## **ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IPA**

# Nara

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Nara is a Nilo-Saharan language spoken by some 41,000 people to the north-west of Barentu in northern Eritrea. It is now regarded as constituting a one-language branch of the East Sudanic family (Bender 1989: 20; though see Ehret 1989: 49) but formerly it had been treated as an isolate within the phylum. The fullest description of the language in existence is that of Reinisch (1874) though in that work, the language name is given as 'Barea', which is an unfortunate choice since it is the word for 'slave' in a number of Ethiopian Semitic languages; Nara is the term used by the speech community for referring to their language as well as to themselves. Four distinct dialects need to be recognized within Nara, namely: Higir, Mogorayeb, Koyta and Saantoorta.

A short sketch of Nara (Thompson 1976) established that the language had phonemic length both for consonants and vowels and that it was a tone language, though very little was said on the latter subject. Hayward (2000) analyses pitch in Nara in terms of two tones, though he draws attention to the complex tone sequences that may occur on contiguous moras within syllables as well as to some quite drastic patterns of tonal perturbation that occur within phrases.

Until 1993 Nara remained unwritten but since that time, language development has been taking place under the impetus of the language policy of the government of Eritrea. It seems that the now-emerging standard language is based mainly on the Higir dialect. Abushush Dawd, who is the principal person concerned with the development of Nara, is a 31-year-old male speaker of the Higir dialect, and his speech is the variety recorded and described here.

#### Tone

Nara is a tone language. The tone-bearing unit is the mora and, in addition to vowels, postvocalic glides and sonorant consonants also carry tone. Tones are associated independently with each mora of a long vowel. Monomoraic (short open) syllables carry either higher or lower relatively level pitch, and these are interpreted as high (H) and low (L) tones, respectively; e.g. /nì.hì/ 'tusk', /tà.wó/ 'form', /tú.sá/ 'ears', /kú.tì/ 'bark (of a tree)'. Bimoraic (CVV and CVC) syllables have an additional two pitch patterns, viz. falling and rising contours, while trimoraic (CVVC) syllables may have any of the preceding together with one further pattern, namely, a rising-falling contour, e.g. BIMORAIC SYLLABLES: /wáá.rì 'egg', /táŕ.bí/ 'roots', /gòò/ 'frog', /càn.cà.láà/ 'bamboo', /sùḿ/ 'grass', /tèé/ 'that', /súm̃/ 'poison', /è.dóò/ 'prayer-mat made from hide'; TRIMORAIC SYLLABLES: /hóóĺ.kí/ 'soldier ant', /kààŋ.ŋì/ 'termite', /kéèr/ 'thorn', /hàám/ 'kudu', /fàár.dáà/ 'branch', /jàán/ 'Shout!', /còón/ 'four'. These contours are straightforwardly interpretable as sequences of the H and L tones. A further possible pattern that might be expected, viz. falling-rising, is ruled out by a constraint to be described shortly, which prohibits any occurrence of high tones on non-contiguous tone-bearing units within a phonological phrase (cf. Hayward 2000). Logically possible contrasts in trimoraic syllables between HHL and HLL, and between LLH and LHH sequences do not occur, but since the sharpest change in the direction of the pitch seems to occur always on the second vowel mora, such falling and rising contours are regarded as HLL and LHH tone : mora associations.

In CVC syllables where the closing consonant is an obstruent, falling or rising contours may be heard on the preceding short vowel. This phenomenon is analysed as the way in which tones assigned to the second (obstruent) mora of the syllable receive their phonetic realisation. Such an interpretation makes it unnecessary to recognise distinct falling and rising tones in the phonology of Nara; e.g. /bûk/ 'dove', /lât/ 'See!', /kăt.tì/ 'circumcision', /àdăb/ 'discipline'.

