

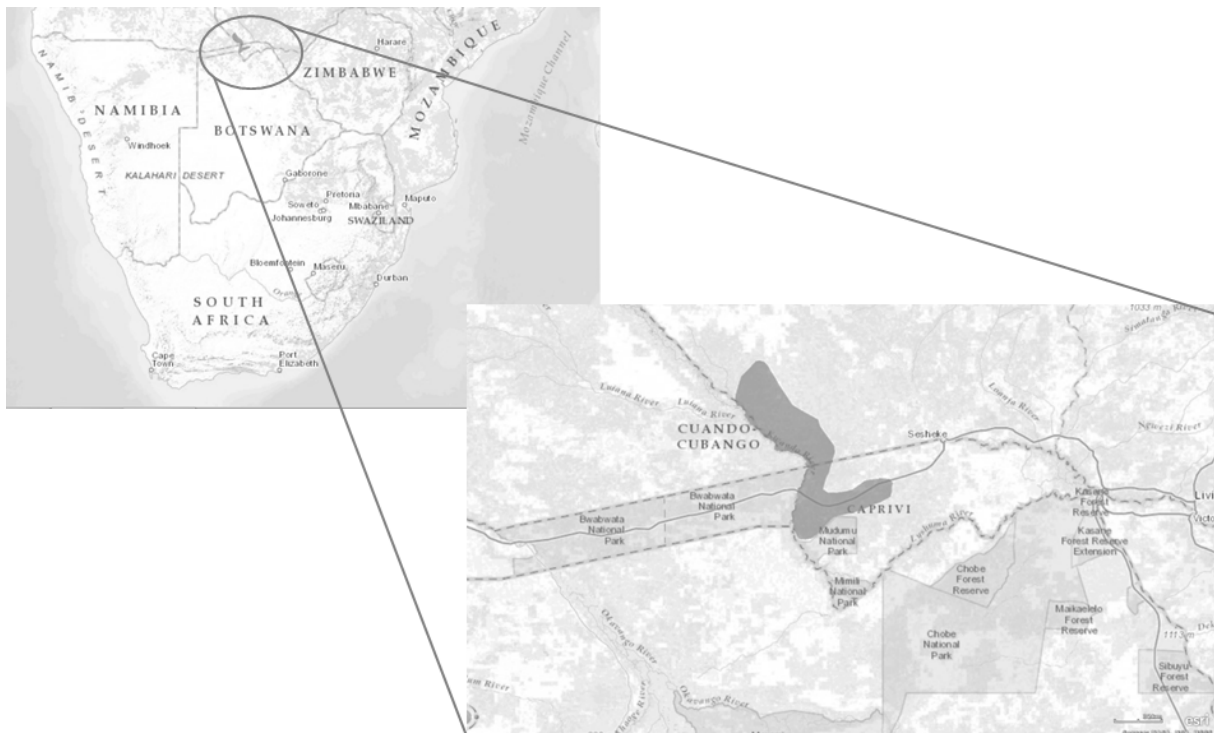


Melodic tone in Fwe

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1 Introduction



Fwe (Bantu, K402)

- spoken on the border between Zambia (Western province) and Namibia (Zambezi region, former Caprivi strip)
- 10.000 - 20.000 speakers (Lewis *et al.* 2015; Sakuhuka *et al.* 2011)
- Bantu Botatwe: closely related to Shanjo, Totela, Subiya, more distantly to Tonga, Ila, Lenje (Bostoen 2009; de Luna 2010)

2 Tone in Fwe

2.1 Automatic lengthening of vowels:

before NC: **kù-tè:ndà** ‘do’, **kù-hì:ndà** ‘take’
after Cw: **kù-fwè:βà** ‘smoke’, **kù-rwè:rà** ‘watch’
/a/ after s, z: **kù-zà:nà** ‘play’, **mù-sâ:** ‘thief’

2.2 Meeussen’s Rule: HH > HL

/ku-zí-bátura/ > **kù-zí-bàtùrà** ‘to separate them’

2.3 H retraction

H in the last syllable of a clause-final word shifts to the preceding mora:

/mu-ndaré/ > **mùndárè** ‘maize’
/ku-fwáa/ > **kúfwà:** ‘to die’
/ka-mwií/ > **kàmwi:** ‘afternoon’

2.4 H > F

Underlying H in the last or penultimate syllable of a clause-final word becomes F:

/zúβa/ > **zúβà** ‘day’
/n-kóko/ > **nkòkò** ‘porridge’

