

Mwani melodic tones

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Introduction & outline

- Bantu language spoken from Palma to Pemba in Northern Mozambique by +/- 100 000 speakers
- four main dialects (Kinsimbwa, Kinkojo, Kiwibu, Kikisanga) with prosodic differences (further research!)
- Kiwibu is the prestigious dialect spoken on Ibo island, Kerimba island and in Pemba
- Sabaki language (separate member or southern Swahili dialect?) with many characteristics from zone P languages (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)
- outline of this talk:
 1. Mwani prosody
 2. Mwani verb structure
 3. Mwani vowel length & general tone processes
 4. prefixal H tones
 5. melodic H tones

1. Mwani prosody

- Philippson (1989, 1992 & 1993) describes Mwani as a **pitch-accent language** with movable pitch-accent.
- pitch-accent is a debated category (e.g.: Hyman 2009, Downing 2011 for overviews) but we take pitch-accent systems to be tone systems which clearly have one or more of the following accentual properties: culminativity, demarcativeness and obligatoriness (Downing 2004 & 2011)
- Mwani nouns clearly have all three properties

nouns with PU H tone

kiínu 'thing'

saámba 'leaf'

nkóno 'arm, hand'

kitumíshi 'servant'

likotombwíro 'porridge of cassava and cowpeas'

nouns with APU H tone

kíisi 'darkness'

úuku 'chicken'

nfúuko 'lazy person'

kifíniko 'lid'

kirerázingi 'snapper (fish)'

1. Mwani prosody

- Mwani verbs are less accent-like.

ni-[zungunukir-a 'I turned around towards'

➤ contra obligatoriness

ku-[zúngúnukíra 'to turn around toward'

➤ contra culminativity

- H tones do have a demarcative function in Mwani verbs.

ni-ki-[zungunukír-a 'if, when, and I turn around towards'

ni-si-[zungunúkíir-e 'I should not turn around towards'

- the current description appeals to tone not accent.

2. Mwani verb structure

inflected verb form								
prefixes				stem				
				[macro-stem				
pre-initial marker	SP	post-initial negative marker	tense marker	limitative	OP	verb base	final suffix	plural addressee marker
a sá PPx-a ngá-	...	si	H	ki ká	a anga ire e	ni

2. Mwani verb structure

- little verbal morphology! (cf. also Nurse (1984/1985) and Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993))
- the paucity of tense markers is compensated by the important role of tone in distinguishing tenses

- minimal triad:

<p>ní-[sákúl-a 'I look, I will look for' ni-[sakul-a 'I have looked for' ni-[sakúul-a 'I, who looked for'</p>
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- tonal pattern of Mwani verbs is defined by H tone melodies assigned to the [macro-stem (no melodic H, PU melodic H, U melodic H, MS1&PU melodic H's) and tonal specifications of the verb prefixes

3. Mwani vowel length & general tone processes

- basic **two tone system** with High and Low tones. Only H tones are underlyingly present
- **mora** is the TBU and long vowels can have level H tone (HH), level L tone (LL), rise (LH) and fall (HL)

HH: ni-kwííjwirír-a	(°ni-kú-[ijwirír-a)	'I understand'
LL: a-weejwirír-e	(°a-wa-[ijwirír-e)	's/he has not understood them'
LH: kwííjwirír-ra	(°ku-[íjwirír-a)	'to understand'
HL: u-ká-wéejwirír-e	(°u-[ká-wá-ijwirír-e)	'you should go and understand them'

- sources of vowel length are vowel coalescence and penultimate lengthening through '**no initial H** (and obligatoriness)' restriction

3. Mwani vowel length & general tone processes

- **no initial H** with verbs applies to APU and PU H tones within the macro-stem

Negative Subjunctive (H tone of subject prefix moves to APU)

u-si-[kóor-e 'do not hold'

u-si-[sakúur-e 'do not look for'

u-si-[peréker-e 'do not send to'

u-si-[zungunúkir-e 'do not turn towards

u-si-[zungunukíris-e 'do not make turn towards'

u-si-[wa-kóor-e 'do not hold them'

u-si-[wa-sákur-e 'do not look for them'

u-si-[wa-peréker-e 'do not send to them'

u-si-[wa-zungunúkir-e 'do not turn towards

u-si-[wa-zungunukíris-e 'do not make turn towards'

3. Mwani vowel length & general tone processes

- **no initial H** with nouns applies to APU and PU H tones within the word

PU-pattern with nouns

aáta / aáta 'head cloth'
saámba / masámba 'leaf / leaves'
weére / mawére 'breast / breasts'
nfúko / mifúko 'hand, arm'
kitumíshi / vitumíshi 'servant'
likotombwíro 'mixture of cassava and cowpeas'

APU-pattern with nouns

áata / áata 'cinnamon fruit'
nfúuko / wafúuko 'lazy person'
kongóolo / makóngolo 'bone / bones'
kotóope / makótope 'husk / husks'
kererázingi / makererázingi 'snapper (fish)'

cf. Philippson and movable pitch-accent!

