

Using root shape to choose among prefixes in Xhosa

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Introduction

- Bantu languages are famous their complex noun class systems
- Q: How do speakers learn noun class membership?
- Q: How do speakers choose among noun class prefix allomorphs?

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Xhosa [||hɔsa]

- Bantu (Nguni)
- South Africa's Eastern Cape and surroundings
- Approximately 8.2 million speakers



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Noun classes in Xhosa

Singular	Plural	Class	Gloss
um-nt'u	aɓa-nt'u	1/2	person
u-mama	oo-mama	1a/2a	mama
um-lambo	imi-lambo	3/4	river
i-gama	ama-gama	5/6	name
isi-ca	izi-ca	7/8	dish
i-tjk'omo	ii-tjk'omo	9/10	cow
ulu-su		11	stomach

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Noun class membership and root phonotactics in Xhosa

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Homophonous prefixes

- With long (2+ syllable) nouns, classes 5 and 9 can both be [i-]:

i-k ^h aya	ama-k ^h aya	5/6	'home'
i-gama	ama-gama	5/6	'name'
i-moto	ii-moto	9/10	'car'
i-ŋk'omo	ii-ŋk'omo	9/10	'cow'

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Disambiguating classes 5 and 9

- Short (1 syllable) nouns:

ili-fu	ama-fu	5/6	'cloud'
ili-ce	ama-ce	5/6	'stone'
i-ndʒa	izi-ndʒa	9/10	'dog'
i-nt'o	izi-nt'o	9/10	'thing'

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The history of classes 5 and 9

- Class 5: *li > i(li)
- Class 9: *ni > i(n) (Doke 1954)
- Class 9 nouns often retain the nasal:
 - i-ndʒa 'dog', i-ŋk'omo 'cow', etc
 - But not all words have the nasal in the prefix:
 - i-moto 'car'
 - i-cuwa 'salt'
 - i-!hiliika 'traditional honey beer'

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Post-nasal alternations

- When the class 9 adjectival prefix (en-) is added to roots:
 - de-aspiration (-k^hulu ‘big’ > en-k’ulu ‘cl.9-big’)
 - hardening (-t^e ‘good’ > en-tt^e ‘cl.9-good’)
- This doesn’t happen with class 5
 - ∴ unaspirated and ‘hard’ initial Cs may signal class 9

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Historical change leads to synchronic phonotactics

- *-k^haja ‘home’
 - i-ŋ-k’aja → *i-kaja
 - i-li-k^haja → i-k^haja (5)

~~If -k^haja takes the class 9 prefix with a nasal, deaspiration occurs and the modern version surfaces as -kaja.~~

If -k^haja takes the class 5 prefix with no nasal, deaspiration doesn’t occur and the modern version surfaces as -k^haja

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Historical change leads to synchronic phonotactics

If -komo takes the class 9 prefix with a nasal, historical aspiration fails to apply and the modern version surfaces as -komo

~~If -komo takes the class 5 prefix with no nasal, historical aspiration applies and the modern version surfaces as -k^homo~~

- *-komo ‘cow’
 - i-ŋ-k’omo → i-ŋk’omo (9)
 - i-li-k^homo → *i-k^homo

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Historical change leads to synchronic phonotactics

- Class 9 nouns historically lost initial aspirated and non-hardened Cs
- Class 5 nouns didn’t go through this process and so may surface with aspirated and non-hardened Cs

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The prediction

- Ambiguous i-C₁VC₂V nouns:
 - If C₁ is a sound that would *result from* a post-nasal consonant change (i.e. unaspirated or hard), it's likely to be class 9
 - If C₁ is a sound that would *undergo* a post-nasal consonant change (i.e. aspirated or non-hard), it's likely to be class 5

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Testing the prediction

- Wug task
 - Nonce items don't have any semantic clues to noun class



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Experiment 1

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Stimuli

- 20 nonce nouns
 - 10 with shape i-CV (short)
 - 10 with shape i-CVCV (long)
- First C is either:
 - An undergoer of post-nasal changes, or
 - A result of post-nasal changes
 - Five of each, for each noun shape (=20 total)

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Method: on each trial...

singular (isinye)		plural (isininzi)
ikhelu	→	_____

- Shown a singular nonce noun
- Speakers read the singular form, then produced a plural form

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Method: expectations

- If C1 is a post-nasal change *undergoer* (fricative, aspirate, implosive, /l/), speakers should treat the word as class 5/6 and give plural forms with ama-
- If C1 is the *result* of a post-nasal change (voiced, unaspirated, nasal), speakers should treat the word as class 9 and give plural forms with ii(N)- or izi(N)-

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Method

- Stimuli presented on a laptop in random order
- Participants saw 3 real-noun sg/pl examples in the instructions, then did 14 practice items

