

Hyman & Monaka (2011)

Tonal and Non-Tonal Intonation in Shekgalagari

Problem of intonation in tone languages

- How can (structural) intonational tones coexist with lexical tones?
 - Accommodation:
Lexical tones and intonational tones target distinct positions.
 - Mazahua (Otopamean, Mexico): “The pitches of all syllables which do not immediately precede word space are those of the tonemic system. The pitch of any syllable immediately preceding word space is part of the intonemic system.” (Pike 1951:101).
 - Submission:
Intonational tones override lexical tones
 - Coreguaje (Tukanoan; Colombia) Four possible H-L patterns on CVCV nouns merge in statements as L-HL and in questions as HL.
 - Avoidance:
Use of structural intonation:
 - overridden
 - completely avoided
 - Limited to features other than f0 (Shekgalagari)

H&M's main questions

- Can a language do without structural intonation?
- Can an utterance lack intonation?
- For me, these are questions that revolve around defining these concepts and whether to do so deductively or inductively, and are not theoretical issues.
- Shekgalagari does makes limited use of f0-based intonation, which does interact with lexical tones, and modeling this is challenging.

Shekgalagari tone system

- H, L (L is analyzed as unmarked (\emptyset))
- Transcription :
L tone is unmarked, H tone is marked by an acute accent (á), HL falling tone by a circumflex (â:), and the L↓L falling tone by a grave accent (à:)

Utterance medial

(4)		prefixless		prefixed	
	L-L	nama	'meat'	mu-limi	'farmer'
	L-H	nawá	'bean'	ma-rumé	'greetings'
	H-L	lóri	'lorry'	mu-núna	'man'
	H-H	nárí	'buffalo'	mu-rérí	'preacher'

Pre-pausal

(8)	input		prefixless		prefixed	
	L-L	→ L [↓] L:-L	nà:ma	'meat'	mu-lì:mi	'farmer'
	L-H		na:wá	'bean'	ma-ru:mé	'greetings'
	H-L		ló:ri	'lorry'	mu-nú:na	'man'
	H-H	→ HL:-L	nâ:ri	'buffalo'	mu-rê:ri	'preacher'

Pre-pausal lengthening (PLL)

Analysis of tones in PLL

Tone effects not seen in H-L or L-H words

- (9) a. no effect other than lengthening if the last two syllables differ in tone

L-H → L:-H : ma-rumé → ma-ru:mé ‘greetings’

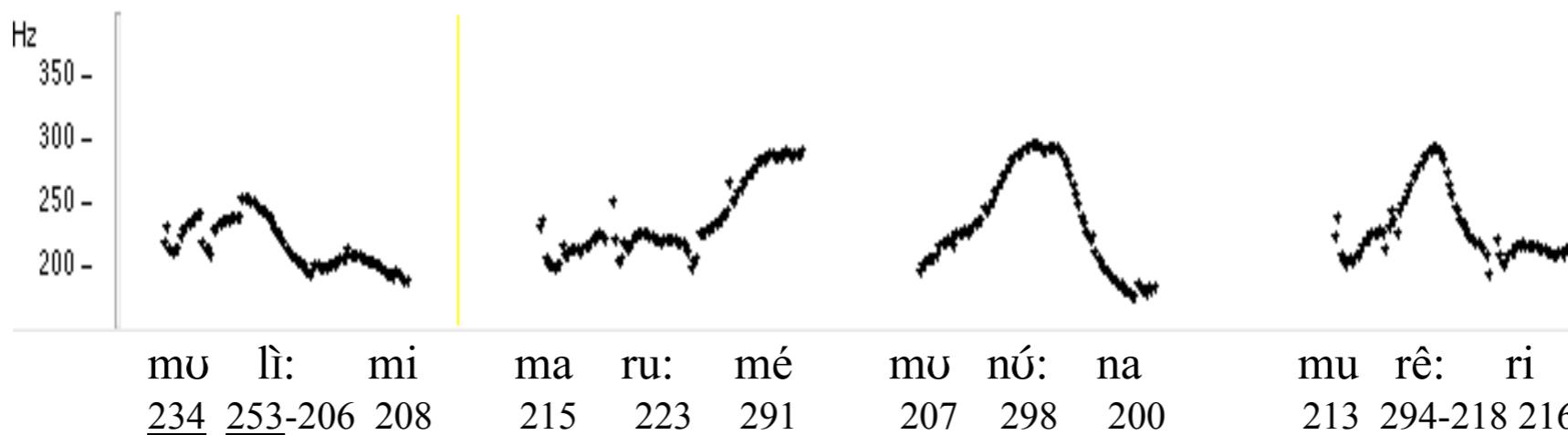
H-L → H:-L : mu-núna → mu-nú:na ‘man’

- b. pitch of the penult falls if the last two syllables have the same input tones

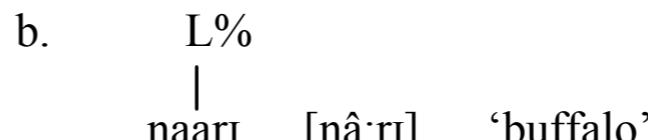
L-L → L[↓]L:-L : mu-limi → mu-lì:mi ‘farmer’

H-H → HL:-L : mu-réri → mu-rê:ri ‘preacher’

- (10) Toneless TBUs which precede [↓]L start higher than before H or HL



L% is lower than L



H-H → HL:-H → HL:-L (HL%-Ø)

Possible Analyses?

