Brett Baker – University of New England
Mark Harvey – University of Newcastle

Coronal place oppositions

Current theories of place oppositions involve features referring both to active articulators and passive targets. Since at least the work of Sagey (1990), it has been accepted that the major place contrasts should be described in terms of monovalently specified features referring to the major active articulators: labial, coronal, dorsal, pharyngeal, glottal. Apart from the coronal class, features describing passive targets distinguish oppositions within the major articulator classes. We propose that place contrasts among coronals are determined solely by features referring to monovalently specified active articulator gestures. There is no phonological evidence to suggest that passive articulator features—such as [±anterior]—have any role to play in the phonology of coronals.

We adduce several pieces of evidence for this claim. Within the maximum four contrastive places of articulation within coronals, oppositions are never distinguished solely in terms of passive place. No languages maintain a simple opposition between apico-dental and apico-alveolar, for instance. Secondly, the one generative feature distinguishing coronal sub-places by passive articulator—[±anterior]—makes incorrect predictions about natural class behaviour. There are no phonological rules referring to the class of [+anterior] or [-anterior] segments, which cannot be captured more naturally with other features. By contrast, there are numerous rules referring to [±distributed], which may be translated into the traditional phonetic classes of [laminal] and [apical]. Rather than [±anterior], we propose that subclasses of laminals and apicals may be distinguished in terms of marked and default realisations, where the marked realisations are [tip up] and [retroflex], respectively. We argue that a model of the behaviour of retroflex segments requires a distinction between transition and release phases of obstruents (as in the ‘Aperture node’ theory of Steriade 1993). We show that the feature [retroflex] is phonologically relevant for obstruents on the VC transition side only, and that at release, retroflexes are phonologically best treated as apico-alveolars. This model explains numerous neutralisation, assimilation and dissimilation phenomena, which are otherwise problematic for standard phonological models.

Gavan Breen – Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs

Reflecting on retroflexion

Many linguists, and perhaps all linguists in the early stage of their career, have difficulty hearing phonological oppositions which do not belong to their own language. Many mistakes are made in learning to hear such distinctions. My own career is full of examples. One strategy that may be adopted is to assume that a 'hard' sound is present in a word if you hear it once or twice although most times you hear the 'easy' one.
Another is to rely on one feature of the 'hard' sound; for example, an interdental nasal tends to be longer than an alveolar one, so if you hear it long it's probably interdental. Another is, having noticed that a certain sound is not quite the same as a particular 'easy' sound, to guess (probably unconsciously) that it is a certain 'hard' sound. For example, for years I thought that the Antekerrepenh word for 'river' was rlere; only later, when I beecame involved with another Arandic dialect, did I realise that it was lhere. Another is to hear evidence of a 'hard' sound in a word but to locate it wrongly. Readers can no doubt add other doubtful or misleading strategies.

The opposition between apico-alveolar and apico-postalveolar (retroflex) consonant series is found in many Australian languages, but we seem to be just beginning to understand how complex the interrelationship between them might be, and how easy it can be to get it wrong. I look at this interrelationship, well-described in some cases, still not well understood in others, in a number of languages, describing in some cases, leaving to the imagination in others, how the linguist can get it wrong.

It is an unfortunate fact that much descriptive linguistics is done by young inexperienced linguists working alone. I have believed for a long time that a language description ought to be done by a team.

Gavan Breen – Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs

What's up with /u/?

Some changes have appeared in the way phoneme charts are organised for Australian languages in recent decades, although I'm not sure how widely all of them have spread or how appropriate some of them are for all languages. The earliest and most used is to specify articulations in terms of the active articulator as well as the passive articulator, and to group together columns with the same active articulator. A later change is to group labial and velar articulations together under the heading peripheral. A third is to group all phonemes together rather than to have separate charts for consonants and vowels. /u/ is placed below /w/ and /i/ below /y/, while /a/ is out on its own.

I refer briefly to arguments that are made in support of the last two of these changes, referring to phonotactic facts of Australian languages and the similarities of the articulations of glides and the corresponding vowels. I look at some things that happen with /u/ that make it appropriate to have it adjacent to /w/ in the chart. In particular I look at some features of the occurrence and behaviour of /u/ in two widely separated and very different languages of inland Australia: Wakaya on the Barkly Tableland and Ngamini north of Lake Eyre.

