1) 著作権保護のための表示

当報告の内容は、それぞれの著者の著作物です。

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2) 研究会基本情報

タイトル：「バントゥを縦にみる：言語記述と類型論への通時的視点の導入 (jrp000292)」
（2024 年度第 2 回研究会）

日時：2024 年 8 月 15 日（木）午前 9 時より午後 0 時

場所：Dar es Salaam University College of Education

1. Makoto Furumoto (ILCAA)

Introduction

2. Lutz Marten (SOAS), Hannah Gibson (Essex), and Rozenn Guérois (CNRS-LLACAN)

'Approaching morphosyntactic variation through (surface) parameters'

3. Daisuke Shinagawa (ILCAA), Nobuko Yoneda (Osaka), and Yuko Abe (Lanzhou)

'Five years from the ILCAA Bantu-MV project: a critical review and a future perspective'

4. Rasmus Bernander (Gothenburg)

'Grammatical reconstruction as a tool for field work and language description of Bantu languages'

5. All participants

Discussion

　本研究課題の 2024 年度第 2 回研究会は、上記日時において 11 名（プロジェクト外の研究者 3 名を含む）の参加者を集めて Dar es Salaam University College of Education で開催された。今回の参加者の大半は、日本国外に拠点を置いており、第 1 回の研究会には出席していない。そのため、最初の発表では、第 1 回と同様、プロジェクトの背景と展望が共有された。二つ目の発表では、パラメター駆動型類型論をテーマとした SOAS の過去のプロジェクトの概要について説明された。この発表では、バントゥ諸語間にみられる形態統語的特徴に関するバリエーションの把握のために提案されたほかのアプローチと、パラメター駆動型アプローチの関連についても言及があった。三つ目の発表では、SOAS プロジェクトで提示された 142 のパラメターにもとづき記述資料を提供した過去の AA 研共共課題の成果が紹介された。最後の発表では、フィールドワークや記述的分析、バリエーションの把握における通時的視点の有効性が示された。それぞれの発表については次ページ以降の資料も参照されたい。

　全体討論では、プロジェクトに関連した研究の進捗を共有するため、研究会をより頻繁に開催すべきという同意が参加者間で形成された。こうした形でプロジェクトを展開することで、最終成果物として計画されている論文集に、多くのメンバーから実質的な貢献が得られることが見込まれる。

<div align="right">文責：古本真</div>

Introduction

Makoto Furumoto
m.furumoto@tufs.ac.jp

ILCAA Joint Research Project
Diachronic Perspectives on Language Description and Typology in Bantu
(jrp000292): The 2nd meeting
15 August, 2024

1

Background of the project

"ILCAA Joint Research Projects, conducted by the staff members of the Institute and external researchers, constitute the core of research activities at ILCAA as an international research center.

Applications for the Joint Research Projects are publicly invited and are selected by the Advisory Committee for Research Collaboration including external researchers. The Committee annually evaluates projects' activities, their output, publications of the results, and their overall academic significance.

Research results of Joint Research Projects include about 700 publications and on-line dictionaries and databases available for use by any researchers and the general public." http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/en/projects/jrp

2

Background of the project

- Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (1), 2016-2019 (PI: Yuko Abe)
- Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2), 2019-2021 (PI: Yuko Abe)
- JSPS Bilateral program (JSPS-FWO) "The Past and Present of Bantu Languages: Integrating Micro-Typology, Historical-Comparative Linguistics and Lexicography" (PI: Koen Bostoen, Daisuke Shinagawa)

SOAS
University of London

The Leverhulme Trust

Parameters of Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation

Draft Master List

Guérois, Rozenn, Hannah Gibson, Francisca Everduim-McNeill, and Lutz Marten. 2017. Parameters of Bantu morphosyntactic variation: Draft master list. Alpha version, last amended 28 Dec 2017. Leverhulme Project 'Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu: Typology, contact and change'. SOAS, University of London. (Financial support from the Leverhulme Trust for research grant RPG-2014-208 is hereby gratefully acknowledged.)

1   Nouns and pronouns

1.   Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?
     null   unknown
     no   there is no augment in the language
     1   V shape only
     2   V and CV shape
     3   the augment is expressed only tonally

3

Purposes of the project

1. Maintaining and developing international collaborative relationships

2. Maintaining the community of Bantuists based in Japan

3. Furthering descriptive study of Bantu languages and contributing to a better understanding of Bantu typology

   This project focuses on language description and typology in Bantu! (rather than historical linguistics)

4

Diachronic perspectives as an organising tool

- In language descriptions, we have to choose what to focus on and how to present the data
- Hypotheses about language change have the potential to provide guidance for the choice
- They can also be a tool for capturing cross-linguistic variation
  (see also Van de Velde, M. L. O. 2023. 'Alternatives for reductionist approaches to comparative Bantu grammar' *Linguistique et langues africaines* [Online], 9(1).)

5

Various uses of *-wa* 'be' in (Ki)Makunduchi

(1) Makunduchi (G43c) (data from author's on-site research)
a. **ka-Ø-wa** kiambo-ni vao
   SM1-PFV-be village-16.LOC their.16
   'He is in their village'. **(location)**

b. ha-m-ngliki kumbe **ka-Ø-wa** macho
   NEG-SM2PL-enter.NEU FIL SM1-PFV-be awake
   'You can't get in, he (the circumcisor) is awake'. **(state)**

c. **ka-Ø-wa** mwalimu
   SM1-PFV-be 1.teacher
   'S/he is a teacher'. **(attribution)**

d. si-ja-ku-tambua weye **ku-Ø-wa** nani
   NEG.SM1SG-PRF-OM2SG-understand PRO.2SG SM2SG-PFV-be who
   'I still don't know who you are'. **(identity)**

Makunduchi

Overview of the use of Makunduchi *-wa*

- In the Makunduchi dialect of Swahili, *-wa* is mandatorily used in the predication of a location and a state, but its use is optional in the predication of an attribution and an identity
- It can co-occur with any subject noun phrases when used in the predication of a location, a state and an attribution, but the identificational use is limited to the 1st and 2nd person singular subject
- The number of 'adverbial adjectives' (e.g. *macho* 'awake', *uchi* 'naked'), which are used to express a state, is limited, and they are likely to have emerged recently, considering their etymology (viz. derivation, borrowing)

Describing and explaining the use of Makunduchi *-wa*

- Its default/original use appears to be the predication of a location, and it appears to have acquired other uses secondarily, along with the cross-linguistic tendency (Faverey et al. 1976; Devitt 1990; Hengeveld 1992; Heine & Kuteva 2002)
- According to this view,
  - The use of *-wa* in Makunduchi can be presented in the following order: location, state, attribution, and identify (Furumoto 2015; 2022)
  - The optional use of *-wa* and restriction for person can be interpreted as indication of language change

Proposed Expansion of the Functional Range of *-wa*

| Location | Location State | Location State Attribution | Location, State Attribution Identification |

Makunduchi 8

How about other Bantu languages?

