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ABSTRACTS / ТЕЗИСЫ

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Modals and the Impersonal Construction in Amharic

The paper examines modals of possibility and necessity (Palmer 2001) in Amharic. In particular, it will investigate the Amharic verb *t͡ʃalə*. This verb corresponds to the English modal 'can' in its many uses expressing 'ability', 'possibility', and 'permission' (Leslau 1995). Thus, the construction in (1) can be ambiguous expressing possibility or (physical) ability. However, when the verb occurs in the impersonal construction (Malchukov & Siewierska 2011) where the agent argument is cross-referenced by an object/oblique agreement marker, it expresses the meaning of 'possibility' only. Thus, the verb *jɨt͡ʃaləwal* in (2), while marked for the 3rd person masculine subject agreement, the subject of the clause is a pleonastic 'it'. Compared to (3), it would seem that (2) is a rather odd way of saying 'Lemma can drive a car on this road.' However, there is a subtle but important difference in interpretation. In (3) it is simply asserted that the agent ('Lemma') has the capacity to carry out the event. In fact, (3) can have a 'permissive' interpretation, i.e., 'Lemma is permitted to drive a car on this road'. In (2), on the other hand, the focus of the sentence is the extent to which it is possible to drive on that particular road. The paper shows how the availability of this interpretation of the verb may explain the discrepancy between the Amharic and Italian versions of an important treaty (Rubenson 1964).

<u>Examples</u>
(1)   *ləmma   məwaɲɲət   yɨ-t͡ʃɨl-al*
        Lemma   INF.swim   3MS.IMP-can-AUX.3M
        'Lemma can swim.'
(2)   *ləmma   bə-zih   məngəd   məkina   jɨ-t͡ʃal-əw-al*
        Lemma   on-this   road   car   IMP.3M-can-3MO-AUX.IMP
        'It is possible for Lemma to drive a car on this road.'
(3)   *ləmma   bə-zih   məngəd   məkina   jɨ-t͡ʃɨl-al*
        Lemma   on-this   road   car   IMP.3M-can-AUX.IMP
        'Lemma can drive a car on this road.'

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Some Dialectological Aspects of the Fulani Language

Fulani language is spoken in many subsaharan countries. This fact justifies the diversity of the Fulani dialects on the continent. Hence, The Fulani dialectology remains a scientific preoccupation and arises an interest. The talk presents a lexical and grammatical study of some aspects which vary from the Fuuta Tooro Fulani dialect (Senegal and Mauritania) to the Fuuta Jaloo dialect (Republic of Guinea) based on oral and written stories. At this level, it is for instance the case of consonantal change which on the one hand is present in the number change and on the other in the inversion of the subject and the verb which specifies the Fuuta Tooro Fulani dialect. Such feature is not used in Fuuta Jaloo Fulani dialect to a certain extent.

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Ihanzu Demonstrative Pronouns: Morphology and Semantics

The aim of the study is to analyse morphology and semantics of Ihanzu demonstrative pronouns. Ihanzu is a Bantu language spoken in North-Central Tanzania (Singida and Manyara regions) by 26 000 speakers. The data for this study comes from 10 fairy tales collected in Haydom town (Manyara region). The analysis involved transcription and annotation of narratives as well as interviews and elicitation sessions with Ihanzu native speakers. Ihanzu possesses four types of demonstrative pronouns: proximal, medial, distal 1, and distal 2. They all are used as dependent components of a noun phrase. Proximal demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to something that is close to both speaker and hearer. They are formed by noun class prefix reduplication (*ɨmaje yaya* 'these eggs'). Medial demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to something that is not far away from both speaker and hearer. They are formed by noun class prefix reduplication attached to the root *o* (*ɨmaje ayo* 'these eggs'). Distal demonstrative pronouns of subtype 1 are used to refer to something that is far away from both speaker and hearer. They are formed in the same way as medial but are pronounced with the high tone on the root *o* (*ɨmaje ayóó* 'those eggs'). Distal demonstrative pronouns of subtype 2 are used to refer to something that is not visible to both speaker and hearer. They are formed by the root *ng'wanso* and noun class prefix attached to it (*mʉng'wanso mʉgunda* 'on that field'). Besides these special functions medial and distal demonstrative pronouns play metarepresentational and anaphoric functions (to refer to something that was previously said or to introduce something that is about to be mentioned and is supposed to be familiar to the hearer). Moreover, demonstrative pronouns exhibit morphological reduction: omission of the first consonant or glide in the first prefix (*ɨmaje aya* 'these eggs'). This reduction is pragmatically conditioned.

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**Motorcycle Taxi Drivers in Ngaoundéré, Cameroon:
Marginal Actors as Source of Linguistic Innovation?**

The talk presents empirical data from a research project on language use in the multilingual urban context of Ngaoundéré, the capital of the Adamawa province in Northern Cameroon. The focus lies on the town's ubiquitous motorcycle taxi drivers whose multilingual repertoires mirror the whole range of language resources present in the city.

From the perspective of Social Network Analysis, the group of motorcycle taxi drivers is particularly interesting as they regularly interact with a wide range of speakers of different languages and are themselves a highly heterogeneous group. Moreover, their subsumed membership in large and loose-knit open networks lends themselves to an evaluation of 'strong-' versus 'weak-tie' theories discussed in current modellings of language change (Swarup et al. 2011) and linguistic innovation studies (Del Tredici & Fernandez 2018).

In the presentation I analyze structural features of individual motorcycle taxi drivers' positions in their social networks and correlate them with linguistic variables from their usage of the local vehicular language Fulfulde. I contribute to the discussion on the influence of social networks on linguistic behavior and the question of 'typical' characteristics of a linguistic innovator based on empirical data from hitherto widely under-described contexts (Beyer & Schreiber 2017).

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Logophoric Pronouns, Quotatives and Clausal Architecture in Tomo Kan Dogon[1]

The talk considers logophoric pronouns and quotative markers in Tomo Kan (< Dogon < Niger Congo). When used in narrative texts, quotatives mark the direct speech. Unlike in many other Dogon languages, cf. [Culy, Kodio & Togo 1995; Heath 2008; McPherson 2013], Tomo Kan quotative marker is prepositive and not postpositive.

(1) **ká**   *lá*   *l-ɛ̀:*   *gál-lè^n*
     put.PFV-CH   QUOT LOGO   spend.night.PFV-CH   pass-NMLZ
[He said]: 'I am to spend the night here'.
ká   *hàyá*   *kwé*
QUOT   well   OK
[The other man said]: 'OK, good'.

The singular logophoric pronoun is *lá* and the plural is *lé*. They are used if the subject of the clause containing reported speech is co-indexed with the participant whose speech is reported. They can occupy the position of clausal subject and bind reflexives like ordinary subjects (2). Subject can be also a constituent marked by the Locative postposition (3).

(2) *ká*   *[là$_i$* *há$_i$*   *nùmɛ̀^{n}-ì:^{n}*   *cwèlè]*   *húlí*
     QUOT   LOGO REFL   hand-DIM   cut.PFV   tell.PFV
     'He$_i$ told that he$_i$ cut his finger'.
(3) *á:màdù*   *ká*   *[sè:dù$_i$*   *wá* *hà$_i$* *nàʔ^{n}à ɲù:-má]*
     Am.   QUOT   S.L   LOC REFL cow   eat-MOD
     'Amadou told Seydou$_i$ to feed his$_i$ cow.'

My talk is aimed primarily at the description of the phenomenon in question and its most important structural features. First, I will try to define the syntactic status of logophors and Locative subjects and show that they can be generated in positions higher than the subject of the reported speech clause. Second, I will discuss the problem of whether Locative subjects are indeed Locatives or they can be treated as separate entities, as proposed in [Léger 1971].

The data were collected during my fieldwork in Mali and Burkina Faso in 2011–2018.

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Adnominal reason constructions in Gban[2]

Gban, a South Mande language of Côte d'Ivoire, has several grammatical means to encode reason/cause semantics ('because of') adnominally. I am going to present a description of these means, including their morphosyntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features. The study is based on my own field data collected in 2011–2019.

The following means has been attested:

1) The principal marker: the specialized postposition **lɛ̌** 'because of' (cognate with the noun *lɛ̌* 'business, story, talk'), cf. (1)–(2) (seemingly cannot be used to express an inanimate participant of an immediate causal situation; in such cases *kɔ́* is used instead, cf. (4));

2) Less frequent: comitative-instrumental postposition **yɛ́** 'with', cf. (3);

3) Less frequent: locative-possessive postposition **kɔ́** 'at' (cognate with the noun *kɔ́* 'palm, hand'), cf. (4);

4) Construction "**X- á gá lɛ̌**" (lit. "(because) let X not die") expresses positive evaluation of the consequent situation ('**thanks to** X, …'), cf. (5).

