

The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics

This book presents an in-depth and comprehensive state-of-the-art account of the study of 'African languages' and 'language in Africa' since its beginnings as a 'colonial science' at the turn of the 20th century in Europe. Compiled by 55 internationally renowned scholars, this groundbreaking account looks at past and current research on 'African languages' and 'language in Africa' under the impact of paradigmatic changes from 'colonial' to 'postcolonial' perspectives. It addresses current trends in the study of the role and functions of language, African and other, in pre- and postcolonial African societies. Highlighting the central role that the 'language factor' plays in postcolonial transformation processes of sociocultural modernization and economic development, it also addresses more recent, particularly urban, patterns of communication and outlines applied dimensions of digitalization and human language technology.

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Preface

African linguistics has come of age as a separate academic discipline that, about 130 years after its inception in predominantly German-speaking academia, and 25 years after establishing the international conference series of the World Congress of African Linguistics, had not yet seen the publication of a comprehensive and solitary 'handbook' of its own. Therefore, in October 2015, Helen Barton of Cambridge University Press approached the editor with the proposal to design and compile such a volume for their prestigious Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics series. Beginning in November 2015, the editor finally assembled 55 experts who represent a remarkable mix of generations, professional experiences, genders, current affiliations, and origins. The task was to sketch out the history, the state of the art, and promising perspectives of African linguistics in the early 21st century and to reflect on past and current research priorities and recent changes of paradigm. The authors completed their chapter manuscripts between November 2016 and November 2017.

The African linguistics community had long deplored the scarcity of foundational literature for their field. With only few exceptions, representatives of the first and second generations of Africanists between 1885 and 1970 did not record their thoughts on the theoretical or methodological, not to speak of political and ideological, foundations of their concerns with languages in Africa, apart from individual cases subscribing to national colonial projects. There were hardly any publications before the 1980s, which would describe in greater detail the emergence of African linguistics as an autonomous academic discipline, or outline its specific research methodology and priorities. A notable exception is volume 7 of Current Trends in Linguistics (Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa) of 1971. The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics fills a gap and adds – with a rather wide focus – to the dynamically growing literature on African languages and on language issues in Africa, which, however, tend to have rather narrowly focused perspectives.



Preface

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Researchers working in the field increasingly realized that the peoples speaking African languages in situ remain in dire need of academic guidance, which would give science-based input to postcolonial linguistic, educational, and sociocultural planning. As editor, I wanted to ensure that a 'handbook' of African linguistics worth its title not only broadly covered descriptive, typological, and historical-comparative issues of individual languages or groups of languages but also reflected the manifold ramifications of language into matters of cultural, social, political, and economic life in Africa and followed these ramifications across the divides of generations and genders, rural and urban communities, educated 'elites' and under-educated 'masses', and reflected the differences between indigenous African and other languages. Such a broad approach not only reflects my own background in Germanspeaking *Afrikanistik*, but also mirrors the transdisciplinary programme of the World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL) since it was first convened in 1994. The structure of the present handbook does exactly this.

The handbook includes abridged regional histories of African linguistics, depicting its emergence towards the end of the 19th century as a 'colonial science' in Europe and following its global spread in the 20th and 21st centuries. In order to provide a fuller picture, it is accompanied by *A History of African Linguistics*, written by the same authors and published by Cambridge University Press, which contains more detailed and more fully referenced historical accounts.

The editor expresses his gratitude to Cambridge University Press, in particular to Helen Barton and all members of the team. We had just finalized production of my book *Language and Development in Africa: Perceptions, Ideologies and Challenges* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) when Helen approached me with the idea of compiling *The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics*. She accepted my proposal to have a sister volume, *A History of African Linguistics*, published in a parallel manner, in order not to overload the handbook with important hitherto unavailable information on the various regional histories of African linguistics, as was admonished by one anonymous reviewer of the original proposal with good reason. I am grateful for her confidence in me to shoulder the double project, and for the continuous and efficient support from her and by her team.