- Cognates of Swahili -*wa*/reflexes of Proto-Bantu (PB) *-bá 'be, become' are widely observed across Bantu (Guthrie 1970; Rose et al. 2002)
- Parallel functional change can occur across languages
  (as Grammaticalisation Theory assumes, e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2002; Hopper & Traugott 2003)
- **If the hypothesis about the functional expansion of -*wa* in Makunduchi is appropriate, then there must be a language that can be positioned at a stage before or after Makunduchi**

Proposed Expansion of the Functional Range of *-bá derived verbs:

| Location | Location State | Location State Attribution | Location, State Attribution Identification |

Makunduchi

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Functional variation of reflexes of Proto-Bantu *-bá

- The use of reflexes of PB *-bá in a present tense context is not so common but is possible in several Eastern Bantu languages
- There is functional variation across these languages, as the hypothesis predicts:

Location	**Maore** (Rombi 1983), **Matengo*** (Yoneda 2000), **Makonde** (Kraal 2005)
Location, State	**Makwe** (Devos 2008), **Tumbatu** (Furumoto 2022)
Location, State, Attribution	**Ndengeleko** (Ström 2013)
Location, State, Attribution, Identification	**Manda** (Bernander 2017)

- **It is likely that reflexes of PB *-bá, which originally function as locative predicates, tend to undergo parallel changes, whereby they acquire non-locative copular uses secondarily**

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Potential of theoretical considerations of language change

- The hypothesis about the functional expansion of reflexes of PB *-bá was confirmed by investigation of written grammars as well as by field research
- The investigation focused on the following points:
  - The form of the locative predicate
  - Other uses of the locative predicate (state, attribution, identity)
  - The restriction for person
  - The presence of a class of adverbial adjectives (e.g. *tayari*, *wazi*, *hai*, *macho* in Swahili)
- It may be possible to describe other Bantu languages with a focus on these points
- Theoretical considerations of language change can provide useful insights into language description and typology in Bantu

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Relevance with parameter-driven typology

- By setting parameters:
  - revealing a high degree of morphosyntactic micro-variation between Bantu languages, which are typically believed to be fairly homogeneous
  - uncover typological correlations which would otherwise not be obvious (Marten et al 2007, Marten p.c.)
- By refining theoretical considerations of language change, hypotheses/predictions behind parameters may become more appropriate, explicit, and testable

SOAS University of London / The Leverhulme Trust

Parameters of Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation
Draft Master List

Guérois, Rozenn, Hannah Gibson, Francisca Everduim-McNeill, and Lutz Marten. 2017. Parameters of Bantu morphosyntactic variation: Draft master list. Alpha version, last amended 28 Dec 2017. Leverhulme Project 'Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu: Typology, contact and change'. SOAS, University of London. (Financial support from the Leverhulme Trust for research grant RPG-2014-208 is hereby gratefully acknowledged.)

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Relevance with historical linguistic study

- For language description and typology, diachronic perspectives are a organising tool
- Descriptive and typological observations can be evidence to reveal languages changes that Bantu languages have undergone
- This project aims to update the methodology of language description and family internal typology but also has the potential to contribute to historical linguistic study

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Proposed plan of the project

2024

- Sharing the background, the objective, and prospect of the project
- Reviewing the current trend and previous studies regarding language description, typology, and language change in Bantu
  （e.g. Devos, M & J. van der Auwera. 2013. 'Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation'. *JALL* 34(2). 205-274.）

2025, 2026

- Proposing and discussing new hypotheses regarding language change
- International workshops at ILCAA and the 11th International Conference on Bantu Languages
- Publication (including hypotheses and descriptive data)

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Any involvement is welcome!

- It is nice if you will present new hypotheses as I have suggested
- However, only providing data/or criticisms for others' proposal is also welcome

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Slide 1

Five years from (the beginning of the phase-2 of)
the ILCAA Bantu-MV project:
A critical review and a future perspective

Daisuke Shinagawa (ILCAA), Nobuko Yoneda (Osaka), Yuko Abe (Lanzhou)

2024-08-15@DUCE
The 2nd meeting of the joint research project 'Diachronic Perspective on Language Documentation and Typology in Bantu (Bantu DiP)'

1

Slide 2

The ILCAA Bantu-MV project: aims and perspectives

ILCAA Joint Research Project
Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2) (jrp000248)

About the Project

Project term: April, 2019–March, 2022

This project aims to study microvariation, that is, the internal typology of Bantu languages. The preceding project (phase 1) produced a database from 142 comprehensive parameters for Bantu typology as research outputs. On the grounds of the database, this project investigates further typologies to deepen the individual research topics, such as "Topicalization," "Negation," and "Tones" and examines co-variations among parameters. The research outputs of the study will be presented to the communities of both Bantu studies and general typology in and outside of Japan.

Yuko ABE, Project Coordinator (Professor, Lanzhou University)

Members

Coordinator
Yuko ABE (Lanzhou University)

ILCAA Staff
Daisuke SHINAGAWA

Joint Researchers
Maya ABE, Koen BOSTOEN, Makoto FURUMOTO, Hannah GIBSON, Rozenn GUÉROIS, Masaaki KADOYA, Shigeki KAJI, Tosirou KAMIYA, Junko KOMORI, Seunghun LEE, Yuka MAKINO, Lutz MARTEN, Yukiko MORIMOTO, Motomichi WAKASA, Nobuko YONEDA

Keywords
Typology | Bantu | Topicalization | Negation | Tone

Areas
Sub-Saharan Africa | East Africa | Southern Africa

Website
--

- Microvariation (MV) as a cross-Bantu/ intra-genetic typology.
- Phase-1 aims to produce a dataset collected through field research on numerous East Bantu lgs based on the 142 comprehensive parameters (Guérois *et al.* 2017) to make a substantial contribution to BMV database (Marten *et al.* 2018).
- Phase-2 aims for further investigation about a set of specific research objectives, such as "Topic," "Negation," and "Tones" etc. to deepen our typological knowledge about them.
- It also examines co-variations among these and other parameters.

