High Tone Deletions and Coreferential Objects in Nyoro Verb Conjugations[1]

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Abstract

This paper examines high tone deletions (HTDs) in verb conjugations in Nyoro, a Bantu language of Western Uganda. In such cases, a high tone is deleted (without any phonetic reason) when a complement of the verb, a direct object of the verb or an adverb, directly follows it. However, when the object noun of a transitive verb is pronominalized and it moves to a preverbal position (with nothing following the verb), the HTD does not occur. In addition, if the object noun is pronominalized and the noun is still used in a postverbal position (this is how Nyoro expresses the definiteness of an object noun), then the verb form does not undergo this process. It is to be noted that HTDs only occur in the affirmative and they do not apply to negative forms or subordinate and relative clauses.

It is possible to better understand HTDs in Nyoro verb conjugations from the perspective of conjoint/disjoint alternations discussed in other Bantu languages. It is known that the postverbal element is focused in conjoint constructions, whereas in disjoint constructions, the verb is the subject of focus. Moreover, the coreferential object prefix construction in Nyoro is syntactically conjoint, since a direct object noun follows it in the clause. However, it is disjointly expressed, since the HTD does not occur within it. It is important to note that the object noun is not dislocated in this construction (i.e., no pause is inserted between the verb and the noun). This seeming paradox is only understood upon realizing that once the object noun is pronominalized, the object is no longer the subject of focus, and the construction becomes disjointed, regardless of whether the object noun maintains the postverbal position. Although HTDs play a crucial role in conjoint/disjoint alternations in Nyoro verb conjugations, they are also involved in other linguistic aspects.

Keywords: Nyoro, Bantu, high tone deletions, conjoint/disjoint alternations, coreferential object prefix

1. Introduction

This paper investigates high tone deletions (HTDs) in verb conjugations in Nyoro (J11), a Bantu language of Western Uganda.[2] In such cases, a high tone is deleted without any phonetic reason in some tenses/aspects/moods when a complement of the verb, a direct object of the verb or an adverb, directly follows it. However, if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun, then this idiosyncrasy is blocked and the verb follows normal tone rules.

Interestingly, this peculiar behavior of high tones is not seen in all tenses/aspects/ moods, but only in nine out of the many different conjugated forms.[3] In other words, the other conjugated forms follow normal tonal phonetic rules. It should also be noted that HTDs only work with affirmative forms and they do not apply to negative forms or subordinate and relative clauses.

2. Nyoro nominal tone

As a prerequisite, it is important to first look at noun tones, since the same principles apply to verbs. In general, Nyoro nouns include two underlying tone patterns: they are either penultimate high or ultimate high, regardless of the number of syllables that constitute words ($\cdots\sigma\acute{\sigma}\sigma$, $\cdots\sigma\sigma\acute{\sigma}$).[4] It is also important to note that there are no entirely low-toned words ($\cdots\sigma\sigma\sigma$). The tone bearing unit is the syllable, and both short and long vowels and diphthongs behave in the same manner. For the sake of reference, penultimate high-toned nouns are called "tone pattern A nouns," while ultimate high-toned nouns are referred to as "tone pattern B nouns."

2.1. Tone pattern A nouns
In (1), there are penultimate high-toned nouns, with high tones on short vowels.
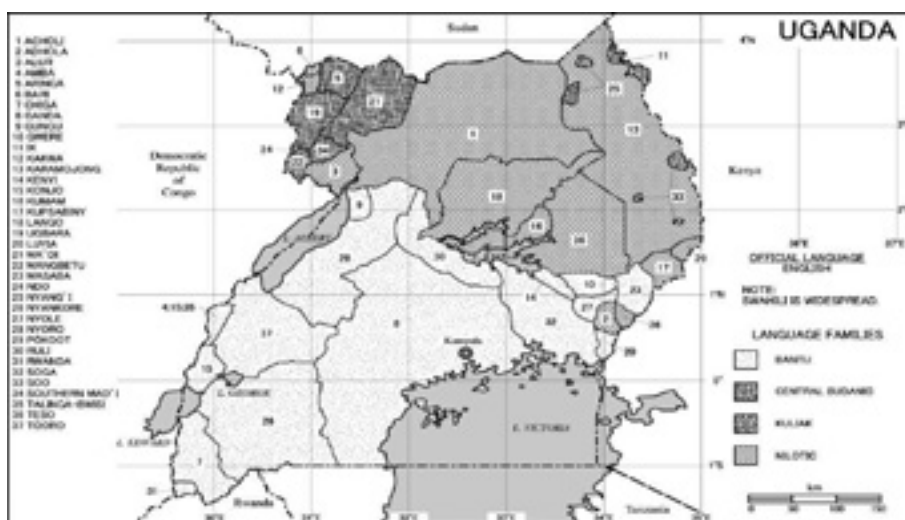
Map: distribution of languages in Uganda (Source: Grimes 2000)

Generally, in tone pattern A nouns, high tones are realized as falling in isolation.[5] However, they are set right when the pause is eliminated, as in (2), where the possessive adjective -**ánge** ("my") directly follows the head noun.

(1) a.   /obú-ne/ 14[6]   →   obûne   "liver"

     b.   /ama-zíga/ 6   →   amazîga   "tears"

     c.   /eki-ragíro/ 7   →   ekiragîro   "law"

     d.   /oru-kanakána/ 11   →   orukanakâna   "dewdrop"

     e.   /eki-tabudʒugúta/ 7   →   ekitabudʒugûta   "species of civet"

(2) a.   /obú-ne bu-ánge/[7] 14 →   obúne bwâ:nge   "my liver"

     b.   /ama-zíga ga-ánge/ 6   →   amazíga gâ:nge   "my tears"

     c.   /eki-ragíro ki-ánge/ 7 →   ekiragíro kyâ:nge   "my law"

     d.   /oru-kanakána ru-ánge/ 11 → orukanakána rwâ:nge   "my dewdrop"

     e.   /eki-tabudʒugúta ki-ánge/ 7 → ekitabudʒugúta kyâ:nge "my civet"

In (3), there are high tones on long vowels and diphthongs for disyllabic stem nouns. In general, long vowels are either phonemic or phonetic.[8] Moreover, (4) includes examples in which the pause is eliminated by the possessive adjective -**ánge** ("my") that directly follows the head noun. In these cases, the falling tones are turned back into the original high tones.

(3) a.   /ama-ɲá:re/ 6   →   amaɲâ:le   "sperm"

     b.   /omu-tʃwézi/ 3   →   omutʃwê:zi   "traditional god"

     c.   /omu-kúndi/ 3   →   omukû:ndi   "navel"

     d.   /eki-kóíkyo/ 7   →   ekikóikyo   "riddle"

(4) a.   /ama-ɲá:re ga-ánge/ 6   →   amaɲá:le gâ:nge   "my sperm"

     b.   /omu-tʃwézi gu-ánge/ 3 →   omutʃwé:zi gwâ:nge   "my traditional god"

     c.   /omu-kúndi gu-ánge/ 3   →   omukú:ndi gwâ:nge   "my navel"

     d.   /eki-kóíkyo ki-ánge/ 7 →   ekikóíkyo kyâ:nge   "my riddle"

2.2. Tone pattern B nouns

Tone pattern B nouns include an underlying high tone on the ultimate syllable of the word. In contrast to pattern A nouns, high tone anticipation obligatorily applies to tone pattern B nouns. Thus, the underlying high tone of pattern B nouns is realized in the following way in isolation, i.e., the high tone is copied to the left-adjacent syllable and leaves

its trace as a falling tone on the original ultimate syllable. (5) and (7) illustrate this for nouns with a light and heavy penultimate syllable, respectively. However, in (6) and (8), although the falling tone is set back to the original high tone, the anticipated high tone remains as such when the pause is eliminated by the following word.

(5)	a.	/en-gegé/ 9	→	engégê	"tilapia"
	b.	/oru-birá/ 11	→	orubírâ	"inner waist belt"
	c.	/eki-tagatá/ 7	→	ekitagátâ	"hot spring"
	d.	/omu-somesá/ 1	→	omusomésâ	"teacher"
(6)	a.	/en-gegé i-ánge / 9	→	engégé yâ:nge	"my tilapia"
	b.	/oru-birá ru-ánge / 11	→	orubírá rwâ:nge	"my inner waist belt"
	c.	/eki-tagatá ki-ánge / 7	→	ekitagátá kyâ:nge	"my hot spring"
	d.	/omu-somesá u-ánge / 1	→	omusomésá wâ:nge	"my teacher"
(7)	a.	/aka-ibe:bé/ 12	→	akaibé:bê	"falcon"
	b.	/eki-endʒú/ 7	→	ekyé:ndʒû	"small ripe banana"
	c.	/omu-dʒungú/ 1	→	omudʒú:ngû	"white person"
	d.	/em-baizí/ 9	→	embáizî	"axe"
(8)	a.	/aka-ibe:bé ka-ánge / 12	→	akaibé:bé kâ:nge	"my falcon"
	b.	/eki-endʒú ki-ánge / 7	→	ekyé:ndʒú kyâ:nge	"my small ripe banana"
	c.	/omu-dʒungú u-ánge / 1	→	omudʒú:ngú wâ:nge	"my white person"
	d.	/em-baizí i-ánge / 9	→	embáizí yâ:nge	"my axe"

3. Verb forms

Before highlighting the peculiarity of high tones in some tenses/aspects/moods in Section 4, this section provides some general information about verb forms. More specifically, in Section 3.1, a list of the constituent elements of verb forms is given. Verb forms also include two tone patterns: tone pattern A and tone pattern B like nouns. In addition, present progressive 1 (Section 3.2) and present progressive 2 (Section 3.3) are taken as examples of conjugated verb forms of tone pattern A and tone pattern B, respectively, both of which follow normal tonal rules.