I am deeply grateful to all contributors for their professional and focused cooperation, and their concern about observing necessary deadlines. Most authors and co-authors delivered within a time span of twelve to less than eighteen months from the time they accepted the invitation, some continuously improving their chapters in professional dialogue with the editor and colleagues, occasionally comparing notes with authors of other chapters in the project. I was happy to see that many authors followed the editor's advice to team up with co-authors in order to secure a both topically and geographically wide representation. In fact, geographic author representation ranges from Canada and Finland in the North to Australia, Brazil, and South Africa in the South, from the West Coast of



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the United States, via several European countries and Israel, to Russia, China, South Korea, and Japan in the East. It also involves good representation of the African sub-regions: from Rabat, Morocco, in North Africa, via Addis Ababa and Mekelle, Ethiopia, in North-Eastern Africa, Buea and Yaoundé, Cameroon, in West and Central Africa, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in East Africa, to Pretoria, Grahamstown, and Cape Town in South Africa. Fortunately, there were only very few withdrawals by prospective contributors, for suddenly emerging unfavourable personal circumstances; none of these withdrawals was critical because other excellent authors took over on rather short notice, yet delaying the completion of the whole book manuscript for several months. However, we lost two originally planned chapters, one on language policies and planning and one on the early history of standardization and literacy development of African languages; both issues are dealt with in other chapters, even though not with the originally planned depth and detail.

Finally, I am very grateful to both Helsingin Yliopisto (in particular the Department of World Cultures) in Helsinki, Finland, and to Rhodes University (in particular the Faculty of Humanities and the School of Languages and Literatures) in Grahamstown, South Africa, which each hosted me for periods of five to six months during preparation stages of this handbook. My Visiting Professorship in Helsinki (2016–2017) was co-sponsored by the DAAD Johann Gottfried Herder Program, and my stay in Grahamstown (2017–2018) was made possible by Rhodes University under a Hugh Le May Fellowship with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. All this support is gratefully acknowledged. Back at Rhodes, after an earlier six-month research visit in 2014–2015 under the DAAD Johann Gottfried Herder Program, I enjoyed the privilege of a congenial and stimulating academic environment, sharing with my local colleagues a focus on and passion for the intellectualization and re-empowerment of African languages.



General Introduction

The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics presents retrospective as well as prospective views on the scientific study of African languages on the one hand, and of language in Africa on the other. These are two fundamentally different but related perspectives, which both lie at the core of African linguistics as an autonomous academic discipline. A team of 55 expert authors stemming from or working in Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia, and Europe came together in order to compile the present volume. Primary focus is on the more than 2,000 African languages, which together amount to almost one-third of all living languages on our planet. This focus covers various perspectives on how these languages can be analysed and described, grouped and classified, and on how they have influenced each other in geographical neighbourhood over time through language contact/multilingualism – all this on the basis of established and theory-guided scientific methods and procedures. Additionally, the book also looks at other languages, namely those that were brought to Africa, as much as at language varieties that emerged within Africa, in historical times. Further, this handbook deals with aspects of language use in various cultures and societies in Africa. It addresses issues of language ideologies and attitudes, and describes how these weigh in on views of language(s) in Africa among professionals and in a wider public, both within and outside of Africa.

This handbook updates its outstanding predecessor *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Vol. 7 of *Current Trends in Linguistics*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok) of 1971, and complements pre-existing introductory volumes to the study of African languages and linguistics, like, for instance, Pierre Alexandre, *Language et langage en Afrique noire* (1967; translation: *An Introduction to Languages and Language in Africa*, 1972); Edgar A. Gregersen, *Language in Africa*: *An Introductory Survey* (1977); Bernd Heine, Thilo C. Schadeberg, and Ekkehard Wolff, *Die Sprachen Afrikas* (1981); Jean Perrot, Gabriel Manessy, and Albert Valdman, *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne* (2 vols., 1981);



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Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse, *African Languages: An Introduction* (2000; translation: *Les langues africaines*, 2004); Ngessimo M. Mutaka and Pius Ngwa Tamanji, *An Introduction to African Linguistics* (2000); and G. Tucker Childs, *An Introduction to African Languages* (2003). As the present handbook neared completion, two other ambitious publications appeared in print: *The Routledge Handbook of African Linguistics* (2018, edited by Augustine Agwuele and Adams Bodomo), and *The Languages and Linguistics of Africa* (2018, edited by Tom Güldemann).

