

THE LIMITS OF DOWNSTEP IN ÁGBÒ SENTENCE-PROSODY*

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ABSTRACT

A recorded corpus¹ of some 80 nonspontaneous Ágbò² examples shows systematic resetting of downstepped pitch within the minimal sentence. As this phenomenon is not independent of a preceding downstep, and can never cumulate upward, it is precisely not 'upstep' (pace Meir *et al.* 1975; Snider 1990) but rather *antidownstep* or *downstep-reset*. Contra expectations of the reigning phonological model of downstep (e.g. Clements 1981), *downstep-reset* is limited neither to clausal boundaries (where trivially it does occur) nor to performance contexts of maintaining adequate pitch range. A first, impressionistic pass over the Ágbò corpus readily identifies two linguistic contexts for *downstep-reset*:

- After word final downstep before phrase boundary (tracks 2, 3, 13, 26, 28, 31, 33, 41, 48, 50, 52, 63, 70-72, 74, 79, 80). Most examples of this *edge effect* involve a PP or serial VP — neither type containing a pause.
- After a verb in which lexical H and L are neutralized (tracks 21, 22, 28, 32-35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45-47, 68-70, 72, 76, 77). This *architone effect* regularly occurs, *inter alia*, before the negative/relative suffix *-ni*.

In a framework of tone-metrical licensing (Bamba 1992, Manfredi 1992), the two *downstep-reset* contexts share one property: a H tone in a weak position. The configurations which predict weak H are found in surface syntax. Weak H also accounts for *downstep-reset* in the Àbànkélé dialect—previously claimed to have a so-called 'upstep' juncture—and in standard Ìgbò.

1. GARDEN-PATH TONEMARKING

The problem addressed in this paper was noticed nearly 40 years ago. Transcribing some sentences of ShiTswa (a Benue-Congo language of Mozambique) in 1953, Welmers noticed a failure of deterministic tonemarking. Having convincingly assigned ShiTswa to the 'terraced-level' type later codified by Stewart (1965), based on the cumulative pitch lowering which occurs automatically between successive H-tone domains, he was surprised to observe

a clear contrast... after low, between a nonlow at the same level as the preceding nonlow and a nonlow at a slightly lower level. (1973: 87)

Such a contrast creates a garden path for the application of a standard tone orthography comprising three rules:

- H- and L-bearing syllables are individually marked ['] and [˘] respectively.
- Downdrift (Stewart's "automatic downstep") occurs between H-bearing syllables across L-bearing syllables.
- ("Nonautomatic") downstep between two adjacent H-bearing syllables is marked [!].

To demonstrate the breakdown of tonemarking, Welmers (1973: 91f.) cites the following paradigm:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1a. | Vámùwóná mufàná. | 'They see [the] child' |
| | 3pl.see... child | |
| b. | Vámùwóná mufàná wa mùbìkì. | 'They see [the] cook's child' |
| | 3pl.see... child of chief | |
| c. | Vámùwóná mufàná wa 'hósí. | 'They see [the] chief's child' |
| | 3pl.see... child of chief | |

The imparsable syllable is *wa* 'of' in (1b) and (1c): no available tone diacritic fits that word's pitch. Consider the possibilities. *Wa* can't be marked L: it is pronounced higher than the flanking L-bearing syllables in (1b), and higher than the downstepped H in (1c). Neither can *wa* be marked H: it is pronounced on the same pitch as the middle syllable of *mufàná*—rather than on a lower pitch which it would be expected to have as the bearer of a well-behaved H tone. Thus,

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¹Text given in full below, with four pitch tracks. The examples—elicited to test tone classes of monosyllabic verb roots—are either gnomic, quasi-proverbial sentences with no marked focus; or mini-discourses with controlled focus structure. A hifi recording of the corpus, spoken by one person (not in real time) on one occasion, has been deposited in the phonetics lab, Williams Hall, University of Pennsylvania. Track numbers refer to the file labelled "/home/myl/db/agbo".

²Ágbò is the westernmost form of Ìgbò in the historical sense. Colonial/federal governments and their missionary/academic allies carved the periphery of the Ìgbò-speaking area into ethnic districts (e.g. "Ìkà", "Ìzìi", "Ìkwèrè") on ideological grounds (kinship, kingship, confession, lexicostatistics). In reality, many of the claimed unique peripheral characteristics are actually found throughout the area; many others are just borrowings from non-Ìgbò-speaking neighbors; thus, neither sort of evidence proves anything about Ìgbò-internal relationships (cf. Ònwùjéjìgwù 1975).

Welmers is constrained to leave *wa* without a tonemark, stipulating that this absence means ‘same pitch level as nearest previous H’. The unmarked *wa* is not toneless; it implicitly bears its underlying H as expected, but is preceded by a special juncture which negates the downdrift (automatic downstep) which would ordinarily occur at that point.

As the anomalous, antidownstep juncture occurs only in possessive phrases, all of which are formed with the “associative” morpheme *wa*, Welmers (1973) conceives a morphological solution: a “phonemic upstep” is assigned to *wa* itself, as a kind of prosodic prefix whose bizarre nature is excused by its unique distribution. Though the mechanics of his 1973 proposal are certainly *ad hoc*, the intuition that the antidownstep juncture is construction-specific is consistent with a prosodic government approach—offering at least the prospect of an explanation based on principles of tone-syntax interaction. To explore this possibility, it is first necessary to review some of the elementary relationships of phonological government which pervade the languages of this great, transcontinental family.

2. TONAL PROSODY AS GOVERNMENT

Bamba (1989, 1992) shows that OCP-based, nonlocal pitch effects like downstep, as well as local pitch effects like raising and spreading, reflect the constituency of metrical domains. Bamba’s framework is *prosodic* because the domains in question interact with surface syntax in predictable ways. The basis of this interaction is the core licensing principle which, by hypothesis, is shared by phonology and syntax: the government relation.³ The overall goal of this section is to show that *downstep-reset* is an example of prosodic licensing in this sense. The first step in the demonstration is to survey some simple cases in the relevant languages.

2.1 Tone and locality

As extended to Benue-Kwa⁴ languages by Manfredi (1988/1992), prosodic licensing in Bamba’s sense is implied by cross-linguistic, and language-internal, distributions of (local) spreading and raising with respect to downstep.

	local				nonlocal	
	spreading		raising		H ! H interval	
	H / L	L / H	H / L	L / H	partial	total ⁵
Standard Yorùbá ⁶	+	+	+			+
Ágbò	+				+	
Ọ̀nìchà					+	
M̀bàisén					+	(Auslaut)
Àbáńkẹ̀lékẹ̀ ⁷			+			+
Ƴ̀málá-Yamba ⁸		+		+	+	+
Ƴ̀koyó ⁹		+				+

Table 1. Distribution across Benue-Kwa of some local and nonlocal tone effects

The table shows *inter alia* that L-spreading and L-raising—both being local L tone effects—are in complementary distribution with partial downstep—which is a nonlocal effect, since it cumulates over the entire sentence. It is important to realize that this implication holds robustly even in Ƴ̀málá-Yamba, where only strong L tones spread or raise, and only weak L tones qualify as partial downstep triggers.