3. Mwani vowel length & general tone processes

- (melodic) H tones are subject to (more or less) regular tone processes, i.e., bounded binary spreading or **H tone doubling**, **unbounded shift** and avoidance of successive Hs through **Meeussen's Rule** (Marlo & Odden, to appear)

Infinitives (MS1&PU melodic H's) & the application of H tone doubling & Meeussen's Rule

ku-[k <u>ó</u> l-a	'to hold'
ku-[s <u>á</u> k <u>u</u> l-a	'to look for'
ku-[p <u>é</u> r <u>é</u> k <u>é</u> r-a	'to send to'
ku-[z <u>ú</u> ng <u>ú</u> nuk <u>í</u> r-a	'to turn towards'
ku-[z <u>ú</u> ng <u>ú</u> nukir <u>í</u> s-a	'to make turn towards'

3. Mwani vowel length & general tone processes

- tone at the **phrasal level**: as noted by Philippson (1993: 248-258) Mwani differs considerably from Sabaki languages like Comorian and Mijikenda “insofar as its H assignment patterns are restricted entirely to word-level”
- some tonal variations correlating with the syntactic context are attested but they mostly concern nouns:

visusi vyáake	‘its neighbourhoods’	(cf. visúsi)
eyú nfuuko	‘this is a lazy person’	(cf. nfúuko)
íye aákííwa mpusu	‘that one was not skinny’	(cf. mpúsu)
nfukoóni?	‘which bag?’	(cf. nfúko)
si-[kool-aáni?	‘I do / will not hold what?’	(cf. si-[kóol-a)

4. tone and verb prefixes

- subject and object prefixes

- series 1 SP are H toned in negative and relative tenses and low elsewhere
- series 2 subject prefixes in Perfective and Remote Past only

	series 1 SP	series 2 SP
1sg	ni-	ni-
2sg	u-	ku-
1pl	ti-	tí-
2pl	mu-	mú-
1	a-	ka-
2	wa-	wá-
3, 14	u-	ú-
4	i-	í-
5, 11	ri-	rí-
6	(y)a-	(y)á-
7	ki-	kí-
8	vi-	ví-
9	i-	í-
10	zi-	zí-
15	ku-	kú-
16	pa-	pá-
17	ku-	kú-
18	mu-	mú-

OP	
1sg	-ní-
2sg	-kú-
1	-mú-
1pl	-tí-
2pl	-mú-
2	-wá-

4. tone and pre-stem markers

- H tones of OP and SP undergo **unbounded shift** to APU position in the absence of (melodic) H tones within the macro-stem. If macro-stem H tones are present, the prefixal H tone delinks and is deleted.

Perfective (no melodic H)

ni-[kol-a 'I have held'

ni-[zungunukiris-a 'I have made turn around towards'

Perfective (no melodic H)

ni-[wa-kóol-a 'I have held them'

ni-[wa-zungunukíris-a 'I have made turn around
towards them'

Perfective (no melodic H)

wa-[kóol-a 'they have held'

wa-[zungunukíris-a 'they have made turn around towards'

Perfective (no melodic H)

wa-[wa-kóol-a 'they have held them'

wa-[wa-zungunukíris-a 'they have made turn around
towards them'

Negative Perfective (PU melodic H)

a-wa-[kor-íre 'they have not held'

a-wa-[zungunukiríse 'they have not made turn around
towards'

Negative Subjunctive (no melodic H)

wa-si-[kóor-e 'they have not held'

wa-si-[zungunukíris-e 'they have not made turn around
towards'

4. tone and pre-stem markers

- NECB (remote) past marker *-á- > vowel is lost in Mwani and H is anticipated on the subject prefix. In the Remote Past tenses the subject prefix is lengthened

Situative:	ni-ki-[sakúl-a	‘when, if, and I look for’
Past Situative:	ní-kí-[sakúl-a	(°ni-H-ki-[sakúl-a) ‘when, if, and I looked for’

Perfective:	ni-[sakul-a	‘I have looked for, I looked for’
Remote Past:	níí-[sakul-a	‘I looked for’

- the Non-Past shows alternation between H-toned stem marker (cf. Lutz 2002) -kú- before V-initial macro-stems and a H toned subject marker before C-initial macro-stems.