(1)   *Gwlɛ̰́   **lɛ̌,**   ù   gɔ̰̀   sɔ̰́ɔ̰́.*
       rain   because   1PL[3]   IPFV\stay   yard:in
       'We're staying at home **because of** the rain'.

(2)   *Ȁ   yɛ̰́kɛ̰́   **lɛ̌,**   ɛ́   yä   gwǐ   gwǐ-ò.*
       him   shame   because   3SG\PST   go\PFV.PREH   flee[INF]   hole-in
       '**Out of** shame, he [Spider] left to hide in a hole'.

(3)   [OK] *Ɛ́   gbɛ̌ɛ́   lɛ̌lì   **yɛ́.***
       3SG\PST   fall[PFV.HOD]   stupid   with
       'He fell down **by** foolishness' (French «par sottise»).

(4)   *Ɛ́   gà   dɨ́ɨ́   **kɔ́**   / [#] **lɛ̌.***
       3SG\PST   die[PFV.HOD]   spear   palm   because[4]
       'He died **of** a spear [during war] [an enemy's spear hit him and he died]'.

(5)   *Sɔ̀kɨ̀   Ø-lè-á   **gá,**   *(**lɛ̌**)   wì=è   yí̋=ɛ̋   yɛ̀!*
       Soku   3SG-FOC-SBJV.NEG   IPFV\die   because   1PL=IPFV\be   water=with   here
       */ Wì=è   yí̋=ɛ̋   yɛ̀,   Sɔ̀kɨ̀   Ø-lè-á   **gá**   *(**lɛ̌**)!*
       1PL=IPFV\be   water=with   here   Soku   3SG-FOC-SBJV.NEG   IPFV\die   because
       'We're alive **thanks to** Soku! [He saved us from grave danger]'.

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[3] Abbreviations: 1/2/3 – first/second/third person, FOC – subject focus marker, FOC_OBJ – object focus particle, HEST – hesternal (past), HOD – hodiernal (past), INF – infinitive, IPFV – imperfective, NEG – negation, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, PREH – pre-hesternal (past), PST – past, SBJV – subjunctive, SG – singular.

[4] **lɛ̌** would be felicitous if the cause were **indirect** — e.g. if he wanted to lean on his spear, but it broke, so an enemy's shot hit him and he died, *because of* his spear that broke.

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Noun Classes in Ring Grassfields Bantu Languages: a Morphosyntactic Analysis

Grassfields Bantu languages have been a major topic in linguistic research especially because of their great diversity. Spoken in the western region of Cameroon, they nevertheless constitute an undeniable linguistic unit, with 60% of lexical similarity (Stallcup 1980). The shortage of data in these languages constitutes a hindrance particularly in the classification of these languages. Although a growing number of descriptions have been provided for the past decades, some of these languages are still undocumented, especially Western Grassfields Bantu languages (henceforth WGB). This subgroup of languages is opposed the Eastern Grassfields group (henceforth EGB), and the main criterion for this subclassification concerns the noun classification (Hyman 1980). For instance, while EGB have only noun class prefixes, suffixes are attested in WGB. However, within the Western Grassfields Bantu group the noun classification is not perfectly consistent. The Ring languages, which are about ten, belong to this group. A few of them have a comprehensive description, and for others there are studies on particular aspects of the language. I have compared the noun classification of four of the Ring languages: Babanki, Babungo, Aghem and Wushi. Interestingly, while Wushi has only suffixes except one class (class 2), the others have mostly prefixes. Also, when examining the genitive phrase or "associative construction", the four languages behave in a quite irregular way. For example, in Aghem and Wushi, the affix often falls from the head noun but appears on the modifier. In Wushi the two nouns in the genitive phrase may even exchange their suffix. By constrast, in Babanki and Babungo the agreement system is more consistent: the head noun keeps its affix and the modifier receives an agreement marker related to the head noun. In this presentation I will first of all present the noun classification of each of the four languages. Then, we will see how these affixes behave in the genitive phrase. I will conclude by showing that the very mobility of the suffixes in Wushi provides evidence that in this language they are actually clitics in the process of change to affixes, while they are genuine affixes in the sister languages. If this is proven, then Wushi must be in an earlier stage of development compared to the rest.

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Phylogeography of the Bantu Expansion

Bantu expansion is among the most important and least understood human migrations. Bantu-speaking populations (240 million people, 500 languages, spanning 9 million km^2 [1]) are the result of a huge migration originating in a homeland near the border of Nigeria and Cameroon between 4,000BP and 5,000BP [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]. Although the homeland and the time depth are well established, the migration route is still unclear.

Recent phylogenetic studies [1, 9, 6, 7, 8] support the late-split [10, 11, 12, 13, 14], which claims that East-Bantu and West-Bantu languages' common ancestor crossed the African Rainforest, splitting after this. It is thought that this crossing was made through the Sangha River Interval (SRI), a N-S savanna opening into the rainforest. However, in dated phylogenies [7], dates don't match consistently: They should have crossed this corridor around 4,000BP, while it was completely open only 2,500BP.

We propose two different hypotheses for competing with the traditional SRI late-split. The first one, a coastal savanna corridor [15]. The second one, an earlier path through the rainforest. We test all three hypotheses with a Bayesian phylogeographic approach based on linguistic trees. We use lexical and geographical data for 400+ Bantu and Bantoid languages, inferring the linguistic and geographic history in parallel, by implementing the break-away model [16] in BEAST2 [17]. We conclude that the way through the rainforest happened around 4,000BP.

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The Grammaticalization of Consecutive and Quotative Markers in Mande: Evidence from Parallel Bible Translations[5]

Southwestern and Southern Mande languages have various instances of fusion between subject pronominals and predicative markers resulting in multiple synchronic series of person-predicative markers (Vydrin 2012, Konoshenko in prep.). This paper investigates the diachronic development of quotative and consecutive person-predicative markers in Guinean and Liberian Kpelle (henceforth GK and LK), the two closely related Southwestern Mande languages. The study is based on parallel Bible translations from English into LK and from French into GK. We also considered certain excerpts from the Bible translated from GK into Mano (Southern Mande), providing further insights into the grammaticalization of these particular markers.

Apparently, in Kpelle, both quotative and consecutive markers appear as a result of the fusion between basic subject markers and a highly polyfunctional verb *kɛ́* 'be, do, say'. Quotative markers are widely used in both GK and LK to introduce direct speech although their distribution in GK is wider. First, in many contexts, where a quotative marker is used in GK, a full predication with the verb *ɓó* 'say' is used in LK, but not vice versa. Moreover, quotative markers have developed the function of complementizers after mental predicates in GK, but not in LK.

Consecutive markers are widely used for non-initial predications in GK, but they occur only occasionally in LK texts, presumably with non-coreferential subjects. A formal difference has been attested as well: while in GK 3SG consecutive markers show a complete fusion between subject markers and the verb, in LK the degree of fusion is less advanced.

In Mano, there is no quotative series, but consecutive markers with the verb *gèē* 'say' are used both before direct speech as well as in complementizer function, wherever quotative series is used in GK. This overlapping distribution suggests that quotative and consecutive functions are related to each other in Mande.

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Non-Verbal Clause Structure in Pular[6]

Non-verbal clauses in Pular, a Guinean variety of Fula language, are a common (Dryer 2007: 224) set of three types of predicates. One is nominal, the other two are locative and adjectival. The presentation aims to demonstrate the difference and similarities in the structure of these three types. As there is no verb, a copula is used instead, however, there is a different copula for a clause with a nominal predicate. Also there is a special pronoun series, which incorporates a copula and can be used in non-verbal clauses. And thirdly, the word order for a non-verbal clause is somewhat different from the usual SVO order. All of these circumstances are discussed in the first part of the presentation, which aims to separate the three types of non-verbal predicates. And the second part of the presentation deals with a so-called *durative* analytical verb aspect, which contains the same type of copula and a stative verb. This aspect shares some other properties with the non-verbal clause, which makes me suggest it to be very closely related to the latter, although containing a verb.

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Language Endangerment: Focus on Southern Nilotic Akie

The process of language endangerment, erosion and ultimately disappearance has been reported in many countries of the Global South. It is well known that social mobility not only in the cities but also in the countryside contributes to a significant change in the ethno-linguistic situation. In both cases, this situation is characterized by increasing ethno-linguistic heterogeneity. As a consequence, especially languages of small ethnic communities hardly have a chance of survival, since they can't be used outside the family. Even family members, mainly the young ones, are reluctant or not competent anymore to speak an ancestral language on top of the language that dominates in public, where supra-ethnic means of communication, represented by languages with significant social prestige are used. In sub-Saharan Africa, these are both African and, increasingly, non-African languages, which have been upgraded by their official status, although linguistic competence of the majority leaves much to be desired. The importance of languages such as Swahili in East and Central Africa or Portuguese in countries such as Angola, Mozambique and other ex-Portuguese countries as a common means of communication is known to be an undeniable fact against the background of ethnic-linguistic heterogeneity. In view of the linguistic situation which has been just sketched the future of small communities and their languages is bleak.

