN GLUCKMAN, MARGIT BOWLER (UCLA) <i>Expletive agreement, evidentiality, and modality in Logooli</i>		

Break: 11:00-11:15

Plenary Address: 11:15-12:15 (145 Dwinelle)

FIRMIN AHOUA (UNIVERSITÉ FHB), AKIN AKINLABI (RUTGERS), GILDAS GONDO (UNIVERSITÉ FHB)
When a five-way opposition does not represent a five-tone language: the case of Dan

Lunch Break: 12:15-1:30

Friday, March 25 (Afternoon)

Talk Session 5: 1:30-4:00

	Tone 2	Morphology	Syntax 4	Workshop 1
	156 Dwinelle E. Clem	160 Dwinelle S. Lamoureux	182 Dwinelle V. Dawson	370 Dwinelle The Staff
1:30	STEPHANIE SHIH (UC MERCED), SHARON INKELAS (UC BERKELEY) <i>Mende tone melodies: An ABC perspective</i>	I. MONICH, M. BAERMAN, O. BOND, B. REMIJSEN, T. REID (SURREY) <i>Stem modification in Nuer</i>	JOHN GLUCKMAN (UCLA) <i>Taking time in Logooli</i>	BONNY SANDS, HILDE GUNNINK (NORTHERN ARIZONA, GHENT) <i>Clicks on the fringes of the Kalahari Basin</i>
2:00	KATHRYN FRANICH (CHICAGO) <i>Cues to Tone Perception in Medumba</i>	KOEN BOSTOEN (GHENT), ROZENN GUÉROIS (SOAS) <i>From separative to middle/passive polysyemy in Cuvabó</i>	CLIFF MOUNTJOY-VENNING, MICHAEL DIERCKS (POMONA) <i>Raising in Logoori</i>	DEREK NURSE (MEMORIAL U, NEWFOUNDLAND) <i>The northern Swahili coast as a linguistic area</i>
2:30	DAVID ODDEN (OHIO) <i>NP tone of Logoori</i>	DORIS PAYNE (OREGON) <i>From 'give' to antipassive: Lexical and construction-induced semantic change</i>	TRAVIS MAJOR (UCLA) <i>Serial verb constructions in Ibibio</i>	GUILLAUME SEGERER (CNRS) <i>A new, innovation-based classification of the Atlantic languages</i>
3:00	FATIMA HAMLAOUI (ZAS), EMMANUEL-MOSELY MAKASSO (MINRESI) <i>Phonetic downstep in Basaa</i>	SEBASTIAN DOM, GILLES-MAURICE DE SCHRUYVER, KOEN BOSTOEN (GHENT) <i>Tense and aspect in Proto-Kikongo: A formal and semantic reconstruction</i>	PHILIP DUNCAN (KANSAS), TRAVIS MAJOR (UCLA), MFON UDOINYANG (KANSAS) <i>Verb and predicate coordination in Ibibio</i>	TUCKER CHILDS (PORTLAND) <i>Atlantic and Mande-Where did the word for 'rice' come from?</i>
3:30	PATRICK JONES (HARVARD), JAKE FREYER (BRANDEIS) <i>Emergent complexity in melodic tone: The case of Kikamba</i>	CONSTANTINE YUKA LENDZEMO (UNIBEN) <i>On the functional value of the shi-pre-fix in Lannso'</i>	REGGIE DUAH, OBADELE KAMBON, CLEMENT APPAH (GHANA, LEGON) <i>Serial verb nominalization in Akan: The question of intervening elements</i>	HANNAH GIBSON, ROZENN GUÉROIS, LUTZ MARTEN (SOAS) <i>Variation, contact, and convergence in Bantu</i>

Break: 4:00-4:15

Plenary Address: 4:15-5:15 (145 Dwinelle)

SHARON ROSE (UC SAN DIEGO)

Areal vowel harmony patterns in the Nuba Mountains and Beyond

Group Picture / Business Meeting: 5:15-6:00

Saturday, March 26 (Morning)

Registration and Coffee: 8:30am (Dwinelle Main Lobby, Level D)

Talk Session 6: 9:00-11:30

	Phonology/Morphology	Noun Phrases	Syntax 5	Workshop 2
9:00	LUCA IACOPONI (RUTGERS) <i>The strange phonological behavior of the causative suffix in Bemba: An OT analysis</i>	AMINA METTOUCHI (EPHE, CNRS) <i>Annexed and absolute state systems in Berber: Functional attrition and contact</i>	KEN SAFIR (RUTGERS) <i>Actual clauses in Lubukusu and what they mean for a symmetric theory of clausal complementation</i>	LYNELL ZOGBO (FREE STATE) <i>Central vowels in the Kru language family: Innovation and areal spreading</i>
9:30	EMILY MOENG, WILLIAM CARTER (UNC CHAPEL HILL) <i>Variable affrication of the ejective fricative in Tigrinya</i>	VIKTORIA APEL (HUMBOLDT) <i>Simplification and innovation in the noun class system of Serer</i>	AGGREY WASIKE (TORONTO), MICHAEL DIERCKS (POMONA) <i>Lubukusu adverbial syntax</i>	NICHOLAS ROLLE, FLORIAN LIONNET, MATTHEW FAYTAK (UC BERKELEY) <i>The areal distribution of ATR and anterior vowels in the Macro-Sudan belt</i>
10:00	ARTO ANTILA (STANFORD), ADAMS BODOMO (VIENNA) <i>Metrically conditioned segmental alternations in Dagaare</i>	KARSTEN LEGERE (WIEN) <i>Adnominals as qualifiers in two north Namibian Bantu languages</i>	VICKI CARSTENS (S. ILLINOIS), JOCHEN ZELLER (UKZM), LOYISO MLETSHE (WESTERN CAPE) <i>On adverbial kuphela ('only') in Xhosa and Zulu</i>	MICHAEL CAHILL (SIL) <i>Labial-velars and Africa as a linguistic area</i>
10:30	GEORGE AKANLIG-PARE (GHANA) <i>Labialization in Buli</i>	RONALD SCHAEFER (S. ILLINOIS), FRANCIS EGBOKHARE (IBADAN) <i>On Ennai's nominal modifier linker</i>	SEAN ALLISON (CANIL, SIL) <i>The anaphoric expression of means, manner, and reason in Makary Kotoko</i>	DMITRY IDIATOV, MARK VAN DE VELDE (CNRS) <i>The lexical frequency of labial-velar stops in northern sub-Saharan Africa and its historical implications</i>
11:00	GRATIEN GUALBERT ATINDOGBE, ESTER ASONGANYI (BUEA) <i>Tone melody and tone polarity in Barombi verbs</i>	AGGREY WASIKE (TORONTO) <i>Lubukusu determiner phrases</i>	MOHAMED MWAMZANDI (UNC CHAPEL HILL) <i>A corpus based study of Swahili conditional constructions</i>	NICHOLAS BAIER, HANNAH SANDE, PETER JENKS (UC BERKELEY) <i>The diversity of SAUXOVX in the Macro-Sudan belt</i>

Break: 11:30-11:45

Plenary Address: 11:45-12:45 (145 Dwinelle)

TOM GÜLDEMANN (HUMBOLDT-BERLIN)

A shared pronominal canon in the Macro-Sudan belt: typological, areal and genealogical aspects

Lunch Break: 12:45-2:00

Saturday, March 26 (Afternoon)

Talk Session 7: 2:00-5:30

Workshop (370 Dwinelle)

- 2:00 MARK VAN DE VELDE AND DMITRY IDIATOV (CNRS-LLACAN)
Stem-initial accent and C-emphasis prosody in north-western Bantu
- 2:30 GEORG ZIEGELMEYER (VIENNA)
Areal features in the wider Lake Chad region
- 3:00 SIMONE MAURI (SOAS)
Clause chaining across the Sahara
- 3:30 CHRIS EHRET (UCLA)
Loanword Phonologies and Linguistic Reconstruction
- 4:00 JOHN MCWHORTER (COLUMBIA)
Is Radical Analyticity Normal? A Proposal on Niger-Congo
- 4:30 *General remarks and comments of workshop theme*
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Plenary Speakers

JEFF GOOD

The University at Buffalo

Stability under contact as a guide to reconstruction: Noun classes, argument alignment, and the Macro-Sudan belt

The effects of language contact are most typically approached in a way which suggests that they should present barriers to linguistic reconstruction. In particular, the impacts of contact on lexicons and grammatical systems distorts the genealogical “signal” whose recovery is one of the central concerns of comparative linguistics. In this regard, various apparent contact areas implicating languages of the Niger-Congo family can be seen as problems for family-level reconstruction. However, there is a positive “flip side” to this problem: If a grammatical feature associated with languages of a family is retained in languages that otherwise show extensive change in their grammars due to contact, even if its formal expression is greatly altered, then this feature would seem to be a strong candidate for family-level reconstruction given its high stability.

This talk will consider the role of linguistic areas in revealing especially stable features by considering what happens to two aspects of Niger-Congo grammar—namely noun class systems and patterns of argument alignment in clauses—across two distinctive geographic areas where languages of the family are found, namely the Macro-Sudan Belt and the Bantu region. A key goal will be to try to establish what kinds of abstract grammatical systems we might reconstruct for these grammatical domains in light of the effects of language contact on them, with an emphasis on reconstructions that can account for the presence of apparent morphological cycles in the family.

CLAIRE HALPERT
The University of Minnesota

Surmountable Barriers

Recent work on Bantu languages has established that the so-called hyper-raising construction, where a subject can move out of a finite embedded clause into matrix subject position, is well-attested in the language family (e.g. Zeller 2006, Diercks 2012, Carstens and Diercks 2013, Halpert 2015, 2016). In a language like Zulu, not only is raising permitted out of finite CPs, but it is blocked out of infinitive clauses. In this talk, I argue that the patterns we find in Zulu raising-to-subject are the result of the features and distributional properties of different clause types in the language. I propose that we can capture the raising patterns found in Zulu as intervention/Relativized Minimality effects (Rizzi 1990): certain embedded clause heads bear phi-features that interact with phi-agreement probes in the matrix clause. This approach makes a number of predictions on the range of variation in raising-to-subject – and on the nature of phases more generally – and the Bantu language family is an excellent testing ground. As I will demonstrate, changing a single variable can take us from the hyper-raising pattern found in Zulu to a pattern in which raising is completely unavailable, as in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2015).

FIRMIN AHOUA, AKIN AKINLABI, AND GILDAS GONDO
Université FHB and Rutgers University

When a five-way opposition does not represent a five-tone language: The case of Dan

Languages like Dan have been classified as a five-tone language (Frik 1977, Vydrin and Mongnan 2008, Gondo 2014). The five-tone classification is always based on very few monosyllabic paradigms. This paper argues that this is a mis-classification, and that this phonemic distinction is not enough to declare the language a five-tone language. We propose that having a five-way distinction on five monosyllables does not make a language a five-tone language; just as having three-way distinction in disyllables does not make a language a three-tone language. We suggest that the entire tone distribution must be examined to be sure that all proposed “tones” are freely distributed in the system.

We present two types of arguments: The first is the limited number of examples of the five-way distinction in one dialect, and its absence in other dialects of Dan. The second and more important argument centers on distributional restrictions of the tones. We find a surprising parallel to this restriction in languages originally analyzed as three-tone systems (Efik and Igbo), which turned out to be two tone plus downstep systems based on distributional evidence (cf. Winston 1960, Green 1949).

Turning back to Dan, we found a total of only three minimal examples in one eastern dialect of Dan, the Man (Gblewo) dialect and one each in two other eastern dialects, Danané (Waawo), and Sangouiné (Blojwo). There are no five-way distinctions for any disyllabic item, in any dialect. In all the other thirty-seven (or so) dialects there is at most a four-way distinction for any monosyllabic item. We propose that Dan is in fact a four-tones plus “lowered low”, or a four tones plus a downstepped low system.

Turning to the details of the facts of Dan, there is an observable odd parallel between the distribution of the “five tones” in Dan and the “three tones” of Efik. For a true five tone language, we expect to find a five-way contrast in monosyllables, and in disyllables a twenty-five-way combination. However, this prediction fails because there are twenty possible combinations. We observe that an extra Low tone cannot occur before another tone except if the extra-low tone vowel is long or doubled. So an extra-Low tone can only occur after another extra Low tone or a higher tone. This is the reason why the extra Low tone is doubled before any other tone, to provide the right context for it, so you have a sequence of two extra-lows! Otherwise the extra-low tone occurrence is impossible. This generalization immediately explains two distributional anomalies. First, the extra L tone is a “downstepped” form of the L tone, just like the downstepped H is a variant of the H tone after another H tone. This explains also why it does not occur unless there is another extra Low tone or a higher tone before it. Secondly, the distributional gap makes the analysis of Dan tone much simpler. If Dan is a four-tones plus downstep language, then the expected patterns are those that we have. Further distributional evidence confirms this.

SHARON ROSE
UC San Diego

Areal vowel harmony patterns in the Nuba Mountains and Beyond

Languages with contrasts among high vowels (i u versus ɪ ʊ, termed 2IU languages – Cassali 2008) tend to exhibit ATR harmony (Casali 2003, Clements & Rialland 2008). The same connection does not hold for 1IU-2EO languages (those with no contrast among high vowels, but a contrast among mid vowels). However, the pattern is skewed both genetically and areally within Africa. Nilo-Saharan languages show a strong tendency towards the 2IU pattern, whereas Niger-Congo languages with ATR harmony are more evenly distributed (Casali 2003). In this talk I explore the Nilo-Saharan 2IU-ATR connection in the Nuba Mountains, a linguistically mixed area in Sudan with Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo and Kadu languages, by documenting languages both with and without harmony. The 2IU-ATR pattern is found for all families, not just Nilo-Saharan, suggesting an areal effect. Some 1IU-2EO Kordofanian languages (Moro, Koalib) show raising harmony that patterns very similarly to ATR harmony. I explore how such systems may have developed from a classic ATR system. Finally, I show how the 2IU-ATR pattern holds internally to other Nilo-Saharan groups such as Kuman, Surmic and Nilotic. 1IU systems in these groups also fail to show ATR harmony, and may instead exhibit raising harmony (e.g. Murle, Arensen 1982), like the Kordofanian languages.

TOM GÜLDEMANN

Humboldt – Universität zu Berlin

A shared pronominal canon in the Macro-Sudan belt: typological, areal and genealogical aspects

The Macro-Sudan belt, a linguistic convergence zone proposed on account of diverse evidence by Greenberg (1959, 1983), Güldemann (2003, 2008), and Clements and Riailand (2008), is dominated by two large language families, namely Niger-Congo and Central Sudanic. They are commonly viewed as genealogically unrelated but have since Gregersen (1972) also started to be conceived off as members of a linguistic super-group comprising Niger-Kordofanian and Nilo-Saharan. In the eastern part of the Macro-Sudan belt the two families are implied in the recognition of a recurrent pronominal canon that can be characterized by a set-symbolic contrast (cf. Nichols 2001) between two CV-forms for 1st-person and 2nd-person singular that both start in *m* but differ in the quality of the following vowel. The paper tries to evaluate this alliterative canon from a typological, areal, and genealogical perspective in order to throw light on the areal and genealogical prehistory of African languages in this part of the continent.

