Anonymous Tone Linking in Olusamia

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Typology of Tone & Intonation 2

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Anonymous Tone Linking

a. H

b. u

c. H
|
μ
|
u

d. μ
|
u

e. μ

f. **H**
|
μ

Anonymous Tone Linking

a. H

b. u

c. H
|
μ
|
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e. μ

f. **H**
|
μ

Distinctive Tone Linking (Somali)

	Nominative	**Vocative**	**Genitive**	**Absolutive**
'males'	rag	–	r**á**g	r**á**g
'billy-goat'	orgi	**ó**rgi	org**í**	**ó**rgi
'mothers'	hooyooyin	h**ó**oyooyin	hooyooy**í**n	hooyo**ó**yin
'family'	xaas	–	xa**á**s	x**á**as
	No H	**Initial** μ	**Final** μ	**Penultimate** μ

(Hyman, 1981; Banti, 1988; Yip, 2002)

Basic Claim

Distinctive Tone Linking follows from Anonymous Tone Linking

Olusamia (Chagas, 1976; Poletto, 1998)

- Bantu language of the Luhya group
  (E.34 according to Guthrie, 1967)
- spoken on the northern coast of lake Victoria
  (Kenya,Uganda)
- H/L tone system
  with no distinctive root tones for verbs

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Outline

1 Distinctive Tone Linking in Olusamia

2 Poletto's (1998) Analysis

3 An Anonymous Tone Linking Analysis

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Negative Recent Past

xu[bálire	'we did not count today'	$(\ \acute{\mu}\ )_\sigma(\ \mu\ )_\sigma(\mu\ )_\sigma$
xu[líire	'we did not eat today'	$(\ \acute{\mu}\ \mu\ )_\sigma(\ \mu\ )_\sigma$
xu[bwéene	'we did not see today'	$(\ \acute{\mu}\ \mu\ )_\sigma(\ \mu\ )_\sigma$
xu[déexere	'we did not cook today'	$(\ \acute{\mu}\ \mu\ )_\sigma(\ \mu\ )_\sigma(\mu\ )_\sigma$

Pattern: $\acute{\mu}\ \mu^{+}$

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xu[bálire	'we did not count today'	$(\acute{\mu})_\sigma(\mu)_\sigma(\mu)_\sigma$
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Pattern: $\acute{\mu}\ \mu^{+}$

Infinitive

oxú[mana**á**	'to know'	$(\mu)_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma$
oxú[deex**á**	'to cook for each other'	$(\mu \mu)_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma$
oxúmu[suk**úmá**	'to push him'	$(\mu)_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma$
oxú[lum**érán**á	'to bite for each other'	$(\mu)_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma (\acute{\mu})_\sigma$

Pattern: $\sigma\ \acute{\sigma}^{+}$

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Pattern: $\sigma\ \acute{\sigma}^{+}$

Tone Patterns in Olusamia

	Negative Recent Past	**Present**	**Infinitive**	**Conditional**
1 σ 1 μ	(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ́)$_\sigma$
1 σ 2 μ	(μ́ μ)$_\sigma$	(μ́ μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ́ μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ́ μ́)$_\sigma$
2 σ 2 μ	(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$	(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$
2 σ 3 μ	(μ́ μ)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$	(μ μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ μ́)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$
3 σ 3 μ	(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$	(μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$
3 σ 4 μ	(μ́ μ)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$	(μ μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$	(μ μ)$_\sigma$(μ́)$_\sigma$(μ)$_\sigma$
Basic Pattern	μ́ μ$^+$	μ μ́ μ́$^+$	σ σ́$^+$	σ σ́ σ$^+$

Poletto's (1998) Analysis

- L = Phonological Absence of Tone
- Every Stem has 1 H
- Morpheme-specific Constraints

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Derivation of Negative Recent Past

Input: xubalire

	STEM(H)	ALIGN(L)	*STRUC
☞ a. xu[bálire			
b. xu[bálíre			*!
c. xu[balíre		*!	
d. xu[baliré		*!*	
e. xu[balire	*!		