The author has long been engaged in the study of particularly threatened languages. Between 2009 and 2019, as part of a project sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation and together with colleagues, he compiled a comprehensive description of the situation among the Akie (a group of hunters and gatherers in Central Tanzania). Simultaneously the Akie language documentation presents a comprehensive collection of multi-facetted communicative event.

Akie endangerment problems will be discussed based on the attached map. Thus, there are some settlements with an Akie speech community worthy of note in terms of numbers. However, in most settlements the number of speakers of this language is insignificant. There, Akie does no longer play a role in communication with other people. In total, the number of speakers is about 300, but only 50 people can use the Akie in a comprehensive sense with a nuanced grammar and sophisticated vocabulary. In addition, there is the small number of children (limited to about 20 children) to whom the Akie language can be passed on. Only some of the children are still learning their mother tongue, but this kind of inter-generational language transfer is not enough to keep the Akie language alive. In view of this situation, the language is extremely threatened, and the future is questionable.

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Serial Verb Constructions in West Benue-Congo

In this presentation, it will be demonstrated how the taxonomy for serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Kwa proposed by Shluinsky (2017) can be extended to the neighbouring West Benue Congo languages. The most frequent SVCs can be considered either as *take*-SVCs such as Yorùbá *fi*, *dá* and *mú* (cf. Awóbùlúyì 1967, Stahlke 1970, Bamgbos.e 1974: 19–21), Èdó *yá*, *lòó* and *rhié* (cf. Agheyisi 1986: 270, Ogie 2009: 231–234), Ìgbò *jì* and *wè* (cf. Déchaine 1993: 809–812), Nupe *lá* cf. (Madugu 1985: 314–316), Ọkọ *fọ̀*. (Atoyebi 2009: 267–260) and Yatye. *awá* (Idomoid, Stahlke 1970: 61); or they can be considered as *give*-SVCs such as Yorùbá *fún*, *bún* and *ta*, Ìgbò *nyè* (cf. Déchaine 1993: 809–812), Nupe *yà* (Madugu 1985: 304) or Ọkọ *nẹ́*. (Atoyebi 2009: 269,275).

Integrating Shluinsky's (2017) taxonomy in Déchaine's (1993) classification into SVCs which are headed by the first verb (V_1) and into SVC headed by the second verb (V_2), I yield the scheme illustrated below.
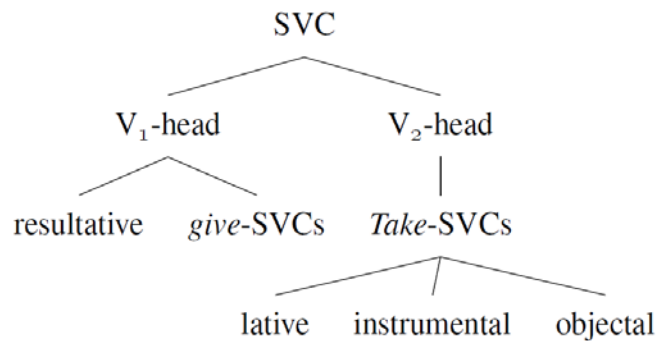
This integrated taxonomy would also account for the behaviour of resultative SVCs, which are another frequent type and which have not yet been considered in Shluinsky's investigation (Collins 1997, Ogie 2009: 235–239).

Following Lefebvre (1991), I assume that SVCs are already formed in the lexicon as complex predicates. In his HPSG analysis for resultatives and particle verbs, Müller (2002: 240–247, 340–354) assumes that there is a lexicon rule that transform simple unergative, unaccusative and transitive verbs into that select predicates with a subject. Likewise, I will show that V_1 headed SVCs are analysed most efficiently in terms of lexical rules that transform the V_1 into predicates that select an additional verb V_2 whose arguments will be shared. This will reflect the fact that all the SVCs discussed are asymmetric and that they even have restrictions for slot designated to the more lexical verbs.

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Central Vowels in the Vowel System of Akebu (Kwa)[7]

The vowel system of Akebu consists of eleven vowels / *i, e, ɪ, ɛ, ɨ, ə, a u, o, ɔ, ʊ* /, which are opposed in height, backness and ±ATR (advanced/retracted tongue root). The third feature divides the front and back vowels into two sets: +ATR (*i, e, u, o*) and -ATR (*ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ*). The survey of the vocalic features underlying the phonemic contrast between two non-low central vowels *ɨ* and *ə* poses a number of difficulties and constitutes the main issue of the report.

Akebu has a rather unusual harmony system based on two features – backness and ATR – and includes two rules:

(a) v → e / _e, i
　　　o / _o, u
　　　ə / _ə, ɨ
　　　a / _a, ɛ, ɔ, ɪ, ʊ
(b) v → i / e, i
　　　u / o, u
　　　ɨ / a, ə, ɨ
　　　ʊ / ɔ, ʊ
　　　ɪ / ɛ, ɪ.

According to the rule (a), *a* is grouped with all the vowels of -ATR set, whereas both non-low central vowels are grouped together basing on the feature of backness exactly like the front and back vowels of +ATR set. According to the rule (b), the front and back vowels form four groups based on the both harmony features, whereas all the central vowels are grouped together. Since *a* seems to be neutral with respect to ATR harmony within a word-form, the rule (b) does not shed light on the nature of the contrast between two non-low central vowels.

In contrast, the acoustic survey that will be presented in the paper reveals that the non-low central vowels form a mid-vowel [ATR] pair: *ɨ* (+ATR) vs. *ə* (-ATR). These results are obtained from the following acoustic characteristics proposed in the literature on acoustic correlates associated with [ATR] differences [Hess 1992; Fulop et al. 1998; Guion et al. 2004; Starwalt 2008]:
(a) the magnitude of the first formant;
(b) the first formant bandwidth;
(c) spectral flatness (the normalized relative intensity of the first to the second formant);
(d) the spectral center of gravity (the measure of the mean of the frequencies of the sound's spectrum over a specific domain).

Data for this paper were collected in the field from six male Akebu speakers, each of whom provided 30 productions (10 words * 3 repetitions) of each vowel that yielded a total of 1980 vowel tokens (30 productions * 11 vowels * 6 speakers).

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**Endangered Languages, Community Empowerment and International Cooperation:
The Case of the Ogiek of Mariashoni**

With the establishment of the first millennium development goals agenda, N-S international cooperation has switched its attention from economic growth to ecology and to the promotion of better living conditions for everybody. The main focus has moved from the market to the people. Thanks to this change, many international agencies (UNESCO), research centers (e.g. the Max Plank Institute, the Volkswagen Foundation…) and Universities all around the world have devoted greater funding to researches on minority peoples, menaced cultures and endangered languages with the aim of preserving and, sometimes, even revitalizing them.

This paper presents a specific project, carried on in the years 2013-2014 among the Ogiek (Nilo-Saharan < Southern < Kalenjin) people of Mariahsoni, funded by the Province of Bolzano, the Italian Ministry of University and Research (University of Trieste) and the NGO Ethnôrema, based in Bolzano, in cooperation with NECOFAKenya (The Network of Ecofarming in Africa). The Ogiek of Mariashoni are semi-nomadic Hunter-gatheres, who live in the region of the Eastern Escarpment of the Mau forest in Kenya. Recently, they have won a juridical controversy against the Kenyan government, which now recognizes them their right to live in their ancestral lands. However, this fact has led to violent riots with neighboring people, which culminated with the death of some members of the community in 2017. The linguistic research carried on in Mariashoni led to the production of the first grammatical sketch and short vocabulary of the language and to the collection of a series of traditional tales, riddles and songs for documentation. The aim of this presentation is to facilitate a debate on the methodologies and approaches to be adopted in this kind of interventions.

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Looma Reason/Cause Markers between Mono- and Polypredicativity

This talk proposes an overview of the means of expressing causal relations in Looma, a South-Western Mande language spoken in Guinea and Liberia. The study draws upon the data of a central Guinean dialect Woi-Bhalaga collected by the author, as well as on the scarce evidence from the grammars of other Guinean [Prost 1967; Wilhoit 1999] and Liberian dialects [Sadler 1949/2006].

One of the most interesting facts about causal constructions in Looma is that there is no clear delineation between the means introducing predicative and nominal reasons. First, postpositions used to introduce a nominal reason can be used as well to introduce a reason expressed by a clause, cf. (1) and (2):

(1) *Àkóy   ké-vè*   [*gòò-y   mà vélé mà*].
    Akoi   3SG.PI\do-RES   1SG.PI\voice-DEF   because.of
    'Akoi did it because of my saying.'

(2) *É   zébé-yá   [é   kálí   wòlá   mì   mà vélé mà*].
    3SG.BASE   be.ill-PRF   3SG.BASE   REF\fish.DEF be.big eat_TR because.of
    'He got sick, since he had eaten too much fish.'

