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***Melodic tones and inflectional  
morphemes in Central Kenyan  
Languages (E50)***

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Meeussen 1967, p. 113 & 114

-à-	-ídé	recent pf
-á-	-ídè	pret. pf.
-ka H-a/á-	-ídé	past (perfective?)

[Occasionally also –ídè, e.g. p. 111]

## Bickmore & Odden 2014, p. 5

- « The typical autosegmental analysis is that the H's are floating tones, which are (partial) exponents of inflectional morphemes. Meeussen's proposal that there may have been multiple « final » suffixes with the same segmental content but different tones can be seen as a segmental version of this idea. However [...] systems of melodic tones are much more complex than would be possible by just adding one or two floating H's to a stem. »

# The point of this presentation

- Practically impossible to reject a M(elodic) T(one) analysis for languages with no lexical distinction on radicals. OK!
- However, other languages more amenable to an analysis *à la Meeussen*, where the tone of various morphemes can be identified.
- Data taken from Kikuyu (E51) and Kamba (E55)

# Sources

- Kikuyu:
  - Armstrong (1940), Bennett (1969, 1985, n.d.), Clements (1984), Clements & Ford (1977, 1979)
- Kamba:
  - Whiteley (1962), Ford (1976, n.d.), Roberts-Kohno (2000, 2014)

# What tones?

- Kikuyu has L, H and rising tones + multiple downsteps
  - ndiaháánd'íré méywacě : I didn't plant cassava (Armstrong)
  - né: mbére ya mote oóreǎ Kámá'ú óó'níré Kaanáke : it is before that tree that Kamau saw Kanake (Clements)
- Kamba has SH, H, H(S)L, L and SL tones
  - keβetì kyâ:tí.ǎ njí.á wakyó... : if a woman leaves her mother... (Whiteley)
  - Motó.ǎ á.ísye kaná á.o.í.ε e.i.ò : Mutua said that he bought the banana (Ford)

# Melodic tones or not?

- All tones appearing on a verb stem are not necessarily MT's.
- E.g. Roberts-Kohno (2014) gives detailed – and very useful – patterns of « MT's », like e.g.
  - V<sub>2</sub>H, F-L, Ph-SL
- But Ph-SL is a P-phrase marker – not basically linked to the stem and shouldn't be counted as MT; e.g. Roberts-Kohno (2014, p 377):
  - nóokonááŋgèètè : he has hit a little
  - nóokonááŋgéete ma.i.ò : he has hit bananas a little (ma.i.o : bananas)
- with H final:
  - nénáa.o.í.ê : I bought (long ago)
  - nénáa.o.í.é ma.i.ò : I bought bananas (long ago)

# SH tone

- Non-final SH is found on negative markers in Kamba; in Kikuyu the tone is realised H but it is followed by a floating L which causes the H to spread until it meets another H :
- Kamba:
- toyáátalé.éété (ngókó) : we hadn't counted chickens (for s.o)
- Kikuyu:
- matíáyóréé'té náma : they hadn't bought meat



## SH tone (2)

- According to a normal realisation rule, phrase-final but not utterance-final HL is realised as SH in Kamba
- Since negative verbs never phrase together with their complements, such verbs ending in a HL tone (where the L is the phrasal L) will always surface as SH:
  - to.í.o.á.â : we don't always buy (Kik. totiyóráyá)
  - to.í.o.á.á ma.i.o : we don't always buy bananas (Kik. totiyóráyá máriyó)
- Interestingly -íí- and -tí- tend to alternate according to whether there is a final HL or not (id. in Kik)
- NB: there is only one tense in Kamba with intrinsic final SH – this never alternates (Roberts-Kohn 2014, p. 376):
  - twáatálá (ma.i.o) : if we count (bananas)

# « Echo » tones in relative forms

- Meeussen (1967, p.113): « [...] their [i.e. relative verb forms] final vowel, but not the extensional stretch exhibits tonal harmony with the initial element [i.e. SP] ». This is what Thilo Schadeberg (1978/79) calls ‘Tone copy’ and Larry Hyman (2007) the ‘Law of Initials and Finals’.
- Many examples in Kikuyu and Kamba, e.g. Kamba:
  - tókona.á : ...that we usually hit
  - okona.a : ... that he usually hits
- Kikuyu (for subject relatives only; object relatives all have H SP’s):
  - ...maró'ríre mókaanda : ...(those) who looked at a rope
  - ...ororiré mokaanda : ... (the one) who looked at a rope
- I do not consider this « echo » H to qualify as a ‘Melodic’ tone either, since it appears at the word-level and docks to the final syllable when the stem has already got its tone pattern. [N.B. mine is an unashamedly derivational approach]

# L tones in Kamba

- In Kamba SL = *normal L* when P-phrase final
- Non-SL L = normal L inside P-phrases, but *marked L* when P-phrase final:
  - moòndò : person                      moondo monéñé : big p. (Kikuyu: moondo / moondo monéñé)
  - nénéákáméètè : I had milked                      nénéákámeete ηòmbè : I had milked cows (Kikuyu: nénderáákameéte ηòmbè)

But:

- ma.i.o : bananas                      ma.i.o manéñé : big bananas (Kikuyu: mariyo / mariyo manéñé)
- tálánéla : count for each other! (Kikuyu: táránéra – Note special realisation; normally cvcvcvcv > cvcvcv!)

