

Tone or Intonation? Phenomena at the Edges

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Outline

Speakers and data

First speaker: Final raising

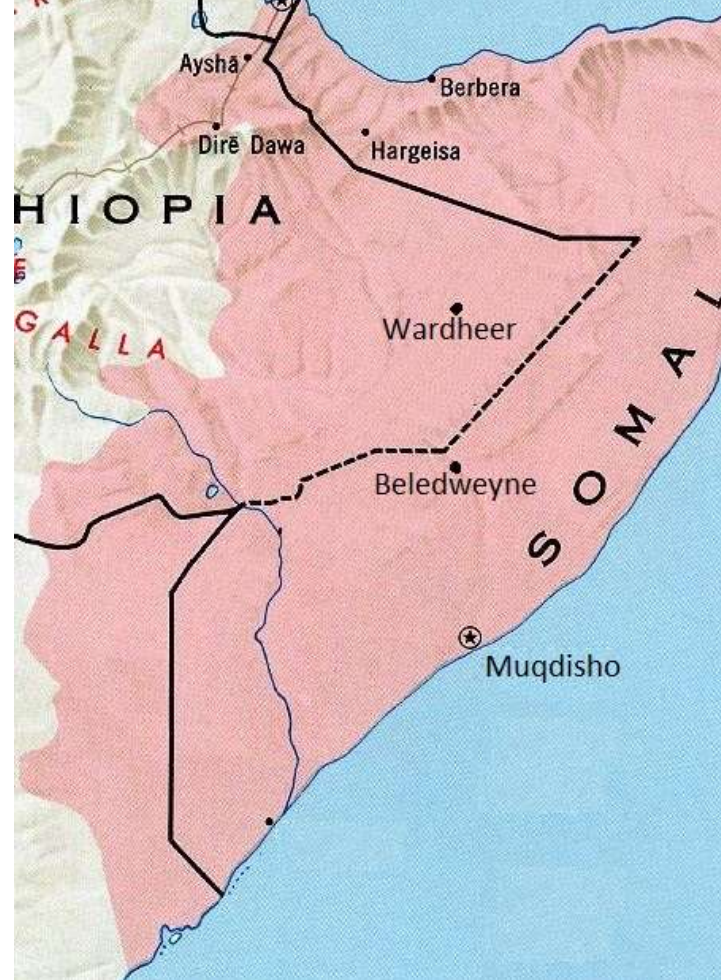
Second Speaker: Final lowering

Downstep

Open questions

Speakers

- (M) Mogadishu, 8 hours of elicitation
- (A) Mogadishu, 9 hours of elicitation
- (H) Beledweyne, 3 hours of text reading
- (J) Wardheer, half hour of elicitation
- 13 others, 15 minutes of text reading each



All have attended school in Somali in Somalia or Ethiopia.

All know Swedish and English and have studied at university level.

A, M, H have studied 30 ECTS of Somali with very good results.

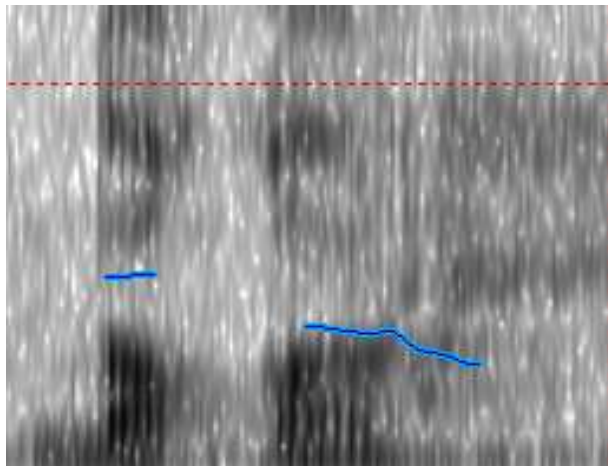
(M)

-- a strong tendency to pronounce a (very) high final pitch,

Simple words in isolation:

-- the high final pitch generally only coincides with an expected final H.

boqor - boqorro



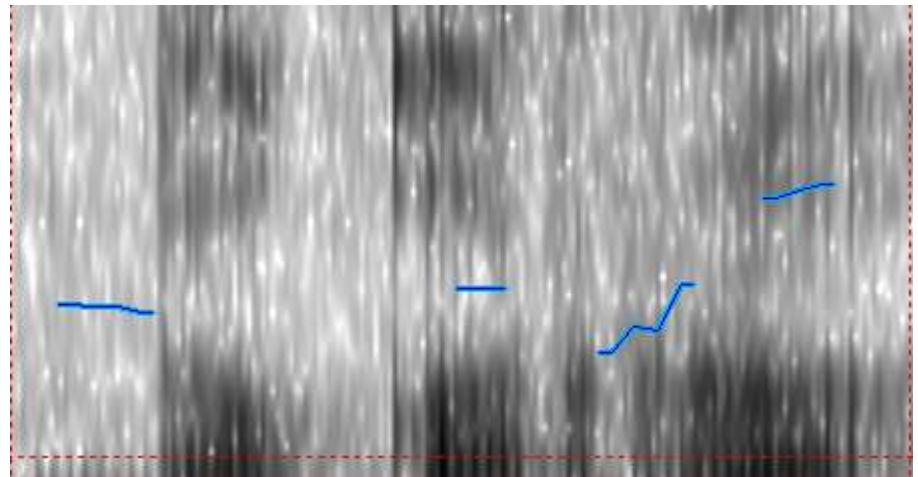
bo- qor

'king'

170

Hz

30



bo-

qor-

ro

'kings'

Phrase final H

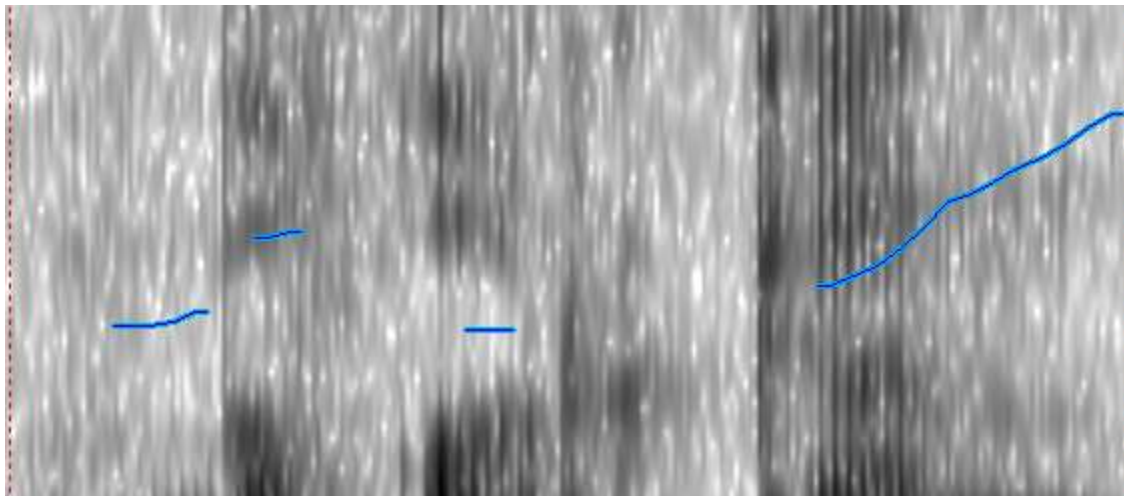
However, in complex words and phrases the picture is less straightforward.

On the one hand, expected final H's are confirmed, e.g.

- demonstratives,
- adjectives,
- genitive constructions.