Second, some postpositions of cause, including *mà vélé mà* mentioned above, combined with a causal conjunction *tɔ́zéy*, form complex causal markers. These markers can introduce both a clause and an NP, too:

(3) *É   zébé-yá   [**tɔ́zéy**   é   kálí*
    3SG.BASE   be.ill-PRF   because   3SG.BASE   REF\fish.DEF

*wòlá   mì   **mà vélé mà***].
be.big eat_TR   because.of
'He got sick, since he had eaten too much fish.'

(4) [***Tɔ́zéy**   díé-gí   **mà vélé mà**] gí   yὲ-gὲ   kóyzú.*
    because   REF\heat-DEF   because.of   1PL.BASE   stay-RES   home
    'Because of the heat, we stayed home.'

The talk will address such issues as etymology of different reason/cause markers in Looma, probable grammaticalization paths that could lead to the observed situation, the range of the verbal forms which can be used in causal clause, as well as the status — dependent or independent — of such a clause itself.

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Imperative and Negation: Prohibitive Clauses in Atlantic Languages

This paper investigates into the field of negation of imperative clauses in Atlantic languages (Niger-Congo), and is a contribution to the actual typological trend in linguistics exploring negation cross-linguistically.

Atlantic languages are an under-described group, whose verbal morphology has already been pointed out for its complexity indeed, TAM-systems and negation often combine to propose a large diversity of negative strategies. This talk will focus on the interactions between the imperative mood and negation with the double purpose: the description of the prohibitive structures and their classification from a typological perspective.

Typological studies on negation already established the specificity of prohibitive structures, and the need for further research on it. This study is the first exploring the synchronic variation of imperative and prohibitive structures in details in the Atlantic group. For this purpose, data were collected in the field, but examples also come from previously published grammar.

The structure of the talk is based on a comparative perspective on the prohibitive strategies. The analysis will consider the differences between prohibitive and standard verbal negation in each language, and will also tend to establish the general features of prohibitive clauses in the Atlantic languages.

In the first part of the talk, the prohibitive structures can be analyzed on the basis of the nature of their negative marker, and/or on the basis of their properties as an entire structure.

In the following parts, the structural properties of prohibitive clauses will be defined by confronting their similarities and differences with imperatives clauses on the one hand, and with the standard negation on the other hand.

Following Miestamo's terminology, this study tends to provide a comprehensive synthesis of the different negative strategies involved by prohibitive clauses in Atlantic languages, and make them comparable to further typological studies.

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Hausa Phraseologisms as a Part of Cultural Heritage

The conference presentation deals with various types of multiword expressions (Cowie 1998; Bushnaq 2015) and refers to the recognized types of Hausa phraseological units which include structural patterns and distributional varieties (Newman 2000; Piłaszewicz 1990; Galadanci 1972). The distinguished types of structural phraseologisms, identified at the level of phrase, clause or sentence (Pawlak, in print), are interpreted in terms of culture phenomenon. The role of the distinguished key-words in understanding culture (Wierzbicka 1997) and their culturally motivated functions of creating phrasal (idiomatic) expressions is shown in the examples of lexical components which have a recurrent meaning adapted to the semantics of the referent. They include nouns (*ɗa* 'son', *'ya* 'daughter', *sarki* 'ruler') and verbs (*ci* 'eat', *sha* 'drink'). In phrasal expressions, they undergo semantic derivation and manifest language-specific ways of conceptualization.

Regarding the semantics of phraseological units, special attention is paid to cultural motivation of the connotative meaning which is derived from allusion to cultural reality. Hausa phraseologisms are deeply settled in common experience relating to historical events, customs, beliefs, occupations, they are also founded on shared views of the community concerning the neighbors, foreigners and the way people behave. The expressed meaning is referred to a very specific conceptualization, not reflected in the literal translation. The example to illustrate it are: *ga dama* 'to die' (lit. see right side), *gane gizo* 'understand' (lit. to see the spider), *ina ruwanka* 'what concern is it of yours? (li. where is your water?).

The presentation of the Hausa examples raises the question of equivalents in geographically and culturally distant languages (Chi & Hao 2013; Pawlak 2018) in which lexical equivalents are not noted and the cultural code is hardly recognizable.

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Pronouns with *sɛ́*: Lorophoric Strategy in San-Maka

San Maka (< Eastern Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo) uses a peculiar strategy of coding other person's (reportative) speech, which "deviate from the traditional ideals of 'direct' and 'indirect' speech" (Evans 2012: 66). This strategy deals with the specific use of pronouns combined with the emphatic particle *sɛ́*. The presentation shows that reportative speech constructions which use this particle are, in fact, close to logophoric constructions.

Pronouns in San have no gender distictions, so the reference of the participants may be unclear. For example, in (1), the particle *sɛ́* definitely points to the speaker (the wife), as an object of a supposed fun on the part of her husband.

yáā	*Sɛ́ɛ̃̂*	*tɔ̀ntɔ̀rákɛ̀*	*ń*	*ɔ̄n*	*tɔ́a:*					
then	Sien	youth this	IPF	REFL	exclame.IPF					
mɔ̀	*ɔ̄n*	*bā*	*kɔ̄ǹ*	*bóe*	*ɔ̄n*	*dà*	***à-sɛ́***	*lī*	*wā-ā?*
that	2SG	IPF.NEG	marry	become-IPF	**2SG**	put-PRF	**3SG-EMPH**	near	NEG-Q

'Then the youth from Sien exclaimed: "Won't you marry me and live with me?"' (Platiel 1974: 11)

The reportative speech in San-Maka is characterized by the following type of reference: the reported listener is coded by 2Sg personal pronoun *ɔ̄n (ŋ̄)*, according to internal communicative situation (similar to "direct speech constructions" in European languages); the reported speaker is marked by *à-sɛ́* (3Sg + *sɛ́*) according to external communicative situation (like in "indirect speech constructions").

If *à-sɛ́* were analysed as a combination of the 3Sg pronoun with the emphatic particle *sɛ́*, this coding strategie would have to be regarded as mixed "external-internal".

I argue that pronouns of the 3 person *àsɛ́* (3Sg + *sɛ́*) and *ŋ̀sɛ́ŋ* (3Pl + *sɛ́* + PL) behave as logophoric in reportative contexts and therefore the reportative speech coding in San-Maka should be considered a variant of the logophoric strategy. The pronouns *àsɛ́*, *ŋ̀sɛ́ŋ* are in the process of grammaticalization, dispaying in different contexts features of either a) emphatic pronouns or b) specialized logophoric pronouns.

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Tonosyntax and Rightward Movement in Mombo Relative Clause[8]

Mombo, a Dogon language of Eastern Mali, has two types of relative constructions. In one of them, the head noun accompanied by a number of modifiers occurs to left of the relative clause, which follows the general SXOV word-order pattern. The constituent inside the relative clause coreferential to the external head either remains unexpressed or is expressed by a pronominal. In the second type, the head occurs inside the relative clause. The head of the relative construction, whether it appears inside or outside the relative clause, is marked by a lowtoned melody opposed to its lexical all-high, falling or rising tone melody (depending on the lexical form of the noun). This so-called "tone-dropping" process is common to relative constructions and constructions with modifying adjectives and used extensively in other Dogon languages. In the analysis first presented by (Heath & McPherson 2013) relative clauses and adjectives are treated as tone-dropping controllers targeting the head noun to its left. From this point of view, the occurrence of the head inside the relative with all-low melody is captured as an instance of rightward/downward movement, which happens after the tone-dropping in the upper/lefter position applies. It is assumed that the head is base-generated outside the relative clause in a position to its left, takes the tone dropping and then moves inside the relative clause.

The paper explores Mombo relative constructions providing arguments against the base-generation of the head outside the relative clause and proposes an alternative analysis where the head is first merged inside the relative clause and then copied to an upper/left position to receive the tone-dropping. The occurrence of the head inside the relative clause is understood as an outcome of the higher copy deletion, which is only possible under limited conditions.

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The Adverb in Dabida (Bantu)

Dabida (*kiɗaβiɗa*) is a minority Bantu language (E 74a) spoken is the South East of Kenya by about 300.000 people. The data come from author's work with two Kenyan students in Moscow who are native speakers of Dabida.

The primary adverbs are few but their semantics is extremely varied: *hao* 'where', *toe* 'always', *iɗana* 'now', *tu* 'only'.

Secondary adverbs are the following: 1. Denominal adverbs with the prefix *ki-,* added to the noun: *king'ondi* 'like a sheep' *< ng'ondi* 'sheep'. 2. Composite adverbs originated in word combinations: *andwamweri* 'together' *< andu + amweri* 'place one' (the modern form: *andu kumweri*). 3. Reduplicated adverbs formed from fully reduplicated nouns, adjectives or primary adverbs: *loli* 'truth' *> loliloli* 'really', *mboa* 'quiet' *> mboamboa* 'slowly'. 4. Converted adverbs derived from various class of words; they constitute the most numerous and semantically varied group: *imbiri* 'front' *> imbiri* 'at first', *kutua* 'an end' *> kutua* 'at last', *kima* 'silence' *> kima* 'silently'.