Evolution has made Africa the cradle of humanity and the home of human language. Here it evolved and diversified, and from here it spread across all inhabited continents. This alone makes African linguistics a field of prime relevance in the overall study of the history of humankind. Furthermore, and since times immemorial, Africa has been and is a hub of multilingualism, which has increasingly complex ramifications into practically all aspects of social, cultural, political, and economic life. Current research into aspects of (applied) African (socio)linguistics, therefore, opens new and in-depth perspectives on the nature of multilingualism in general as much as on its variant manifestations in territorial, sociocultural, individual, and institutional perspectives. These are likely to challenge the prevailing 'Northern' and Eurocentric ideological bias in public as much as in academic discourse on Africa and, more generally, on the Global South.

In this handbook, expert authors treat African linguistics as being much more than just a geographically focused sub-field of modern linguistics. No doubt, African linguistics owes much of its theoretical and methodological foundations to developments in general and theoretical linguistics. Vice versa, however, it increasingly contributes challenging insights from the analysis of African language data to the testing and refinement of theoretical assumptions and methodological tools in general linguistics. More than that, African linguistics represents a unique field of studies that rests on, but also overcomes the limitations of, narrow and so-called hard-core linguistic approaches, with a wide interface to neighbouring social and cultural sciences.

On the one hand, African linguistics honours traditional approaches to language in terms of ideology-laden theoretical constructs like, for instance, 'heritage language', 'mother tongue' / 'home language', and '(ex-)colonial language'. Consequently, African linguistics works with two complementary approaches to the central object of study. Providing genuinely new empirical data, it delivers – at times monolectal – grammars for hitherto under- or totally undescribed languages, based on a thorough analysis of utterances from individual members of a speaker community. It also deals with both abstract and highly standardized reference systems, like in the case of established African 'standard languages'. More recently, it explores dynamically changing actual language use in communities of practice, and does so under currently fashionable terms like '(trans-)



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languaging' and linguistic 'superdiversity', thereby calling into question our received notions about 'named languages' and 'multilingualism'.

On the other hand, African linguistics allows for various trans- and interdisciplinary perspectives, viewing languages as being essentially embedded in the cultures and societies of African peoples, with which they continuously entertain dynamic interaction. Since the times of the teaching and writing of one of its German founding fathers Diedrich Westermann (1875–1956), African linguistics (in German: *Afrikanistik*) entertains very close if not essential links with social and cultural anthropology (in German: *Völkerkunde*) and (oral) history, in addition to phonetics and both general descriptive and comparative linguistics. With this in mind some like to refer to Westermann's legacy as having established some kind of 'comprehensive African linguistics' (in German: *Gesamtafrikanistik*) that reaches far beyond the scope of hard-core linguistics research on African languages.

Third, and in terms of applied science, African linguistics links *languages* as resources to the aspirations of their speakers in their quest to master their daily routines and to meet the social, cultural, political, and economic challenges of sustainable, including mental, decolonization and of what is sweepingly called 'development'.

African linguistics, thereby and apart from individual language structures and genealogical classification into language families and branches, addresses the lingering effects of colonialism in terms of continued linguistic and cultural imperialism and the onslaught of globalization. These have a strong impact on language choice and language use by individuals and sociocultural groups of practice in Africa, shaking the foundations of so-called traditional cultures and societies, which entail constant adaptations of both patterns of language use and properties of the languages themselves. The present handbook reflects this broad approach to African linguistics, which may appear innovative to some readers but is quite familiar to others, depending on the reader's academic socialization.

Obviously, no handbook can ever be complete with regard to coverage of all potentially interesting and relevant subject matters, the present one being no exception. Readers and reviewers are encouraged to identify gaps and shortcomings and do their best to compile complementary publications in order to create a fuller picture. The contributors and the editor of *The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics*, however, take pride in having cleared the ground and laid foundations, so to speak, for other expert authors to build and expand on the description of African linguistics worldwide.