Boqorkan



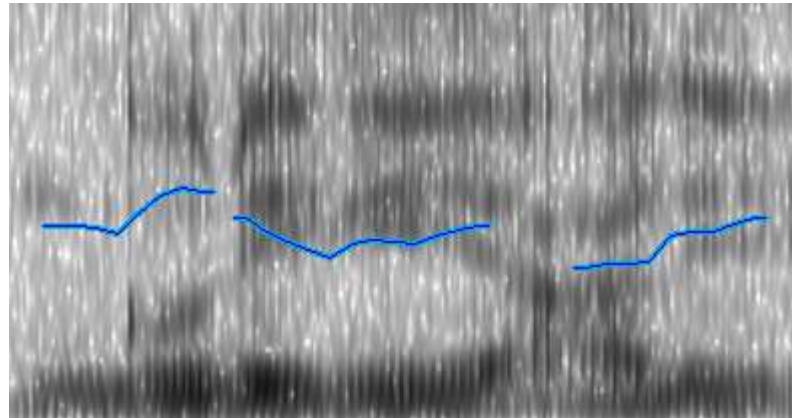
bo-

qor-

kan

‘this king’

gurigii Cali

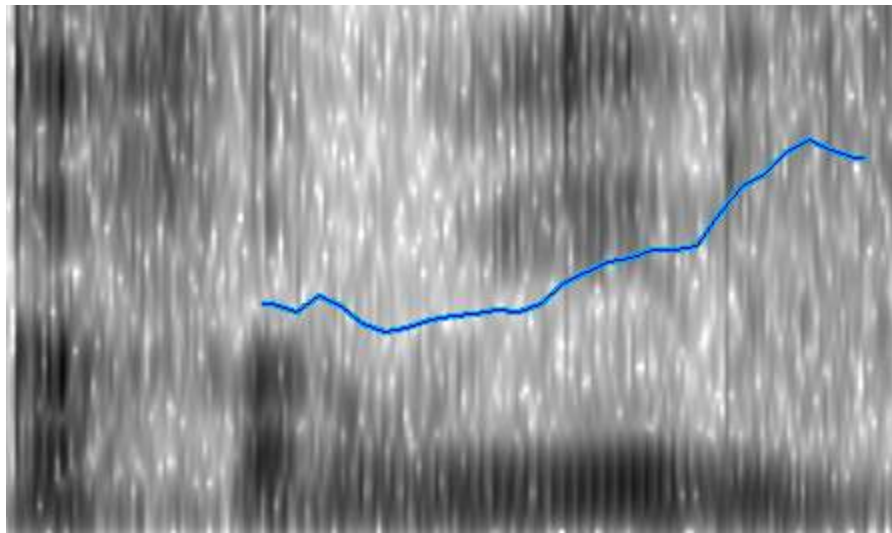


gu- ri- gii Ca- li

'Ali's house'



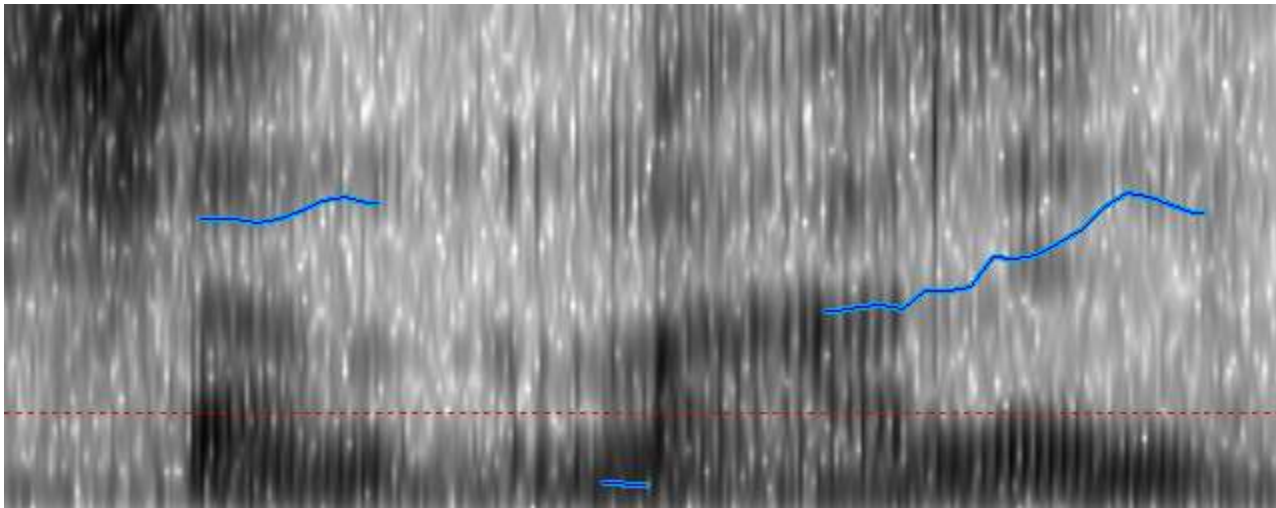
afar wiil



a- far wiil

'four boys'

shan macallin



shan

ma-

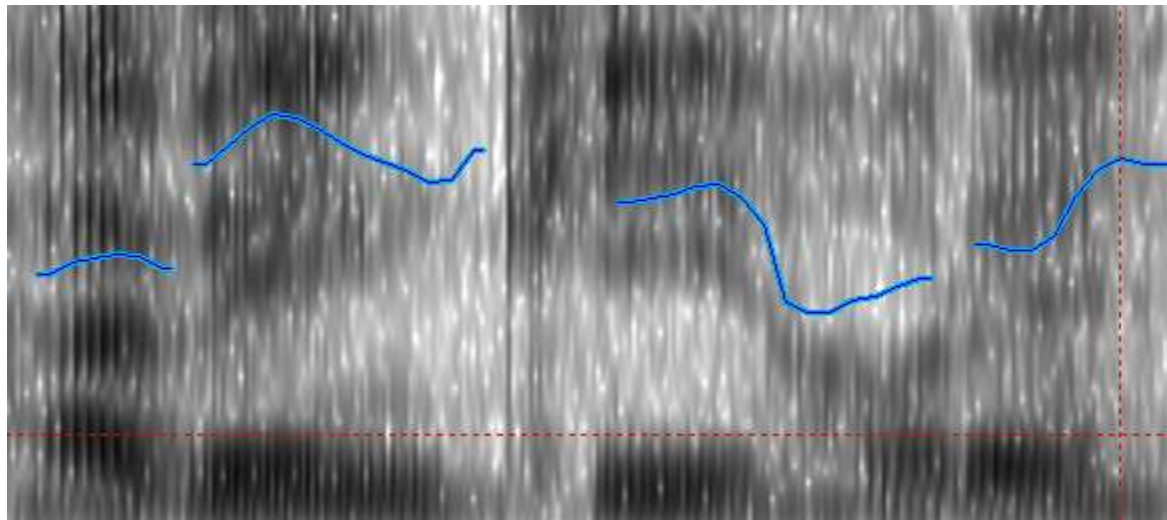
cal-

lin

'five teachers'



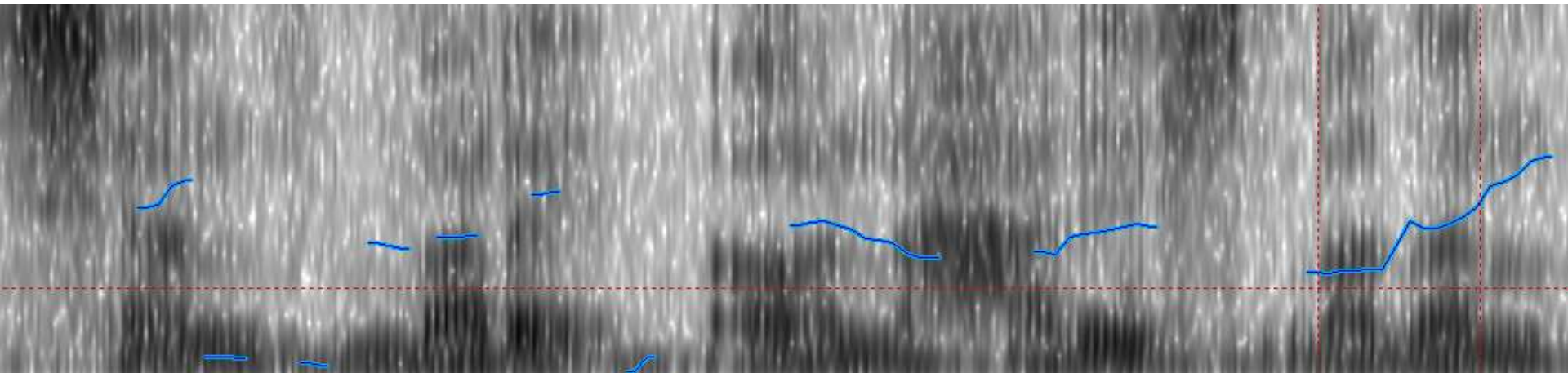
habenkii hore



ha- been- kii ho- re

'the previous night'

