Abstract
This paper investigates the prosody of focalisation in Somali, a Cushitic tonal accent language. The Somali nouns undergo many tonal accent alternations according to the discursive contexts. A primary aim of the study is to explain these alternations by assuming that they are triggered by intonational tones. However, very little attention has been devoted to the intonation of Somali. As Somali has morphological focus particles, it has been traditionally accepted that this language has no intonational focus marking. This paper disproves this assumption, by providing a phonetic description of $f_0$ configurations and showing that a process of downdrift, intonational high tones and a low tone of focalisation express the information structure.

Finally, a phonological model of the prosody of Somali will be proposed. To be precise, it will be argued that the low tone of focalisation is the central element of a recursive intonative structure and governs intonational tones. Furthermore, it will be suggested that Somali has two independent tonal tiers, and that the coalescence of these tonal tiers produces the melodic patterns at the phonetic level.

1. Introduction

1.1. Information structure and focalization in Somali

It will be assumed, along with [8], that the focus and the topic are the two main components of sentence information structure, where the topic expresses the aboutness of an utterance, and the focus its unrecoverable element. The notion contrastive can be defined as contrary to some predicted or stated alternative given by the context. This information structure can be formally expressed with grammatical markers, the ordering of the different constituents, but also with prosody. Therefore, this paper focuses on how prosody expresses these constituents in a language that uses morphological focus particles.

It is traditionally assumed that Somali encodes the topic-focus articulation by means of the focus markers (“FM”) $ayaa$ and $waxaa$, as can be seen in (1) below.

Focus markers and location of focus in Somali (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ma</th>
<th>Cäli ayaa lâ hadalâ Kulmiyé?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inter</td>
<td>Ali FM with spoke Kulmiyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Mäya.</td>
<td>Yoonis ayaa lâ hadalâ Kulmiyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or No.</td>
<td>Yoonis FM with spoke Kulmiyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Mäya.</td>
<td>Kulmiyé $waxaa$ lâ hadalâ Yoonis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Kulmiyé FM with spoke Yoonis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Did Ali speak with Kulmiye? No, Yoonis spoke with Kulmiye".

FM appear before the verb ([1],[13]). The location of the focalised NP depends on the FM used: $ayaa$ focalises the left-adjacent NP, while $waxaa$ focalises the final NP of the sentence. As for the topics, their locations are not limited.

1.2. Prosody of Somali

Since [6], Somali has been considered as a tonal accent (henceforth “TA”) language. The TA has been represented by [6] as a high tone (“H”) associated with an underlying accent (“*”) assigned to the vocalic mora of a word.

The TA of nouns undergoes many complex alternations according to two main parameters: the Nominal Class (“NC”) and the syntactic/discursive context. The nouns can be divided into four NC shown in table 1 [9]:

Table 1: the Nominal Classes (NC) of Somali

| NC 1 | FSg. | gabadhë «girl» |
| NC 2 | MSg. | Yoonis «Yoonis» |
| NC 3 | MSg. | Kulmiyé «Kulmiye» |
| NC 4 | Pl. | a bahallo «beasts» |

[9] has shown that 3 syntactic/discursive contexts are pertinent to capture the TA alternations of Somali nouns (see table 2 below): [+Focus], which indicates whether the noun is focalised or not, [+Subject] which refers to the syntactic function of the noun, and [+Final] which specifies the location of the noun in the sentence.

Table 2: TA alternations of Somali nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[+Focus]</th>
<th>[+Subject]</th>
<th>[-Final]</th>
<th>[+Final]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NC1</td>
<td>gabadhë</td>
<td>gabadhë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC2</td>
<td>Yoonis</td>
<td>Yoonis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC3</td>
<td>Kulmiyé</td>
<td>Kulmiyé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC4</td>
<td>bahallo</td>
<td>bahallo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NCs 1 and 2 can be considered as “canonic” from the accentual point of view (cf.[1],[6],[9],[13]): they are unaccented in the [-Foc,+Sub] context but exhibit a high tone in the other positions (final in NC1 and penultimate in NC2). The nouns of the NC3 have different and more complex tonal variations: in [-Foc,+Sub] position, the high tone is not deleted as in the NC 1 and 2 but becomes penultimate (Kulmiyé "Kulmiye"). Finally, in focalised position, two tonal shapes can be observed depending on the location of the noun in the sentence: at the end of the utterance (+Final), i.e. focalised by $waxaa$, the TA is always penultimate, but in [-Final] position, i.e. left-adjacent to FM $ayaa$, the high tone is final or penultimate. As far as the NC4 is concerned, the TA only appears in [+Foc] context. In [-Foc] position, these nouns remain atomic even in [-Foc,-Sub] contrary to the other classes.