Derivation of Infinitive

Input: oxú[deexa

	STEM(H)	ALIGN(R)	*ALIGN(L)	*NO-RISE
☞ a. oxu[deexá				
b. oxú[deéxá				*!
c. oxú[dééxá			*!	
d. oxú[dééxa		*!	*	
e. oxú[deexa	*!			

Morpheme-specific Constraints

	Negative Recent Past	Infinitive
Left Alignment	**Complete** (μ)	**Almost** (σ)
Right Alignment	**No**	**Complete**

*ALIGN(L) = *ALIGN(STEM, LEFT, HIGH,LEFT)$_{\text{INF.,FUT.,PRES,REC.PAST}}$

ALIGN(R) = ALIGN(HIGH, RIGHT, STEM,RIGHT)$_{\text{INF.,FUT.,PRES,REC.PAST}}$

NO-RISE$_{\text{Present Habitual, Recent Past}}$

(cf. also Akinlabi, 1996; Odden, 1998; Yip, 2002; Zoll, 2003)

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Problems with Morpheme-specific Constraints on Tone

- Ad hoc and conceptually problematic
- Unmotivated for affixes
  (Horwood, 2002; Trommer, 2002, 2005)
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- Distinctive Tone Mapping = Different Melodies
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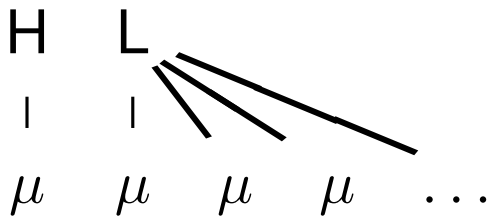
Left-to-Right Linking to Melody-Specific TBUs

Negative Recent Past



Infinitive

(cf. Goldsmith, 1990)

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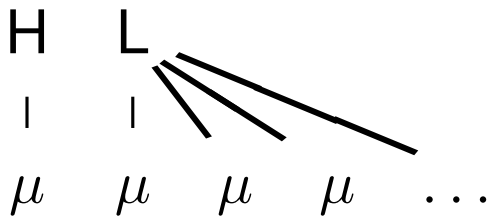
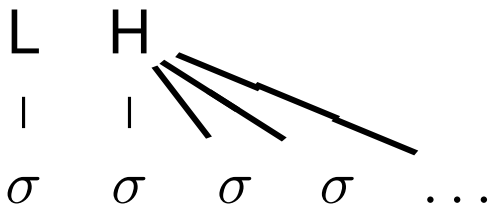


Infinitive



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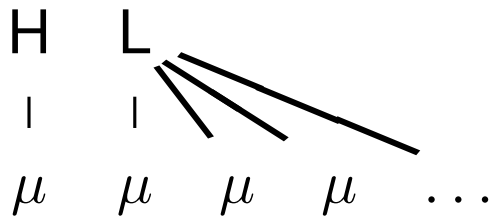
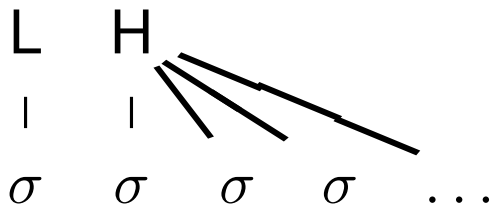


Infinitive



(cf. Goldsmith, 1990)

Left-to-Right Linking by Constraints (Zoll,1997;Yip,2002)

ALIGN-L: Each tone is assigned a violation for each TBU that intervenes between the one it is associated to and the left edge of the word

***SPECIFY:** Each TBU should be associated with at least one tone

***CONTOUR**: Avoid Contour Tones

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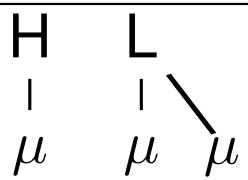
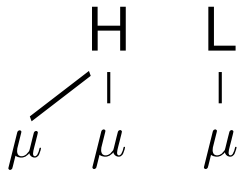
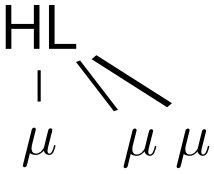
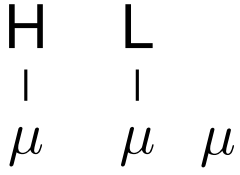
☞ a. 			*
b. 			*!*
c. 		*!	
d. 	*!		*

