IKIZU NOMINAL TONES

HOLLY ROBINSON (SIL, TANZANIA) &
LOTTA AUNIO (UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI)

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

IKIZU

- JE402 [ikz]
- Mara Region
- 55,000 speakers (Lewis, Simons & Fenning 2016)

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Mara region
languages and dialects

OVERVIEW

- Background: vowels and tone system
- Nominal lexical tones in different environments
- Infinitive tones
- Comparison & conclusions

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

IKIZU VOWELS

- 7 vowels & vowel height harmony
- Prefixes can have 3 forms, e.g.:
  - *omo-*: underlying
  - *umu-*: raised
  - *ɔmɔ-*: lowered
- See Robinson (2016) for a more thorough description of Ikizu vowel harmony.

Stem vowel *a*	Stem vowels *ɛ, ɔ*	Stem vowels *e, o*	Stem vowels *i, u*
omo-rámu 'brother-in-law'	*ɔmɔ́-hɔtʃa* 'servant'	*omo-kékoɾo* 'old woman'	*umú-βisa* 'enemy'
eké-sagi 'cloth'	*ɛké-kɔβa* 'lip'	*eke-goɾo* 'mountain'	*iki-huɲo* 'stopper'
e-gaβo 'inheritance'	*ɛ-kɔ́ɾɔ* 'heart'	*em-béze* 'wild pig'	*iŋ-gúβu* 'antelope'

IKIZU TONES

- Nominal lexical tones
- Verbal lexical tones not contrastive
- Grammatical tones
- TBU: mora, but syllable count

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

NOMINAL TONES

• 3 lexical types:
1. toneless stems
2. H on penult (PU-H)
3. H on antepenult (APU-H)

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

NON-FINAL POSITION

	Ø		PU-H		APU-H	
2 syllables	ee-ka	'lion'	ií-swe	'fish'		
	zee-ka	'lions'	eén-da	'lice'		
	een-da	'stomach'	rií-ru	'knee'		
			ɲaámu	'cat'	kóóko 'grandmother'(?)	
3 syllables	umu-ri	'root'	amá-ru	'knees'		
	eŋ-geβɔ	'cloth'	eŋ-kókɔ	'cloth'		
	ri-gaati	'wound'	ri-guúwa	'sugarcane'		
4 syllables	umu-rimi	'farmer'	omo-rámu	'brother-in-law'	umú-βisa	'enemy'
	ɔrɔ-geendɔ	'journey'	ɔmɔ-geége	'stupid person'	oró-teete	'spine'
	e-tekere	'donkey'	ri-taambóka	'step'	ri-górɔɔβa	'afternoon'
5 syllables	iki-riβoko	'crossing'	eke-tenéka	'piece'	ɔrɔ-kérege	'hill'
	eke-taaŋgora	'bed'	ekɛ-rɛrɛéna	'baby'		
	ri-rɛkɛrɛrɔ	'church'				
6 syllables	eke-toromooni	'centipede'	eke-kororózo	'mongoose'	omo-taβáárutʃa	'midwife'
			eke-zaanzamóti	'squirrel'	oro-sarásaambɛ	'bird's crest'

ASSINGMENT & REALIZATION OF TONES

- Nominal tone type: the stem
- Nominal tone domain: the word
- H on long vowel: level H
- PU-H on a long vowel: rising tone
- H spread:

  ri-taambǒká rerarɔrɛ́kana 'step is visible'

  ri-gɔ́rɔ́ɔ́βá rerarɔrɛ́kana 'afternoon is visible'
- Variation with 4+ stems (APU-H): H on the APU or stem-initially