Shan bare oo naxariis badan



shan

ba- re

oo

naxa-

riis

ba- dan

‘five kind teachers’

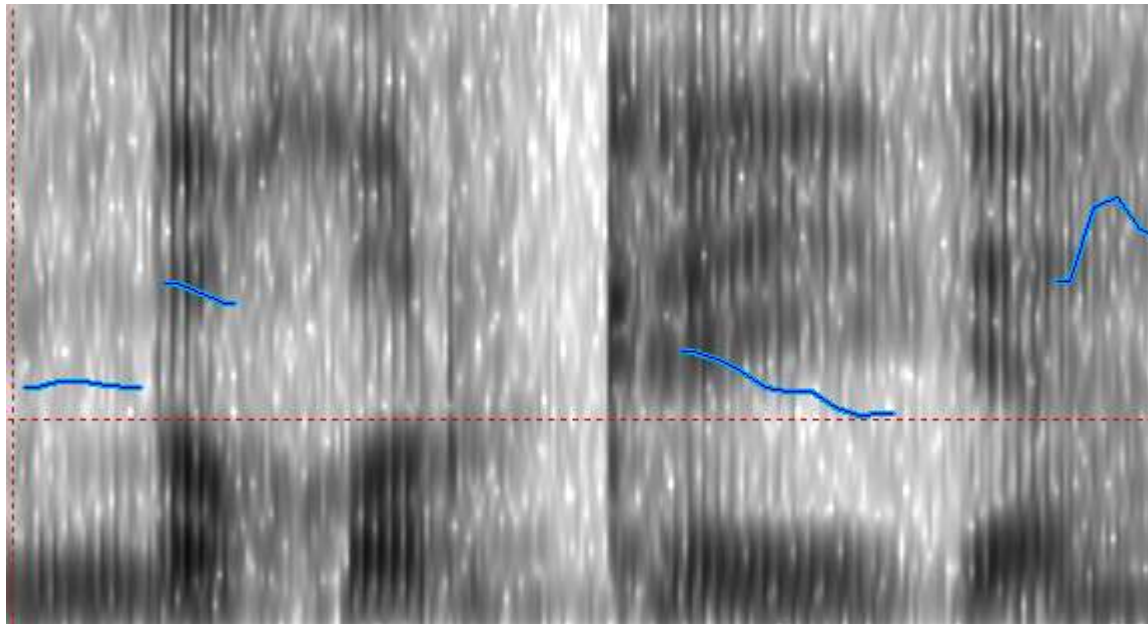
Unexpected final H

Other final H were not expected, e.g.

- definite article,
- simple verb forms.



Bokorkayga



bo-

qor-

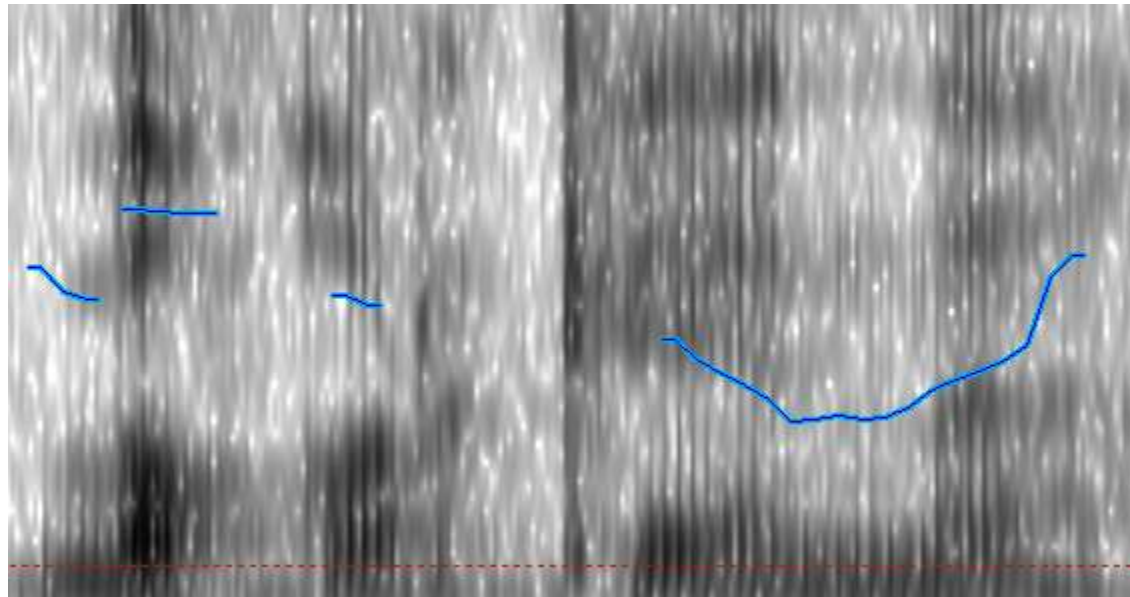
kay-

ga

'my king'



Boqorkeenna



bo-

qor-

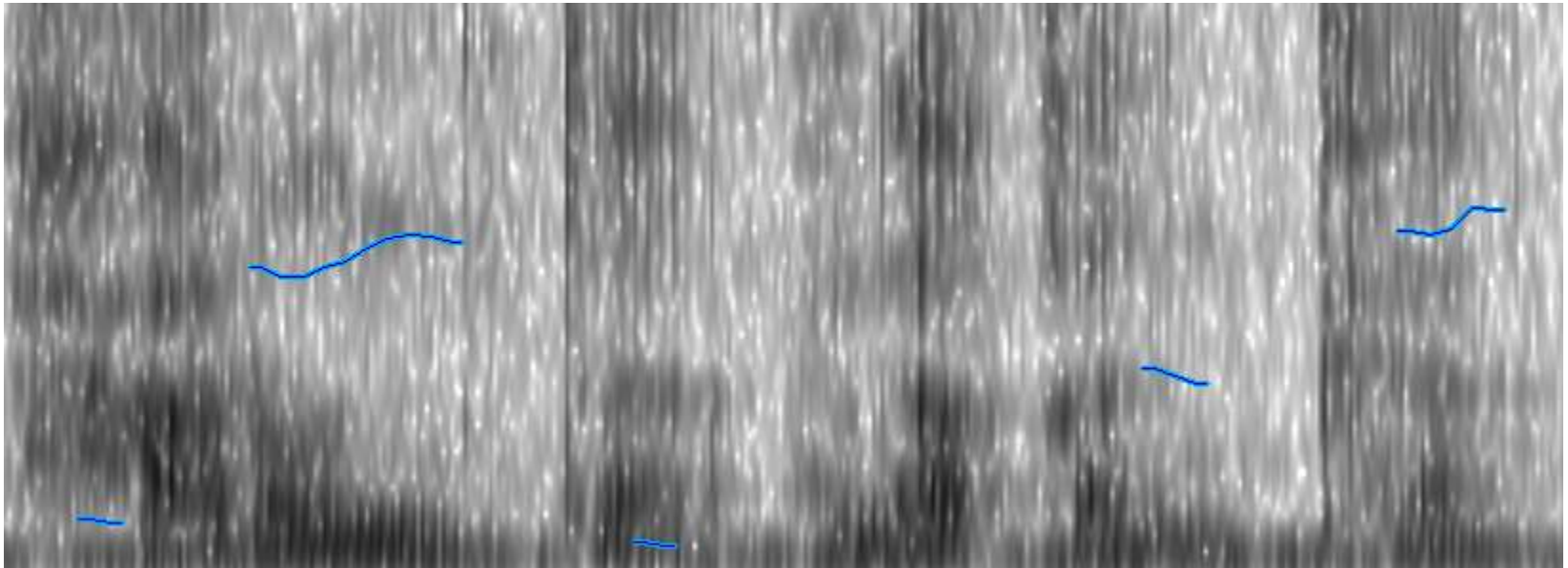
keen-

na

'our king'



