



# VOWEL REDUCTION TO /I/ IN FUNCTIONAL MORPHEMES IN NORTHERN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Kuznetsova & Anderson (2020:7): Two **general paths of vowel reduction** are often distinguished:

- **centripetal**: centralisation towards schwa
- **centrifugal**: dispersion towards the three corner vowel qualities *a*, *i*, *u*, which are the most peripheral in F1/F2 space



Kapatsinki et al. (2020):

- **\*centrifugal**: The few reported cases of apparent centrifugal vowel reduction do not result from reductive sound change
- As a **result of reduction** vowels:
  - shorten
  - devoice
  - unround
  - and centralize
  - (with some raising)



Kapatsinki et al. (2020) on quality changes in reduction:

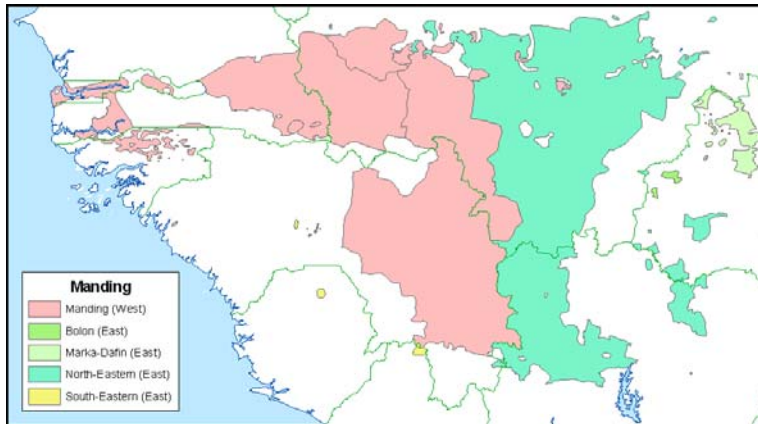
- **centralization**
- raising
  - ✎ despite being common in Romance in Slavic (Crosswhite 2001; Barnes 2006)
- (lowering can only affect high vowels lowering to mid, but never to low)



In many languages of Northern Sub-Saharan Africa (NSSA) vowel qualities of **functional morphemes** tend to be **neutralized** through raising, fronting and unrounding towards /i/

- typologically uncommon
- targets functional morphemes
- has a non-trivial spatial distribution within NSSA

- Reduction towards /i/ is common in **TAMP markers** in **Greater Manding** languages (cf. Idiatov 2020:65)



Mande > Western Mande > Central Mande > Greater Manding (> Manding, Jogo-Jeli, Mokole)

(1)  $TAMP_0$  S **TAMP<sub>1</sub>** (O) V-TAMP<sub>2</sub> X  $TAMP_3$



- Idiatov (2020) focuses on positive **PFV and historically related markers**, but similar reduction is also observed for other TAM values.

Reconstruction	Reflexes with raising towards /i/
*kà	Maninka of Niokolo <sup>H</sup> <i>ka</i> ~ <sup>H</sup> <i>ke</i> (INF), Mauka <i>kè</i> (INF, COND <sup>+</sup> ), Bamana of Kolona <i>kǐ</i> (INF)
*yá	Ivorian Manding lects of Tenen <i>yé</i> ~ <i>yé</i> (PRF <sup>+</sup> ), Mau <i>yé</i> (PRF <sup>+</sup> ); Standard Bamana <i>yé</i> (PFV <sub>T</sub> <sup>+</sup> )
*tà	Northern Lele <i>ré</i> ~ <i>ré</i> ( <i>dé</i> ~ <i>dé</i> after a nasal) (PFV <sub>T</sub> <sup>+</sup> ), Maninka of Kita <i>ti</i> ~ <i>di</i> (PFV <sub>T</sub> <sup>+</sup> ), Kakabe <i>ti</i> (PFV <sub>T</sub> <sup>+</sup> )
*nà(-RES COP)	Marka <i>ní</i> (PFV <sub>T</sub> <sup>+</sup> ), Kakabe <i>ni</i> (SBJV <sup>+</sup> )
*bá(-RES COP)	Ivorian Manding lects of Tenen <i>wé(é)</i> (PRF <sup>+</sup> ), Finan <i>wéé</i> (PRF <sup>+</sup> ); Bolon <i>wé</i> (PFV <sub>T</sub> <sup>+</sup> )
*-tà	Jogo <i>-re</i> (PFV <sup>+</sup> ), Kakabe <i>bá.tí(L)</i> (PRF <sup>+</sup> )
*mààŋ	Bamana of Kolona <i>mí</i> (PFV <sup>-</sup> )