The most productive pattern of the converted adverb derivation is the demonstrative and possessive pronouns in class 16 (locative) that turn into adverbial modifiers: *andu kwapo* 'place mine' *> kwapo* 'at my place, at my home', *andu aja* 'place that' *> aja* 'there'.

Combinations of nouns with the conjunction/ preposition *na* 'and, with' can also serve as adverbial modifiers: *iseghe* 'speed' *> na iseghe* 'quickly', *ndighi* 'force' *> na ndighi* 'very, strongly'.

As a rule, the adverb functions in the sentence as a modifier: *Shimba ikafwa ahoeni* 'Lion died there'. It also can be part of a nominal predicate: *neko aha* 'I-am here'.

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The Noun Inflection Class System of Baga Pukur, an Atlantic Language of Guinea

Baga Pukur is an undescribed language belonging to the Nalu group of the Northern Atlantic branch (Pozdniakov & Segerer 2017), spoken by a few hundred adults in Guinea and no longer passed on to young generations. Baga Pukur is one of the rare Atlantic languages which feature no agreement in class (Pozdniakov & Creissels 2015), so its noun inflection affixes are not correlated to any agreement patterns. Consequently, we cannot speak of a noun class system. However, the existence of relatable noun classes and nominal affixes in other Atlantic languages suggests that the Baga Pukur noun inflection system results from the erosion of an original noun class system. As a consequence of being disconnected from any agreement patterns, the noun inflection affixes system of Baga Pukur seems to have complicated to become one of the most complex of the Atlantic family. This system, which is made of affixes marking singular and plural in all contexts, is hybrid is many ways, e.g.:

- It is composed of prefixes as well as suffixes, very often combined together. Resulting circumfixal class marking is very rare typologically, within the Atlantic family (Creissels 2015) and the Niger-Congo phylum (Creissels 2001). Some classes are also marked by internal vowel alternations.

- Classes are marked by affixes, initial consonant alternations characteristic of the Northern Atlantic branch (Pozdniakov 2015), or combinations thereof.

- There are various prefixes, but practically only one suffixal morpheme, which is suffixed up to three times in a row in some classes and seems to have lexicalized as part of the root of an extensive number of nouns.

- Classes vary in degree of semantic motivation, productivity and number of lexemes and combinations with other classes.

The peculiarities of this system will be described in detail based on first-hand collected data.

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The West-Coastal Bantu Velar Merger and its Evolutions: Genealogical Diagnosticity and Lexical Diffusion

In this paper we examine the evolution of the Proto-Bantu velar stops *g and *k in C(onsonant 1) and C(onsonant) 2 position in one major clade of the Bantu family, i.e. West-Coastal Bantu (WCB) aka West-Western Bantu (Vansina 1995; Bastin et al. 1999; Grollemund et al. 2015; Pacchiarotti et al. 2019). We claim that these Proto-Bantu (PB) stops had already undergone a partial phonemic merger in the most recent common ancestor of WCB through the intervocalic devoicing of *g. Furthermore, we show that: (i) the merged reflex of PB *g and *k underwent subsequent innovations that are diagnostic for the internal classification of WCB; (ii) these later innovations rarely targeted all relevant words in the lexicon of WCB daughter languages; and (iii) the innovation of uvular/velar fricatives could be a contact-induced areal feature, possibly through substrate interference of extinct hunter-gatherers' languages. This research sheds new light on a longstanding problem within Bantu/Niger-Congo historical linguistics, i.e. the so-called "double (consonantal) reflexes". In several northwestern Bantu languages, certain PB consonants have two or more distinct reflexes without any clear phonological conditioning. This problem has been accounted for by two mutually exclusive diachronic explanations: phonemic merger, i.e. Proto-Bantu had more consonantal series than those reconstructed but these merged in most daughter languages, vs. phonemic split, i.e. there was a phonological conditioning for the occurrence of two different consonantal series in PB which was lost in all daughter languages (Janssens 1993). In this paper we argue for the first time for lexical diffusion, i.e. some sound changes are phonetically abrupt but lexically gradual (Wang 1969; Labov 1981; Labov 1994: 421-543; Campbell 1998: 198-200, inter alia), as the most plausible explanation for the multiple unconditioned reflexes of Proto-WCB *k in C2.

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On the Genetic Affiliation of the Fur-Amdang Language Group

One of the main problem zones of language classification on a global scale is the issue of "language isolates". Since the immediate prehistory of these isolates cannot be reconstructed by means of the regular comparative-historical method, this makes the task of proving their genetic links almost impossible, especially if there is also some internal evidence that the isolates in question may have undergone significant phonetic and/or lexical change under the influence of neighboring unrelated languages or unknown substrates.

When it comes to Africa, "isolates" are often understood as languages that have not been allocated to any of his four macrofamilies (e.g. Bangime or Shabo), but even if these macrofamilies themselves were to be accepted uncritically, some of them contain a number of languages or small dialect clusters that seem to be so remote from everything else that even Joseph Greenberg had difficulties in determining their exact position on the genealogical tree. This is a particularly acute problem for the highly dubious "Nilo-Saharan" macrofamily, several of the members of which should actually count as full-fledged "isolates" if the very existence of "Nilo-Saharan" is denied.

One such language is Fur, spoken by more than 700,000 people in Darfur and until recently regarded as lacking any close relatives, though today it has been firmly established that it has at least one very close relative in eastern Chad (Amdang). In my talk, I will outline the main problems that have so far prevented Fur from being properly classified; list the various hypotheses (Greenberg, Bender, Ehret) on its position within the hypothetical "Nilo-Saharan" stock; and, finally, present the newest results of a lexicostatistical survey on Fur-Amdang which may point the way to determining their nearest genetic relatives with a reliable degree of probability.

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Non-verbal and copular clauses in Akebu[9]

The paper deals with non-verbal and copular clauses in Akebu, a Kwa language spoken in Togo. The research is based on our field data of recent years.

Akebu has a variety of strategies non-verbal clause formation. First, there is a number of copular verbs that introduce non-verbal predicates. The copula *là* is used to introduce adjectives, numerals and demonstratives as predicates.

(1)   *ɲì-yā   sā   là   níní*
        person-CL   this   COP1   unquiet
        'This person is unquiet.'

(2)   *mə́   kə̀-kpá-kə́   kə̀-là   wé*
        1SG   CL-shirt-CL   CL-COP1   DEM
        'Here is my shirt.'

The copula *ʈī* (*ʈíí*) is used for introducing nominal predicates.

(3)   *kòfí   ʈíí   tùkáŋtə́-yə́*
        Kofi   COP2   teacher-CL
        'Kofi is a teacher.'

The copula *kpí* (*kpíí*) is used in existential (4) and locational (5a) clauses. Locational clauses can also take verbs of posture (5b).

(4)   *wōʈōkòŋ-yā   kpíí*
        God-CL   COP3
        'God exists.'

(5) a. *ŋ́-kpíí   ʈā   gú-kpə́*
        1SG-COP3   in   room-CL

b.   *ŋ́-tīnī   ʈā   gú-kpə́*
        1SG-sit   in   room-CL
        'I am in the room.'

Second, a non-verbal copular functional word *àyə́ ~ ə́* is used in identificational clauses.

(6)   *mə́   kɛ́ɛ̀-yā   kòʝó   àyə́*
        1SG   friend-CL   Kodjo   DEM.COP
        'Here is my friend Kodjo.'

Third, in a number of constructions non-verbal predicates can be used with no non-zero copular word. This is the case of wh-questions and clauses with a negative focal marker.

(7) *kòɟó   pà?*
     Kodjo   where
     'Where is Kodjo?'
(8) *ŋ̀kə̄   kòɟó*
     'This is not Kodjo.'

Details on all the three strategies will be presented in the paper, and special attention will be paid on the contexts where different strategies can be used.

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Inferential Use of Morphologically Expressed Sentence Focus

This talk will be dedicated to the investigation of a particular type of discourse use of utterances with the Sentence Focus (SF) pragmatic articulation in a number of African languages. SF utterances are characterized by the fact that, semantically, a whole proposition is in focus and syntactically the focus feature includes a finite clause. It is often ignored in the literature that SF utterances can play multiple roles in discourse. The presentational, 'out-of-the blue' utterances, answering the questions 'What a happened?', 'What's new?' are often considered as the main or even the only type of use of SF utterances. Yet, the analysis of natural texts shows that SF utterances are at least as frequently used with the so-called explicative (Sasse 1987; 1996) and the even less known inferential function, studied by (Delahunty 1995; 2001; Bearth 1997; 1999). When a SF utterance is used inferentially, the proposition is focused because it serves as an explanation or to some other state of affairs or as a justification for the preceding utterance. Crucially, it is common for these the inferential-explicative utterances to contain discourse-old information. Inferential SF are therefore important for the study of focus because their existence points out the necessity to make a clear distinction between discourse-new and focused content.