3.1. Verb elements

Conjugated verb forms in Nyoro consist of the elements shown in (9). The negative

marker is the clitic **ti** in indicative (i.e., non-subordinate/relative) clauses, but in subordinate/ relative clauses, it is the post-subject prefixal -**ta**-. Pronominal prefixes are also used as subject prefixes in relative clauses.

(9) Clit SPr-(Neg)-TAM-OPr-Rad-Ext-Suf-Prefin-Fin Clit

Clit	: clitic (**ni** in the affirmative and **ti** in the negative as proclitics and the locative **hó**, **yó** and **mú** as enclitics)	
SPr	: subject prefix	
Neg	: negative -**ta**- in subordinate and relative clauses	
TAM	: tense, aspect, mood marker	
OPr	: object prefix	
Rad	: radical	
Ext	: formal extension (suffix that cannot be attributed a particular meaning)	
Suf	: derivational suffix (applicative, causative, etc.)	
Prefin	: prefinal -**ag**-	
Fin	: final vowel, -**a**, -**e**, etc.	

Moreover, Nyoro verb radicals only include one tone pattern, i.e., pattern A, as exemplified by **okukî:nga** /okukínga/ "to close (tr.)" and **okukûra** /okukúra/ "to grow (intr.)." The exception is so-called monosyllabic verbs that manifest tone pattern B, as exemplified by **okúfâ** /okufá/ "to die" and **okúsâ** /okusá/ "to grind (tr.)."[9]

3.2. Present progressive 1

Present progressive 1 indicates an action being performed or a state in which a thing exists. The verb -**kíng**- (the infinitive **okukî:nga**) "to close (tr.)" is used for illustration.[10] The forms in (10) are those conjugated in person and number, and pronounced in isolation, with (10a) including affirmative forms and (10b) including negative forms. The tonal pattern of present progressive 1 is pattern A for both the affirmative and negative forms. In addition, the tonal behavior is normal, i.e., it is understood in phonetic terms, as explained in Section 2.1.

(10)		a. affirmative[11]		b. negative[12]	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.		nkukî:nga	tu:kukî:nga	tí·nkukî:nga	titú:kukî:nga

| 2nd per. | okukî:nga | mu:kukî:nga | t'ó:kukî:nga | timú:kukî:nga |
| 3rd per. | akukî:nga | ba:kukî:nga | t'á:kukî:nga | tibá:kukî:nga |

(11a) is a morphological division of the first-person plural form in the affirmative, while (11b) is a form of (11a), followed by the direct object **orwî:gi** "door." (11c) is a sentence in which **kurú:ngî** "well," instead of **orwî:gi** "door," is used after the verb, while (11d) is a coreferential object prefix construction in which the object prefix -**ru**- refers to the direct object **orwî:gi** "door."[13] Coreferential object prefixes indicate the definiteness of the object noun in question. Nyoro nouns, such as **orwî:gi** "door," are not specified for their definiteness (i.e., it is either "a door" or "the door"). (11e) is a sentence in which the object prefix -**ru**- is used with the adverb **kurú:ngî** "well" instead of the noun **orwî:gi** "door". Moreover, (12) includes negative counterparts of (11). We also see that all of the verb forms in (11) and (12) fall under tone pattern A.

(11) a.   tu:kukî:nga.
    tu:-ku-kíng-a[14]
    we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin[15]
    "We are closing."

  b.   tu:kukí:nga orwî:gi.
    tu:-ku-kíng-a   orwígi
    we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin   door11
    "We are closing a door."

  c.   tu:kukí:nga kurú:ngî.
    tu:-ku-kíng-a   kurungí
    we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin   well
    "We are closing well."

  d.   tu:kurukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]
    tu:-ku-ru-kíng-a   orwígi
    we-TM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin door11
    "We are closing the door."

  e.   tu:kurukí:nga kurú:ngî.
    tu:-ku-ru-kíng-a   kurungí
    we-TM- it11-close(tr.)-Fin well
    "We are closing it well."

(12) a. titú:kukî:nga.

     ti   tú:-ku-kíng-a

     not   we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin

     "We are not closing."

   b. titú:kukí:nga orwî:gi.

     ti   tú:-ku-kíng-a   orwígi

     not   we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

     "We are not closing a door."

   c. titú:kukí:nga kurú:ngî.

     ti   tú:-ku-kíng-a   kurungí

     not   we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin   well

     "We are not closing well."

   d. titú:kurukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]

     ti   tú:-ku-ru-kíng-a   orwígi

     not   we-TM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

     "We are not closing the door."

   e. titú:kurukí:nga kurú:ngî.

     ti   tú:-ku-ru-kíng-a   kurungí

     not   we-TM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

     "We are not closing it well."

3.3. Present progressive 2

Present progressive 2 means the same as present progressive 1, but it is believed to be more polite than the latter. The forms in (13) are those conjugated in person and number in the affirmative, and pronounced in isolation. Present progressive 2 does not have negative forms, for which present progressive 1 forms are used. The tonal pattern (affirmative) of present progressive 2 is pattern B, and the tonal behavior of the verb is normal, i.e. understandable in phonetic terms. as explained in Section 2.2.

(13)   affirmative

                  sg.   pl.

   1st per.   ninkí:ngâ   nitukí:ngâ

   2n per.   n'o:kí:ngâ   nimukí:ngâ

   3rd per.   n'a:kí:ngâ   nibakí:ngâ

(14a) is a morphological division of the first-person plural form, while (14b) is (14a) followed by the direct object **orwî:gi** "door." In (14c), the adverb **kurú:ngî** "well" is used, instead of **orwî:gi** "door," while (14d) is a coreferential object prefix construction. Finally, in (14e), the object prefix -**ru**- is used with the adverb **kurú:ngî** "well," instead of the object noun **orwî:gi** "door." We also see that all of the verb forms fall under tone pattern B.

(14) a.   nitukí:ngâ.

   ni   tu-king-á

   Prog we-close(tr.)-Fin

   "We are closing."

  b.   nitukí:ngá orwî:gi.

   ni   tu-king-á   orwígi

   Prog we-close(tr.)-Fin door11

   "We are closing a door."

  c.   nitukí:ngá kurú:ngî.

   ni   tu-king-á   kurungí

   Prog we-close(tr.)-Fin well

   "We are closing well."

  d.   niturukí:ngá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

   ni   tu-ru-king-á   orwígi

   Prog we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin door11

   "We are closing the door."

  e.   niturukí:ngá kurú:ngî.

   ni   tu-ru-king-á   kurungí

   Prog we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin well

   "We are closing it well."

4. Disappearance and appearance of H in the verb form

This section highlights the peculiarity of high tones in tense/aspect/mood verb forms. In other words, the high tone of a verb form disappears without any phonetic reason when another word directly follows it in the clause. However, it appears when a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun. Overall, there are nine conjugated forms,[16)] in addition to the forms of the defective verb -**li** "to be."

4.1. General present 1

This tense indicates the general present (e.g., "The earth turns.") or usual/habitual actions (e.g., "I usually do."). Its tone pattern is B for both the affirmative and the negative, as seen in (15a) for the affirmative, and (15b) for the negative, both pronounced in isolation. However, when the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, the high tone of the verb disappears, without any phonetic reason. Another word can be a direct object, as in (16b), or an adverb, as in (16c). Yet, this high tone appears and follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun in the affirmative clause, as in (16d) (the coreferential object prefix and object noun are boldfaced in the affirmative). Even though an object prefix is used, the high tone does not appear if the word that follows the verb is not a coreferential object noun, as in (16e), in which the adverb **kurú:ngî** "well" follows the verb. Moreover, HTDs do not apply to negative forms, which follow normal tone pattern B rules, as in (17).

(15)		a. affirmative		b. negative	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.		nkí:ngâ	tukí:ngâ	tinkí:ngâ	titukí:ngâ
2nd per.		okí:ngâ	mukí:ngâ	t'okí:ngâ	timukí:nga
3rd per.		akí:ngâ	bakí:ngâ	t'akí:ngâ	tibakí:ngâ

(16) a. tukí:ngâ.

tu-king-á

we-close(tr.)-Fin

"We usually close."

  b. tuki·nga orwî:gi. (*tukí:ngá orwî:gi.)

tu-king-a   orwígi

we-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We usually close a door."

  c. tuki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tukí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

tu-king-a   kurungí

we-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We usually close well."

  d. turukí:ngá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-**ru**-king-á   **orwígi**

we-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin   **door11**

"We usually close the door."

    e.   turuki·nga kurú:ngî. (*turukí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

        tu-ru-king-a   kurungí

        we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "We usually close it well."

(17) a.   titukí:ngâ.

        ti   tu-king-á

        not   we-close(tr.)-Fin

        "We usually do not close."

    b.   titukí:ngá orwî:gi.

        ti   tu-king-á   orwígi

        not   we-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

        "We usually do not close a door."

    c.   titukí:ngá kurú:ngî.

        ti   tu-king-á   kurungí

        not   we-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "We usually do not close well."

    d.   Titurukí:ngá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

        ti   tu-ru-king-á   orwígi

        not   we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

        "We usually do not close the door."

    e.   titurukí:ngá kurú:ngî.

        ti   tu-ru-king-á   kurungí

        not   we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "We usually do not close it well."