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Participants

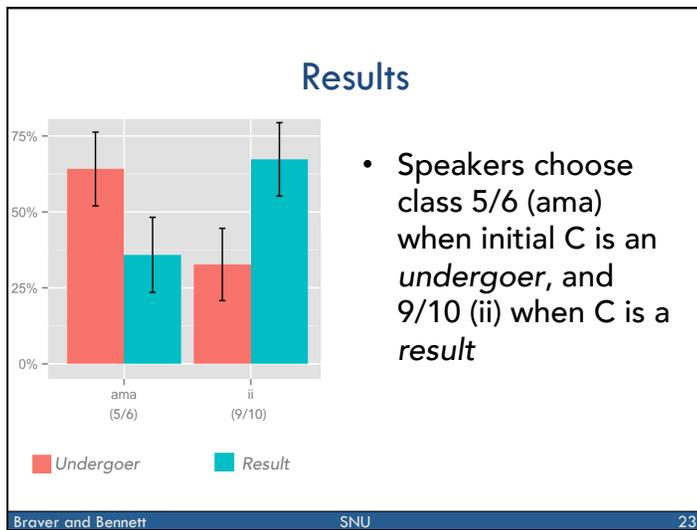
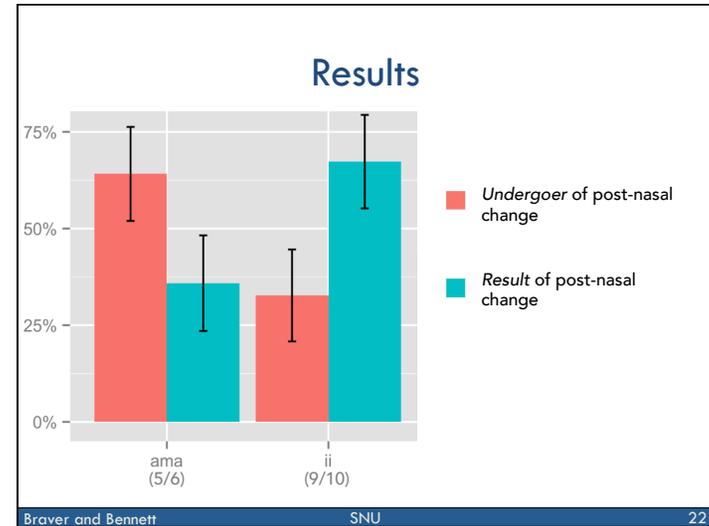
- 10 native speakers of isiXhosa
 - 5 male, 5 female
 - Age
 - Range: 21–42
 - Mean: 26
 - Other languages
 - English (≈all)
 - Afrikaans (2)
 - Zulu (2)
 - Sotho (2)



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Interim Summary and Discussion

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Summary

- Speakers have intuitions about nonce words' noun class membership
- The status of initial consonants as *results* or *undergoers* of post-nasal changes influences speakers' decisions
 - *Undergoers* are likely to be class 5/6, while *results* are likely to be class 9/10

Discussion

- Synchronic phonotactics can come from historical patterns
- Speakers make use of phonotactic clues in determining noun class
- Noun classes aren't simply semantic or arbitrary—phonology plays a role

Length-based allomorphy in Xhosa noun class prefixes

Background

- Xhosa noun class prefixes alternate based on the length of the following root
- Are these alternations synchronically productive, or just the vestiges of historical change?
- We argue that these alternations are part of speakers' synchronic grammars

Length-based allomorphy in class 10

- Class 10:
 - izi(N)- before 1-syllable roots
 - ii(N)- elsewhere

Singular (9)	Plural (10)	Gloss
in- <u>t'o</u>	izin- <u>t'o</u>	'thing(s)'
in- <u>dʒu</u>	izin- <u>dʒu</u>	'house(s)'
in- <u>dʒela</u>	iin- <u>dʒela</u>	'road(s)'

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Length-based allomorphy in class 5

- Class 5:
 - ili- before 1-syllable roots
 - i- elsewhere

Singular (5)	Plural (6)	Gloss
ili- <u>fu</u>	ama- <u>fu</u>	'cloud(s)'
ili- <u>ce</u>	ama- <u>ce</u>	'stone(s)'
i- ep ^h e	ama- ep ^h e	'spoon(s)'

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Length-based allomorphy in class 11

- Class 11:
 - ulu- before 1-syllable roots
 - u- elsewhere

Singular (11)	Plural	Gloss
ulu- <u>vo</u>	izim- <u>vo</u>	'opinion(s)'
ulu- <u>su</u>	izin- <u>ts'u</u>	'skin(s)'
u- <u>p^hondo</u>	iim- <u>p^hondo</u>	'horn(s)'

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Possible representations

- Remnant of a historical process; only in the lexicon (learned for each word)
- Synchronic phonological pattern; active in the grammar (learned as a rule)

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Possible representations

- a. Remnant of a historical process; only in the lexicon (learned for each word)
 - ↳ Speakers *shouldn't* apply the pattern to novel words or nonce items
- b. Synchronic phonological pattern; active in the grammar (learned as a rule)
 - ↳ Speakers *should* apply the pattern to novel words or nonce items