³If, on the other hand, “phonology is different” (Bromburger and Halle 1989), the licensing principles of metrical domains have nothing in common with those of phrasal syntax. As their pessimistic premise rules out prosodic results in advance, one should reject it provisionally and seek generalizations until they appear or until one tires of the search.

⁴Benue-Kwa, the largest branch of Niger-Congo, extends from central Côte d’Ivoire (or perhaps from eastern Liberia) to eastern and southern Africa. To date, no phonological (as opposed to lexical) evidence for an internal subgrouping of Benue-Kwa has been offered. A potential candidate for a syntactic isogloss is the movement of a main verb to the position of inflection (“V-to-I movement” cf. Emonds 1978); this occurs in Ị̀gbò and eastwards, and in Ànyĩ (or perhaps Akan) and westwards, but not in a central zone extending from Gbe to Yorùbá and Èdó (cf. Déchaine 1992).

⁵Total downstep lowers an H-tone to the pitch level of a non-H-tone in the same context; partial downstep doesn’t.

⁶In Yorùbá, (nonautomatic) downstep occurs only after an elided L tone; it is a total downstep as defined in the preceding footnote, since a downstepped H is lowered at least to the level of M. According to Láníran (1992: 250), Yorùbá M is not downstepped, but the preceding H is raised; Yala-Ikom’s ‘downstepped M’ (Armstrong 1975) may be similar.

⁷A.k.a. “Ị̀zì” or “Ị̀zìi”, an ethnic label promoted in literacy materials, starting shortly before the Nigerian Civil War, by the Ènugwù branch office of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (cf. Meir et al. 1975).

⁸A.k.a. “Dschang Bamileke”—studied (and, if I am not mistaken, spoken) by Tadadjeu (1974).

⁹A.k.a. “Kikuyu”—studied by Clements and Ford (1978).

The other complementarity in the table is between total and partial downstep. For nonfinal contexts, one can predict the occurrence of total downstep from L-spreading. In absolute final position (*Auslaut*), however, total downstep also occurs in Mbàisén (among several other southern dialects) which lacks L-spread. The multiple sources of total downstep suggest that it is a default which obtains wherever H tone is governed.

The distribution in Table 1 can be studied in terms of tone-metrical interaction. Consider the principles in (2).

2. *principles*¹⁰ A metrical governor is stronger than its governee (H>L>M).¹¹
 [s] immediately dominates a metrical governor.
 [w] is strictly adjacent to a metrical governor.
 Tonal government iff [s].

The idea in (2), adopted from Bamba (1989/1992), is that two different kinds of licensing relation—respectively tonal government and metrical government—are separately responsible for the local and nonlocal phenomena referred to in (2). The generalization of complementarity follows from the fourth assumption, namely that tonal government (e.g. spreading, raising) is possible only if the tonal governor occupies in a strong metrical position. Since H is the metrical governor in the partial downstep relation, partial downstep excludes L from a strong position, hence L cannot be a tonal governor.

To accommodate the variation observed in Table 1, this framework must be supplemented by the parameters in (3).

3. *parameters* (i) The set of tonal governors is {H}, {L}, {H, L}.
 (ii) Tonal government is expressed by {spread} {raise} {both} {neither}

The resort to parameters is, in general, problematic, unless (as suggested by Borer 1984, Fukui 1986) they can be reduced to learnable inventories of closed-class (i.e. ‘functional’) items. Minimally, one would hope that only tonal government needs to be parametrized, at least for the closely languages in question. The required parameter settings are listed in (4).

		(i)	(ii)
4. <i>settings</i>	Yorùbá	H, L	<i>both</i> ¹²
	Àgbò	H	<i>spread</i>
	Ọ̀nìcha/Mbàisén	H	<i>neither</i>
	Àbáńkẹ̀lékẹ̀	H	<i>raise</i>
	Ƴmalá-Yamba	<i>some L</i>	<i>both</i>
	Ƴekoyó	L	<i>spread</i>

For the present, I will set aside issues of parametric learnability or arbitrariness, and proceed to examine cases where syntactic government seems to affect the tonal and metrical relationships just outlined.

2.2 Prosodic government

The smallest assumption sufficient to explain downstep-reset is the failure of a licensing condition for downstep. Bamba defines downstep as a nonlocal government relation between tones, mediated by metrical constituency. If tonal government requires syntactic government, then downstep can’t follow a tone which is not in a governing position.

5. *licensing* Locally, an element is ungoverned iff governing.
 Unlicensed elements incorporate under the local licensed node, e.g.:
 (a) Domain-initial L incorporates under following [s].
 (b) Domain-final H incorporates under preceding [w].

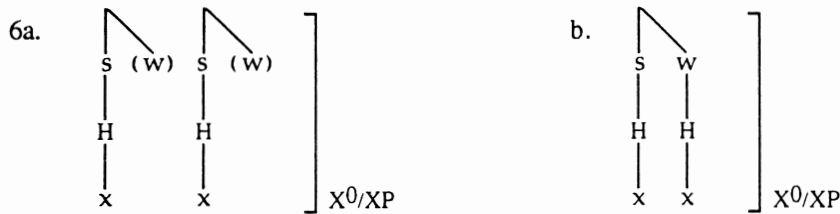
(5a) accounts for initial L-raising (also in Èdó, cf. Elugbe 1977). (5b) follows from the definitions in (2), and directly advances the goal of this paper to account for the possibility and distribution of weak H tones.

The consequence of (5b) is illustrated in (6a). The filled weak node is unlicensed: it doesn’t govern anything because it is final, and it isn’t governed since it is not weaker than the preceding strong node. Incorporation of stray H yields (6b).

¹⁰Most of these principles simply recap the definitions of Liberman and Prince (1977).

¹¹This hierarchy couldn’t be valid in a true ‘upstep’ language, if any exists. No such language has yet been documented.

¹²Láníran finds L-raising only concomitant with H-raising; her algorithm (1992: 237f.) involves a relation called ‘upstep’, which actually applies right-to-left (n.b. backwards in time) across tonal feet. That this is indeed an example of raising is shown by her observation that the first H’s extra height factor does not affect the level of an initial L.