Retracted H in the last or penultimate syllable of a clause-final word does not become F:

/mu-ndaré/ > **mùndárè** ‘maize’
/mu-jisiwá/ > **mùjìsíwà** ‘poison’
/harantené/ > **hàrànténè** ‘cockroach’

3 Verb tone

(1) Infinitive verbs

Verb stem	H-toned verb roots	toneless verb roots
CVV	/ku-twáa/ > kútwà:	/ku-zwaa/ > kùzwà:
CVCV	/ku-téka/ > kùtèkà	/ku-ƒeka/ > kùƒèkà
CV:CV	/ku-tóonda/ > kùtò:ndà	/ku-hoonda/ > kùhò:ndà
CVCVCV	/ku-bátura/ > kùbátùrà	/ku-ƒofota/ > kùƒòƒòtà
CVCVCV:	/ku-tárusaa/ > kùtárùsà:	/ku-seƒezaa/ > kùsèƒèzà:
CVCVCV	/ku-vúrumata/ > kùvúrùmàtà	/ku-zukaura/ > kùzùkàùrà

Neutralization of stem tone contrast in many inflections, e.g. present tense:

(2) Present tense inflection

Verb stem	H-toned verb roots	toneless verb roots
CVV	/ndi-twaá/ > ndìtwâ:	/ndi-zwaá/ > ndìzwâ:
CVCV	/ndi-teká/ > ndìtékà	/ndi-ƒeká/ > ndìƒékà
CVCVCV	/ndi-baturá/ > ndìbátùrà	/ndi-ƒofotá/ > ndìƒòƒòtà

Neutralization of tone contrast also affects object concords:

- (3) /ku-yí-ura/ > **kùyìùrà** 'to buy it'
 /ndi-yi-urá/ > **ndìyìùrà** 'I buy it.'
- (4) /ku-βá-ƒaka/ > **kùβáfàkà** 'to love them'
 /ndi-βa-ƒaká/ > **ndìβàfàkà** 'I love them.'

3.1 Melodic tone pattern 1: a high tone on the last mora of the verb

(5) present tense:

/ndi-zwaá/ > ndizwâ:	‘I leave.’
/ndi-teká/ > nditékà	‘I fetch.’
/ndi-foʃotá/ > ndìʃòʃòtà	‘I whisper.’
/ndi-seʒezaá/ > ndisèʒèzâ:	‘I work’
/tu-vurumatá/ > ndivùrùmátà	‘I close my eyes.’

In the case of a long vowel in the penultimate syllable, the high tone is realized on the penultimate syllable:

(6) /ndi-ʒíimba/ > ndìʒí:mbà	‘I sing’
/a-ʒíimba nénja/ > àʒí:mbà nènjà	‘She sings well.’
/tu-toombwéera/ > tùtò:mbwê:rà	‘We weed’
/tu-toombwéera ʒúnu/ > tùtò:mbwê:rà ʒúnù	‘We weed today.’

3.2 Melodic tone pattern 2: a high tone on the subject concord

(7) remote future tense:

/na-ndí-na-ya/ > nàndínàyà	‘I will go.’
/na-ndí-na-hoonda/ > nàndínàhò:ndà	‘I will cook’
/na-ndí-na-foʃota/ > nàndínàʃòʃòtà	‘I will whisper.’
/na-ndí-na-βútukisaa/ > nàndínàβútùkìsà:	‘I will drive.’

Pattern 2a: in the remote past tense, the melodic H is realized on the syllable before the subject concord if the verb stem is high-toned.

(8) toneless verb stem

/ku-kat-a/ > kùkàtà	‘to become thin’
/na-nd-á-kat-a/ > nàndákàtà	‘I became thin.’

(9) H-toned verb stem

/ku-ték-a/ > kùtêkà	‘to fetch’
/ná-nd-a-téka/ > nándàtêkà	‘I fetched.’

3.3 Melodic tone pattern 3: a high tone on the second stem mora

(10) recent past tense:

/nd-a-damí/ >	ndàdámì	‘I’ve beaten.’
/nd-a-seβézi/ >	ndàsèβèzi	‘I’ve worked.’
/nda-zukáuri/ >	ndàzùkàùrì	‘I’ve stirred’

A high tone is assigned to the second stem mora, not the second stem syllable:

(11) /nda-saánzi/ >	ndàsâ:nzi	‘I’ve washed.’
/nda-daánsik-i/ >	ndàdá:nsìkì	‘I’ve dropped.’