Abstracts

Prosody

Wednesday afternoon

SARA PETROLLINO (Leiden)

Between Tone and Stress in Hamar

Tone in Hamar has properties that suggest an analysis in terms of stress but such an analysis also poses major challenges. Pitch is culminative and obligatory and * $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\sigma}$ or * $\sigma\sigma$ word types are not attested. Apart from the high pitch, there is an independent falling tone restricted to the final vowel of nouns inflected for masculine gender and masculine relativized verbs:

qanâ	'stream.M'	[qánâ]~[qanâ]
qanâ	'the one (M) who hits'	[qanâ]

These examples represent a challenge for a stress analysis: the possibility of a H vs. L opposition on the penultimate syllable of masculine nouns represents a violation of culminativity.

DEBORAH MORTON (Penn State)

Syllable weight and prosodification in Anii: Underlyingly non-moraic vowels

In the Kwa language Anii, tone association data suggests that all diphthongs are monomoraic, though there is a contrast between long and short monophthongs. The best analysis of this data is that long vowels are bimoraic at tone association, but diphthongs, short vowels and vowel-glide sequences are not (though glides behave like other consonants, and become moraic at the ends of words). In this talk, I will provide evidence for these differing syllable weight patterns, and propose a prosodification analysis that can account for these unusual syllable structures, as well as for languages where all vowels are underlyingly moraic.

LAURA DOWNING (Gothenburg)

Tumbuka Prosody: Between Tone and Stress

Bantu prosodic systems are classified, since McCawley (1978), as lying on a continuum between tone and stress. Kisseberth & Odden (2003) classify Tumbuka (N.20) as a stress language, as tone is not phonemic in its non-ideophonic vocabulary (Vail 1972). Rather, a High tone occurs on every phrase penult syllable. However, Tumbuka does not have the canonical properties of stress languages (Gussenhoven 2006; Hyman 2006, 2014). I argue that Tumbuka fits Gussenhoven's (2006) definition of a 'pivot' tone language. Further, I propose a scenario accounting for how a pivot tone system could develop by comparing Tumbuka with Bantu tone languages with similar prosody.

TATIANA NIKITINA (CNRS)

Tone and syntactic domains in Wan

In Wan, tonal realization is sensitive to syntactic constituency. Different rules apply within X'-level projections (e.g., combinations of nouns with their argument) and within XP-level lexical projections (e.g., combinations of nouns and possessive modifiers); and no rules of tonal adjustment apply outside lexical projections. Unlike objects, which interact with their verb according to the rules of X' constituents, oblique arguments do not show any tonal interaction with their verb. That difference in tonal behavior supports the view that the unusual SOVX word order of Mande is a result of verb-phrase-external attachment of oblique arguments.

Phonology/Phonetics

Wednesday afternoon

DIDIER DEMOLIN (CNRS)

The Phonetics of Voiced and Voiceless Bilabial Trills in Mangbetu

Three questions are addressed: (1) how are bilabial trills produced? (2) Why do bilabial trills occur preferably in front of high back vowels? (3) Does a voiceless bilabial trill really exist?

Mangbetu voiceless bilabial trills [β̥] contrast with voiceless bilabial stops and with voiced bilabial trills. The presence and amount of aspiration during the delay between the first burst and the onset of voicing is the cue contributing to this sound's identification as voiceless.

The VT configuration and the aerodynamic setting behind the lips explain why bilabial trills are produced in front of high back vowels.

CHRISTOPHER GREEN, EVAN JONES (Maryland-CASL)

A first look at the morphophonology of Marka

This paper provides an overview of Marka, a language variety that has heretofore been considered a dialect of Somali or a sub-dialect of Benaadir Somali. Our goals are two-fold. First, we illustrate characteristics of Marka phonology and morphology, focusing on nouns and their modifiers. Second, we compare Marka to its nearest geographic neighbors, namely 'Common' Somali and Maay. We illustrate that while the three language varieties clearly derive from a common origin and share a number of commonalities in their respective phonologies, they diverge from one another in more significant ways in terms of their morphology.

WILLIAM G BENNETT (Rhodes)

"Backwards" sibilant palatalization in Setswana

Palatalization of coronals and stridents is well-known and widespread, and is most commonly associated with front vowels or glides as triggers. In Setswana, a much different pattern of palatalization occurs: alveolar stridents /s ts tsh/ become pre-palatal [ʃ tʃ tʃh] before back vowels and [w], e.g. -hisa 'burn' ~ sɪ-hiʃɔ 'burner'. Alternations like this are robustly productive, and static distributional evidence further supports the pattern. This distribution of sibilants is typologically unusual, and even seems phonetically unnatural. This talk proposes that the origin of the pattern lies in rounding of back vowels â which is known to enhance the [s]~[ʃ] distinction.

KENT RASMUSSEN (Arlington/SIL)

Ndaka: Another Bantu D30 language with nine vowels and depressor consonants

A number of Bantu D30 languages been shown to have more than the seven vowels and two tones reconstructed for Proto-Bantu. This paper adds previously undescribed Ndaka [ndk] to those languages, confirming reports of nine vowel Bantu languages with depressor consonants.

Ndaka exhibits nine phonemic vowels and three infinitive verb tone patterns, one found mostly with depressor consonants. Ndaka has fewer infinitive verb tone patterns than related languages, presumably due to differential treatment of depressor consonants. Furthermore, initial comparative data shows that tone is stable across D33 isoglosses, and consonantal sound changes (e.g., bilabial lenition) are regular.

Syntax 1

Wednesday afternoon

ISAAC GOULD, TESSA SCOTT (Kansas)

Two derivations for *amba* relative clauses in Swahili

We bring to light a previously undiscussed puzzle that emerges from the literature on relative clauses introduced by the complementizer *amba* in Swahili. Two analyses that are prima facie incompatible with each other have been proposed: (i) *amba*-relatives do not involve movement (Keach 1985; 2004); and (ii) *amba*-relatives involve raising the head from the gap position (Ngonyani 2001; 2006). We present novel evidence showing that both derivations are in principle possible, but that there is cross-speaker grammatical variation as to which strategy is used.

ABDUL-RAZAK SULEMANA (MIT)

Wh-in-situ and intervention in Bùlì

In this talk, I examine the distribution of constituent questions and how they interact with intervention. Despite overt movement of wh-phrases in the language, I argue that this is not wh-movement but focus triggered movement followed by in-situ interpretation via focus alternatives. Focus movement is triggered by the need of a lower C head at distinct from interrogative C. The language has both in-situ (1a) and overtly moved strategies (1b). Overt movement of non-subjects is to the left of at (1b) which in turn is to the right of C. 'Wh'-phrases are licensed by the presence of *ka* a morpheme that appears once per clause and is attached to the highest 'wh'-phrase (1c). *ka* is optional in clause initial position (1b) but obligatory otherwise.

- (1) a. Asouk d̀ìg *(ká) b^wā:
Asouk cook.PST FOC what
'Asouk cooked what?'
- b. (ká) ātí b^wā Asouk d̀ìgì:
FOC what C who cook.PST
'What did who cook?'
- c. (ká) wānā ālì d̀ìgì: *ká b^wā
(FOC) who C cook.PST FOC what
'What did who cook?'

SAMUEL AKINBO (UBC)

The syntax of *na*: Focus, relative, and associative constructions in Cifungwa

Cifungwa — an endangered Kainji, Benue-Congo language with an SVO canonical word-order — marks focus, relative, and genitive constructions using the same particle, *ná* or one of its allomorphs. The distribution of *ná* raises the question — do we have more than one *ná* in Cifungwa? Crosslinguistic and syntactic evidence indicates there is only one *ná* — a complementizer — which is involved in an A-bar movement based on its occurrence in relative and genitive constructions. Consequently, the association of *ná* with focus-marking is indirect, and a focus construal arises when the antecedent DP is at the left-edge of the clause.

Semantics 1

Wednesday afternoon

ROBERT BOTNE (Indiana)

On the organization of tense aspect systems: A comparative analysis of two Bantu languages

Kitalinga (JE.102) and Ngangela (K.12b) are geographically and genetically quite distant within the Bantu domain. Nevertheless, they share two very similar sets of tense/aspect forms. Considered here are several issues that arise concerning “double” constructions for the same tense and apparent reversal of forms in the two languages. Evidence suggests that the T/A systems are organized differently. Analysis of these systems in the cognitive Domain and Regions (DaR) model, in which T/A constructions situate events in different cognitive domains, and differentiate time regions and time scales within domains, provides a motivated explanation for the observed differences in the two languages.

MARIA KHACHATURYAN (UC Berkeley)

Semantics of perfective aspect and topic time: The case of Mano (Mande)

In this paper I will explore the semantics of the perfect and the preterit series of auxiliary markers expressing perfective aspect in Mano (South Mande). I will argue that for perfect, the focal frame for viewing the event, or topic time (Klein 1994), includes a reference to the time of utterance or some reference point in the past, while the topic time for preterit may not include it. This approach helps to explain why perfect expresses recent past, including resultative, but also pluperfect; why perfect does not occur in contexts with annulled result, and occurs in certain conditional clauses.

STEPHANE PEPE (Osmania)

Meanings and Functions of Interjections in Baule

Compared to other topics in the study of human languages, interjections have drawn scanty attention from researchers. The literature shows that generally, research conducted on interjections has focused on limited Indo-European languages, Afro-Asiatic languages, Austro-Asiatic languages and few others. Obviously, a lot of languages remain uninvestigated, including African languages. Thus, this paper attempts to investigate the meanings and functions of interjections in Baule, a Niger-Congo language chiefly spoken in the central part of Cote d’Ivoire. The paper provides an overview of the functions and meanings of interjections in Baule, concentrating on both primary and secondary interjections. Interjections are identified, analyzed and illustrated with examples.

SAMUEL AWINKENE ATINONO (U of Education)

The semantic properties of CUT and BREAK verbs in Gurenε

The paper examines the semantic properties of separation verbs in Gurenε, Gur (Niger-Congo) in light of the cross-linguistic claim that verbs that describe separation events can be put into two classes, CUT and BREAK verbs (Guerssel et al. 1985; Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2010). The CUT verbs involve an agent, an instrument and incorporate the manner of separation in their meaning while break verbs express the nature of separation without the involvement an agent. The data is based on elicitation with six consultants of sixty one (61) “Cut and Break video clips” designed by Bohnnemeyer, Bowerman, and Brown (2001).

Phonology 1

Thursday morning

WENDELL KIMPER (Manchester), KRISTINE YU (UMass), WILLIAM BENNETT (Rhodes), CHRISTOPHER GREEN (Maryland-CASL)

Acoustic correlates of harmonic classes in Somali

The vowel system of Somali is commonly described as consisting of five vowels, each contrasting for length and for a feature that has been variously described as front/back, tense/lax, \pm atr, and (aryepiglottally) sphinctered/expanded. This latter contrast, implicated in a system of vowel harmony described as iterating beyond word boundaries, is poorly understood. It is neither represented orthographically nor noted in dictionaries, and proposed classifications are available for only a small number of lexical items. In this talk, we use principal components analysis, cluster analysis, and linear discriminant analysis to develop a working classification for Somali vowels.

HEIDI GOES, GILLES-MAURICE DE SCHRYVER, KOEN BOSTOEN (Ghent)

The reconstruction of Proto-Kikongo segmental phonology

In this paper we propose a reconstruction of the segmental phonology of the most recent common ancestor of the KLC, i.e. Proto-Kikongo. This reconstruction is based on a large-scale comparative study of phonological micro-variation in the KLC and not only considers comparative series corresponding to existing Bantu lexical reconstructions, but also new KLC-specific comparative cognate series, which will ultimately allow for the reconstruction of a new Proto-Kikongo vocabulary. Also long-distance phonological processes are taken into account. The reconstruction of Proto-Kikongo segmental phonology will eventually lead to a better understanding of the internal classification of the KLC.

LEE BICKMORE (Albany)

Liquid realization in Rutooro

This paper provides a description and analysis of the distribution of the liquids [r] and [l] in Rutooro (E.12), a Ugandan Bantu language. The allophone that appears is conditioned by the backness of both the preceding and following vowel. Assuming /r/ is underlying, it changes to [l] in contexts when the preceding vowel is back and the following vowel is front. A systematic set of surface counter-examples are argued to be the result of the rule applying twice—both lexically and post-lexically, where a separate post-lexical rule of vowel deletion is responsible for the opacity.

JONATHAN CHOTI (Michigan)

Hiatus resolution in Swahili

This study examines hiatus resolution strategies in Swahili, e.g. vowel coalescence (a), vowel deletion (b), off-gliding (c), consonant epenthesis (d), and diphthongization (e). This study will reveal hiatus resolution processes in Swahili, determine their sensitivity to articulation and contextual position, and formalize them within Optimality Theory.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------|---|-------------------|----|----------------------|---|------------|
| a. | /a + ε/ | → | [ε] | b. | /a + u/ | → | [u] |
| | /wa - εtu/ | → | [wεtu] | | /ha-u-lim-i/ | → | [hulimi] |
| | of.CL1 our | | 'our' | | NEG-2SG-cultivate-FV | | |
| c. | /u + a/ | → | [^w a] | d. | /V + V + V/ | → | [VCVV] |
| | /mu-ana/ | → | [mwana] | | /fungu-i-a/ | → | [fungulia] |
| | CL1-child | | | | open-APPL-FV | | |
| e. | /a + i/ | → | [ai] | | | | |
| | /ha-i-oz-i/ | → | [haiozi] | | | | |
| | NEG-CL9-rot-FV | | | | | | |

Nominal Morphosyntax

Thursday morning

ROSE-MARIE DÉCHÂINE, HERMANN KEUPDJIO (UBC)

Compound pronouns in Bamileke Medumba

Medumba compound pronouns have three members, (1). An initial pronoun (DP_{α}) denotes the focal referent, a second pronoun ($DP_{\{\alpha\&\beta\}}$) denotes the supremum ('us, y'all, them'), and a third pronoun (DP_{β}) denotes the other members of the set. All the logically possible ways of building a set containing 1st, 2nd and 3rd person are attested. Compound pronouns show a complement/non-complement contrast, occur in A and A' positions, support split antecedence, but do not support BVA.