4.2. Near past and resulting state

    This conjugation indicates an action that occurred sometime today, the result of which is seen. Its tone pattern is B for both the affirmative and the negative, as in (18). However, when the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative clause, as in (19b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (19c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, with no phonetic reason. Yet, it appears and follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as an object noun in the affirmative, as in (19d). Meanwhile, no change occurs in the negative form, as in (20).

(18)   a. affirmative   b. negative

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	nki·ngírê	tuki·ngírê	tinki·ngírê	tituki·ngírê
2nd per.	oki·ngírê	muki·ngírê	t'oki·ngírê	timuki·ngírê
3rd per.	aki·ngírê	baki·ngírê	t'aki·ngírê	tibaki·ngírê

(19) a. tuki·ngírê.

    tu-king-iré

    we-close(tr.)-Perf

    "We have closed."

   b. tuki·ngire orwî:gi. (*tuki·ngíré orwî:gi.)

    tu-king-ire   orwígi

    we-close(tr.)-Perf   door11

    "We have closed a door."

   c. tuki·ngire kurú:ngî. (*tuki·ngíré kurú:ngî.)

    tu-king-ire   kurungí

    we-close(tr.)-Perf   well

    "We have closed well."

   d. turuki·ngíré orwî:gi. [coreferential]

    tu-**ru**-king-iré   **orwígi**

    we-**it11**-close(tr.)-Perf **door11**

    "We have closed the door."

   e. turuki·ngire kurú:ngî. (*turuki·ngíré kurú:ngî.)

    tu-ru-king-ire   kurungí

    we-it11-close(tr.)-Perf   well

    "We have closed it well."

(20) a. tituki·ngírê.

    ti   tu-king-iré

    not   we-close(tr.)-Perf

    "We have not closed."

   b. tituki·ngíré orwî:gi.

    ti   tu-king-iré   orwígi

    not   we-close(tr.)-Perf   door11

    "We have not closed a door."

   c. tituki·ngíré kurú:ngî.

    ti   tu-king-iré   kurungí

    not   we-close(tr.)-Perf   well

    "We have not closed well."

d.   tituruki·ngíré orwî:gi. [coreferential]

    ti   tu-ru-king-iré   orwígi

    not   we-it11-close(tr.)-Perf   door11

    "We have not closed the door."

e.   tituruki·ngíré kurú:ngî.

    ti   tu-ru-king-iré   kurungí

    not   we-it11-close(tr.)-Perf   well

    "We have not closed it well."

4.3. Remote past

This conjugation indicates an action that occurred either yesterday, a week ago, a month ago, etc. Its tone pattern is A for the affirmative and B for the negative, as seen in (21a) and (21b), respectively. However, when the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, as in (22b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (22c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, with no phonetic reason. Yet, the high tone appears and the verb form follows the normal tone pattern A rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun, as in (22d). (22e) shows that a HTD occurs if an object prefix is used, unless a coreferential object noun is used at the same time in the affirmative. Meanwhile, HTDs do not occur in the negative, as in (23).

(21)	a. affirmative		b. negative[17]	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	nkakî:nga	tukakî:nga	ntakí:ngê	tutakí:ngê
2nd per.	okakî:nga	mukakî:nga	otakí:ngê	mutakí:ngê
3rd per.	akakî:nga	bakakî:nga	atakí:ngê	batakí:ngê

(22) a.   tukakî:nga.

     tu-ka-kíng-a

     we-RemPst-close(tr.)-Fin

     "We closed."

   b.   tukaki·nga orwî:gi. (*tukakí:nga orwî:gi.)

     tu-ka-king-a   orwígi

we-RemPst-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We closed a door."

c. tukaki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tukakí:nga kurú:ngî.)

tu-ka-king-a   kurungí

we-RemPst-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We closed well."

d. tukarukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-ka-**ru**-kíng-a   **orwígi**

we-RemPst-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin   **door11**

"We closed the door."

e. tukaruki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tukarukí:nga kurú:ngî.)

tu-ka-ru-king-a   kurungí

we-RemPst-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We closed it well."

(23) a. tutakí:ngê.

tu-ta-king-é

we-not-close(tr.)-RemPst.Fin

"We did not close."

b. tutakí:ngé orwî:gi.

tu-ta-king-é   orwígi

we-not-close(tr.)-RemPst.Fin   door11

"We did not close a door."

c. tutakí:ngé kurú:ngî.

tu-ta-king-é   kurungí

we-not-close(tr.)-RemPst.Fin   well

"We did not close well."

d. tutarukí:ngé orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-ta-ru-king-é   orwígi

we-not-it11-close(tr.)-RemPst.Fin   door11

"We did not close the door."

e. tutarukí:ngé kurú:ngî.

tu-ta-ru-king-é   kurungí

we-not-it11-close(tr.)-RemPst.Fin   well

"We did not close it well."

4.4. Consecutive past

Consecutive past (typically used in narratives) indicates an action that occurs consecutively after another. It is usually introduced by the past tense, the near past or remote past. Its tone pattern is A for both the affirmative and the negative, as in (24a) and (24b), respectively. However, when the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, as in (25b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (25c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, with no phonetic reason. Yet, it appears and the form follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun in the affirmative, as in (25d). Again, HTDs do not occur in the negative, as in (26).

(24)　　　　　　　a. affirmative　　　　　　　b. negative

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	nakî:nga	twa·kî:nga	tinakî:nga[18]	titwa·kî:nga
2nd per.	wakî:nga	mwa·kî:nga	tiwakî:nga	timwa·kî:nga
3rd per.	yakî:nga	ba:kî:nga	tiyakî:nga	tiba:kî:nga

(25) a.　twa·kî:nga.

tu-a-kíng-a.

we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin

"And we closed."

b.　twa·ki·nga orwî:gi.　(*twa.kí:nga orwî:gi.)

tu-a-king-a　　　　　　　orwígi

we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin　　door11

"And we closed a door."

c.　twa·ki·nga kurú:ngî.　(*twa·kí:nga kurú:ngî.)

tu-a-king-a　　　　　　　kurungí

we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin　　well

"And we closed well."

d.　twa·rukí:nga orwî:gi.　[coreferential]

tu-a-**ru**-kíng-a　　　　　**orwígi**

we-ConPst-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin　　**door11**

"And we closed the door."

e.　twa·ruki·nga kurú:ngî.　(*twa·rukí:nga kurú:ngî.)

tu-a-it11-king-a　　　　　kurungí

we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin　　well

"And we closed it well."

(26) a. titwa·kî:nga.

ti   tu-a-kíng-a

not   we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin

"And we did not close."

b. titwa·kí:nga orwî:gi.

ti   tu-a-kíng-a   orwígi

not   we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"And we did not close a door."

c. titwa·kí:nga kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a-kíng-a   kurungí

not   we-ConPst-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"And we did not close well."

d. titwa·rukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]

ti   tu-a-ru-kíng-a   orwígi

not   we-ConPst-it11-close(tr.)-Fin door11

"And we did not close the door."

e. titwa·rukí:nga kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a-ru-kíng-a   kurungí

not   we-ConPst-it11-close(tr.)-Fin well

"And we did not close it well."

4.5. About-to-do

About-to-do indicates an action that is about to occur or has just begun, e.g., "The rain started some time ago, but it may turn into heavy rain." This conjugation is often used as a warning, e.g., "I am about to go to Hoima. If you have something to ask me to do for you there, then tell me right now." Its tone pattern is A for the affirmative, as in (27). However, the negative is not used. In addition, the forms and behaviors of the high tones in the verb forms are the same as those of consecutive past.

(27)   affirmative

                  sg.   pl.

1st per.   nakî:nga   twa·kî:nga

2nd per.   wakî:nga   mwa·kî:nga

    3rd per.   yakî:nga   ba:kî:nga

(28) a.   twa·kî:nga.

        tu-a-kíng-a

        we-AM-close(tr.)-Fin

        "We almost closed."

    b.   twa·ki·nga orwî:gi. (*twa·kí:nga orwî:gi.)

        tu-a-king-a   orwígi

        we-AM-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

        "We almost closed a door."

    c.   twa·ki·nga kurú:ngî. (*twa·kí:nga kurú:ngî.)

        tu-a-king-a   kurungí

        we-AM-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "We almost closed well."

    d.   twa·rukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]

        tu-a-**ru**-kíng-a   **orwígi**

        we-AM-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin   **door11**

        "We almost closed the door."

    e.   twa·ruki·nga kurú:ngî. (*twa·rukí:nga kurú:ngî.)

        tu-a-ru-king-a   kurungí

        we-AM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "We almost closed it well."

4.6. Near future

    Near future indicates an action that will occur either today or tomorrow. Its tone pattern is B for both the affirmative and the negative, as in (29a) and (29b), respectively. However, when the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, as in (30b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (30c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, with no phonetic reason. Yet, it appears and the verb follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun in the affirmative, as in (30d). Again, HTDs do not occur in the negative, as in (31).