- Some **phonological environments** are **more propitious for this** reduction than others:
  - **place of articulation of C<sub>-</sub>**: palatal *y* > coronal *t* > velar *k* > bilabial *b*
  - **nasalization of C<sub>-</sub>**: oral > nasal
  - position wrt the **utterance edge**: obligatory internal (TAMP<sub>1</sub>) > often final (TAMP<sub>2</sub>, TAMP<sub>3</sub>)





- In particular, **reflexes with reduction** are:
  - very rare for *\*mààŋ*
    - ✎ unlike raising, **unrounding** in the same environment is less rare, as in in the COP *\*mù > mí*
  - very rare for *\*bá*
    - ✎ but may appear to be more frequent because of the conflation with the reflexes of *\*bá-RES* (COP), such as *\*bá-tà > bati > ...*
  - rare for *\*nà*



- In particular, **reflexes with reduction** are:
  - rare for TAMP<sub>2</sub> *\*-tà*
    - ✎ unless as part of TAMP<sub>1</sub> *\*bá-tà* > *bati*
  - less rare for the reflexes of TAMP<sub>1</sub> *\*kà* and *\*tà*
  - very common for *\*yá*
    - ✎ remarkably, raising after the palatal approximant *y* was **never found to go all the way up to *i***
    - ✎ the same seems to hold for the environment after **the labial-velar approximant *w***



- Particularly striking evidence is found in Kakabe (cf. Vydrina 2017)
  - With the exception of the PFV<sub>T</sub><sup>+</sup> *ka*, all light monosyllabic TAMP<sub>1</sub> markers in Kakabe have the shape *Ci*
    - ☞ PROG<sup>+</sup> and COP<sup>+</sup> *bi*, IPFV<sup>+</sup> *si*, SBJV<sup>+</sup> *ni*, and the allomorph *ti* of PRF<sup>+</sup>
  - Although the regular reflex of the old RES marker *\*-tà* in Kakabe is the PFV<sub>I</sub><sup>+</sup> TAMP<sub>2</sub> marker *-ta*, its vowel is reduced to *i* within two synchronically unanalyzable TAMP<sub>1</sub> markers, viz. PRF<sup>+</sup> *bátí<sup>(L)</sup>* < *\*bá-tà* and COND<sup>+</sup> *mání<sup>(L)</sup>* < *\*máŋ-tà*.



- Jogo and Ligbi (Kastenholz 1997; Persson & Persson 1980):
  - *tá(gá)* ‘go’, *yá* ‘come’
  - **When used as a kind of auxiliaries** with motion semantics, they have **variants with front vocalism**: *té* (Ligbi, Jogo), *tí* (Jogo) and *yé* (Jogo), *yé* (Ligbi) respectively (irrespective of the TAM construction)



- Neutralization through raising, fronting and unrounding towards /i/ in functional morphemes in Greater Manding can be analyzed as a type of **vowel reduction process**.
- The relevant functional morphemes can be safely construed as **prosodically weak** thanks to the fact that typically they are affected by a whole range of **concomitant lenition** and **neutralization processes**
  - The **consonants** of the TAMP markers tend to undergo lenition mirroring similar lenition processes affecting word-internal consonants, viz.  $t > d > r > \emptyset$ ,  $k > g$ ,  $x, y > \emptyset$ ,  $b > w > \emptyset$  and  $y > \emptyset$ .
  - The long vowels are **shortened**.
  - The **tonal distinctions** of TAMP markers tend to become neutralized, with the markers becoming toneless or H, as is common for clitics and suffixes.