- (1) [< $DP_{\{PERSON:\alpha\}}$ > [$DP_{RESTRICTION}$ [$DP_{\{\alpha\&\beta\}}$ [< $DP_{\{PERSON:\alpha\}}$ > & $DP_{\{PERSON:\beta\}}$]]]
 [ám_{1SG} [bóg_{1SG} à bín_{2PL}]]
 = 'us = me & y'all'

JOANNA PIETRASZKO (Chicago)

The Ndebele relative marker as a nominal linker

Relative clauses in Ndebele (Bantu, Zimbabwe) are formed with the relative marker 'a-' prefixed on the RC-internal verb. This paper i) shows that the marker 'a-' is also found in possessives and NP-complement clauses, ii) argues that CPs in Ndebele show nominal properties, and iii) proposes a uniform analysis of 'a-' as a nominal linker associating one nominal element with another. The proposed analysis is in line with the familiar connection between relatives and possessives, also made explicit for Bantu. Extending this connection to NP-complement clauses becomes natural in the light of the evidence for CP-nominalization in Ndebele.

RUTH KRAMER (Georgetown)

The syntax of number: Three Afroasiatic case studies

Can number features be located on the nominalizing head n ? If number being on n varies parametrically, and if number features can be on both n and Num(ber), three types of languages are predicted: (A) number on Num, (B) number on n , (C) number on Num and n . I present three Afroasiatic languages that instantiate the types: Northern Mao (Omotic) is Type A, Hausa (Chadic) is Type B and, building on Kramer 2009, 2012, Amharic (Semitic) is Type C. Overall, the paper provides evidence for number being on n and advances our understanding of number in several understudied languages.

SAMPSON KORSAN (Leipzig)

How syntactic copying yields Gã negative polarity items

In this paper, I show how the equivalent of the any series of negative polarity items (NPIs) are derived in Gã by reduplicating indefinite DPs. Some NPIs in Gã are derived only by totally reduplicating indefinite DPs, headed by *ko*. Interestingly, the reduplicated form is allowed to occur only when there is negation in the clause. This suggests an interaction between negation and the replication process, hence the structures are NPIs. But unlike languages like English, Gã NPIs can freely occur in both subject and object positions. The paper accounts for these and other interesting restrictions that characterize the phenomenon.

Syntax/Semantics

Thursday morning

JONATHAN PESETSKY (Chicago)

How and When To Be Alive: Animacy in Swahili

Using evidence from Swahili, I argue that morphosyntactic features can be valued by an operation which looks at encyclopedic content. This operation violates the assumption made by Marantz (1997) and others working in the framework of Distributed Morphology that encyclopedic content is inaccessible to the syntax, but it is necessary to explain *Animacy Override*, the phenomenon in which semantically animate nouns trigger animate agreement even when they bear non-animate class prefixes. This phenomenon can be explained as a simple matter of syntactic height so long as the animacy feature is introduced in a position where its value cannot be determined by any known process.

MICHELLE MORRISON (Maryland-CASL)

Sóó and síí: Contrasting ‘self’ and ‘other’ in Somali deictics

Somali has two deictic particles, *sóó* and *síí*, which have been characterized as ventive (*sóó*) and itive (*síí*) markers. Using a corpus-based approach, I show that previous analyses do not account for many uses of these particles, such as use of *sóó* for motion both toward and away from the speaker. Distinctions between the particles pertain to their role in perspective-taking as well as telicity. Drawing on examples of *sóó* and *síí* within different domains, I characterize the distinction between them in terms of origo, where *sóó* expresses an ego-centric origo and with *síí* the origo is ‘other than self.’

RODICA IVAN, DENIZ OZYILDIZ (UMass)

The Somali microscope: pronouns, determiners, and possession

Somali ‘long pronouns’ decompose into overt phi-feature roots and definite determiners. The decomposition is regular across the paradigm, which is rare. These morphemes occur in independent environments, the determiner agrees in gender with the root, and pronouns are compatible with a range of determiners. Hence, these forms are grammatically transparent. Our analysis supports the general claim that pronouns have an ordinary DP structure (Postal 1969, Elbourne 2002). This is less clear in familiar languages, and is often visible in third person forms. We provide a window into the structure and meaning of other pronominal forms, determiners and possessives in Somali.

PATRICIA SCHNEIDER-ZIOGA (Cal State Fullerton), PHILIP NGESSIMO MATHE MUTAKA (Yaounde 1)

Sociative causation in Kinande

We present our discovery of grammaticalized sociative causation in Kinande (Bantu). A paraphrase of the meaning of sociative causation is: *X helps Y to verb phrase*. Sociative causation requires that the causer’s help necessarily involves co-participating in the action carried out by the causee. It is morphologically signaled by the co-occurrence of two verbal extensions: *-ik-/-ek-* and the causative *-i-*:

- (1) Magulú a-ká-hek-ek-a-y-a mábokó y’ oko mbágo
 Magulu 3s-TNS-carry-IK-a-CAUS-F(inal)V(owel) Maboko LK 17LOC plank
 ‘Magulu helps Maboko carry planks.’

We propose that *-ik-* here functions as a comitative applied morpheme that introduces an additional external argument: a silent co-agent.

Pragmatics

Thursday morning

SCOTT GRIMM (Rochester)

The information packaging particle 'la' in Dagaare

This paper examines the information packaging particle *la* in Dagaare (Gur, NW Ghana), to which the literature assigns divergent functions according to its clausal position. I explore *la* through elicited material via the "Questionnaire on Information Structure" (Skopeteas et al. 2006) and from 1500 sentences of narrative text. While the new data mainly accords with much of the previous literature, *la* also appears in many new, unexpected environments. I give a unified analysis of *la* as a semantic operator introducing reference to alternatives (Rooth 1985) which occurs only in sentences that address a Question-Under-Discussion (QUD) in the discourse (Roberts 1996).

MICHAEL AHLAND (Cal State/SIL)

Topic, subject, and switch-reference: The story of Northern Mao's ubiquitous /iʃ/

The form /iʃ/ in Northern Mao (NM) (Omotic-Mao) is attested in two pre-nominal forms (distal demonstrative and definite article), a 3rd person pronoun, a subject case enclitic, and a medial verb switch-reference suffix. This paper explores internal evidence as well as comparative data from Ganza (another Mao language) to show how all five synchronic forms are related and derive from a pre-nominal distal demonstrative+post-nominal agreement enclitic complex. Evidence also suggests NM's object case enclitic and medial verb same-reference suffix may derive (analogously) from a similar, albeit proximal, demonstrative+enclitic complex.

REBECCA BAGLINI (Stanford)

The lexical semantics of Wolof ideophones

Found in many African languages, ideophones are marked words which convey sensory experiences, often iconically (Dingemans, 2012). Wolof (West Atlantic, Niger Congo; Eth: [wol]) ideophones form two groups: 'co-verb ideophones' occur with a specific lexical verb, while 'quotative ideophones' are licensed by a morpheme *ne* which elsewhere functions as a quotative marker. Drawing on both the typological (Güldemann 2008) and formal semantics (Potts 2007, Maier 2009) literatures, my proposed analysis captures functional and logical links between direct quotation and ideophony, while also explaining the optionality of quotative marking in co-verb constructions.

MENA LAFKIOUI (LLACAN-CNRS), ERNEST NSHEMEZIMANA, KOEN BOSTOEN (Ghent)

Cleft constructions and information structure in Kirundi

The present paper addresses the rich and complex morphosyntax of cleft constructions in Kirundi and the role they play in its discursive structuring. Clefts are one of the main information structuring devices of this Bantu language. The paper starts with a description of the formal properties of the various clefts, which is followed by a detailed pragmatic analysis of the discursive functions of each formal type, in order to allow for a better understanding of the global information structural functioning of clefting in Kirundi.

Phonology 2

Thursday afternoon

ANDREW LAMONT (Indiana) & DOMINIQUE SPORTICHE (UCLA)

Typological obstacles for gradualness: Evidence from Musey, Bari, and Afrikaans

This paper argues for a revision of progressive place assimilation in Harmonic Serialism (HS) and demonstrates that its applicability cross-linguistically is problematic focusing on data from Musey (Chadic), Bari (Nilotic), and Afrikaans (Germanic). HS imposes gradualness, limiting derivations to multiple, minimal steps, making an analysis hinging on an Agreement constraint untenable. An HS analysis appealing to positional markedness constraints such as *PlaceAffix can be shown to undesirably yield ranking paradoxes. Further, there is not a single analysis that is universally applicable.

SAMSON LOTVEN, KELLY BERKSON (Indiana)

Depressor consonants in Gengbe: a phonological and phonetic survey

Researchers of many languages have noted a link between voiced obstruents and lower pitch as realized on the following vowel. This pairing may take the form of a phonetic cue or a phonological process that is sensitive to obstruent voicing. Gengbe exhibits both. This talk surveys the phonological and morphological situations that bring about Gengbe rising tone, then presents preliminary instrumental acoustic data suggesting that Gengbe voiced obstruents lower f_0 in level tone vowels as well. The existence of both phonetic and phonological depressor effects paints Gengbe as a language in the process of phonologizing this interaction.

MARY PASTER (Pomona)

On the representation of vowels in Kipsigis

In Kipsigis, all vowels in words containing a [+ATR] vowel become [+ATR]. The [-ATR] low vowel is front/unround, while its [+ATR] counterpart is back/round. The frontness/backness of low vowels interacts with a previously unreported phenomenon where palatal stops are retracted before back vowels. As will be discussed, Kipsigis has multiple properties that are incompatible with previous proposals that ATR is a property of syllables, not vowels. Palatal retraction shows that at least one vowel-consonant effect is due to linear position, not syllable membership, posing difficulties for the syllable-based analysis (which also wrongly predicts that syllabic consonants should contrast for ATR).

KATHERINE HOUT (UCSD)

ATR harmony and exceptional chain shifts in Bari

This talk examines new data on the interaction between ATR harmony and vowel raising/fronting processes in Bari (Eastern Nilotic, South Sudan). Bari displays a +ATR-dominant harmony system, with five +ATR vowels (i, u, e, o, ʌ) and five -ATR vowels (ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ, a). +ATR vowels in stems and suffixes cause any -ATR vowels to become +ATR (e.g. /kwɛn+tî/ → [kwɛntî] 'bird,' c.f. /dikári+jîŋ/ → [dikári-jîŋ] 'gourds'). Harmony creates the environment for other processes to apply; most interestingly, the +ATR singulative suffix /-i/ triggers exceptional fronting of |ʌ| to [e] iff |ʌ| was derived from an underlying /a/ via harmony (e.g. /tálám+i/ → [tálámî] → [tíémî] 'monkey').

(Phonology 2 cont'd overleaf)

(Phonology 2 cont'd)

DEMOLA LEWIS (Ibadan)

Interaction of tonal absorption and underspecification in West Benue-Congo pronoun polarisation

Object pronouns in West Benue-Congo languages (WBC) undergo tonal polarisation with adjacent verbs. Pulleyblank (1986) proposes that a floating high-tone accompanies the 3-OBJ pronoun in Yoruba and it is deleted by OCP when preceded by a verbal high-tone, and, drawing from Akinlabi (1985), the mid-tone is underspecified to the pronoun. This paper grossly aligns with this analysis, but departs by proposing that the 3-OBJ pronoun is a high-tone morph which is absorbed by a preceding verbal high-tone to warrant mid-tone underspecification. Hinging on significant rise in frequency of verbal high-tone we show that such absorption applies to three other WBC.

Syntax-Phonology Interface

Thursday afternoon

ELISABETH SELKIRK (UMass)

Edge-sensitivity in Bantu sentence tonology: Luganda, Xitsonga, Bemba

This paper argues that in phonological constraints for characterizing phenomena that involve just a single H tone or H tone span, the prosodic structure context that restricts the distribution of these phenomena in the sentence crucially involves reference to just a single prosodic constituent domain-edge (contra Selkirk 1980 on domain-sensitivity). The familiar markedness constraints Edge:Tone, Nonfinality:H and CrispEdge:Tone, which crucially refer to a single domain-edge, are shown to account for phenomena that have previously been described as requiring reference to prosodic domain spans and domain junctures (Hyman 1987, Hyman & Katamba 2010, Kula & Bickmore 2015).

LELAND KUSMER (UMass)

Prosody and the conjoint/disjoint alternation in Tshivenda

I will present original fieldwork on Tshivenda (Bantu, S21) suggesting that the disjoint alternation in this language is a prosodic, not syntactic, phenomenon. Like other Southern Bantu languages, the Tshivenda simple present alternates in form: The verb optionally bears a prefix except when sentence-final. However, objects coreferenced on the verb do not count toward this sense of 'finality'. I will present new data on Tshivenda prosody suggesting that the finality relevant to this alternation is with respect to the intonational phrase rather than any syntactic unit

LEE BICKMORE, LAUREN CLEMENS (Albany)

Phonological phrasing in Rutooro

Rutooro (E.12), a Ugandan Bantu language, is devoid of any lexical tonal contrast. All isolation forms are pronounced with a prominence on the penultimate syllable. Yet, in phrases and sentences, many words surface with no prominence at all. We account for this by positing that prominence in this language is realized on the penultimate syllable of phonological phrases. In reviewing how prosodic phrases are formed based on the syntax, it will be shown that while the phonological phrasing within VPs and IPs closely parallel what has been posited for other Bantu languages, phonological phrasing within DPs in Rutooro is more complex.

(Phonology-Syntax cont'd overleaf)

(Phonology-Syntax cont'd)

TONI COOK (Vermont)

Tonal constituency in Durban Zulu

In conservative rural Zulu dialects, prefixal high tones do not behave differently from stem-internal highs — all undergo antepenultimate shift. However, in the Durban dialect, a prefixal H spreads while a stem-internal H shifts. Although the object marker is not stem-internal, the Macrostem constituent leads us to classify the object marker + stem as a single tonal domain in many Bantu languages, including Zulu. The question is whether the Macrostem constituent exists in Durban Zulu as it does in Zululand Zulu, and this paper argues that it does not. When the object marker is the sole high tone in the verb complex, it behaves like it is part of the prefixal domain in Durban Zulu, yet in other contexts it undergoes the tonal alternations we expect of a Macrostem, non-prefixal morpheme.

ESTHER ASONGANYI (Buea)

Evidence for the existence of the intonational and phonological domains in Babanki

This study discusses evidence for the phonological and intonational domains in Babanki; a Grassfields Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. The Prosodic Hierarchy Theory is used to argue that just like Chichewa (Kanerva 1990), Xhosa (Jokweri 1995), Babanki assumes that each phonological phrase belongs to a particular syntactic structure. Contrarily, in Chichewa (Kanerva 1990), Xhosa (Jokweri 1995), Zulu (Cheng and Downing 2007, 2009), and Kinande (Mutaka 2011), the phonological domain is identified by lengthening of the penultimate and antepenultimate vowel, while in Babanki, it is rather the intonational phrase which is identified by the lengthening of the ultimate vowel.