Markedness Constraints on TBU Linking

$*\sigma_T$	Avoid syllable TBUs
$*\mu_T$	Avoid mora TBUs
UNIFORMITY:	All tones in a prosodic word are associated to the same type of TBU

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IDENT |

If an underlying tone **T** is linked to a TBU **U**

any output tone corresponding to **T**

must be linked to a TBU corresponding to **U**

Derivation of Negative Recent Past

Input: liire + H_a L_b / μ_1

	UNIFORMITY	IDENT |	$^*\sigma_T$	$^*\mu_T$
☞ a. l i i r e (H_a: μ_1; L_b: μ_2; μ_3)				**
b. l i i r e (H_a: σ, μ_1; μ_2; L_b: σ, μ_3)		*!	**	

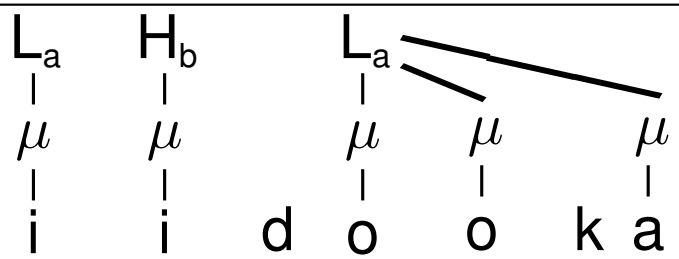
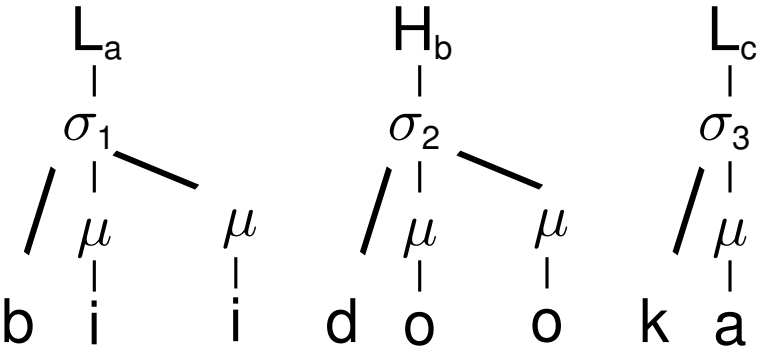
Derivation of Infinitive

Input: deexa + L_a H_b / σ_1

	UNIFORMITY	IDENT |	$*\sigma_T$	$*\mu_T$
a. d e e x a		*!		**
☞ b. d e e x a			**	

Derivation of Conditional

Input: biidooka + L_a H_b L_c / σ_1

	UNIF	IDENT |	...
a. b i i d o o k a 		*!	
☞ b. b i i d o o k a 			

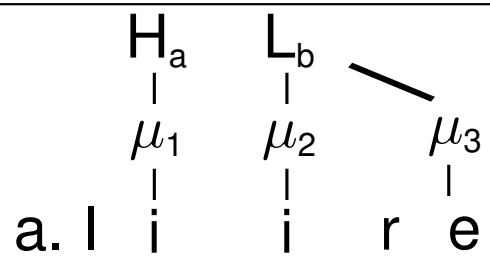
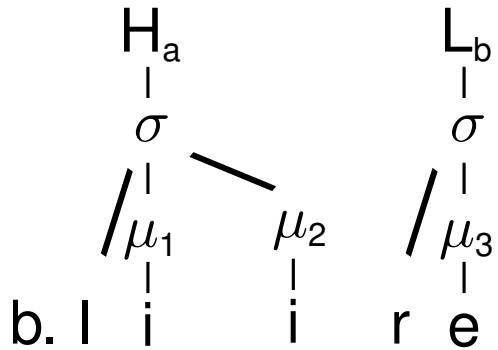
Non-Uniform Output

