

Studies in African Linguistics

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Ọládíípò Aǰíbóyè: *Mid-toned and high-toned elements in Yorùbá*

This paper examines three M-toned and three H-toned elements in Yorùbá. On the one hand are the mid-toned mora (MT μ), the mid-toned *ni* and the mid-toned *ti*. On the other hand are the H-toned mora (HT μ), the H-toned *ní* and the H-toned *tí*. I propose that the parallels between these elements are syntactically and semantically conditioned. Every occurrence of a M-toned element shows agreement in the nominal domain whereas every occurrence of a H-toned element shows agreement in the verbal or extended verbal domain. I show that the pairs converge in their semantic role as case assigners. In particular, I claim that genitive Case assignment is carried out by the MT μ or *ti*. I treat this as an instance of Case alternation. I further propose that when the two jointly assign genitive Case to the possessor, this is an instance of Case stacking.

Maarten Kossmann: *The borrowing of aspects as lexical tone classes: y-initial Tuareg verbs in Tasawaq (Northern Songhay)*

In Tasawaq, a Northern Songhay language of Niger, there exists a lexical tone class distinction between stative and active verbs. This tone class distinction only exists in one class of verbs borrowed from Tuareg, verbs with an initial *y*-. In this article, I argue that the tone class distinction reflects the Tuareg difference between a Short Perfective aspect, used in active contexts, and a Long Perfective aspect, which is mainly found in stative contexts. In Tasawaq, this aspectual distinction has been reinterpreted as a difference in lexical class.

Penou-Achille Somé: *Polysémie du verbe «manger» chez les dagara du burkina faso : description et interprétation*

In Dagara, the most common translation for the verb *di* is 'eat'. Other translations, however, are: 'spend, take advantage of,' 'burn, wear out, hurt, be infected,' 'be named x, look like x, be x only by name,' and 'be topmost, reach the target, make good for a bad situation'. For each of these meanings, *di* always differs from its false-synonyms ('munch, blaze, wear, hurt, call, be or have, resemble, manage, make up for...'). We distinguish two main types, one where *di* is a verb of accomplishment, and one where *di* is a verb of state. The investigation reveals how grammatical structure fits with semantics as well as ethnological data, mainly through a constant valuation of the state of affairs by the Speaker. The article concludes by showing how all of the meanings can be united around a single common, abstract schema.