xarunta dhaqanka



xa-

run-

ta

dha-

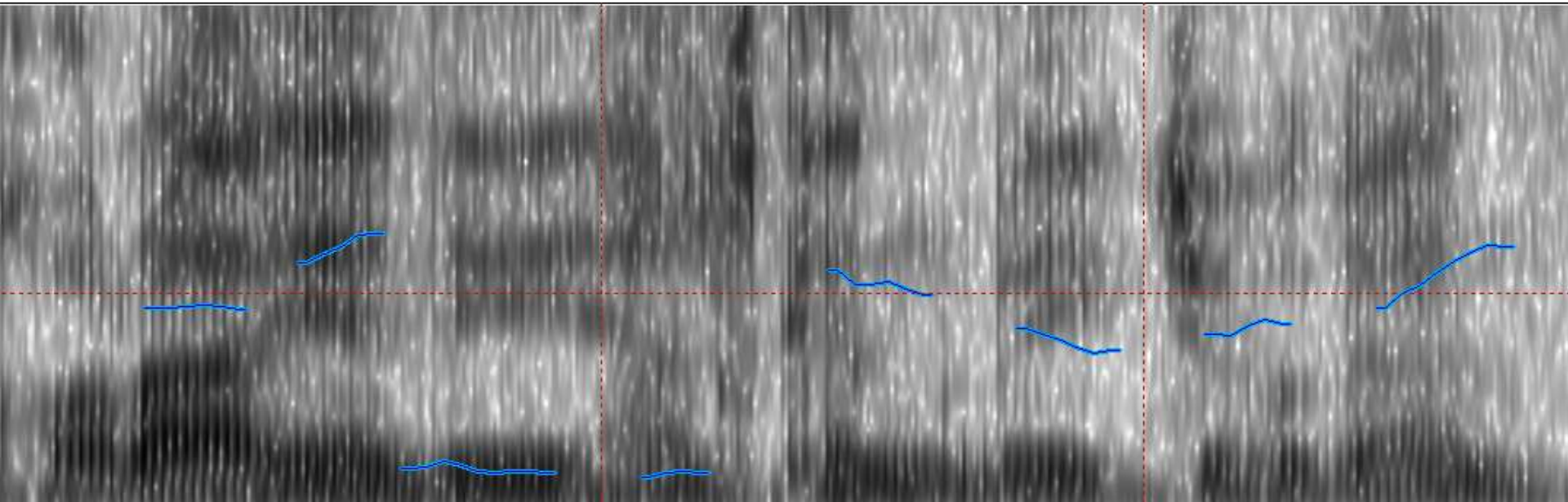
qan-

ka

‘the cultural center’



Qoraayadii halkan bay joogaan.

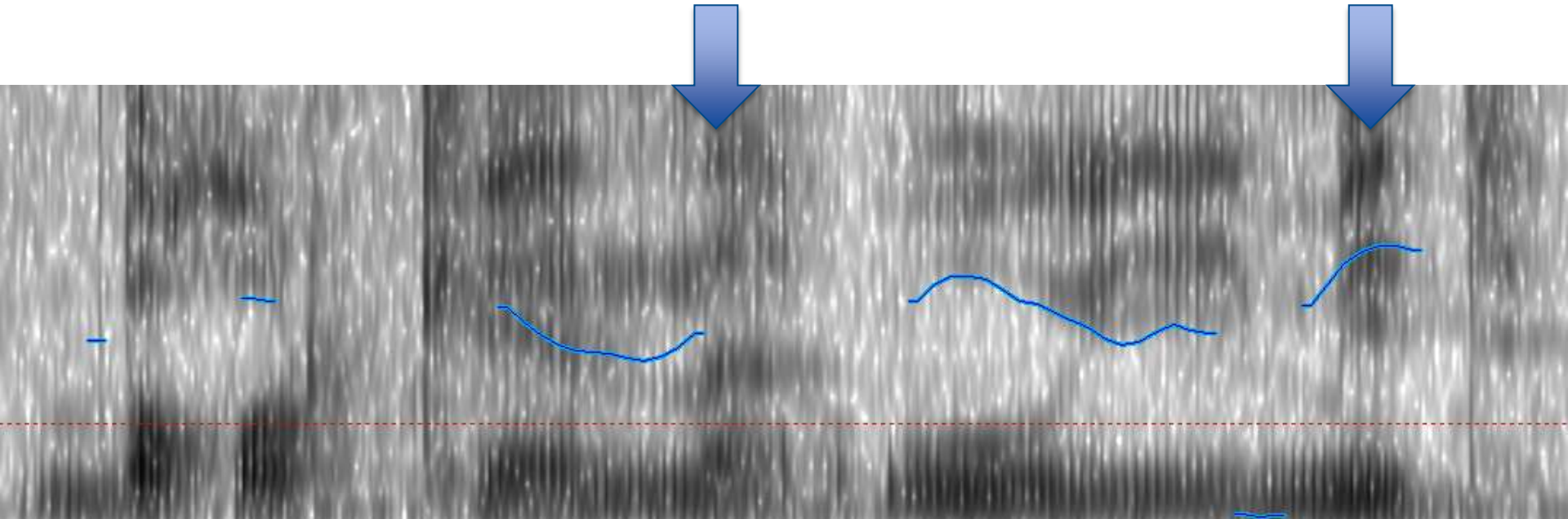


Qo- raa- ya- dii hal- kan bay joo- gaan

‘The writers are (standing) over here.’



Boqorkeenna wuu yimid.