(29)   a. affirmative   b. negative[19]

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	nda:kí:ngâ	tura:kí:ngâ	tina:kí:ngê	titwa:kí:ngê

2nd per.	ora:kí:ngâ	mura:kí:ngâ	tiwa:kí:ngê	timwa:kí:ngê
3rd per.	ara:kí:ngâ	bara:kí:ngâ	tiya:kí:ngê	tiba:kí:ngê

(30) a. tura:kí:ngâ.

tu-ra:-king-á

we-NeFut-close(tr.)-Fin

"We will close."

   b. tura:ki·nga orwî:gi. (*tura:kí:ngá orwî:gi.)

tu-ra:-king-a   orwígi

we-NeFut-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We will close a door."

   c. tutra:ki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tura:kí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

tu-ra:-king-a   kurungí

we-NeFut-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We will close well."

   d. tura:rukí:ngá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-ra:-**ru**-king-á   **orwígi**

we-NeFut-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin **door11**

"We will close the door."

   e. tura:ruki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tura:rukí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

tu-ra:-ru-king-a   kurungí

we-NeFut-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We will close it well."

(31) a. titwa:kí:ngê.

ti   tu-a:-king-á

not   we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin

"We will not close."

   b. titwa:kí:ngé orwî:gi.

ti   tu-a:-king-á   orwígi

not   we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We will not close a door."

   c. titwa:kí:ngé kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a:-king-á   kurungí

not   we-TM-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We will not close well."

    d.   titwa:rukí:ngé orwî:gi. [coreferential]

        ti   tu-a:-ru-king-á   orwígi

        not   we-TM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

        "We will close the door."

    e.   titwa:rukí:ngé kurú:ngî.

        ti   tu-a:-ru-king-á   kurungí

        not   we-TM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "We will not close it well."

4.7. Remote future

Remote future indicates an action that will occur either the day after tomorrow or later in the future. It often implies uncertainty of the intended action. Its tone pattern is B for the affirmative and A for the negative, as in (32a) and (32b), respectively. When the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, as in (33b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (33c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, with no phonetic reason. Yet, it appears and the verb follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun in the affirmative, as in (33d). Moreover, HTDs do not occur in the negative, as in (34).

(32)   a. affirmative   b. negative

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	ndikí:ngâ	tulikí:ngâ	ti·ndikî:nga	titulikî:nga
2nd per.	olikí:ngâ	mulikí:ngâ	t'olikî:nga	timulikî:nga
3rd per.	alikí:ngâ	balikí:ngâ	t'alikî:nga	tibalikî:nga

(33) a.   tulikí:ngâ.

        tu-li-king-á

        we-RemFut-close(tr.)-Fin

        "We will close."

    b.   tuliki·nga orwî:gi. (*tulikí:ngá orwî:gi.)

        tu-li-king-a   orwígi

        we-RemFut-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

        "We will close a door."

    c.   tuliki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tulikí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

        tu-li-king-a   kurungí

we-RemFut-close(tr.)-Fin well

"We will close well."

  d. tulirukí:ngá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-li-**ru**-king-á   **orwígi**

we-RemFut-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin   **door11**

"We will close the door."

  e. tuliruki·nga kurú:ngî. (*tulirukí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

tu-li-ru-king-a   kurungí

we-RemFut-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We will close it well."

(34) a. titulikî:nga.

ti   tu-li-kíng-a

not   we-RemFut-close(tr.)-Fin

"We will not close."

  b. titulikí:nga orwî:gi.

ti   tu-li-kíng-a   orwígi

not   we-RemFut-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We will not close a door."

  c. titulikí:nga kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-li-kíng-a   kurungí

not   we-RemFut-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We will not close well."

  d. titulirukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]

ti   tu-li-ru-kíng-a   orwígi

not   we-RemFut-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We will not close the door."

  e. titulirukí:nga kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-li-ru-kíng-a   kurungí

not   we-RemFut-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We will not close it well."

4.8. Present and past irrealis

This mood, which often indicates regret, indicates present and past unreal conditions of actions. Its tone pattern is B for both the affirmative and the negative, as in (35a) and (35b),

respectively. When the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, as in (36b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (36c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, with no phonetic reason. Yet, it appears and the verb follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun in the affirmative, as in (36d). Meanwhile, HTDs do not occur in the negative, as in (37).

(35)   a. affirmative   b. negative

              sg.   pl.   sg.   pl.

1st per.   na:kuki·ngírê   twa:kuki·ngírê   tina:kuki·ngírê titwa:kuki·ngírê

2nd per.   wa:kuki·ngírê   mwa:kuki·ngírê   tiwa:kuki·ngírê timwa:kuki·ngírê

3rd per.   ya:kuki·ngírê   ba:kuki·ngírê   tiya:kuki·ngírê tiba:kuki·ngírê

(36) a.   twa:kuki·ngírê.

           tu-a:-ku-king-iré

           we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Perf

           "We would close (or We would have closed)."

     b.   twa:kuki·ngire orwî:gi. (*twa:kuki·ngíré orwî:gi.)

           tu-a:-ku-king-ire   orwígi

           we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Perf   door11

           "We would close (or We would have closed) a door."

     c.   twa:kuki·ngire kurú:ngî. (*twa:kuki·ngíré kurú:ngî.)

           tu-a:-ku-king-ire   kurungí

           we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Perf   well

           "We would close (or We would have closed) well."

     d.   twa:kuruki·ngíré orwî:gi. [coreferential]

           tu-a:-ku-**ru**-king-iré   **orwígi**

           we-TM-MM-**it11**-close(tr.)-Perf   **door11**

           "We would close (or We would have closed) the door."

     e.   twa:kuruki·ngire kurú:ngî. (*twa:kuruki·ngíré kurú:ngî.)

           tu-a:-ku-ru-king-ire   kurungí

           we-TM-MM-it11-close(tr.)-Perf   well

           "We would close (or We would have closed) it well."

(37) a.   titwa:kuki·ngírê.

           ti   tu-a:-ku-king-iré

           not   we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Perf

"We would not close (or We would not have closed)."

b. titwa:kuki·ngíré orwî:gi.

ti   tu-a:-ku-king-iré   orwígi

not   we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Perf   door11

"We would not close (or We would not have closed) a door."

c. titwa:kuki·ngíré kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a:-ku-king-iré   kurungí

not   we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Perf   well

"We would not close (or We would not have closed) a door."

d. titwa:kuruki·ngíré orwî:gi. [coreferential]

ti   tu-a:-ku-ru-king-iré   orwígi

not   weTM-MM-it11-close(tr.)-Perf   door11

"We would not close (or We would not have closed) the door."

e. titwa:kuruki·ngíré kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a:-ku-ru-king-iré   kurungí

not   we-TM-MM-it11-close(tr.)-Perf   well

"We would not close (or We would not have closed) it well."

4.9. Possibility

This mood indicates a possibility, e.g., "I am in a position to do it. So, I can do it." Its tone pattern is B for the affirmative and A for the negative, as in (38a) and (38b), respectively. However, when the verb is followed by another word in the affirmative, as in (39b), in which a direct object noun is used, and (39c), in which an adverb is used, the high tone of the verb disappears, without any phonetic reason. Yet, it appears and the verb follows the normal rules if a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun in the affirmative, as in (39d). Again, HTDs do not occur in the negative, as in (40).

(38)   a. affirmative   b. negative

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	na:kukí:ngâ[20]	twa:kukí:ngâ	tina:kukî:nga[21]	titwa:kukî:nga
2nd per.	wa:kukí:ngâ	mwa:kukí:ngâ	tiwa:kukî:nga	timwa:kukî:nga
3rd per.	ya:kukí:ngâ	ba:kukí:ngâ	tiya:kukî:nga	tiba:kukî:nga

(39) a.   twa:kukí:ngâ.

tu-a:-ku-king-á

we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Fin

"We can close."

b.   twa:kukiˑnga orwî:gi. (*twa:kukí:ngá orwî:gi.)

tu-a:-ku-king-a   orwígi

we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We can close a door."

c.   twa:kukiˑnga kurú:ngî. (*twa:kukí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

tu-a:-ku-king-a   kurungí

we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We can close well."

d.   twa:kurukí:ngá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-a:-ku-**ru**-king-á   **orwígi**

we-TM-MM-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin   **door11**

"We can close the door."

e.   twa:kurukiˑnga kurú:ngî. (*twa:kurukí:ngá kurú:ngî.)

tu-a:-ku-ru-king-a   kurungí.

we-TM-MM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We can close it well."

(40) a.   titwa:kukî:nga.

ti   tu-a:-ku-kíng-a

not   we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Fin

"We cannot close."

b.   titwa:kukí:nga orwî:gi.

ti   tu-a:-ku-kíng-a   orwígi

not   we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We cannot close a door."

c.   titwa:kukí:nga kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a:-ku-kíng-a   kurungí

not   we-TM-MM-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We cannot close well."

d.   titwa:kurukí:nga orwî:gi. [coreferential]

ti   tu-a:-ku-ru-kíng-a   orwígi

not   we-TM-MM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

"We cannot close the door."

e.   titwa:kurukí:nga kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-a:-ku-ru-kíng-a   kurungí.

not   we-TM-MM-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

"We cannot close it well."

4.10. Defective verb -li

The defective verb -**li** manifests HTDs in the affirmative. This verb is used as either a copula or existential verb in the present tense[22] and the remote past tense.

4.10.1. Present tense of -li

The copula -**li** is not necessary for the third person in the present affirmative, but it is necessary in the negative. In addition, as an existential verb, it cannot be dispensed in both the affirmative and the negative. We cannot verify what happens to this verb with a coreferential object prefix, but HTDs clearly occur in the affirmative with a complement (i.e., a predicative noun), as in (42b), and an adverbial phrase, as in (42c). Again, HTDs do not work in the negative, as in (43).