Syntax 2

Thursday afternoon

KENYON BRANAN (MIT)

Abstract dependent case: Evidence from Kikuyu

Direct objects in Kikuyu are subject to a peculiar constraint: in sentences with a transitive verb, the noun head of the direct object must be strictly adjacent to the verbal complex. In sentences where there are two or more post-verbal nominals, no post-verbal nominals is subject to this constraint. I argue that this alternation is tied to Case. The subject and direct object of a transitive sentence are structurally too distant for Case to be calculated between the two. So, the direct object must resort to an alternative licensing strategy: strict V-N adjacency. The addition of a medial argument allows Case to be computed between the medial argument and the direct object.

NAGARAJAN SELVANATHAN (Rutgers)

A case-based account of Bantu IAV-focus

In this paper, we discuss two Bantu languages Zulu and Lubukusu which exhibit Immediately-After-Verb focus differently for which we propose a unified case-based analysis. In Zulu, right dislocation has been argued for (Cheng & Downing 2012) whereas in Lubukusu, a low FocP has been motivated. (van der Wal 2006). Adopting Baker & Collins (2006) analysis of Linkers, we propose that these different strategies of realizing IAV focus are just alternate ways in which case assignment to DPs within the VP is carried out. This analysis is also shown to better account for IAV focus asymmetries in the two languages.

(Syntax 2 cont'd overleaf)

(Syntax 2 cont'd)

CHRISTEN (Western)

Wolof oblique applicatives and the case for downward merge

Instrumental and locative applicatives in Wolof are shown to be problematic for any syntactic approach to applicative theory which assumes a theme-first approach to argument structure. Namely, instrumental and locative applied objects follow and are c-commanded by the theme contrary to other types of applicatives in Wolof. I present evidence from several languages, focusing on Wolof, which support a theme-first approach to applicative derivations. I thus explore the possibility that Merge does not uniquely lead to upward branching structures as currently assumed in Minimalism. I then contrast such an approach with prepositional incorporation and argue for Downward Merge.

RODRIGO RANERO (Maryland)

The syntax of object dislocation in Luganda

This paper provides detailed empirical documentation and a syntactic analysis couched in the Minimalist Program for object left and right-dislocation in Luganda. In ditransitive constructions, two objects can be left-dislocated in either order, whereas two right-dislocated objects must be ordered GOAL/BEN>THEME; this asymmetry provides insight into the derivation of left and right-dislocated objects. Expanding on proposals for the derivation of object-dislocation in Zulu in Zeller (2012, 2015), I argue that left-dislocated objects are base generated, while right-dislocated objects arise in their surface position via movement. This analysis captures the data and makes the correct predictions regarding binding and superiority effects.

ROSE-MARIE DÉCHÂINE (UBC)

Shona root classes: implications for the lexicon and beyond

Shona roots ($\sqrt{\quad}$) divide into three classes:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|----------|
| 1. | $\sqrt{\text{GENERAL}}$ | <i>v</i> or <i>n</i> context | <i>*gàr</i> | <i>kù-gàr-à</i> | 'to sit' | <i>chì-gàr-ò</i> | 'chair' |
| 2. | \sqrt{n} : | only in <i>n</i> context | <i>*tí</i> | <i>*kù-tí</i> | ['to tree'] | <i>mù-tí</i> | 'tree' |
| 3. | $\sqrt{\text{IDEOPHONE}}$ | bare or w/suffixal <i>v</i> | <i>fê</i> | <i>kù-fê-m-à</i> | 'to breathe' | <i>fê-m-ò</i> | 'breath' |

Previous accounts focus on $\sqrt{\text{GENERAL}}$ or \sqrt{n} , but neglect $\sqrt{\text{IDEOPHONE}}$. Recognizing that Shona has a prosaic lexicon (which legislates $\sqrt{\text{GENERAL}}$ and \sqrt{n}) and an expressive lexicon (which legislates $\sqrt{\text{IDEOPHONE}}$) sheds light on the interaction of minimal root and word size, the deployment of segmental and tone melody, the morphology of $\sqrt{\text{IDEOPHONE}}$ roots, and the apparently privileged status of N-stems.

Documentary Linguistics

Thursday afternoon

FRIDAH KATUSHEMERERWE (Makerere)

Revitalising the indigenous languages of Uganda with specific reference to Runyakitara

Efforts in documenting, preserving and revitalising endangered languages have been devoted to languages on the verge of extinction, giving limited attention to languages with a considerable number of speakers but with threatened existence. This paper presents the collaborative work between linguists from the University of Cambridge (UK) and Makerere University (Uganda) to develop natural language resources and tools to revitalise indigenous languages of Uganda, specifically, Runyakitara. The paper discusses the status of indigenous languages in Uganda, and presents the progress, resources and tools for revitalising Runyakitara.

(Documentary Linguistics cont'd overleaf)

(Documentary Linguistics cont'd)

KELECHUKWU IHEMERE (U of Westminster)

Insertion strategies used with lone English verbs in otherwise Igbo utterances

The main aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the vast majority of lone English verbs are typically inserted into otherwise Igbo utterances using Igbo verbal inflectional morphology. Others are adjoined to a helping verb from Igbo, specifically involving an adapted form. Yet a few English verbs are inserted into a position corresponding to an Igbo verb without any adaptation. The latter occur in serial verb constructions; they, like the English verbs with Igbo verbal morphology, occur in clause structure with restrictions imposed by the base language syntax.

NATHAN SEVERANCE, DORIS PAYNE (Oregon)

The noun class system of Viemõ

Viemõ is classified as Gur in a branch consisting of just Viemõ. There is little published besides short papers (Winkelman 2006, 2007) and Proust's (1979) 87-page sketch. Data from recent fieldwork suggests some anomalies in the noun class system, compared to Winkelman's (2007) description. Modern Viemõ displays considerable reduction in plural class morphemes relative to reconstructions for proto-language stages. It remains an open question to what extent the Viemõ "noun class" system robustly meets the definitions of *noun class* given by Corbett (1991) and others.

THABO DITSELE (Tshwane U)

Setswana-based Tsotsitaal in the North West province of South Africa

Tsotsitaal is a name commonly used to refer to the phenomenon of 'African urban youth language' found in South Africa. It is a 'stylect' which involves variation in lexicon, and is a stylized register now found in all of South Africa's official languages. It acts as a form of peer communication, predominantly used by young men in South Africa's townships (Hurst, 2008). This paper analyzes *tsotsitaal* whose matrix language is Setswana, with a view to confirm previous studies' findings on lexicon, coinages and the variety being a 'stylect', as well as establish any new trends on the phenomenon.

BETSY PILLION, LENORE GRENOBLE (Chicago), EMMANUEL NGUE UM (Yaoundé), & SARAH KOPPER (Michigan State)

Verbal gestures in Cameroon

In this work, we describe a system of extra-grammatical sounds in four languages of Cameroon: three Narrow Bantu (Basaa, Bakoko, Bulu), and one Grasslands language (Ngoshie). While not integrated into a morphosyntactic frame, these sounds are meaningful units with specific discourse functions. We identify them as members of a larger class of verbal gestures, defined by a set of functional and structural characteristics; some may constitute a secondary phonemic system (Fries & Pike 1949; Harris 1951). Although extragrammatical, some have clear lexical meaning and serve as lexical substitutes, while others are more gesture-like in conveying pragmatic, not lexicosemantic, meaning.

Poster Session

Thursday afternoon

HASIYATU ABUBAKARI (Vienna)

Contrastive focus particles in Kusaal

Poster 1

This paper presents a discussion on the particles used in expressing identificational focus in Kusaal, a Gur language spoken in Ghana, Burkina Faso and Togo. Contrary to earlier claim that focus is phonologically null in the language, the particles *ka*, *n* and *ne* are identified as contrastive focus markers and are solely used for pragmatic purposes in Kusaal. The major research issue this paper addresses revolves around the syntax and semantics of these particles and more importantly what can be said to qualify them as contrastive focus particles.

ROSELINE ALERECHI (Port Harcourt)

Nominal modifiers in Ikwere

Poster 2

This paper focuses on identifying and analyzing the nominal modifiers in Ikwere, an Igboid language. It adopts a descriptive approach. The paper identifies seven sub-classes of nominal modifiers in the language. It notes that most of the modifiers belong to the close class of words. Syntactically, all nominal modifiers predominantly occur in post-head position, but few of them also occur in pre-head position. It is observed that high tone plays significant role in the derivation of most of the nominal modifiers in Ikwere. The paper finally illustrates the possible co-occurrence of the different nominal modifiers in a noun phrase construction

O. ANYANWU, C. IBE, O.K. ANDREW, A. ONOTEH, C. DIMKPA (Uyo)

Endangered indigenous skills and vocabulary items: Evidence from Igbo indigenous agentive nouns

Poster 3

It has been predicted (UNESCO (2012)) that Igbo, (despite its status as one of the major Nigerian languages) may be heading into extinction by the year 2025. The present paper further examines endangerment in Igbo with specific reference to vocabulary items used to express indigenous agentive skills and how the endangerment of the skills is reflected in Igbo vocabulary. Data for the study were gathered from respondents grouped according to age and chosen from residents of Abakiliki, Awka, Enugu, Owerri and Umuahia, the capital cities of the States in Nigeria where Igbo is indigenously spoken. They were presented with pictures of agents carrying out indigenous skills and requested to identify with indigenous Igbo names the agent in each picture. The findings of the study reveal that there is varying degrees of indigenous vocabulary endangerment among the respondents. The paper therefore, concludes that Igbo is fast losing its population of active speakers.

O. ANYANWU, M. PETERS, E.C. OSUAGWU, J. UDOUDOM, E. OKON (Uyo)

Inherent complement verbs in Ibibio

Poster 4

Inherent-complement verbs (ICVs) are very pervasive in some Kwa languages. They obligatorily co-occur with complements without which they will not have any independent and recognizable meaning or at best will be semantically vague and incomplete. . This paper provides as descriptive analysis of Ibibio ICVs. It examines and classifies ICVs in Ibibio, exploring the possibility of analyzing Ibibio ICVs as the same as canonical transitive verbs in Ibibio. Also, using some syntactic/semantic evidence (e.g. topicalization, clefting, focusing, discourse pronominalization and internal object licensing), the paper further examines the status of Ibibio ICs as either 'true' objects or mere semantic components of their respective ICVs and observes that there is only a semantic bond between IVCs and their ICVs. The bond is not necessarily syntactic.

VIRGINIA BEAVON-HAM (Leiden/SIL)

Depressing behavior from non-depressors in a tonal system with trends of consonant interaction: Treating ‘exceptional’ forms in Saxwe (Kwa) Poster 5

Saxwe, a Kwa language, has three surface tone levels: [L], [M], and [H]. The language could at first glance be analyzed as having an underlying contrast between /H/ and /Ø/. In this analysis, [L] could be derived through rules that assign [L] to a toneless tone-bearing unit (TBU) that is preceded by a depressor consonant.

However, a body of approximately 25 ‘exceptional’ monomorphemic forms indicates that the best analysis for the tone system is currently a /H, Ø, L/ analysis. The existence of /L/ has become independent of underlying consonant voicing, although there are still widespread trends of consonant-tone interaction.

LAETITIA COMPAORÉ (Paris7)

Prosodique phrasing in Moore Poster 6

This study investigates the role of prosody in Moore (a tone language spoken in Burkina Faso). It describes how prosody is used to divide the stream of speech into phrase groups. I assume that the prosodic organization of speech relies on the existence of prosodic events, located at phrases boundaries. Thus, I focus on acoustic parameters accompanying units’ boundaries. The results suggest that 3 acoustic parameters (last syllable lengthening, the resetting of fundamental frequency and pauses) are used as marker of the phrase boundary. Downstep is also used to indicate coherence within the phrase.

SIRI GJERSOE, JUDE NFORMI, LUDGER PASCHEN (Leipzig)

Not all tone is lexical: Evidence for a sentence-final L boundary tone in Limbum Poster 7

This study examines the interaction of lexical tone and phrase-level prosody in Limbum, a Grassfield language of Cameroon. We present preliminary results of an acoustic study. The main claim is that Limbum has a L(ow) boundary tone (L%) which appears in assertive clauses and wh-questions but is absent in polar questions. L% manifests itself in three different ways: (i) pitch-lowering of H, M or L tone; (ii) falling tone; (iii) breathy voice on L tones preceded by other L tone(s). An ongoing investigation is to see whether vowel length is the determining factor for contour tone licensing or whether this is lexical.

ELEANOR GLEWWE (UCLA)

Logoori hiatus resolution: A new analysis Poster 8

Logoori (JE41) employs a variety of repairs to resolve hiatus. Leung (1991) provides a rules-based analysis of Logoori hiatus resolution, but it contains an ordering paradox involving the rules /i/-Deletion and Non-High Vowel Deletion. While the data can be accounted for if Non-High Vowel Deletion is split into two rules, this modified rules-based analysis misses the generalization that hiatus resolution always preserves a root vowel over an affix vowel. I therefore propose an OT solution that relies on root faithfulness. In addition to resolving the ordering paradox, the OT analysis makes other correct predictions about hiatus resolution in Logoori.

NADINE GRIMM (Rochester)

Implosives in Bantu A80? The case of Gyeli

Poster 9

Most authors agree that implosives in A80 languages have phonetic rather than phonemic status, but differ in how they view the relation between implosives and voiced stops, e.g. whether /ɓ/ is an allophone of /b/ or whether a language lacks /b/ altogether. This differing treatment of implosives in the literature raises the question whether these consonants really are implosives in all A80 languages, especially since the posited distribution would be puzzling from a typological perspective. Data from Gyeli (Cameroon) suggests that “implosives” are better described as phonemic voiced plosives that are phonetically realized with pre-glottalization and a relatively long VOT.

T. THORNES, L. HOLMGREN, M. KAMULETE, A. MUZALIWA (Boise State, African Community Development – Boise)

Tulibi M’Ebembe: Features of Ebembe Proverbs

Poster 10

We report on work with members of the refugee Babembe community in Boise, Idaho, that has resulted in the documenting of more than 300 proverbs in Ebembe (bmb; Bantu, D54). Using both audio and video recordings, we have incorporated spontaneous discussions between Ebembe speakers as meta-narration surrounding the proper translation and context for each proverb as part of the documentation. This work has amplified our understanding of tone in the language as well as contextualized the function of proverbs as directive speech acts.

CLAUDIUS P. KIHARA (Heinrich-Heine, Düsseldorf)

Clause combining in Bantu: A structural-functional approach

Poster 11

This paper investigates clause combining in Bantu, specifically in Gĩkũyũ (E51). It is demonstrated that the traditional notions of coordination and subordination are not sufficient in describing clause combinations in Gĩkũyũ and by extension, Bantu languages. To solve this problem, I use Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] to analyse Gĩkũyũ complex sentences. RRG proposes three linkage relations: coordination, subordination and cosubordination. I show that the Bantu consecutive clauses (and others) are instances of cosubordination and not coordination or subordination. I conclude that cosubordination is indispensable in describing complex sentences in Bantu.