Nara frequently – though not exclusively – shows head-final syntax, and when this order occurs, the overall tone pattern of a phonological phrase is sometimes different from what would be expected in terms of combining the tone patterns of the component words of that phrase. In all such cases, what we observe is that the right-hand constituent (i.e. the syntactic head word) appears without an expected H. For example, NPs in which an expected H tone is not realised on the head always consist of words having lexical tone patterns that, if combined within a (phonological) phrase, would create a contour containing two non-contiguous H tones, e.g.:

H + LH	gířbá hùbùr
	colour of a mongoose (cf. /gir bá/ 'mongoose', /hubúr/ 'colour')
H + LHL	kúú bàttèèg
	the man's melon (cf. /kúú/ 'man', /bàttéèg/ 'melon')
LH + LH	àbbàá tòòkkù
	father's wife (cf. /abbaa/ 'father', /tookkú/ 'wife')
HL+LHL	náamba asar
	footprint of a calf (cf. /náamba/ 'calf', /asár/ 'footprint')
	H+LH H+LHL LH+LH HL+LHL

If, however, the combination of tone patterns on the constituent words involved does not create such a contour, H tone is not dropped on the head, nor does any other tonal change take place, e.g.:

a.	HL+L	wiini nòò
		eye of fly (cf. /wiini/ 'fly', /nòò/ 'eye')
b.	L + LH	ngòò wòl
		our house (cf. /ngoo/ 'our', /wol/ 'house')
c.	LH + H	kàmbèré káló
		camel's food (cf. /kàmbèré/ 'camel', /káló/ 'food')

The examples happen to be possessive phrases, but the phenomenon under discussion is certainly not confined to this type of construction. (This topic is pursued more fully in Hayward 2000.) It is not reasonable to analyse the variation shown here as 'grammatical' as, for example, the morphosyntactic expression of the genitive relationship. Rather, we suggest, this tonal perturbation is motivated by a phonological constraint that disallows two non-contiguous High tones within a phonological phrase.

Thompson (1976: 484) makes certain tentative comments about stress in Nara, but we find no convincing evidence for this additional prosodic feature, and the examples adduced by Thompson seem to lend themselves to a simpler analysis in terms of length (gemination) of the following consonant.

	Bilabial	Labio- dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labialised Velar	Glottal
Plosive & Affricate	b		t d		tç dz		k g	k™ gʷ	
Prenasalised Plosive	mb		nd				ηg	ng̃₩	
Nasal	m		n			ր	ŋ		
Fricative		f		s (z)	Ç				h
Tap/Trill				r					
Approximant	W					j			
Lateral Approximant				1					

## Consonants

Most of the above consonants are contrastive in onset position, as in the following words:

búr̀	'Pick up!'	mbúŕ	'noise of car' (onamatopeia)
tàÌ	'Give birth!'	dàn	'Hit!'
ndáá	'What?'		
tcèèlág	'mud'	dzéèl	'ostrich'
çééŕkù	'rough'		
káà	'Will you go?'	gàà	'Are they?'
k <sup>w</sup> àà	'men'	g <sup>w</sup> ààdí	'loose folds of skin on neck'
ŋgáá	'yours'	ŋg <sup>w</sup> àà	'ours'
máámÍ	'type of flower'	náá	'Who?'
лá	'I disagree' (interjection)		
fèè	'mouse'	sèè	'I will kill'
hèè	'I will give'		
lààmá	'razor'	wáárá	'eggs'
jàán	'Shout!'		

## Distributional restrictions and frequency considerations

- /ŋ/does not occur in onset position except in geminates; however, it commonly contrasts with other nasals in coda position, e.g. /bùỳtò/ 'he swam', /nàmtò/ 'he caught', /fintò/ 'he stopped doing something'.
- /r/ does not occur word-initially in native Nara words, though it is extremely common both in onset and in coda position word-internally, e.g. /ààrà/ 'cows', /kàrbà/ 'birds', /ciddiŕ/ 'thatching grass'.
- 3. The four prenasalised plosives are fairly uncommon and are restricted to onset position.