Experiment 2

Experiment design

- Wug task (Berko 1958)
 - Nonce items aren't stored lexically, so any alternation must be a synchronic pattern
 - Singular ↔ Plural
- Block 1: ii(n) ~ izi(n) (class 10 plurals)
- Block 2: i- ~ ili- (class 5 singulars)



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Block 1 (class 9/sg. → 10/pl.): Stimuli

- Singular class 9 → plural class 10
 - 10 monosyllabic roots
 - 10 disyllabic roots
- 20 filler/distractor items (part of a separate experiment)
 - 10 monosyllabic, 10 disyllabic

Block 1: Task

- Block 1 (9/sg. → 10/pl.)
 - On each trial, speakers see a singular nonce noun with the class 9 prefix i(N)-
 - Speakers produce the plural of that nonce noun, with one of the two class 10 allomorphs, izi(N)- or ii(N)-

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Block 1 (9/sg. → 10/pl.): Examples

- into → izint'o or iint'o
- indlu → izindlɔ or iindlɔ
- indlela → izindlela or iindlela
- intombi → izint'ombi or iint'ombi

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Block 2 (class 6/pl. → 5/sg.): Stimuli

- Plural class 6 → singular class 5
 - 10 monosyllabic roots
 - 10 disyllabic roots
 - distinct from block 1
- 20 filler/distractor items (part of a separate experiment)
 - 10 monosyllabic, 10 disyllabic
 - distinct from block 1

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Block 2: Task

- Block 2 (6/pl. → 5/sg.)
 - On each trial, speakers see a plural nonce noun with the class 6 prefix ama-
 - Speakers produce the singular of that nonce noun, with one of the two class 5 allomorphs, ili- or i-

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Block 2 (6/pl. → 5/sg.): Examples

- amafu → ilifu or ifu
- amace → ilice or ice
- amacephe → ili|ep^he or i|ep^he
- amadada → ilidada or idada

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Participants

- The same 10 native speakers of isiXhosa
 - 5 male, 5 female
 - Age
 - Range: 21–42
 - Mean: 26
 - Other languages
 - English (≈all)
 - Afrikaans (2)
 - Zulu (2)
 - Sotho (2)



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Data capture

- Stimuli presented on a laptop in random order
- Participants saw 3 real-noun sg/pl examples in the instructions, then did 14 practice items
- Audio recorded, responses coded for class prefix added

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Results

- In both blocks, speakers' knowledge of length-based prefix alternations extends to novel words

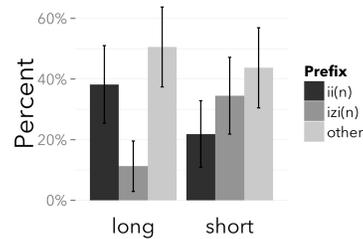
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Results: Block 1 (9/sg. → 10/pl.)

- Speakers were more likely to use izi(N)- with short roots and ii(N) with long roots



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The “other” category

- Real class prefixes, but not izi(n)- or ii(n)-
- Most common: ama- (class 6 pl.)
- Two likely reasons for ama- responses
 - i-CVCV forms may be ambiguous between class 5 i(li)- and class 9 i(n)-
 - Some common nouns in class 9 have class 6 plurals (a 9/sg.~6/pl. paradigm exists)
 - ex: in-doda → ama-doda ‘man’ / ‘men’

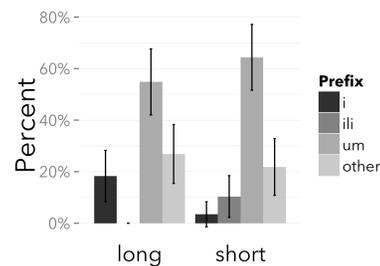
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Results: Block 2 (6/pl. → 5/sg.)

- Speakers were more likely to use ili- with short roots and i- with long roots



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um-

- “Other”: responses other than i- and ili-
- Most common responses:
 - um- (class 1 or 3)
 - u- (class 1a or 11)
- A likely explanation for um-s:
 - Most clan names and other ethnonyms follow an irregular 1/sg. → 6/pl. paradigm
 - ex: um-Xhosa → ama-Xhosa ‘Xhosa person/people’

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Interim summary

Summary

- Xhosa speakers use root length to decide between class prefix allomorphs
- This alternation is represented in speakers' synchronic grammars

Summary

- Length-based alternations are not just a historical vestige
 - Speakers have some linguistic awareness of length as the basis for the allomorphy
 - They can extend that knowledge to the treatment of novel words; it's not lexicalized
- Consistent with other phonological evidence for bisyllabic minimal stem

Conclusion

Conclusion

- Speakers demonstrate multiple levels of awareness of phonotactic patterns across root-prefix combinations
 - Segmental co-occurrence patterns: nasality, aspiration
 - Metrical structure: length, minimality
- Laboratory phonology methods reveal new insights in unders