

# Do we need to postulate a different tone pattern for monosyllabic verbs in Nyoro?

Shigeki KAJI

## Abstract

Nyoro, a Bantu language of western Uganda, has two tone patterns for nouns; tone pattern A in which an underlying H is placed on the ultimate syllable of words, and tone pattern B in which an underlying H is placed on the penultimate syllable of words. All verb infinitives (or gerunds) have tone pattern B except monosyllabic verbs, which curiously have tone pattern A. The aim of this paper is to determine the reason monosyllabic verbs have tone pattern A and all the other longer verbs, including monosyllabic verbs themselves extended by other elements, exhibit tone pattern B. It was concluded that the formative **-ku-** (class 15 nominal prefix), which is used as a tense/aspect/mood marker including the infinitive, is incapable of having an underlying H even when it is in the penultimate syllable; rather, the ultimate syllable receives the underlying H, thus exhibiting tone pattern A. However, there is one counter example which seems to indicate that the formative **-ku-**, starting from its use as a verb infinitive marker, has partially become a true tense/aspect/mood marker, and can have an underlying H similar to other tense/aspect/mood markers, such as **-ka-** in the remote past, which has an underlying H even in the penultimate syllable conjugated with monosyllabic verbs.

**Keywords:** conjugation, infinitive, monosyllabic verbs, Nyoro, tone

## 1. Introduction

In an area stretching from the northwest corner of Tanzania to western Uganda, there are Bantu languages that are closely related genealogically; from the south to the north: Haya, Ankore, Kiga, Tooro, and Nyoro amongst others. Haya is spoken in Tanzania, and the others are found in Uganda.

As far as tone is concerned, there is a general tendency that tone patterns become simpler from south to north. Whereas in the southern most Haya language, the number of tone patterns on nouns increases arithmetically as a function of the number of the syllables in the stem (two patterns for one-syllable stem nouns, three patterns for two-syllable stem nouns, etc.), in the northern Tooro language, which has lost its lexical tone, only one pattern exists in which H(igh) tone falls on the penultimate syllable for nouns and verbs, regardless of the length of the word.<sup>1)</sup>

In this paper, the neighboring Nyoro language is examined, which has only two tone

patterns on nouns, regardless of the length of the word; pattern with an underlying H on the penultimate syllable of words, and pattern with an underlying H on the ultimate syllable of words. This is exemplified in (1) together with corresponding Tooro data. In (1) there are nouns of up to five-syllable stems (nouns of more than five-syllable stems are rare).

(1) Tooro and Nyoro nominal tone patterns

number of stem syllables	Tooro	Nyoro	
		pattern A	pattern B
1	omútwe 3/4 <sup>2)</sup> “head”	omútwê 3/4 “head”	omúzi 3/4 “root”
2	ekisígi 7/8 “eyebrow”	omugólê 1/2 “bride”	ekisígi 7/8 “eyebrow”
3	ekikoméro 7/8 “cow market”	ekikomérâ 7/8 “cow market”	omupakâsa 1/2 “day worker”
4	enziramíra 9/10 “python”	ekikungulímâ 7/8 “rising ground”	oruziramère 11/10 “python”
5	entabujugúta 9/10 “sp. of civet”	etabujugútâ 9/10 “sp. of civet”	obuhinguraniza 14 “excessiveness”

From (1) it can be seen that Tooro has one tone pattern and Nyoro has two tone patterns for nouns, regardless of the number of the syllables in the words. In this paper, these two tone patterns in Nyoro are referred to as tone pattern A and tone pattern B. In tone pattern A nouns, the penultimate syllable is H-pitched and the ultimate syllable is F-pitched. In tone pattern B nouns, in contrast, the penultimate syllable is F-pitched and the ultimate syllable is L-pitched, with all other syllables being L-pitched. These pronunciations are those found in isolation, and do not represent the underlying pronunciation. These underlying presentations are shown in (2).