Prosodic licensing has numerous empirical consequences in Igbo. For example, consider the well-known restriction of lexical downstep to the final syllable, cf. the Ònicha forms in (7):¹³

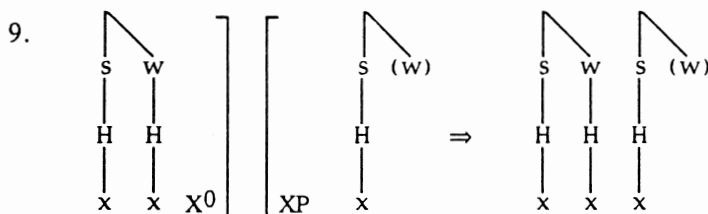
7. áṭulú 'sheep' ífẹ́lẹ́ 'shame' *vcvcv
 ńkị́tá 'dog' ọ̀bẹ́lẹ́ 'small creature'

If these forms are composed of three H-bearing morphemes, the third and final morpheme is evidently weak, hence its H tone is exempt from the OCP. As is well known and ill understood, however, the final downstep of nouns drops phrase-internally:¹⁴

8. ọ̀nụ́ 'mouth' ụ́zọ́ 'path' ọ̀nụ ụ́zọ́ 'door(way)' *ọ̀nụ ụ́zọ́
 áḡụ́ 'leopard' áta 'grassland' áḡụ áta 'savanna leopard' *áḡụ áta
 ọ̀bẹ́lẹ́ 'small creature' nwá 'child' ọ̀bẹ́lẹ́ nwá 'dear little child' *ọ̀bẹ́lẹ́ nwá
 ńkị́tá 'dog' ụ́nụ́ '2pl' ńkị́tá ụ́nụ́ 'your dog' *ńkị́tá ụ́nụ́

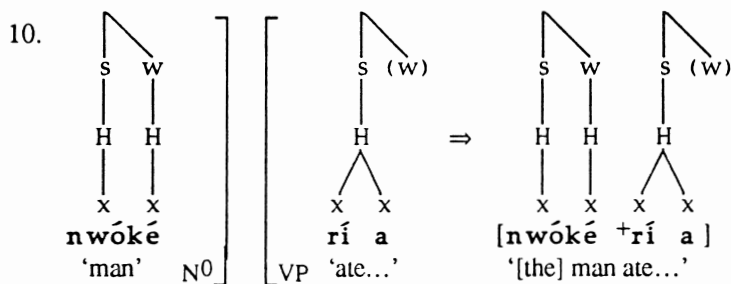
Whatever special licensing permits a word-final H to be weak in citation forms such as those in (7), (8) shows that this licensing is not available phrase-internally.

The Ágbò corpus, however, shows that a weak H is conserved in certain other contexts, which I have labeled architones. If (6b) is a negative verb plus its pronominal prefix, the corpus shows that in a larger verb phrase, the word-final weak H is equivalent to a weak L (the total downstep effect), and the initial H of the following word has higher pitch (the *downstep reset* effect).



What needs explaining in this framework, therefore, is the contextual difference between *downstep reset* in Ágbò and its absence (with corresponding loss of the word-internal downstep) in Ònicha.

Some Àbáńkẹ́lẹ́ke examples of (9) are given in (10) and (11).



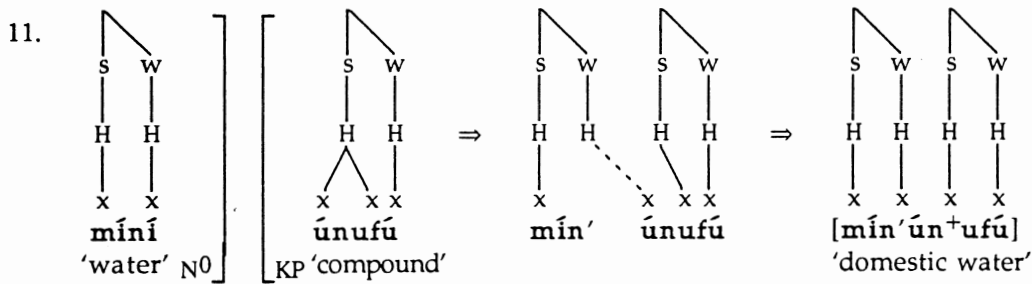
(The tone cliticization in (11) is driven by the elision of the last timing unit of *míní*.)

¹³The few exceptions in (i) are most likely exempted by internal structure.

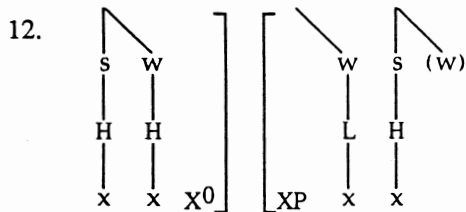
(i) ọ̀ghẹ́(ẹ) 'opening' (Ònicha) ókóro 'young man' (Àbáńkẹ́lẹ́ke), cf. óke 'male'

¹⁴One exception may be exempted by internal structure, cf. dí 'master':

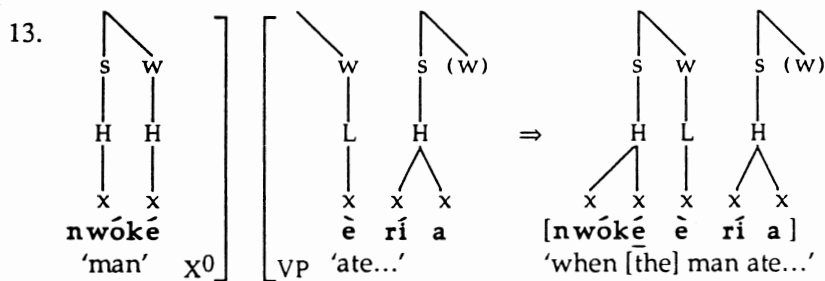
(i) áḡadí 'elderliness' (Ònicha) áḡadí nwaànyị 'old woman' *áḡadí nwaànyị



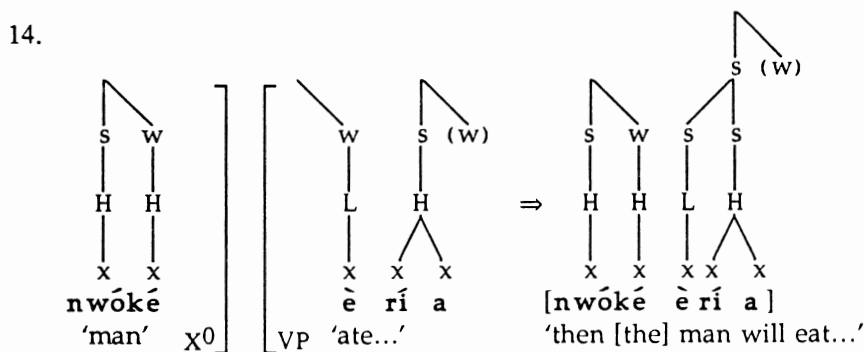
If the following phrase begins with L, another difference emerges, cf. (12).