Inferentials and explicative seems to occupy a central role as a type of use of SF in various African languages that mark focus morphologically, but so far little attention has been paid to it in the literature. According to Robert (1993), in Wolof (Atlantic < Niger-Congo), the subject-focus particle *moo*, apart from subject-focus context, is used 'out-of the blue' SF utterances and in the explicative inferentials SF. In Swahili (Bantu < Niger-Congo), the particles *ndiyo* and *sio* are "sentential markers which still show traces of their origin in the constituent focus marking system but function independently of it as operators having in their scope the state-of affairs expressed by the sentence" (Bearth 1999: 264). In Akan (Kwa < Niger-Congo), the focus particle *na* appears in subject focus contexts as well as in the inferential SF context (Bearth 1999: 255). In Tura (Southern Mande < Niger-Congo) the same construction is used in the context of Subject focus and various types of Sentence focus contexts including inferential (Bearth 1992). See also Vanhove (2010) on the "explanatory use" of the focus marker *raʔ* in Yafi' Arabic. Finally, in Kakabe, a Western Mande language, formally the same construction with the focus particle *lè* is use in the 'out-of-the-blue' and in explicative-inferential contexts with the focus on a finite clause as a whole. Based on the available grammaticle discriptions and on the corpus, where possible, I will compare the inferential SF uses across these languages and argue for the necessitity to take into account this type of discourse use in the description of the morphologically expressed focus.

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Ускользающе-долгие гласные: о долготных противопоставлениях в бамана

Давно известно, что в языке бамана (< группа манден < семья манде < нигер-конго) вокалические долготные противопоставления существуют только в неконечных слогах. Специальное исследование этого вопроса позволило внести существенные уточнения и дополнения.

Во-первых, позиция релевантности долготных противопоставлений — это первый слог двусложной стопы (т.е. значимыми оказываются не словесные границы, а к стопным — хотя во многих случаях те и другие совпадают).

Во-вторых, вокалическая долгота оказывается возможной в бамана и в других позициях, однако там она оказывается обусловленной позиционно и, таким образом, фонологически незначимой.

В-третьих, в позиции релевантности (т.е. в неконечном слоге двусложной стопы) вокалическая долгота оказывается не всегда устойчивой. Инструментальное исследование речи пяти носителей бамана (выходцев из разных областей баманаязычного ареала) показало существенные различия:

а) по составу слов, в которых обнаруживается фонологически релевантная долгота;

б) по соотношению долготных характеристик первого и второго слогов в таких стопах, первый слог которых может быть признан долгим (т.е. в «тяжёлых стопах»).

Углублённое инструментальное исследование имеет целью провести более систематическую проверку устойчивости (или неустойчивости) долгих гласных первого слога стопы. Для этого был составлен близкий к исчерпывающему список слов с такими гласными в бамана (всего около 200). Эти слова были записаны в произношении трёх носителей языка бамана; в ближайшее время планируется сделать запись ещё нескольких человек. После этого будет проведён инструментальный анализ, с использованием программы Praat; результаты этого анализа будут представлены в докладе.

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Этнолингвистический словарь С. Балди: 30 лет спустя

Работа С. Балди "A first ethnolinguistic comparison of Arabic loanwords common to Hausa and Swahili" (Napoli, 1988) построена на сопоставлении арабской лексемы и вариантов ее вхождения в языки суахили в хауса. Оба эти языка, типологически и географически далекие, развивались в тесном взаимодействии с арабской и африканскими культурами, адаптировав при этом значительное количество арабской заимствованной лексики. Язык-рецептор не пассивно воспринимает чужое слово, а в той или иной мере подчиняет его своим внутренним закономерностям и включает его в свои внутренние системные отношения.

Последние 30 лет суахили и хауса, являющиеся крупнейшими языками Тропической Африки, стремительно развиваются. Целью нашей работы является выявление изменений, которые произошли за прошедший отрезок времени с заимствованиями из арабского языка, зафиксированными в словаре С. Балди. В докладе будут рассмотрены отношения между прототипом и коррелятивным заимствованием в современных языках суахили и хауса, изменения исконной семантической структуры слова в заимствующем языке или ее консервация с сохранением мотивировочного признака.

Прежде всего, следует отметить, что ряд лексем, приведенных в словаре С. Балди, уже не употребляются в современных языках. Так, слово *ra'asu < rais* 'лидер, президент' в суахили сохранило лишь второе значение 'президент', а в хауса оно уже давно вышло из употребления, и его заменил семантический неологизм *jagora* с производными от него дериватами *jagoranci* 'руководство, лидерство', *jagoranta* 'руководить, возглавлять'.

Некоторые лексемы сузили сферу своего употребления и встречаются в языке лишь в особых стилистических контекстах. Так, *rabba > rabi* 'господь' в суахили используется только в поэтических текстах в значении 'владыка', а в хауса его стилистическая оценка проявляется в составе устойчивых словосочетаний, преимущественно фразеологического характера: *'yan rabbana ka wadata mu* досл. 'дети отец мой ты обеспечь нас' = 'беднейшие страны'.

Другие слова полностью изменили свое значение. Так, слово *siyasa* по С. Балди обозначает 'милосердие', тогда как в суахили и хауса оно уже давно употребляется в значении 'политика'. Слово *shari'a*, согласно словарю С. Балди, обозначает 'закон', в суахили произошло расширение семантического объема этого заимствования за счет добавления близких синонимов типа 'догма, право, норма, юриспруденция, юстиция'. В современном хауса оно используется для обозначения суда как процесса в противоположность заимствованию из английского *kotu* 'суд как учреждение'.

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**Некоторые способы преобразования заимствований и образования новых слов
в лексике африканских языков (на примерах из языков киньяруанда и сомали)**

1. Переразложение, т.е. часть корня становится служебной морфемой, или наоборот, артикль становится частью корня при заимствовании, например: в языке руанда (киньяруанда) слово *igi-tabo* 'книга', происходит от арабского *kitab*, в языке руанда *igi-* является префиксом класса, и множественное число этого слова образуется по правилам данного класса: *ibi-tabo*.(и весь согласовательный ряд по правилам данного класса). В языке сомали при заимствовании из арабского языка артикль стал частью корня: араб. *al-bab* 'дверь', *al-,* определенный артикль в арабском, в сомали стал частью корня, и слово получило сомалийский артикль *-ka*: *albaab-ka* 'дверь'.

2. Образование нового корня путем соединения двух корней и семантического сдвига, например: в языке сомали слова арабского происхождения были вытеснены сомалийскими неологизмами с соответствующими значениями, например: *magaalamadax* 'столица' (букв. Город + голова), *madaxweyne* 'президент' (букв. 'голова + большая'),

Magaalajoogxumo 'хулиганство' (букв. 'город + находиться', 'стоять + плохо'), *wargeys* 'газета' (букв. 'новость + несущий'),

В языке руанда : *amajyambere* 'прогресс' (букв. 'хождения + впереди', префикс данного класса всегда указывает на значение множественности).

В последние годы наблюдаются изменения в языковой политике в Руанде, в связи с чем также меняется отношение к модернизации лексики.

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**Об именной морфологии языков групп леко и йенданг
в контексте современного состояния изучения языков адамауа**

Языки адамауа представляют собой одну из наиболее дискуссионных семей в составе макросемьи нигер-конго, и, в этом контексте, начинают привлекать все больше внимания со стороны лингвистов. Причем, как свидетельствуют материалы первой международной конференции по языкам адамауа, некоторые группы языков адамауа обнаруживают параллели не только между собой, но и с языками гур и бенуэ-конго. В этой связи, именная морфология, играющая важную роль в сравнительно-историческом изучении языков нигер-конго, оказывается важным элементом анализа. Группы леко и йенданг, которые автор изучал в составе петербургской лингвистической экспедиции в провинцию Адамауа в Нигерии, демонстрируют существенно более бедный инвентарь именной морфологии, чем классические системы нигеро-конголезских именных классов, кумулятивно выражающих категории именной классификации и числа. Именно эти категории находятся в центре внимания данного доклада. В докладе представлен материал языков леко и ньонг (группа леко), майя, вака, кугама (вам), крашам (сам), йенданг (группа йенданг), а также ставится вопрос о возможном разграничении рудиментарных и инновационных элементов именной морфологии этих языков. Собраны также сведения о наличии согласовательных парадигм именных категорий. Представленный материал анализируется в контексте типологических особенностей категории числа и класса (рода). Автор попытался собрать все доступные сведения об именной морфологии данных групп, как представленные в литературе и открытых интернет источниках, так и собранные в ходе полевой работы.

