
Contents

Acknowledgments **xiii**

Abbreviations **xv**

1 Introduction 1

- 1.1 Speaker Demographics and Genetic Affiliation of the Language 1
- 1.2 Data Sources 3
- 1.3 Motivation, Goals and Coverage of this Study 5
- 1.4 Outline of Chapters 10
- 1.5 Vowel and Consonant Inventories 10

2 Morphology 13

- 2.1 Nominal Morphology 13
 - 2.1.1 Overview of Noun Class Prefixes 13
 - 2.1.2 Locatives 17
 - 2.1.3 Diminutives 18
 - 2.1.4 Augmentatives 21
 - 2.1.5 Deverbal nouns 22
 - 2.1.6 Copulatives 25
 - 2.1.7 Class Agreement in Nominal Modifiers 26
- 2.2 Verbal Morphology 27
 - 2.2.1 Subject and Object Markers 28
 - 2.2.2 Extensions 30
 - 2.2.2.1 Applicative 30

- 2.2.2.2 Reciprocal 32
- 2.2.2.3 Stative 32
- 2.2.2.4 Passive 32
- 2.2.2.5 Short Causative 32
- 2.2.2.6 Long Causative 33
- 2.2.2.7 Intensive 34
- 2.2.2.8 Transitive Reversive 34
- 2.2.2.9 Other Extensions 35
- 2.2.2.10 Combining Extensions 36

3 Phonology of Segments and Syllables 41

- 3.1 Rules affecting Vowel Length 42
 - 3.1.1 Vowel Deletion 43
 - 3.1.2 Gliding 46
 - 3.1.3 Nasal Demorification 50
 - 3.1.4 Final Vowel Shortening 53
 - 3.1.5 Trimoraic Pruning 55
 - 3.1.6 Pre-stem Shortening 55
- 3.2 Phonemic Status of Glides 58
- 3.3 Segmental Rules 60
- 3.4 Mid Vowel Harmony 76
- 3.5 Consonant Mutation & the Short Causative 80
- 3.6 Long and Short Passives 109
- 3.7 Segmental Realization of 1 sg. and 3 sg. Subject Markers 112

4 Imbrication 117

- 4.1 Imbrication Illustrated and Defined 117
- 4.2 Requirements for Imbrication to be Triggered 123
- 4.3 Secondary Imbrication 130
- 4.4 Imbrication and Consonant Mutation 132
- 4.5 Passive Perfectives 135
- 4.6 Extension Reduplication 138
- 4.7 Remaining Issues 144

5 Tense/Aspect/Mood System and its Tonology 147

- 5.1 TAMs with no Melodic H 147
 - 5.1.1 Present Progressive 147
 - 5.1.1.1 Underlying Tones and H Tone Spreading 147
 - 5.1.1.2 Stems with V-initial Roots 161

- 5.1.1.3 Influence on Spreading from Glides in a Word-final Syllable 165
- 5.1.1.4 CV Roots 170
- 5.1.1.5 The 1sg Subject Marker 173
- 5.1.1.6 Onsetless SMs: 3 sg. (Class 1), Class 4, and Class 9 177
- 5.1.1.7 Negative Present Progressive 184
- 5.1.1.8 Present Progressive Relatives 187
- 5.1.2 Past Inceptive 195
- 5.1.3 Contrastive Habitual 197
- 5.1.4 Future Continuative 201
- 5.1.5 Future Progressive 205
- 5.1.6 Hortative 208
- 5.1.7 Persistent Potential 210
- 5.1.8 Immediate Future 213
- 5.1.9 Habitual 217
- 5.1.10 Persistent 223
- 5.2 TAMs with Melodic H: Realization on the FV 228
 - 5.2.1 Potential 229
 - 5.2.2 Yesterday Past 241
 - 5.2.3 Yesterday Past Progressive 258
 - 5.2.4 Recent Past 261
 - 5.2.5 Recent Past Progressive 268
 - 5.2.6 Recent Perfect 268
 - 5.2.7 Recent Perfect 2 276
- 5.3 TAMs with Melodic H: Realization on V2- FV 277
 - 5.3.1 Far Past 277
 - 5.3.2 Far Past 2 284
 - 5.3.3 Far Past Progressive 285
 - 5.3.4 Remote Future 286
 - 5.3.5 Remote Perfect 289
 - 5.3.6 Negative of Persistent and Contrastive Habitual 292
 - 5.3.7 Perfect 293
 - 5.3.8 Narrative Past 299
 - 5.3.9 Subjunctive 302
 - 5.3.10 Imperative 305

- 5.4 Summary and Analysis of Verbal Tonology 310
- 5.5 Tonology of Reduplication 316

6 Tonology of Verbal Infinitives 327

- 6.1 Affirmative Infinitive 327
 - 6.1.1 General Description and Comparison with 2 sg. Present Progressive Forms 327
 - 6.1.2 Motivating a Nominal Melodic High Tone 329
 - 6.1.3 Reduplicated & Andative Infinitives 341
- 6.2 Negative Infinitive 342