2

Slide 3

Achievements: Phase-1 (AY 2016-2018)

- Descriptive materials from 12 East Bantu languages were published from ILCAA as a from of a data material[2]

P020

[2] Shinagawa, D. & Y. Abe (eds.) 2019. *Descriptive materials of morphosyntactic microvariation in Bantu*, Tokyo: ILCAA

3

Slide 4

Achievements: Phase-1 (AY 2016-2018)

Single Parameter Report

[Close] [Download] [Map]

Language set: ALL: All languages
Parameter: P020: Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)
Values:

0	no: no distinction	0 languages
1	1: yes, there is a two-way distinction	3 languages
2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction	27 languages
3	3: yes, there is a four-way distinction	13 languages
4	4 yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction	5 languages

Language	Name	Value	Description
A50	Bafia	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
A601	Tuki	1	1: yes, there is a two-way distinction
A71	Eton	3	3: yes, there is a four-way distinction
B865	Nzadi	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
C61	Mongo	3	3: yes, there is a four-way distinction
E35	Nyole	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
E51	Gikuyu	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
E622d	Uru	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
E623	Rombo	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
E73	Digo	3	3: yes, there is a four-way distinction
F12	Bende	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
F33	Rangi	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G22	Chasu	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G221KK	Mbugu KK	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G221KN	Mbugu KN	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G42-Ash	Swahili (Ashton)	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G42_L	Swahili Lutz	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G42_Old	Old Swahili	3	3: yes, there is a four-way distinction
G43c	Makunduchi	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
G52	Chindamba	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
GFI-BAB	Grassfields_Babanki	1	1: yes, there is a two-way distinction
H16a-1	Kisikongo	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
H16a-2	Kikongo Kisolongo	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
H21	Kimbundu	2	2: yes, there is a three-way distinction

Parameter distribution [Close] [Toggle Labels] [Toggle Key]
P020: Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

Language set: ALL: All languages

- no: no distinction
- 1: yes, there is a two-way distinction
- 2: yes, there is a three-way distinction
- 3: yes, there is a four-way distinction
- 4: yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction

- Descriptive materials from 12 East Bantu languages were published from ILCAA as a from of a data material[2]
- Most of the members contributed their descriptive data about the languages they work on to the 'Bantu morphosyntactic variation database' (BMV; Marten et al. 2018)[1]

[1] Marten, L., P. Edelsten, H. Gibson & R. Guérois. 2018. Bantu Morphological Variation Database. Online database hosted at SOAS, University of London. (Available online at bantu.soas.ac.uk)

4

Achievements: Phase-1 (AY 2016-2018)

– Most of the members contribute their descriptive data about the languages they work on to the 'Bantu morphosyntactic variation database' (BMV; Marten et al. 2018)[1]

– Descriptive materials from 12 East Bantu languages were published from ILCAA as a from of a data material[2]

– Through various occasions, including the data collection workshop held at ILCAA in March 2018, the project enhanced a collaborative research network of Bantuist colleagues around the world.

5

Achievements: Phase-2 (AY 2019-2021)

– In phase-2, the project set up the three main research objectives based on the data collected through phase-1, namely

i) topic, ii) tone, and iii) focus marking strategies.

Yoneda (2021) [1], Yoneda (2024) [2], Morimoto & Yoneda (to appear) [3] = Based on the data collected by project members

Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu
Edited by **Eva-Marie Bloom Ström, Hannah Gibson, Rozenn Guérois,** and **Lutz Marten**

Overview
Description
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Author Information

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2:Comparative analysis of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu languages: Parameters, data representation, and database design, *Peter Edelsten, Rozenn Guérois, and Lutz Marten*
3:Micro-variation of noun-modifying constructions in Bantu languages, *Nobuko Yoneda*

https://global.oup.com/academic/product/morphosyntactic-variation-in-bantu-9780198821359?cc=gr&lang=en&#

6

Achievements: Phase-2 (AY 2019-2021)

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Created (a framework of) an online database on cross-Bantu tonal typology based on Kaji (2021)[4] = Resource creation in collaboration with another project on African lgs.

MVTONE — Features Languages About this website

Bantu tonal microvariation database
An online database on the typological variation of tonal phenomena in Bantu languages

This website is created as part of the research output of the joint research project 'Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2)' (2019–2021) hosted at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and is financially supported by the research project 'Establishment of a Research Network for Exploring the Linguistic Diversity and Linguistic Dynamism in Africa (ReNeLDA)' (2018–2021) within a framework of the Core-to-Core Program: B. Asia-Africa Science Platforms granted by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2)
Establishment of a Research Network for Exploring the Linguistic Diversity and Linguistic Dynamism in Africa (ReNeLDA)

https://bantu-mv-tone.aa-ken.jp/

7

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#09(1)

LLA, N° 9(1) - 2023
Numéro spécial : Bantu universals and variation

ARTICLES   NOTES & DOCUMENTS   COMPTES RENDUS

LLA
Linguistique
of Langage
Africaines

• Zhen Li, Allen Asiimwe, Patrick Kanampiu, Elisabeth J. Kerr, Ernest Nshemezimana et Jenneke van der Wal,
• Rasmus Bernander, Maud Devos et Hannah Gibson, Bantu negative verbs: a typological-comparative investigati distribution
• Elisabeth J. Kerr, Allen Asiimwe, Patrick Kanampiu, Zhen Li, Ernest Nshemezimana et Jenneke van der Wal, discourse and syntactic relations
• Rodrigo Lazaresko Madrid, Transitivity in Bantu: Event-oriented constructions
• Justine Mukhwana Sikuku, Joseph Wanyonyi Mulalu et Ken Safir, The typology of actual clauses in Eastern Bar
• Daisuke Shinagawa et Lutz Marten, A micro-parametric survey on typological covariation related to focus markii Morphosyntactic Variation database
• Andre Batchelder-Schwab, Truncation, affection, and pain in Southern Bantu
• Mark L. O. Van de Velde, Alternatives for reductionist approaches to comparative Bantu grammar