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Передача чужой речи в гуро

В докладе будут рассмотрены особенности передачи чужой речи в языке гуро (< южные манде): квотативные маркеры, структурные особенности чужой речи использование местоимений и других дейктических элементов.

Конструкция, вводящая чужую речь, в гуро состоит из следующих элементов, каждый из которых, кроме собственно чужой речи, может быть опущен: глагол речи – адресат + *lɛ* 'для' – квотативный маркер *le(e)* – чужая речь:

Gàlàú	*à*	*fí*	*Jìkíní*	*Bhóɛ̀'nɛ́*	*lɛ*	*lee*
гиена	3SG.NSBJ	говорить\PFV	умный	заяц	для	QUOT

í	*bìè*	*ye*	*í*	*wí*	*an*	*và.*
2SG.OPT	двигаться	и	2SG.OPT	звучать\PFV	1SG	у

'Гиена сказала Зайцу: "Подойди ко мне и поздоровайся со мной!"'

В большинстве случаев в роли глагола речи выступает не глагол, обладающий полной парадигмой, а неизменяемая морфема *le*, которую, по всей видимости, следует считать омонимичным квотативному маркеру неизменяемым глаголом, прошедшим в гуро путь грамматикализации от 'говорить' к комплементайзеру и показателю причины и цели.

Структурные особенности передачи чужой речи в гуро состоят в неравномерном относительно прочих фрагментов текстов распределении некоторых классов слов и конструкций. Например, в устных нарративах междометия встречаются преимущественно в начале чужой речи и могут рассматриваться как дополнительное средство разграничения повествования и речи персонажей.

В гуро, как и в других языках манде, наблюдается относительно редкое грамматическое явление – логофорические местоимения, т.е. местоимения, используемые при глаголах говорения, и обозначающие лицо, чья речь пересказывается. В зависимости от комбинации используемых местоимений, в гуро можно выделить три способа передачи чужой речи: прямой, косвенный и смешанный.

	Говорящий	Адресат
Косвенный	логофорические	3 лицо
Прямой	1 лицо	2 лицо
Смешанный	логофорические	2 лицо

Прямой и смешанный способы передачи чужой речи, в которых используются логофорические местоимения, противопоставлены использованию местоимения 1 лица. В частности, смена типа повествования с логофорического дискурса на 1 лицо часто используется как стилистический приём в поворотных точках сюжета.

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Феномен переключения языковых кодов в африканских литературах

Переключение и смешение языковых кодов (code-switching / mixing) отличает технику письма многих африканских авторов [Bandia 1996]. Феномен переключения языковых кодов в авторском тексте в некоторой степени изучен на материале отдельных литератур народов Африки ([Bandia 1996], [Larsson 2007] и др.), данная проблематика практически не изучена на материале литературы на языке хауса или амхарской литературы.

Подробно описан феномен кодового переключения в творчестве нигерийского писателя Ч.Ачебе. В англоязычных произведениях нигерийского писателя присутствуют пословицы и поговорки народа игбо, пиджин, лексика языка игбо, выражающая специфические для этого народа представления и явления [Larsson 2007]. Хаусанские писатели используют переключение языковых кодов в качестве способа сделать художественный язык более выразительным, повысить его эстетическую ценность с целью сделать произведение более привлекательным, занимательным, тем самым привлечь внимание читательской аудитории.

Цель настоящего исследования – показать переключение языковых кодов как специфическое литературный и социолингвистический прием, используемый африканскими авторами. В докладе рассматриваются функции кодового переключения в литературном тексте, демонстрируется, как авторы, использующие переключение языковых кодов, находят новые стратегии письма.

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Система именных классов и серии местоимений в языке гиньанга[10]

В докладе предлагается описание местоименных серий языка гиньанга (< тано-гуанг < ква, Того). Поскольку язык практически не изучен, все выводы сделаны на основе данных экспедиции в деревню Агбанди (Того, префектура Блитта) в январе-феврале 2019 года и имеют предварительный характер.

В гиньанга представлена система из 7 именных классов, из которых 2 сингулярные, а 5 – плюральные. В одном из сингулярных классов также выделяется два морфологических подкласса, по-видимому, не различающихся согласовательной парадигмой. Классы маркируются именными префиксами. По именному классу различается базовая серия местоимений, выполняющая посессивные и эмфатические функции, а также объектное местоимения 3 лица.

	число	префикс сущ.	базовая серия	объектн. мест. (Агбанди)	объектн. мест. (Дигина)
I	Sg	*ɔ-/o-, e-, Ø-*	*ma/me*	*a (wa/ma) / e (we/me)*	*a (wa/ma) / e (we/me)*
II	Pl	*a-*	*mɔ*	*mɔ*	*mɔ*
III	Pl	*e-*	*mɔ*	*mɔ*	*mɔ / eya*
IVa	Sg	*ga-*	*gɔ*	*gɔ*	*gɔ / eya*
IVб	Sg	*gǝ-*			
V	Pl	*n-*	*ŋma*	*ŋma*	*eya*
VI	Pl	*a-*	*awa*	*awa*	*awa / eya*
VII	Pl	*e-*	*ma*	*eya*	*awa / eya*

Таблица 1. Серии местоимений гиньанга[11].

В посессивном контексте местоимения располагаются слева от вершинной именной группы. Эмфатические (самостоятельные) местоимения используются при топикализации и сочинении. Примеры (1а-б) иллюстрируют использование базовой серии в посессивном, 2 (а-б) – в эмфатическом контексте. Поскольку субъект выражается глагольным префиксом, субъектные местоимения в гиньанга отсутствуют.

(1) а) *ɔ-ci-a*   *ga-tǝ-ma,*   *ma*   *ga-tǝ-ma*
   I-женщина-DEF   IV-дом-DEF, I.POSS   IV-дом-DEF[12]
   'Дом женщины, ее дом.'

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[11] Поскольку тонология гиньанга на данный момент изучена в недостаточной степени, здесь и далее языковой материал приводится без тональной маркировки.
[12] Сокращения: 1, 2, 3 — 1, 2, 3 лицо; I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII — показатели именных классов; DEF — артикль; IPFV — имперфектив; OBJ — объектное местоимение; POSS — показатель посессивности; PFV — перфектив; PL — мн. число; SG — ед. число.

б)   *a-wul*   *ga-tə-ma,*   *mɔ*   *ga-tə-ma*
II-шеф-DEF   IV-дом-DEF, II.POSS   IV-дом-DEF
'Дом шефов, их дом.'

(2) а) *ɔ-ci-a*   *ni,*   *ma*   *ni*
I-женщина-DEF   COP,   I.EMPH   COP
'Это женщина, это она.'

б)   *a-wul*   *ni,*   *mɔ*   *ni*
II-шеф   COP, II.EMPH   COP
'Это шефы, это они.'

Объектные местоимения выступают в синтаксической позиции прямого дополнения.

(3) а) *n-wu*   *ɔ-ci,*   *n-wu*   *e*
1SG.IPFV-видеть   I-женщина,   1SG.IPFV-видеть   I.OBJ
'Я вижу женщину, я ее вижу.'

б)   *n-wu*   *a-ŋan,*   *n-wu*   *mɔ*
1SG.IPFV-видеть   II-человек,   1SG.IPFV-видеть   II.OBJ
'Я вижу людей, я их вижу.'

Объектное местоимение первого сингулярного класса может принимать вид *a/wa/ma* или *e/we/me* в соответствии с правилами гармонии и чередований.

При работе с носителями из двух соседних деревень, Агбанди и Дигина, была обнаружена предположительно диалектная вариативность в выборе местоимений, отраженная в Таблице 1.

Предположительно, информанты из Дигина опираются при выборе местоимения не на формальные критерии (классный префикс существительного), а на семантические (например, одушевленность антецедента).

(4) а) *n-wu*   *e-yɔwɔl,*   *n-wu*   *mɔ*
1SG.IPFV-видеть   VII-тело,   1SG.IPFV-видеть   II/III.OBJ
'Я вижу тела (живые), я их вижу.'

б)   *n-wu*   *e-yɔwɔl,*   *n-wu*   *awa*
1SG.IPFV-видеть   VII-тело,   1SG.IPFV-видеть   VII.OBJ
'Я вижу тела (трупы), я их вижу.'

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Типологический и ареальный аспекты в африканском историческом языкознании

Африканское языкознание представляет исключительное поле для научных исследований, особенно в области типологии и ареальной лингвистики, в первую очередь благодаря чисто формальному аспекту – количеству африканских языков и площади ареалов их распространения. К этому следует добавить еще один важный аспект. По объективным причинам африканские языки достаточно поздно стали объектами описания и научного анализа, при этом подавляющее большинство этих языков были бесписьменными или младописьменными. К тому же языковые ситуации в Африке отличаются высоким уровнем многоязычия и этнического разнообразия, на что накладываются функциональные характеристики, а именно роль импортированных языков на разных уровнях (особенно языков мировых религий христианства и ислама и колониальных администраций), а также процессы формирования собственной устной и письменной языковой нормы в различных условиях.