- 4. The labialised velar plosives are extremely rare;  $/g^w/$  is confined to the one word cited in the above list.
- 5. /ŋ/ is very rare and, in word-initial position, confined to the item cited above and /pèpŋéé/ 'type of cat-like animal' and certain onomatopeias, e.g. /pááŵ/ 'mewing noise of cat', /pàm/ 'sound of eating'. Word-internally, where it is always geminate, /ŋ/ occurs in some anthroponyms, e.g. /gòŋ́nè/.
- 6. /z/ is confined to loanwords from Arabic and Tigre, e.g. /láázùm ~ láádùm/ 'must'; see, however, the later comment concerning intervocalic /s/.

## Conventions

- 1. As indicated by the notation employed, the post-alveolar affricates and the post-alveolar fricative are judged to be alveolo-palatal in articulation. Preceding close vowels  $/d\hat{z}/$  is generally pronounced as a voiced palatal stop, e.g. [J]ùbbàt 'cloak', [J]iib 'pocket'.
- 2. Voiceless plosives are entirely without aspiration.
- 3. Except when geminated, voiced stops are devoiced in coda position, though elsewhere they are fully voiced. When word-initial in syllables having low tone, the voiced plosives especially /b/ have a quite extended pronunciation, viz. [b.]àà 'farm'; cf. [b]ál 'Descend!'. Intervocalic /g/ is very lenis and may spirantize to [ɣ].
- 4. Intervocalic single (non-geminate) /s/s is pronounced with a good deal of voicing.
- 5. /r/ is generally pronounced as a tap, viz. [r].
- 6. Intervocalic /h/ has breathy phonation, e.g. kà[ĥ]àà[ĥ]ádnàkkinnoŋ 'when discussing', lè[ĥ]ét 'sleeping-mat'.

#### **Consonant length**

Intervocalically, the majority of consonants present contrasts based on duration. In the case of the affricates  $/\hat{tc}/$  and  $/\hat{dz}/$ , only the stop phase seems to be lengthened, viz.  $[t:\hat{c}]$ ,  $[d:\hat{z}]$ . Geminate /r/ is always a trill.

àbìn	'father'	àbbáà	'my father'
káti	'bone'	kătti	'circumcision'
àdăb	'discipline'	àddùhúŕ	'afternoon'
kàtcáà	'gravel'	mitctçáàr	'hairline at sides of forehead'
bàd͡záÌ	'venereal disease'	fidzdzáàn	'coffee cup'
bákáÌ	'mule'	dókkù	'one'
sáágà	'Kill (pl.)!'	hàggìíkkà	'beautiful'
íçò	'Come!'	káccè	'I don't know'
dùmán	'ex-residence'	dàmmò	'nose'
ánin	'woman'	ànì̀nná	'women'
kàfář	'milking vessel'	kóffèègù	'deaf'
kàsà	'fat'	kèssèĺ	'leopard'
àrá	'Let's go!'	kòrrá	'stupid'
kèèlà	'head'	kèèÌlá	'heads'
sàwà	'sieve'	dàwwici	'heat'
ájè	'I will do'	àÌliìjàḿ	'Let's go'

Not all consonants show length contrasts. The following two observations attempt to account for this in a systematic way.

- 1. The prenasalised and labialised plosives lack geminate congeners. This could be said to follow from the fact that consonants that have been found to occur only in onset position could not be expected to exhibit length, as an intervocalic geminate occurrence would simultaneously place them in coda position too.
- 2. As noted earlier, intervocalic /n/ and /n/ always have extended phonetic duration and are preceded by closed syllable allophones (see below), so that even though there is an absence of contrast with short/single /n/ or /n/, it is proper to treat these segments as geminate.

## **Vowels**



## Conventions

The vowels written in parentheses in the chart, viz. (I),  $(\varepsilon)$ ,  $(\Lambda) \sim (\Im)$ ,  $(\Im)$ ,  $(\upsilon)$ , are closed syllable realizations of /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /e/, /u/, respectively, e.g.