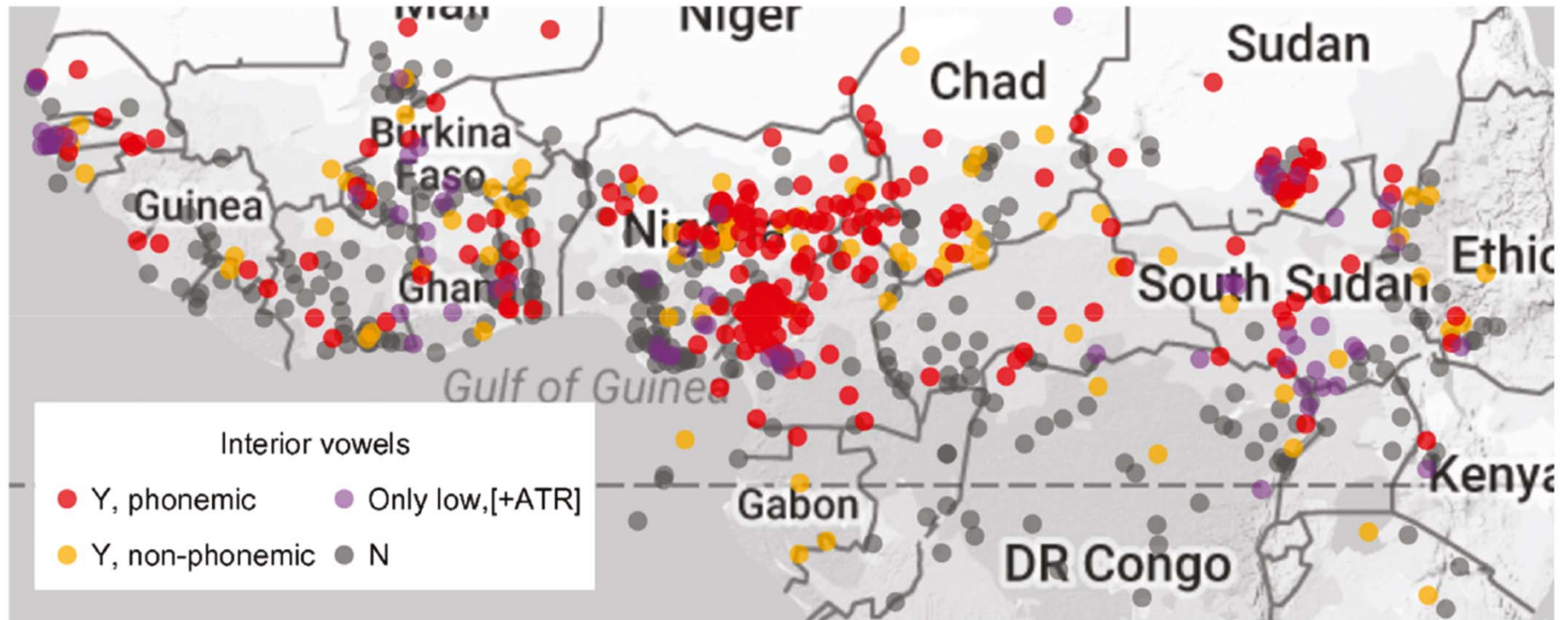
- Both in Mande and in NSSA in general, **vowel reduction** in prosodically weak positions **within lexical morphemes** proceeds **through the typologically more common processes** of shortening, devoicing, unrounding and centralization.
  - Reduction is often driven by the phenomenon of **stem-initial prominence** (cf. Lionnet & Hyman 2018:652–55; Idiatov & Van de Velde 2021:93-94)
  - **Negative evidence**: no noticeable skewing towards front articulations of vowels or palatalization effects on consonants in lexicons of languages affected by phonological erosion.