В условиях сравнительно краткого периода самого существования африканского языкознания наглядно проявляются изменения в методах научного анализа на разных этапах. В частности, большой интерес представляет эволюция удельного веса типологических факторов в рамках сравнительно-исторического языкознания, а именно в области генетической классификации африканских языков. Типология и компаративистика по сути представляют самостоятельные дисциплины в диахроническом языкознании. Однако отсутствие или недостаточный уровень разработки в области установления регулярных фонетических соответствий вынуждает исследователей на начальных этапах опираться на очевидные типологические факторы, ср. определяющую роль категории грамматического рода в ранний период классификации семито-хамитских языков (в хамитской теории К. Майнхофа) и отказ от нее в дальнейшем (в классификации Дж. Гринберга) в семито-хамитской компаративистике. При этом на более позднем этапе следует признать эвристическую ценность типологического подхода (а также метода «массового сравнения» Дж. Гринберга) вопреки их отклонениям от парадигмы стандартной теории сравнительного языкознания, основанной на младограмматической модели с учетом последующей эволюции теории языкознания. Здесь представляется уместным обратиться к многолетней традиции научного проекта «Языки Дальнего Востока, Юго-Восточной Азии и Западной Африки» [LESEWA], где в фокусе внимания исследователей находится типологический аспект, однако, по нашему мнению, здесь следует предполагать и возможные генетические связи между этими языками. Эта гипотеза будет рассматриваться в докладе.

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Отношение к вере через призму паремий суахили

Религиозный фактор в жизни народов настолько важен, что без учета знаний его особенностей сложно представить картину развития и становления культуры. Религиозные ценности, без сомнения, находят яркий отклик в языке каждого народа. Синтез языка и религии возможно обозначить термином «стихия культуры»: «стихия» – от той глубины человеческого, в которую уходят корни языка и религии. «Культура» – потому что в религии и языке коренятся все начала человеческой культуры» [Мечковская 1998: 5]. Тесная взаимосвязь языка и религии отчетливо проявилась и в суахилийской паремиологии.

В отличие от русского языка, в котором значение лексемы «Бог/бог» представлены пятью оттенками значений [Кузнецов 2000: 86], в суахили имеют место два основных лексико-семантических варианта: 1) *Mungu = Muumba*, *Mola*, *Allah*, *Rabii*, *Bwana* этворец всего сущего, вездесущий высший разум, управляющий миром', 2) *mngu* 'материальный образ такого существа' [Kamusi ya karne ya 21 2015: 364]. Отметим при этом, что, хотя имена Бога в коранической традиции представлены целым списком вариаций [Давыдов 2012: 179], в паремиях суахили обнаруживаем лишь единичные упоминания. *Mungu* – единая лексема для наименования божественной сущности в обеих религиях, будь то ислам или христианство.

Во всех контекстах лексема «Бог» сопровождается сакрализованным отношением к обозначаемому: от Бога зависит человеческая жизнь (*Mtu mamaye ni Mungu.* 'Матерью человека является Бог'), он управляет поступками человека (*Aliyeongolewa na Mungu hapoteki.* 'Ведомый Господом не заблудится'), дает ему жизненные блага (*Pato kuu ni la Mungu apaye wawi na wema.* 'Главный доход у человека от Бога, дающего и плохим и хорошим'), человек в любых обстоятельствах испытывает благодарность Богу (*Kupata kuna Mungu, ukikosa shukuru.* 'Если получаешь что-либо, это от Бога, а если нет, [все равно] благодари'). Вера в Бога – это духовная потребность, а не формальный ритуал (*Kumcha Mungu si kilemba.* 'Почитать Бога не значит носить белый тюрбан').

В целом все паремии суахили, которые имеют отношение к религии, можно формально разделить на две большие группы: те, в которых упоминается имя Бога (*Anayeshitaki Mungu kawesha mahakimu.* 'Жалуется Богу тот, кто закончил [плохо свое дело] в суде') и те, где присутствует лишь косвенный отсыл к Творцу (*Ibada ina nguvu kuliko silaha.* 'Вера сильней оружия').

Анализ суахилийских паремий с разнообразными коннотативным содержанием позволит сделать выводы о религиозной и аксиологической картине мира народа суахили, стать на шаг ближе к познанию его национального характера.

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Персидские лексические заимствования в языке суахили

Изучение лексического состава языка позволяет прояснить вопросы его происхождения и развития. Общеизвестно, что в языке суахили содержится значительное количество арабского компонента, главным образом лексики. На основании этого зачастую делается вывод, что арабские мореплаватели привезли на восточное побережье Африки свою религию и язык. В нашей статье речь идёт о персидских заимствованиях в языке суахили. Вопрос этот практически не освещается в научной литературе, за исключением упоминания о наличии персидских слов в суахили. Вероятно, это обусловлено отсутствием специалистов со знанием фарси, которые бы могли пролить свет на этот вопрос. Между тем, персидских слов в суахили достаточно, чтобы говорить о возможном иранском влиянии на жителей Восточной Африки в XVIII-XIX вв., когда возможно ираноязычные гребцы европейских торговых судов привозили сюда Коран и всю сопутствующую исламскую атрибутику и учение.

В нашей работе уделяется внимание как чисто персидской лексике, так и арабской лексике, которая на наш взгляд имеет черты усвоения не арабами, а иранцами (отличия фонетики, семантики). Рассмотрев персидскую лексику, можно сделать предварительный вывод, большинство относится к бытовой тематике: *maidani* 'базарная площадь'; *bandari* 'порт'; *bandi* 'стежок'; *gulabi* – очевидно здесь 'розовый цвет'; *badani* 'тело' и т.д. Что же касается усвоенной иранцами и привезенной в Африку арабской лексики, то заметно упрощение произношения арабских эмфатических согласных, например: maisha '*жизнь*' (приближено к персидскому *maishe*); *masalan* 'например' (то же у *иранцев*); faida 'польза' (у иранцев *faide*) и т.д. С точки зрения стилистики, некоторые арабские слова не используются активно самими арабами, а зато часто встречаются в иранских и тюркских языках, куда также эти слова проникали, например: *mahususi* 'особый, специальный', в то время как сами арабы чаще используют другую однокоренную форму ḫaṣṣ; или слово *makusud(i)* 'цель; намерение' явно имеет источником вхождения в суахили именно персидский язык, только персы используют это страдательное причастие в качестве существительного, а у арабов используется другое слово *hadaf* 'цель' и т.д. Таким образом, открывается перспектива углубленного изучения вопроса иранского влияния на восточноафриканские народы, в частности банту.

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Persian Lexical Borrowings in Swahili

The study of the lexical composition of the language allows us to clarify the issues of the origin and development of a particular language. It is well known that Swahili contains a significant amount of the Arabic vocabulary. Based on this, it is often concluded that Arab sailors brought their religion and language to the East Coast of Africa. In this article, we are

talking about Persian loanwords in Swahili. This issue is practically not covered in the literature, with the exception of mentioning the mere fact of presence of Persian words in Swahili. This is probably due to the lack of specialists with knowledge of Farsi who could shed light on this issue. Meanwhile, there are enough Persian words in Swahili to talk about a possible Persian influence on the inhabitants of East Africa in the 18th-19th centuries, when it was possible that the Persian-speaking rowers of European merchant ships brought here the Holy Quran and all the accompanying Islamic paraphernalia and teachings.

In our work, attention is paid to both purely Persian vocabulary and Arabic vocabulary, which, in our opinion, has the traits of assimilation by non-Arabs, that is, by Iranians (differences between phonetics and semantics). Having examined the Persian vocabulary, we can draw a preliminary conclusion, most of them relate to everyday life topics: *maidani* 'a market square'; *bandari* 'port'; *bandi* 'stitch'; *gulabi* – obviously here is the 'pink color'; *badani* 'body', etc. As for the Arabic vocabulary learned by the Iranians and brought to Africa, the simplification of the pronunciation of Arab emphatic consonants is noticeable, for example: *maisha* 'life' (close to the Persian maishe); *masalan* 'for example' (the same for the Iranians); *faida* 'benefit' (for Iranians *faide*), etc. In terms of stylistics, some Arabic words are not actively used by the Arabs themselves, but they are often found in the Iranian and Turkic languages, where these words also penetrated, for example: *mahususi* 'special', while Arabs themselves use more often it`s root form *ḥaṣṣ*; or the word *makusud(i)* 'goal'; "intention" clearly penetrated through the Persian language to Swahili, only the Persians use this passive participle as a noun, while the Arabs use another word *hadaf* 'goal', etc.

Thus, a remarkable prospect opens up for an in-depth study of the issue of Persian influence on East African peoples, in particular the Bantu, by connecting here both linguists and historians.