Shinagawa & Marten (2021a) [5], Shinagawa & Marten (2021b) [6], = (one of the first?) extensive discussions on parameter covariation based on BMV
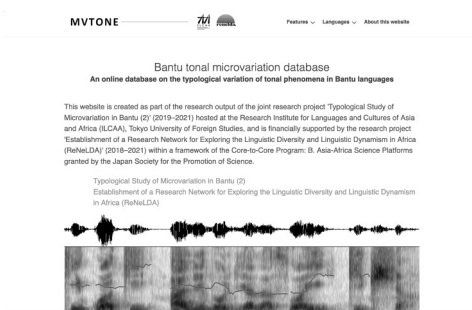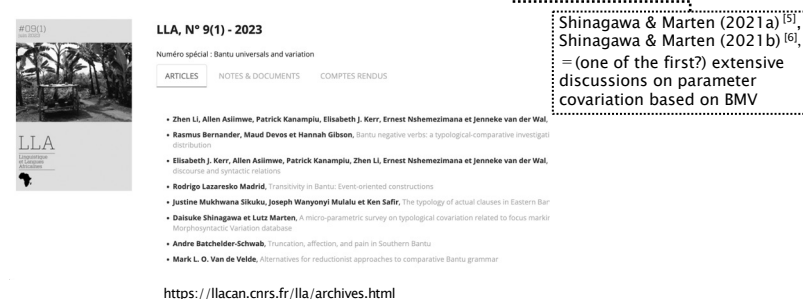
https://llacan.cnrs.fr/lla/archives.html

8

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– Various pieces of research output are (and still being) disseminated through conference presentations and international publications.
– Also, it was during Phase-2 that we initiated an extensive investigation of inter-parametric covariation, which is enabled by the BMV database compiled by the SOAS project.

[1] Yoneda, N. 2021. Properties of the subject in Bantu languages. Paper read at the kick-off meeting of the JSPS-FWO bilateral collaborative project "The Past and Present of Bantu Languages: Integrating Micro-Typology, Historical-Comparative Linguistics and Lexicography"; [2] Yoneda, N. 2024. Micro-variation of noun-modifying constructions in Bantu languages. In: Bloom-Ström, E-M. et al. (eds.) *Current approaches to morphosyntactic variation in Bantu*. Oxford: OUP; [3] Morimoto, Y. & N. Yoneda. to appear. Topic and Focus, In: Marten, L. et al. (eds.) *The Oxford guide to Bantu languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; [4] Kaji, S. (ed.) 2021. *Tone and accent in African languages*. Tokyo: ILCAA; [5] Shinagawa, D. & L. Marten. 2021a. A micro-parametric survey on typological covariation related to focus marking strategies: Based on the Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation database. Paper read at the 10th World Congress of African Linguistics. [6] Shinagawa, D. & L. Marten. 2021b. Micro-typological Covariation of Negation and Focus Marking Morphology in Bantu languages. *Gengo Kenkyu* 160

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Critical reviews-1: Project design

– Lack of shared understandings and motivation
  – Phase-2 was not sufficiently designed for every project member to understand how they contribute to the project, i.e., it failed to share specific foci to work together.
  – The original plan was that at least one topic/parameter should be allocated to everyone to take responsibility of making discussions through synthesizing data from all members.
  – Lack of commitment due to lack of mutual understandings on topics to be allocated to each of members
  → This should have been avoided if we could have better project arrangement and management
  → An important lesson to be learned: take sufficient time, effort and consideration for understandings of all members at the initial stage of the project

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Critical reviews-2: Project aims

– co-variation as an intended focus of the project…
  – therefore, we couldn't have sufficient consensus about what we are aiming to find out, what the covariation tells about, and how we can develop it into more general issues.
  → we couldn't fully develop discussions on typological correlation and thus could not expand the range of investigation
  → this, however, is pursued by the PACroBaT project (to be continued in Zanzibar meeting)

  – another recent challenge (to the parameter approach), the 'reductionist' issues

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Critical reviews-2: Project aims

Correlation between CJ/DJ and MFM vs. PI

lgs with [+CJ/DJ] tend to disallow PI

[+CJ/DJ, –PI]	[+CJ/DJ, +PI]
0.941 = 16/17 Kinyarwanda [JD61]? Kifuliiru [JD63] Bemba [M42] Matengo [N13] Matuumbi [P13] Makhuwa [P31] Cuwabo [P34] Venda [S21] Tswana [S31] Northern Sotho [S32] Sesotho [S33] Zulu [S42] Swati [S43] Ndebele [S44] Tsonga [S53] Ronga [S54]	0.059= 1/17 Kirundi [JD62]

lgs with [+MFM] tend to disallow PI

[+MFM, – PI]	[+MFM, +PI]
0.909 = 10/11 Tuki [A601] Gikuyu [E51] Uru [E622d] Rombo [E623] Digo [E73] Bende [F12] Rangi [F33] Chasu [G22] Kifuliiru [JD63] Ndebele [S44]	0.091= 1/11 Nzadi [B865]

Whereas inversion constructions in general tend to be regarded as part of topicalisation strategies, there is a cross-Bantu tendency that PI should rather be identified as a (term) focus marking strategy (Shinagawa and Marten 2021)
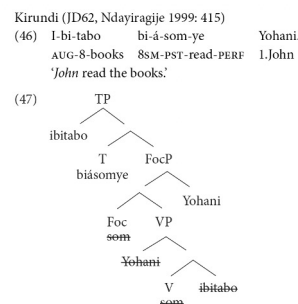
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Slide 13

Critical reviews–2: Project aims

From a formal–syntactic viewpoint (Van der Wal 2020: 178, 200):
PI as a strategy of argument movement to a syntactic focus position

"[I]n Kirundi and Kinyarwanda PI and transitive DAI [=Default Agreement Inversion], it is not simply the non-topical interpretation that triggers licensing of the postverbal logical subject, but possibly a feature specification for [focus] instead of [topic]. I have to leave the precise nature of this information–structural feature to be determined for each individual language, just noting that an addition to the flexible licensing analysis proposed here may be necessary for these languages."

Kirundi (JD62, Ndayiragije 1999: 415)
(46) I-bi-tabo bi-á-som-ye Yohani.
AUG-8-books 8SM-PST-read-PERF 1.John
'John read the books.'

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Slide 14

Critical reviews–2: Project aims

From a copus–based analysis (Nshemezimana & Bostoen 2017):
CJ/DJ in Rundi is in the process of 'abolition'

Table 2: Correlation between focus structure, word order and conjoint/disjoint marking.