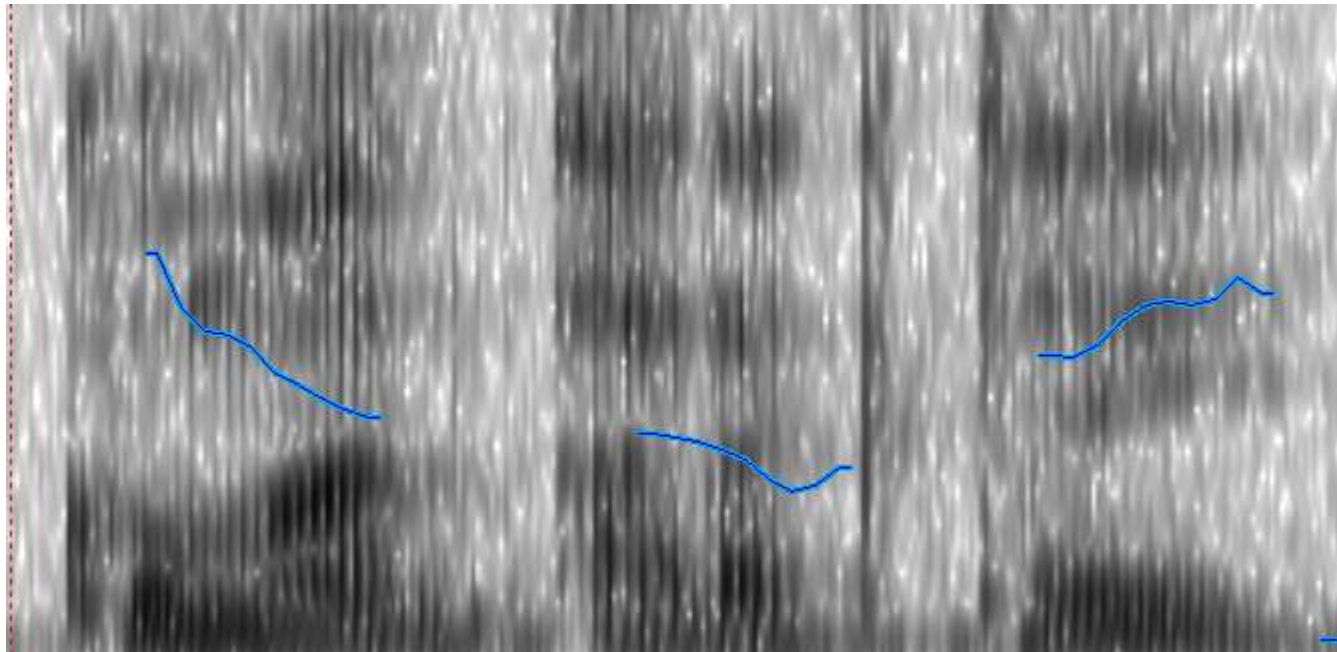


Bo- qor- keen- na wuu yi- mid.

‘Our king has arrived.’



Kumaad aragtay?



Ku- maad

a- rag-

tay?

‘Whom did you see?’

Final raising ?

(M) seems to pronounce a final high pitch at the end of most phrases. Many other speakers have very few such final H's.

What is then word tone? What is intonation?

Are these final H's rather due to intonational phrase/clause final raising than instances of (un)expected word tone?

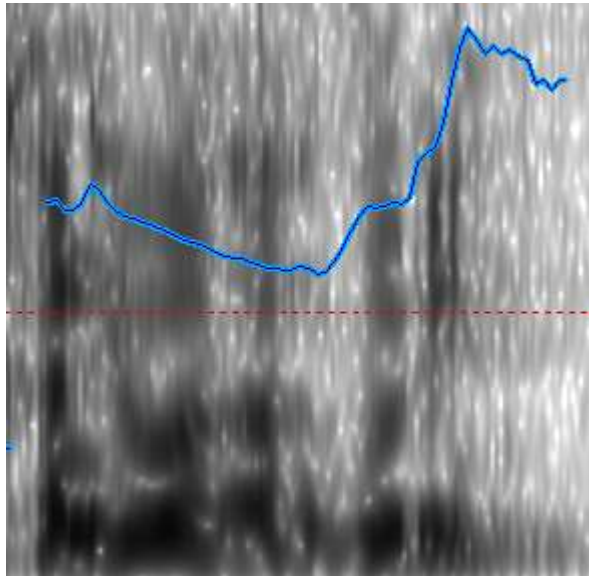
Final raising ?

It also seems that this kind of intonation often differs from word tone:
-- it goes up much higher than word tone.

But it is also sometimes similar to word tone.

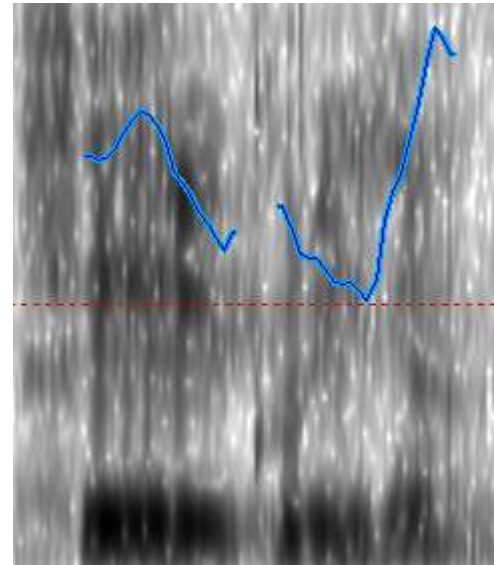
These phrase final H's might however prove to be helpful for establishing the scope of phrases.

There are other speakers with similar intonation



(T) Kani waa guri.

‘This is a house.’



Fiiri guriga.

‘Look at the house.’

Final raising ?

Is this still a quite individual style?

Or an intonational style shared by a part of the Somali speakers?

Is it then a reading style or a list pronunciation,
or is it a natural style for certain individuals?

Risk for misinterpretation?

An important general issue arises:

Is there a risk that individual researchers might have interpreted such final raising as grammatical (word) final H?

Green & Morrison (2015, 2016) posit a phrase final H in all types of complex N + N associative (genitive) phrases, also when the final noun is definite, e.g.

furáha gurigá ‘the key to the house’

We also found that pattern with (M), but not with (A), in noun phrases such as e.g.

(M) xarúnta dhaqanká ‘the cultural center’

(A) xarúnta dháqanka

Hence: Tone or intonation?

(A)

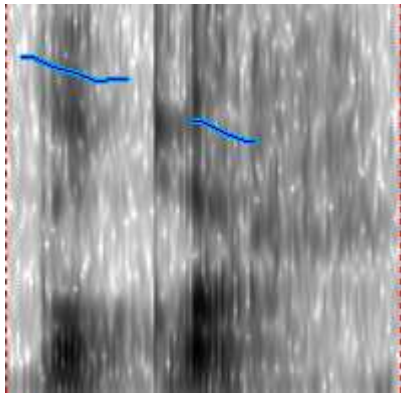
Our second speaker (A) has a very different general intonation pattern.

Phrases tend to end with rather **level or low** pitch.

He also often pronounces the final syllable(s) with creaky voice and devoicing.

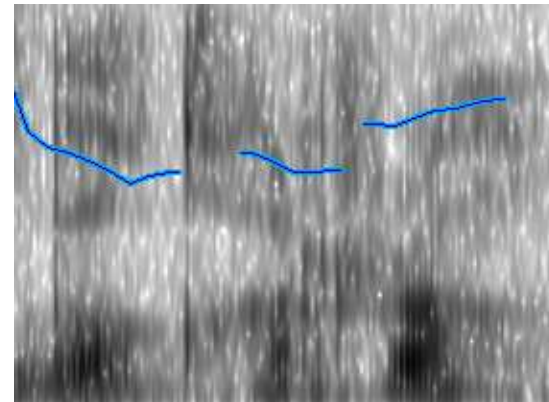
Simple words in isolation are however generally pronounced in the same way as (M).

boqor - boqorro



bo- qor

'king'



bo- qor- ro

'kings'



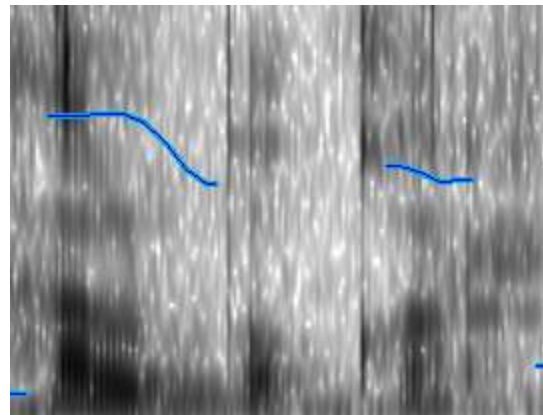
Final level pitch

In phrases which are expected to end with a H, a rather level pitch is most often realized, for example in

- adjectives
- demonstrative suffixes
- genitive constructions
- relative verb forms

Less frequently also final low pitch occurs.