- Reduction towards /i/ in functional morphemes has a **non-trivial spatial distribution within NSSA** with its distribution crossing genealogical boundaries.
  - The details of this spatial distribution still very much need to be worked out.
  - On the basis of the sporadic examples so far:
    - More likely to be found as an active process in **languages without interior vowel phonemes**, such as /i u ɜ ə ʌ ... /.
    - However, absence of interior vowels is **not a necessary condition** as confirmed by **non-Northwestern Bantu languages** spoken to the south of NSSA.
    - **Traces of such a formerly active process** have been found in some languages where currently it is centralization that appears to be the regular reduction process in functional morphemes.



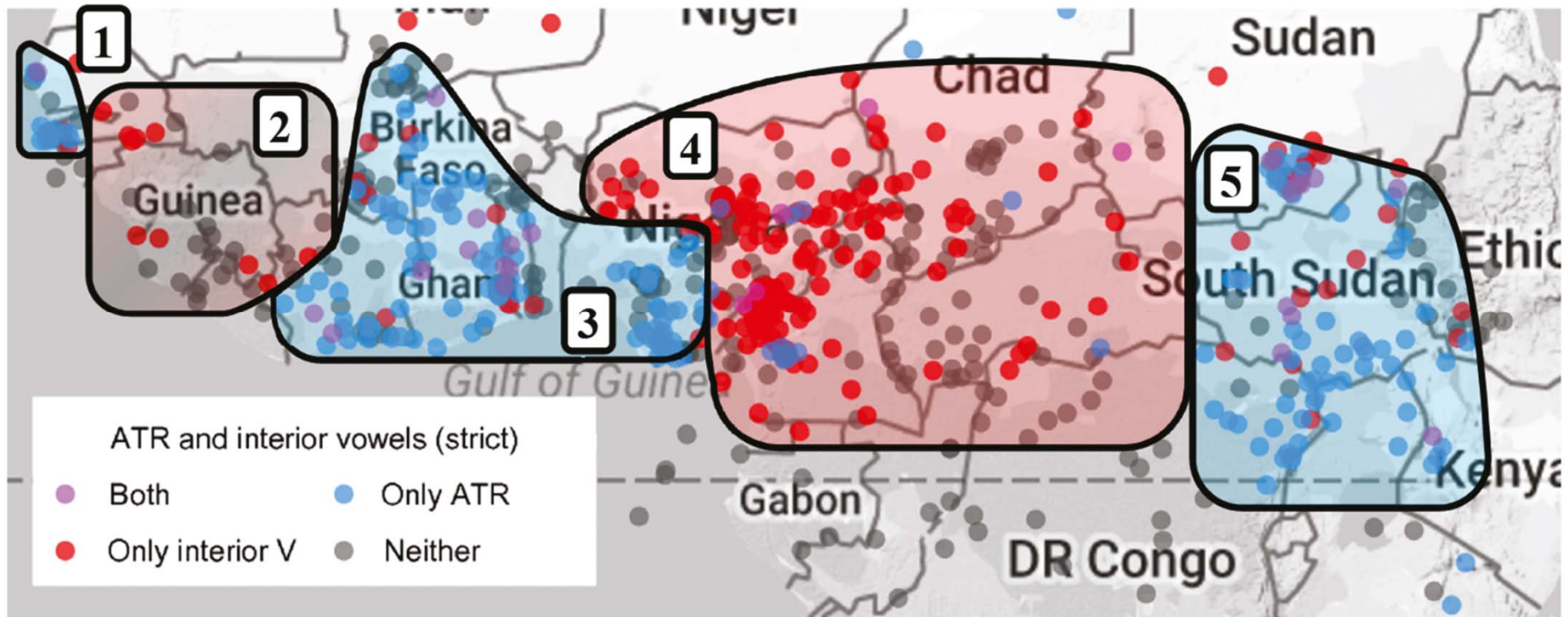
## REDUCTION TOWARDS /i/: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION



Geographic distribution of interior vowels in NSSA (Rolle et al. 2020:142)



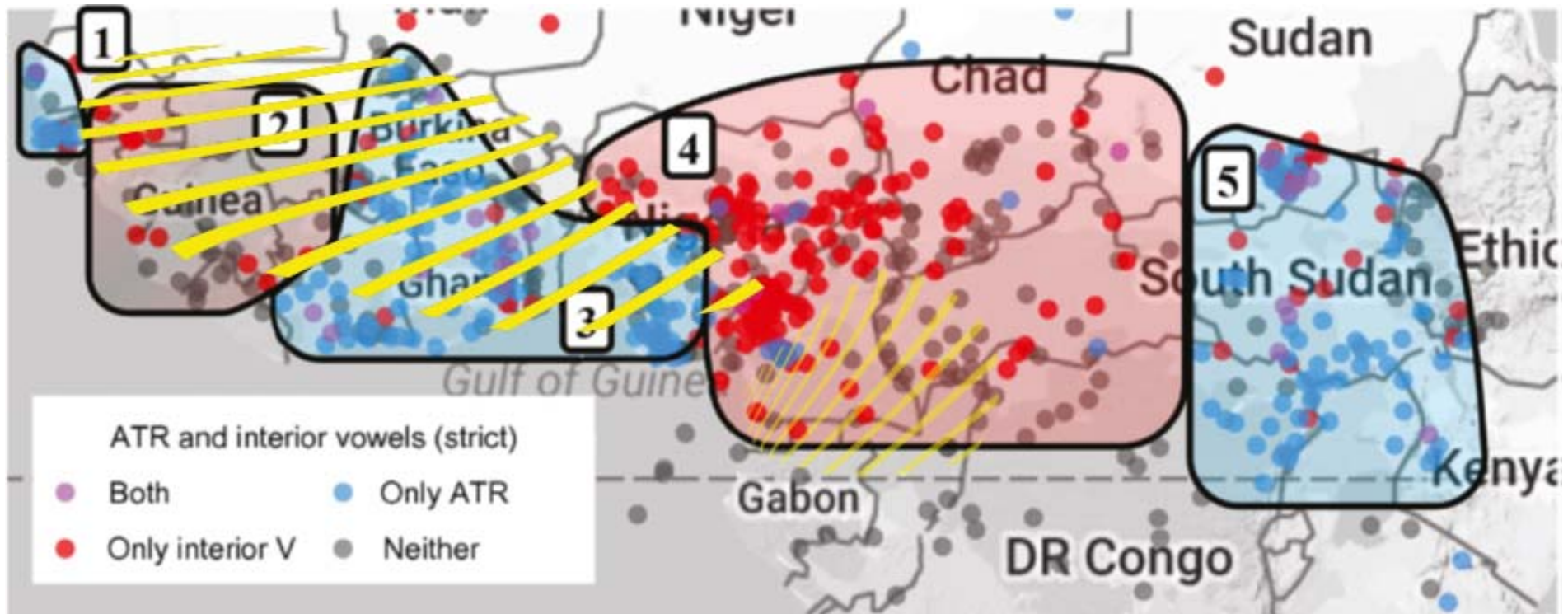
- Rolle et al. (2020) an areal study of vowel systems in NSSA



[1] Atlantic ATR zone, [2] Guinean ATR-deficient zone, [3] West African ATR zone, [4] Central African ATR-deficient zone (includes Central African interior vowel zone), [5] East African ATR zone.



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- **Ci-/Cu- partial reduplication** as the frequent example of reduction towards /i/ in functional morphemes in NSSA.