# L tones in Kamba nouns

- In noun stems (Whiteley 1963) : -HSL (= SHSH) 26%, -LSL 28%, vs. -LL 7,5%, -HL 7% (others: -LH 14%, -HH 13%, -LSH 4%)
- very many -HSL and LSL stems are the reflexes of CB items. -LL and -HL stems do not appear to be (little evidence) and at most are regional roots (*pace* Clements & Ford, 1979, p. 188).
  - e.i.o banana (Kikuyu iriyo LL, Chaga °-dùyú LH)
  - mbɔɔɔɔ beans (Kikuyu mbɔɔɔɔ LL)
  - ŋgusu bag (Kik. ŋgucu HH (elder's skin bag for carrying meat), Dawida (E74a) kikutʃu LH ~ LL ~ HH)

# Final L tones in verbs

- In Kamba verbs, final L is only found in non-main declarative forms (Roberts-Kohno 2014, pp. 371 and 379-382 – contain a few unfortunate typos) :
- relative positive (with L SP – H SP have the final « echo » H),
  - ...wáákona : ...that he just hit ≠ ...twáakoná : ... that we just hit
- one relative negative only (-kaa- future)
- subjunctive affirmative (in this tense lexical H is replaced by L)
- imperative sg.
- For the last 2, intonation might be considered (cf. exceptional realisations of imperative in Kikuyu, Armstrong 1940)

# Final L tones in relatives

- Possible explanation of why we find L (= marked L) instead of SL (= normal L) in some relative positive verb forms with L SP.
- Bickmore (2014, pp. 45-46) : in some tenses in Lungu a final H is not present if the SP is L:
  - yáásúkililá : they have just accompanied ≠ yaasúkílila : it (cl. 9) has just accompanied
- However the H from TM –á- doesn't spread to the penult, as it should if it were final in the word
- So Bickmore concludes that the H is still present but somehow remains floating and does not dock on the final syllable.

# Final L tones in relatives

- A similar floating H might be posited for Kamba and explain why the final L doesn't go to SL.
- Since the “echo” tone seems to be linked with postposed relative markers (cf. Schadeberg 1989) one may want to reconstruct different tone patterns for the latter, perhaps PB \*ué (cl. 1) vs \*báo (cl. 2). The following example from Mwali (G44C) illustrates (continuous present built on relative form):
  - ngamtsímbo : I am digging ≠ ngaritsimbáo : we are digging
  - ngamfajó hazi : I am doing work ≠ ngarifajáo házi : we are doing work

# Phrasal L and its effects

- we've seen that Phrasal L docking on a L syllable is realized as SL in front of pause
- We can also meet final SL in negative forms which are not phrasal; compare  
nétó.o.o.a.à : we've been buying (Kik. nétóókóyoraya)  
nétó.o.o.a.a ma.i.ò : we've been buying bananas (recall ma.i.o « marked » L)  
(Kik. nétóókóyoraya mariyo)
- and  
tóté.o.o.a.à : we haven't been buying (Kik. tot*i*kóyóráyá)  
tóté.o.o.a.a ma.i.o : we haven't been buying bananas  
(Kik. tot*i*kóyóráyá máriyó)



## Phrasal L and its effects (2)

- in the same context Phrasal L docking to a H syllable gives a HL tone in Kamba (rising in Kikuyu)
- Kik. netóyórayǎ : we will buy      Ka. nétó.o.a.â
- In Kikuyu the Ph-L is floating, but enables H to be realised (as rising); the H in both languages is due to the « echo » tone (the ne- form is based on the (non-subject) relative, so not really part of a « melodic » pattern).

# Suffixal tones

- Kamba (and Kikuyu) finals may be:
- L: -à, -à.à, -ì.è, -èètè : unproblematic
- H: -á, -á.á, -í.é, -éété : in this case (Roberts-Kohno's  $V_2H$ ) the final H associates leftwards to all morae after radical -CV(C)-
- HL: -í.è, -éétè : here the penult H associates like above, L remaining on the last syllable
- In all these cases Bickmore and Odden's « [autosegmental] partial exponents of inflexional morphemes » appears more appropriate than melodic tone

# Melodic tone ?

- HLH -éèté found in only one negative tense, the hodiernal stative (-Ø- -eetε):
  - positive forms, main and relative, have -éèè (plus the echo H and Ph- L) [the same is true of the -í.è ending, but there are no *negative* verb forms with this ending in Kamba]
- For some reason the negatives added a final H (+ phrasal L, in the case of the main negative) :
  - ndákonéetê he hasn't hit      ...tótákonéeté : ...that he hasn't hit
    - (no phrasal L in Kik. ndayó'rééte, expected \*ndayó'rééĕ) but we do have the HLH melody. cf. ndítítimórééte njóyú : I haven't caused elephants to stampede
- So this would be the only case [so far!] of a H tone not visibly linked to a particular morpheme.

Thank you !