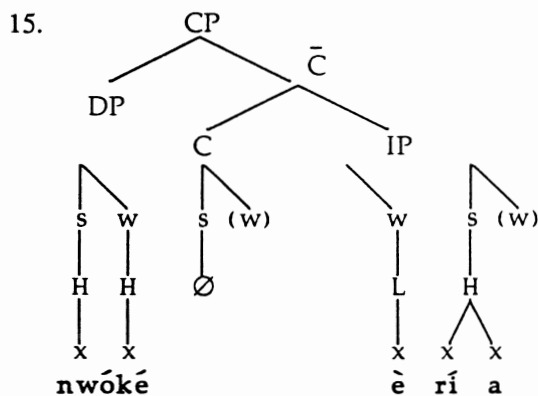
By stipulation in (4), tonal government takes the form of H spreading onto following L in Ágbò, and H raising before L in Àbāńkẹ́lẹ́kẹ́. But by definition in (2), tonal government entails a strong position, so we might not expect a tonal government effect in either dialect. H spread doesn't occur in relevant Ágbò contexts, e.g. (24b), but H raising (notated by underlining) is reported by Meir *et al.* in corresponding Àbāńkẹ́lẹ́kẹ́ examples, forcing a derivation like (13) which violates structure preservation.



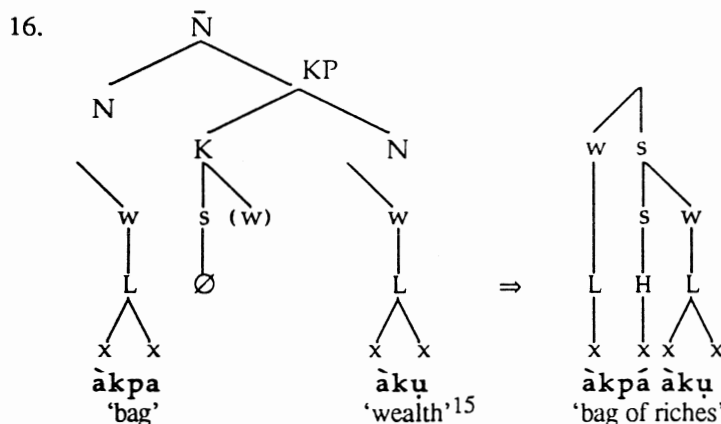
Fortunately, an alternative analysis is available; indeed it is required by the grammar. Meir *et al.* report an example minimally contrasting with (13):



Within a principle-based framework, (13) and (14) cannot have the same syntax. Minimally, the conditional clause in (13) must include an additional head, plausibly a determiner, for compositional semantics. Independently, from the so-called associative construction, it is clear that the null Comp in Igbo relative clauses is spelled out on the surface with a H tone (see Excursus). It is unnecessary to stipulate this, so long as the null Comp is metrically strong. This gives the conditional the s-structure in (15):



How does (15) satisfy prosodic well-formedness? Examples of the genitive construction like (16) been argued to exemplify the principle in (17), cf. Manfredi (1992: 159).



17. *prosodic cliticization* An unassociated element acquires as its association domain the adjacent timing unit of its governing category.

In (15), cliticization of the null Comp creates the context for the observed raising. If this goes through, then tonal government in Abankéleke is structure-preserving.

A final question is why downstep reset occurs in Ágbò before the negative morpheme *ní*, which bears H tone, but not for example before the toneless *-ghí* of Standard Igbo (to which it is cognate). *Ní* is either a suffix or a left-branching phrasal head. We might suppose that *ní* as a phrasal head with inherent H is metrically strong. Then after a downstepped verb it will have the exactly the downstep reset configuration in (9). A related effect is seen in the Excursus, where a lexically unmotivated H tone appears in Igbo relatives as the content of null, strong Comp and Kase nodes.

3. SUMMARY

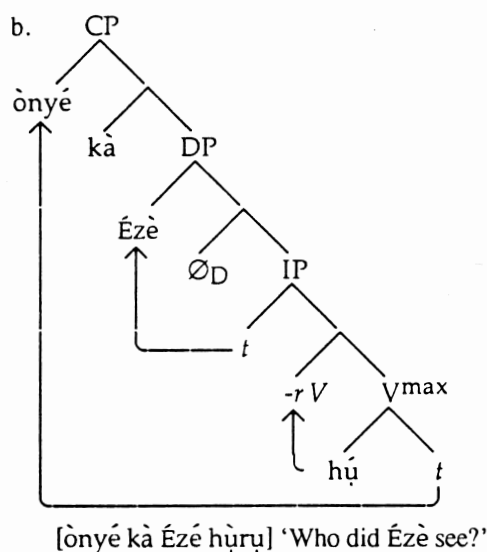
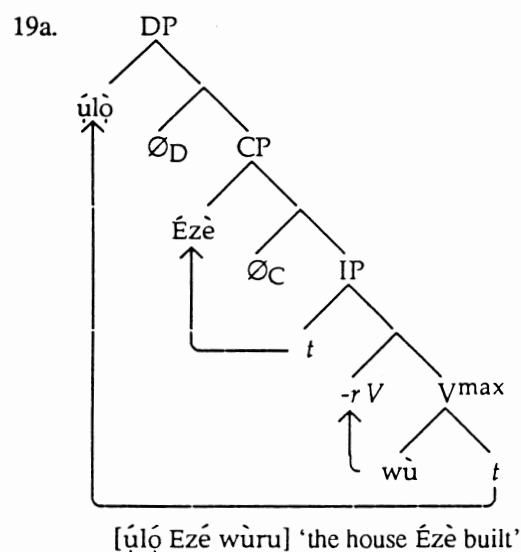
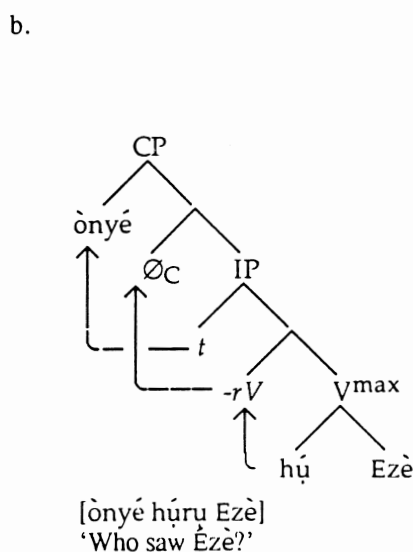
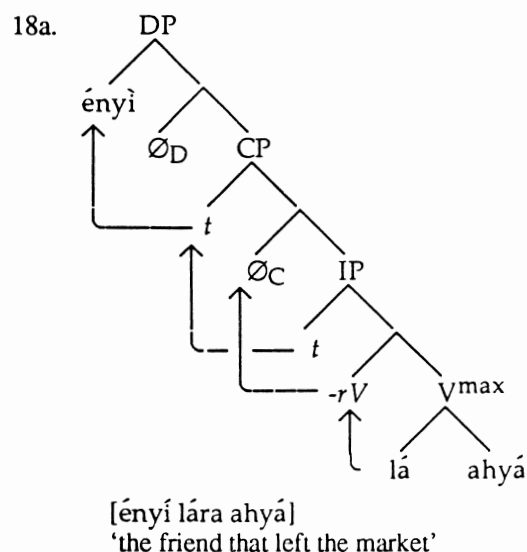
The above, preliminary analysis of prosodic licensing in Benue-Kwa languages takes off from the concrete and learnable disjunction between local and nonlocal tone effects, to posit quasi-syntactic relationships of constituency and government among tone elements, in the tradition pioneered by Bamba for Mandekan languages. Because government also forms an indispensable part of syntactic licensing, such an analysis offers the hope of explaining a wide range of phenomena which have heretofore inspired only bizarre diacritics of 'upstep' juncture. Equally importantly, it brings a rich array of phonological evidence, especially small parametric differences among closely-related languages, to bear on issues of syntactic representation.

