



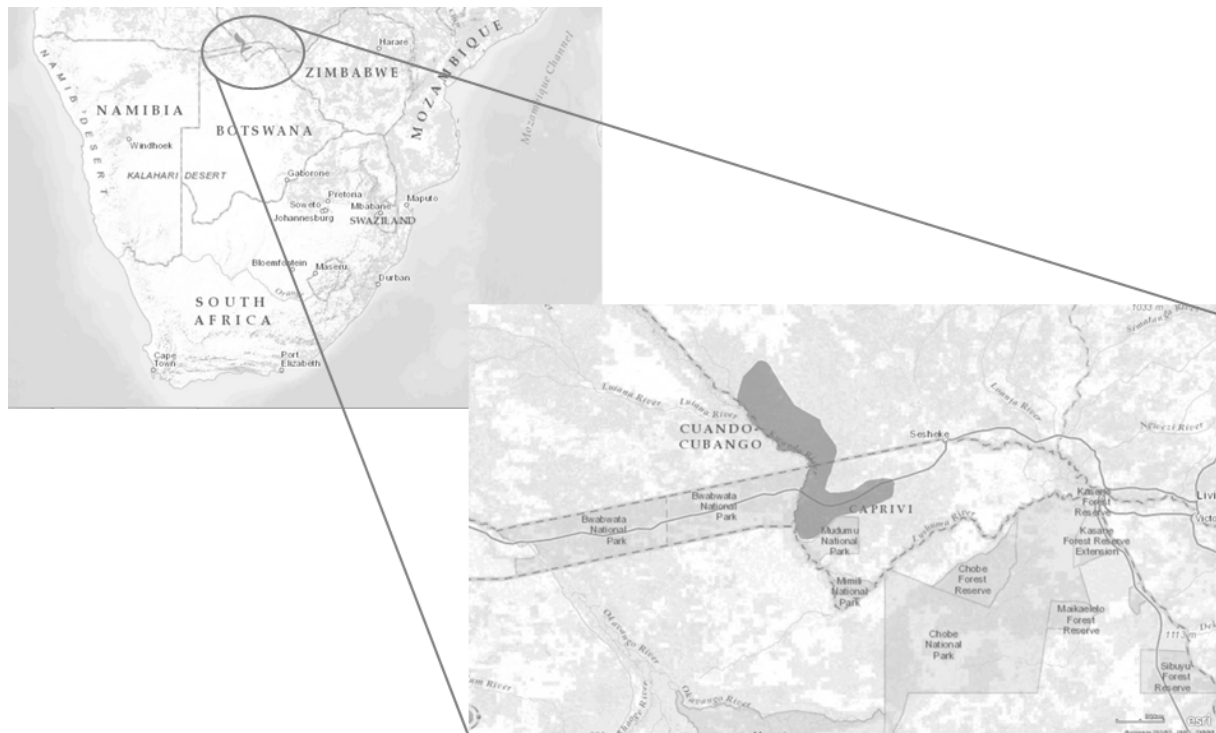
FACULTY OF ARTS AND PHILOSOPHY

Melodic tone in Fwe

Hilde Gunnink - Ghent University - hilde.gunnink@ugent.be

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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/ > ndìƒòƒótà |

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/ > **ndìβàfákà** '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/ > | ndàùrìsì | ‘I’ve sold.’ |
| /nda-zí-urísi/ > | ndàzíùrìsì | ‘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/ > | ndìvùrùmèsì | ‘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/ > **tùkátítè** 'We are thin.'
 /ta-tu-katiteé/ > **tàtùkàtìtè:** '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’

(22) past progressive:

/β-aku-βereka/ > **βàkùβèrèkà** ‘They were working.’

(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.