(2) underlying presentation for the words in (1)

number of stem syllables	Tooro	Nyoro	
		pattern A	pattern B
1	omútwe 3/4 “head”	omutwé 3/4 “head”	omúzi 3/4 “root”
2	ekisígi 7/8	omugoré <sup>3)</sup> 1/2	ekisígi 7/8

	“eyebrow”	“bride”	“eyebrow”
3	ekikoméro 7/8	ekikomerá 7/8	omupakása 1/2
	“cow market”	“cow market”	“day worker”
4	enziramíra 9/10	ekikungulimá 7/8	oruziramére 11/10
	“python”	“rising ground”	“python”
5	entabujugúta 9/10	etabujugutá 9/10	obuhinguraníza 14
	“sp. of civet”	“sp. of civet”	“excessiveness”

From (1) and (2), it can be seen that the underlying penultimate H appears as such in isolation in Tooro,<sup>4)</sup> which is different from Nyoro, in which the underlying H is not realized immediately. In tone pattern A, the underlying H is on the ultimate syllable and is anticipated by one syllable, with the underlying H itself being realized as F(alling) on the original ultimate syllable. In tone pattern B, the underlying H is on the penultimate syllable and is realized as F in this position. See the sample derivations in (3) for Tooro and (4) for Nyoro.

(3) Tooro

- a. /omútwe#/ → [omútwe] “head”  
 b. /ekisígi#/ → [ekisígi] “eyebrow,” etc.

(4) Nyoro pattern A

- a. /omutwé#/ → [omútwe] “head”  
 b. /omugoré#/ → [omugólé] “bride”

pattern B

- /omúzi#/ → [omúzi] “root”  
 /ekisígi# → [ekisígi] “eyebrow,” etc.

That being said, in the following section verb infinitives are examined.

## 2. Verb infinitives

Verb infinitives are cl.15 nouns in Tooro and Nyoro. Therefore, the expectation is that there would be one tone pattern in Tooro and two tone patterns in Nyoro similar to other nouns. However, although both tone patterns A and B are apparent in Nyoro, it is only on monosyllabic verbs that pattern A appears, with all the other verbs exhibiting only tone pattern B. See (5).

## (5) verb infinitives

	Tooro	Nyoro	
a. -ri-	okúlya	okúlyâ (*okúlya)	“to eat”
b. -rek-	okuléka	okuléka	“to leave”
c. -za:r-	okuzá:ra	okuzâ:ra	“to bear (a child)”
d. -ʃám-ur-	okuʃámúra	okuʃámúra	“to boil (water)”
e. -kur-ing-uk-	okukulingúka	okukulingúka	“to roll down”
f. -send-ek-erez-	okusendekeréza	okusendekerêza	“to see off (a visitor)”

(5) illustrates the tone patterns in isolation of the verb infinitives of various lengths. In Tooro, it is simple, as in all verb infinitives, the penultimate syllable is H-pitched in isolation, similar to other nouns. In Nyoro, however, the monosyllabic verbs (i.e., verbs of -CV- radical type) such as **-ri-** “to eat” are pronounced using tone pattern A, **okúlyâ** in this case (5a), and are not pronounced with tone pattern B (**\*okúlya**).

(5b) is an example of -CVC- radical verbs, and (5c) is an example of -CV:C- radical verbs. (5d) is an example of -CVC- radical verbs that are extended by **-ur-**, a (reverse) transitive suffix. (5e) is an example of -CVC- radical verbs that are extended by **-ing-**, a formal extension<sup>5)</sup> followed by **-uk-**, an (reverse) intransitive suffix. (5f) is an example of -CVNC- radical verbs that are extended by **-ek-**, a formal extension, followed by **-erez-**, an insistent suffix. All these radical form verbs are pronounced using tone pattern B.

The aim of this paper is to determine the reason only monosyllabic verbs have tone pattern A and all other verbs are pronounced using tone pattern B.

What is interesting about the monosyllabic verbs is that while they show tone pattern A in their basic forms, i.e., used only with their radicals, they have tone pattern B when the radical is extended by a suffix, such as applicative, causative, etc., or a preradical element is added, such as the negative marker **-ta-** or object markers such as **-mu-** “him (cl.1),” **-ba-** “them (cl.2),” **-gu-** “it (cl.3),” etc.