KASANGATI K.W. KINYALOLO (Kirkwood)

E(valuative) M(arkers) in KiLega as degree quantifiers

Poster 12

KiLega uses two sets of EMs (e.g., diminutive (1b, c), augmentative (1d, e)), subject to specific conditions:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. a. <i>mu-simba</i> | b. <i>ka-simba</i> | d. <i>ki-simba</i> |
| 1-unmarried adult | | |
| ‘unmarried adult’ | c. <i>ká musimba</i> | e. <i>kyá musimba</i> |

Given their sensitivity to the individuated/non-individuated nouns dichotomy (Mufwene 1980) like the degree quantifier *-ĩngí* ‘a lot of,’ EMs are argued to be individuated/non-individuated degree quantifiers merged as a specifier of Deg(ree), whose exponent may be -a. Assuming the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001), a head merging with DegP will agree with SpecDegP. EMs are neither derivational nor noun class prefixes.

DAVID KUMMER (Kansas)

Control and related constructions in Ibibio

Poster 13

An examination of subject and object control constructions in Ibibio (Niger-Congo, Nigeria) provides evidence that causative constructions, while similar, are not instances of control in Ibibio. Examination of further similar sentences also provides evidence that Ibibio restricts raising: both exceptional case-marking (ECM), although a comparable construction exists, and raising-to-subject. The verb in the subordinate clause in these sentences often appears in what has been described as the hortative (Kaufman 1968:240) or subjunctive (Baker 2010:28); exploring the relationship between the hortative/subjunctive and control and related constructions should prove fruitful for further elicitation.

ZOE WAI-MAN LAM (UBC)

The morphology of Nata verbal reduplication

Poster 14

This study investigates the morphology of verbal reduplication in Nata (E45), e.g. [uʏasóma] ‘you read’ and [uʏasómasóma] ‘you read repeatedly’. The template of the reduplicant can either be analyzed as (I) a morphological constituent that comprises of the verb root and the final vowel, or (II) a prosodic constituent that requires a disyllabic structure. Adopting the syntactic spine framework (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2010, Wiltschko 2014), I conclude that the template of the reduplicant comprises of the verb root and the final vowel. In other words, Hypothesis (I) is a better account for Nata verbal reduplication.

ANNA MARGGRANDE (Goethe, Frankfurt am Main)

Relative clause constructions in Dūya

Poster 15

This poster presents Dūya relative clause constructions. It shows how Dūya relative clauses can be identified based on segmental and suprasegmental morphology. Furthermore, it illustrates two syntactic relativizing strategies (gapping, pronoun retention) that conform to the accessibility hierarchy, proposed by Keenan & Comrie (1977:66). The language allows relativization of all elements from subjects to possessors. Constituents ranking “higher” (subjects, objects) use gapping while elements ranking “lower” (oblique arguments, possessors) employ pronoun retention. Finally, the poster gives an overview of relative clauses in natural discourse, where we primarily find headless relative constructions.

SAMUEL OBENG (Indiana)

The spirit touches you and immediately switches your tongue: On the phonology and pragmatics of Ghanaian Christian Glossolalic prayer

Poster 16

Glossolalia is the uttering of ‘incomprehensible’ utterances while in a state of trance. The phonological structure of Akan-based glossolalic texts revealed the occurrence of seven vowels [i,ɪ,e,ɛ,a,ʊ,u] and twenty consonants [p,b,m,s,r,n,t,d,f,ʃ,tʃ,dʒ,j,g,h,j,k,x,ŋ,l]. The commonest syllable type is CV. Utterance-initial syllables are stressed and accompanied by a raised pitch height and a ‘swell’ (a sudden increase and decrease in loudness). Utterance-final syllables occur with piano loudness. Rhythmically, there is a combination of syllable- and stress-timing. Turn-initial syllables are produced with creaky phonation and turn-final syllables, with breathy phonation. Pragmatically, one’s use of glossolalia and another’s ability to interpret it constitute ‘spiritual’ power.

YVONNE OLLENNU (Winneba)

Property concepts in Ga

Poster 17

Property concept words (PCs) are lexical items in a language that play adjectival role. The paper establishes that in Ga, adjectives, nouns and verbs perform that function. Morphologically, adjectives used as PCs agree with head noun and verbs employed were mainly stative. The paper postulates two categories of nouns as PCs. Syntactically, the attributive role of PCs is played by the three categories. Six semantic types of Dixon's adjective classes were identified. Multiple PCs were not strictly ordered. Data analyzed were from students in University of Education, Winneba and native speakers. The Dixon (2006) framework was applied in the paper.

ALICIA PARRISH, CARA FELDSCHER (Michigan State)

The adverb 'tún' and insights into Yoruba splitting verbs

Poster 18

In most cases, Yoruba splitting verbs obligatorily encapsulate their direct object. One recent analysis argues that the lower verbal element (V2) is generated within the VP structure, while the upper one (V1) is merged in on v (Bode, 2000). However, the preverb *tún* may block the verb's split, with a corresponding change in meaning. When *tún* blocks the split, we propose it has been merged low. When the verb still splits, *tún* has been merged higher than v and thus does not block movement. These two attachment points for *tún* give evidence for the split being the result of movement.

TRISTAN PURVIS (American U-Nigeria)

Hausa chat jargon: Spontaneous semantic extension versus borrowing

Poster 19

A corpus of Whatsapp chats reveals how Hausa-speaking youth have spontaneously adopted and spread homegrown terms using Hausa language, via semantic extension/metaphor, for the actions (e.g. chatting, forwarding), objects (e.g. image) and space (e.g. group, online/offline) associated with computer-mediated communication—contrary to assumptions that such terms tend to be borrowed from English. Along with other contextual factors, this presentation reviews the linguistic forms (including source language), range of terminology, and frequency of occurrence of such chat jargon terms found in this corpus, representing 56 different interlocutors in 40 different dyads of chat excerpts.

MEGHANA RAO, MICHAEL DIERCKS (Pomona)

Complementizer agreement in Kipsigis

Poster 20

Complementizer agreement (CA) as dictated by an Agree operation in Minimalist syntactic theory involves a complementizer head probing within its c-command domain for a goal, resulting in agreement with a constituent of the lower clause (Carstens 2003). In contrast, complementizers at the head of embedded clauses in Kipsigis (Kalenjin, Nilotic, Kenya) display agreement with the subject of the matrix clause. We follow Diercks et al. (2015) in interpreting Kipsigis CA as an anaphoric operation. In the course of analysis we engage interactions with scrambling, interactions with object cliticization, information structure, verb class variation, and raising, among others.

L. HOLMGREN, M. KAMULETE, A. MUZALIWA, T. THORNES (Boise State, African Community Development–Boise)

Melodic tone in Ebembe

Poster 21

As part of a general investigation of the under-documented Ebembe (bmb; Bantu, D54) tone system, we report on the progress made toward identifying the myriad factors influencing lexical and grammatical tone outputs in the Ebembe verb. In addition to general tone rules, these include subject marker allomorphy, the presence vs. absence of object markers, as well as the size and shape of the verb stem. The complexity of these types of systems has given rise to considerable micro-typological diversity. Our work contributes to the growing body of research in this area, adding much needed further description for Zone D languages.

ALEXANDER ZHELTOV (St. Petersburg)

Numerals in Adamawa languages: Common roots, diversity of strategies, analogical changes

Poster 22

In this presentation I am going to concentrate on comparing the numerical systems in the languages of two groups of Adamawa (Mumuye-Yandang and Leko) concerning 3 aspects: 1) common roots for the languages (mostly numerals 1-5, 10), 2) a diversity of not only roots but also strategies (e.g. $8 = X + 3$, $X + 4$, $5+3$ etc) for 6-9, 20-40, 100, 1000, 3) analogical changes that influence greatly the numerical systems (3-4 - most common, 2-3-4, 2-3-4-5).

Tone 1

Friday morning

HILDE GUNNINK (Ghent)

Tone in Fwe

This paper describes the use of tone in Fwe, a little-studied Bantu language (K.402) spoken in Zambia and Namibia. Fwe has two underlying tones, and their surface realization is determined by a number of tone rules, such as Meeussen's Rule, high tone shift and the realization of high tones as falling. Tone also interacts with prosodic lengthening, which affects the penultimate syllable of a phrase-final word, and phonological lengthening, which affects syllables with a glide or followed by a prenasalized consonant.

ANDREI ANGHELESCU (UBC)

Tone alternation in the associative construction in Nata

I examine tone alternations in the associative construction with a focus on class 5 prefixes and class 10 prefixes. In the associative construction, the preprefix plays a role in a tone alternation. When the modifier noun is lacking a preprefix, high tone on that noun is realized one syllable to the left with respect to the form with a preprefix. Class 5 and 10 have been argued to be fused preprefix-prefixes. Therefore, the associative construction is crucial for understanding the differences between the fused preprefix-prefixes and preprefixes.

KEITH SNIDER (SIL)

Tone in Chumburung nouns

Employing autosegmental theory and an underspecification approach, I present an analysis of the tone patterns of nouns with simple stems in Chumburung [ncu], a Kwa language spoken in Ghana. CV roots have a two-way contrast: /H/ and /L/; CVV and CVN roots have four-way contrasts: /H/, /L/, /HL/, and /LH/; and, interestingly enough, CVCV roots have only three-way contrasts: /H/, /L/, and /LH/. Support for the underlying tone patterns I propose comes in part from gerunds and agents derived from verbs, as well as from a class of singular nouns that do not take a prefix.

PIUS AKUMBU (Buea)

A featural analysis of mid and downstep high tone in Babanki

I examine the occurrence of the surface M(id) and downstepped High (\downarrow H) tones in Babanki, a Grassfields language of Cameroon. I demonstrate in this paper that the M tone comes from two different phonological sources and that it results from the spread of the high register feature of a following H tone while \downarrow H is caused by the spread of the low register feature of a preceding floating L tone. The Babanki M and \downarrow H tones are phonetically identical but differ only in that \downarrow H establishes a ceiling for future H tones within the same tonal phrase.

Historical Linguistics

Friday morning

COLLEEN AHLAND (SIL)

Gumuzoid: A new language family (subgroup?) in eastern Africa

Gumuz (guk) is a dialect cluster which comprises at least two languages, a northern and southern variety (Ahland 2012). Scholars have argued whether Gumuz is Nilo-Saharan (Greenberg 1963, Bender 1991, Ehret 2001, Ahland 2010) or an isolate (Mikkola 1999, Bender 2005:916, Dimmendaal 2011:328). Regardless of Gumuz's position in larger families, new evidence suggests there are two other languages closely related to Gumuz: Daats'iin and Kadallu. Daats'iin is a previously unknown and undocumented Ethiopian language (Ahland 2016), and Kadallu was once considered a possible Gumuz variety (Bryan 1945:191, James et al. 1996:329). This paper explores evidence for a new "Gumuzoid" family.

HANNAH GIBSON (SOAS)

The grammaticalisation of verb-auxiliary order in East African Bantu: present, future, and beyond

This talk examines the grammaticalisation of verb-auxiliary order in a subset of East African Bantu languages. These languages, spoken in Tanzania and Kenya, exhibit verb-auxiliary order despite otherwise Bantu-typical SVO word order and syntax. The talk builds on the proposal that there is a link between focus marking and the encoding of certain tense-aspect distinctions (Güldemann 2003), with the view of exploring the processes of grammatical change that have given rise to this typologically and comparatively unusual word order.

GILLES-MAURICE DE SCHRYVER (Ghent), REBECCA GROLLEMUND (Reading), SIMON BRANFORD (Reading), KOEN BOSTOEN (Ghent)

Dating language dynamics in the Lower Congo region

In this paper we propose a reconstruction of the segmental phonology of the most recent common ancestor of the KLC, i.e. Proto-Kikongo. This reconstruction is based on a large-scale comparative study of phonological micro-variation in the KLC and not only considers comparative series corresponding to existing Bantu lexical reconstructions, but also new KLC-specific comparative cognate series, which will ultimately allow for the reconstruction of a new Proto-Kikongo vocabulary. Also long-distance phonological processes are taken into account. The reconstruction of Proto-Kikongo segmental phonology will eventually lead to a better understanding of the internal classification of the KLC.

MANUEL OTERO (Oregon)

Reconstructing pronominal morphology in Koman languages

This paper examines independent and bound pronominal morphology in the Koman languages, a family whose genetic affiliation to Nilo-Saharan is still under debate (e.g. Bender 1996, Ehret 2001, Dimmendaal 2011). Koman bound pronominal suffixes farthest from the verb root can be reconstructed to the synchronic independent pronouns, while those that occur closer to the verb cannot, which suggests the latter morphologized more recently (Mithun 1988). At least one distinct set of Koman pronominal morphology, likely older than the ancestor of the independent pronouns, must be reconstructed from the synchronic data. This calls into question prior reconstructions of Koman (Bender 1994).

Syntax 3

Friday morning

JENNEKE VAN DER WAL (Cambridge)

Two curious gaps and one wrong analysis for Bantu object marking parameters

Many Bantu languages can mark one or more objects on the verb by a prefix agreeing in noun class. There is, however, much variation in object marking (OM) across Bantu, captured in three parameters:

1. agreement / anaphoric pronoun;
2. one OM / multiple OMs;
3. asymmetric / symmetric.

This talk maps the parameter settings of 50+ Bantu languages, from which two curious gaps and an interesting geographical pattern emerge. First, fully asymmetrical languages all have agreement OM. Second, all languages with asymmetrical agreement OM can only spell out one OM, with the exception of Sambia. Reducing the variation to two parameters is shown to fail, but the obligatory marking of prominence looks more promising.

HAROLD TORRENCE (UCLA)

Subject oriented complementizer agreement in Ibibio

I present a description of complementizer agreement in Ibibio, a Lower Cross language of Nigeria. Certain embedded clauses, such as those under verbs like ‘hear’ and ‘say’, have an optional left peripheral complementizer, *-bo*, that agrees in person and number with the superordinate subject. I discuss the morpho-syntax of complementizer agreement and touch on interpretive effects that arise. I also compare complementizer agreement in Ibibio to similar systems in other languages.

TROY MESSICK, IRINA MONICH (UConn)

Agreement in Nuer speech reports

It has been noted that Nilo-Saharan languages allow for third person pronouns to control either first agreement morphology or third person agreement morphology in speech reports (Curnow 2002). We present the first investigation of this phenomenon in Nuer, demonstrated in (1).