This paper aims to provide a phonological account of the TA alternations of Somali. It will be assumed that intonative tones interact with those of TA and trigger the particular TA
patterns of NC3 and 4. Therefore, particular attention will be paid to the intonation of Somali.

Very few researchers have studied the intonation of Somali. However, two phenomena have been recognized. [4] claimed that a boundary high tone, which he notes “H%” may appear at the end of all phrases in a sentence. The other phenomenon is one of *downdrift*, an iterative lowering of successive high pitches. [6] pointed out that downdrift is sensitive to syntactic structure and probably to the "relative weight" of the words.

This study aims to show that the distribution of H% and the downdrift are in fact closely related to the information structure of the sentence. Moreover, it will be claimed that the latter is expressed by other intonational tones and processes.

2. Methodology

The speech materials consist of sentences with the following syntactic structure:

*Table 3: general syntactic structure of the corpora.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adv</th>
<th>NP1</th>
<th>FM</th>
<th>VP</th>
<th>NP2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maanta</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>{ ayaa }</td>
<td>la hadlay</td>
<td>with spoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A noun of each NC has been placed successively in NP1 (= [+Final]) and NP2 (= [+Final]) positions. In each NP position, the noun was successively [+Focus] and [-Subject]. There were therefore 8 utterances for each NC. The sentences were written on individual sheets of paper with an appropriate question of the kind presented in (1) to produce contrastive focalisation. Two somali native male speakers (S1 and S2) read each sentence 5 times and were recorded on a tape recorder. The sentences have been digitalized with a PC computer (11kHz, 16 bits) and analysed with the WinPitch software created by Ph. Martin.

3. Phonetic analysis

In figures 1 and 2 below, examples of utterances produced by the speakers S1 and S2 are shown. These utterances contain a noun of NC3 in NP1 position (*Kulmiye "Kulmiye"), and a noun of NC2 in NP2 context (*Yoonis "Yoonis"). Each noun is successively [+Focus] and [-Focus].

The curves represented the average F0 of the five utterances realised by the speakers. A measurement was taken for each vowel and on segments with a pitch turning point. Then, the F0 values in Hz were converted in quarter tones on the basis of the final melodic minimum (the latter is therefore represented by 0 quarter tone in the tables).

3.1. The focus

Firstly, the speaker S1 will be considered (figure 1). From a paradigmatic point of view, we observe that the focalised noun is higher than the non-focalised one in the same position ([±Final]). From a syntagmatic point of view, the focus is as high as the initial adverb *maanta* in the NP1[+Foc] sentence, or higher than the preceding verb *hadlay* the NP2[+Foc] sentence. In other words, no downdrift applies on the focalised NP, which confirms [6]’s insight. It has to be noted, however, that a final focus is lower than a non-final one, and even lower than the preceding preverb *la*. In fact, the lowering of the final focus is triggered by the phonetic process of *final lowering*, which occurs at the end of read sentences ([2],[5]).

As far the speaker S2 is concerned (figure 2), the high tones of NP1[±Focus] have the same value (20 quarter tones).

However, the NP1[+Foc] is higher than the left adjacent adverb and displays a more important melodic rising than the NP1[-Foc]. At the end of the utterance, the melodic configuration is similar to the first speaker, which corroborates the idea of a final lowering.
3.2. The Topics

Figures 1 and 2 indicate that the height of the topics varies according to the speaker and their locations in the sentence. For instance, downdrift affects the NP1[-Foc] in utterances of speaker S1, but not in those of speaker S2. The preverb la is higher than the preceding NP1[-Foc] in S1's sentences while it is realised on a lower level by S2.

We have seen that the focus is not lowered by the preceding word. This implies that downdrift is not a phonetic or physiological process but a linguistic one associated with the informational weight of the phrases. It can be assumed, therefore, that the relative height of the topics manifests the informational hierarchy the speaker makes in order to organise the pre-focal topics into informational foreground and background. Thus, speaker S2 places the pre-focal Adv and NP1 on the same informational level whereas speaker S1 sends the pre-focal NP1, which is prosodically dominated, to the informational background.