- (6) a. /o-ku-ri-ir-a/ → okulí:ra “to eat for sb, or at a place”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-eat-Appl-Fin<sup>6)</sup>
- b. /o-ku-ta-ri-a/ → okutálya “not to eat”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-not-eat-Fin
- c. /o-ku-gu-ri-a/ → okugúlya “to eat it”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-it(cl.3)-eat-Fin

- d. /o-ku-ta-gu-ri-a/ → okutagũlya “not to eat it”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-not-it(cl.3)-eat-Fin

In (6a), as the radical **-ri-** “to eat” is extended by the applicative suffix **-ir-** “for sb or at a place,” it has tone pattern B, i.e., **okulĩ:ra** “to eat for sb, or to eat at a place,” judging from its F tone on the penultimate syllable in isolation, which is similar to (5c) **okuzã:ra** “to bear (a child).” In (6b), as the negative marker **-ta-** is inserted before the radical, this form also has tone pattern B. Likewise, (6c) in which the object marker **-gu-** “it (cl.3)” is inserted before the radical, the form is tone pattern B. (6d) is a combination of (6b) and (6c), in which the penultimate **-gu-** receives H, so also has tone pattern B.

The cases in (7) appear as if the monosyllabic verbs have an underlying H on **-ku-** as the **-ku-** in the penultimate syllable has a falling tone in isolation. However, this is not the case in reality.

- (7) a. okũ:rra ← /o-ku-rĩr-a/ “to cry”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-cry-Fin  
 b. okwã:ka ← /o-ku-ák-a/ “to burn (intr.)”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-burn(intr.)-Fin  
 c. okũ:mpa ← /o-ku-ń-pa-a/ “to give me”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-me-give-Fin  
 d. okũ:ndya ← /o-ku-ń-ri-a/ “to eat me”  
 Aug-NPr(cl.15)-me-eat-Fin

(7a) is a case of a **-CVC-** radical, and not a monosyllabic verb; the H is underlyingly on the radical vowel /i/. In Nyoro, as the /i/ is not pronounced when sandwiched by two /r/'s, its H shifts to the preceding vowel, i.e., the /u/ of **-ku-** (the quantity in [ku:] is because of the following double [rr]). In (7b), the radical is also not monosyllabic, but a **-VC-** where the underlying H is on the radical vowel /a/. When the sequence /ku-a/ becomes [kwa:] through glide formation and compensatory lengthening, the H in the radical vowel is realized in [kwa:] as F because it is in the penultimate position. (7c) and (7d) are monosyllabic verb cases in which the underlying H is on the object prefix **-n-** “me.” When **-n-** constitutes one syllable with the preceding **-ku-**, forming the sequences [ku:m] and [ku:n], respectively (the quantity is due to the following nasal clusters [mp] and [nd]), [ku:m] and [ku:n] have a falling tone, i.e., a tone pattern B contour. In sum all tone pattern B cases in (7) are in fact verbs, monosyllabic or

not, which do not have an underlying H on **-ku-** in the penultimate syllable of words.

An examination of these data appears to indicate that the underlying H avoids falling on the infinitive marker **-ku-** when it is in the penultimate syllable. In the following section, this is examined in more detail.

### 3. **-ku-** as a noun prefix

Nyoro has four cl.15 nouns. See (8), of which two have a monosyllabic stem, i.e., **okú-tû** 15/6 “ear” (8a) and **okú-jû** 15/6 “knee” (8b). As expected, they have tone pattern A, and the longer stem nouns have tone pattern B (8c and 8d).

- (8) a. okútû 15/6 “ear”  
 b. okújû 15/6 “knee”  
 c. okugûru 15/6 “leg”  
 d. okwê:zi<sup>7)</sup> 15/6 “moon, month”

Does this mean that the nominal prefixes are incapable of having an underlying H as the cl.15 prefixes are nominal prefixes? However, it is apparent that this does not hold true because there are many monosyllabic stem nouns that have an underlying H on the nominal prefix, and are therefore pronounced with tone pattern B. See examples in (9).

- (9) a. omûnwa 3/4 “mouth, lip”  
 b. omûsu 3/4 “cane rat”  
 c. omûrwa 3/4 “habit”  
 d. ekígwo 7/8 “tumbling down”  
 e. ekísa 7/8 “labor pains”  
 f. orûra 11/6 “small intestine”  
 g. orûsu 11/10 “roof”  
 h. akâfû 12 “short time”  
 i. obûne 14 “liver”  
 j. obûgwa 14 “permanent place to stay”

Therefore, it is possible to temporarily conclude that the infinitive cl.15 prefix **-ku-**, even though it is a noun class prefix, has a different status to the other noun class prefixes due to

its verbal nature, and it may be accidental that there are cl.15 monosyllabic stem nouns with tone pattern A only.<sup>8)</sup> In the next section the formative **-ku-** in various verb conjugations is examined.