- (2) John c-ε wee jεn c-a/-ε Mary nεεn
 J.NOM AUX.PERF-3SG say.PERF.PART he.NOM AUX.PERF-1SG/-3SG M.OBJ see.PERF.PART
 ‘John_i said that he_i saw Mary.’

We propose an analysis of this data building on work on indexical shift (Schlenker 2003, Anand 2006, Sudo 2012), as well as similar mismatches found in Dravidian languages (Sundaresan 2012).

REGINALD DUAH (Ghana)

Exhaustive focus marking in Akan

This paper discusses the semantics of the so-called focus marker *nà* in Akan. The study employs standard tests for exhaustivity proposed in the literature to examine the semantics of Akan *nà* marked focus sentences. The data show that *nà* marked focus sentences always involves exhaustivity. It is shown that although subject focus occurs with *nà* as default, there is a condition which regulates the exhaustive interpretation of such sentences which is that when the context (or question) does not require that what is focused be non-exhaustive exhaustive interpretation is taken for granted.

Semantics 2

Friday morning

MEREDITH LANDMAN (Pomona)

Quantification in Kipsigis

In this paper, I examine how quantification is expressed in Kipsigis, a Kalenjin (Nilotic) language spoken in western Kenya. I present an analysis of basic quantificational structures, and discuss what certain quantificational configurations (namely, binding and scope configurations) can tell us about the syntax of Kipsigis, a language with highly flexible word order.

LILIA SCHUERCKS (Potsdam)

Domain restriction and specificity in Sousou and Malenke

In this paper, I will study contextual domain restriction in Sousou and Malenke and formulate a hypothesis concerning its relevance for indefinites and weak quantifiers in these languages. Novel evidence will be provided which strongly confirm the claim that domain restriction distinguishes from the notion of specificity. The analysis of these data aims at proving that the contextual restriction of the domain of Qs is more prominent syntactically. Contextual domain restriction is *not* a property that indefinites and existential (weak) Qs are expected to have, since they always assert existence.

JOASH GAMBARAGE (UBC)

Pre-prefixes and argumenthood in Nata: an assertion of existence account

The Bantu pre-prefix (a.k.a augment) is presented as a D(eterminer), the functional head of the NP projection (cf. Visser 2008 and others). However, there is little evidence for the D analysis of pre-prefixes. I provide compelling syntactic evidence from Nata (E45) to show that pre-prefixes are Ds with the syntactic function of marking argumenthood. Semantically, I argue that the core function of Nata pre-prefixes is assertion of existence: the speaker's intent to refer to a nominal expression denoting a non-empty set (Givon 1978). This contributes to our understanding of why pre-prefixed NPs cannot occur under the scope of polarity operators such as negations, conditionals and weak epistemic modals. This contrasts with the syntactic accounts of NP licensing in Bantu, Progovac (1993) and Halpert (2012; 2015). The implication of this study is that the D position in Nata cannot be linked to semantic features of definiteness and/or specificity. These features come from elsewhere in the grammar.

JOHN GLUCKMAN, MARGIT BOWLER (UCLA)

Expletive agreement, evidentiality, and modality in Logooli

We discuss and analyze two verbal expletive markers in Logooli (Bantu, Kenya). The expletives *ga-* (class 6) and *e-* (class 9) permit a number of interpretations that are apparently modal or evidential in nature: direct versus indirect evidence, "general" versus "restricted" knowledge, and weak versus strong modality. We follow Matthewson, et al. (2007)'s and Rullmann, et al. (2008)'s choice-function treatment of modality in St'at'imcets, and extend their analysis to account for novel Logooli data. We propose that *ga-* and *e-* combine with verbs that introduce modal bases, and introduce choice-functions that then select subsets of the modal base.

Tone 2

Friday afternoon

STEPHANIE SHIH (UC Merced), SHARON INKELAS (UC Berkeley)

Mende tone melodies: An ABC perspective

Mende tone melodies are an empirical centerpiece for Autosegmental Phonology. Since the introduction of Optimality Theory, however, surface-optimizing correspondence approaches like Agreement by Correspondence (ABC) have supplanted Autosegmentalism in much of its original empirical domain, especially in segmental harmonies. In this paper, we use ABC to reexamine Mende tone melodies, showing that tone melody inventories emerge naturally from the phonological grammar, rooted in the same principles of similarity and proximity that have proven effective for segmental phenomena. The ABC approach generates finer-grained, more flexible predictions of tone melody distributions than classical Autosegmentalism, without the need for autosegmental representations and operations.

KATHRYN FRANICH (Chicago)

Cues to Tone Perception in Medumba

We examine the influence of duration and pitch context on perception of high and low tones in Medumba (Grassfields Bantu). Contrary to previous research, we found a negative correlation between duration and high tone perception ($p < 0.0001$), indicating that tone perception likely mirrors production quite closely. There was also a strong contrastive effect of the preceding syllable's f_0 on tone perception of the target (higher preceding f_0 led to more low tone responses on the target) ($p < 0.0001$), however, preceding non-speech tones had no effect on target tone perception. This provides evidence that contextual pitch effects are language specific, rather than domain-general.

DAVID ODDEN (Ohio)

NP tone of Logoori

This paper discusses the rich system of syntagmatic tone alternations within the NP in the Bantu language Logoori. The main feature of NP tonology is that different processes apply, depending on what modifiers are present. Modifier H Insertion places H on the first syllable of certain modifiers when the preceding noun is toneless. Triggers are non-universal quantifiers, subject to complex phonological conditioning. Penult Mapping assigns H to the penult before another class of modifiers, including demonstratives, *which*, *another*, and other definitizing modifiers. Inalienable Lowering, applying in N1-N2 concatenations, deletes H in N1, and is related to inalienable possession.

FATIMA HAMLAOUI (ZAS), EMMANUEL-MOSELLY MAKASSO (MinReSI)

Phonetic downstep in Basaa

In the present paper, we discuss 'non-automatic' downstep in Basaa (Bantu A43), i.e. cases in which identical adjacent autosegments appear to be prohibited (see e.g. Hyman 2003 for 'phonological' downstep, i.e. under the influence of delinked L tones). Building upon the evidence for phonological phrasing provided by High Tone Spread (Hamlaoui et al. 2014), we propose that non-automatic downstep is an indicator of phonological recursion, and more specifically that it correlates with the left-edge of embedded phonological phrases. If we are on the right track, Basaa adds to the evidence that prosody is, at least in part, as recursive as syntax (a.o. Ladd 1996, Wagner 2005, Ito & Mester 2010).

(Tone 2 cont'd overleaf)

(Tone 2 cont'd)

PATRICK JONES (Harvard), JAKE FREYER (Brandeis)

Emergent complexity in melodic tone: The case of Kikamba

Recent work on Bantu tone melodies suggests few limits on potential targets for tone assignment. In one extreme case, in Kikamba, a melody reportedly assigns tones to three positions simultaneously. We propose a new analysis of Kikamba which (a) restricts melodies to two target positions and (b) reduces the total inventory of target sites. More generally, we argue that since core properties of melodic tone are often obscured in surface forms due to interactions with language-particular rules, the cross-linguistic comparison of melodic tone should proceed on the basis a (more) underlying level in which these rules are controlled for.

Morphology

Friday afternoon

I. MONICH, M. BAERMAN, O. BOND, B. REMIJSSEN, T. REID (Surrey)

Stem modification in Nuer

The complex system of stem alternations in Nuer reveals cross-categorical parallels in paradigmatic organization. Both verbs and nouns employ two morphophonologically distinct alternation types. Class I involves vowel shortening, diphthongization, and consonantal lenition, while class II involves processes such as vowel raising and addition of breathiness. But the domain of operation of these two classes of alternation differs between verbs and nouns. With verbs, class I is used for inflection (e.g. subject marking), while class II is used for derivation (e.g. benefactive, antipassive). With nouns, class I is used for case and number marking, while class II is restricted to number marking.

KOEN BOSTOEN (Ghent), ROZENN GUÉROIS (SOAS)

From separative to middle/passive polysemy in Cuwabo

Cuwabo has two different verb suffixes to derive a passive verb from an active verb, i.e. *-iw-* and *-uw-*, whose distribution is not phonologically conditioned, unlike in many other Bantu languages. Semantically, *-uw-* is found in more contexts than *-iw-*. It conveys different sub-categories of the middle domain as distinguished by Kemmer (1993), from change in body posture to passive middle (neutro-passive). In this paper, we show that Cuwabo *-uw-* became polysemic, evolving from the intransitive separative suffix (from PB **-uw-*) to a more or less lexicalized extension with different middle values, and from there, to a canonical passive extension competing with the inherited passive *-iw-*.

DORIS PAYNE (Oregon)

From 'give' to antipassive: Lexical and construction-induced semantic change

Known sources for antipassives include reflexives-reciprocals, benefactives, indefinite marking, aspect, nominalizations, lexical verbs 'get', 'make'. Semantic-pragmatic correlates include less-affected PATIENT, imperfective aspect, profiling action rather than an endpoint, non-topical PATIENT or "agent focus" constructions. The Maa (Nilotic) antipassive has apparently developed from the ditransitive root $\text{ísh}\grave{\text{a}}(\text{r})$, with senses ranging from 'give' to 'invite, allow, be.able, so then/next'. 'Be.able' possibly underlies grammaticalization of $\text{-ish}\grave{\text{a}}(\text{r})$ as the antipassive, as it often profiles an AGENT'S 'ability, characteristic action'. This enriches semantic maps underlying antipassive subtypes, from those more centered on PATIENT or aspect properties to those more centered on AGENT properties.

(Morphology cont'd overleaf)

(Morphology cont'd)

SEBASTIAN DOM, GILLES-MAURICE DE SCHRYVER, KOEN BOSTOEN (Ghent)

Tense and aspect in Proto-Kikongo: A formal and semantic reconstruction

In this paper we attempt a reconstruction of the tense/aspect paradigm for Proto-Kikongo. This ancestral language of the Kikongo language group can be seen as an intermediate level between present-day languages and Proto-Bantu. A reconstruction of the domain of TA, for which much uncertainty remains regarding Proto-Bantu markers and their evolution into the present-day variation, is proposed based on fieldwork data and data from historical and modern descriptions. The reconstruction of such intermediate-level proto-languages can aid in understanding the historical processes underlying semantic change, and eventually in reconstructing more accurately the TA paradigm of Proto-Bantu, both formally and semantically.

CONSTANTINE YUKA LENDZEMO (UNIBEN)

On the functional value of the shi- prefix in Lamnso'

Yuka (2008) undertakes a morpho-semantic analysis of verbal extensions in Lamnso'. What Yuka tags "verbal extensions", Amiot and Stosic (2014) label pluractionality. This paper examines the evaluative features of the *shi-* nominal prefix. *shi-* is identified as a polysemous category with varying semantic values. It introduces pragmatic features yet unstudied. When *shi-* combines with the phonological process of reduplication, the limitative interpretation is derived. *shi-* combines with adjectives to introduce scales of the properties denoted by the adjective. Evaluative diminutives across language groups can reveal affixed valued features which constrain the linguistic significance of size and the pragmatics of evaluation.

Syntax 4

Friday afternoon

JOHN GLUCKMAN (UCLA)

Taking time in Logooli

I present and analyze a previously undiscussed infinitival gap construction in Logooli (Bantu, E.41), the Take-TIME Construction (TTC), as in, e.g. *It took Sira a year to learn Logooli*. I draw a parallel between the TTC and other more widely studied infinitival gaps, e.g., Tough-Constructions. I demonstrate how the TTC in Logooli differs from English in allowing a richer argument structure, specifically, both High and Low Applicatives in the main clause. The findings have implications for how infinitival gaps in general are derived, and how intervention is modeled in the syntax and semantics.

CLIFF MOUNTJOY-VENNING, MICHAEL DIERCKS (Pomona)

Raising in Logoori

In Logoori (Luhya, Bantu; Kenya) perception verbs show a pattern known as hyper-raising (Ura 1994), where embedded subjects raise out of tensed embedded clauses to the main-clause subject position. This paper documents raising-to-subject and raising-to-object, as well as raising out of different sorts of embedded clauses (CPs with/without complementizers, and with infinitival complement clauses). We show that hyper-raised subjects are not base generated in the main clause, but involve true raising, by using perceptual source, idiom, and long distance raising diagnostics, offering an analysis that engages the implications for theories of Case and agreement. (Syntax 4 cont'd overleaf)

(Syntax 4 cont'd)

TRAVIS MAJOR (UCLA)

Serial verb constructions in Ibibio

This talk investigates serial verb constructions (SVC) in Ibibio (Niger-Congo: Nigeria). This includes a description of the general properties of Ibibio SVCs (including evidence that they are distinct from covert coordination), as well as additional support for the analysis put forth in Aboh (2009). This analysis suggests that the first verb in an SVC is purely functional and base-generated upstairs (do not assign theta roles), the object is theta-marked by the second verb and subsequently raises above the second verb. Evidence from agreement suggests that after the object raises, it is only able to agree with V1.

PHILIP DUNCAN (Kansas), TRAVIS MAJOR (UCLA), MFON UDOINYANG (Kansas)

Verb and predicate coordination in Ibibio

This talk reports on 'and'-words (e.g., $\text{ny}\lambda\eta$) in Ibibio (Niger-Congo; Nigeria) verbal coordination. Like English and, Ibibio possesses morphologically invariant coordinators linking NPs, PPs, and CPs. However, these cannot coordinate verbs and predicates, unlike and in English. Many African languages distinguish nominal and verbal coordinators (Welmers, 1973:305), but Ibibio showcases this distinction in a unique way. Subject agreement and affinities between $\text{ny}\lambda\eta$ -clauses and SVCs suggest that $\text{ny}\lambda\eta$ is a verb, resembling "and-verbs" in Walman (Brown Dryer, 2008). Closer inspection reveals that $\text{ny}\lambda\eta$ patterns more like an adverb or functional head, expanding our understanding of what constitutes 'and' cross-linguistically.

REGGIE DUAH, OBADELE KAMBON, CLEMENT APPAH (Ghana, Legon)

Serial verb nominalization in Akan: The question of intervening elements

Serial Verb Nominalization in Akan is a dynamic process in which almost any type of finite construction can, at least potentially, be made into a noun. Upon nominalization, various finite characteristics such as Tense, Aspect, Mood and Polarity (TAMP) information, conditional construction markers, etc. may be carried over into the noun form. Depending on what information is carried over, we may look at any given instance of nominalization as being more syntacticity or more lexemey on a continuum. In this paper, we intend to tease out these differences to distinguish where on the continuum any given verb may be.

