

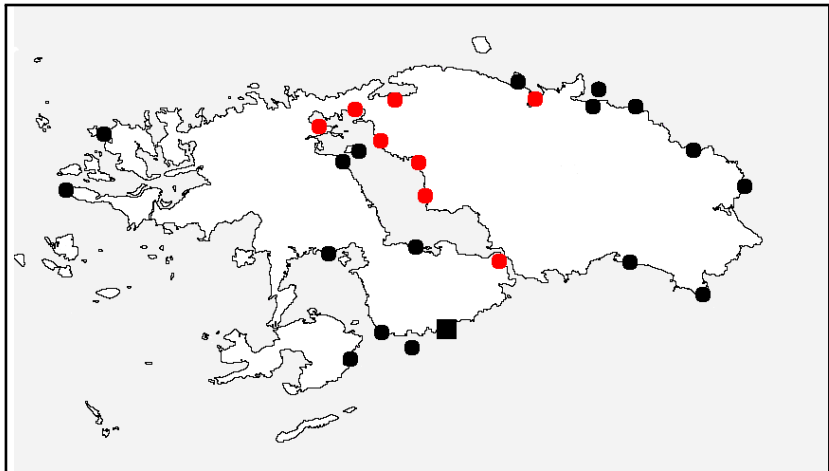
A case study of word-level prosody: Ambel

Phonetics and Laboratory Phonology 2018-19
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`moon' 

`water' 

`night' 

`thorn' 

`breast' 

é High

ē Mid

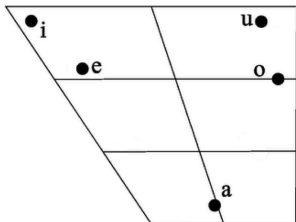
è Low

ě Rising

ê Falling

ë Rising falling

Ambel: Segmental phonology



	labial	alveolar	velar
stops	p b	t d	k g
fricatives	f (> h)	s	
nasals	m	n	
liquids		l r	
semivowels		y	w

Ambel: Phonotactics

- ▶ Syllable structure:
 - ▶ Most frequent: CV(C)
 - ▶ Other permitted structures: V, VC, C(S)V(G)C
- ▶ Possible codas:
 - ▶ voiceless stops, nasals, liquids, semivowels

Ambel: Word prosody

▶ Metnyo Ambel:

/H/

tún 'moon'

súp 'bathe.1sg'

y-ún '1sg-pick.up'

/∅/

tun 'thorn' 

sup 'repeat.1sg' 


y-un '1sg-know'

▶ Metsam Ambel:

/H/

páy 'heron' 

/LH/

běy 'sago' 

/∅/

gey 'areca nut' 

The realisation of tone: Monosyllables

► Utterance-finally:

		/H/		/Ø/						
	[H]				[LH]		[LHL]			
súp	`bathe'	◀			sǔp	`repeat'	◀	tǔn	`thorn'	▶
láp	`fire'				gǒp	`jambu'		bǝy	`sago'	
dá	`platform'				mǒ	`tide'		nǒw	`house'	
kút	`coconut'				ǔt	`louse'		rǒm	`seaweed'	

► Context:

(1) ine jíne X
 1SG say.1SG X
 'I say X.'

- The [L] component is only realised **utterance-finally** on **heavy** syllables (i.e., rhyme = vowel with sonorant coda)

The realisation of tone: Monosyllables

► Utterance-medially:

		/H/			/Ø/						
		[H]			[L]						
súp	'bathe'	◀	tún	'moon'	◀	sùp	'repeat'	◀	tùn	'thorn'	◀
láp	'fire'		láy	'sand'		gòp	'jambu'		bèy	'sago'	
dá	'platform'		gám	'night'		mò	'tide'		nòw	'house'	
kút	'coconut'		míy	'rain'		ùt	'louse'		ròm	'seaweed'	

► Context:

- (2) ine jíne X be Lávra
1SG say.1SG X to Laura
'I say X to Laura.'

The realisation of tone: Monosyllables

► Tone sandhi:







/H/				/Ø/							
∅ → [M] when following /H/				∅ remains [L] when following /Ø/							
súp	'bathe'	«	tún	'moon'	«	sùp	'repeat'	«	tùn	'thorn'	«
láp	'fire'		láy	'sand'		gòp	'jambu'		bèy	'sago'	
dá	'platform'		gám	'night'		mò	'tide'		nòw	'house'	
kút	'coconut'		míy	'rain'		ùt	'louse'		ròm	'seaweed'	

► Context:

- (3) ine jíne X po
1SG say.1SG X NEG
'I don't say X.'





The realisation of tone: Polysyllables

- ▶ Disyllables (utterance-final):

<i>/H.Ø/</i> [H.M(L)]	<i>/Ø.H/</i> [L.H(L)]	<i>/Ø.Ø/</i> [L.LH(L)]
kámūk 	kàmúk 	--
'namesake'	'in-law'	
kábōm 	kàbōm 	--
'widow'	'bone'	
káwā 	--	kātǎ 
'border'		'cape'

The realisation of tone: Polysyllables

- ▶ Trisyllables (utterance-final):

<i>/H.∅.∅/</i> [H.M.LH(L)]	<i>/∅.H.∅/</i> [L.H.M(L)]	<i>/∅.∅.H/</i> [L.L.H(L)]	<i>/∅.∅.∅/</i> [L.L.LH(L)]
kásyāwǎ 	kàbábāt 	kàlàbét 	kàpàyǎ 
'k.o.manta'	'butterfly'	'goanna'	'papaya' (< Tid.)