#### 4. **-ku-** in verb conjugations

Before proceeding, it is necessary to confirm that it is not that the conjugated forms of monosyllabic verbs cannot have an underlying H on the penultimate syllable. In (10), which gives the remote past conjugation of the monosyllabic verb **-ri-** (infinitive **okúlyâ**) “to eat”, the penultimate position of the form has the remote past marker **-ka-**, which has an underlying H, which is realized as F in isolation.

##### (10) Remote past

nkâlya	“I ate”	tukâlya	“we ate”
okâlya	“you(sg.) ate”	mukâlya	“you(pl.) ate”
akâlya	“he/she ate”	bakâlya	“they ate”

Therefore, the point is whether the formative **-ku-** allows for an underlying H or not. Several conjugations use the formative **-ku-** as a tense/aspect/mood marker. In particular, we examine cases in which **-ku-** is in the penultimate position when monosyllabic verbs are used. First, the very near future conjugation is examined.

##### (11) very near future

a. with the verb <b>okuzîna</b> “to sing”			
nija kuzîna	“I am going to sing”	twija kuzîna	“we are going to sing”
oija kuzîna	“you(sg.) are going to sing”	mwija kuzîna	“you(pl.) are going to sing”
aija kuzîna	“he/she is going to sing”	baija kuzîna	“they are going to sing”
b. with the verb <b>okúlyâ</b> “to eat”			
nija kúlyâ	“I am going to eat”	twija kúlyâ	“we are going to eat”
oija kúlyâ	“you(sg.) are going to eat”	mwija kúlyâ	“you(pl.) are going to eat”
aija kúlyâ	“he/she is going to eat”	baija kúlyâ	“they are going to eat”

The very near future conjugation is exemplified with two verbs. One is a verb with a canonical syllable structure radical **-zin-** (infinitive **okuzîna**) “to sing” (11a), and the other is a

monosyllabic radical verb **-ri-** (infinitive **okúlyâ**) “to eat” (11b). This conjugation has a complex form, composed of two verb forms. The first element is **-ij-** (infinitive **okwî:ja**) “to come,” which is used as an auxiliary and conjugated in the general present. The second is a verb infinitive without an augmented **o-**.<sup>9)</sup> Similar to the basic monosyllabic infinitive verbs, the second verb form does not allow an underlying H on **-ku-** for basic monosyllabic radical verbs, and it has tone pattern A. This is different from other verb forms, which have tone pattern B.

However, if the monosyllabic verbs are extended with other elements, they can have an underlying H on the penultimate syllable, just like monosyllabic infinitives in (6). (12) gives example sentences, and (13) gives an analysis of second position monosyllabic verbs. From (12a) and (13a), it can be seen that the verb **okúlyâ** “to eat” cannot have an underlying H on **-ku-** despite its position on the penultimate syllable. However, in (12b) and (13b), as well as in (12c) and (13c), the verb has an underlying H on the penultimate syllable because its position is not occupied by **-ku-**.

- (12) a. *nija kúlyá*<sup>10)</sup> *ekyé:njü.* “I am going to eat a/the sweet banana.”  
 b. *nija kulí:ra*<sup>11)</sup> *ahê:ru.* “I am going to eat outside.”  
 c. *nija kukírya* “I am going to eat it.”
- (13) a. *kúlyá* ← /kuryá/, i.e., ku-ri-a  
 NPr(cl.15)-eat-Fin  
 b. *kulí:ra* ← /kulí:ra/, i.e., ku-ri-ir-a  
 NPr(cl.15)-eat-Appl-Fin  
 c. *kukírya* ← /kukírya#/ , i.e., ku-ki-ri-a  
 NPr(cl.15)-it(cl.7)-eat-Fin

This is also evident in other conjugations that use the verb infinitive, such as the definite near future 1 and 2, and the very near future habitual 1 and 2. In (14), the very near future habitual 2 forms are given for the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular in both the affirmative and negative.