In view of these results, Welmers' tonemarking puzzle (with which the paper began) counts as a monument to the keen linguistic intuition of that eccentric missionary, but also to the complacency of Africanist phonologists and syntacticians who have managed to preserve their respective specializations in pristine, obtuse segregation for too many decades.

¹⁵ *Àkụ* is, specifically, inert or non-reproducing wealth, as opposed to *ùbá* which includes seed stocks and livestock.

EXCURSUS: PROSODIC MINIMALITY IN ÌGBO

In Standard Ìgbo, an otherwise empty functional head is nevertheless strong in order to govern the head of an embedded constituent.¹⁶



EXCURSUS II: YORÙBÁ

Both L and H are necessarily strong in a surface three-tone system. That H also raises before L (Láníran 1992: 240), sentence-initial L does not downstep the following H (1992: 219), and spreading cannot cross M (1992: 199*fn.*), all follow from the presence of LH feet (1992: 251). Láníran (1992: 270) refutes Pierrehumbert and Beckman's (1988) claim—repeated e.g. by McCarthy (1988)—that declination is not computed over phonological tones.

EXCURSUS III: AGAINST REGISTER TONES

The register tone framework (Snider 1990) has no account for prosodic domains. Contour tones are overgenerated, unless markedness between 'modal' and 'register' tones is invoked to exclude possible but unattested contours. A "left-to-right implementation rule" (like Schachter and Fromkin's numerical algorithm) is also needed. The (non-arboreal) register formalism does not represent cumulation explicitly. The lack of symmetry between upstep and downstep is accidental.

¹⁶In Ágbò, the empty head of a relative clause is spelled out with the copula *hụn*.

CORPUS

Speaker

Julius Ògbú
Idumu Òkú, Ágbò
June, 1977

Tone orthography

[´, `] = surface tones;
no mark = same as preceding tone;
[´] after [´] = downstep;
[+] = antedownstep

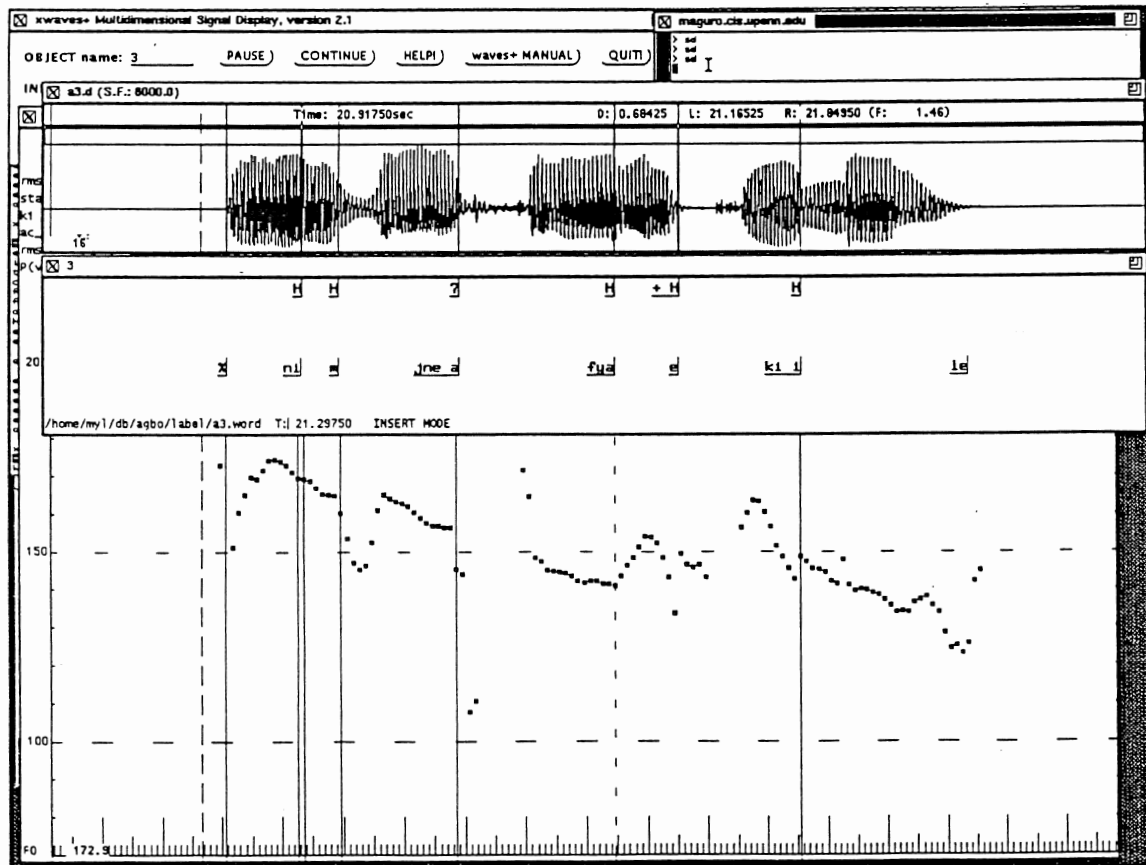
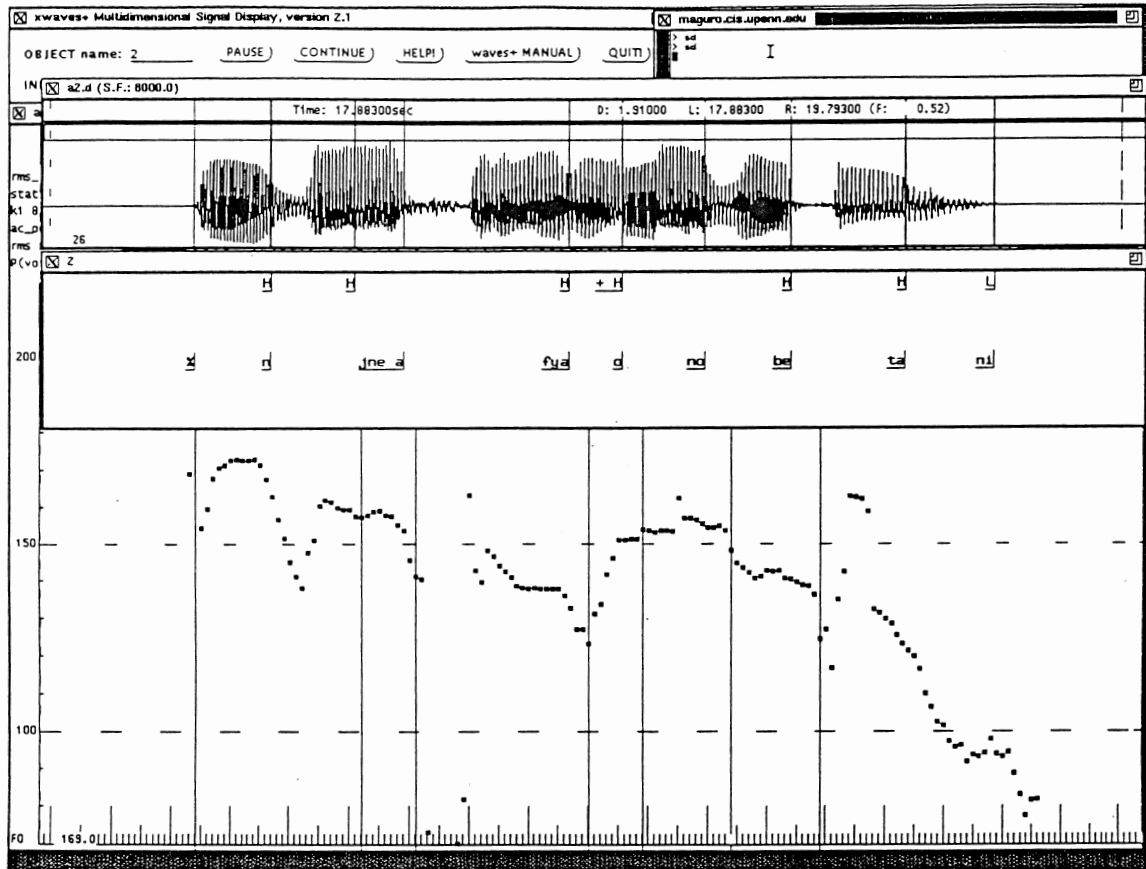
Track no.