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

NON-FINAL POSITION

	Ø		PU-H		APU-H	
2 syllables	*ee-ka*	'lion'	*ií-swe*	'fish'		
	zee-ka	'lions'	*eén-da*	'lice'		
	een-da	'stomach'	*rií-ru*	'knee'		
			ɲaámu	'cat'	*kóóko* 'grandmother'(?)	
3 syllables	*umu-ri*	'root'	*amá-ru*	'knees'		
	eŋ-geβɔ	'cloth'	*eŋ-kókɔ*	'cloth'		
	ri-gaati	'wound'	*ri-guúwa*	'sugarcane'		
4 syllables	*umu-rimi*	'farmer'	*omo-rámu*	'brother-in-law'	*umú-βisa*	'enemy'
	ɔrɔ-geendɔ	'journey'	*ɔmɔ-geége*	'stupid person'	*oró-teete*	'spine'
	e-tekere	'donkey'	*ri-taambóka*	'step'	*ri-górɔɔβa*	'afternoon'
5 syllables	*iki-riβoko*	'crossing'	*eke-tenéka*	'piece'	*ɔrɔ-kérege*	'hill'
	eke-taaŋgora	'bed'	*ekɛ-rɛrɛéna*	'baby'		
	ri-rɛkɛrɛrɔ	'church'				
6 syllables	*eke-toromooni*	'centipede'	*eke-kororózo*	'mongoose'	*omo-taβáárutʃa*	'midwife'
			eke-zaanzamóti	'squirrel'	*oro-sarásaambɛ*	'bird's crest'

APU-H SHIFT

- Monosyllabic prefixes: *ri-* (5), *en-* (9), *ze(n)-* (10)
  - No change with PU-H: *ri-guúwa* 'sugarcane' - *ama-guúwa* 'sugarcanes'
  - APU-H: *ɔrɔ́-gɔhɛ* 'eyelash' - *zɛɛŋ-góhɛ* 'eyelashes'
  - APU-H shifted to PU is level H: *oró-teete - zetééte* 'backbone'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

NON-FINAL POSITION

	Ø		PU-H		APU-H	
2 syllables	*ee-ka*	'lion'	*ií-swe*	'fish'		
	zee-ka	'lions'	*eén-da*	'lice'		
	een-da	'stomach'	*rií-ru*	'knee'		
			ɲaámu	'cat'	*kóóko* 'grandmother'(?)	
3 syllables	*umu-ri*	'root'	*amá-ru*	'knees'		
	eŋ-geβɔ	'cloth'	*eŋ-kókɔ*	'cloth'		
	ri-gaati	'wound'	*ri-guúwa*	'sugarcane'		
4 syllables	*umu-rimi*	'farmer'	*omo-rámu* 'brother-in-law'		*umú-βisa*	'enemy'
	ɔrɔ-geendɔ	'journey'	*ɔmɔ-geége* 'stupid person'		*oró-teete*	'spine'
	e-tekere	'donkey'	*ri-taambóka* 'step'		*ri-górɔɔβa*	'afternoon'
5 syllables	*iki-riβoko*	'crossing'	*eke-tenéka*	'piece'	*ɔrɔ-kérege*	'hill'
	eke-taaŋgora	'bed'	*ekɛ-rɛrɛéna*	'baby'		
	ri-rɛkɛrɛrɔ	'church'				
6 syllables	*eke-toromooni* 'centipede'		*eke-kororózo* 'mongoose'		*omo-taβáárutʃa* 'midwife'	
			eke-zaanzamóti 'squirrel'		*oro-sarásaambɛ* 'bird's crest'	

CLASS 1A/2A

Toneless	**PU-H**	**APU-H**
ɲamɔkɔ	misɛɛ́ŋgɛ	sókoro
βaa-ɲamɔkɔ	βaa-misɛɛ́ŋgɛ	βaa-sókoro
'raven'	'aunt'	'grandfaher'
	ɲaámu	kóóko
	βaa-ɲaámu	βaa-kóóko
	'cat'	'grandmother'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

ISOLATION/FINAL

• Default tone for toneless stems à contrast partly neutralized

(1)
rí-gano#	vs.	ri-gano	'story'
umú-rimi#	vs.	umu-rimi	'farmer'
iki-ríβoko#	vs.	iki-riβoko	'crossing'
ri-rɛkɛ́rɛrɔ#	vs.	ri-rɛkɛrɛrɔ	'church'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