In Part I, the handbook provides abridged surveys of where, since when, and how African linguistics became entrenched in academia on this planet, from the precolonial to the current postcolonial era. The historical overview includes not only the countries of the former Western European colonial powers, where African linguistics originally emerged as a 'colonial



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science' but also their neighbours in Eastern, Central, and Northern Europe, in addition to destiny countries of the transatlantic slave trade in the Americas, the former African colonies and current independent states themselves, and, of more recent vintage, places in Asia and Australia.

Part II constitutes the main body of the present handbook. It addresses the core issues of African linguistics, namely the descriptive analysis, comparison, history, and classification of African languages. Reflecting established mainstream lines of research, the handbook offers approaches to African languages within the framework of their partly proven and partly still hypothetical or contested genetic classification, that is, as members of language phyla and families based on the still valuable yet critically reviewed referential classification by Joseph H. Greenberg in his seminal work *The Languages of Africa* (1963). However, in their presentations, the authors share an innovative triple perspective on (a) cross-linguistic language typology and (b) the impact of language contact in terms of areal linguistic approaches, yet (c) not neglecting unilineal language history as reconstructed by classic comparative methods.

Part III enlarges the scope of the present handbook to encompass bird'seye views on the overall linguistic situation in Africa, reflections on language ideologies and attitudes, and discussions of patterns of language use and the interdependencies of languages with ever-changing surrounding cultures, social norms, and practices in Africa. This includes a focus on the more recent and dynamically increasing impact of urbanization, digitalization, and mobile communication.

Part IV, rather selectively, addresses applied perspectives that link African linguistics to issues of societal transformation, cultural modernization, and economic development, through focusing on languages and multilingualism as resources for overcoming mass poverty, academic underperformance, and technological marginalization. Crucially, this involves language-in-education matters, language intellectualization and re-empowerment, and reaping benefits from human language technology.

Like presumably most if not all contributors to this volume and many more Africanist colleagues across the planet, the editor believes in a comprehensive approach to status, acquisition, corpus, and opportunity planning for languages in Africa. He believes in providing science-based assistance for designing and implementing mother-tongue-based multilingual language policies for education across the continent, which would serve the ultimate benefit of the peoples who speak African languages as first or second languages in their homes and workplaces. Unfortunately and to this day, African and non-African intellectuals outside professional linguistic circles, including the political elites, tend to neither listen to nor understand what we Africanists are trying to tell them. We do so in countless academic publications, via formal recommendations from within learned societies, and by resolutions emanating from high-class professional meetings, some of us willing to embrace language activism and



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risking degradation from the ranks of 'pure' academia. But clearly, for the sustainable empowerment of Africa's 'human resources' to become able to take into their own hands postcolonial social transformation, cultural modernization, and economic development, only adequate education will do the job. 'Adequate education' obviously involves effective multilingual communication competencies in both endoglossic and exoglossic languages, because only this will enable African learners to compete successfully - both locally among each other, but also globally with members of their age cohort across the planet. Only mother-tongue-based multilingual quality education will overcome individual limitations of the 'linguistic jail' (Ouane 2003) of the mother tongue and of sociocultural 'underdevelopment', and will finally turn Africa into a knowledge-producing continent on equal scale with other continents, rather than remaining only knowledge-consuming at the mercy of the 'North'. The African as much as the global arena is characterized by almost ubiquitous multilingualism in the higher domains of 21st-century verbal communication and knowledge production. Africans from all walks of life must be enabled to not only survive in the prevailing postcolonial and largely underperforming educational systems, but come out on top of qualitatively optimized systems, and thus attain equal opportunities with age-mates in other parts of the world. Targeting this far-reaching goal and supporting the linguistic dimension of endeavours along the way lie at the heart of matters that this handbook is about, apart from introducing and describing African linguistics as a thriving academic discipline across the globe.

The Editor



Abbreviations and Acronyms

The abbreviations listed below are used across chapters in upper- or lower-case, often in small CAPITALS. Occasionally, the same abbreviation or symbol refers to different categories, or the same categories are represented by different abbreviations or symbols, in different chapters. The abbreviations and symbols are those originally used by the authors of the individual chapters.