1. N jné afya. Ó wí m ogné kírì.
'I went to market; it took me a brief time'
2. N jné afyá + ọ̀nọ̀bé tanì. [a copy of pitch track 2 follows below]
'I'll go to market after a little while today'
3. Ní m jne afyá + ékì ilẹ̀. [a copy of pitch track 3 follows below]
'Let me go to market tomorrow'
4. Ányu àtú nkọ, ì kebe gí é be nknú.
'An axe is usually sharp before you use it to cut wood'
5. Àṅání ọ̀ nò? Ọ̀ tú nkọ.
'How is it?' 'It's sharp'
6. Ọ̀pya atú atú, ì kebe gí é betúfú ùknuésù.
'A machete is usually sharp before you use it to cut open [a bundle of] yam pegs'
7. Àṅání ọ̀ nò? Ọ̀ tú atú.
'How is it?' 'It's sharp'
8. Mgbadna enwóke ákọ, ọ̀ kebe náhi ohúkpagha.
'An antelope is usually very clever, before it can escape a hunter'
9. Àṅání ọ̀ dnò náhi? Ọ̀ nwo akó.
'How did it manage to escape?' 'It's clever'
[transcription/translation of tracks 10-12 is missing]
13. Ékú ugbó wẹ gí enjeré + kwá àkọ ụkọ.
'A farm coat sewn with hide itches'
14. Àṅání ọ̀ mé i? Á á kọ m ụkọ.
'How does it affect you?' 'It doesn't itch me'
15. Kí ọ̀ mé é? Ọ̀ kọ á ụkọ.
'What does it do to him?' 'It itches him'
16. Kí i wẹnafúnì a? Ọ̀ kọ akó.
'Why did you take it off?' 'It itches'
17. Égedí aàja anụ àja ní ọ̀ marni ọ̀súọ ọ̀belezèè.
'An elder dices up meat so that s/he can know the sweet taste of "ọ̀belezèè"'
18. Àṅání ọ̀ dnò kwádeme é? Ọ̀ já anụ; ọ̀ méyì ofigmò.
'How did s/he manage to prepare it? S/he diced meat; s/he added palm oil'
19. Àṅání ọ̀ kwádeme é? Ọ̀ já anụ àja.
'How does s/he prepare it?' 'S/he dices up meat'
20. Nmùndù abù ẹ̀bù ógné ilẹ̀ ifnọ̀ gí etí.
'Small children sing whenever the moon shines'
21. Kí wẹ me è wẹ gílẹ̀ + ní rahni? [a copy of pitch track 21 follows below]
'What did they do that they did not sleep?'
22. Ábù wẹ ẹ̀bù, étnè + ní wẹ égú. [a copy of pitch track 22 follows below]
'They sang, they didn't dance'
23. Ógù ọ̀mumụ nwa ẹ̀nyí nà éré.
'The birth medicine we received was effective'
24. Àṅání ọ̀ rnunì i? Ọ̀ re ere.
'How then did it work for you?' 'It was effective'
25. [incomplete transcription] Ọ̀ ré ère.
[...] 'It will be effective'
26. Ọ̀ríri Nni Ugbó + ápu ọ̀-hù-mma.
'The Feast of Farm Food turned out well'
27. Ọ̀ pù kẹ̀ wẹ dnò kúu? Ọ̀ pu apu.
'Did it turn out as they said?' 'It turned out [well]'