(41)   a. affirmative   b. negative

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	ńdî	túlî	tí:ndî	titúlî
2nd per.	ó:lî	múlî	t'ólî	timúlî
3rd per.	á:lî	bálî	t'álî	tibálî

(42) a.   túlî.

tu-lí

we-be

"We are."

b.   tuli bâ:na. (*túlí bâ:na.)

tu-li   bâ:na

we-be   children

"We are children."

c.   tuli omú:njû. (*túlí omú:njû.)

tu-li   omú:njû

we-be   in.the.house

"We are in the house."

(43) a.　titúlî.

　　　　ti　　tu-lí

　　　　not　　we-be

　　　　"We are not."

　　b.　titúlí bâ:na.

　　　　ti　　tu-lí　　　bâ:na

　　　　not　　we-be　　　children

　　　　"We are not children."

　　c.　titúlí omú:njû.

　　　　ti　　tu-lí　　　omú:njû

　　　　not　　we-be　　　in.the.house

　　　　"We are not in the house."

4.10.2. Remote past tense of -li

　　The defective verb **-li** is also used in the remote past, but it cannot be dispensed as a copula for the third person. Meanwhile, the affirmative displays a tone pattern B, as in (44a), which undergoes a HTD when followed by another word in the clause, as in (45b) and (45c). Moreover, the negative is a complex form, composed of two verbs.[23] The first verb **nkaba** "I was" etc., which functions as an auxiliary, is an affirmative remote past form of the verb **-ba-** (the infinitive **okúbâ**) "to be." It also undergoes HTD because of the second verb that follows it. In this case, the second verb is a present negative subordinate form of **-li**, showing a tone pattern B without a HTD.

(44)

	a. affirmative		b. negative	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	nálî	twá:lî	nkaba ntálî	tukaba tutálî
2nd per.	wálî	mwá:lî	okaba otálî	mukaba mutálî
3rd per.	yálî	bá:lî	akaba atálî	bakaba batálî

(45) a.　twá:lî.

　　　tu-a-lí

　　　we-TM-be

　　　"We were."

　　b.　twa·li bâ:na.　(*twá:lí bâ:na.)

　　　tu-a-li　　　bâ:na

        we-TM-be   children

        "We were children."

  c.   twa·li omú:njû. (*twá:lí omú:njû.)

       tu-a-li   omú:njû

       we-TM-be   in.the.house

       "We were in the house."

(46) a.   tukaba tutálî.

       tu-ka-ba-a   tu-ta-lí

       we-RemPst-be-Fin   we-not-be

       "We were not."

  b.   tukaba tutálí bâ:na.

       tu-ka-ba-a   tu-ta-lí   bâ:na

       we-RemPst-be-Fin   we-not-be   children

       "We were not children."

  c.   tukaba tutálí omú:njû.

       tu-ka-ba-a   tu-ta-lí   omú:njû

       we-RemPst-be-Fin   we-not-be   in.the.house

       "We were not in the house."

4.11. Complex forms

Overall, 18 out of the 54 conjugated verb forms in Nyoro include a complex structure, i.e., one composed of an auxiliary verb followed by a main verb, with both conjugated in one way or another. Two verbs, -**ba**- (the infinitive **okúbâ**) "to be" and -**ij**- (the infinitive **okwî:ja**) "to come," are used as auxiliaries. In the previous discussion, we did not consider complex forms (except for the negative remote past form of -**li** in Section 4.10.2). The reason for this is that when a tense/aspect/mood form undergoes a HTD, then a complex form that uses an auxiliary in this tense/aspect/mood also undergoes a HTD.

For example, (47) includes remote past progressive forms ("I was closing."), while (48) includes remote past perfective forms ("I had just closed."). In both cases, they use the remote past in the auxiliary. In the affirmative, both forms include HTDs in the auxiliary, such as **nkaba** "I was," **tukaba** "we were," etc., rather than **nkâba**, **tukâba**, etc. In the negative, since the form consists of two verb forms (i.e., an auxiliary and a main), either can be negated. If the main verb is negated, as in (47b1) and (48b1), then the auxiliary remains affirmative, and it undergoes a HTD. Conversely, if the auxiliary is negated, as in (47b2) and (48b2), then the

main verb remains affirmative, and it does not undergo a HTD, e.g., **ntábé** "I was not," **tutábé** "we were not," etc., since they are negative (subordinate) forms.

(47)   a. affirmative   b. negative

               sg.   pl.   sg.   pl.

1st per.   nkaba ni·nkí:ngâ   tukaba nitukí:ngâ   1) nkaba ntá:kukî:nga   tukaba tutá:kukî:nga

2nd per.   okaba n'o:kí:ngâ   mukaba nimukí:ngâ   okaba otá:kukî:nga   mukaba mutá:kukî:nga

3rd per.   akaba n'a:kí:ngâ   bakaba nibakí:ngâ   akaba atá:kukî:nga   bakaba batá:kukî:nga

               "I was closing." etc.   "I was not closing." etc.

                                                       2) ntábé ni·nkí:ngâ   tutábé nitukí:ngâ

                                                          otábé n'o:kí:ngâ   mutábé nimukí:ngâ

                                                          atábé n'a:kí:ngâ   batábé nibakí:ngâ

                                                          "I was not closing." etc.

(48)   a. affirmative   b. negative

               sg.   pl.   sg.   pl.

1st per.   nkaba na:kakî:nga   tukaba twa:kakî:nga   1) nkaba ntákáki·ngîre   tukaba tutákáki·ngîre

2nd per.   okaba wa:kakî:nga   mukaba twa:kakî:nga   okaba otákáki·ngîre   mukaba mutákáki·ngîre

3rd per.   akaba ya:kakî:nga   bakaba ba:kakî:nga   akaba atákáki·ngîre   bakaba batákáki·ngîre

               "I had just closed." etc.   "I had not just closed." etc.

                                                       2) ntábé na:kakî:nga   tutábé twa:kakî:nga

                                                          otábé wa:kakî:nga   mutábé mwa:kakî:nga

                                                          atábé ya:kakî:nga   batábé ba:kakî:nga

                                                          "I had not just closed." etc.

5. Non-indicative clauses

To see the entire picture of HTDs in Nyoro verb conjugations, we must examine subordinate and relative clauses, without forgetting imperative forms. Thus, we will take general present 1 as an example, which does not undergo a HTD in subordinate clauses (Section 5.1) and relative clauses (Section 5.2). We also attest that HTDs occurring in other cases, as shown in Sections 4.2 to 4.10, are blocked in subordinate and relative clauses in the same way as general present 1. More details regarding imperative forms are discussed in Section 5.3.

5.1. Subordinate clauses

Overall, there are two types of subordinate clauses: the temporal type, which is typically introduced by the word **obu** "when"; and the conditional type, which is generally introduced by the word **kakúbâ** "if." These two clauses differ in regard to tone, hence the different forms. At this point, let us examine the former.

(49) includes subordinate forms of general present 1, introduced by **obu** "when" and conjugated in person and number. Both the affirmative and the negative display a tone pattern B. In (50) and (51), we see that a HTD does not occur in the affirmative and negative, respectively. Moreover, in (50b) and (51b), the verb is followed by an object noun, while in (50c) and (51c), the verb is followed by an adverb in the clause.

(49) General present 1: subordinate clause introduced by **obu** "when"

	a. affirmative		b. negative	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	obu nkí:ngâ	obu tukí:ngâ	obu ntakí:ngâ	obu tutakí:ngâ
2nd pers.	obu okí:ngâ	obu mukí:ngâ	obu otakí:ngâ	obu mutakí:ngâ
3rd pers.	obu akí:ngâ	obu bakí:ngâ	obu atakí:ngâ	obu batakí:ngâ

(50) a. obu tukí:ngâ : when we usually close

b. obu tukí:ngá orwî:gi : when we usually close a door

c. obu tukí:ngá kurú:ngî : when we usually close well

(51) a. obu tutakí:ngâ : when we usually do not close

b. obu tutakí:ngá orwî:gi : when we usually do not close a door

c. obu tutakí:ngá kurú:ngî : when we usually do not close well

(52) includes subordinate forms of general present 1, introduced by **kakúbâ** "if" and conjugated in person and number. The affirmative (52a) shows a tone pattern A, whereas the negative (52b) shows a tone pattern B. (53) includes examples of the affirmative, which do not undergo HTDs, while (54) presents their negatives that do not undergo HTDs. In (53b) and (54b), the verb is followed by an object noun, and in (53c) and (54c), the verb is followed by an adverb in the clause.

(52) General present 1: subordinate clause introduced by **kakúbâ** "if"

	a. affirmative		b. negative	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1st per.	kakúbá nkî:nga	kakúbá tukî:nga	kakúbá ntakí:ngâ	kakúbá tutakí:ngâ
2nd pers.	kakúbá okî:nga	kakúbá mukî:nga	kakúbá otakí:ngâ	kakúbá mutakí:ngâ
3rd pers.	kakúbá akî:nga	kakúbá bakî:nga	kakúbá atakí:ngâ	kakúbá batakí:ngâ

(53) a.   kakúbá tukî:nga : if we usually close

    b.   kakúbá tukí:nga orwî:gi : if we usually close a door

    c.   kakúbá tukí:nga kurú:ngî : if we usually close well

(54) a.   kakúbá tutakí:ngâ : if we usually do not close

    b.   kakúbá tutakí:ngá orwî:gi : if we usually do not close a door

    c.   kakúbá tutakí:ngá kurú:ngî : if we usually do not close well

5.2. Relative clauses

Since relative clauses are part of subordinate clauses, what is said about the latter also applies to the former. Two types of relative clauses exist: the subject relative and the object relative. In the affirmative of general present 1 (55), the subject relative verb form displays a tone pattern A, while the object relative verb form displays a tone pattern B. However, in the negative (56), both the subject relative and the object relative show a tone pattern B. In (55b), (55e), (56b), and (56e), HTDs do not occur in both the affirmative and the negative when the verb is followed by an object noun in the clause. In (55c), (55f), (56c), and (56f), HTDs do not occur in both the affirmative and the negative when the verb is followed by an adverb in the clause. In (55e) and (56e), the applicative form -**king-ir**- (the infinitive **okuki·ngîra**) "to close (tr.) for somebody" is used to have an object noun (indirect) that follows the verb in the object relative construction.