- (14) a. affirmative of very near future habitual 2  
*nijágá kúlyâ* “I will be always eating.”  
*oijágá kúlyâ* “you(sg.) will be always eating.”  
*aíjágá kúlyâ* “he/she will be always eating.”  
 b. negative of very near future habitual 2



- tijnjága kúlyâ “I will not be always eating.”  
 t’ojjága kúlyâ “you(sg.) will not be always eating.”  
 t’ajjága kúlyâ “he/she will not be always eating.”

(15) gives examples of the present progressive conjugation. With the canonical radical verb **-zin-** (infinitive **okuzîna**) “to sing,” the underlying H is on the penultimate syllable; however, with the basic monosyllabic **-ri-** (infinitive **okúlyâ**) “to eat,” as the penultimate position is occupied by **-ku-**, the underlying H cannot be on the penultimate syllable and is on the ultimate syllable .

(15) present progressive

- a. with the verb **okuzîna** “to sing”
- |         |                        |           |                        |
|---------|------------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| nkuzîna | “I am singing”         | tu:kuzîna | “we are singing”       |
| okuzîna | “you(sg.) are singing” | mu:kuzîna | “you(pl.) are singing” |
| akuzîna | “he/she is singing”    | ba:kuzîna | “they singing”         |
- b. with the verb **okúlyâ** “to eat”
- |        |                       |          |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| nkúlyâ | “I am eating”         | tu:kúlyâ | “we are eating”       |
| okúlyâ | “you(sg.) are eating” | mu:kúlyâ | “you(pl.) are eating” |
| akúlyâ | “he/she is eating”    | ba:kúlyâ | “they are eating”     |

However, if the monosyllabic verbs are extended to displace **-ku-** to other positions, there may be an underlying H on the penultimate syllable, thus exhibiting tone pattern B. See (16b) and (16c) which have tone pattern B in contrast with (16a) with tone pattern A. (17) gives an analysis of the verb forms in (16).

- (16) a. nkúlyá ekyé:njù. “I am eating a/the sweet banana.”  
 b. nkulí:ra ahê:ru. “I am eating outside.”  
 c. nkukírya. “I am eating it.”

- (17) a. nkúlyá ← /nkulyá/, i.e., n-ku-ri-a  
 I-PrsProg-eat-Fin  
 b. nkulí:ra ← /nkulí:ra/, i.e., n-ku-ri-ir-a  
 I-PrsProg-eat-Appl-Fin  
 c. nkukírya ← /nkukírya#/ , i.e., n-ku-ki-ri-a  
 I-PrsProg-it(cl.7)-eat-Fin

The negative present progressive also has a **-ku-** in the penultimate syllable for basic monosyllabic verbs, and exhibits tone pattern A, i.e., an underlying H on the ultimate syllable of the forms (18). However, the forms have an underlying H on the penultimate syllable when the formative **-ku-** is displaced. Compare (19b) and (19c), in which the forms have tone pattern B, to (19a), in which the form has tone pattern A.

## (18) negative of present progressive

tí:nkúlyâ	“I am not eating”	titú:kúlyâ	“we are not eating”
t’ó:kúlyâ	“you(sg.) are not eating”	timú:kúlyâ	“you(pl.) are not eating”
t’á:kúlyâ	“he/she is not eating”	tibá:kúlyâ	“they are not eating”

- (19) a. tí:nkúlyâ ekyé:njû. “I am not eating the sweet banana.”  
 b. tí:nkulí:ra ahê:ru. “I am not eating outside.”  
 c. tí:nkukîrya. “I am not eating it.”

The negative present participle (20) also has **-ku-** in the penultimate position when used with basic monosyllabic verbs. The present participle is not used alone. (21) and (22) respectively give its examples in the near past progressive and the remote past progressive. These forms are complex, composed of **-ba-** (infinitive **okúbâ**) “to be” conjugated in respective tenses, followed by the present participle. What has been observed in the other conjugations also holds true with these forms.

