**Extraprosodic, Boundary Tones and the Phonetics-Phonology Interface**

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**Shingazidja IPs**

**Dialects**

need to use this some time – Dom – recorded in Paris)

(2) “Southern” – informant: Sadi Boumare – Farandzi – 07/08 & 03/09
(3) “Northern” – main informant: Mohamed Mirakdy Lhoms – Mben – 07/08 & 03/09

**Tone liaison in the Northern dialect (Patin 2009)**

- Nonfinality always applies at the end of the sentence, ‘optionally’ at the end of the clause:
  1. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
   
   2. b. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
   

**Nonfinality in Bantu (Philippson 1991, etc.)**

- Nonfinality is highly ranked. A vowel may be lengthened to maintain the contrast.
  3. a. { [y=2] m-lev
     
   b. [y=2] m-lev
   

**Intonational phrases (Paris 2007, 2008, etc.)**

- The Phonological phrase, in Shingazidja, corresponds roughly to the max. syntactic phrase.
- The subject NP and the VP, for instance, phrase separately. In (3), the tone of the subject NP cannot shift to the first syllable of the verb.
  3. a. { m-lev

**Tone rules**

- “Unbounded” tone shift phenomenon: a tone shifts to the end of a phonological phrase except if it is blocked by a following tone bearing unit.
- Tone shift leads to the deletion of every even-numbered tone (OCP)
  1. a. [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
   
   2. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
   
   3. a. [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
   
   4. a. { m-lev

**Phrase**

- The whole VP forms a single phonological Phrase.
  4. a. { m-lev

**Rules that apply at the IP level in Northern Shingazidja**

- Penultimate lengthening:
  3. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
   
   4. a. { m-lev

**Nonfinality**

- The right edge of a High Domain may be aligned with the right edge of an Intonational phrase.

- This constraint dominates the constraint that aligns the right edge of a High Domain with the right edge of a Phonological phrase.

- Note that in colloquial Shingazidja, an initial High tone shifts to the second syllable.

**Tone spread**

- Tone spread occurs through the IP boundaries.

- The spreading does not lead to the deletion of a lexical tone.

- Tone insertion on the penult of the IP when there is no lexical tone (in Western Shingazidja, the rule occurs at the PP level).

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**Select references**


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**The intone of the last IP**

- In the Western and Northern dialects of Shingazidja (but not in the Southern dialect), a tone appearing on the penult is:
  - sharply high when it is followed by a spawner:
    1. a. [n=1] m-lev
     
   b. [n=1] m-lev
     
   2. b. [n=1] m-lev

- Otherwise realized as a Mid:
  1. a. [n=1] m-lev
     
   b. [n=1] m-lev

- There is a boundary 3IP tone, associated with the last syllable of the utterance, that spreads on its left.
  1. a. [n=1] m-lev
     
   b. [n=1] m-lev

- The 3IP tone does not spread in Southern Shingazidja.
  1. a. [n=1] m-lev
     
   b. [n=1] m-lev

- Note that an IP boundary can appear after any lexical item, especially if it is associated with a contrastive focus.
  1. a. { [n=1] (a=1-n-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-n-lev)

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**Tone liaison in the Northern dialect (Patin 2003)**

- Compare for instance (4a) and (4b):
  4. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)

- Otherwise realized as a Mid:
  4. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)

- There is a boundary 3IP tone, associated with the last syllable of the utterance, that spreads on its left.
  4. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)

- The 3IP tone does not spread in Southern Shingazidja.
  4. a. { [n=1] gafka - [n=1] (a=1-m-lev)
     
   b. [n=1] m-lev

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**Shingazidja: Bantu language (G44a) spoken on Grande Comore (Comores). One of the five Comorian languages, along with Shishe, Shimwaï (G44c), Shimaver (G44d) and Shikombani (G44e).**