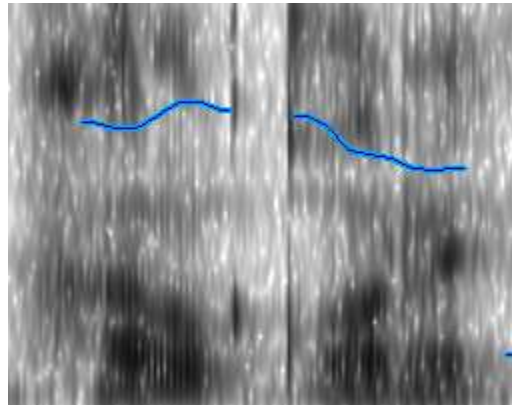
hal boqor



hal bo- qor

‘one king’

hal qore

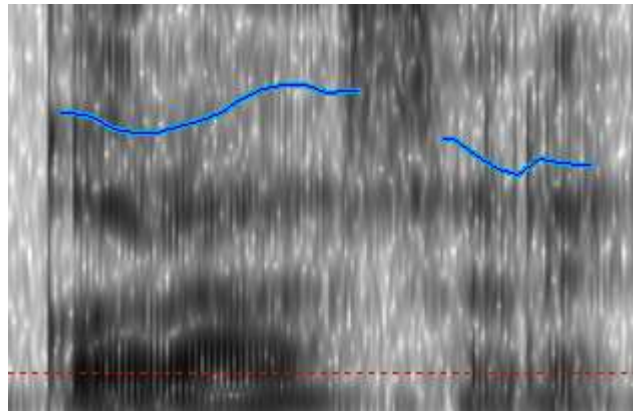


hal qo- re

‘one writer’



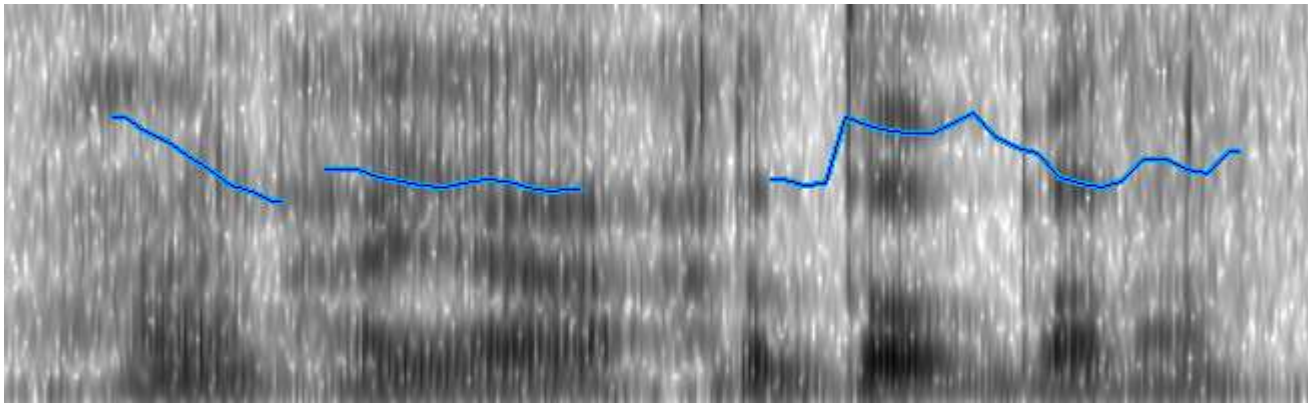
qoraa sare



qo- raa sa- re

‘an excellent writer’

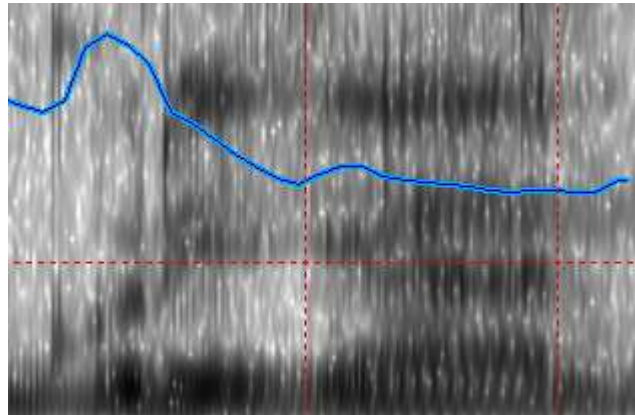
Waxaan hayaa ardo badan.



Waxaan ha- yaa ar- do badan.

‘I have many students.’

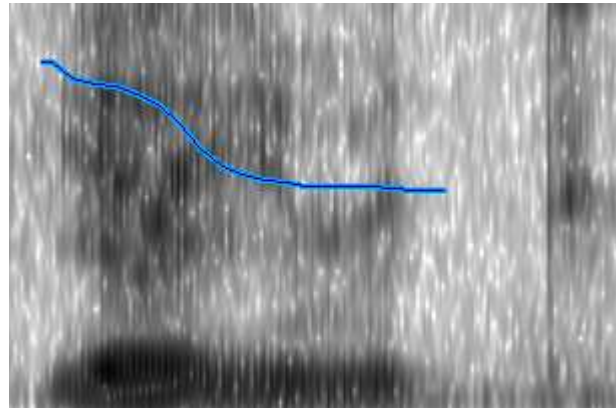
gurigaan



gu- ri- gaan

'this house'

Yaa yimid?

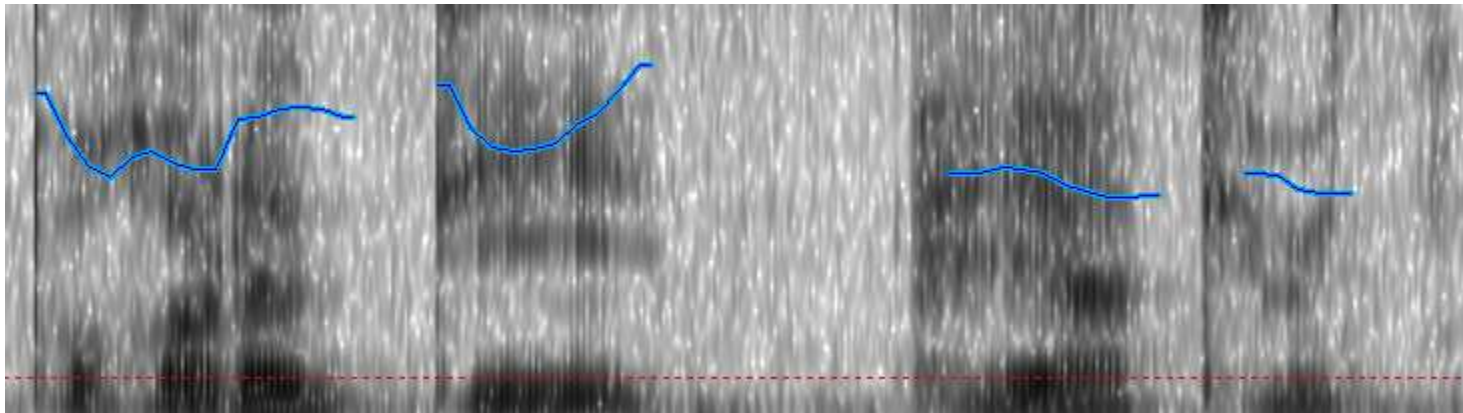


Yaa yi- mid?

‘Who has arrived?’



Boqoraddii ayaa timid.

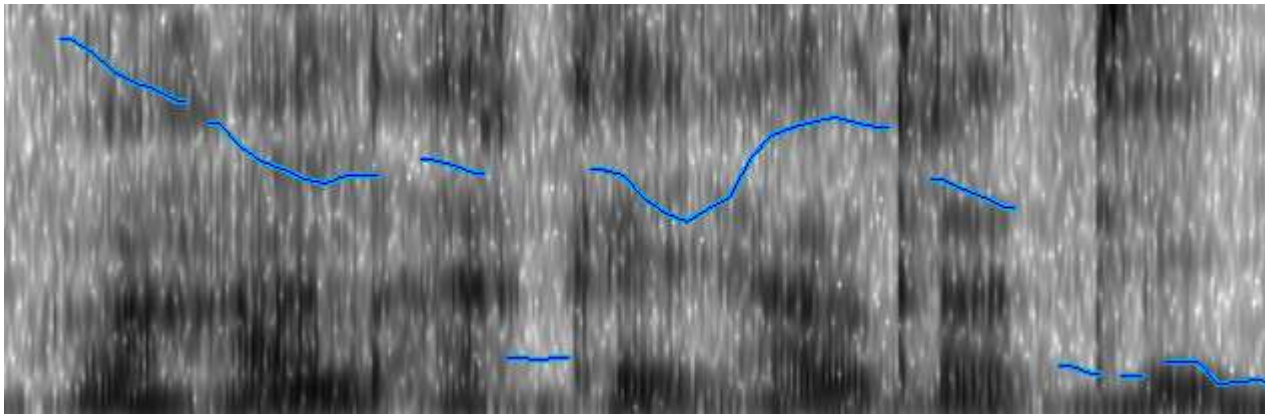


Bo- qo- rad- dii ayaa timid.