Focus structure	Word order and focused constituents	Verb marking
Object/adjunct focus	SVO/ADJ	CJ
Subject focus	OVS / ha-VS	CJ
Predicate-centred focus	(O/ADJ) SV (O/ADJ)	DJ
Sentence focus	SVO/ADJ/ha-VS	DJ
Topic-comment	SVO/ADJ	CJ/DJ

- CJ forms becomes an unmarked form that simply lacks the DJ marker.
- Focus assignment to non–verbal constituent is fully achieved through syntactic control (=PI)

[5] "As soon as a non-verbal clause constituent is narrowly focused – be it the subject, an object or an adjunct – the predicate can no longer be focus-marked. This morphologically unmarked verb form has traditionally been interpreted as the 'conjoint'. However, rather than being an empirical reality, this 'conjoint' seems to be a theoretical construct purely created to signal the absence of the 'disjoint' marker."
[6] "Focus on a specific nonverbal constituent is not signalled by a morpheme on the predicate but rather by the position of an argument vis-á-vis the predicate. Linearly speaking, arguments are commonly focused in the post-verbal domain, often in clause-final position but not always. In the case of arguments, such as the subject, which canonically occur pre-verbally, this entails word order inversion, combined with expletive subject marking on the verb in the case of intransitive predicates. Syntactic configuration suffices to account for focus on a non-verbal constituent."

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Slide 15

Critical reviews–2: Project aims

Radical criticism: parameter approaches cannot avoid logical arbitrariness
(Van de Velde 2023)

Table 3: Interaction between number of object markers and symmetry in Bantu languages

	number of object markers		
symmetry	multiple	single	1+
asymmetric	Sambaa	Chichewa, Chimwiini, Chingoni, Chuwabo, Kagulu, Lika, Lunda, Makhuwa, Nsenga, Swahili, Tumbuka, Matengo, Yao	Bemba, Kiyaka, Ruwund
symmetric	Dzamba, Chaga, Ha, Haya, Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Kuria, Luganda, Lugwere, Setswana	Bembe, Changana, Digo, Herero, Gitonga, Kikongo, Kimeru, Kinande, Lozi, Luguru, Maragoli, Ndebele, Shona, Sotho, Swati, Tshiluba, Totela, Zulu, Xhosa	Kikuyu, Lubukusu, Mongo, Nyaturu, Tharaka
unknown		Ekoti, Makwe, Rangi, Shimakonde	Fuliiru

Van der Wal (2020: 205)

- The object symmetry parameter
  Language are symmetric if both objects of a ditransitive verb behave alike in terms of i) object indexing , ii) passivisation, and iii) word order
- Orungu [B11b] Van de Velde (2023: 8) [8]
  - when both are NP: order is free = symmetric
  - when one is NP and the other is Pron: Pron–NP = asymmetric
  - When both are Pron: Goal–Theme = another asymetricity
⟹ 'Binning' of data cannot be free from arbitrary classification, i.e., 'reduction', based on which we cannot reach to reliable generalisations

[8] When both objects are lexical in that language, their mutual ordering is free, i.e. symmetric. When one is pronominal and the other lexical, the pronominal object has to precede the lexical object (a type of asymmetry). When both are pronominal, the Goal has to precede the Theme (another type of asymmetry). In such a highly typical situation, one has to choose arbitrarily which construction to consider as basic.

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Slide 16

Critical reviews–2: Project aims

Practical significance of the parameter approach

Van de Velde (2023) claims that scenario–based approach is a possible alternative to avoid reductionism.
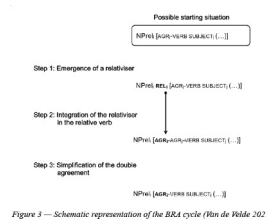
Parameter–approach as a way of discovering a clue of possible generalisations which should be verified through various different approaches
cf. 'top–down'/theory–driven Canonical Typology vs 'bottom–up'/variation–driven Multivariate Typology (Forker 2016; Roland & Corbett 2020)

Figure 3 — Schematic representation of the BRA cycle (Van de Velde 2021)

Van de Velde (2023: 18)

Table 2 — Inter-parametric correlation pertaining to P074 (conjoint/disjoint)

	Negative particles		Object-order symmetry	Locative inversion			Patient inversion	
	P056 = no	P056 = yes	P117 = yes	P122 = 1	P122 = 2	P122 = 3	P123 = no	P123 = yes
Number of languages	35	8	14	36	5	9	13	15	37
Average	0.547	0.125	0.424	0.571	0.079	0.143	0.206	0.288	0.712
P074 = yes (25)	0.938	0.063	0.214	0.412	0.176	0.118	0.235	0.059	0.941
P074 = no (34)	0.533	0.167	0.529	0.652	0.043	0.261	0.261	0.348	0.652

(18) If a language shows the CJ/DJ alternation,
a. negative particles tend not to be present (93.8%)
b. object-order symmetry is relatively restricted (21.4%)
c. patient inversion tends not to be allowed (94.1%)

Shinagawa & Marten (2023: 12)

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Critical reviews–2: Project aims

- co-variation as an intended focus of the project...
  - therefore, we couldn't have sufficient consensus about what we are aiming to find out, what the covariation tells about, and how we can develop it into more general issues.
  - → we couldn't fully develop discussions on typological correlation and thus could not expand the range of investigation
  - → this, however, is pursued by the PACroBaT project (to be continued in Zanzibar meeting)

  - another recent challenge (to the parameter approach), the 'reductionist' issues
  - → PA as a heuristic approach to discover a potential typological principles that should be verified through different approaches
  - → reductionism or scientific 'abstraction'?
  - → theoretical refinement of parameter approaches will also be an important task PACroBaT (to be continued in Zanzibar...)