## (20) negative present participle

ntá:kúlyâ	“I not eating”	tutá:kúlyâ	“we not eating”
otá:kúlyâ	“you(sg.) not eating”	mutá:kúlyâ	“you(pl.) not eating”
atá:kúlyâ	“he/she not eating”	batá:kúlyâ	“they not eating”

## (21) negative near past progressive

- a. mbairégé ntá:kúlyâ ekyé:njû. “I was not eating the sweet banana.”  
 b. mbairégé ntá:kulí:ra ahê:ru. “I was not eating outside.”  
 c. mbairégé ntá:kukîrya. “I was not eating it.”

## (22) negative remote past progressive

- a. nkaba ntá:kúlyâ ekyé:njû. “I was not eating the sweet banana.”  
 b. nkaba ntá:kulí:ra ahê:ru. “I was not eating outside.”  
 c. nkaba ntá:kukîrya. “I was not eating it.”

Basic monosyllabic verbs also have **-ku-** in the penultimate syllable both in the affirmative and negative of the possibility conjugation. See (23). However, here we find one counter example. Certainly **-ku-** in the penultimate syllable does not have an underlying H in the affirmative (23a), but does have an underlying H in the negative, even though it is located on the penultimate syllable of the form (23b). See example sentences in (24). It is important to note that in (24a) the form is **tina:kúlya ekyé:njû** “I cannot eat the sweet banana,” and not \***tina:kúlyá ekyé:njû**. This is the only example in Nyoro verb conjugations of tone pattern B with basic monosyllabic verbs.

(23) a. affirmative of possibility

na:kúlyâ	“I can eat”	twakúlyâ	“we can eat”
wa:kúlyâ	“you(sg.) can eat”	mwakúlyâ	“you(pl.) can eat”
ya:kúlyâ	“he/she can eat”	ba:kúlyâ	“they can eat”

b. negative of possibility

tina:kúlyâ	“I cannot eat”	titwakúlyâ	“we cannot eat”
tiwa:kúlyâ	“you(sg.) cannot eat”	timwakúlyâ	“you(pl.) cannot eat”
tiya:kúlyâ	“he/she cannot eat”	tiba:kúlyâ	“they cannot eat”

- (24) a. **tina:kúlyâ ekyé:njû**. (\***tina:kúlyá ekyé:njû**)      “I cannot eat the sweet banana.”  
 b. **tina:kulí:ra ahê:ru**.      “I cannot eat outside.”  
 c. **titna:kukírya**.      “I cannot eat it.”

## 5. Concluding remarks

The examination of the data in this paper demonstrated that Nyoro verb infinitives have only one tone pattern, i.e., a pattern with an underlying H on the penultimate syllable (tone pattern B), except for basic monosyllabic verbs, which have the underlying H on the ultimate syllable (tone pattern A). This peculiarity can be explained by the location of the infinitive marker **-ku-** in the penultimate syllable for basic monosyllabic verbs. As **-ku-** is judged as being incapable of having an underlying H, the ultimate syllable of the form receives the underlying H, instead, thus exhibiting tone pattern A. When **-ku-** is displaced by some morphological procedures and the penultimate position is occupied by some other elements, the form takes an underlying H and thus exhibits tone pattern B normally.

The formative **-ku-** is used not only as a verb infinitive marker, but also as a tense/aspect/mood marker in some conjugations in Nyoro. One counter example was found in

contrast to the general conclusion, which highlighted the nature of the formative **-ku-**.

**-ku-** is understood to be, first of all, a verb infinitive marker, but can also function as a tense/aspect/mood marker. And in proportion to the degree of use as a tense/aspect/mood marker, it assumes the character of a tense/aspect/mood marker and follows the respective pattern.

(25) summarizes the use of **-ku-** in verb forms in Nyoro. (25a) shows **-ku-** as a basic infinitive marker. The **-ku-** in conjugations from (25b) through (25h) is still operating as an infinitive marker and follows the tone pattern of the verb infinitives. However, in conjugation (25h) the infinitive marker characteristic is lost and here, it is used as a pure mood marker, and therefore has an underlying H similar to all other tense/aspect/mood markers, such as the remote past marker **-ka-** (see 10) and the remote future marker **-li-** (see 26).