A high tone is assigned to the second stem mora, not the second macrostem mora:

(12) /nda-urísi/ >	ndàùrîsì	‘I’ve sold.’
/nda-zí-urísi/ >	ndàzíùrîsì	‘I’ve sold them.’

The melodic high tone interacts with lexical tone:

(13) /ku-kácikizaa/ >	kùkácìkìzà:	‘to interrupt’
/nda-kácíkizi/ >	ndàkácìkìzì	‘I’ve interrupted.’

The melodic high tone interacts with high-toned object concord:

(14) /ku-βóna/ >	kùβônà	‘to see’
/nda-βá-βóní/ >	ndàβáβòní	‘I’ve seen them.’

3.4 Melodic tone pattern 4: H on the second stem syllable

(15) stative inflection:

/ndi-katíte/ >	ndìkátítè	‘I am thin.’
/βa-tarífite/ >	βàtàrífítè	‘They are smart.’
/ndi-vurúmesi/ >	ndìvùrúmèsì	‘I closed my eyes.’

A high tone is assigned to the second stem syllable, not the second stem mora:

(16) /zi-βoombéte/ >	zìβò:mbètè	‘They are wet.’
/a-suumbére/ >	àsù:mbèrè	‘She is pregnant.’
/ndi-hweeréte/ >	ndìhwè:rètè	‘I am in a hurry.’

No high tone is assigned to a stem with two syllables (or less). The number of moras is irrelevant.

- (17) 2σ, 2μ: /ndi-rere/ > **ndirèrè** 'I am asleep.'
 /ndi-kere/ > **ndikèrè** 'I sit.'
 2σ, 3μ: /ci-fwiite/ > **cìfwì:tè** 'It is dead.'
 /ndi-zweesi/ > **ndizwè:sì** 'I am dressed.'
 3σ, 3μ: /ndi-fumíte/ > **ndifúmîtè** 'I am rich.'
 /ndi-ʃeféte/ > **ndiʃéfêtè** 'I am married.'

A high tone is assigned to the second stem syllable, not the second macrostem syllable:

- (18) /ndi-ʃuwíre/ > **ndiʃùwîrè** 'I understand.'
 /ndi-ku-ʃuwíre/ > **ndikùʃùwîrè** 'I understand you.'

The negated stative takes pattern 1 rather than 4:

- (19) /ndi-ʃeféte/ > **ndiʃéfêtè** 'I am married.'
 /ta-ndi-ʃefeteé/ > **tàndiʃèjètè:** 'I am not married.'
 /tu-katíte/ > **tùkátîtè** 'We are thin.'
 /ta-tu-katiteé/ > **tàtùkàtîtè:** 'We are not thin.'

3.5 Overview of tone patterns:

Inflection	Morphological template	Melodic tone pattern	Maintenance or deletion of underlying tones
Present	SC-R-a	pattern 1	deleted
Recent past	SC-a-R-i	pattern 3	maintained
Remote past	na-SC-a-R-a	pattern 2a	maintained
Imperfective past	ka-SC-R-a	pattern 1 and 2	deleted
Remote future	na-SC-na-R-a	pattern 2	maintained
Near future	mbo-SC-R-e	pattern 1 and 2	deleted
Stative	SC-R-ite	pattern 4	deleted
Negated stative	ta-/ka-SC-R-ite:	pattern 1	deleted
Subjunctive	SC-R-e	pattern 1	deleted
Subjunctive with OC	SC-OC-R-e	pattern 4	deleted

3.6 Combination of patterns:

(20) verbs in the near future inflection: pattern 1 and 2, deletion of lexical tone

/mbo-ndí-ry-eé/ > mbòndíryê:	‘I will eat.’
/mbo-ndí-tek-é/ > mbòndí'tékè	‘I will fetch.’
/mbo-ndí-ziimb-é/ > mbòndízi:mbè	‘I will sing.’
/mbo-ndí-ʃotok-é/ > mbòndíʃòtókè	‘I will jump.’
/mbo-ndí-βutukis-é/ > mbòndíβùtùkísè	‘I will drive.’

3.7 Verb forms without melodic tone

(21) infinitive:

/ku-βereka/ > kùβèrèkà	‘to work’
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(22) past progressive:

/β-aku-βereka/ > βàkùβèrèkà	‘They were working.’
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(23) consecutive:¹

/kó-ku-ηatuka/ > kókùηàtùkà	‘Then it broke.’
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¹ The high tone found in the consecutive form of the verb is not a melodic high tone, but is underlyingly associated with the connective prefix, which is used to mark agreement on consecutive verbs and has an underlying high tone.