1. π -gesture centered on the penult that also triggers L% (lower than L)
 - But what about H-L and L-H words?
 - What happens to final H of H-H words?
2. π -gesture gesture gates in change of f0 attractor landscape to two attractors: falling f0 / rising f0.
Underlying tones tilt landscape in the appropriate direction (falling for H-H, L-L, H-L; rising for L-H).
 - But what happens to underlying tones?
 - What happens with tones in other contexts? Landscape chooses L or L rather than rising or falling?
 - How is the fall scaled differently for underlying L-L vs. H-H?
3. Competition between H, L is reduced in boundary conditions to allow them both to emerge?

Other points

- Penultimate lengthening at boundaries is general in Southern Bantu languages. Why do these languages do this as opposed to final lengthening?
 - development of stress system?
- Is there any “phonetic” lengthening of final syllable (lesser magnitude than penult)?
 - need actual quantitative data

Other Intonation Functions

- In Shekgalagai, only declaratives are marked by f0.
- Semantic/pragmatic markedness does not align with phonological markedness, according to H&M.

(14)	Shekgalagari	Sesotho	Ikalanga	Kinande	Ndebele	Chichewa
Declaratives	+	+	+	+	+	+
Yes-No Q	-	-	+	-	+	+
WH Q	-	-	+	-	+	+
Ideophones	-	-	-	-	+	+
Paused lists	-	+	-	+	+	+
Imperatives	-	+	+	+	+	+
Hortatives	-	+	+	+	+	+
Vocatives	-	±	+	+	+	+
Exclamatives	-	-	+	+	+	+
1σ word	-	+	+	+	+	+

Questions

No specific intonation, just block PLL

Others

(14) Shekgalagari

Declaratives	+
Yes-No Q	-
WH Q	-
Ideophones	-
Paused lists	-
Imperatives	-
Hortatives	-
Vocatives	-
Exclamatives	-

No specific intonation, just block PLL

Ideophones

Short penult and devoiced final vowel.

- b. a-rí bítṣí ‘he left in a hurry’ (*he went BITSI*)
- c. l-á-rí phátsí ‘lightening flashed’ (*it went PHATSI*)
- d. a-rí tshíkí ‘it’s cold, I’m feeling cold’ (*it went TSHIKI*)

Paused list elements

PLL suspended, but final lengthening (FL) applies

- (23) a. a-bal-a ri-nama: ... ri-nawá: ... lí ri-nâ:ri
‘he’s counting meats... beans... and buffalos’
- b. a-bón-á lu-ruli: ... malíli: ... lí mu-rî:ri
‘he sees dust... rubbish... and hair’

Intonation elements

- a. PLL : declaratives, citation forms
- b. FD: final devoicing
(no PLL) : ideophones
- c. FL: final lengthening
(no PLL) : paused lists
- d. Ø (none of the above) : yes-no questions, Wh-questions, imperatives, hortatives, vocatives, exclamatives, 1 σ words

Competition

- arises when more than one semantic element is involved
 - Q > ideophone
 - Q > List
 - ideophone > Hort, List

(27)	Yes-No, Wh-Q	>>	Ideo	>>	Imper, Hort, Voc, Excl	>>	List	>>	Decl
	Ø		FD		Ø		FL		PLL

Emphatic PLL

- (33) EMPH PLL can
- a. make WH-Qs, imperatives, and hortatives seem either like statements or more insistent
 - b. emphasize or de-emphasize the effect of such non-declarative speech acts
 - c. clarify what was said, often repeating or rewording when someone has not understood
 - d. provide some kind of emphasis, but not necessarily on the last word or its constituent
 - e. be often subtle, never obligatory, perhaps “attitudinal” in the sense of Bolinger (1978:484)

(41)	Yes-No Q	>>	Emph	>>	Wh-Q
	Ø		PLL		Ø

- (38) a. *ʃí-gy-é* ‘eat it!’ (= normal)
 b. *ʃî:-gy-ε* ‘eat it!’ (= stronger)
 c. *á ki-gy-ε kúkú* ‘let me eat the chicken!’ (= weaker)
 d. *á ki-gy-ε kû:ku* ‘let me eat the chicken’ (= stronger)
 COMP-1sg-eat-INFL chicken