- (25) a. verb infinitive marker (see 5)  
 b. very near future (see 11)  
 c. definite near future 1  
 d. definite near future 2  
 e. very near future habitual 1  
 f. very near future habitual 2 (see 14)  
 g. present progressive (15)  
 h. negative present participle (see 20, 21, 22)  
 i. negative of possibility (see 23b)

(26) negative remote future

tindīrya	“I will not eat”	titulīrya	“we will not eat”
t’olīrya	“you(sg.) will not eat”	timulīrya	“you(pl.) will not eat”
t’alīrya	“he/she will not eat”	tibalīrya	“they will not eat”

Tone in Nyoro verb forms cannot be analyzed by taking account of the formative **-ku-** problem only, as the whole verb conjugation must be considered. In the irrealis conjugation, for example, the basic monosyllabic forms have tone pattern A, even though **-ku-** is not located on the penultimate syllable. See (27). This conjugation has an underlying H on the ultimate syllable and therefore tone pattern A, irrespective of the presence or absence of **-ku-** in the penultimate position. Therefore, this paper should be understood as presenting an analysis of tone patterns for monosyllabic verb forms as opposed to other verbs types in Nyoro.

## (27) irrealis

na:kulí:rê	“I would eat, etc.”	twa:kulí:rê	“we would eat, etc.”
wa:kulí:rê	“you(sg.) would eat, etc.”	mwa:kulí:rê	“you(pl.) would eat, etc.”
ya:kulí:rê	“he/she would eat, etc.”	ba:kulí:rê	“they would eat, etc.”

## Notes

- 1) For details, see Kaji (2007) for Tooro and Kaji (2015 and 2018) for Nyoro.
- 2) Nouns in the Bantu languages under discussion are composed of three elements, namely augment, prefix, and stem. For example, the Tooro word **omútwe** “head” is composed of **o-** augment, **-mu-** prefix, and **-twe** stem. The augment is of the form V-, the prefix -CV- (or -V-). The stem is of various forms such as -CV, -CGV, -CVCV, -CVCVCV, etc. The prefix and the stem are indispensable when constituting nouns; however, the augment is not as it disappears in some grammatical contexts (when used as a predicate, as a direct object for negative transitive verbs, etc.).  
The figures after the nouns indicate the noun class numbers. These are usually singular-plural paired like 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, etc. Some nouns are used in singular or plural only. The words used for illustration are usually singulars. For example, in the case of the Tooro **omútwe** 3/4, the singular is **omútwe** 3 and the plural is **emítwe** 4. Plurals take a different augment and prefix, but this does not affect our discussion of tone because the singular and the plural have the same tone pattern unless they have different syllable structures.
- 3) In Nyoro (and also in Tooro), /r/ is realized as [l] when followed by /i/or/e/ and not preceded by /i/ or/e/.
- 4) One may say that it is not that Tooro nouns have an underlying tone, but that its H is phrasal. We will not dwell on this matter here.
- 5) Here “formal” means “deprived of meaning”. A formal extension is a suffix which is firmly attached to a radical without adding meaning.
- 6) The abbreviations are the following. Aug: augment (a type of article), NPR: noun prefix, Appl: applicative, Fin: final vowel, PrsProg: present progressive, and Perf: perfective.
- 7) In **okwê:zi** the underlying H is not on **-ku-** but on the stem-initial vowel /e/ (cf. /o-ku-ézi/) just like (7b) **okwâ:ka** (← /o-ku-ák-a/) “to burn (intr.)”.
- 8) Another possibility is that the cl.15 prefix as a whole has a different tone status from other noun prefixes.
- 9) There should be discussion about whether **-ku-** here is an infinitival prefix or not. We will come to this point later.
- 10) The H tone on the final vowel of **kúlyá** is the underlying tone. It shows up as such because it is followed by another word in the phrase, avoiding a pause. It becomes F in isolation (before the pause).
- 11) Likewise, the H tone of the penultimate syllable vowel in **kulí:ra** is underlying, which shows up as such because it is followed by another word in the phrase, avoiding a pause. It becomes F in isolation (before the pause).
- 12) The radical vowels do not usually show up as such but as a semivowel or an element of a diphthong, or even completely disappearing because of the vowel which follows it (**-a** in the case of a verb infinitive). In the case of **okúhwâ** “to finish (intr.)”, for example, the radical vowel surfaces as [w] but is judged as an underlying /o/ because its applicative suffix is **-er-** (the infinitive **okuhwê:ra** “to finish at a place”). The applicative suffix vowel follows vowel harmony; i.e., **-er-** when the radical

vowel is either /e/ or /o/, and **-ir-** when the radical vowel is either /i/, /u/ or /a/. The radical vowel /o/ actually shows up as the first element in the diphthong /oi/ in its perfective form **ahóirê** “he/she has finished”. In this appendix we establish the radical vowels by taking account of the applicative forms. To determine the radical vowel, other conditions must also be considered, but we do not discuss this point here.