. I set I person markers (A and S) in Gwama. II set II person markers (O and S) in Gwama

[↓]H downstepped high tone ^{*}L floating low tone

Ø zero marked (unmarked)

boundary

1, 2, 3; 1/2/3 first, second, third person

1/2/3/4/5 agreement class in East and West !Xoon, Tsumkwe Jul'hoan

A agent argument of transitive clause

A aorist AA Afroasiatic ABS absolutive

ACALAN African Academy of Languages

ACC accusative

AD preverbal particle ad 'non-realized' (Berber)

ADEA Association for the Development of Education in Africa

ADJ adjective; adjective-deriving formative

AFF affirmative

AFLaT African Language Technology

ALT-i African Language Technology Initiative

ALUPEC Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano ALUSTP Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita das Línguas Nativas de

S. Tomé e Príncipe

ANN status annexus



List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

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ANTICAUS anticausative APPL applicative

ASAFAS Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies

ASC, ASSOC associative (marker)

ASP aspect

ASR automatic speech recognition
AST African Speech Technology
ATR advanced tongue root

ATTR attributor AUX auxiliary

BA baccalaureus artium, bachelor of arts

BAKITA National Swahili Council

BEN benefactive

BFSU Beijing Foreign Studies University
BLARK Basic Language Resource Kit
BLR Bantu Lexical Reconstructions

BRICS Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

C consonant C, CG common gender

CALL Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics

CAR Central African Republic

CAUS causative

CC geminate consonant

CF clause focus CF, CFG centrifugal

CIBIO/InBIO Research Centre in Biodiversity and Genetic Resources

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency

CL1 class 1 gender CL2 class 2 gender

CLARIN European Research Infrastructure for Language Resources

and Technology

CLO Cahiers de Littérature Orale
CMS Church Missionary Society

CNRS Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

CNST construct state
CNT continuous

CODESRIA Council for the Development of Social Science Research in

Africa

COLL collective COM comitative COMP complementizer

COP copula

CPL completive (aspect)

CPT centripetal

CRLD Centre for Research on Linguistic Diversity



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CSIR Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research

CTexT Centre for Text Technology

CVB converb D, DECL declarative

D1 proximal demonstrative

DAT dative DCL declarative

DD1 deictic directional 'ventive'
DD2 deictic directional 'itive'

DEF definite (marker)

DEL Documenting Endangered Languages

DEM demonstrative
DET determiner
DH digital humanities

DIA Dictionnaire Interactif pour Jeunes Apprenants

DIR directional

DIST distal demonstrative

DO direct object

DOBES Documentation of Endangered Languages Program

DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo

DST distal
DSTR distributive
DU dual
EL état libre

ELDP Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation

Programme

EP external possession

ERG ergative
EXC exclusive
F, Fm feminine
F1 first formant

F1, F2, etc. future tenses (F1 hodiernal (near)future)

F2 second formant FAC, FACT factitive, factative

FLAS Foreign Language and Area Studies

FOC focus FUG centrifugal FUT future

FV inflectional final vowel

GALI Gabonese Languages through Internet

GEN genitive

GILLBT Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy, and Bible

Translation

GP general possession GR.1 grade 1 (Hausa)



List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

xxvii

H high tone H human HAB habitual

HLT human language technology

HUFS Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

i/ii tone class

IAI International African Institute

ICT information and communication technology

IDPH ideophone

IKS Indigenous Knowledge System

ILCAA Research Institute for Asian and African Languages and

Cultures

IMM immediacy marker

IMP imperative

INALCO Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales

INC inclusive

INDE Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação

INDEF indefinite (marker)

INE Instituto Nacional de Estatistica

INEAS Institute of Near Eastern and African Studies

INF infinitive inflection **INFL** INS, INST instrument(al) INT intensifier **INTR** intransitive IO indirect object IPF, IPFV imperfective **IRR** irrealis

ISCED Instituto Superior de Ciências de Educaçã

ISE Instituto Superior de Educação

ITER iterative ITR intransitive

JALL Journal of African Languages and Linguistics
JOLAN Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria

JUNCT juncture JUSS jussive

JWAL Journal of West African Languages

L low tone

LACITO Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale

LAN Linguistic Association of Nigeria LBT Lutheran Bible Translators

LCRC Language and Culture Research Centre LLACAN Language, Langues et Cultures d'Afrique