Workshop 1

Friday afternoon

370 Dwinelle

BONNY SANDS, HILDE GUNNINK (Northern Arizona, Ghent)

Clicks on the fringes of the Kalahari Basin

Clicks are a typical feature of the Kalahari linguistic area but their patterning on the fringes of this area is not so well-known. Clicks have been borrowed into Bantu languages multiple times (e.g. Yeyi, Xhosa, Ndaou), and also lost multiple times (e.g. Fwe, Sowetan Zulu, Old Ngoni). The number of contrastive clicks and the number of lexical items with clicks tends to be low in the Bantu languages of the fringe. Relatively rare linguistic phenomena in the fringe may help define a linguistic area and inform patterns seen in the core.

(Workshop 1 cont'd overleaf)

(Workshop 1 cont'd)

DEREK NURSE (Memorial U, Newfoundland)

The northern Swahili coast as a linguistic area

The community ancestral to today's northern Swahili lived as early as AD800 in the general area of the Lamu Archipelago in northern Kenya. Northern Swahili communities later spread along the coast north to Brava and south to Mombasa. During that period the area from the Tana River up to Brava and inland to the Juba and Sbebele Rivers was also home to various southern Somali communities, thus isomorphic to the early Swahili area. Some of these communities have disappeared, some have moved, some remain in situ. Using mainly loanwords and phonology, this talk will attempt to sketch contacts between Bantu and Cushitic in the area.

GUILLAUME SEGERER (CNRS)

A new, innovation-based classification of the Atlantic languages

Based on data extracted from the RefLex database (www.reflex.cnrs.fr, 700+ African languages, 1 million lexical entries), I propose a new classification of Atlantic languages, a controversial family of languages spoken on the West Coast of Africa, from Senegal to Sierra Leone. The previous classifications of this group have always been made with lexicostatistical methods using very small amounts of data. My colleague Konstantin Pozdniakov and I looked for shared innovations of three kinds, namely phonetic change, lexical replacement and semantic shift, which enabled us to reassess the whole Atlantic family.

TUCKER CHILDS (Portland)

Atlantic and Mande- Where did the word for 'rice' come from?

Languages in long-standing and/or intense contact pose problems for classification and reconstruction. Shared innovations, typological features, and lexical items may not be a result of a common genetic inheritance but rather of that historical contact. This paper addresses such issues in the context of Atlantic and Mande interaction, specifically at the word for 'rice' and other lexical items. The goal is to reach a unified statement about Atlantic's classification. The final assessment, however, may be that it is impossible to do so. A last question asks whether traditional approaches, including their underlying ideologies, are appropriate for areas of prolonged multilingualism and intense language contact.

HANNAH GIBSON, ROZENN GUÉROIS, LUTZ MARTEN (SOAS)

Variation, contact, and convergence in Bantu

This talk presents preliminary findings of the project *Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu: typology, contact and change* which adopts a new approach to the classification of Bantu languages. The project works with morphosyntactic data to explore the interaction between language change and contact within the Bantu family. Following (and extending) previous parametric approaches by e.g. Marten et al. 2007, Marten and van der Wal 2015, Zeller and Ngoboka 2015, the study probes the hypothesis that Bantu languages constitute both a genetic unit and a linguistic area. Parameters pertaining to, amongst others, negation, object marking, relative clauses and inversion constructions, are explored.

Phonology/Morphology

Saturday morning

LUCA IACOPONI (Rutgers)

The strange phonological behavior of the causative suffix in Bemba: An OT analysis

Kula (2002) shows that in Bemba the short causative induces harmony in suffixes and in the last consonant of the root, while the long causative causes palatal harmony only in the affixes, and leaves the last consonant of the root faithful. The harmony is also supposedly blocked by round back vowels. Both the idiosyncratic behavior of the causative, and the apparent case of vowel blocking are theoretically problematic. I argue that the apparent peculiarity of the phenomena is due to the interaction of two basic processes: sibilant harmony and feature affixation.

EMILY MOENG, WILLIAM CARTER (UNC Chapel Hill)

Variable affrication of the ejective fricative in Tigrinya

Previous research has found that some sound changes are led by high-frequency words (Bybee, 2002), others by low-frequency words (Hay et al., 2015), while some have no relation with word frequency (Labov, 2010). Our study attempts to identify how frequency is associated with the affrication of the ejective fricative /s'/ in Tigrinya, an Ethiopic language, by indirectly measuring word frequency with a timed lexical decision task in order to circumvent the lack of resources available for the language. Analyzing closure and laryngealization duration in test word productions, preliminary results suggest that high-frequency words lead this sound change.

ARTO ANTTILA (Stanford), ADAMS BODOMO (Vienna)

Metricaly conditioned segmental alternations in Dagaare

In Dagaare (Gur, Niger-Congo) there is little evidence for stress, but vowel length alternations provide evidence for a word-initial bimoraic foot (Anttila and Bodomo 2009). The foot hypothesis is supported by vowel length alternations in action nominals: if the root is CV, the root lengthens and the suffix shortens; if the root is CVV the suffix shortens; if the root ends in C nothing happens. Vowel lengthening also appears with number and aspect suffixes where it is lexically conditioned. A bimoraic foot explains the alternations in action nominals and provides a rationale for vowel lengthening in number and aspect morphology.

GEORGE AKANLIG-PARE (Ghana)

Labialization in Buli

Labialization is a process through which consonants derive lip rounding nature, usually from adjacent round vowels. Such labialized consonants have been referred to as contextual- labialized consonants, and are phonetic variants of plain consonants. Consonants occurring in onset positions of syllables are more prone to this process than those in coda position. In contrast to these contextual phonetic variants, non-contextual labialized consonants are also attested in languages, which stand in contrastive distribution with plain non-labialized consonants. In this paper, I explain that in addition to contextual labialized consonants, Bùli has a set of non-contextual labialized consonants, which occur in both onset and coda positions of syllables. In onset position, these consonants are phonemic and freely occur in words of different classes. However, in coda position the labial feature occurs only in indefinite nominal forms which belong to the Class IV Noun group of the Noun Class System of Bùli. Following Akinlabi (1996), I treat this labial feature at coda position as a 'featural affix' that performs a morphological function similar to what segmental morphemes do; in this case, it functions as an indefinite marker.

(Phonology/Morphology cont'd overleaf)

(Phonology/Morphology cont'd)

GRATIEN GUALBERT ATINDOGBE, ESTER ASONGANYI (Buea)

Tone melody and tone polarity in Barombi verbs

The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, demonstrate that the first salient characteristic of the tonology of Barombi verbs is tone melody where the melodies H, L, HL or LH show on the lexical verb. Secondly, show that the second salient characteristic is tone polarity in the inflected verbal paradigms. Finally, establish that exceptions to tone polarity in the patterns of verb inflection are strategies of the speakers/language 1) to maintain forms separate, 2) to conserve tonal paradigm uniformity and minimise tonal pattern violation in basic tone class.

Noun Phrases

Saturday morning

AMINA METTOUCHI (EPHE, CNRS)

Annexed and absolute state systems in Berber: Functional attrition and contact

Several Berber languages are characterized by a binary system of inflectional marking on the noun opposing annexed and absolute states. This system is diversely retained across Berber languages: some languages use the annexed state in up to seven different syntactic contexts, while others use it only in two contexts. The aim of this presentation is to conduct a broad comparative study of state systems involving the whole Berber-speaking area, and to hypothesize that contact with Arabic is a major factor in the reduction of the system in the Berber languages that only retain partial use of this opposition.

VIKTORIA APEL (Humboldt)

Simplification and innovation in the noun class system of Serer

The reconstruction of the noun class system of Proto-Serer-Fula (<Atlantic<Niger-Congo) reveals that, compared to the proto-system, present-day Serer has a much more reduced number of classes than its closest contemporary relative. This observation raises the question whether there is also reduction elsewhere in Serer's noun class system, and whether or not the language has developed possibilities to compensate for the loss of information induced by this reduction. In answering these questions I discuss four domains of the Siin dialect of Serer in detail: head noun marking, complexity of class pronouns, cross-reference marking, and switch-reference marking.

KARSTEN LEGERE (Wien)

Adnominals as qualifiers in two north Namibian Bantu languages

The presentation focuses on adnominals ("... elements in a NOUN PHRASE which MODIFY a noun..." Crystal 1994:10) as qualifiers in (Ru-)Kwangali (KG) and (Thi-)Mbukushu (MB). The structure of an adnominal construction is basically N(P) + CO-o-X where N (or its substitute) is the head element (*nomen regens*) the class of which determines the selection of a class-specific concord marker (CO) that links with the connective (associative) morpheme *-a* or *-o* in MB, *-o* in KG. In its turn, the connective is followed by a variety of lexical items (here represented as X) each of which expressing a quality.

(Noun Phrases cont'd overleaf)

(Noun Phrases cont'd)

RONALD SCHAEFER (S. Illinois), FRANCIS EGBOKHARE (Ibadan)

On Emai's nominal modifier linker

We examine Emai (Edoid) allocation of nominal head construct tone and dependent linker *li*. Their occurrence varies with postnominal dependent. *li* and construct tone occur with relative clause or adjective phrase, whereas construct tone alone characterizes demonstrative, quantifier and kindred phrases. Numeral types also vary: collectives induce construct tone and require *li*, ordinals show construct tone with optional *li*, emphatic collectives and distributives exhibit construct tone but constrain *li*, while cardinals reject both. Finally, a size vs quantity adjective contrast (*kéré* 'small'), distinguished by construct tone and linker, reveals that neither a qualitative/quantitative nor collective/distributive parameter alone captures nominal phrase marking.

AGGREY WASIKE (Toronto)

Lubukusu determiner phrases

The syntax of adverbs is an under-researched area in the study of Bantu languages. In this descriptive syntax paper we show that Lubukusu has a rich inventory adverbial modifiers, and provide an initial typology of adverbial positions in Lubukusu. We document a clear distinction between structurally high and structurally low adverbials, suggesting 6 distinct classes of adverbs based on their properties in transitive sentences. We also offer some initial evidence on how these adverbial classes interact with existing areas of documented syntactic patterns in Lubukusu.

Syntax 5

Saturday morning

KEN SAFIR (Rutgers)

Actual clauses in Lubukusu and what they mean for a symmetric theory of clausal complementation

Baker, Safir and Sikuku (2012) (BSS) show that Lubukusu has morphologically specific actual clauses (ACs), which must be complement clauses, but are posited as true in the utterer's world - they have an indexical actuality entailment. Thus ACs cannot describe future events or non-existent ones. BSS treat ACs as a kind of subjunctive, but it is argued instead that ACs are subordinate assertions. The new approach explains why ACs are unacceptable as factive complements, which, unlike assertions, presuppose the addressee takes the proposition to be true. AC complements appear to 'select' compatible predicates, suggesting that the 'selection' relation needs reinterpretation.

AGGREY WASIKE (Toronto), MICHAEL DIERCKS (Pomona)

Lubukusu adverbial syntax

The syntax of adverbs is an under-researched area in the study of Bantu languages. In this descriptive syntax paper we show that Lubukusu has a rich inventory adverbial modifiers, and provide an initial typology of adverbial positions in Lubukusu. We document a clear distinction between structurally high and structurally low adverbials, suggesting 6 distinct classes of adverbs based on their properties in transitive sentences. We also offer some initial evidence on how these adverbial classes interact with existing areas of documented syntactic patterns in Lubukusu.

(Syntax 5 cont'd overleaf)

(Syntax 5 cont'd)

VICKI CARSTENS (S. Illinois), JOCHEN ZELLER (UKZM), LOYISO MLETSHE (Western Cape)

On adverbial *kuphela* ('only') in Xhosa and Zulu

In Xhosa and Zulu, *kuphela*, 'only' has adnominal and adverbial uses. It usually follows the expression that it modifies (see (1)). We show that construal of *kuphela* is constrained by the condition in (2) (cf. Erlewine 2014 a.o.) and by the topography of focus in Nguni clauses.

(1) *U-Sindiswa u-phek-e i-mi-funo kuphela* [Xhosa]

AUG-1a.Sindiswa 1.SM-cook-PST.CJ AUG-4-vegetables only

'Sindiswa only cooked vegetables.'

Licit construals (some variation): only vegetables, only cooked, only cooked vegetables

Illicit construal for all speakers: *only Sindiswa

(2) Only expressions in *kuphela*'s c-command domain can be associated with it.

SEAN ALLISON (CanIL, SIL)

The anaphoric expression of means, manner, and reason in Makary Kotoko

Makary Kotoko (Chadic, Cameroon) makes use of an anaphoric marker *do* to refer back to an entity previously mentioned which is understood to be either the means, manner, or reason for the situation described in the clause in which the anaphoric marker occurs; which of those three notions is to be understood is pragmatically/contextually determined. The paper compares that situation to other Chadic languages, to genetically unrelated languages spoken within the region, as well as to what is found typologically for the anaphoric expression of means, manner and reason.

MOHAMED MWAMZANDI (UNC Chapel Hill)

A corpus based study of Swahili conditional constructions

This paper is a corpus based study of Swahili conditional constructions. Previous works have associated the possibility level of realization of the protasis with the linguistic form of the conditional marker in question. I show that there is no one-to-one mapping between Swahili conditional markers and possibility levels. Statistical and contextual analyses of the results indicate that *ki* and *ikiwa* may be used in conditionals with a high as well as neutral possibility level of realization. The study is extended to include the subjunctives *nge* and *ngali/ngeli* used in conditionals with a low possibility level of realization (hypotheticals) and counterfactuals.

Workshop 2

Saturday morning

370 Dwinelle

LYNELL ZOGBO (Free State)

Central vowels in the Kru language family: Innovation and areal spreading

While Proto-Kru presents a typical +/- ATR 9 vowel system with two harmonic sets (i, e, u, o, + ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɔ) plus a (Marchese, 1979), a subset of Eastern Kru languages (Bakwé, Bete, and Godié) have innovated an entire set of contrastive central vowels: ɯ, ʏ, ə, ʌ (plus a). While Vydrine (2009) suggests such vowels in Eastern Kru and in some southern Mande languages constitute an areal feature of the Ivorian forest region, no scenario for their development has been proposed. This paper explores how central vowels might have emerged in Kru and discusses the likelihood of areal spreading in this particular context.

(Workshop 2 cont'd overleaf)

(Workshop 2 cont'd)

NICHOLAS ROLLE, FLORIAN LIONNET, MATTHEW FAYTAK (UC Berkeley)

The areal distribution of ATR and interior vowels in the Macro-Sudan belt

We investigate the distribution of Advanced Tongue Root harmony (ATR) and interior vowels (e.g. /i ɨ ʉ ə ɔ/) in the languages of West and Central Africa. Although ATR is characterized as a feature of the Macro-Sudan Belt (Casali 2003, 2008, Clements & Rialland 2008, Güldemann 2008), it is often absent or moribund in Central Africa (Boyd 1989, Dimmendaal 2001), where other vowel patterns are prevalent (Thomas et al. 1973). We have constructed a database of African vowel systems, and find a negative correlation between ATR and interior vowels in Central Africa, which we understand as an elaboration along F1 (ATR) vs. elaboration along F2 (interiority).