The idea that the downdrift is a linguistic process is reinforced by the fact that the verb hadlay is lowered by the preverb le: they both belong to the same phrase VP. In other words, downdrift also indicates the syntactic cohesion, as proposed by [6].

In addition to the downdrift, both speakers realise a melodic contrast between pre- and post-focal topics: the latter undergo a significant lowering of all the tones whereas the pre-focal topics are realised on a high register. This contrast is especially marked in S2's sentences.

The literature often reports such a contrast in many languages. In particular, it is often mentioned that post-focus presents a low and flattened f0 ([2],[3],[5],[7],[10],[12],[14]) in intonation languages. One may ask why such a contrast appears in Somali and other languages. In section 4, a phonological account for this contrast will be provided.

3.3. The boundary high tone H%

The data shows that only speaker S1 produced H% following the interesting distribution given in table 4 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adv</th>
<th>NP1</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-final focus</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final focus</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most important fact concerns the VP in post-focal position: H% may appear only in 10% of the utterances. On pre-focal topics and on the NP1[+Foc], H% may occur in 40-80% of the cases. Remember that speaker S1 produces L\_\textsubscript{loc} on the FM ayaad, located after NP1[+Foc]. Thus, H% can appear before L\_\textsubscript{loc}, but not after L\_\textsubscript{loc}. In other words, it appears that the occurrence of H% is governed by L\_\textsubscript{loc}.

This brings me to the issue of the NC4. The nouns of this class are only accentuated when they are focalised (cf. table 2). Considering the distribution of H%, it will be assumed that the TA of NC4 is in fact the tone H%. However, it must be explained why the nouns of NC4 remain unaccented in [-Foc] position whereas the other NCs display a TA. An answer to this question is provided in the following section, where a phonological model to account for the prosody of Somali is proposed.

4. Phonological model

4.1. The prosodic structure

This paper puts forward a hierarchical and recursive tree structure inspired by [7] and his structure of tunes which updates the proposals of the X-bar theory of constituent structure (cf. figure 3). Following [11] and [3], it will be assumed that the tonal segments are directly linked to the prosodic constituents.

![Figure 3: prosodic structure, tonals tiers and phonological rules](image)

In this hierarchical structure, the minimal prosodic unit is the prosodic word (henceforth \(\text{\&}\)), including a lexical head (noun, verb etc.) and right-bounded by the high tone of the TA. On the level above, \(\text{\&}\)s form higher constituents called intonational phrases (henceforth \(\text{t}\)), which are right bounded by intonative tones such as L\_\textsubscript{loc} or H%. An \(\text{t}\) can contain one or several \(\text{\&}\). This is indicated by the relative height of the T\(\text{As}\). For example, the fact that the FM ayaad and the verb hadlay are lower than the preceding item, namely the NP1[+Foc] and the preverb le puts forward the idea of the existence of a hierarchy between each pair of words. In such case, it can be claimed that the combine into a unique \(\text{t}\) where the prosodic head of the \(\text{t}\) is the \(\text{o}\) on the left (i.e. NP1 or \(\text{la}\) represented as an \(\text{o}\)). Finally, on a higher level, the \(\text{t}\)s combine together to form the recursive prosodic structure given in figure 3, where the \(\text{t}\) bearing the focus is the head of the whole structure (noted \(\text{t}\)). The \(\text{t}\)-focus must be considered as the head because of the role it plays on the phonological level, as shown in the following section.

4.2. Tonal tiers and phonological process

In the proposed model, it is assumed that the tones are distributed onto two independent tonal tiers. The first tonal level consists of the high tones of T\(\text{As}\). On the other tier are the intonative tones, which consist of L\_\textsubscript{loc} preceded by high tones ("H\text{t}\") and followed by low tones ("L\text{t}\", cf. figure 3). The coalescence of these phonological tonal tiers gives the melodic configurations on the phonetic level.