7 Tonology of Nouns 347

- 7.1 Nominal & Adjectival Morphology 347
- 7.2 The tonology of Phrase-initial Nouns 350
 - 7.2.1 Nouns with Toneless Stems 350
 - 7.2.2 Nouns with a Stem-final H 352
 - 7.2.3 Nouns with a Stem-initial H 353
 - 7.2.4 Nouns with a Stem-medial H 359
 - 7.2.5 Nouns with Two Stem Hs 363
 - 7.2.6 Totally Toneless Nouns 364
 - 7.2.7 Proper Nouns and Summary of Underived Nominal Stems 364
- 7.3 Deverbal Nouns 365
- 7.4 Locatives 368
- 7.5 Diminutives 373
- 7.6 Augmentatives 374
- 7.7 Copulatives 375
- 7.8 Tonal Properties of the Preprefix 385
 - 7.8.1 Optionality of the Preprefix in Isolation Forms 385
 - 7.8.2 The Preprefix of Nouns in Non-phrase-initial Position 386

8 Compound Verbs 395

- 8.1 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Infinitive 395
 - 8.1.1 Continuative 395
 - 8.1.2 Present Obligative 397
 - 8.1.3 Present Obligative 2 397
 - 8.1.4 Yesterday Past Obligative 398

- 8.1.5 Far Past Obligative 399
- 8.1.6 Irrealis Obligative 399
- 8.2 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Subjunctive 400
 - 8.2.1 Strict Obligative 400
 - 8.2.2 Present Obligative 3 400
 - 8.2.3 Near Future 401
- 8.3 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Recent Perfect 401
 - 8.3.1 Past of Earlier Today 401
 - 8.3.2 'as soon as' Recent Completive 402
 - 8.3.3 'as soon as' Completive 402
 - 8.3.4 'as soon as' Recent Progressive Completive 403
 - 8.3.5 'as soon as' Perfect 403
 - 8.3.6 'as soon as' Future Anterior 403
 - 8.3.7 'as soon as' Remote Progressive Completive 404
- 8.4 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Remote Perfect 404
 - 8.4.1 Future Anterior 404
 - 8.4.2 Compound Remote Perfect 405
- 8.5 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Present Progressive 405
 - 8.5.1 Future Persistent 405
 - 8.5.2 Immediate Past Progressive 406
 - 8.5.3 Persistent 2 407
 - 8.5.4 Immediate Past Persistent 407
 - 8.5.5 Past Persistent 408
 - 8.5.6 Conditional Persistent 409
- 8.6 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Narrative Past 409
 - 8.6.1 Immediate Perfect 409
 - 8.6.2 Remote Completive 411
 - 8.6.3 Compound Perfect 411
 - 8.6.4 Remote Completive 2 412
 - 8.6.5 Future Anterior 2 413
- 8.7 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Past Inceptive 414

x / CILUNGU PHONOLOGY

- 8.7.1 Immediate Future Progressive 2 414
- 8.7.2 Conditional 414
- 8.8 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Hortative 415
 - 8.8.1 Near Future Progressive 415
- 8.9 Compound Verbs Whose Final Element is the Remote Perfective 415
 - 8.9.1 Past Perfect 416
- 9 Phrasal Tonology 417**
 - 9.1 The Prosodic Hierarchy 417
 - 9.2 Evidence for Phonological Phrases: Bounded vs. Unbounded Spreading 418
 - 9.3 Evidence for Intonational Phrases: Unbounded Spread to the Penult 421
 - 9.4 Inter-word H tone Spreading 422
 - 9.5 Fusion Across Words 429
 - 9.6 Evidence for the Clitic Group 430
 - 9.7 Associative Phrases 438
 - 9.8 Non-tonal Rules Across Words 446
- 10 Summary of Prosodic and Tonal Processes 451**
 - 10.1 Tone Bearing Units 451
 - 10.1.1 Tonal Underspecification and the Mora as the TBU 451
 - 10.1.2 Status of pre-C Nasal as Tone Bearing Unit 452
 - 10.1.3 Glides, Including Short Causative & Passive 456
 - 10.2 Summary of Relevant Morphological Domains 458
 - 10.2.1 Stem 458
 - 10.2.2 Macrostem 459
 - 10.3 Summary of Most Productive Tonal Processes 460
 - 10.3.1 Unbounded Spreading 460
 - 10.3.2 Bounded Spreading 462
 - 10.3.3 Fusion 466
 - 10.4 Review of Tonal Contrasts; Paradigmatically & Syntagmatically 468
 - 10.4.1 Basic Contrasts & Neutralizations 468
 - 10.4.2 C^v∨C^v vs. C^v'∨C^v 471
 - 10.4.3 Distribution of Rising Tones 474

- 10.4.4 Trimoraic Pruning 478
- 10.4.5 Realization of Onsetless V after a like V 486
- 10.5 Downstep Shift and High Delinking 489
 - 10.5.1 Downstep Shift in CVVNVCV Sequences 489
 - 10.5.2 Downstep Shift in Verbs with V-initial Roots 501
 - 10.5.3 Resolution of Word-final C[́]V[́]C[́] 503
- 10.6 Tonology of Tautomorphemic vs. Heteromorphemic CVVC 507
 - 10.6.1 V-initial H Deletion 507
 - 10.6.2 Tautomorphemic CVV Spread 510
 - 10.6.3 Tonal Evidence that /ai/ Sequences are Heterosyllabic (and not Diphthongs) 511
- 10.7 Tonology of SMs 512
 - 10.7.1 General Tonology of SMs According to TAM 512
 - 10.7.2 Tonal Properties of the Onsetless SMs: 3 sg. (Class 1), Class 4 and Class 9 515
 - 10.7.3 H-toned Mora Insertion Between Onsetless SM and V-initial Root 519
- 10.8 Flow Chart Summarizing Rule Ordering 523

Bibliography 527

Index 531