

Ngizim Verb Tone

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Verbal Noun/Imperfective Data (Kraut 2023)

	AUX pronoun	independent pronoun
L-initial verbal noun	náa vèrà 'I will go out' náa kálàktà 'I will return'	—
H-initial verbal noun	—	jàa ráwà 'we (excl.) will run'

Table 8: Imperfective data

Perfective Data (Kraut 2023)

	AUX pronoun	independent pronoun
L polysyllable	ná tǝfǝw 'I entered' ká bǝnúu 'you (sg.) cooked'	—
H polysyllable	ná rá ¹ wáw 'I ran'	jà ráwáw 'we (excl.) ran'
L monosyllable	—	—
H monosyllable	ná pá 'I poured'	—

Table 4: Perfective data

Subjunctive Data (Kraut 2023)

	AUX pronoun	independent pronoun
L polysyllable	ná dlàmi ‘that I do’ ká rèpci ‘that you (sg.) open’	wà dlàmi ‘that we (incl.) do’
H polysyllable	nà káashí ‘that I sweep’ dà gàayí ‘that 3 climb’	jà káashí/kàashí ‘that we (excl.) sweep’
L monosyllable	dáa mì ‘that 3 take’	—
H monosyllable	kà mcí ‘(that you) die!’	—

Table 6: Subjunctive data

Overview (Schuh 1971:49)

	asp marker	verb root	verb vowel suffix
Perfective:	high tone on auxpro	all low tone	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\acute{o} \\ -a \end{array} \right\} + w$ (vowel depends on verb class)
2nd Subjunctive:	$\emptyset$ (auxpros remain low)	all low tone	$-\acute{a}$
Subjunctive:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \text{ (tone polar to} \\ \text{verb)} \end{array} \right\}$	all high tone or all low tone depending on underlying verb tone	$-i$ (tone copied from preceding syllable)
Imperative:			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\acute{i} \text{ (sg.)} \\ -\acute{a} \text{ (pl.)} \end{array} \right\}$
Imperfective:	aa (tone polar to verb)	verbal noun	suffix depends on verbal noun class

Schuh's Interpretation

► **Verbal Noun:**

- Initial root vowel carries root tone
- Final root vowel is affixal & carries affix tone (e.g. -à or í)
- Medial vowels (if any) have default L
- Tonally unspecified pronouns are polar to root tone

► **Perfective:**

- All root vowels are Low
- Tonally unspecified pronouns are High (and thus polar to root tone)

► **Subjunctive:**

- All root vowels carry root tone (by spreading from the first σ)
- Tonally unspecified pronouns are polar to root tone

Verbal Nouns (Schuh 1972:14)

(2) <u>Lexical form</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>	
máse	másà	'buy'
rávèné	rávèná	'trouble'
tèfè	tèfà	'enter'
kàlakte	kàlàktà	'return'
tàmba	tàmbà	'help'

Preverbal Elements (Schuh 1971:53)

	SG	PL	
		INCL	EXCL
1	na	wà	jà
2	ka	kwa	
3	Ø – (I)PFV da – (S)SBJV		

Table 3: Independent and AUX pronouns

Trisyllabic Verbs in the Subjunctive (Schuh 1971:53)

<i>kérìnàkáu dà kátèr-í</i>	→	<i>[kérìnàkáu dà kátéí]</i>	‘ that the toad hop ’
<i>báktà dá tlèmpìy-ì</i>	→	<i>[báktà dá tlèmpìyì]</i>	‘ that the cloth tear ’

Overall Analysis

► **Stem Level:**

PW-final toneless σ 's are specified by spreading

► **Word Level:**

PW-final toneless σ 's are specified by polarity epenthesis

► **Phrase Level:**

Remaining toneless σ 's are specified by default L- epenthesis

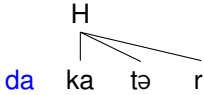
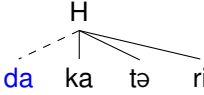
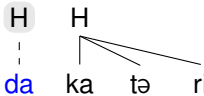
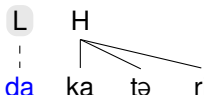
Constraints

- a. $\tau_{\alpha} - \mu_{\alpha}$ Assign * to every initial tone in domain D
not associated to the initial mora of D
- b. $\tau_{\omega} - \mu_{\omega}$ Assign * to every final tone in domain D
not associated to the final mora of D

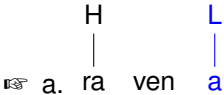
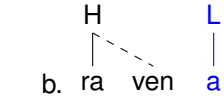
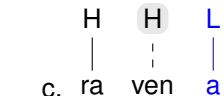
Stem Level: Trisyllabic Subjunctive