Closed syllable		Open syllabl	e
fìŋ̀.ŋì	'again'	tì.bá	'they'
kès.sèĺ	'leopard'	á.jè	'I will do'
ŋgìf.ni.tò	'he blew'	kèè.là	'head'
òf.kò	'hot'	tèès.kò	'they decided'
gùb.lăt	'north'	dók.kù	'one'

One further observation is that words analysed as being vowel-initial (and written as such in this description) actually begin with glottal stops; this is especially clear in utterance-initial position or when the preceding word ends in a vowel.

#### **Vowel length**

All vowels have phonologically long congeners. The long vowels do not show the open/closed syllable variation in their realization, observed for the short vowels.

i : ii	çiti	'louse'	çiittá	'finger-nails'
e : ee	tèr	'Hit!'	téèr	'Dismiss him!'
a : aa	sàj	'spring'(season)	sááj	'Shall I kill?'
0:00	kólè	'weaver (bird)'	kóólè	'I will ascend'
u : uu	kù'n	'Weave!'	kúù'n	'Call!'

Two tauto-syllabic vocoid sequences occur; these show a fall in prominence and are interpreted as /aj/ and /aw/, respectively, e.g. /saj/ 'spring (season)', /saw/.

## Transcription of 'The North Wind and the Sun'

The transcription is basically a broad phonemic one although certain phonetic features are also included in a systematic way, as described in the sections above on consonant and vowel pronunciation. The brief pause and readjustment to a higher pitch level (consequent on the effect of downdrift) which occur at the beginning of a new sentence is indicated with a hyphen. Certain high pitches that follow the final tone of a phrase-final word are interpreted as high boundary tones functioning to indicate that the utterance is not yet complete. These are indicated by an acute accent located above the space at the end of the word (there are two such cases).

kòòs dàà gùblət cimáàl

kòòs dókkừ kòòs dàá gòblət cìmáàl dàà téé bóórcí kàfiàafiádnàkkinnù waálnaakkò - tìbá kàfiàafiádnàkkinnön kúú dókkù Jobbat innéen wooto - tìbá kúú jìí gí náá ń téé Jobbát jìí kiliginönnáa mássin téesko - kúú tée gó téé Jobbat kiligínkù tìbée bóórkù n - keragót goblət cimaál téé dìín hilet gi ngafnito - laakiín téé cimaál bóórkù kúú kíta keenkù tée gó finni téé Jobbat dánní nammígisso - dawatí goblət cimaáltée dzaruubee fínto - téé fookee koos n nássin téé dawwici ibilláado toóto - téé tógáací túkáaj gi kúú kíta keenkù dogo ballinnin ofko ?ájéj niìto - kíta keenku ?ofko jìí láttin tì téé Jobbat killo - mánní gi goblət cimaál téé gi koos nú bóórnin íssejto

In a very careful pronunciation, /n/, the verb 'to be' in the second line in the text, is heard as a monosyllable/nu/, but in normal speech this seems to be reduced to a moraic nasal. It should be noted, however, that its tonal properties are preserved. (See also the present tense form in the predicate phrase /bóoŕkù n/ and elsewhere later in the text.)

## **Orthographic version**

(It should be noted that the recently-devised Nara orthography employs the letter  $\langle v \rangle$  to represent /ŋ/, and the digraph  $\langle sh \rangle$  to represent /c/.)

Koos daa Gublat Shimaal

Koos dokku Koos daa Gublat Shimaal daa te boorshi gi kahaahatnakkinnu waalnaakko. Tiba kahaahatnakkinnov kuu dokku jubbat inneen wooto. Tiba kuu yii gi naa nu te jubbat yii kiliginovvaa massin teesko. Kuu tee go te jubbat kiliginku tibee boorku nu. Keragot Gublat Shimaal te diiv hilat gi ngafnito. Laakiin te shimaal boorku kuu kita keenku tee go fivvi te jubbat danni nammigisso. Dawati, Gublat Shimaal te jarruubee finto. Te fookee Koos nu nassin te dawwishi ibillaado tootto. Te togaashi tukaay gi kuu kita keenku dogo ballinniv ofko ayay niito. Kita keenku ofko yii lattiv ti, te jubbat killo. Manni gi Gublat Shimaal tee gi Koos nu boorniv issayto.

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