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Future perspectives

- Bantu DiP
  - the research topics are sufficiently well-focused
  - (grammaticalisation) processes rather than 'co-variation' may be easier to share with members
  - heuristic method with a high utility to easily connect different phenomena (i.e., easy to capture the variation
  - importance of sharing aims, methods, status quo of the project with all project members so that we can maintain the motivation for the project's progress

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Acknowledgment

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Grammatical reconstruction as a tool for field work and language description of Bantu languages

Rasmus Bernander

August 15 2024
ILCAA Joint Research Project
Diachronic Perspectives on Language Description and
Typology in Bantu (jrp000292): The 2nd meeting

Purpose of this talk
- To show how a historical-comparative approach is a particularly useful tool for field work and for the analysis and description of previously un(der)described language (varieties) (cf Rankin 2006)

Structure of this talk
- **Divided into two broad parts**:
1) **Introduction to the approach**
2) **Case studies:** How to operationalize this approach more concretely

1) INTRODUCTION
The approach
- Hinges on the fundamental notion that:

"Synchronic language states are just snapshots of a dynamic process emerging originally from language use in conversational interaction" (Croft 2005:283)
…

"Discovering which structures that occur in language and why […] is to step back from a purely synchronic viewpoint to consider additional explanations, including the forces that create and shape the structures in question" (Mithun 2006: 177)

A historical-comparative approach…
- Allows inferences on historical as well as ongoing language change (see e.g. De Vogelaer & Seiler 2012; Heine & Kuteva 2007; Givón 2000):
> Languages reveal in their present structure layers of past change
> Synchronic variation = instantiation of different stages along the same developmental pathway
(NB: This also includes the integration and further development of borrowed matters & patterns)

• Works the other way around too: Historical-comparative evidence:
i) offers an explanation to the variation found (the diachronic forces behind the system)
ii) helps to explain peculiar synchronic traits
=> offering a more robust description of the language

- At the same time, the data from the descriptive research feed into the comparative-typological work, thus leading to more accurate and fine-grained conclusions there too
- Which, in turn, may serve as theoretical underpinnings and analytical tools for the field linguist / descriptive linguist (cf. Dryer 2006)

An approach that works particularly well for field/descriptive work on <u>Bantu languages</u>
- Given the general facts about the family:

i) Bantu is a large yet tightly knit language family
- ❖ over 500 broadly similar varieties
- ❖ shallow language family
- ❖ A large dialect continuum or spread zone (Schadeberg 2003; Güldemann 2018)

=> Linguistic forms and patterns that occurs in one Bantu language often resurfaces with the same source cognates – in a similar or another stage of development – in another language

ii) Bantu languages change recurrently and rapidly
- ❖ Especially creations and recreations and additions of <u>verbal-inflectional</u> structures and categories [which happens to be what I have been mostly working on and hence what the case studies will mostly be about]
- ❖ In agglutinative languages with a large and complex predicate verb form previously free-standing linguistic items are more easily attracted to and fuses with the verb (Nurse (2008:25), Anderson (2011), Güldemann (2003a); see also cross-linguistic studies and studies on other language families: e.g., Bybee et al. (1994:115-21), Mithun (1991; see also Fischer 2007:66))

Methodology combining "internal" and "external" evidence
- Basically:
a) "Generalized internal reconstruction" Comrie (2002:49)
[so not the classical type with phonology but also morpho-syntax, semantics etc]
+ b) The comparative method
+ c) Typological generalizations as heuristics
(cf. Heine 2018 for the discussion of a similar approach)

INTERNAL
- **Data from different language-internal varieties:** Regiolects, various sociolects, chronolects, doculects…
- **Archaisms:** Providing an insight into earlier productive structures in a language
(cf., e.g., Bybee et al (1994), Bybee (2006), Koch (1996, 2015), Givón (2000:121)
+ Dimmendaal (2011), Heine & Dunham (2010:40)

❖ Often retained in "non-standard" and thus less frequent and dynamic clauses, such as dependent and negated clauses (Dimmendaal 2011:100, 148; Koch 1996:219, 2015; see also, e.g., Nurse & Muzale 1999 TA in "Main Clause Affirmatives" vs other clause types)

❖ EX: Future prefix *ta-* in Swahili, with the full phonemic shape of the lexical etymon *-taka* 'want' retained in relative constructions:

(1)   a-taka-ye-kuja
       SM1-FUT-REL1-come
       's/he who will come' (Swahili (G42); Heine (1993:51)

❖ Archaisms are also typically retained in more ritualized discourse genres, e.g. "idiomatic constructions, proverbs, ritualized language and ancient songs" (Dimmendaal 2011:101)
[=> Good to collect those]

EXTERNAL
- Comparison at different levels:
i) With contiguous clusters of closest relatives/neighbors

ii) in relation to larger-scaled comparative (family-based) work, including reconstructed (or reconstructible) Proto-versions of Bantu (at different levels) (eg, Meussen 1967, Guthrie 1967-1971, Bastin et al (2002)…

iii) Cross-linguistically deduced generalizations (= typological heuristics)

The Unfolding of layers
- Present-day linguistic alternations can be reconstructed to earlier states without that alternation/variation, together with the pathway leading to this change
- (Alternatively, there is no alternation, in which case the form under scrutiny instead can be hypothesized to be inherited in the language)
- These layers can be either (pragmatic-)semantic or formal or both

2. CASE STUDIES
- **Weird looking stuff at the outset**
- **Came to make sense once seen in the historical-comparative light**

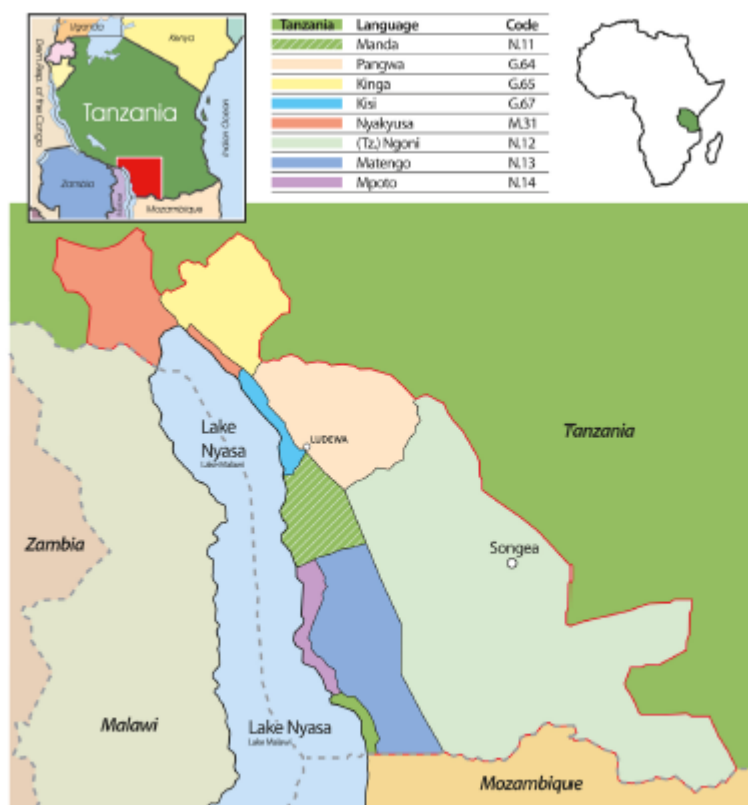## The imperative verb form in Manda (N11) (Bernander 2020)