Non-Past (PU melodic H)		
nikóówér-a	(°ni-kú-[owér-a)	‘I swim, I usually swim’
ní-[sákúl-a		‘I look for, I usually look for’

5. Mwani melodic H tones

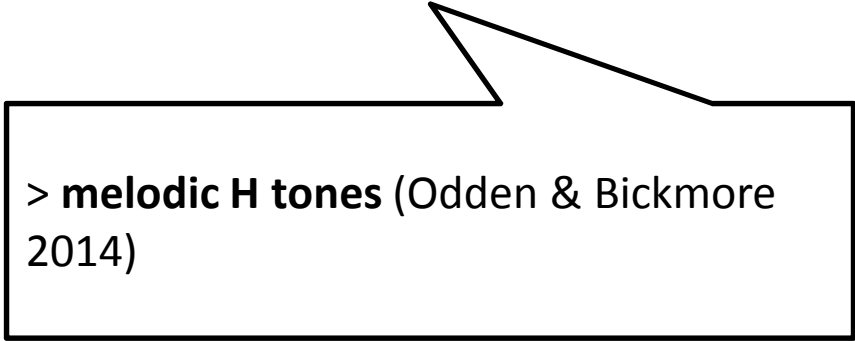
CV stem	kuúgwa ‘to fall’	(from Common Bantu *-gU-)
	kuúrya ‘to eat’	(from Common Bantu *-dI-)
VCV stem	kuúza ‘to sell’	(from Common Bantu *-gUd-)
	kwiíta ‘to call’	(from Common Bantu *-jIt-)
CVC stem	kulíma ‘to cultivate’	(from Common Bantu *-díM-)
	kutúma ‘to send, to use’	(from Common Bantu *-dUm-)
VCVC stem	kwiipíka ‘to cook’	(from Common Bantu *-yìpIk-)
	kwiingíra ‘to enter’	(from Common Bantu *-yÍngId-)
CVCVC stem	kusómola ‘to pull out’	(from Common Bantu *-còmUd-)
	kusákula ‘to look for’	(from Common Bantu *-cákUd-)

> tonal alternations are not the result of an inherited lexical tonal contrast but depend on the phonological shape of the verb (Marlo 2013)

5. Mwani melodic H tones

- tonal variations also arise when a verb stem with the same phonological shape (CVCVCVCVCV stem in) is used in different tenses:

ka-[zungunukira ‘s/he turned around towards’	no H
[zungunukirá ‘turn around towards!’	U
a-ki-[zungunukíra ‘if / and s/he turns around towards’	PU
ku-[zúngúnukíra ‘to turn around towards’	MS1&PU



> **melodic H tones** (Odden & Bickmore 2014)

5. Mwani melodic H tones

- melodic patterns may differ depending on the characteristics of the macro-stem (cf. Marlo 2013). More idiosyncratic realizations typically arise with short stems (involving reflexes Proto-Bantu *CV roots)
- due to a minimality condition operating within the derivational stem, Mwani short stems take an initial vowel (which fully harmonizes to the vowel of the preceding prefix and is *i* in the absence thereof).

Perfective (no melodic H)

C(G)V stem: **kaarya** (°ka-[Vry-a) 's/he has eaten'
kaaja (°ka-[Vj-a) 's/he has come'
 VCV stem: **keemba** (°ka-[imb-a) 's/he sang, s/he has sung'

Perfective (no melodic H)

ka-[ris-a 's/he has made eat'
ka-[rir-a 's/he has eaten for'
ka-[riw-a 's/he has been eaten'

Imperative (U melodic H)

iryá 'eat!'
ijá 'come!'
inywá 'drink!'

ngáaryá (°ngá-[Vry-á) 'eat, then!'
ngáajá (°ngá-[Vj-á) 'come, then!'
ngáanywá (°ngá-[Vnyw-á) 'drink, then!'

Perfective (no melodic H)

siiríre (°si-[Vry-íre) 'I have not eaten'
waaryáana (°wa-[Vry-án-a) 'they have eaten each other'

5. Mwani melodic H tones: no melodic H

Subjunctive	SP-(OP)-VB-e	w/o OP: ni-[zungunukiris-e w OP: ni-[wa-zungunúkir-e
Distal Subjunctive w/o OP	SP-ká-VB-e	w OP: ni-[ka-zungunúkir-e
Perfective	SP _{s.2} -(OP)-VB-a	w 1sg SP: ni-[zungunukir-a w cl. 2 SP: wa-[zungunúkir-e w OP: ni-wa-[zungunúkir-a
Remote Past	SP _{s.2} -H-(OP)-VB-a	w 1sg SP: ní-[zungunukir-a w cl. 2 SP: wáá-[zungunúkir-a w OP: ní-wa-[zungunúkir-a

