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「アフリカ諸語の情報構造と言語形式の類型論的研究第4回研究会
Typological studies of information structures and linguistic forms in Africa」4th meeting

研究会は外部から招いたゲストスピーカーとアジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所に在籍する招へい研究員による2件の研究発表を中心に、4月28日に開催された。海外からの、また、外部からの参加者をえて議論が活発におこなわれた。

2件の研究発表の要旨は以下のとおりである。

Ablaut/Umlaut in Bantu A: the case of Barombi and Bankon

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Abstract

Vowel alternation in verb roots or a complete morphological change in the verb root is not a strange language phenomenon. Some of the well-known morphological features of the verb in Indo-European languages (e.g. Germanic and Romance) are the phenomena of 1) ‘ablaut’ or ‘apophony’, i.e. a vowel change that accompanies a change in grammatical function, also called *gradation*, (e.g.: **i, a, u** in English **sing, sang, sung**; **e, a, u** in German **brechen, brach, gebrochen** or **o, i, ai** in Italian **parlo, parli, parlai**; and 2) ‘umlaut’, a change in a vowel sound caused by partial assimilation especially to a vowel or semivowel occurring in the following syllable, also called *vowel mutation*, (e.g. the change of the vowels **a, o, u** to **ä, ö, ü** respectively due to the presence of a **[i]** or **[j]** in the following syllable in German). This grammatical inflection by alternation of the vowel of the verb root can signal change in tense (present to the past, e.g.: **sing~sang**), change in mood (indicative to past participle, e.g. **sing/sang~sung**). Bantu languages such as Bankon and Barombi (Lombe) also show vocalic alternation in their verb roots:

(1) Root: -**ḃḡḡ**- ‘give’ ([ɔ → o])

Barombi

ḃḡḡ *give!* but ndí-tā-**ḃḡḡ** *let us give!* ḃē-**ḃḡḡ** *you (pl) give!*

Indirect order positive

mē-mì-´-tḡḡḡ-là-m-**ḃḡḡ**

1s-1s-TM-Rt-that-1s-Rt

‘I want to give’

Indirect order negative

mē-ḡ-dá-tḡḡḡ-là-m-**ḃḡḡ**

1s-1s-Neg-Ø-Rt-that-1s-Rt

‘I don’t want to give’

(2) Root: -**fēmb**- ‘jump’ (ε → e)

Barombi

fēmb *jump!* but ndí-tā-**fēmb** *let us jump!* ḃē-ḃě-**fēmb** *you (pl) jump!*

Volitional positive

mē-mì-´-tḡḡḡ-là-m-**fēmb**

1s-1s-TM-Rt-that-1s-Rt

‘I want to jump’

Volitional negative

mē-ḡ-dá-tḡḡḡ-là-m-**fēmb**

1s-1s-Neg-Ø-Rt-that-1s-Rt

‘I don’t want to jump’

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

Focus in Fula: a dialectal approach

Summary

This presentation is committed to the different strategies used by Fula to express focus. The aims of the study are, amongst others, first to find out whether dialects display similar devices for focus constructions or not; and beyond this whether the results of this analysis can tell us about previous divisions of the Fula language in west-east dialect groups. The presentation is structured as follows: as introduction, an overview of the language and its areal diffusion is presented, followed by a short literature review of dialect and focus studies. The discussion on the basic sentence structure precedes the analysis of focus constructions.

Fula belongs to the Niger-Congo phylum and is classified as an Atlantic language of the northern branch. Its most salient typological features are noun class suffixes, verbal extensions as well as an elaborate system of consonant alternation. Fula is widespread in the West African area and covers a vast geographical belt reaching from the western Atlantic coast to the Central African Republic. It is divided in some 6 different dialects, forming a light range of western-eastern disjunctions: western varieties are generally supposed to be represented by Fuuta Jaloo, Fuuta Tooro and Maasina, whereas the Liptaako-Jelgooji complex, Gombe as well as the Adamawa dialects are seen to belong to the eastern varieties. This rather areal based position is partly reflected in some linguistic features, but some others allow different sub-categorizations (Gottschligg1995).

Since Arnott (1974), many scholars have provided descriptions of some dialectal features of the language, amongst others Josh, (1979), Miyamoto (1989, 1993), Leger (1998) Paster, (2005), Gottschligg (1995, 2009) etc. The most recurrent themes in these researches are, in addition to phonological studies (e.g. on consonant alternation), the nominal and verbal morphology, more specifically the noun class system, verbal extensions and flexions as well as particular structures related to the use of complex subject pronouns.

Available dialect studies on focus constructions have been, beside of short descriptions in more general grammars, up to now devoted to single varieties: some cases can be mentioned like Fagerberg-Diallo (1983) on focus constructions in the Fuuta Tooro, Caron and Mohammadou (1997), who presented a comparative study of focus in Hausa and the Adamawa variety of Fula, Diallo and Ermisch (forthcoming) on argument focus in Fuuta Jaloo. Up to now no cross dialectal study on focus constructions in Fula is available.

Before dealing with focus constructions, a short presentation of the declarative sentence and its main features precedes the investigation of focus clauses. This is needed to contrast the properties of the two types of sentences. Main features of the declarative sentence are the mobility of adjuncts, a strict word order of core constituents (SPO) as well as a moderate prosodic prominence in form of a main stress on the predicate.

The analysis of argument focus has shown that, beside of expressing the functions of contrast, it displays also formal devices like left dislocation, focus marker, prosodic prominence and morphological changes. The study shows furthermore that dialects don not significantly differ according to most of these formal strategies; syntactic and prosodic features are generally shared throughout by all varieties. The main difference appears in the incorporation of lexical devices as focus marker. Most of the dialects use a monosyllabic particle which precedes the focus constituent. This particle is realized as *ko* in Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro, *•um* in Gombe, Adamawa and to some extent in Maasina. In Jelgooji and Liptaako *wo* or *yo* are the most common particles (Gottschligg 1992). The variety of Gaawoore, described by Alhassoumi-Sow (2003), doesn't seem to employ any focus marker. In Maasina three sorts of focus markers occur: *•um*, *yo* and *wo*. But the use of a lexical particle is not uniformly displayed by all dialects. Some employ it regularly, others not. Whereas the use of a focus marker is compulsory in Fuuta Jaloo, it appears to be optional in all other varieties.

In conclusion, the study shows that (i) Fula varieties share most of the formal strategies used to express focus, except the use of a focus marker. According to the nature of this particle (ii) dialects can be divided in three areas: a *ko*-dominant area in the westernmost region (Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro), using *ko* as focus marker, a *•um*-dominant area in the easternmost region (Gombe and Adamawa) and a central area using different particles as focus marker: *ko*, *•um*, *wo* in Maasina, or *wo*, *yo* in the Jelgooji-Liptaako complex spoken in Burkina Faso.

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