

### The Prosody of Símákonde Relative Clauses<sup>1</sup>

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#### Introduction:

##### - Goals of this paper:

- To provide data for the workshop
- & present an overview of the prosody of Símákonde Relative Clauses.

##### - Outline:

1. General background on Símákonde
2. Phrasing
3. Structure
4. Prosody of the Subject Relatives
5. Prosody of the Object Relatives
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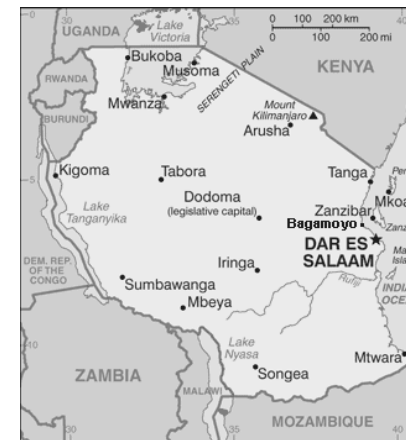
#### 1. BACKGROUND ON SIMAKONDE:

**1. 1. Genetic affiliation:** Niger-Congo, Eastern Bantu; Makonde = P23<sup>2</sup>.

**1. 2. Geographic range:** Tanzania and Mozambique.

##### - Símákonde:

- spoken by immigrant Mozambican communities in Zanzibar (Unguja island) and on the Tanzanian mainland (Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo, Tanga).
- claimed to have been rather protected from external linguistic influences and seems to be much less permissive than other dialects in the phrasing options that it offers (cf. Patin & Rialland 2006).



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<sup>2</sup> Guthrie 1948; Maho 2003.

**1. 3. Existing studies on various Makonde dialects:**

- Odden 1990a (Chimaraba<sup>3</sup>),
- Odden 1990b (Chimahuta<sup>4</sup>),
- Liphola 2001 (Shimakonde<sup>5</sup>),
- Manus 2003 (Símákonde<sup>6</sup>),
- Devos 2004 (Kimakwe<sup>7</sup>),
- Kraal 2005 (Chinnima<sup>8</sup>).

**1. 4. Data:**

All data presented here elicited by author from Yoáána Píliisi & his family in Tanzania in 2000, 2003, 2008 & 2009.

**2. PHRASING:****2. 1. Stress:**

- As in other Makonde dialects (and other languages of the area): no vowel length contrast,
- **But** regular utterance-final stress rule, causing a predictable lengthening of the penultimate syllable of every Prosodic Phrase (P-Phrase) => bimoraic penult:

[+ stress]	(1)	kúlúúmà	"To bite"
σ		kúlúúmúlà	"To cut"
⋮		kúlúúmúláánga	"To cut into small pieces"
∅ → μ		kúlúúmúlángííla	"To cut into small pieces for someone"

<sup>3</sup> Spoken in Southern Tanzania.

<sup>4</sup> Spoken in Southern Tanzania.

<sup>5</sup> Spoken in Northern Mozambique.

<sup>6</sup> Spoken in Mozambican communities settled in Northern & Central Eastern Tanzania & in Zanzibar.

<sup>7</sup> Spoken in Northern Mozambique.

<sup>8</sup> Spoken in Southern Tanzania.

**2. 2. To phrase or not to phrase:**

- The main issue is thus to find out what constitutes a Prosodic Phrase and what does not.
- Prosodic Phrases will be indicated with parentheses.

**Example:**

(2) (silóólo) (sikúmeêne) (sindiígwa)

7.mirror 7.big 7.past.to fall

(The) big mirror fell.

**2. 3. Previous study (Manus 2009):****2. 3. 1. N + 1 modifier => 1 P-Phrase, 2 P-Phrases, optional phrasing (1 or 2 P-Phrases):****- N + 1 modifier = 1 P-Phrase:**

- **(Noun + Dem):**

(3) (líjémbé aliilá)

5.hoe Dem5

that hoe

- **\*(Noun) + (Dem):**

(3')\*(líjeembe) (aliila)

**- N + 1 modifier = 2 P-Phrases:**

- **(Noun) + (Adj):**

(4) (lyóónga) (líkúmeêne)

5.arrow 5.big

a big arrow

- **\*(Noun + Adj):**

(4')\*(lyonga likumeene)

**- N + 1 modifier = optional phrasing ie 1 or 2 P-Phrases:**• **(Noun + Poss):**

(5) (iposó yaángu)

9.present 9.possSG1

my present

• **(Noun) + (Poss):**

(6) (ipooso) (yáangu)

9.present 9.possSG1

my present (or (the) present (is) mine if (...) # (...) &amp; ≠ + V)

☞ + (V) is always possible as an additional independant P-Phrase in (3), (4), (5) or (6) above:

**Examples:**

(5') (iposó yaángu) (indiígwa)

9.present 9.poss SG1 9.past.fall

my present fell

(6') (ipooso) (yáangu) (indiígwa)

9.present 9.poss SG1 9.past.fall

my present fell

**BUT Noun Phrase + V never phrase !**

(7) \*(iposo yangu) (indiígwa)

9.present 9.poss SG1 9.past.fall

**=> Noun + 1 modifier = summary :**

2 P-Phrases <sup>9</sup>	1 P-Phrase	1 or 2 P-Phrase(s)
(N) + (Adj)	(N + Dem <sup>10</sup> )	(N + Poss) ou (N) + (Poss)
(N) + (Gen)		(N + Int <sup>11</sup> ) ou (N) + (Int)
(N) + (Num <sup>12</sup> )		

☞ (N) + (V) = 2 P-Phrases &amp; \*(N + V),

BUT conjoint verbs phrase with what follows (V + Noun Phrase).

=> What happens to N + *more than one* modifier?**2. 3. 2. N + more than one modifier => optional phrasing (1 or > 1 P-Phrase) :****> 1 P-Phrase:****Downing & Mtenje 2007, in Chichewa:***"NPs which contain more than one modifier are generally parsed into more than one Phonological phrase (...)"*.**=> This applies in Símákonde in all cases (except when the last modifier is a demonstrative).****Examples :**• **N + 2 mod. = 3 P-Phrases = (N) + (mod) + (mod):**- **(N) + (Adj) + (Num)**<sup>9</sup> (N) + (V). \*(N + V).<sup>10</sup> There are 3 demonstratives in Símákonde. They all phrase exactly the same way.<sup>11</sup> = Intensifier: *-ene* = "himself, herself, itself".<sup>12</sup> Numerals do behave like adjectives morphologically speaking (same concords) but not syntactically (different word order).

(8) (vǐjúulu) (vǐdíkídíiki) (vivíli)

8.hat 8.small 8.two

Two small hats

=> **nb : NP + (V) never phrase:**

- (N) + (Poss) + (Num) + (V):

(9) (vádyóoko) (váangu) (vavíli) (vandáíída)

2.child 2.possSG1 2.two 2.fut.come

My two children will come

• **N + 2 mod. = 2 P-Phrases = (N + mod) + (mod):**

- (N + Poss) + (Adj):

(10) (lijembé lyaáko) (lídkídíiki)

5.hoe 5.possSG2 5.small

Your small hoe

• **N + 3 mod. = 4 P-Phrases = (N) + (mod) + (mod) + (mod):**

- (N) + (Num) + (Adj) + (Adv):

(11) (vǐlólólo) (vivíli) (vǐdíkídíiki) (nameéne)

8.mirror 8.two 8.small very

Two very small mirrors

• **N + 3 mod. = 3 P-Phrases = (N + mod) + (mod) + (mod):**

- (N + Poss) + (Adj) + (Adv):

(12) (sǐlóngó saángu) (sǐdkídíiki) (nameéne)

7.pot 7.possSG1 7.small very

My very small pot => or parenthetic? (My pot, (that is/being) very small, etc)

= 1 P-Phrase:

**Kanerva's 1990 analysis on Chichewa, summarized & discussed in Downing & Mtenje 2007:**

"All NPs, no matter how long and complex, are parsed into a single Phonological Phrase".

=> **This works in Símákonde - as an exception - in (N + x modifiers), x = 2, 3 or 4,**

**ONLY when the last modifier is a Demonstrative (any of the three):**

(N + x mod + DEM)

**Examples :**

• **(Noun Num Poss DEM):**

(13) (sǐlóló símó sǎngú áási)

7.mirror 7.one 7.possSG1 Dem.7

This one mirror of mine

• **(Noun Adj Gen Num DEM):**

(14) (vǐlátú víkúméné vyá náswé vívǐlí avíilá)

8.shoe 8.big 8.Gen white 8.two Dem8

Those two big white shoes

Does the presence of the final demonstrative activate a tonal trace of the augment (= initial High tone)

=> hence the tonal bridge?

**2. 3. 3. Summary (table & conclusion):**

- Table:

	Adj	Num	Dem	Poss	Gen	Adv
Adj (N) (Adj) *(N Adj)	(N) (Adj) (Adj)	(N) (Adj) (Num) *(N Adj Num)	(N Adj Dem) (N) (Adj) (Dem) (N) (Adj) (Dem)	(N) (Adj) (Poss)	(N) (Adj) (Gén) *(N Adj Gén)	(N) (Adj) (Adv)
Num (N) (Num) *(N Num)	(N) (Num) (Adj)		(N Num Dem) (N) (Num) (Dem) (N) (Num Dem)	(N) (Num) (Poss) *(N Num Poss)	(N) (Num) (Gen)	
Dem (N Dem) *(N) (Dem)	(N Dem) (Adj) (N) (Dem) (Adj)	(N Dem) (Num)  (N) (Dem) (Num) (not optimum)		(N Dem) (Poss)  (N) (Dem) (Poss) (not before V)	(N Dem) (Gen) (N) (Dem) (Gen) *(N Dem Gen)	
Poss (N) (Poss) (N Poss)	(N Poss) (Adj) (N) (Poss) (Adj)	(N Poss) (Num) (N) (Poss) (Num)	(N Poss Dem) (N) (Poss) (Dem) (N) (Poss) (Dem) (N poss) (Dem)		(N Poss) (Gen) (N) (Poss) (Gen)	
Gen (N) (Gen) *(N Gen)	(N) (Gén) (Adj)	(N) (Gén) (Num)	(N Gén Dém) *(N) (Gén) (Dém) (N Gén) (Dém)  (N) (Gén Dém) (not before #)	(N Gen Poss) (N) (Gen Poss) (N) (Gen) (Poss) *(N Gén) (Poss)	(N Gén Gén)	(N) (Gén) (Adv)
Adv						

- Conclusion:

Manus 2009 has shown that:

=> "Noun Phrases which contain **more than one** modifier are generally parsed into **more than one** Phonological Phrase, **except if** the **last** modifier is a **demonstrative**

=> *What happens in Relative Clauses?*

**3. STRUCTURE:**

**3. 1. Subject relatives:**

*Noun + x mod + SM I<sup>13</sup> or SM II - TAM - V (+ Obj)*

In most of the examples of Relative Clauses in this presentation: present progressive (TAM = Ø)

(15) (aŋkulóóla)

1.prest (TAM -ŋku-).watch

He is watching

<sup>13</sup> There are two series of subject markers (SM). See Manus 2003 for a detailed inventory.

(16) (áloóla)

1.prest (TAM -Ø-).watch

who is watching

**3. 2. Object relatives:**

*Noun + x mod + connective (-a) + V*

- Animates = connective (-a) + **SM I - TAM - OM - V**

(17) (niŋkulóóla)

sg1.prest.watch

I am watching

(18) (niŋkuńńóóla)

sg1.prest.OM1.watch

I am watching him

(19) (wá níńńóóla)

1.CO sg1.prest.OM1.watch

whom I am watching

- Non-animates = connective (-a) + **SM II - TAM - OM - V**

(20) (vaŋkulóóla)

2.prest.watch

they are watching

(21) (vyá válóóla)

8.CO 2.prest.watch

that they are watching

**4. PROSODY OF THE SUBJECT RELATIVES:****Just as in a non-relative context :**

- Subject + V never phrase,
- BUT conjoint V + Object do phrase,
- & in the Noun Phrases one can observe all the phrasing phenomena presented in 2. 3.

**And Head + Rel V never phrase.****-(N) + (Rel V) + (V):**

(22) (ńdyóóko) (átukuúta) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.prest.run 1.past.fall  
 the child who is running (just) fell

**-(N) + (Rel V + Obj N) + (V):**

(23) (ńdyóóko) (áńnola) (ńnéembo) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.prest.OM1.watch 1.elephant 1.past.fall  
 the child who is watching the elephant (just) fell

**-(N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N) + (V):**

(24) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (áńnola) (ńnéembo) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.OM1.watch 1.elephant 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching the elephant (just) fell

**-(N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N + Dem) + (V):**

(25) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (áńnola) (ńnéembó) (aiijá) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.OM1.watch 1.elephant Dem1 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching that elephant (just) fell

(26) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (álola) (sínú) (asiilá) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.watch 7.thing Dem7 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching that thing (just) fell

**-(N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N + Poss) + (V):**

(27) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (álola) (dímbúdí) (dyaángu) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.PossSG1 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching my goats (just) fell

**BUT=> (Rel V) + (N + 2 modifiers):****-(N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V) + (Obj N + Poss + Dem) + (V):**

(28) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (áloola) (dímbúdí) (dyángú) (adiilá) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.PossSG1 Dem10 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching those goats of mine (just) fell

**(Rel V + N + 2 modifiers) can phrase too:****-(N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N + Num + Dem) + (V):**

(29) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (álola) (dímbúdí) (mbíí<sup>14</sup>) (áádi) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.two Dem10 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching these two goats (just) fell

**The following sentence is very probably possible too:****-(N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N + Poss + Dem) + (V)?**

(30) (ńdyóókó) (ńdíkáídíkí) (áájú) (álola) (dímbúdí) (dyángú) (adiilá) (andiígwa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.PossSG1 Dem10 1.past.fall  
 this small child who is watching those goats of mine (just) fell

**=> (Rel V + Obj N + Num + Dem) (ie Rel V + N + 2 mod) is also found in a cleft relative:****-(ProN) + (Dem) + (N) + (Rel V + Obj N + Num + Dem):**

(31) (jóojo) (aajó) (ńdyóóko) (álola) (dímbúdí) (mbíí<sup>15</sup>) (áádi)  
 ProN1<sup>16</sup> Dem1 1.child 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.two Dem10  
 this is the child who is watching these two goats

<sup>14</sup> Fast speech rate : (álola dímbúdí mbíí' áádi) (í †, > y)<sup>15</sup> Fast speech rate : (álola dímbúdí mbíí' áádi) (í †, > y)<sup>16</sup> Pronoun, class 1, only found in cleft relatives.

=> **NB:** a Noun Phrase ending with a Dem can phrase even if it has 5 elements (N + 4 mod):

- (Noun Adj Gen Num DEM): (cf p. 8)

(14) (vĩlátú víkúméné vyá náswé vívílí aviilá)  
 8.shoe 8.big 8.Gen white 8.two Dem8  
 those two big white shoes

- Other CLEFTS :

(V + Obj) can phrase or not in cleft relatives (the conjoint form of the verb is not compulsory):

- (ProN) + (Dem) + (N) + (Rel V + Obj N):

(32) (jóojo) (aajó) (ńdyóóko) (áńnola) (ńńémbo)  
 ProN1 Dem1 1.child 1.prest.OM1.watch 1.elephant  
 this is the child who is watching the elephant

- (ProN) + (Dem) + (N) + (Rel V + Obj N + Poss):

(33) (jóojo) (aajó) (ńdyóóko) (áńlola) (dímbúdí) (dyaángu)  
 ProN1 Dem1 1.child 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.PossSG1  
 this is the child who is watching my goats

=> **BUT:**

- (ProN) + (Dem) + (N) + (Rel V) (Obj N + Poss) *is possible too.*

(33') (jóojo) (aajó) (ńdyóóko) (áńlola) (dímbúdí) (dyaángu)  
 ProN1 Dem1 1.child 1.prest.watch 10.goat 10.PossSG1  
 this is the child who is watching my goats

=> *So what happens here? When exactly do the Rel V + the Obj phrase?*

=> Apparently, in Subject Relatives, (Rel V + Obj) phrase most of the time ie as soon as there is an object the verb takes its conjoint form & phrases with it, though it is possible that it does not phrase but only when it is followed by at least two elements (Obj N + x mod) with  $x \geq 1$ , and not when there is only one (Obj N).

• **Compulsory phrasing / conjoint verb:**

=> Subject + (Rel V + Obj N)

AND

\*Subject + (Rel V) + (Obj N)

• **Optional phrasing:**

=> Subject + (Rel V + Obj N + x mod)

OR

=> Subject + (Rel V) + (Obj N + x mod)

**BUT** of course the phrasing is not optional when the modifier is a type of modifier that can never phrase with a noun (ex: Adj when not followed by a Dem):

**Example:**

- (N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N) + (ADJ) + (V):

(34) (ńdyókó) (ńńíkídíkí) (áájú) (áńnola) (ńńémbo) (ńńkúmeēne) (ankujóopa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.OM1.watch 1.elephant 1.big 1.prst.get scared  
 this small child who is watching a big elephant is getting scared

- (N + Adj + Dem) + (Rel V + Obj N + ADJ + Dem) + (V):

(35) (ńdyókó) (ńńíkídíkí) (áájú) (áńnola) (ńńémbó) (ńńkúméné) (aiijá) (ankujóopa)  
 1.child 1.small Dem1 1.prest.OM1.watch 1.elephant 1.big Dem1 1.prst.get scared  
 this small child who is watching that big elephant is getting scared

• **Forbidden phrasing:**

=> Subject + (Rel V + Obj N) + (mod = ADJ)

*because \*(N + ADJ)*

*unless they are followed by a Dem:*

Subject + (Rel V + Obj N + ADJ + Dem)

**5. PROSODY OF THE OBJECT RELATIVES:****Just as in a non-relative context AND in the Subject Relatives:**

- Subject + V never phrase,
- & in the Noun Phrases one can observe all the phrasing phenomena presented in 2. 3.

**And Head + Rel V never phrase**

(though the pause between the Head & the Rel V is often shorter than the one between the Rel V & the following V, as you can see in (36)).

**- (N) + (Rel V) + (V):**

- (36) (ńdyóóko) # (wá níńńóola) ## (andiŋgwa)  
 1.child 1.CO sg1.prest.OM1.watch 1.past.fall  
 the child whom I am watching (just) fell

**- (N + Poss + Dem) + (Rel V) + (V):**

- (37) (ńdyókú wángú ááju) (wá úńńóola) (andiŋgwa)  
 1.child 1.possSG1 Dem1 1.CO sg2.prest.OM1.watch 1.past.fall  
 this child of mine whom you are watching (just) fell

**- (Dem) + (Rel V) + (Subj N) + (Gen):**

- (38) (aviilá) (vyá vásúuma) (vádyóóko) (vyá mboóne)  
 Dem8 8.CO 2.prest.buy 2.child 8.Gen nice  
 these (things) that the children are buying are nice

**- (V) + (Obj N + Poss + Dem) + (Rel V) + (N loc):**

- (39) (ńmwoóna) (mbwáná wákó aijá) (wá úńńáliike) (ing'óóma)<sup>17</sup>  
 sg1.past.OM1.see 9.friend 1.possSG2 Dem1 1.CO sg2.past.OM1.invite 9.party  
 I saw this friend of yours whom you invited to the party

<sup>17</sup> ng' = ŋ**- (N) + (Rel V) + (Obj N) + (dis dei<sup>18</sup>) + (V):**

- (40) (silooŋgo) (sá tútálákeela) (dyeénga) (nasanaasó) (sinditumbuúka)  
 7.pot 7.CO pl1.prest.cook 10.rice dis dei 7 7.past.split  
 the pot with which we cook rice has split

**6. EXCEPTIONAL BIMORAIC FINALS & FINAL HS:****6. 1. Bimoraic finals:**

In Relative Verbs - & nowhere else in the language! - bimoraic final syllables can be found...

They appear in **abbreviated relative verb forms** & seem to be there to **preserve the original tone patterns** of the unabbreviated forms & thus avoid any possible confusion between the tenses. The relative verb forms that have both a long & an abbreviated forms are the **six different pasts** (that all take a **suffix -ile**):

In Subject Relatives:

- Positive near past
- Positive remote past
- Negative near or remote past

In Object Relatives:

- Positive near past
- Positive remote past
- Negative near or remote past

**Examples:**Unabbreviated form:

- (41) ndyóóko ákálóvíile aáju  
 1.child 1.remote past neg.get wet in the rain Dem1  
 the child who did not get wet in the rain is this one

Abbreviated form:

- (42) ndyóóko ákálóví aáju  
 1.child 1.remote past neg.get wet in the rain Dem1  
 the child who did not get wet in the rain is this one

<sup>18</sup> = "discourse deictic" (term proposed by G. Philippson, com.pers. 2010) made of "with" + Dem.



Unabbreviated form:

(43) muúnú	wa	ninnodííle	aáju
1.person	1.CO	sg1.OM1.remote past.watch	Dem1
the person whom I watched is this one			

Abbreviated form:

(44) muúnú	wa	ninnodíí	aáju
1.person	1.CO	sg1.OM1.remote past.watch	Dem1
the person whom I watched is this one			

**6.2. Final Hs:**

There are Final High tones in Relative Verb Forms (Subject Relative, Positive Near Past) which happens almost<sup>19</sup> nowhere else in the language since the final syllable of a P-phrase is supposed to be extra-prosodic / extratonal & thus never takes a H: \* **H** / \_\_ #.

**Example:**

(45) muúnú	áloviilé	aáju
1.person	1.near past neg.get wet in the rain	Dem1
the person who just got wet in the rain is this one		

**Conclusion:**

The first thing to do to describe the prosody of Relative Clauses in Símákonde is to make a detailed inventory of what may & what may not phrase in a relative context.

There is apparently no difference between Restrictive & Non-restrictive Clauses as far as the phrasing is concerned (since the Head & the Relative Verb never phrase) - contrary to the results of Cheng & Downing 2007, Cheng & Kula 2006, Downing & Mtenje (to appear) & Patin 2010.

**BUT** there *might* be a slight difference at the intonational level which will have to be studied with caution in the future.

<sup>19</sup> There are final Hs in one of the three demonstratives, the remote one (ex. in 7: asilá), in the discourse deictic (ex. in 7: nasanaasó) & in the word for "egg" (SG: liif).

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