MICHAEL CAHILL (SIL)

Labial-velars and Africa as a linguistic area

A linguistic area has a) unusual linguistic features which b) arise largely through language contact. Labial-velars have been proposed as one diagnostic to identify Africa's "Sudanic Belt" as a linguistic area. However, labial-velars are not extremely unusual, but occur in at least 12% of the world's languages, including over 60 in the Pacific. Crucially, I estimate that African labial-velars arose from sound change in several dozen languages, from genetic inheritance in several hundred languages, but from language contact in only a few dozen cases. This undermines arguments for including labial-velars as a diagnostic for this linguistic area.

DMITRY IDIATOV, MARK VAN DE VELDE (CNRS)

The lexical frequency of labial-velar stops in northern sub-Saharan Africa and its historical implications

Cross-linguistically, labial-velar stops (LVS) are rather rare, but they are known to be common in the languages of northern sub-Saharan Africa (NSSA). This paper presents the results of a large-scale survey of the lexical frequency of LVS in 336 languages of NSSA. Our primary findings are that (i) within NSSA, we can distinguish two major areas with high lexical frequency of LVS, (ii) LVS are significantly less common in so-called basic vocabulary and more common in the "expressive" parts of the lexicon. The paper also explores the possible implications of these findings with respect to the linguistic mechanisms and historical processes that have brought about the current distribution of LVS in NSSA.

NICO BAIER, HANNAH SANDE, PETER JENKS (UC Berkeley)

The diversity of SAuxOVX in the Macro-Sudan belt

Güldemann (2008) proposes that SAuxOV(X) word order is a diagnostic for a linguistic area covering much of northern Sub-Saharan Africa, the Macro-Sudan Belt. However, superficially SAuxOV word orders across this area are structurally diverse. At the same time, one subset of SAuxOV languages do share the same core clausal structure. This group is clearly distributed in an area which is coextensive with other important syntactic variables. Structurally distinct cases of SAuxOV at the margins lack some of these features. We conclude that typological generalizations which use structural variables lead to more fruitful predictions than those based on word order alone.

Workshop 3

Saturday afternoon

370 Dwinelle

MARK VAN DE VELDE, DMITRY IDIATOV (CNRS-LLACAN)

Stem-initial accent and C-emphasis prosody in north-western Bantu

Stem-initial accent has been identified in a number of NW Bantu languages. Phonetically, stem-initial accent appears to be realised only or mainly through consonant length. In order to evaluate this hypothesis, we recorded questionnaires for seven NW Bantu languages (Bapuku, Basaa, Eton, Fang, Kota, Kwasio, Bagyeli), with a particular focus on different regional varieties of A70 languages. The acoustic analysis of the data confirms the role of consonant lengthening and suggests that it is in origin an utterance-level prosodic phenomenon, which we refer to as C-emphasis prosody.

GEORG ZIEGELMEYER (Vienna)

Areal features in the wider Lake Chad region

In my presentation I will show that Kanuri owes a fair degree of its typological features to contact with Chadic languages. On the one hand Kanuri left its imprint on those Chadic languages which were under direct control of the Kanem-Borno Empire. On the other hand substratum influence and, more recently, intense bilingualism with Hausa may account for many changes in Kanuri. I will focus on features which corroborate historical migrations into the wider Lake Chad region, and which are thought to be essential to the understanding of a linguistic area in north-eastern Nigeria.

SIMONE MAURI (SOAS)

Clause chaining across the Sahara

Clause chaining is a clause-linking strategy which differs from co-ranking structures (in which all verbs have equal rank), since one verb is fully marked whereas the others have reduced TAM marking. Two structural possibilities exist, namely medial-final and initial-consecutive chaining, depending on the position of the fuller verb. Contrary to established literature (cf. Longacre 2007), I demonstrate that initial-consecutive clause chaining is not only found in sub-Saharan languages, but is also common in Berber (Afroasiatic), possibly indicating the presence of areal features. Berber also contributes to typology by showing that clause chaining is orthogonal to the foreground/background distinction in narration.

CHRIS EHRET (UCLA)

Loanword Phonologies and Linguistic Reconstruction

The most powerful demonstration of the validity of any scientific explanation is its ability to systematically account for subsidiary phenomena. A comparative historical reconstruction aims in the first place to lay out in rigorous fashion the regular phonological correspondences among cognate, inherited morphemes, both stem and affixal, in the languages that make up the family. That goes without saying. But, in addition, if that reconstruction is spot on, it will also successfully predict the alternative regular patterns of sound correspondence that are present in morphemes borrowed from one language of the family into another language of the same family. Each such subsystem of regular phonological reflexes identifies the source language of a loanword set, for the simple reason that borrowed words carry over the regular sound changes of their source language (often in somewhat disguised form) into the borrowing language. The existing reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan (Ehret 2001) repeatedly provides just that kind of testimony. It allows us to recover a large number of subsystems of loanword vocabulary from many different languages, each with

its own subsidiary pattern of regular phonological outcomes. The supporting data presented here are drawn from languages of several branches of Nilo-Saharan. The systemic consistency of the loanword phonological outcomes reconfirms the overall validity of the reconstructed segmentary phonology of Nilo-Saharan.

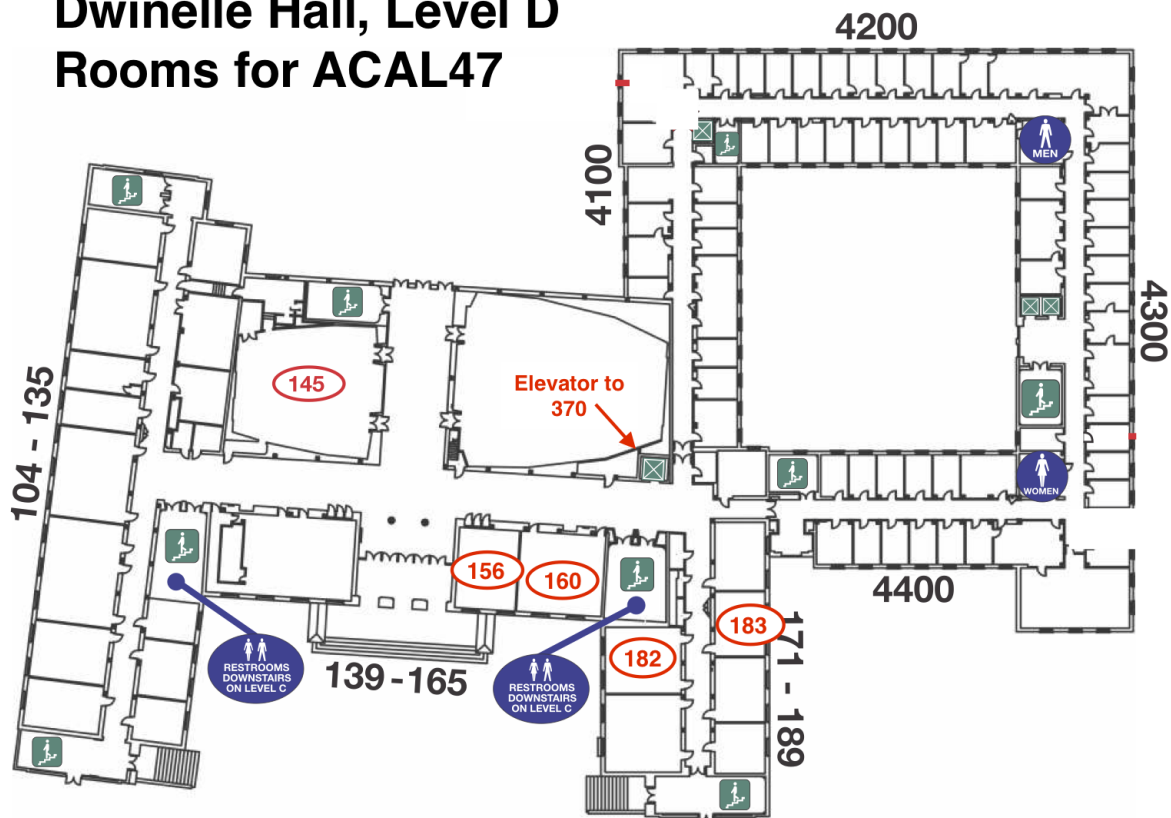
JOHN McWHORTER (Columbia)

Is Radical Analyticity Normal? A Proposal on Niger-Congo

A certain few language groups within Niger-Congo (including languages such as Gbe, Yoruba and Nupe) are nearly devoid of bound inflectional morphology, despite how heavily inflected so many of the family's languages are. It is typically supposed that a language can reach such a radically analytic state either via 1) pidginization and heavy acquisition by adults or 2) grammar-internal change, often conceived of as manifesting a "cycle" of inflection. However, this "cycle" is not an actual tendency cross-linguistically. I will argue that it is more scientifically economical to assume that bound inflection is the natural state of human language and that radical analyticity occurs only as the result of heavy acquisition by adults, and that radical analyticity can therefore be treated as a sign of such acquisition in the past. More specifically I will argue that languages like Gbe, Yoruba and Nupe reached their state as the result of waves of second language acquisition as speakers of an earlier branch of Niger-Congo migrated towards the Bight of Benin.

Conference Venue

Dwinelle Hall, Level D Rooms for ACAL47



Registration

Enter Dwinelle Hall from the main entrance near Sather Gate. You will be in the Level D lobby, where registration will take place.

Room locations

All rooms for the main ACAL conference are located on Level D just off the lobby. Rooms 182 and 183 are to the right and down a hallway just off the lobby, next to room 160.

Workshop

The workshop will take place in **Dwinelle 370** (Level F/G, top floor). To get to Level F/G from the Level D lobby, go right towards the east elevator and take it straight to Level F/G, then turn left and enter 371 (Common Grounds).

ACAL Volunteers and Organizers with name badges are happy to assist you with directions.

Nearby Dining and Attractions

Below are listed restaurants, cafes and bars around campus. There are many more options around Berkeley than what is listed here, and please feel free to ask any of the ACAL Committee for recommendations. In general, the area just to the west of campus around Center Street, Oxford Street and Shattuck Avenue has many options, and is a short walk from Dwinelle.

Restaurants

West of campus (towards BART/downtown)

Saturn Cafe (\$\$; 2175 Allston Way, vegetarian/vegan)
 Cancun (\$\$; 2134 Allston Way)
 Crunch (\$) 2144 Center St)
 Alborz (\$\$; 2142 Center St)
 Bongo Burger (\$) 2154 Center St)
 Sliver Pizzeria (\$) 2132 Center St)
 Gather (\$\$; 2200 Oxford St)
 Long Life Vegi House (\$) 2129 University Ave, vegetarian/vegan)
 Platano Salvadoran Cuisine (\$\$; 2042 University Ave)
 Brazil Cafe (\$) 2161 University Ave, cart with no indoor seating)
 Bobby G's Pizzeria (\$\$; 2072 University Ave)
 Lucky House Thai Cuisine (\$) 2140 University Ave)
 Jayakarta (\$\$; 2026 University Ave)
 Angeline's Louisiana Kitchen (\$\$; 2261 Shattuck Ave)
 Revival Bar + Kitchen (\$\$\$; 2102 Shattuck Ave, dinner only)
 Herbivore (\$\$; 2451 Shattuck Ave, vegetarian/vegan)

South of campus

Thai Noodle 2 (\$) 2426 Telegraph Ave)
 Smart Alec's (\$) 2355 Telegraph Ave)
 Joshu-Ya (\$\$; 2441 Dwight Way)
 Tacos Sinaloa (\$) 2384 Telegraph Ave)
 Thai Basil (\$) 2519 Durant Ave)
 DâYar (\$) 2511 Durant Ave)
 Gypsy's Trattoria Italiano (\$) 2519 Durant Ave)

North of campus

La Val's Pizza (\$) 1834 Euclid Ave)
 Urbann Turbann (\$) 1870 Euclid Ave)
 Celia's Mexican (\$\$; 1841 Euclid Ave, closed Sunday)
 Nefeli Cafe (\$) 1854 Euclid Ave)
 Cheese Board Pizza (\$) 1512 Shattuck Ave, closed Sunday)
 Cha-Ya (\$\$; 1686 Shattuck Ave, vegetarian/vegan)
 Le Petit Cochon (\$\$; 1801 Shattuck Avenue)

Cafes

On campus

Equator Coffee

MLK Student Building (Hours: W, Th 8am-2pm; closed Friday and Saturday)

Free Speech Movement Cafe

Moffitt Undergraduate Library (Hours: W, Th 9am-5pm; closed Friday and Saturday)

West of campus

Starbucks (\$; 2128 Oxford St)

Peet's (\$; 2255 Shattuck Ave)

Yali's Cafe (\$; 1920 Oxford St)

85C Bakery Cafe (\$; 21 Shattuck Ave)

South of campus

Cafe Milano (\$; 252;2 Bancroft Way)

Caffe Strada (\$; 2300 College Ave)

Musical Offering (\$\$; 2430 Bancroft Way, no wifi)

North of campus

Brewed Awakening (\$; 1807 Euclid Ave)

Nefeli Cafe (\$; 1854 Euclid Ave)

Philz Coffee (\$; 1600 Shattuck Ave)

Guerilla Cafe (\$\$; 1620 Shattuck Ave)

Bars

On campus

The Bear's Lair (Lower Sproul Plaza, 2495 Bancroft Way)

West of campus

Jupiter (\$\$; 2181 Shattuck Ave)

Triple Rock Brewery and Alehouse (\$\$; 1920 Shattuck Ave)

Comal (\$\$; 2020 Shattuck Ave)

Tupper & Reed (\$\$; 2271 Shattuck Ave)

Spats (\$\$; 1974 Shattuck Ave)

Eureka (\$\$; 2068 Center St)

South of campus

Freehouse (\$\$; 2700 Bancroft Way, closed Sunday)

Henry's (\$\$; 2600 Durant Ave, in the Durant Hotel)

Pappy's Grill and Sports Bar (\$\$; 2367 Telegraph Ave)

North of campus

Daily Pint (\$\$; 1828 Euclid Ave)

Copy Shops

Krishna Copy: 510-540-5959 Mon-Fri 8-6 Sat 9:30-6 Sun closed

Metro Publishing: 510-644-1999 Mon-Fri 10-6 Sat 11-4 Sun closed

Zee Zee Copy: 510-705-8411 Mon-Fri 8:30-7 Sat 10-6 Sun 10-7

Copy Central: 510-848-8649 Mon-Fri 8-8 Sat 10-6 Sun 10-7

Bookstores

Moe's: 2476 Telegraph Ave

University Press Books: 2430 Bancroft Way

Half Price Books: 2036 Shattuck Ave

