**The edge-in algorithm in Kinande general past tense -** Long Beach, Apr 27, 2019

Ngessimo Mutaka

1. The general past (PAST2) has a H suffix tone (the second example in each set has applicative -ir-)

*underlying phrase - medial phrase - and utterance-final*

a. /mó-tu-a-mu-hum-i̹ r-é/ mó-tw-a-mú-húm-i̹r-è mó-tw-a-mú-húm-i̹ :r-è ‘we hit him/her’

/mó-tu-a-mu-hum-ir-i̹ r-é/ mó-tw-a-mú-húm-ir-i̹ r-è mó-tw-a-mú-húm-ir-i̹ :r-è ‘we hit for him/her’

b. /mó-tu-a-mu-túm-i̹ r-é/ mó-tw-á-mú-túm-ı̹́r-è mó-tw-á-mú-túm-ı̹́:r-è ‘we sent him/her’

/mó-tu-a-mu-túm-ir-i̹r-é/ mó-tw-á-mú-tum-ír-ı̹́r-è mó-tw-á-mú-tum-ír-ı̹́:r-è ‘we sent to him/her’

Notes: (i) root + pre-root H in (1a) = the V2 pattern one syllable to the left due to anticipatory H tone shift + HTA

(ii) penultimate + antepenultimate H in (1b) = the FV pattern with anticipatory shift to penult + HTA

(iii) verb forms with the suffixal H pattern do not take phrase-final H% (which requires Ø on final syllable)

2. e-ri-hú:m-a to hit erihuma Valiná:nde to hit Valinande

e-ri-humí:ra to hit for erihumira Valiná:nde

e-ri-na-humí:ra to just hit for erinahumira Valiná:nde

e-ri-mu-humí:ra to hit him for erimuhumira Valiná:nde

e-ri-na-mu-humí:ra to just hit for him erinamuhumira Valiná:nde

3. e-rí-tú:m-a to send erítuma Valiná:nde to send Valinande

e-rí-tumí:ra to send for erítumira Valiná::nde

e-ri-ná-tumí:ra to just send for erinátumira Valiná:nde

e-rí-mú-tumí:ra to send for him erímútumira Valiná:nde to send him for Val.

e-ri-ná-mú-tumí:ra to just send for him erinámútumira Valiná:nde to just send V for him

4. mótwamúhúma we hit him mótwamúhúmahuma we hit him hurriedly

mó-tw-a-mú-húm-i̹rir-è we hit him on purpose

5. mótwámútuma we sent him mótwámútumátúma we sent him hurriedly

mó-tw-á-mú-tum-ír-ı̹́r-è we sent him on purpose

(31) Historical derivation

a. \*mó-tu-a-mu-hum-ir-i̹r-é \*mó-tu-a-mu-túm-ir-i̹r-é

b. H H H H H historical tones with FV H à la Meeussen

c. H H H H H H H copying of H from FV to V2 (Meeussen)

d. H H H H H H H H H H tone anticipation (HTA)

e. H H L L L H H L H L Meeussen’s Rule (MR)

f. H H H L L L H H H L H H L HTA

g. mó-tw-à-mú-húm-ìr-ı̹̀:r-è mó-tw-á-mú-tùm-ír-ı̹́:r-é surface output (utterance-final)

h. mó-tw-à-mú-húm-ìr-ı̹̀:r-è mó-tw-á-mú-tùm-ír-ı̹́:r-é synchronic linking of FV H with L “trace”

H L H L (Mutaka 1994)

Notes: (i) Hyman & Valinande propose that H tone shift always leaves a L trace

(ii) Mutaka 1994 assumes final /HL/; Jones 2016 has HL contour tones (cf. Hyman & Katamba 1993)

(iii) The L is needed to block assignment of phrase-final H%. Re Kinande boundary tones, see Hyman (1990)

References

Archangeli, Diana & Douglas Pulleyblank. 2015. Tonal allomorphy in Kinande. In Lian Hee Wee 7 Yuchau Hsiao, *Capturing phonological shades*, 76-100. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Hyman, Larry. 2019. Bantu tone. An introduction. Ms. Ling 270

Jones, Patrick Jackson. 2016. On the failure of non-abstract phonology: Evidence from Kinande tone. Ms. Harvard.

Mutaka, Ngessimo M. l994. *The lexical tonology of Kinande*. München: Lincom Europa.

Note: Data in (1) and (31) are from Larry Hyman

**Kinande**  (Mutaka 1990) UC San Diego April 17, 2019

(Data inspired from Larry Hyman’s work on Kinande)

a. e-ri-hú:m-a to hit erihuma Valiná:nde to hit Valinande

e-ri-humí:ra to hit for erihumira Valiná:nde

e-ri-na-hú:ma to just hit erinahuma Valiná:nde

e-ri-na-humí:ra to just hit for erinahumira Valiná:nde

e-ri-mu-hú:ma to hit him erimuhuma na Valiná:nde to hit him with Val.

e-ri-mu-humirí:ra to hit him on purpose erimuhumirira Valiná:nde to hit him for V on purpose

e-ri-mu-humí:ra to hit him for erimuhumira Valiná:nde

e-ri-na-mu-hú:ma to just hit him erinamuhumira Valiná:nde to just hit him for Val.