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### Appendix: Nyoro monosyllabic verbs<sup>12)</sup>

	radical	infinitive	gloss
1.	-ba-	okúbâ	to be, to become
		okubê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to be at a place, in a situation
		abáirê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has been
2.	-ŋo-	okúŋwâ	to spit
		okuŋwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to spit at sb
		aŋwí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has spat
3.	-ŋo-	okúŋwâ	to break
		okuŋwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to break for sb, at a place
		aŋwí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has broken sth
4.	-fo-	okúfâ	to die
		okufwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to die at a place, for sb/sth
		afwí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she is dead
5.	-gi-	okúgyâ	to go to a place
		okugí:ra <i>appl.</i>	to go for sb
		agí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has gone to a place
6.	-go-	okúgwâ	to fall
		okugwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to fall onto sth
		agwí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she as fallen
7.	-ha-	okúhâ	to give
		okuhê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to give for sb
		aháirê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has given
8.	-hi-	okúhyâ	to get cooked, burned
		okuhí:ra <i>appl.</i>	to be cooked in a pan
		ahí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he is burnt
9.	-ho-	okúhwâ	to finish (intr.)
		okuhwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to finish at a place
		ahóire <i>perf.</i>	he/she has finished, has become weak
10.	-jo-	okújwâ	to bleed
		okujwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to bleed at a place
		ajwí:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has bled
11.	-ke-	okúkyâ	to dawn

	okukyê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to dawn at a place, to go early to see sb
	bukî:rê <i>perf.</i>	It has dawned
12. -ri-	okúlyâ	to eat
	okulî:ra <i>appl.</i>	to eat from a plate, at a place
	alî:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has eaten
13. -mo-	okúmwâ	to shave
	okumwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to shave for sb, at a place
	amwî:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has shaved
14. -ne-	okúnyâ	to defecate
	okunyê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to defecate at a place
	anyî:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has defecated
15. -no-	okúpwâ	to drink
	okupwê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to drink from a glass, at a place
	apwî:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has drunk
16. -se-	okúsâ	to grind
	okusê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to grind for sb, at a place
	asî:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has grinded
17. -ta-	okútâ	to put
	okutê:ra <i>appl.</i>	to put for sb
	atî:rê <i>perf.</i>	he/she has put



## ニョロ語の単音節動詞の声調について

梶 茂 樹

### 要 旨

ニョロ語はウガンダ西部に話されるバンツ系系の1言語である。名詞の声調に関して、ニョロ語では基底でHが単語の最終音節に来るもの(Aパターン)と、終わりから2音節目に来るもの(Bパターン)の2つパターンがある。この言語では、動詞の不定形は名詞であり、すべてBパターンを持つが、語根が-CV-形式の単音節動詞のみAパターンを示す。本稿はその理由を考察したものである。様々な動詞活用の分析から、ニョロ語では、動詞の不定形マーカ-の-ku-(クラス15の名詞接頭辞に由来)は、たとえ単語の終わりから2音節目に来て、基底でHを持ちえず、最終音節が代わってHを持つこと、そして単音節動詞においても、語根の前後に接辞が付き、-ku-が終わりから2音節目でなくなるとBパターンを示すことがわかる。ただ1例だけ例外があり、それは「可能」活用の否定形である。このことから判断すると、-ku-は本来、動詞の不定形のマーカ-であるが、不定形は動詞活用の第二要素として複合活用においても用いられ、その場合も、-ku-はまだ不定形マーカ-としての性質を残しているが、「可能」活用においては、ほぼ完全に活用マーカ-として機能し、「遠過去」マーカ-の-ka-などと同様、単語の終わりから2音節目に来て基底でHを持つのである。

キーワード：ニョロ語、活用、声調、不定形、単音節動詞