(55) General present 1: affirmative relative

[subj] a.   omú:ntu akî:nga : a/the person who usually closes

      b.   omú:ntu akî:nga orwî:gi : a/the person who usually closes a door

      c.   omú:ntu akî:nga kurú:ngî : a/the person who usually closes well

[obj] d.   orwí:gi akí:ngâ : a/the door which he/she usually closes

      e.   orwí:gi aki·ngírá Jô:ni : a/the door which he/she usually closes for John

      f.   orwí:gi akí:ngá kurú:ngî : a/the door which he/she usually closes well

(56) General present 1: negative relative

[subj] a.   omú:ntu atakí:ngâ : a/the person who usually does not close

       b.   omú:ntu atakí:ngá orwî:gi : a/the person who usually does not close a door

       c.   omú:ntu atakí:ngá kurú:ngî : a/the person who usually does not close well

[obj]   d.   orwí:gi atakí:ngâ : a/the door which he/she usually does not close

       e.   orwí:gi ataki·ngírá Jô:ni : a/the door which he/she usually does not close for John

       f.   orwí:gi atakí:ngá kurú:ngî : a/the door which he/she usually does not close well

5.3. Imperative

The imperative is used for the second-person singular in the affirmative. However, for the second-person plural and the second-person singular negative, the subjunctive is used, as shown in the parentheses in (57).

In general, the imperative includes its own segmental and tonal characteristics. For example, the final vowel becomes **-e** when the form includes an object prefix. In addition, the verb form displays a tone pattern A when it does not include an object prefix, whereas it displays a tone pattern B when it includes this prefix. Yet, it is clearly seen in (58) that HTDs do not occur in the imperative.

(57)   a. affirmative   b. negative

                     sg.   pl.   sg.   pl.

        2nd per.   kî:nga   (mukí:ngê)   (otakí:ngê)   (mutakí:ngê)

(58) a.   kî:nga.

          kíng-a

          close(tr.)-Fin

          "Close!"

     b.   kí:nga orwî:gi.

          kíng-a   orwígi

          close(tr.)-Fin   door11

          "Close a door!"

     c.   kí:nga kurú:ngî

          kíng-a   kurungí

          close(tr.)-Fin   well

          "Close well!"

     d.   rukí:ngé orwî:gi. [coreferential]

        ru-king-é   orwígi

        it11-close(tr.)-Fin   door11

        "Close the door!"

    e. rukí:ngé kurú:ngî.

        ru-king-é   kurungí

        it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

        "Close it well!"

6. Discussion

6.1. Problems

    Based on the findings, the peculiarity of high tones can be seen in nine tenses/aspects/moods in Nyoro. In such cases, a high tone is deleted without any phonetic reason when a complement of the verb, a direct object of the verb or an adverb, directly follows it. However, it appears when a coreferential object prefix is used at the same time as the object noun. In this way, the ambiguity of the meaning of the verb -et- (the infinitive **okwê:ta**) "to call" (either naming a person or signaling for a person (to come)) is dismissed in the nine tenses/aspects/moods described in Section 4. (59) is an example of general present 1. More specifically, in (59a), "him" and "John" are different persons, but in (59b), they refer to the same person.

(59) a. tumwe·ta Jô:ni.

        tu-mu-et-a   Jó:ni

        we-him$_i$-call-Fin   John$_j$

        "We usually call him John."

    b. tumwé:tá Jô:ni. [coreferential]

        tu-**mu**-et-á   **Jó:ni**

        we-**him**$_i$-call-Fin   **John**$_i$

        "We usually call that John (to come)."

    Although they are stated in somewhat the same way, the difference between (59a) and (59b) is the tone, i.e., in the coreferential object prefix construction of (59b) a HTD does not occur, whereas in (59a) which is not a coreferential object prefix construction a HTD occurs. However, it does not seem to be the major reason for its existence. In this regard, three questions are raised: 1) Why are high tones deleted in the nine tenses/aspects/moods?; 2)

Why do high tones appear in the nine tenses/aspects/moods when a coreferential object prefix is used with the object noun in the clause?; and 3) What does this all mean?

6.2. Conjoint/disjoint alternations

Upon analyzing the appearance and disappearance of high tones in verb forms in Nyoro, this phenomenon is related to the conjoint/disjoint alternations discussed in other Bantu languages. For example, in Rwandan, conjoint/disjoint alternations are found in seven tenses/ aspects/moods: simple present, narrative past, present perfective, near past, remote past, subsecutive mood, and conditional/hypothetical mood (Ngoboka and Zeller, 2016). It is important to note that Rwandan (Kinyarwanda) is a language spoken in Rwanda, which is located just south of Uganda.

In Rwandan, all conjoint forms are characterized by a HTD of the verb radical, while disjoint forms are characterized by the segmental elements in some tenses/aspects/moods. For example, in the simple present, conjoint forms are expressed by a HTD of the verb radical, while disjoint forms are marked with the element -**ra**-, which is not used in the former.[24]

(60) a. Abáarimú ba**ko**ra akazi keénshi. (conjoint)

a-ba-áarimú	ba-**kór**-a	a-ka-zi	ka-iínshi
AUG-2-teacher	2SM-work-FV	AUG-12-work	12-many

"Teachers do a lot of work."

b. Abáarimú ba**rakó**ra. (disjoint)

a-ba-áarimú	ba-**ra**-**kór**-a
AUG-2-teacher	2SM-DJ-work-FV

"Teachers work."

(61) a. Abáana ba**som**a ibitabo. (conjoint)

a-ba-áana	ba-**som**-a	i-bi-tabo
AUG-2-child	2SM-read-FV	AUG-8-book

"Children read books."

b. Abáana ba**rasom**a. (disjoint)

a-ba-áana	ba-**ra**-**som**-a
AUG-2-child	2SM-DJ-read-FV

"Children read."

As shown above, (60a) and (61a) are conjoint constructions, while (60b) and (61b) are disjoint constructions of the simple present in Rwandan. Moreover, in (60), the high-toned verb radical -**kór**- "to work" is used, while in (61), the low-toned (or toneless) verb radical -**som**- "to read" is used. We see that in (60a) which is a conjoint construction, the high tone of -**kór**- "to work" is deleted, whereas in (60b) which is a disjoint construction, the high tone of -**kór**- "to work" is retained. As for (61), in which the low-toned radical -**som**- is used, no tonal change is observed in the disjoint construction in (61b).

(62) illustrates the conjoint/disjoint alternations in the subsecutive mood. In (62b) which is a disjoint construction, the high tone of the verb radical -**báz**- "to ask" is maintained, whereas in (62a) which is a conjoint construction, the high tone of the verb radical is deleted. Meanwhile, there is no segmental marker in the disjoint construction in (62b).

(62) a. Araaza aka**ba**za ikibázo. (conjoint)

 a-ra-z-a a-ka-**báz**-a i-ki-bázo

 1SM-DJ-come-FV 1SM-SUBS-ask-FV AUG-7-question

 "He comes and asks a question."

 b. Araaza aka**bá**za. (disjoint)

 a-ra-z-a a-ka-**báz**-a

 1SM-DJ-come-FV 1SM-SUBS-ask-FV

 "He comes and asks."

Interestingly, after having written a draft of this paper, the research of Van der Wal and Asiimwe (2020) on conjoint/disjoint alternations in Kiga was published. Kiga is a West-Ugandan Bantu language that is both genealogically and geographically close to Nyoro. They stated that, "Surprisingly, we find that Rukiga is the first language that shows evidence for a pure tonal conjoint/disjoint alternation" (p. 45), and characterized such alternations in Kiga as a tonal residue because they are only made by tone. They also mentioned that the information structure is not related to it. What is involved, according to them, is constituent-finality. In other words, when the verb is not followed by anything in the clause, the disjoint form is used, and when the verb is followed by a complement, the conjoint form is used. Based on this author's study of Kiga since 2017, with continuing work in Uganda, conjoint/disjoint alternations in Kiga are made by tone alone.[25]

Moreover, in contrast to Nyoro, Kiga does not use the coreferential object prefix construction to indicate the definiteness of an object noun. However, Van der Wal and

Asiimwe (2019) cited a similar construction in Kiga. For example, see (63), in which -**mu**- "him" and **omushúma** "the thief" are coreferential. In this case, they stated that the object noun **omushúma** "thief" is dislocated (note the comma between "him" and "the thief").

(63) a. Ba-mu-kom-iré   o-mu-shúma.
        3SM-1OM-tie-PFV   AUG-1-thief
        "They imprisoned him, the thief."

   It is important to note that the object noun in coreferential object prefix constructions in Nyoro is not dislocated, i.e., no pause is inserted between the verb and the object noun. This is verified in the previous examples, especially in (59), in which the same segment structure is used for both sentences.

   Presently, there is no definite answer to the questions raised in Section 5.1 about Nyoro, especially the ones regarding HTDs of verbs in the nine tenses/aspects/moods and why conjoint/disjoint alternations are only made in these tenses/aspects/moods. Thus, it is important to compare two conjugations with the same meaning that differ in terms of HTD. For example, general present 2 in (64) includes the same meaning as general present 1 in (15), but it does not undergo a HTD in the affirmative, as in (65). Its only difference from general present 1 is that it includes the prefinal -**ag**-, which sometimes places emphasis on the action in question.

(64)   a. affirmative   b. negative
                  sg.   pl.   sg.   pl.
   1st per.   nki·ngágâ   tuki·ngágâ   tink·ngâga   tituki·ngâga
   2nd per.   oki·ngágâ   muki·ngágâ   tʼoki·ngâga   timuki·ngâga
   3rd per.   aki·ngágâ   baki·ngágâ   tʼaki·ngâga   tibaki·ngâga

(65) a. tuki·ngágâ.
        tu-king-ag-á
        we-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin
        "We usually close."

    b. tuki·ngágá orwî:gi.
        tu-king-ag-á   orwígi
        we-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   door11
        "We usually close a door."

c.   tuki·ngágá kurú:ngî.

tu-king-ag-á   kurungí

we-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   well

"We usually close well."

d.   turuki·ngágá orwî:gi. [coreferential]

tu-ru-king-ag-á   orwígi

we-it11-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   door11

"We usually close the door."

e.   turuki·ngágá kurú:ngî.

tu-ru-king-ag-á   kurungí

we-it11-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   well

"We usually close it well."

(66) a.   tituki·ngâga.

ti   tu-king-ág-a

not   we-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin

"We usually do not close."

b.   tituki·ngága orwî:gi.

ti   tu-king-ág-a   orwígi

not   we-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   door11

"We usually do not close a door."

c.   tituki·ngága kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-king-ág-a   kurungí

not   we-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   well

"We usually do not close well.

d.   tituruki·ngága orwî:gi. [coreferential]

ti   tu-ru-king-ág-a   orwígi

not   we-it11-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   door11

"We usually do not close the door."

e.   tituruki·ngága kurú:ngî.

ti   tu-ru-king-ág-a   kurungí

not   we-it11-close(tr.)-Prefin-Fin   well

"We usually do not close it well."

It is possible to consider the syntactic constituency, rather than the information

structure in Nyoro (as in Van der Wal and Asiimwe, 2020), since the difference between the two is completely tonal and the only syntactic difference is the presence/absence of a postverbal element that directly follows the verb in the clause, the only exception being the coreferential object prefix construction.

Based on the information structure viewpoint that the postverbal complement is focused in conjoint constructions, the direct object **orwî:gi** "door" in (67b) is focused. However, once the direct object is pronominalized, it is no longer focused and the verb form becomes a disjoint construction, as in (67c). In this case, this raises the question of why a HTD does not occur in (67d), in which a coreferential object prefix is used, but the verb includes an object noun after it, characteristic of a conjoint construction. The answer is that (67d) is not a conjoint construction. In fact, since the object is pronominalized, it is a disjoint construction. Moreover, the added object noun is a repetition, referring to the object prefix. This is how Nyoro expresses the definiteness of the object noun.[26] For example, such definiteness can be interpreted by saying "it the door," i.e., pronominalize the object noun and repeat it as is. In (67e), since **kurú:ngî** "well" is focused, it is a conjoint construction. However, since **orwî:gi** in (67d) is not focused, it is a disjoint construction. The idiosyncrasy of (67d) is that, syntactically, it is a conjoint construction, but it is expressed disjointly, without a HTD. Yet, it is understandable in terms of information structure.

(67) a.   tukí:ngâ. (=16a)

　　　　tu-king-a

　　　　we-close(tr.)-Fin

　　　　"We usually close."

　　b.   tuki·nga orwî:gi. (=16b)

　　　　tu-king-a　　　　　　orwígi

　　　　we-close(tr.)-Fin　　　door11

　　　　"We usually close a door."

　　c.   turukí:ngâ.

　　　　tu-ru-king-a

　　　　we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin

　　　　"We usually close it."

　　d.   turukí:ngá orwî:gi. (=16d) [coreferential]

　　　　tu-**ru**-king-a　　　　　　**orwígi**

　　　　we-**it11**-close(tr.)-Fin　　**door11**

"We usually close it well."

   e.   turuki·nga kurú:ngî. (=16e)

       tu-ru-king-a   kurungí

       we-it11-close(tr.)-Fin   well

       "We usually close it well."

6.3. Transitive verbs without an object

Based on this discussion, there is a phenomenon that often occurs in language use, i.e., transitive verbs are used without an object, be it a noun or a prefix. For example, (68a) is a name usually given to girls. More specifically, the subject prefix **bu**- 14 in (68a) refers to **obunâku** 14 "poverty," and this noun is added in (68b). However, no object is seen, even though the verb used is the transitive -**it**- (the infinitive **okwî:ta)** "to kill." The Nyoro people do not believe that it is necessary to say something, as in (68c), in which the object noun **aba·ntu** "people" is added.[27]

(68) a.   tibwí:tâ

        ti   bu-it-a

        not   it14-kill-Fin

        "It does not kill."

    b.   Obunáku tibwí:tâ.

        obunáku   ti   bu-it-á

        poverty   not   it14-kill-Fin

        "Poverty does not kill."

    c.   ? Obunáku tibwí:tá aba·ntu.

        obunáku   ti   bu-it-á   abantu

        poverty   not   it14-kill-Fin   people

        "Poverty does not kill people."

Moreover, (69a) is a name usually given to boys, in which the subject prefix **ru**- 11 refers to **orúfû** 11 "death." Also note (69b), in which the subject noun **orúfû** 11 "death" is added. Again, we do not see any object, be it a noun or a prefix, which is normally required by the transitive verb -**oleky**- (the infinitive **okwo·lêkya**) "to show." In (69c), a "forced" object noun is added, which the Nyoro people believe is unnecessary.[28]

(69) a.   rwo·lékyâ

       ru-oleky-a

       it11-show-Fin

       "It shows."

   b.   Orúfú rwo·lékyâ.

       orufú   ru-oleky-á

       death   it11-show-Fin

       "Death shows."

   c.   ? Orúfú rwo·lekya omulî:ngo.

       orufú   ru-oleky-a   omulíngo

       death   it11-show-Fin   method

       "Death shows a method.

Finally, it is important to note that the syntax in these aforementioned examples appears ungrammatical from our point of view, although such constructions are common in folktales and daily conversations. What is apparent is that totally evident objects are not expressed. Therefore, a statement such as "Death kills" must be considered as both grammatical and normal.

7. Conclusion

This paper examined HTDs in verb conjugations in Nyoro and found them in only nine tenses/aspects/moods. In addition, HTDs only occur in the affirmative and they do not apply to negative forms or subordinate/relative clauses, and imperative clauses.

The findings also indicated that HTDs in Nyoro verb forms are related to conjoint/ disjoint alternations in terms of information structure, i.e. focus, expressed by tone alone. In conjoint constructions, the high tones of the verbs are deleted. However, in the coreferential object prefix construction in which this prefix is used together with an object noun after the verb, it is a conjoint construction syntactically, since an object noun is used after the verb. Yet, its tone pattern indicates that it is a disjoint construction, since a HTD does not occur. This seeming mismatch is resolved when we understand that the coreferential object prefix construction is a conjoint one in terms of information structure. Once the object noun is pronominalized, it becomes a disjoint construction, regardless of whether the object noun maintains its postverbal position. In regard to this discussion, we may have to reconsider the

nature of transitive verbs, since they are often used without an object in Nyoro and other African languages.

Overall, this paper is based on this author's descriptions of Nyoro verb conjugations, and it is not intended to be a full discussion of conjoint/disjoint alternations in Nyoro. For the latter purpose, we would not only need to examine the various forms, but also the functions of each tense/aspect/mood. Furthermore, we would need to examine different constructions with focus markers such as **-ónkâ**/**-énkâ** "only," **-onyínî**/**-enyínî** "self," etc. In sum, it is true that HTDs play a crucial role in conjoint/disjoint alternations in Nyoro and other related languages, but HTDs themselves include wider implications that must be investigated from other perspectives (e.g., comparative).[29]

notes

1) A draft of this paper was presented at the symposium "Studies in Tone, Intonation, and Syntax in African Languages," held at Kyoto Sangyo University, Japan, on Nov. 9, 2019. The author is thankful to the comments provided to him.

2) I began my research on Nyoro in 2008 in Hoima, the capital of the Nyoro Kingdom. I am preparing a full description of Nyoro verb conjugations. This paper is one of the outputs of my scrutiny of the verb data. The dialect treated is the one used in and around Hoima municipality. According to Simons and Fennig (2018), the number of Nyoro speakers is approximately 967,000.

3) See the Appendix for an exhaustive list of Nyoro verb conjugations. Strictly speaking, HTDs can be found in 18 out of the 54 different conjugated forms, since some complex forms (consisting of two verb forms) also display such deletions. HTDs in complex verb forms are discussed in Section 4.11. In the discussion that follows, we consider the nine simple conjugated forms as the main conjugated forms that include HTDs.

4) Conjugated verb forms may include other tone patterns because some grammatical morphemes, such as tenses/aspects/moods (TAMs), include their own tones. However, this does not affect our discussion.

5) See Kaji (2018a) for more details.

6) Nyoro nouns are classified into 19 classes, numbered from 1 to 19. The number after a noun is the class number of the noun in question. The class membership of nouns is marked by their prefix morphologically. A noun is composed of an augment, a prefix and a stem. A hyphen is inserted between the prefix and the stem in the underlying representation.