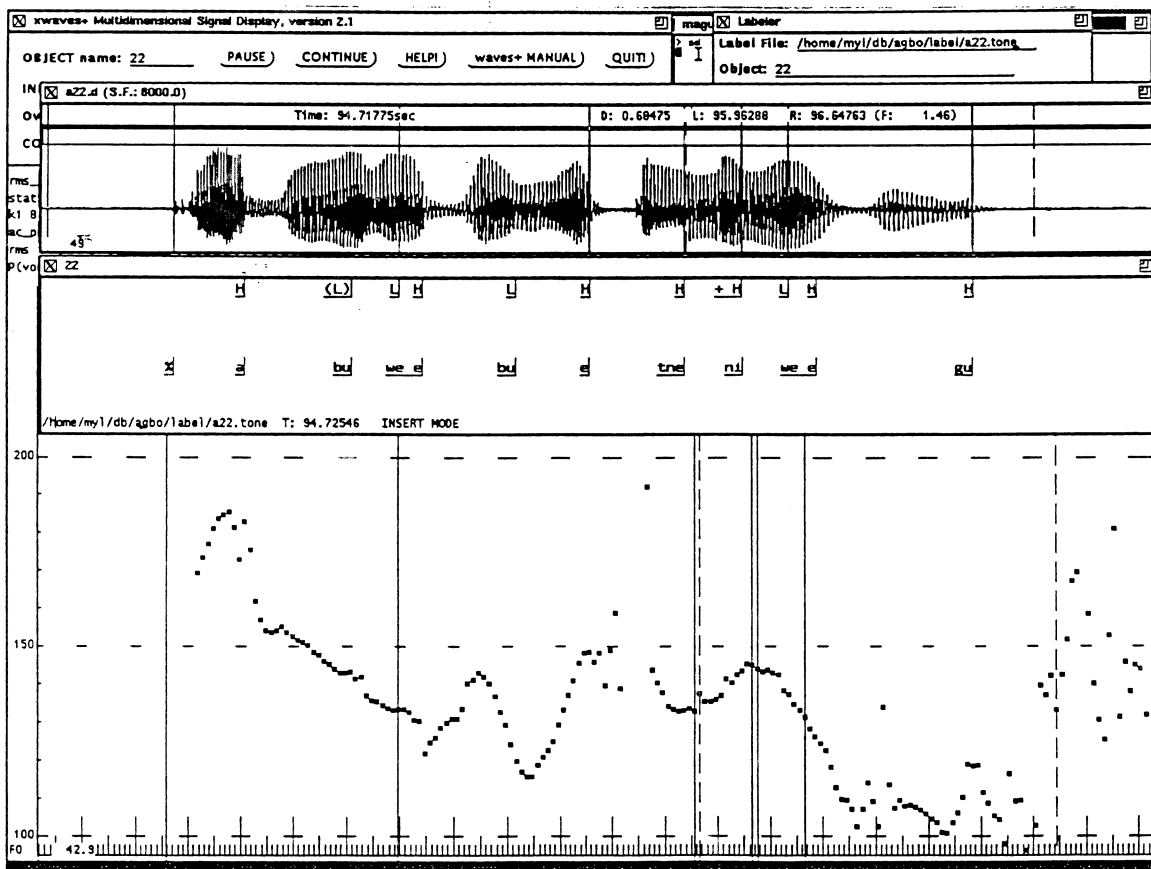
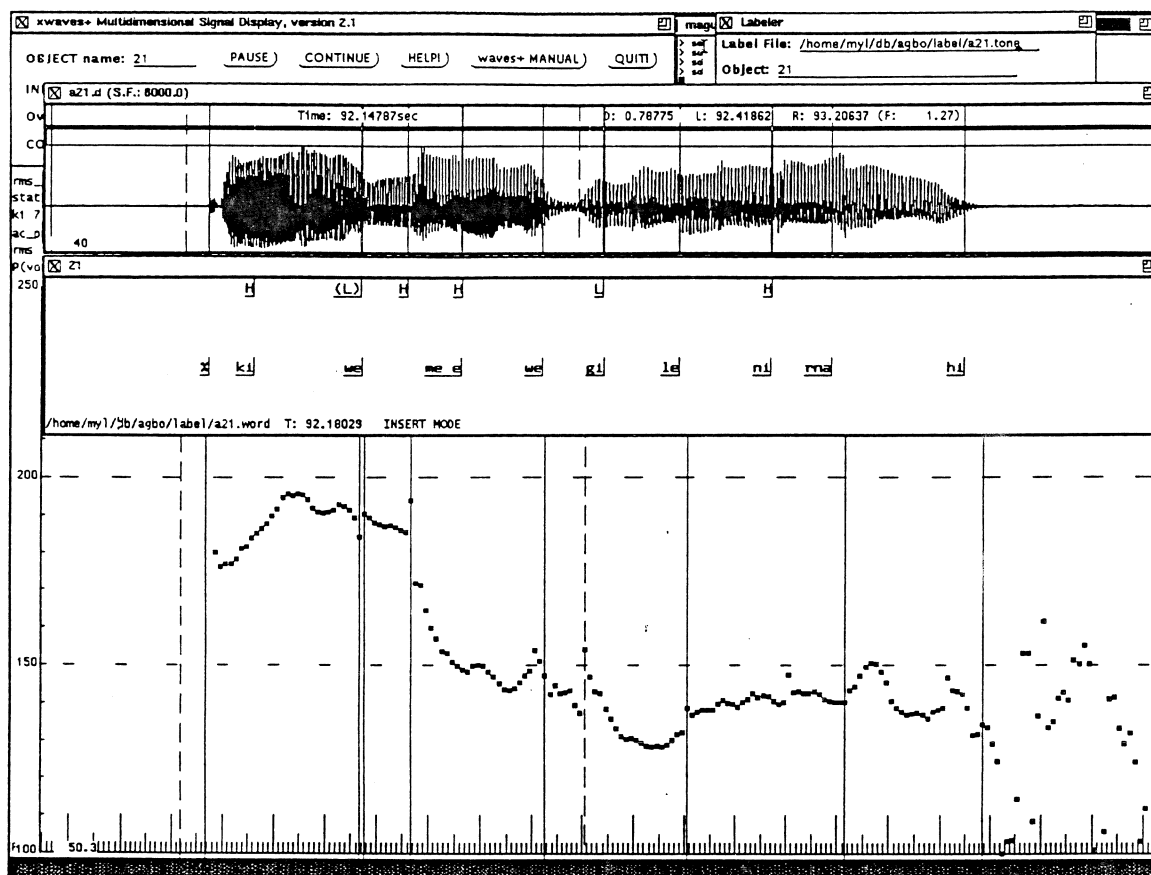
28. Nkè í + hnú lálá + nî? Ò pú àpú.
'Yours which is coming up? 'It will turn out [well]'
29. Mírni ezúe òsuó òhú. (possibly: Mírni + ezúe...)
'Rain fell [in] one area'
30. Ní mírni ezúe ugbó ò rúe mgbé ènyasi.
'Rain must fall on the farm by evening'
31. Mírni + ní o zué ebe ndi òhù.
'Rain will fall someplace'
32. Ányu atnú + ní nkó.
'The axe isn't sharp'
33. Éyílè m + ányu tñù lè + ní nkó!
'Don't give me an axe that's not sharp!'
34. Òpya átnù + ní àtnù.
'The machete isn't sharp'
35. Ánílè m gí òpya átnù lè + ní àtnù!
'Don't have me use a machete that's not sharp!'
36. Mgbadna áanwo ákó.
'Antelopes aren't clever'
37. N sèka hú ùtè mgbadná nwò lè + ní ákó.
'I can see the track of an antelope that's not clever'
38. Èbulúku aákó akó.
'[The ritual coat of an Ólokún priest] doesn't itch'
39. Ní é yímè ẹkwà kọ lè + ní ukó. (speaker hesitates)
'Let him put on a cloth that doesn't itch'
40. Ndi kikenì áája anù nkè òbelezèè.
'People nowadays don't dice meat for "òbelezèè"'
41. Ánílè onye ghàlè + ní àja anù + lè m! (strong effect)
'Don't let someone who omits dicing meat host me!'
42. Nnú ndù áábù ẹbù ímè isì àbàlì.
'Children don't sing [on] moonless nights'
43. Ndi ghàlè + ní àbù ẹbù ásekà tñé egú.
'Those who omit singing cannot dance'
44. Ògù ààre ere.
'[The] medicine is totally ineffective'
45. Á nì lè m + gí ogù ẹlè + ní ère ere.
'I won't use medicine that is totally ineffective'
46. Òriri apú + ní àpù.
'The feast flopped dismally' [did not turn out at all]
47. Hnú pù lè + ní àpù jọkọ anwozì.
'What flops is going to have another [chance]'
48. Élè + ógné wẹ gí gú gí + hnú aka ahnú kẹ wẹ gí gú + ahyuá nì.
'It is not when they dug yams last year that they're digging yams this year'
49. Ógné wẹ gí gú gí + wnù ógné mírni gí lú gu.
'The time they harvest yam is the time when rain has finished tapering off'
50. Ógné wẹ égi + gú gí wnù ógné ọ-wnù-lẹ gha ekí + jnẹmẹ.
'The time they will harvest yam is any time after tomorrow and thereafter'
51. Ébe o wu ọzọ chọ ewù wnù epeté èpete.
'Where he stood seeking shade is muddy'
52. Ùbé o wu ọzọ rú elú + ákpági.
'The ladder he stood upright broke'
53. Ébe o wu ọzọ ché nmù a wnù ahamáhà ọwáyà.
'Where he stood waiting for his children is in the middle of the road'
54. Ébe i ewu ọzọ chéri wẹ wnù ébe ọzọ nòhímé.
'Where you will stand waiting for them is where the path makes a bend'