Input: = a.	$\tau_{\omega} - \mu_{\omega}$	DEP τ	*SPREAD	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$
H a. ka tə ri	*!			**
H b. ka tə ri L ⋮		*!		*
H c. ka tə ri ⋮ ⋮ ⋮			**	

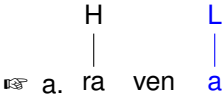
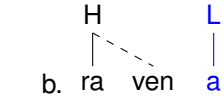
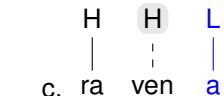
Word Level: Trisyllabic Subjunctive

Input: = a.		*SPREAD	$\tau_\alpha - \mu_\alpha$	OCP	DEP τ	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$
a. 			*!			*
b. 		*!				
c. 				*!	*	
d. 					*	

Stem Level: Trisyllabic Verbal Noun

Input: = a.	$\tau_\alpha - \mu_\alpha$	$\tau_\omega - \mu_\omega$	DEP τ	*SPREAD	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$
 a. ra ven a					*
 b. ra ven a				*!	
 c. ra ven a			*!		

Word Level: Trisyllabic Verbal Noun

Input: = a.	*SPREAD	$\tau_\alpha - \mu_\alpha$	OCP	DEP τ	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$
 a. ra ven a					*
 b. ra ven a	*!				
 c. ra ven a			*!		

Phrase Level: Trisyllabic Verbal Noun

Input: = a.	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$	*SPREAD	DEP H	DEP L	OCP
H L a. ra ven a	*!				
H L \ b. ra ven a	*!				
H H L c. ra ven a			*!		*
H L L d. ra ven a				*	*

Perfective

- ▶ Initial stem vowel becomes L
- ▶ Pronoun becomes H

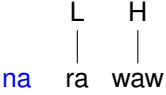
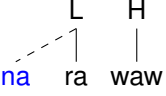
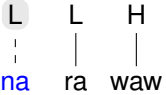
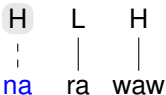
Perfective

(1) Perf. Marker Add.	$n\grave{a}_{[+ATD]} r\acute{a}w\acute{a}-w$	$j\grave{a} r\acute{a}w\acute{a}-w$	$k\grave{a}_{[+ATD]} b\grave{e}n\acute{e}-w$
(5) Perf. Tone	$n\grave{a}_{[+ATD]} r\grave{a}w\acute{a}w$	$j\grave{a} r\grave{a}w\acute{a}w$	vacuous
(10) ATD	$n\acute{a} r\grave{a}w\acute{a}w$		$k\acute{a} b\grave{e}n\acute{e}w$
(12) Tone Raising	$n\acute{a} r\grave{a}w\acute{a}w$		
(14) + (15) Downdrift + Tone Levelling	$n\acute{a} r\acute{a}w\acute{a}w^8$		
Phonetic	$[n\acute{a} r\acute{a}w\acute{a}w]$	$[j\grave{a} r\grave{a}w\acute{a}w]$	$[k\acute{a} b\grave{e}n\acute{e}u]$

Stem Level: Bisyllabic Perfective

Input: = a.	$\tau_{\alpha} - \mu_{\alpha}$	$\tau_{\omega} - \mu_{\omega}$	DEP τ	*SPREAD	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$	MAX
a. $\textcircled{L}$ H H ra wa w	*!					
b. L $\textcircled{H}$ $\textcircled{H}$ \ \ ra wa w				*!		**
c. L $\textcircled{H}$ H \ \ ra wa w					*	*

Word Level: Bisyllabic Perfective

Input: = a.	*SPREAD	$\tau_\alpha - \mu_\alpha$	$\tau_\omega - \mu_\omega$	OCP	DEP τ	$\sigma \triangleright \tau$
a.  a. na ra waw		*				*
b.  b. na ra waw	*!					
c.  c. na ra waw				*!		
d.  d. na ra waw			*!			

Imperative

- ▶ **Conjectured Generalization:**

Last vowel of the Subjunctive is replaced by H-toned -í or -á

- ▶ **Possible Analysis:**

-í/-á are added at the Word Level

Monosyllabic (consonantal?) verbs

- ▶ **Conjectured Generalization:**
Lexical tone is conserved under affixation of tonal prefixes
- ▶ **Possible Analysis:**
High-ranked MAX τ for monosyllabic words or PW-final syllables
- ▶ (or syllable-counting tone allomorphy as in Bari)

References

- Kraut, R. (2023). Tonal processes in Ngizim verb aspect: An OT account.
Term paper, Universität Leipzig.
- Schuh, R. G. (1971). Verb forms and verb aspects in Ngizim. *JAL*, 10:47–60.
- Schuh, R. G. (1972). *Aspects of Ngizim Syntax*. PhD thesis, UCLA.