This representation enables us to capture the melodic contrast between the post-focal topics and the pre-focal ones. Thus, the lowering of post-focal topics results from the association of the accentual H with L\text{t}, whereas the pre-focal topics are the combination of the accentual H with Ht. In the same manner, the focus is pronounced on a high register because its TA combines with an Ht. Finally, it can be assumed that H%, which only occurs before L\_\textsubscript{loc} is the optional spreading (represented with dashed lines in figure 3) of Ht on the right edge of pre-focal topics and the focus.
One may ask where do the intonative tones come from. In section 4.1, it was suggested that the \( L_{\text{foc}} \) is the head of the structure. Being the head of the structure, the \( L_{\text{foc}} \) bears the **tonal primitive** of the utterance, which is \( L_{\text{foc}} \). \( L_{\text{foc}} \) is called the tonal primitive of the utterance primarily because all the other intonative tones can be derived from \( L_{\text{foc}} \), according to two phonological rules, which indicates the dominance relationships within the prosodic structure:

1) **Tone Inversion** rule: this rule deals with the relationships of dominance from **right to left**. This rule, which is directly inspired by [10]'s rule of *inversion de pente*, defines the tones on the left of \( L_{\text{foc}} \). Thus, \( L_{\text{foc}} \) generates the intonative \( H \) on the head of pre-focal \( \text{ts} \) (i.e. *maanta* in figure 3), and on the NPF[+Foc].

2) **Tone Copy** rule: this rule deals with the relationships of dominance from **left to right**, and implies downdrift. As shown in figure 3, this rule intervenes between the \( L_{\text{foc}} \) and the heads of the post-focal \( \text{ts} \). The copy of \( L_{\text{foc}} \) on the post-focal topics has also been proposed by [3] and [12]. However, the tone copy put forward in this paper does not apply only on post-focal topics but is a general rule intervening within any \( \text{ts} \) in pre- or post-focal position as well as within the \( L_{\text{foc}} \)-focus, as can be seen in figure 3.

4.3. TA alternations

In section 3, it was suggested that the tonal shift in the focalised nouns of NC3 was triggered by \( L_{\text{foc}} \). It was also assumed that the high tone that occurs in NC4 was the \( H^\% \) tone. However, it has to be explained why the TA moves in NC3 but not in the other NCs and why NC4 does not display a high tone in [-Foc] positions contrary to the other classes.

In this section, it is explained that the particular TA alternations of NC3 and 4 are due to specific underlying accentual shapes. NC1 and 2 have only one underlying accent located either on the final vowel (NC1) or on the penultimate one (NC2). The assumption that the nouns of NC3 have **two** underlying accents associated with both final and penultimate vowels. In fact, these nouns are made up of two adjunct morphemes, each of them carrying an accent: the lexical radical (*Kalmi* - "to meet") and the agentive suffix -e, which nominalises a clause [13]. Finally, it can be suggested that the nouns of NC4 are unaccented, which constitutes a plural mark [9].

The different tonal patterns are derived as follows: the high tone associated with the prosodic word (o) percolates to the first accented vowel from right to left. According to this rule, in [-Foc] position, the nouns of NC2 will have a high tone on the penultimate vowel, and those of NC1 and 3 on the ultimate one (cf. figure 4 below). As the nouns of NC4 are unaccented, the high tone can not be associated with any vowel and remains floating (figure 4).

**Figure 4**: association of the TA high tone with the accented vowel (ο)

In \( [+ \text{Foc}] \) position, the high tone of NC3 can be shifted by \( L_{\text{foc}} \) because there is another accented vowel on the left with which the high tone can be re-associated. In NC1, however, there is only one lexical accent: as the high tone can not be re-associated with any other accented vowel, it remains in its place and blocks the association of \( L_{\text{foc}} \) to any other vowel of the word (cf. figure 5).

Note that \( L_{\text{foc}} \) can normally be linked to the final unaccented vowel in NC2 (cf. figure 5).

**Figure 5**: \( L_{\text{foc}} \) can disassociate \( H \) in NC3 but not in NC1

It was suggested in section 3.3, that the final high tone of the focalised nouns of NC4 is the \( H^\% \) tone. In fact, the final high tone in question is the intonative \( H \) generated by \( L_{\text{foc}} \) following the tone inversion rule. \( H \) associates with the default vowel of the word which is the ultimate one, and blocks the association of \( L_{\text{foc}} \).

5. Conclusion

The ultimate aim of this paper was to propose a phonological model to account for the TA alternations and the melodic patterns of Somali. In particular, it has been stated that the focus is marked by a low tone of focalisation which is the tonal primitive of a prosodic structure: \( L_{\text{foc}} \) triggers the TA alternations and governs the intonative tones according to two orientated phonological rules which indicate the relationships of dominance within the structure. Furthermore, it has been shown that the proposition of two independent tonal tiers explains the melodic contrast between pre- and post-focal topics.

Finally, this paper pointed out that some similarities appeared between the Somali and other languages. This suggests that the prosodic structure that has been proposed for Somali might apply similarly to other languages.

6. References