“In the recent literature, there is a general consensus on the analysis that reduplication consists in a process of affixation (see in particular Lieber 1992 and Marantz 1982). A reduplication morpheme can be a prefix or a suffix.”  
(Brousseau & Lefebvre 2002:198)

- In NSSA, Ci-/Cu- partial reduplication always involves a **prefix**, viz. RED-STEM.
- **Cu-** partial reduplication is found in some languages **in rounding contexts** (cf. Lionnet & Hyman 2018:650).

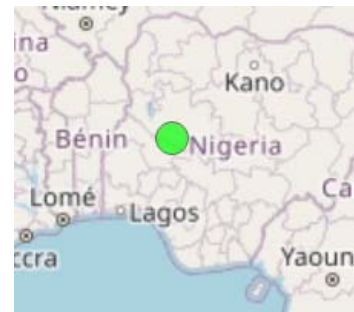


- **Ci-/Cu-** partial reduplication as the frequent example of reduction towards /i/ in functional morphemes in NSSA.

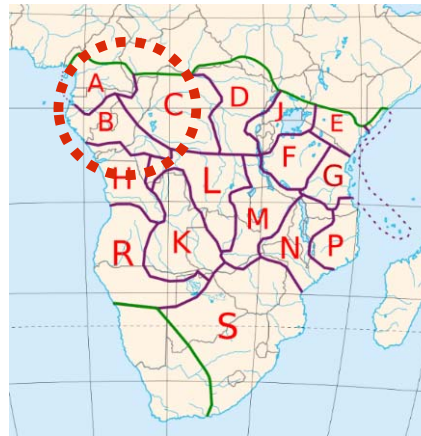
- Common in **Kwa languages**, such as Gbe languages and Akan.



- Attested in **Benue-Congo languages**, such as Nupe

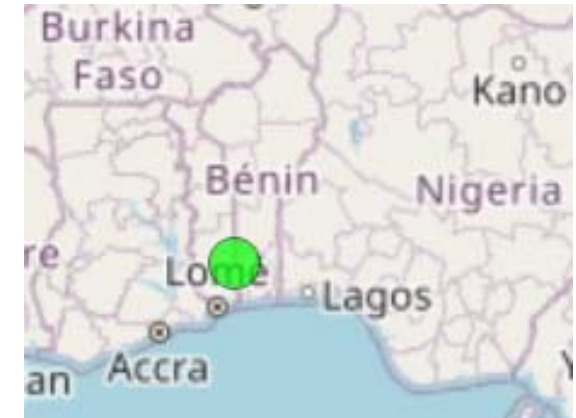


- Reported to occur in **some Northwestern Bantu languages** (Hyman 2009:150)





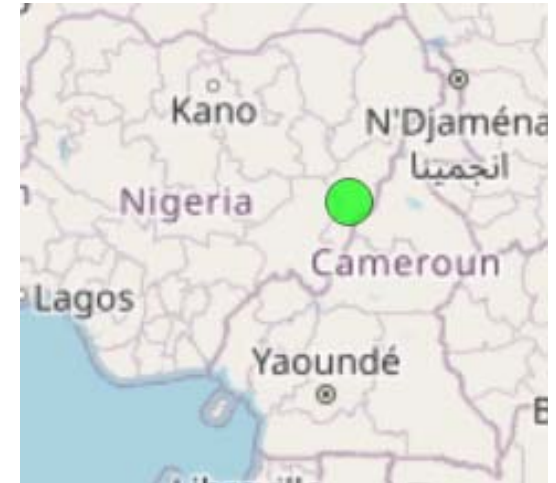
- Ci-/Cu- partial reduplication in **Fongbe** (Kwa; Brousseau & Lefebvre 2002:195-215).
  - Function: NMLZ of verbs.