5. Mwani melodic H tones: no melodic H

Negative Subjunctive	SP-si-(OP)-VB-e	w/o OP: u-si-[zungunúkir-e w OP: u-si-wa-[zungunúkir-e
Negative Non-Past	a-SP-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: a-wa-[zungunúkir-a w OP: a-wa-[wa-zungunúkir-a
Negative Remote Past	a-SP-H-(OP)-VB-ire	w/o OP: a-wáá-[zungunúkir-e w OP: a-wáá-[wa-zungunúkir-e
Relative Non-Past	(PPx-a)-SP-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: vya-ni-[zungunúkir-a w OP: wa-ni-[wa-zungunúkir-a
Relative Perfective	(PPx-a)-SP-(OP)-VB-ire	w/o OP: vya-ni-[zungunúkir-e w OP: wa-ni-[wa-zungunúkir-e
Relative Remote Past	(PPx-a)-SP-H-(OP)-VB-ire	w/o OP: vya-níí-[zungunúkir-e w OP: wa-níí-[wa-zungunúkir-e
Negative Relative Non-Past	sá-SP-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: sá-ní-[zungunúkir-a w OP: sá-ní-[wa-zungunúkir-a
Negative Relative Remote Past	sá-SP-H-(OP)-VB-ire	w/o OP: sá-níí-[zungunúkir-e w OP: sá-níí-[wa-zungunúkir-e

Remarks:

- Meeussen's Rule ordered after shift
- APU melodic H?

5. Mwani melodic H tones: PU melodic H

Non-Past	SP-(ku)-H-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: ní-[zúngunukír-a w OP: ní-[wá-zungunukír-a
Situative	SP-ki-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: ní-[ki-zungunukír-a w OP: ní-[ki-wa-zungunukír-a
Past Situative	SP-H-ki-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: ní-[kí-zungunukír-a w OP: ní-[kí-wa-zungunukír-a
Distal Subjunctive with OP	SP-ká-OP-VB-a	w/o OP: u-[ká-wá-zungunukír-e
Negative Past Situative	a-SP-H-ki-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: a-wá-[kí-zungunukír-a w OP: a-wá-[kí-wa-zungunukír-a
Negative Perfective	a-SP-(OP)-VB-ire	w/o OP: a-wa-[zungunukír-e w OP: a-wa-[wa-zungunukír-e
Relative Past Situative	SP-H-ki-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: vya-ní-[kí-zungunukír-a w OP: vya-ní-[kí-wa-zungunukír-a
Negative Relative Perfective	sá-SP-(OP)-VB-ire	w/o OP: sá-ní-[zungunukír-e w OP: sá-ní-[wa-zungunukír-e
Negative Relative Past Situative	sá-SP-H-ki-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: sá-ní-[ki-zungunukír-a w OP: sá-ní-[ki-wa-zungunukír-a

5. Mwani melodic H tones: PU melodic H

Past Situative		
	ní-[kííry-a	(°ni-H-[ki-Vry-a)
ní-[kí-kól-a	ní-[kúúk-a	(°ni-H-[ki-uk-a)
ní-[kí-sakúl-a	ní-[kóowér-a	(°ni-H-[ki-ower-a)
ní-[kí-zungunúk-a	ní-[kóoperéz-e	(°ni-H-[ki-operez-a)
ní-[kí-zungunukír-a	ní-[kíijiwirír-a	(°ni-H-[ki-ijiwirir-a)
	ní-[kí-waáry-a	
ní-[kí-wa-kól-a	ní-kí-[weét-a	
ní-[kí-wa-sakúl-a	ní-[kí-woolót-a	
ní-[kí-wa-perekér-a	ní-[kí-wooperéz-a	
ní-[kí-wa-zungunukír-a	ní-[kí-weejiwirír-a	

Remark:

Limitative -ki- as part of macro-stem, if not: *ní-kí-[koóla through 'no initial H'

5. Mwani melodic H tones: U melodic H

Imperative	VB-a	[zungunukirá
Imperative with OP	OP-VB-e	[wa-zungunukiré

5. Mwani melodic H tones: MS1&PU melodic H

Infinitive	ku-(OP)-VB-a	w/o OP: ku-[zúngúnukír-a w OP: kú-[wá-zungunukír)a
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ku-[kól-a	kuúrya	(°ku-[Vrya)
	kuúk-a	(°ku-[uka)
ku-[sáku]-a	koowér-a	(°ku-[owera)
ku-[zúngúnúk-a	koóperéz-a	(°ku-[opereza)
ku-[zúngúnukír-a	kwíjír-a	(°ku-[ijwirira)
kú-[wá-kól-a	kú-[wááry-a	(°ku-[wa-Vrya)
	kú-[wéét-a	(°ku-[wa-it-a)
kú-[wá-sakúl-a	kú-[wóolót-a	(°ku-[wa-olot-a)
kú-[wá-perekér-a	kú-[wóoperéz-a	(°ku-[wa-operez-a)
kú-[wá-zungunukír-a	kú-[wéejwirír-a	(°ku-[wa-ijwirir-a)

Questions

- Why anticipation?
- Why 'reversed MR', i.e. **koowéra** rather than ***koówera**

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thank you