LLS LexTorah Language series

LOC locative



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LOG logophoric pronoun

LREC Language Resources and Evaluation

M midtone M, Msc masculine

MA magister artium, master of arts

MalEX Malawi Lexicon Project

MDG Millennium Development Goals

MED medial (distance)
MED medial/middle voice

MID middle

MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MoI medium of instruction

MPhil magister philosophiae, master of philosophy

MT machine translation system

MT mother tongue

MuST Multilingual Speech Technology

N noun

N nasal consonant

NARR narrative NC Niger-Congo NEG negation

NELIMO Núcleode Estudos de Línguas Moçambicana NEPAD New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO nongovernmental organization

NH non-human

NINLAN National Institute for Nigerian Languages

NLP natural language processing
NLU National Lexicography Unit
NOM nominalizer (for verbs)

NOM nominative NON-DEF non-definite NPST non-past

NRF National Research Foundation

NTR neutral

NTS non-topical subject

NUFU National Committee for Development-Related Research

and Education (Nasjonalt Utvalg for Utviklingsrelatert

Forskning og Utdanning)

NZ nominalizer
O, OB, OBJ object
OBL oblique

OF out-of-focus marker
OGL Oxford Global Languages

OLAC Open Language Archives Community P patient argument in transitive clause



List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

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P, PERS person

P1, P2 etc. past tenses (P1 immediate past, P3 distant past)

PanSALB Pan-South African Language Board

PART discourse particle

PASS passive
PAST past tense
PB Proto-Bantu
PERF, PFV, PF perfective

PhD philosophiae doctor; doctor of philosophy

PL plural
PL, PLA, PLUR pluractional
PLAGR plural agreement
PNC Proto-Niger-Congo
PNG person/number/gender

POSS possessive PossN possessive noun PossPro possessive pronoun PRED predicative particle

PREP preposition PRES, PRS present tense **PRO** pronoun **PROG** progressive **PROH** prohibitive **PROX** proximal **PST** past (tense) PST1 recent past **PTCP** participle

Q question (marker), interrogative

R root

RCD reductive-causative-downward

RCLT Research Centre for Linguistic Typology

REAL realis
REC reciprocal
REC. PST recent past
RED reduplication

REL relative (clause marker)

REM. PST remote past REV reversive RFL reflexive

RMA Language Resource Management Agency

RTR retraction of the tongue root

S, SBJ, SU, SUBJ subject

SADiLaR South African Centre for Digital Language Resources

SAL Studies in African Linguistics

SARCHI South African Research Chair Initiative



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S-Aux-OVX subject-auxiliary-object-verb-any other constituent

SCN serial verb connective

SeLA Scientific e-Lexicography for Africa

SELAF Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de

France

SEQ sequential-conjunctive

SG singular SGL singulative

SIDA Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SIL Summer Institute of Linguistics

SLTU Spoken Language Technologies for Under-resourced

Languages

SM subject marker SNG singular verb stem

SOAS School of Oriental and African Studies

SOV subject-object-verb

SOVX subject-object-verb-any other constituent

SSC same subject converb

SSHRC Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

STAT stative

SUNY State University of New York

SUSO Unified Orthography of a Unified Language called Shona

SVC serial verb construction SVO subject-verb-object

SVOX subject-verb-object-any other constituent

T tense node

TAM tense-aspect-mood (system)

TGG transformation-generative grammar

TNS tense

TOP topicalization (marker)

TP tense phrase
TQ term question
TR transitive

TTS text to speech system

TUFS Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

TWB Translators without Borders
UBS United Bible Societies

UCB University of California, Berkeley
UCLA University of California, Los Angeles
UIL UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UPSID UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database

UQAM Université du Québec à Montréal USC University of Southern California



List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

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 $ilde{V}$ nasal vowel V verb, predicate

V vowel VEN venitive

VSO verb-subject-object

VV long vowel

WALS/SLAO West African Linguistic Society/Société Linguistique de

L'Afrique Occidentale

WOCAL World Congress of African Linguistics

X clausal complement

