

Tigemaxo (Bozo, Mali) tones audio tour

transcriptions from parts 1 to 7 of “Tigemaxo (Bozo) tones audio tour” (sound files)

1. tone melodies of nouns (verbs are very similar)

tónónó	H	‘duck’
án tónónó		‘your-Sg’
ā tònònò		‘his/her’
mùò tònònò		‘our (excl.)’
bámbarā	HM	‘Bambara person’
ám bāmbarā		‘your-Sg’
ā bàmbará		‘his/her’
mùò bàmbará		‘our (excl.)’
sónómò	HL	‘catfish sp.’
án sónómò		‘your-Sg’
ā sònòmò		‘his/her’
mùò sónómò		‘our (excl.)’
kóróbórò	(L)HL	‘Songhay person’
án kóróbórò		‘your-Sg’
ā kòròbórò		‘his/her’
mùò kòròbórò		‘our (excl.)’
yátimá	HLH	‘orphan’
án yátimá		‘your-Sg’
ā yātímá		‘his/her’
mùò yátimá		‘our (excl.)’
ʃié	LH	‘horse’
án ʃié		‘your-Sg’
ā ʃié		‘his/her’
mùó ʃié		‘our (excl.)’
nìémù	LHL	‘tongue’
án nìémù		‘your-Sg’
ā nìémù		‘his/her’
mùó nìémù		‘our (excl.)’
jāwā	M	‘guinea-fowl’
án jáwà		‘your-Sg’
ā jā ⁺ wā		‘his/her’
mùò jáwà		‘our (excl.)’
jā ⁿ	M	‘house’
án jā ⁿ		‘your-Sg’
ā ‘jā ⁿ		‘his/her’
mùó jā ⁿ		‘our (excl.)’

tĩ ⁿ	M	‘meaning’
án tĩ ⁿ		‘your-Sg’
ā tĩ ⁿ		‘his/her’
múò tĩ ⁿ		‘our (excl.)’
kā	M	‘father’
áy ká		‘your-Sg’
ā kā		‘his/her’
múò kā		‘our (excl.)’

2. tone shifts of nouns in clause-medial position

/H/ → L, /HM/ → LH, /HL/ stable

ŋ gà / ñ gá __ kòrî ‘I (often) hit __’

/H/ tóŋónó → tòŋònò ‘duck’

ñ gá tòŋònò kòrî

/HM/ bámbárā → bàmbàrá ‘Bambara person’

ñ gá bàmbàrá kòrî

/HL/ sónómò ‘catfish sp.’ (unchanged)

ñ gá sónómò kòrî

áŋ gá __ kòrî ‘You-Sg (often) hit __’

tóŋónó → tòŋònò ‘duck’

áŋ gá tòŋònò kòrî

bámbárā → bàmbàrá ‘Bambara person’

áŋ gá bàmbàrá kòrî

sónómò ‘catfish sp.’

áŋ gá sónómò kòrî

án dí __ kórî / kòrî ‘You-Sg don’t hit __’

tóŋónó ‘duck’

án dí tóŋónó kórî

bámbárā ‘Bambara person’

án dí bámbàrá kòrî

sónómò ‘catfish sp.’

án dí sónómò kòrî

3. tones and Pfv/Ipfv distinction of intransitive verbs

post-subject particles include Pfv gá/gà and IpfvNeg dí

Ipfv form of verb adds <HL> tone to the final syllable

if this results in <LHL> with the first L autonomous, <LHL> levels to M

xélé ‘go past’ (Pfv)

áɲ xélé 2Sg Pfv

ɲ xèlè 1Sg Pfv

áɲ gá xèlèè 2Sg Ipfv

ɲ gá xèlèè 1Sg Ipfv

án dí xèlèè 2Sg IpfvNeg

jólòⁿ ‘descend’

áɲ jólòⁿ 2Sg Pfv

ɲ jólòⁿ 1Sg Pfv

áɲ gá jólòòⁿ 2Sg Ipfv

ɲ gá jólòòⁿ 1Sg Ipfv

án dí jólòòⁿ 2Sg IpfvNeg

tóxõ ‘cough (v)’

án toxõ 2Sg Pfv

ɲ tòxó 1Sg Pfv

áɲ gá tòxóò 2Sg Ipfv

ɲ gá tòxóò 1Sg Ipfv

án dí toxõõ 2Sg IpfvNeg

4. H-toned plural pronominals

1PlIn kí, 2Pl xá

kí xélé	‘we (incl.) went past’
xá xélé	‘you-Pl went past’
kí jólò ⁿ	‘we (incl.) descended’
xá jólò ⁿ	‘you-Pl descended’
kí tóxō	‘we (incl.) coughed’
xá tóxō	‘you-Pl coughed’

tójónó kí xáy	‘a duck saw us (incl.)’
tójónó xá xáy	‘a duck saw you-Pl’
yátimá kì xáy	‘an orphan saw us (incl.)’
yátimá xà xáy	‘an orphan saw you-Pl’