Figure 1 Map of Manda and its closest neighbours (© Rasmus Bernander 2017)

Introduction
- Weird looking -*a(yi)*, an <u>obligatory </u>part of the imperative verb form:

(2)

vɪkáyi ntyímbu ápa, niwúyúli

vɪk-ayi	*mu-tyimbu*	*apa*	*ni-wuyul-i*
put-DTV	NCP3-calabash	PROX.DEM16	1SG.SM-clean-SBJV

'put the calabash here, so I can clean (it)'

(3)
ting'kómila' ngéne ʋyʋ

ti-mu-kom-ɪl-**ayi**   mu-gene   ʋyʋ
SM1PL-OM3SG-beat.to.death.APPL-DIR   NCP1-guestPROX.DEM1

'let us kill (him) that guest!'

- Explanation: *-ayi* < *-a(n)g- + FV; (SM)-B-*ayi* in Manda < °(SM)-B-ag-FV
> Introduced as reinforcer, eventually neutralized as an obligatory part of the verb form
> Underwent phonological changes

- Conclusions based on:
a) Typological and Bantu family-based studies **(= EXTERNAL)**
  ❖ *-a(n)g-* typical pragmatic overtones in non-indicative constructions: "heightened sense of urgency" (Rose et al 2002:40, 41), "intensity", "exclamatory suffix" (Miehe 1989:30), "reinforcer" (Meinhof 1906 [1948:101], Sebasoni 1967); see also Devos & Van Olmen (2013)

  ❖ Process in accordance with cross-linguistic tendencies (Mauri & Sansò 2011; Aikhenvald 2010:104)

  ❖ Mauri and Sansó (2011): The motivation to involve imperfective markers in commands is to create overtones of urgency and imminence:
  Event marked as ongoing ⊃ expectation of an imminent actualization

b) pieces of **INTERNAL** indicia
i. There is a formally identical morpheme used with an imperfective meaning in Manda

(4)   t-a-yog-ɪl-ayi   mu-ma-chi
       SM1pl-PST2-bathe-APPL-PST.IPFV   18-6-water
       'We used to bathe in the water'

ii. /g/ often weakened in inter-vowel contexts in Manda: e.g., *vagéni ~vayéni* 'guests', *maghéya ~mayéya* 'lies', etc…

iii. Ex. archaisms (and their structural particularities) suggest retentions of the Bantu original imperative verb form:
  ❖ The collocation *lól-a Bámbu* "behold the Lord"
    [-without a subject marker[
    -final vowel -à NOT **lólá' (~lóláyi) i.e. ≠ truncated, different tone pattern

  ❖ (Traditional) children's game "*vílíng-a, kwát-a*" 'turn & seize'
    -**vɪlíngá', [i.e. ≠ truncated -different tone pattern
    -no raising of the second vowel]

c) **(EXTERNAL)** Comparison with closest neighbours indicates

i) Weakening in function:

Language	Code	Original Imp.	Meaning of Imperative + *-ag-				Source
			IPFV	Emph.	Other	Neutral	
Nyakusa	M.31	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	Nurse (1979), Persohn (2016:212ff)
Kisi	G.67	yes	no	yes (?)	yes	no	Gray (f.c.:116), Ngonyani (2011:131)
Ngoni	N.12	yes	no	yes	no	no	Ebner (1939:27); Moser (1983:108); Ngonyani (2003:63)
Pangwa	G.64	yes	no	yes	no	no	Stirnimann (1983:116-118)
Matengo	N.13	yes (?)	no	yes	yes	no	Kayuni (pers. comm.), Yoneda (2000, 2016:429)
Mpoto	N.14	no	no	no	no	yes (?)	Makwaya (p.c), Botne (p.c)
Manda	N.11	no	no	no	no	yes	-

ii) Weakening in form:

Language	Code	Directives with *-ag-	Reflex of */ag/	Source
Pangwa	G.64	SM-B-**ake**	/ak/	Stirnimann (1983:116-118)
Nyakusa	M.31	B-**aga**, SM-B-**ege**	/ag/	Nurse (1979), Persohn (2016:212, 214)
Kisi	G.67	B-**agha**, SM-B-**aghe** ~SM-B-**aye**	/agh/	Gray (f.c.:116; Ngonyani 2011:106, 130)
Ngoni	N.12	(SM)-B-**age** ~(SM)-B-**aye** ~(SM)-B-**ayi**	/ag~ay/	Ebner (1939:27), Moser (1983:108), Ngonyani (2003:63)
Matengo	N.13	(SM)-B-**aje**	/aj/	Kayuni (p.c.), Yoneda (2016:429), Zimmer (n.d.12)
Mpoto	N.14	(SM)-B-**ayi**	/ay/	Makwaya (p. c.), Botne (p. c.)

The Copula in Western Serengeti (JE45 +JE401) (Bernander & Laine 2020)

Tense Variety	Past		Present		Future	
	Affirm.	Negative	Affirm.	Negative	Affirm.	Negative
Ikoma	(N-)SM-V-re	SM-ta-V-re	(N-)SM-Vɲi	SM-ta-Vɲi	(N-)SM-β-a	SM-ta-β-a
Nata	(N-)SM-a-re	SM-ta-a-re	(N-)SM-aɲi	SM-ta-Vɲi	(N-)SM-β-a	SM-ta-β-a
Ishenyi	(N-)SM-V-renge	SM-ta-V-renge	(N-)SM-(V)re	SM-ta-re	(N-)SM-β-a	SM-ta-β-e
Ngoreme	SM-V-re	SM-ta-a-re	SM-Vni	SM-ta-re	SM-β-a	SM-ta-β-a

Table 2. Inventories of WS verbal copulas

- 2 particularly puzzling issues:
> Weird *-nyi* as present tense copula in some of the varieties
> Weird *-renge* as past tense copula in Ishenyi