55. Èmù aknú ìhian aknú.
'Sickness troubles people'
56. Òbanije esú ìhian esú.
'Sweat affects people greatly'
57. Òbanije èèsú ìhian esù.
'Sweat doesn't affect people at all'
58. Èzìzá nkú kà alì azàà. (why not: Èzìzá nkú...)
'A broom of mature palm [branches] is best for sweeping the ground'
59. Èzìzá òkìtì ààkà alì azàà ká rì èzìzá nkú.
'A broom of baby palm [branches] doesn't sweep better than one of mature palm'
60. Wé amari nwa èmé nwá.
'They know [how] the child will make itself'
61. Wé amari nwa èmé nwá.
'They don't know [how] the child will make itself'
62. Nwátá mári ihie èmé nwá.
'A child that knows something will mature'
63. Nwátá àmá ihie + á èmé nwá.
'A child that doesn't know something won't mature'
64. Ónye ehyù ekwá òhuhù amári ọ̀nụ a.
'Someone who shops for hen's eggs knows their price'
65. Ónye eéhyù ekwá òhuhù amári ọ̀nụ a.
'Someone who doesn't..., doesn't...'
66. Éru eèpú ugbo wnú ekurù.
'The mushroom that appears on the farm is "ékurù"'
67. Éru aàfòdú nkú wnú ekurù.
'The mushroom that grows on palm trees is "ékurù"'
68. Éru aàfòdú ọ̀fya, ónobè nì ẹ̀nyí húe + ní ẹ̀, ò réhi.
'The mushroom that grows in the woods, soon after we don't pick it'
69. Ékurù aàfòdú nkú onobé, ómeni ẹ̀nyí húe + ní ẹ̀, ò réhi mgbé ẹ̀nyasi.
'The "ékurù" that will grow on palm trees soon, if we don't pick it, it rots by evening'
70. Éru eèpú ọ̀fya + ónobè; nì ẹ̀nyí húe + ní ẹ̀, ò réhi.
'A [type of] mushroom will come out in the woods in a little while, if we don't pick it, it rots by evening'
71. Éru eèfie ẹ̀nyí ugbo + wnú ekurù.
'The mushroom that eludes us in the farm is "ékurù"'
72. Éru eèfie ẹ̀nyi + ọ̀fya ekí + wnú ugu éni. Nèdì ẹ̀nyi aghòsì + ní ẹ̀nyi kẹ̀ wé àchọ́ á.
'The mushroom that will elude us in tomorrow's woods "ugu éni",
'Our father didn't show us how to look for it'
73. Mánýa aàsúọ̀ ìkpohó wnú ọ̀gorọ̀.
'The wine that women like is "ọ̀gorọ̀"'
74. Míríní ezúe + íme àbalì. Mánýa aàsúọ̀ + tanì wnú nkú elú.
'Rain fell during the night. The wine that will be sweet today is "nkú elú"'
75. Ánú mẹ́ éke ẹ̀sì rọ̀.
'The meat I [usually] share out is horse'
76. Ánú mẹ́ éke wnú ẹ̀sì ma ọ̀ wnú ẹ̀fni, ẹ̀lẹ́ + hnú ká ntì.
'The meat I [usually] share is horse or cow, it is not that which is smaller'
77. Ánú mẹ́ éke + rì ndù kíkenì.
'The meat I will share out is alive now'
78. Mánýa mẹ́ ára wnú òzú nì nkú elú, ẹ̀lẹ́ ọ̀gorọ̀.
'The wine I usually drink is "òzú" and "nkú elú", it is not "ọ̀gorọ̀"'
79. Mánýa mẹ́ ára, è gí m + dọ̀nọ̀ ò sùọ̀. (syntax unclear)
'The wine I will drink is claimed to be going to be sweet'
80. Ògwá o zùzù ẹ̀nyi + ní ìyá, èrú ukà a ríká.
'The meeting that includes us and her/him, it usually comes to a big argument'
81. Ògwá oó zuzu ẹ̀nyi, yá ebufùlẹ́ á.
'The meeting that will include us, let her/him not cancel it'

PITCH TRACKS 2-3



PITCH TRACKS 21-22



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