TONELESS VS. APU-H

(2)
umú-rimi#   'farmer'   vs.   *umú̱-βisa#*   'enemy'
iki-ríβoko#   'crossing' vs.   *ɔrɔ-kɛ́ɾɛgɛ#*   'hill'
ri-rɛkɛ́ɾɛrɔ# 'church'   vs.   *omo-taβa̱áɾutʃa#*   'midwife'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(3)
éé-ka#   vs.   *ee-ka* 'lion'
ríí-ge#   vs.   *rii-ge* 'egg'

(4)
éé-ka# 'lion'   vs.   *ií-swe#* 'fish'
ríí-ge# 'egg'   vs.   *ríi̱-ru#* 'knee'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

INFINITIVES: NON-FINAL

(5)

ɔkɔ[βɛ́rɛka 'to carry on back'   *ɔkɔ[mɔ-βɛ́rɛka* 'to carry him/her on back'
uku[ɲáhaara 'to hurt'   *uku[mu-ɲáhaara* 'to hurt him/her'

(6)

uku[rjá 'to eat'
oko[róma 'to bite'   *umú-βisa* 'enemy'

(7)

uku[kí-rja 'to eat it'
oko[mó-roma 'to bite him/her'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

INFINITIVES: FINAL

(8)

ukú[rja#   'to eat'
ukú[ki-rja#   'to eat it'
okó[roma#   'to bite'
oko[mó-roma#   'to bite him/her'

(9)

oko-βerékera# 'to call'   *oko-mo-βerékera#* 'to call her/him'
uku-kúúndukura# 'to reveal'   *uku-ki-kúúndukura#* 'to reveal her/him'
ɔkɔ-hɛrɛ́ɛkɛrɛra# 'to escort'   *ɔkɔ-mɔ-hɛrɛ́ɛkɛrɛra#* 'to escort her/him'

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

OTHER MARA LANGUAGES

- Zanaki (JE44): regular penultimate stress
- Ngoreme (JE401): lexical tones assigned acording to syllable weight
  - cf. Ikizu long Infinitives
- Simbiti (JE431): TBU=mora
- Ikoma (JE45): number of patterns relative to the number of stem syllables
- Nata (JE45): H assigned relative to the left edge
- Kabwa (JE405): 4 tone types/patterns
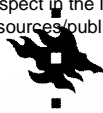
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

THANK YOU!

- Special thanks to the following Ikizu speakers:

Ismael Waryoba, Rukia Manyori, Wema Zisiko, Zawadi Bita, Isack Zacharia

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

REFERENCES

- Anghelescu, A., J.J. Gambarage, Z. Lam & D. Pulleyblank. Nominal and verbal tone in Nata: An Allomorphy-based account. To appear in J. Kendybowicz and H. Torrence: *Africa's Endangered Languages: Theoretical and Documentation Approaches*. OUP.
- Aunio, L. 2010. Ikoma nominal tone. *Africana Linguistica* 16: 3–30.
- Aunio, L. 2015. A Typological perspective on Bantu nominal tone: The Case of Ikoma-Nata-Isenye in western Tanzania. *SALALS* 33(3): 359–371.
- Aunio, L., H. Robinson, T. Roth, O. Stegen & J.B. Walker. The Mara languages (JE40). To appear in *The Bantu Languages*, 2nd edn.
- Gray, H. 2013. Locatives in Ikizu. Leiden: Leiden University MA. <www.sil.org/system/files/reapdata/40/63/49/406349707687358356529963214880100026330/Locatives_in_Ikizu_MA_Thesis_Hazel_Gray.pdf>.
- Lewis, P., G. Simons & Ch. Fennig (eds) 2016. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 19th edn. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Robinson, H. 2016. Ikizu-Sizaki Orthography Statement. Unpublished Manuscript. SIL International, Uganda-Tanzania Branch.
- Robinson, H. & M. Sandeen 2016. The Grammar Basics of Ikizu. Unpublished Manuscript. SIL International, Uganda-Tanzania Branch. <http://www.sil.org/system/files/reapdata/50/27/00/502700424238376618375083812622197​5717/The_Grammar_Basics_of_Ikizu_Final.pdf>
- Walker, J.B. 2013. Comparative tense and aspect in the Mara Bantu languages: Towards a linguistic history. Trinity Western MA. <www.sil.org/resources/publications/entry/55388>.

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI