

The-ik-i- extensions and the tonal domains in the imperative and hortative in Kinande: a complement to the Kinande Grammar sketch

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This paper addresses tonal domains in Kinande as a way of complementing material already published on the Afranaph website on Kinande (cf. Grammar Sketch, Kinande-English dictionary, Kinande OM dislocation). Three foci of interest with respect to the research related to African anaphora are introduced in this paper. First, the verbal extensions **-ik-i-** (a combination of the stative **-ik-** and the causative **-i-**) that convey the idea “help someone do.” This meaning which has not been explored in previous Bantu studies has the potential of being further explored in studies on African anaphora as it gives a different role to the object argument of the verb, as shown in these examples: **eri-hék-a** “to carry,” **eri-hek-ék-a** “to be carry-able,” **eri-hek-i-a** “to make (s.o.) carry,” **eri-hek-ek-i-a** “to help someone carry.” This meaning is briefly illustrated in the introduction to the Kinande-English dictionary. Secondly, it informs about the intonational domains that are found in a Kinande utterance, thus building on Hyman (1990). Most importantly, it elaborates on the difference between an imperative and a hortative utterance where it is shown that an imperative Low tone will appear at the end of the intonational domain, whatever the length of the utterance. Thirdly, it is shown in the paper that, in what could appear as instances of serial verbs in Kinande or a complex verb that consists of an auxiliary and the main verb, the verbal extensions, such as the Reciprocal or the Reflexive, never appear on the auxiliary verb. This type of construction could easily be further exploited in syntax to show why, in some constructions, the reflexive **-yi-** triggers the use of the applicative morpheme in the verb stem.

Since my concern is to include in this paper what appears as new material with respect to the **-ik-i-** extensions in the verb stem, the phrasal domains as particularly seen with the use of the imperative and the hortative, and the further exploration of the **ik-i-** extensions in sentences that would help probe further the syntax of Kinande with respect to the use of anaphora, the paper will be organized as follows. I will first present the **ik-i-** extension in the relevant structure, then make a brief review of the tonal domains in Kinande as reflected in Hyman (1990) and Mutaka (2009), and will finally present further structures of the **-ik-i-** extension that lend themselves to a syntactic study, bearing in mind its status within the phrasal phonology, more precisely the phrasal domain in which it appears within the sentence. For the material that will be presented in this Afranaph workshop, I will only briefly discuss the tonal domains in a way that will enable the reader to better understand the complex sentences with the **-ik-i-** extensions and what appears as a possible serial verb construction in Kinande. A more elaborate discussion of the tonal domains will appear in the final version of the paper that will be hopefully published on the Afranaph website.

A. The **-ik-i-** extensions in the verbal stem in Kinande.

Consider first the forms in (1) that illustrate the use of these extensions.

1. a.	eri-hék-a	to carry
	eri-hek-a ebiryáto	to carry shoes
	eri-hek' ebiryato birító	to carry heavy shoes
	erísók-a	to cross
	erísok' ekilálo	to cross a bridge
	erísok' ekilalo kírí	to cross a long bridge

- b. **eri-hek-ék-a** to be carry-able
eri-sok-ék-a to be cross-able
- c. **eri-hek-í-a** to make (s.o.) carry
eri-sok-yâ /e-ri-sok-i-a/ to make (s.o.) cross
- d. **eri-hek-ek-í-a** to help someone carry
eri-sok-ek-i-a to help s.o. cross in the sense of assisting him and crossing with him

2. a. Further forms with disyllabic and monosyllabic verb stems

infinitive form	inf-stem-ik-FV	inf-Stem+i-FV	Inf-Stem +is-i-FV
eri-húm-a to hit	eri-hum-ík-a	---	eri-hum-is-y-â
erí-túm-a to send	erí-tum-ík-a	---	eri-tum-is-y-a
eri-sw-â to grind	eri-sw-ék-a	---	eri-sw-es-y-â
erí-ry-â to eat	erí-l-ík-a	----	eri-l-is-y-â
ery-ôg-â to purge	ery-ôg-ék-a	----	ery-og-es-y-â
ery-êr-â to wash	ery-êr-ék-a	ery-ér-y-â	ery-er-es-y-â

- b. erihumikyâ to help s.o. hit
erítumikyâ to help s.o. send
eriswekyâ to help s.o. grind
erílikyâ to help s.o. eat
eryógekyâ to help s.o. purge
eryérekyâ to help s.o. wash

As shown in these forms, the –ik-i- extensions are used with verbs that accept the –ik-. The meaning is always “to help do something” The examples given here include the disyllabic verb stems and the monosyllabic verb stems.

- 3.a. Magulú akáheka esyombágo Magulu carries planks
Magulú akáhekaya mábokó y’ esyombágo Magulu makes Maboko carry planks
Magulú akáhekekaya mábokó y’ oko mbágo Magulu helps Maboko carry planks
*Magulú akáhekekaya mábokó y’ esyombágo
??Magulú akáhekaya esyombágo syó máboko
*Magulú akáhekekaya oko mbágo kó máboko
- b. Magulú baná mábokó bakáhekanaya esyombágo Magulu and Maboko make e.o. carry planks
Magulú baná mábokó bakáhekekanaya esyombágo Magulu and Maboko help e.o. carry planks
*Magulú baná mábokó bakáhekekanaya oko mbágo
- c. Magulú baná mábokó bakátuhekekaya oko syombágo Magulu and Maboko help us carry planks
*Magulú baná mábokó bakáyihekekaya oko syombágo

Although the verb “carry” assigns one object theta role, when it is used with the causative or the –ik-i- extensions, it assigns two object theta roles. The object marker is followed by a linker (Baker & Collins 2006, Baker ms) a feature of which is that it belongs to the same nominal class as the preceding noun. Here Maboko as a name is in class one, that is why the linker “y” is in class one. If the preceding noun is in class 10 (cf. esyo-mbago, the linker is syo in class 10. Notice also the use of “oko” with the –ik-i- extensions the use of which is certainly related to the meaning of –ik-i- in that the agent of the verb does not perform the totality of the action contained in the object theta role. He only assists someone to do part

of the action contained in the object theta role. Oko can be translated as “part of.”

As also indicated in the word order in these sentences, the human object immediately follows the verb with the causative or the –ik-i- extensions. If the word order of the two object theta roles assigned by the verb is inverted, the sentence is bad. The careful reader will also notice that the nouns in the object theta roles (cf. mbago, maboko) change their tones in function of the position where they appear in the sentence. The reason is that, in some cases, they get a phrasal H on the last vowel or an intonational H or L on the last vowel. This is one of the reasons I deemed it crucial to also introduce the phrasal domains in Kinande. However, because of organizational reasons, it is only in the written version of the paper that I will elaborate on these tonal domains. For the Afranaph workshop, I merely give a brief sketch of these domains.

B. Tonal domains in the Kinande Imperative and Hortative.

Consider first the following two examples:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 4. a. | heka Magulu | carry Magulu | (cf. eri-heka Magú :lu) |
| | hekaya Magulu | make Magulu carry | (cf. eri-hekya Magú :lu) |
| | hekekaya Magulu | help Magulu in carrying | (cf. eri-hekekya Magú :lu) |
| b. | úhéke Magúlu | please help Magulu | |
| | úhékáye Magúlu | please make Magulu carry | |
| | úhékekáye Magúlu | please help Magulu in carrying | |

As shown in these examples, the tone at the end of the imperative in (4a) is L whereas the noun in the hortative in (4b) ends with a HL, where the penultimate H is the phrasal H and the final L is the intonational L. In order to help the reader understand how the tones apply in Kinande, particularly in the phrasal phonology, a brief review of the findings in Hyman (1990) and Mutaka (2009) is in order here.

First, the noun in subject position constitutes a phrasal domain and is assigned a boundary phrasal H. As shown in the following examples, this phrasal H surfaces on the last vowel just in case the two last vowels are toneless.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------------|
| 5. | Magúlu akándinyihú :ma | Magulu will hit me |
| | Mábokó akándinyihú :ma | Maboko will hit me |

Secondly, an intonational tone (L or H) is assigned at the end of an intonation domain which may consist of one or more phrasal domains. Following the analysis in Hyman (1990), this tone gets associated to the final vowel of the intonational domain, delinks the phrasal H which re-associates to the penultimate vowel. The HL on the penultimate and final vowel in the data above (cf. hú :ma) illustrate the phrasal H and the intonational L. An example of an intonational H is seen in the list intonation as illustrated by the following forms:

- | | |
|----|--|
| 6. | hálwe ebisá :ndó, n' amábó :kó, n' amagú :lu |
| | There were feet, arms, and legs |

The intonational L tone appears on the last word of the sentence but the list intonation which is an intonational H tone appears at the end of the cited word. As observed in the forms in (7) whose last two vowels are toneless lexically, they surface with both the phrasal H and the intonational tone. Notice also the lengthening of the penultimate vowel that is a clue to detect the end of an intonational domain. In the examples that will follow, the end of the phrasal domain is marked by a back slash (/) line

and the end of an intonational domain by a double slash (//) line.

Now that we have an idea of the way tone surfaces on Kinande forms in the imperative and the hortative, let us consider the following forms of the imperative.

7. **gendá/ ubwíré mábokó/ uti áyáhekekáye Kámbalé/ y' oko mba :go//**
Go and tell Maboko to go and help Kambale carry planks
gendá/ ubwíré mábokó/ uti Magulú/ móáyire eriyahekekya Kámbalé/ y' oko mba :go//
Go and tell Maboko that Magulu went to help Kambale carry planks
gendá/ ubwíré mábó :kó/ uti Magulú/ móáyire eriyahekekya Kámbalé/ y' oko mba :go//
Go and tell Maboko that Magulu went to help Kambale carry planks

These examples start with a verb in the imperative. Although we have seen so far that a Low tone is assigned to the final vowel of the verb, here we see that it surfaces with a H tone which is the result of a boundary phrasal H (indicated by the single back slash /). What is of interest is that there is a L that surfaces at the end of the intonational domain. It is this L that prevents the noun at the end of this intonational domain to surface with a phrasal H on the penultimate vowel. As also shown in these examples, it does not matter how many phrasal domains separate the verb from the noun at the end of the intonational domain that is assigned this intonational L tone. In the third sentence, I have slightly modified the second sentence by producing the word for “ arms” with a list intonation, thus making it the end of an intonational domain within a larger domain under the scope of the imperative.

Consider now the following forms with the hortative.

8. **ugénde úyabwíré Mábó :kó// uti áyáhekekáye Kámbalé/ y' oko mbá :go//**
Go and tell Maboko that he should go and help Kambale carry planks
ugénde úyabwíré Mábó :kó// uti Magulú/ áyahekekaya Kámbalé/ y' oko mbá :go//
Go and tell Maboko that Magulu has gone to help Kambale carry planks

As shown in these forms, no intonational imperative L is assigned to the end of the intonational domain which would block the assignment of the regular phrasal H on the penultimate vowel.

C. –ik-i- in complex verb sentential constructions

In this section, I intend to provide a number of sentences with the –ik-i- extensions that might help probe further its use in the syntax of Kinande.

Consider first this group of sentences :

- 9.a. **mónágánire eriyahekekya Kámbalé / y' oko mbágo**
I refused to come and help Kambale carry planks
b. **mótualígíre eriyahekekya Kámbalé / y' oko mbágo**
we agreed to come and help Kambale carry planks
c. **mwáyir eriyahekekya Kámbalé / y' oko mbágo**
he went to help Kambale carry planks
d. **Magulú / mwásir' isyahekekya Kámbalé / y' oko mbágo**
/mó-ás-ire eri-sya-hek-ik-i-a/
Magulu came help-carry Kambale Linker on planks
“Magulu came to help Kambale carry planks.”
e. **Mótuatángirítayahekekya Kámbalé / y' oko mbágo**

/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-hek-ek-i-a/

We began first to go and help Kambale to carry planks

One observation from these sentences is that the –ik-i- extensions appear in the stem of the infinitive that constitutes the main verb of the sentence. The infinitive and the object (Kambale) constitute a phrasal domain. The interesting question is the interpretation of the conjugated verb that precedes this infinitive. Could such constructions be considered as instances of a serial verb construction in Kinande? I do not have an answer for this. However, my hunch (and that is also Larry Hyman’s hunch (personal communication), the conjugated verb that precedes this infinitival form is rather like an auxiliary to this infinitival form. This hunch is rendered more obvious in my transcription of the (e) sentence where the pre-stem material (cf. mótuatángírítaya-) actually consists of the conjugated form of the stem tang- with the –ire perfect tense morpheme followed by eri- (the infinitival form) that is simplified into the vowel –i- followed by the TAM (tense-aspectual-mode) ta-ya-.

Another interesting puzzle is the status of the object (here Kambale). Is it the object of the verb eri-hek-a (carry)? Obviously not. It is the object of the complex eri-hek- + the –ik-i- extensions that give it the meaning of help-carry. Notice that this object is closer to the verb. It is followed by a linker (-y-) and the element oko that means “part of”. To help further probe the status of this “oko” preposition, consider the following alternatives that are not acceptable:

10.a. ?Mótuatángírítayahekekya Kámbalé / y’esyombágo

/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-hek-ek-i-a/

We began first to go and help Kambale to carry planks

b. *Mótuatángírítayahekekya esyombago syo Kámbale

/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-hek-ek-i-a/

We began first to go and help Kambale to carry planks

c. **Mótuatángírítayahekekya oko mbago syo Kámbale

/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-hek-ek-i-a/

We began first to go and help Kambale to carry planks

d. *Mótuatángírítayahekekya oko mbago ko Kámbale

/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-hek-ek-i-a/

We began first to go and help Kambale to carry planks

Sentence (a) does not sound quite right because the use of esyombago does not translate the fact that we are only helping Kambale carry the planks. It could give the meaning that we carried the planks and Kambale did not carry any. But such a meaning would be better translated by a

11. Mótuatángírítayahekera Kámbalé / y’esyombágo

/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-hek-ir-a/

We began first to go and help Kambale to carry planks

In this sentence, I replaced the –ik-i- extensions by the applicative morpheme –ir-.

Sentences (10 b) and (10c) are bad, (c) being more horrible than (b). Sentence (d) is also bad although it is slightly better than (c) because it does convey the idea that we helped Kambale by carrying part of his planks.

In case the object noun is replaced by an OM, the sentence still sounds far better with the use of the

preposition oko as shown in these examples:

- 12.a. Mótuatángírítayamuhekeky’ oko mbágo**
/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-mu- hek-ek-i-a/
We began first to go and help him carry planks
- b. ?Mótuatángírítayamuhekeky’ esyombágo**
/mó-tu-a-tang-ire eri-ta-ya-mu- hek-ek-i-a/
We began first to go and help him carry planks

I have put an intuition judgment question mark before the second sentence to mean that it is not that bad ; I suspect other speakers might find it totally acceptable, but I am sure the first sentence sounds far better.

Consider also the following sentence :

- 13. mwásáliré áliga eriyahekeky Kámbalé y’ oko mbágo**
/mó-a-sal-ire á-lig-a eri-ya-hek-ik-i-a/
TM-SM-Rt-TM SM-RT-FV inf-TM-RT-ik-i-FV
Vomit accept
he finally accepted to go and help Kambale carry planks

Although I translate the verb –sal- as “vomit”, this is not the meaning it has in the sentence. This first part of the verb only reinforces the second verb and then both act as the auxiliary to the infinitive. It is possible that there is a phrasal boundary tone after mwásáliré, which would explain the H tone on the final vowel. The whole sentence still begs the same question asked above for the syntax of Kinande: how to treat the first two verbs (i.e. mwásáliré and áliga) ? Are they instances of serial verbs in Kinande or are they simply an auxiliary to the infinitive?

Consider also the following sentence :

- 14. mwálwiré íniasyahekeky Kámbalé y’ oko mbágo**
/mó-a-lu-ire i-SM-a-sya-hek-ik-i-a/
TM-SM-Rt-TM Comp-SM-TM-TM-RT-ik-i-FV
leave that carry
he immediately came to help Kambale carry planks

Instead for the –ik-i- extension to appear in the infinitive, it may appear in a conjugated form that is preceded by a complementizer. Again, the preceding verb rather plays the role of an auxiliary.

Note that this –ik-i- extension sequence can be used in a sentence with a quantifier as in :

- 15. Óbuli mundú mwábéré ákahekeky ábandi b’oko mbágo**
Each person was helping other people carry planks

As also shown by the following sentences, it is possible to use the reflexive yi- and the reciprocal –an- in sentences with the –ik-i- extensions.

- 16.a. ?Abandú bánené móbágánire eríbyá bákayihekeky oko mbágo**
Several people refused to be helping themselves carry planks

- b. **?Abandú bánené móbálígíre eríbyá bákayihekekya oko mbágo**
 Several people refused to be helping themselves carry planks
 (one could imagine several people and they were helping each other carry planks)
- c. ***Abandú bánené móbálígíre eríbyá bákayihekekya esyombágo**
 Several people refused to be helping themselves carry planks

The reason I have put a question mark on the first two sentences is that the speaker may find them odd for semantic reasons. One would expect –ik-i- to be used in case the agent in the subject position is helping someone else. The use of the reflexive yi- gives the impression that the agents would be helping themselves, which is never the case. One can only understand the yi- here as referring to the other members in subject position without the speaker trying to help himself as an individual.

17. **Abandú bánené móbabéré bákahekekania esyombágo**
 Several people were helping one another carry planks

In case the reciprocal –an- is used, it is inserted between –ik- and the causative –i-, presumably because the causative –i- can only appear in the penultimate position. Notice also that the object noun can now be used without the preposition oko as seen in previous examples.

Consider also the following sentences :

18. **nyíryáyitswa eriyakuhekekya oko bitsungu**
 I allowed myself to go and help you carry potatoes.
túlyáyitswa eriyahekekania oko bitsungu
 we allowed ourselves to go and help one another carry potatoes.

As shown in these examples, the reflexive –yi- can be used in the conjugated verb that precedes the infinitival form that contains the –ik-i- extensions.

However, in a conjugated verb that does not accept the –yi- reflexive, as the verb for “to refuse”, it is rather the applicative morpheme that sounds better in the infinitival form as shown in the following example :

- 19.a. **móngágana eriyayihékera oko bitsungu**
 /mó-N-ká-gan-a eri-ya-yi-hek-ir-a oko bi-tsungu /
 I refused to go and carry potatoes (for myself)
***móngágana eriyayihéka oko bitsungu**
 /eri-ya-yi-hek-a/
- b. ***móngáyigana eriyaheka oko bitsungu**
 /*mó-N-ká-yi-gan-a eri-ya-hek-a oko bi-tsungu/
 I refused myself to go and carry potatoes
- c. ?? **móngáyiganira eriyaheka oko bitsungu**
 I refused for myself to go and carry potatoes
Móngáyiganirá (from : eri-yi-gan-ír-a)
 I refused (i.e. to go and carry potatoes)
***móngáyiganâ (from *eri-yi-gán-a)**
 (I refused myself)

Notice that the applicative –ir- is used in the infinitival form of the first sentence which is the correct one. Although the verb “to refuse” does not accept the reflexive –yi-, when it is followed by the infinitival form, it is totally acceptable when using it in isolation with the intended meaning of refusing to go and carry potatoes. Why is the applicative obligatory in such a case remains a puzzle for which the researchers on the syntax of Kinande will hopefully provide an answer.

To conclude, the main focus in this paper was to document the use of the –ik-i- extensions as it provides the composite meaning “help-do something” in the verb, provide initial structures in which its syntax may be further explored with respect to anaphora in Bantu languages. The second purpose of the paper was to elicit the tonal domains in Kinande, most especially with the use of the imperative and the hortative, as there is an intonational imperative L that is assigned at the end of an intonational domain although the imperative verb may be separated from the end of the intonational domain by several phrasal domains.

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