(39)	a.	<i>zì-zè</i>	<	<i>zè</i>	'to split'
	b.	<i>gbì-gbá</i>	<	<i>gbá</i>	'to build'
	c.	<i>xì-xò</i>	<	<i>xò</i>	'to buy'
	d.	<i>kpí-kpábá</i>	<	<i>kpábá</i>	'to flatten'
	e.	<i>dì-dà</i>	<	<i>dà</i>	'to prepare'
	f.	<i>wì-wlán</i>	<	<i>wlán</i>	'to write'

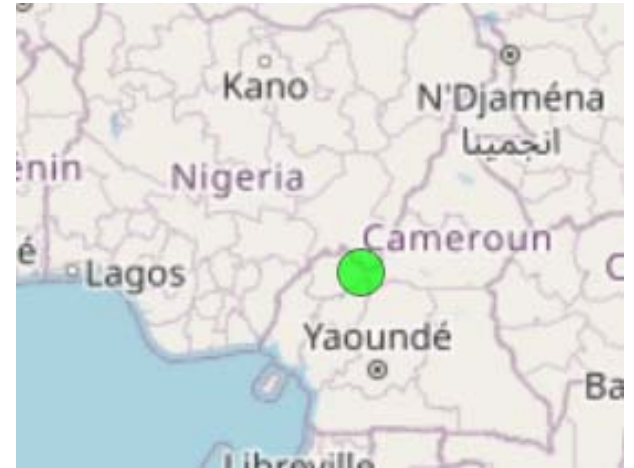


- Kugama (“Adamawa” pool > Mumuye-Yandang; Litvinova 2023).
  - Several **verbal functional morphemes** have the shape *Ci*
    - PFV clitic = *tí/ = rí*
    - CAUS clitic = *si*
    - (preverbal) PROG marker *tì ~ tè < tē* ‘place’ (viz. ‘X is at the place of doing Y’)
  - With only few exceptions, **prosodically weak  $\sigma$  in stems** (non-stem-initial  $\sigma$ ) have a closed front vowel, viz. *Ci ~ Ce*, while in **disyllabic verb stems** the final syllable is always *Ci*.





- Lamnso' (Bantoid > Grassfields) (cf. McGarrity & Botne 2001, Anderson 2015)
  - **CV noun class markers** (prefix and enclitics) are all *Ci*
    - E.g., including CL 6 *mi-*, compare Proto-Bantu *\*ma-*.
  - In lexical morphemes, vowels in prosodically weak positions appear to have been deleted, as the typical root shape is (N)C<sub>1</sub>(w)V(V)(C<sub>2</sub>) (verbs are just C(w)VC)
  - Lamnso' also has /ə/, also found in prosodically strong positions
  - There are also functional morphemes with /ə/ rather than /i/
  - No vowel reduction in partial reduplication





- Recognizing the existence of an areal tendency to reduction towards /i/ in functional morphemes in large parts of NSSA allows us to offer **a principled solution for two types of reconstruction-related issues**:
  - When **multiple, but only slightly formally divergent cognate sets** and reconstructions have been proposed for a given functional morpheme
    - The nominal prefix of **class 13**: De Wolf (1985) for Proto-Benue-Congo **\*ti-** vs. Meeussen (1967) **\*tu-** for Proto-Bantu, one of its major branches
    - Creissels (2020) reconstructs several **Mande PL markers** differing in their **u/i vocalism**, such as Manding **-lú** vs. **-lí** and Soninke **-nu** (Eastern) vs. **-ni** (Western), as sourced from the Proto-Mande associative plural marker **\*ni**.





- Recognizing the existence of an areal tendency to reduction towards /i/ in functional morphemes in large parts of NSSA allows us to offer **a principled solution for two types of reconstruction-related issues**:
  - It can guide us in the search for **the most plausible lexical source** of a given functional morpheme
    - Creissels (2020) relates the future (“potential”) auxiliary *sí* ~ *sé* in Mandinka to the Mandinka verb *sé* ‘reach; overcome’
    - But the source that would be typologically and comparatively more plausible is the verb *\*sá* ‘come’, absent as a lexical verb in Mandinka itself