‘The queen has arrived.’



Waxaan arkay hal rati.



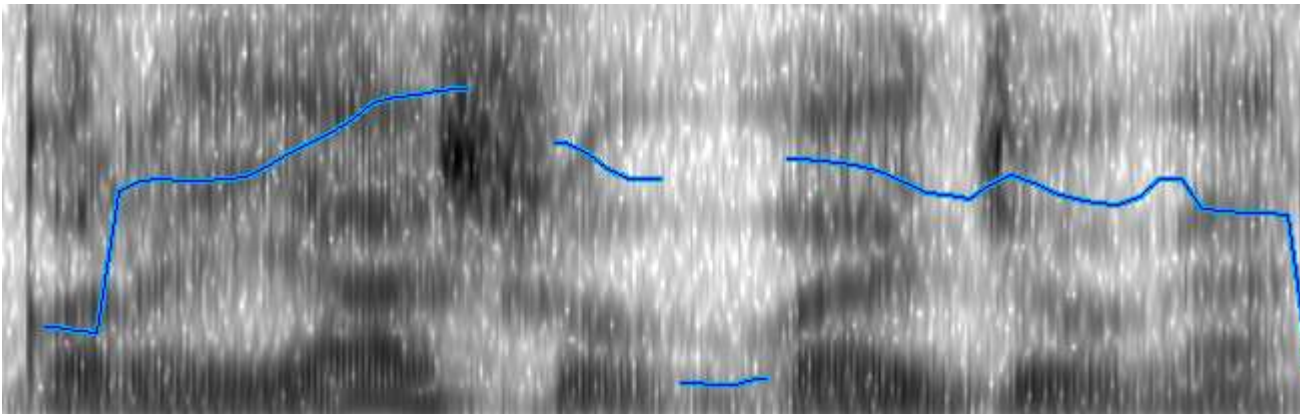
Wa- xaan ar- kay hal ra- ti.

‘I saw one camel.’

Toneless syllables realised as level

Also many expectedly toneless final syllables are pronounced at the same type of rather level pitch as final syllables with an expected H.

Qorayaashu waa joogaan.



Qo- ra- yaa- shu waa joo- gaan.

‘The writers are present.’

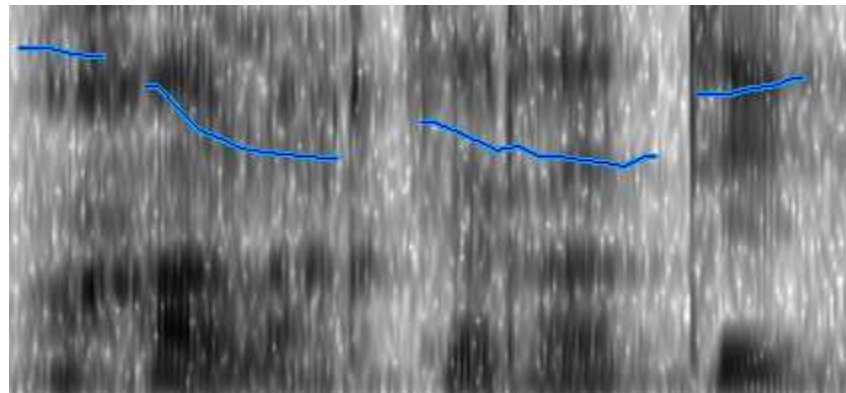
Final raising

Despite the general tendency for final level or low pitch, (A) does not pronounce all phrases in that way.

In a smaller amount of instances, (A) also pronounces final high or rising pitch.



Waxaan arkay rati.

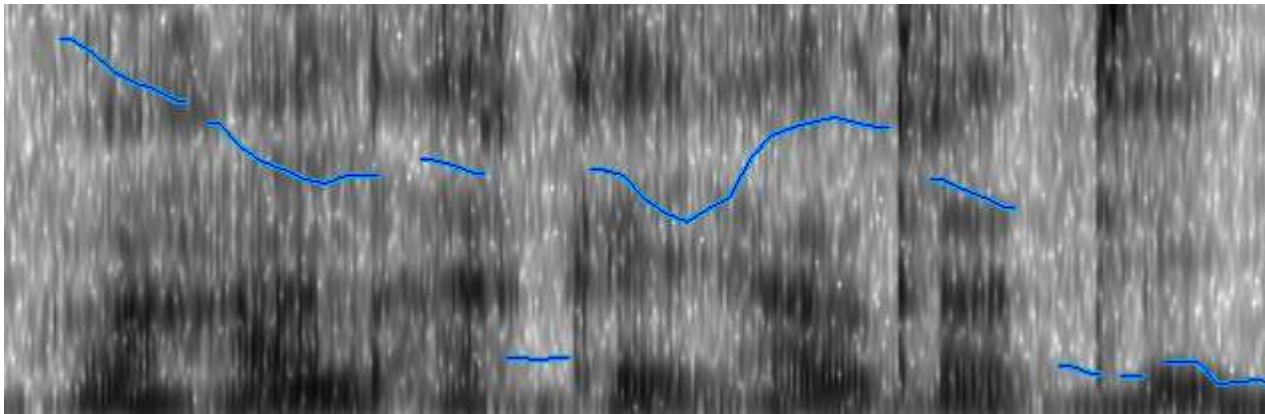


Wa- xaan ar- kay ra- ti.

'I saw a camel.'



Waxaan arkay hal rati.

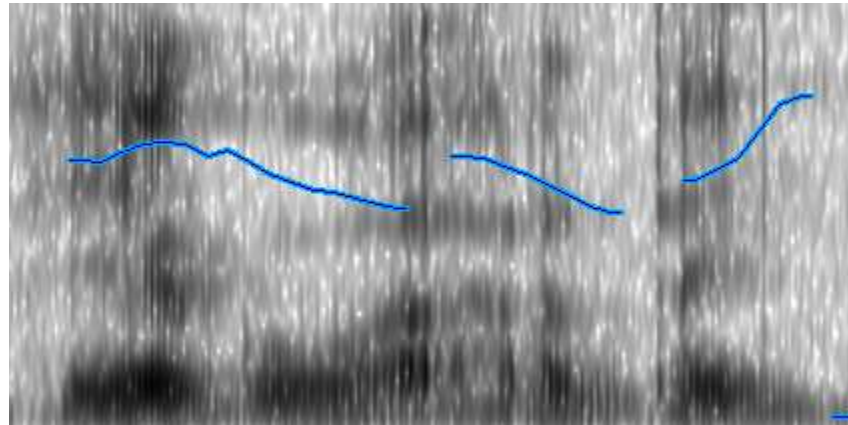


Wa- xaan ar- kay hal ra- ti.

‘I saw one camel.’



lyagu waa arday.

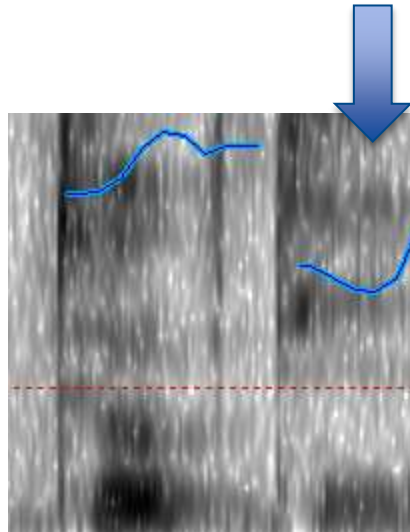


l- ya- gu waa ar- day.