Typologising Ambel word prosody

- ▶ Revisiting Hyman (2006):

- ▶ **Tone**

“A language with tone is one in which an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realisation of at least some morphemes.” (p.229)

- ▶ **Stress accent**

“A language with stress accent is one in which there is an indication of word-level metrical structure meeting the following two central criteria:

- 1. OBLIGATORINESS: every lexical word has at least one syllable marked for the highest degree of metrical prominence (primary stress);*
- 2. CULMINATIVITY: every lexical word has at most one syllable marked for the highest degree of metrical prominence.” (p.231)*

More on culminativity

► Culminativity in subject-marked verbs:

Class I: /kátown/ 'sit'

1SG subject: /**ya**-kátown/ 'I sit.'

3SG.INAN subject: /**aN=na**-kátown/ 'It sits.'

Class II: /ól/ 'stand'

1SG subject: /**y**-ól/ 'I stand.'

3SG.INAN subject: /**aN=n**-ól/ 'It stands.'

Class III: /belémay/ 'be fast'

1SG subject: /b<**y**>elémay/ 'I am fast.'

3SG.INAN subject: /**aN**=belémay/ 'It is fast.'

Class IV: /kábyal/ 'float'

1SG subject: /**ya**-kábyal/ 'I float.'

3SG.INAN subject: /**aN**=kábyal/ 'It floats.'

More on culminativity

- Culminativity in subject-marked verbs:

	Class I	Class II V-initial	/t/, /d/, /h/, /b/-initial	Class III /l/, /m/, /w/-initial	/s/-initial	Class IV C-initial
	-gón 'promise'	-un 'know'	-tum 'follow'	-mát 'die'	-sun 'enter'	-mdól 'fall'
1SG	ya-gón	y-un	t<y>um	m<y>át	Ø-sun	ya-mdól
2SG	nya-gón	ny-un	N-t<y>um	N-m<y>át	N-sun	nya-mdól
3SG.AN	na-gón	n-un	N-tum	N-mát	N-sun	na-mdól
3SG.INAN	aN=na-gón	aN=n-un	aN=tum	aN=mát	aN=sun	aN=mdól
1DU.I	tuta-gón	tut-un	tut-tum	tut-mát	tu-sun	tuta-mdól
1DU.E	uma-gón	um-un	um-tum	um-mát	um-sun	uma-mdól
2DU	muma-gón	mum-un	mum-tum	mum-mát	mum-sun	muma-mdól
3DU	ula-gón	ul-un	u-tum	u-mát	u-sun	ula-mdól
1PC.I	(a)túta-gón	(a)tút-un	(a)tút-tum	(a)tút-mát	tú-sun	(a)túta-mdól
1PC.E	atúma-gón	atúm-ul	atúm-tum	atúm-mát	atúm-sun	atúma-mdól
2PC	matúma-gón	matúm-un	matúm-tum	matúm-mát	matúm-sun	matúma-mdól
3PC	atúla-gón	atúl-un	atú-tum	atú-mát	atú-sun	atúla-mdól
1PL.I	ta-gón	t-un	Ø-tum	t-mát	Ø-sun	ta-mdól
1PL.E	áma-gón	ám-un	ám-tum	ám-mát	ám-sun	áma-mdól
2PL	ma-gón	m-un	mim-tum	mim-mát	mim-sun	ma-mdól
3PL.AN	la-gón	l-un	la-tum	la-mát	la-sun	la-mdól
3NSG.INAN	sina-gón	sin-un	si-tum	si-mát	si-sun	si-mdól

More on culminativity

► Culminativity in subject-marked verbs:

- Five prefixes bear /H/: /tút-/ `1PC.INCL`, /atúm-/ `1PC.EXCL`, /matúm-/ `2PC`, /atúl-/ `3PC`, /ám-/ `1PL.EXCL`
- When these prefixes attach to a /H/ root, there is **progressive /H/ deletion**:

	/áti/ `run´		/abáy/ `play´	
1SG	/y-áti/	[yáfi]	/y-abáy/	[yàbáy]
1DU.INCL	/tut-áti/	[tùtáfi]	/tut-abáy/	[tùtàbáy]
1PC.INCL	/tút-áti/	[tútāfi]	/tút-abáy/	[tútābày]

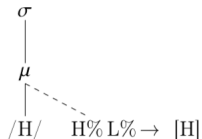
But what about that [L]...?

/H/				/∅/			
[H]		[HL]		[LH]		[LHL]	
yé	'island'	tûn	'moon'	wě	'water'	tũn	'thorn'
láp	'fire'	lâyñ	'sand'	gõp	'jambu'	běy	'sago'
dá	'platform'	gãm	'night'	mõ	'tide'	nõw	'house'
kút	'coconut'	mĩy	'rain'	ũt	'louse'	rõm	'seaweed'

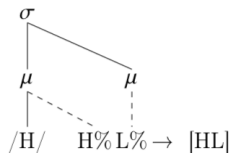
- ▶ This is actually part of a HL% boundary tone
 - ▶ Marks declarative (and imperative) utterances
 - ▶ Realised on the final syllable of utterance-final lexical words (nouns, verbs, adverbs, numerals...)

But what about that [L]...?

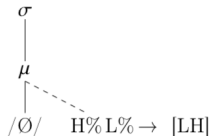
/H/ syllables: Light/monomoraic



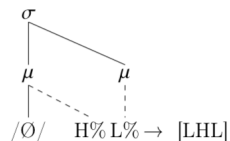
Heavy/bimoraic



/Ø/ syllables: Light/monomoraic



Heavy/bimoraic



- ▶ From this, we can see that the **tone-bearing unit** is the first mora of the syllable.

Thank you!

ARNOLD, LAURA, 2018. Lexical tone in Metnyo Ambel. *Oceanic Linguistics* 57:199-220.