Subgroup	Language	Form		Source
		Affirmative	Negative	
WS	Ikoma	SM-Vɲi	SM-ta-Vɲi	Field notes
	Nata	SM-Vɲi	SM-ta-Vɲi	Field notes
	Ngoreme	SM-Vni	SM-ta-re	Field notes
	Ishenyi	SM-re	SM-ta-re	Field notes
Rest of S. Mara	Zanaki	SM-re	SM-ta-ri	Rebekah Meszaros (p.c. 30/01/2020)
	Ikizu	SM-ri	SM-ta-ri	Robinson & Sandeen (2015: 15-16); Gray (2013)
N. Mara	Kuria	SM-ri(ngi)	te-SM-ringi hai	Sillery (1936:26); Mary Charwi (p.c. 20/01/2020)
	Simbiti	SM-rë (?)	te-SM-a-rë hë̈/ SM-ta-rë̈	Walker & Overton (2018: 39,20)
	Kabwa	SM-ri(ngi)	SM-ta-ri(-ngi)	Overton & Walker (2017: 39,40)
	Gusii	SM-re	ti-SM-re	Whiteley (1960:50, 1965: 22, 56); Cammenga (2002: 509)
Suguti	Jita	SM-ri	SM-ta-ri	Odom & Robinson (2016: 16)
	Kwaya	SM-ri	SM-ta-ri	Sillery (1932: 285-286); Odom (2016: 16-18)

Table 4. Present tense copulas in East Nyanza

Subgroup	Language	Form	Source
	Ishenyi	SM-V-ɾenge	field notes
Rest of S. Mara	Zanaki	SM-a-rɨ	Gray (2011)
	Ikizu	SM-a-rɨ	Robinson & Sandeen (2015: 15-16); Gray (2013)
N. Mara	Kuria	SM-a-li(-ngi)	Sillery (1936:26); Rose (2001)
	Simbiti	SM-(a)a-renga ["Past 2"]	Walker & Overton (2018: 39,20)
	Kabwa	SM-a-ri-nga ["Distant Past"]	Overton & Walker (2017: 39,40)
	Gusii	SM-a-re-nge	Whiteley (1956: 56); Cammenga (2002:502-503);
Suguti	Jita	SM-a-ri-ga	Odom & Robinson (2016: 16)
	Kwaya	SM-a-ri-ga	Odom (2016: 16)

Table 5. East Nyanza past copulas with *-a(ŋ)g- reflexes

The passive in Manda (N11) as an instance of areal grammaticalization (Bernander 2020)
-Area around Lake Nyasa is renowned for extensive and long-standing regional-internal contact, facilitated by the ease of travelling on the lake itself

-Only area where reflexes of the neuter *-ɪk is used as a passive (see Chavula 2016, 2018 in particular)

- In Manda both a reflex of the common passive *-ʊ/*-ibʊ and the neuter may be used in passive constructions [other strategies of passivization exists also]

(5)

wihótó lépe kúlya ílɪ,
u-i-hotol-a   lepe   ku-ly-a   ɪlɪ
SM2SG-PRS-be_able-FV NEG   15-eat-FV DEM5
'You can't eat this…'
lákóna kukalangíwa (na nénga)
li-(a)kona   ku-kalang-**iw**-a   (na   nenga)
SM5-NONDUM   15-fry-PASS-FV   (COM PERS1SG)
'…it hasn't been fried yet (by me).'
lákóna kukalángíka (na nénga)
li-(a)kona   ku-kalang-**ɪk**-a   (na   nenga)
SM5-NONDUM   15-fry-NEUT-FV   (COM PERS1SG)
'…it hasn't been fried yet (by me).'

Table 2: The expression of passive voice in the Lake Nyasa area

Language	Code	Reflex of Proto-Bantu passive suffix	Neuter function as passive	Other 'functional passives'	Source(s)
Pangwa	G64	yes	no	no	(Stirnimann 1983: 134)
Kisi	G67	yes	no	no	(Gray forthcoming: 123; Ngonyani 2011: 117)
Nyakyusa	M31	yes	no	no	(Persohn 2017: 94–100)
Chewa	N31	yes	no	no	(Mchombo 1993; Dubinsky and Simango 1996)
Mbamba Bay Mwera	N201	yes	no	no?	(Ngonyani pers. comm.)
Tz. Ngoni	N12	(yes)	no	yes	(Ngonyani 2003: 68–70; Moser 1983: 108, 110; Ebner 1939: 34, 38)
Moz. Ngoni	N10x	(yes)	no	yes	(Kröger n.d.)
Ndendeule	N101	no	no?	yes?	(Ngonyani pers. comm.)
Matengo	N13	no	(yes)	yes	(van der Wal 2015b)
Mpoto	N14	no	no	yes	(Botne pers. comm.)
Tumbuka	N21	(yes)	yes	no?	(Chavula 2016; this volume)
Tonga	N15	(yes)	yes	no?	(Chavula this volume)
Manda	N11	(yes)	yes	yes	–

(6)
Chewa N31 (Dubinsky and Simango 1996: 751)
mbale   zi-na-tsuk-**ika**   (**ndi Naphiri)
plates   AGR-PST-wash-STAT   (**by Naphiri)
'The plates were washed (**by Naphiri).'

(7)

Moz. Ngoni N10x (Kröger n.d.)
ngôko   jêla   ji-pelek-**ek**-a   **ni**   xi-vêga
9.chicken 9.DEM.D SM9-deliver-STAT-FV   with   7-pot
'that chicken was delivered with the whole pot'

(8)

Matengo N13 (van der Wal 2015b: 5)
mwaáná   ju-jógw-**eeka**   na Álison
1.child   SM1-hear-STAT   by Alison
'The child has been heard by Alison.'

(9)

Mpoto N14 (Botne pers. comm.)
n-dyangu   u-dendwiki   ni   m-pongo
3-door   sm3-open.sep.pfv by/with   3-wind
'The door was opened by the wind.'

Table 3: The development of the neuter into a passive marker in Manda

Stages		Semantic range
Stage 0	(proto-stage)	Anticausative
Stage I	(proto-stage) Relaxation of verb stem selection <->	~
	Introduction of implicit agent	~
Stage II	Introduction of explicit non-prototypical agent	~
Stage III	Introduction of explicit prototypical agent	Proper passive