b. e-rí-tú:m-a to send erítuma Valiná:nde to send Valinande

e-rí-tumí:ra to send for erítumira Valiná::nde

e-ri-ná-tú:ma to just send erinátuma Valiná:nde

e-ri-ná-tumí:ra to just send for erinátumira Valiná:nde

e-rí-mú-tú:ma to send him erímútuma na Valiná:nde to send him with V

e-rí-mú-tumí:ra to send for him erímútumira Valiná:nde to send him for Val.

e-ri-ná-mú-tú:ma to just send him erinámútuma na Valiná:nde to just send him with Val

e-ri-ná-mú-tumí:ra to just send for him erinámútumira Valiná:nde to just send him to Val

**Kinande data on height harmony and ATR harmony**

Infinitive Applicative Causative

erí͈kwâ to die erí͈kwí͈ra erí͈kwi͈syâ

ɛrítwâ to till ɛrítwɛ́ra erí͈twesyâ

erí͈twâ to cut erí͈twí͈ra erí͈twi͈syâ

ɛrilwâ to fight ɛrilwíra eri͈lwi͈syâ

ɛriswâ to grind ɛriswɛ́ra eri͈swesyâ

ɛrítâ to bury ɛrítíra

erî͈tâ to kill erî͈tí͈ra erí͈tí͈syâ

ɛryɛsâ to play ɛryɛsɛ́ra eryesesyâ

ɛryɔ̂tâ to light ɛryɔ̂tɛ́ra eryótesyâ

**Data on Kinande ATR harmony (Mutaka & Tamanji 2000:109)**

1. ɛrihum-ír-a to hit for erᶖhᶙmᶖsyâ to cause to hit

ɛrisɛkɛ́ra to smile for erᶖsekesyâ to cause to smile

ɛrisatíra to dance for erᶖsatᶖsyá to cause to dance

ɛrisɔmbɔ́la to sort erᶖsombolesyâ to cause to sort

ɛrilíra to cry erᶖlᶖryâ to make cry

ɛrilíra to cry erᶖlᶖrᶖsyâ to cause (s.o.) to cry

erᶖ́lᶖmᶖ́ra to extinguish for

erᶖ́twᶖkála to stumble

erᶖ́hᶙ́ma to move

1. erᶖ́twᶖkalíra to stumble for

erᶖ́hᶙmᶖ́ra to move for

**Kinande data on nouns** (Fullerton, April 11,2019) Original data from Larry Hyman

a. o-ku-gú:lu leg okugulu ku-lí:to a heavy leg

o-kú-bó:ko arm okúboko ku-lí:to a heavy arm

o-mu-gó:ngo back omugóngo mu-lí:to a heavy back

a-ká-hú:ka insect akáhúka ka-lí:to a heavy insect

o-mu-sí:kâ girl omusíka mu-lí:to a heavy girl

o-mú-ka:li woman omúkali mu-lí:to a heavy woman

b. okugulú kúku:hi a short leg

okúbokó kúku:hi a short arm

omugóngó múku:hi a short back

akáhúká káku:hi a short insect

omusíká múku:hi a heavy girl

omúkalí múku:hi a heavy woman

c. okugulugú:lu a real leg okugulugulu kulí:to

okúbokóbó:ko a real arm okúbokóboko kulí:to

omugóngogó:ngo a real back omugóngogóngo mulí:to

akáhúkáhú:ka a real insect akáhúkáhúka kalí:to

omusíkasí:kâ a real girl omusíkasíka mulí:to

omúkalika:li a real woman omúkalikali mulí:to

d. ómwá:na /omwá:na a child ómwana mulí:to

ómwanámwá:na a real child ómwanámwa:na mulí:to

ómulúngú:lû a black grasshopper ómulúngúlu mulí:to

ákalíku:ku a wild pigeon ákalíkuku kalí:to

e. o-ku-gulú kukándílú:ma The leg will hurt okugulu kulí:to a heavy leg

o-kú-bokó kukándílú:ma The arm will hurt okúboko kulí:to a heavy arm

e-mi-góngo yikándílú:ma the back will hurt omugóngo mulí:to a heavy back

a-ká-húka kakándílú:ma the insect will bite akáhúka kalí:to a heavy insect

a-ba-síká bakándilí:ra the girls will cry omusíka mulí:to a heavy girl

a-bá-kali bakándilí:ra the women will cry omúkali mulí:to a heavy woman

f. hek’okugu:lu carry the leg cf. erihé:ka /e-ri-hek-a/ to carry

hek’okúbo:ko carry the arm erilí:ra /e-ri-lir-a/ to cry

hek’omugó:ngo carry the back erílú:ma /e-ri-lúm-a/ to hurt, to bite

hek’ákáhu:ka carry the insect

hek’abasí:ka carry the girls

hek’abáka:li carry the women

g. abáka:lí, n’okúbó:kó, n’omugó:ngó, n’abasí:ká, n’okugú:lu (citation in slow speech)

abáka:lí, n’okugú:lú, n’omugó:ngó, n’abasí:ká, n’okúbó:ko

abáka:lí, n’okúbó:kó, n’ okugú:lú, n’abasí:ká, n’ omugó:ngo

omúkalí n’omusí:kâ the woman and the girl

okúbokó n’omugó:ngo the arm and the back

abasíká n’akáhú:ka the girls and the insect

abákalí n’okúbokó n’okugú:lu (rapid speech)