‘They are students’



tuugtii

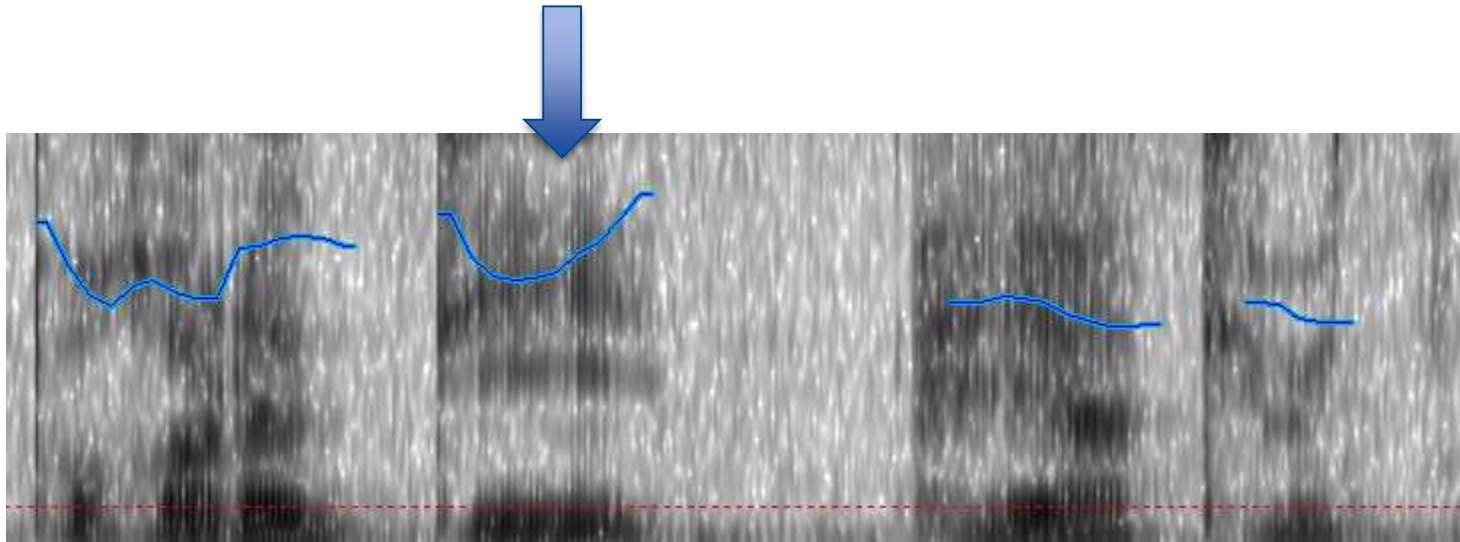


tuug- tii

‘those thieves’



Boqoraddii ayaa timid.



Bo- qo- rad- dii ayaa timid.

‘The queen has arrived.’

Final lowering?

As the final lowering does not apply at all times, we need to find out

- when he does (not) apply final lowering, and
- why.

High, level and low final pitch may of course be effects not only of a general phrase final intonation, but also of e.g.

- focus
- subjecthood.

Phonological interpretation of final lowering?

A final toneme L% replaces a final H

$$H > L\%$$

A final toneme L% anchors to a final H

$$H+L\% > \text{Mid}$$

Simply effect of downstep?

$$H \quad !H$$

Is the phonetic effect mid or low pitch? Or is there a distinction?

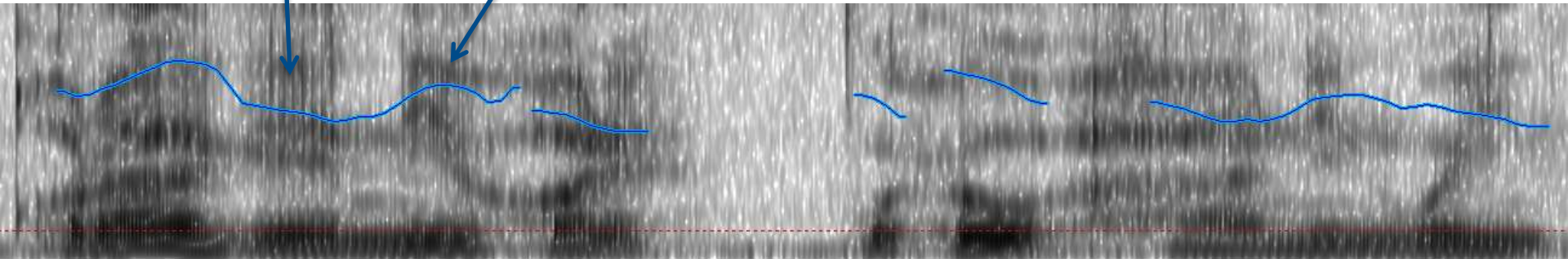
Downstep?

Nouns with two determiners: N + poss. + def./dem.

Difference in realisation of falling vs. raising long vowel/diphthong?



possessive + remote definite

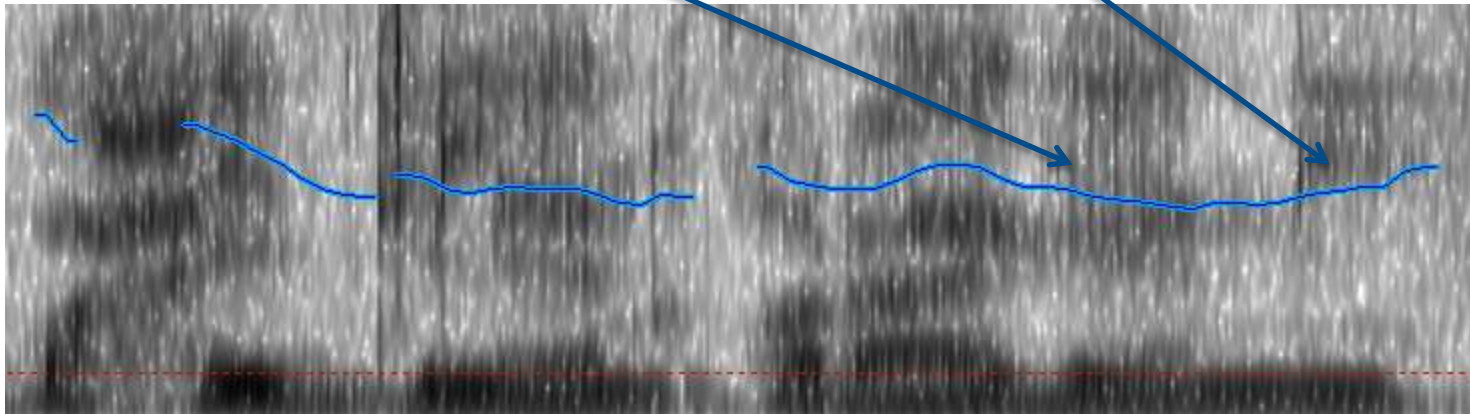


Qo- raa- **geen-** **nii** hore wu- xuu ahaa nin weyn.

‘Our previous writer was a great man.’



Possessive + remote definite



Wa- xay di- leen qo- raa- **geen-** **nii.**

‘They killed our writer.’



Extreme final L

Journalistic style seems often to include extreme final lowering in combination with final vowel lengthening.

... tiro badan.

... waqtigaaa.

... dhubatooo.

... mar kaleeee.

... tiran.

Open questions

How does word tone interact with intonation?

How do we distinguish/disentangle them?

Does intonation vary between groups of individuals?

-- final raising vs. lowering?

How do we identify Individual vs. general intonational styles?

Does intonation affect tone differently in different syntactic entities

-- syntactic role, focus, complexity of NP or VP