Input: biidooka + L_a H_b L_c / σ_1

	UNIF	IDENT |	. . .
a. b i i d o o k a	*!		
☞ b. b i i d o o k a			

Inputs without TBUs (Negative Recent Past)

Input: liire + H_a L_b

	UNIF	IDENT |	$*\sigma_T$	$*\mu_T$
☞ a. 				**
b. 			*!*	

Non-Uniform Input (Negative Recent Past)

Input: liire + H_a L_b / μ_1 σ_2

	UNIF	IDENT |	$^*\sigma_T$	$^*\mu_T$
☞ a. l i i r e		*		**
b. l i i r e		*	*!*	

Too few TBUs . . .

	Negative Recent Past	**Present**	**Infinitive**	**Conditional**
1 σ 1 μ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ
1 σ 2 μ	(μ́ μ)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ
2 σ 2 μ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ	(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ
2 σ 3 μ	(μ́ μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ)σ
3 σ 3 μ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ)σ
3 σ 4 μ	(μ́ μ)σ(μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ)σ
Basic Pattern	μ́ μ^+	μ μ́ $\acute{\mu}^+$	σ $\acute{\sigma}^+$	σ σ́ σ^+

If possible

- H is retained
- the rightmost L is retained

Too few TBUs . . .

	Negative Recent Past	**Present**	**Infinitive**	**Conditional**
1 σ 1 μ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ
1 σ 2 μ	(μ́ μ)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ
2 σ 2 μ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ	(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ
2 σ 3 μ	(μ́ μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ)σ
3 σ 3 μ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ)σ
3 σ 4 μ	(μ́ μ)σ(μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ)σ
Basic Pattern	μ́ μ^{+}	μ μ́ $\acute{\mu}^{+}$	σ $\acute{\sigma}^{+}$	σ σ́ σ^{+}

If possible

- H is retained
- the rightmost L is retained

Too few TBUs . . .

	Negative Recent Past	**Present**	**Infinitive**	**Conditional**
1 σ 1 μ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ
1 σ 2 μ	(μ́ μ)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ	(μ́ μ́)σ
2 σ 2 μ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ	(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ
2 σ 3 μ	(μ́ μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ)σ
3 σ 3 μ	(μ́)σ(μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ)σ
3 σ 4 μ	(μ́ μ)σ(μ)σ(μ)σ	(μ μ́)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ́)σ	(μ μ)σ(μ́)σ(μ)σ
Basic Pattern	μ́ μ^{+}	μ μ́ $\acute{\mu}^{+}$	σ $\acute{\sigma}^{+}$	σ σ́ σ^{+}

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ALIGN(PWD,Left,H,Left): The left edge of each Prosodic Word is aligned to the left edge of a H tone.

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Retaining H (Infinitive)

Input: da + L_a H_b | σ_1

	*CONTOUR	IDENT |	ALIGN(PWD,Left,H,Left)
☞ a. d a (H_b | σ_1)			
b. d a (L_a | σ_1)			*!

Retaining H (Infinitive)

Input: da + L_a H_b | σ_1

	*CONTOUR	IDENT |	ALIGN(PWD,Left,H,Left)
☞ a. d H_b | σ_1 | a			
b. d L_a H_b | σ_1 | a	*!		

Retaining Rightmost L (Conditional)

Input: diba + L_a H_b L_c on σ_1

	ALIGN(PWD,Left,H,Left)
☞ a. d H_b on σ_1 i b L_c on σ_3 a	
b. d L_a on σ_2 i b H_b on σ_1 a	*!

Summary

- Abandoning underspecified tone reveals classical left-to-right linking
- Morpheme-specific constraints on tone linking are obviated
- Distinctive TBUs (μ vs. σ) are captured by anonymous tone linking

Open Question:
Are there phonologically induced TBU alternations?

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