H-toned kí, xá dropped a notch to kī, xā as subjects of deontic modal clauses

kí xélé	‘we (incl.) went past’
kī xèlè	‘let’s go past!’ (hortative)
xá xélé	‘you-Pl went past’
xā xèlè	‘go past-2Pl!’ (imperative)
kí jólò ⁿ	‘we (incl.) descended’
kī jōlò ⁿ	‘let’s descend!’ (M-terraced)
xá jólò ⁿ	‘we (incl.) descended’
xā jōlò ⁿ	‘let’s descend!’ (M-terraced)

5. third person pronouns 3Sg *ā*, 3Pl *yē* versus Logo/Refl *í*, Logo/ReflPl *yé* verbs *jólò*ⁿ ‘descend’, *jùḽḽé* ‘converse’

M-terracing of onset of HL...-toned stem after clause-initial/postpausal 3Sg/3Pl

<i>ā jólò</i> ⁿ	‘he/she descended’
<i>yē jólò</i> ⁿ	‘they descended’
<i>ā jùḽḽé</i>	‘he/she conversed’
<i>yē jùḽḽé</i>	‘they conversed’

M-tone of clause-initial 3Sg/3Pl dropped to L before H-toned post-subject particle

<i>ā gà jólòḽ</i> ⁿ	‘he/she descends’	(L-toned <i>gà</i> before H-tone)
<i>à gá xèlèè</i>	‘he/she goes past’	(H-toned <i>gá</i> before nonhigh tone)

clause-medially, 3Sg *á/à* and 3Pl *yé/yè* polarize to the following tone

<i>yáálù-gù à xáy</i>	‘the woman saw him/her’
<i>yáálù-gù á kòrì</i>	‘the woman hit him/her’
<i>yáálù-gù yè xáy</i>	‘the woman saw them’
<i>yáálù-gù yé kòrì</i>	‘the woman hit them’

Logo/Refl proclitics behave like /H/-melodic stems

H-toned when H-terraced, otherwise L, regardless of following tone

<i>xálú-gú dí ín sàà-giè tòòróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell his (own) sheep-Pl’
<i>xálú-gú dí ín sóó-giè tòóróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell his (own) goats’
<i>xálú-giè dí yé sàà-giè tòòróò</i>	‘the men don’t sell their (own) sheep-Pl’
<i>xálú-giè dí yé sóó-giè tòóróò</i>	‘the men don’t sell their (own) goats’

contrast with nonreflexive 3Sg and 3Pl (but some accidental homophony 3Pl = Logo/ReflPl)

<i>xálú-gú dí à sàà-gù tòòróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell his/her (someone else’s) sheep-Sg’
<i>xálú-gú dí à sàà-giè tòòróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell his/her (someone else’s) sheep-Pl’
<i>xálú-gú dí á sòò-giè tòòróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell his/her (someone else’s) goats’
<i>xálú-gú dí yè sàà-giè tòòróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell their (someone else’s) sheep-Pl’
<i>xálú-gú dí yé sòò-giè tòòróò</i>	‘the man doesn’t sell their (someone else’s) goats’

6. tonal effects of 1Sg ĩ̃ and Logo/Refl 1st on HL... stems with 2+ H-toned moras
extra L-tone added at the left edge of a stem following 1Sg ĩ̃

sónómò	‘catfish sp.’
múò sónómò-gù	‘our (excl.) catfish’
ĩ̃ sònomò-gù	‘my catfish’
ā wō ìn sónómò-gù sô	‘he said his (own) catfish went’
yē wō yè sónómò-gù sô	‘they said their (own) catfish went’
ā ìn sónómò-gù tòòrò	‘he sold his (own) catfish’
yē yè sónómò-gù tòòrò	‘they sold their (own) catfish’
júóhò	‘get married’
múò júóhò	‘we (excl.) got married’
ĩ̃ jùóhò	‘I got married’
ā wō ìn júóhò	‘he said he got married’
yē wō yè júóhò	‘they said they got married’

7. high-frequency C_{v̄} postpositions (gā, mā, tē): M- or H-toned?

generally clause-final, in any case far from the onset of the clause, so tones indistinct

a) behave like M-toned words:

do not drop to L-toned clause-medially (as do H-toned words)

tolerate the H-toned form of 1Sg ĩ

... ní tē, ... mí mā, ... ĩ gā

à á sè [ń tē]

‘he/she said it to me’

ĩ stays H when postposition raises to H-toned before a nonhigh particle like interrogative rá

à á sè [ń té] rà

‘did he/she say it to me?’

b) behave tonally like H-toned words:

require L-toned 3Sg à, 3Pl yè which otherwise would polarize to a nonhigh tone

à á sè [à tē]

‘he/she said it to him/her’

à á sè [yè tē]

‘he/she said it to them’

trigger drop of ...LH word to ...LL

à á sè [yátì**m**à tē]

‘he/she said it to an orphan’ (yátì**m**á)

à ĩ kòrì [málì**f**à gā]

‘he/she hit me with a rifle’ (málì**f**á)

take H-toned form (dative té only) if immediately following prequotative wō

ā wō [yè **té**], ...

‘he/she said to them, ...’