7) Adjectives take a prefix, in agreement with the class of the noun that they qualify.

8) [a:] in (3a) is phonemically long, while both [e:] in (3b) and [u:] in (3c) are phonetically long. Moreover, the phonemically short /e/ in (3b) becomes phonetically long because of glide formation and compensatory lengthening, while the phonemically short /u/ in (3c) is phonetically lengthened, due to the nasal cluster that follows it. The glide [w] in (3b) is derived from an underlying full vowel, either /u/ or /o/, but we leave it as is because, inside a morpheme, we cannot tell which vowel it is derived from. Phonetically, long vowels do not necessarily become fully (i.e., two morae) long when the high tone does not fall on them, in which case, the half-long mark · is used.

9) If monosyllabic verbs are extended with a derivational suffix (e.g., applicative), then their tone pattern

becomes A. Cf. **okufî:ra** "to die at a place or for a person" and **okusê:ra** "to grind at a place or for a person." See Kaji (2018b) for the reason why monosyllabic verbs display a tone pattern B.

10) The reason why we choose this verb is that its radical is a CVNC form and the tone, which is sometimes subtle on short vowels, is clearly heard as it is realized on a long vowel. The choice of this vowel, rather than other verbs (**okuzîna** "to dance," **okugê:nda** "to go," **okúsâ** "to grind," etc.), does not affect this discussion.

11) This construction looks like a case of object dislocation. However, it is important to note that there is no pause inserted after the verb to separate the following object noun from it. We return to this point in Section 6.2.

12) The affirmative includes the variant **nkî:nga** (for the first-person singular). However, since this paper is not a full description of the conjugation, other variants, especially those not listed for their forms, are not relevant to the discussion.

13) The negative includes two types of variants: **tí·ndúkukî:nga** and **tí·nkî:nga** (for the first-person singular). Variants that display the same tonal behaviors as the basic forms are not listed here.

14) The long [u:] of **tu:** comes from -**ru**- after **tu**-, i.e., **tu-ru**- > **tu:**. -**ru**- is originally -**li** "to be." Cf. **tu-li kukî:nga** > **turukukî:nga** > **tu:kukî:nga**. We do not go in detail about this type of morphological analysis, since it does not affect our discussion.

15) Other abbreviations than those listed in (9) include: TM (tense marker, when the tense is not specified), Prog (progressive), Perf (perfective), RemPst (remote past), ConPst (consecutive past), AM (aspect marker), NeFut (near future), RemFut (remote future), MM (modality marker), subj (subject), and obj (object). In the citations, other abbreviations are used by the authors.

16) As stated in Note 3, complex forms that show HTDs are set aside.

17) These negative forms come from subordinate/relative clauses, judging from the negative marker -**ta**-, which is the post-subject prefixal, not the clitic **ti**.

18) Sometimes, **tinyakî:nga**, rather than **tinakî:nga**, is heard.

19) The negative includes the variant **tinya:kí:ngê**, etc.

20) **nya:kukí:ngâ** is also possible.

21) **tinya:kukî:nga** is also possible.

22) The "present" of the defective -**li** is not specified for the progressive, general or habitual.

23) We discuss complex forms in Section 4.11.

24) The examples in (60), (61), and (62) are from Ngoboka and Zeller (2016).

25) Slight differences exist, since I study a different dialect of Kiga.

26) Kiga does not use this approach to express definiteness. This is why I have not verified the coreferential object prefix construction in Kiga.

27) The meaning of this name can be understood in the following statements: "Even if you are poor, poverty does not kill you."; "If your shirt is dirty, then you can wash it." (instead of buying a new one); "If you have legs, then you can walk." (instead of taking a taxi); and "If you find a small job, then accept it to earn money to purchase everyday commodities."

28) The meaning of this name is as follows: "Death itself shows a solution. Even if a person falls sick, a solution can be found by carefully examining the case itself."

29) In some languages, HTDs also apply to nouns in noun phrase constructions. In addition, it is important to understand why the same tense behaves differently in different languages, with respect to this alternation.

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Appendix: List of Nyoro verb conjugated forms
(* indicates complex forms, while boldfaced are those that undergo HTDs)

1. Infinitive : to do, doing (cl.15)
2. Present participle : I-doing
3. Past participle : I-having done
4. Gerund : cl.6-doing
5. Present progressive 1 : I am doing
6. Present progressive 2 : I am doing
7. Present persistent : I am still doing
8. **General present 1** : I do
9. General present 2 : I do
10. Present habitual 1 : I habitually do
11. Present habitual 2 : I habitually do
12. ***Present habitual progressive** : I am habitually doing
13. ***Present habitual perfective** : I have habitually done
14. Near past : I did today or yesterday
15. **Near past and resulting state** : I did some time back today and the effect still remains
16. Temporal perfective (affirmative), : I have temporally done
    Negative resolution (negative) : I am longer doing
17. **Remote past** : I did yesterday or before
18. *Near past progressive : I was doing in the near past
19. ***Remote past progressive** : I was doing in the remote past
20. Near perfective : I have just done
21. ***Near perfective progressive** : I have been doing; I was doing

22.	*Near past perfective	: I had just done in the near past
23.	**Remote past perfective**	: I had just done in the remote past
24.	Past habitual 1	: I used to do
25.	Past habitual 2	: I used to do
26.	Past experience 1	: I once did
27.	Past experience 2	: I have ever done several times
28.	Past experience 3	: I have ever done
29.	Past experience 4	: I have ever done
30.	Past experience 5	: I have already done
31.	**Consecutive past**	: (something happened), and I did
32.	**About-to-do**	: I am about to do, I have started doing
33.	***Very near future**	: I am going to do today or tomorrow
34.	*Very near future progressive	: I will be doing shortly
35.	*Definite near future 1	: I will definitely do today or tomorrow
36.	*Definite near future 2	: I will definitely do today or tomorrow. I am sure to do
37.	**Near future**	: I will do today or tomorrow
38.	***Near future progressive**	: I will be doing in the near future
39.	**Remote future**	: I will do the day after tomorrow or later in the future
40.	***Remote future progressive**	: I will be doing in the remote future
41.	***Very near future habitual 1**	: I will be always doing
42.	*Very near future habitual 2	: I will be always doing
42.	*Very near future habitual 3	: I will be always doing
43.	Near future habitual	: I will always do, I will do surely
44.	*Near future habitual progressive	: I will be always doing in the near future
45.	Remote future habitual	: I will always do in the remote future
46.	*Remote future habitual progressive	: I will be always doing in the remote future
47.	Imperative 1	: Do!
48.	Imperative 2	: Do strictly (or continuously)!
49.	Subjunctive	: that I may do, I should do, let me do, etc.
50.	Optative	: (I wish) that you do
51.	Continuous subjunctive	: that I may continuously do, I should continuously do
52.	**Present and past irrealis**	: I would do, I would have done, I should have done
53.	**Possibility**	: I can do
54.	Probability	: I probably do, I may do

ニョロ語動詞活用における高声調削除と同一指示目的代名詞

梶 　 茂 　 樹

要　旨

　筆者は 2008 年からウガンダ西部に話されるバンツー系のニョロ語の現地調査を続けている。ニョロ語には，一般現在形，進行現在形，近過去形，遠過去形など多くの時制／アスペクト／ムードによる動詞変化形がある。そのうち，一般現在形など 9 の活用形で，動詞の後に目的語や副詞など何らかの補語が来ると（ニョロ語の語順は SVO），音声的理由もなく，動詞の高声調が消えるという現象が生じる。これはバンツー語研究で言われる，同一動詞の連結形（動詞の後に何か来る形）と非連結形（動詞の後に何も来ない形）の交替の一種である。連結形では動詞の後に来る要素に，そして非連結形では動詞自体に焦点が当たっているとされる。ニョロ語では声調のみでこれを表す。

　他動詞の目的語名詞が代名詞化され動詞の前に移動すると構文は非連結形となり，高声調削除は起こらない。しかしながら，目的語名詞を代名詞化し，かつその目的語名詞を動詞の後の位置に置いたままで用いると高声調削除は起こらない。ニョロ語には名詞の定・不定の形態論的区別はなく，この同一目的語代名詞構文が目的語名詞の限定化のために用いられる。この構文は，統語的には連結形でありながら，声調は，高声調削除が起こらず非連結形のパターンを示す。この一見矛盾した振る舞いは，ニョロ語の連結形／非連結形の交替は統語的最終性によるものではなく，焦点に係る情報構造によるものであることを理解すれば分かる。つまり，この構文における目的語名詞は代名詞化されているため焦点化されない。その際，動詞の後に名詞があるかどうかは無関係なのである。一点注意すべきは，高声調削除が起こる 9 の活用形であっても，否定形，従属節形，関係節形では高声調削除は起こらないということである。

　本稿は，ニョロ語の連結形／非連結形の交替の全体像の分析を意図したものではなく，むしろ動詞の高声調削除という特異な現象に焦点を当てたものである。高声調削除はウガンダ西部の言語にしばしば見られ，ニョロ語のような動詞の連結形／非連結形の区別のみに係ることではなく，言語によっては名詞にも起こることである。また同じ時制が言語によって声調による連結形／非連結形の区別において異なる対応を示すということもある。高声調削除には，より一般的観点からの考察が必要となる。

キーワード：ニョロ語，バンツー系，高声調削除，連結／非連結交替，同一指示目的代名詞