Andy Butcher – Flinders University

PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ABORIGINAL ENGLISH

It can be assumed that the great majority of the 455,000 strong Aboriginal population of Australia speak some form of Australian Aboriginal English (AAE) at least some of the time and that it is the first (and only) language of most Aboriginal children. This means their language is somewhere on a continuum ranging from something very close to Standard Australian English (SAE) at one end, through to something very close to creole at the other. The phonetics and phonology of AAE are influenced to varying degrees by the phonetics and phonology of Australian Aboriginal languages. This influence ranges from the heaviest varieties, whose phonology is virtually identical to that of the local indigenous language, through to the lightest varieties, which may be distinguished from SAE, for example, only by the use of a clear (non-velarised) /l/ in post-vocalic position.

The lack of obstruent distinctions in the Aboriginal substrate means that basilectal varieties of AAE do not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops and that labiodental and dental fricatives are typically replaced by the corresponding stops. The sibilant consonants do not generally follow this rule: in lighter varieties generally both /s/ and /ʃ/ occur, but are often used interchangeably, while /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ are often pronounced as [ʃ] in initial position but as [ʦ] word finally. In heavier varieties, all six SAE sibilants may be represented by the alveopalatal stop which occurs in most Australian Aboriginal languages. Structurally, complex syllable onsets are absent from the vast majority of indigenous languages and consequently liable to reduction or simplification in basilectal AAE. Complex codas are generally reduced where there is more than one obstruent in the standard accent.

Basilectal varieties of AAE, which are heavily influenced by the indigenous substrate, may have a very restricted set of vowels compared to SAE. However, allophonic variation is wide and the rules of allophony do not necessarily coincide with those for the standard

accent (e.g. the considerable fronting and raising of vowels in the presence of palatal consonants). A comparison of the vowels of a small group of acrolectal AAE speakers with those of the standard accent suggests that the AAE speakers are using a somewhat smaller overall vowel space. The lower boundaries of the AAE and indigenous language spaces are very similar and, whereas the SAE vowel space represents an expansion in all directions compared with the indigenous space, the AAE space represents an expansion in an 'upward' (lower F_1) direction only. Within their respective spaces, the relative positions of the monophthongs are quite similar across the two varieties. The few differences there are can be viewed as more conservative features in the AAE accent. The diphthongs of AAE fall largely within the space defined by the monophthongs. In terms of relative movement within the vowel space, the main differences from SAE concern /ɑe/ and /æɔ/, both of which have somewhat shorter trajectories than in the standard accent.

Andy Butcher – Flinders University
Bruce Birch, Nick Evans & Janet Fletcher – University of Melbourne

STOPPED LATERALS IN IWAIDJA

The Iwaidjan group of languages is well known for a number of phonological peculiarities. Prominent among these is the existence of a class of sounds which have variously been referred to as 'lateral flaps', 'flapped laterals', and 'prelateralised stops'. In Iwaidja these sounds contrast with singleton lateral approximants, as well as with sequences of lateral approximant plus stop, at alveolar and retroflex places of articulation (an alveopalatal is also marginally attested). These articulations bear very little resemblance to the true lateral flaps described as occurring in languages such as Naasioi, Tucano, Chumburung and some dialects of Korean and Japanese. Our acoustic and electropalatographic data show that they can best be described as a sequence of a strongly articulated lateral approximant (i.e with greater contact area than a simple lateral approximant) followed by a lightly articulated and rapidly released oral stop (i.e. with less contact than a simple stop and often with incomplete closure). Both components of these sequences are shorter in duration than their simple counterparts in lateral+stop clusters. In view of their probable historical provenance, we refer to them as 'stopped laterals' and propose the symbols [lᵈ], [ɭᵈ] (and, if necessary, [ʎʲ]) as appropriate for their transcription. We suggest that that these sounds may be another example of the pan-Australian phenomenon of consonantal 'strengthening' in (historically) intervocalic position.

Jeff Chapman- University of Queensland

Intonational marking of focus in Warlpiri narratives

This paper examines the role played by intonation in marking information structure within Warlpiri narratives. In Warlpiri, information structure is reflected in the word order with sentences falling into the general order: topic, kontrast, auxiliary, rheme (new information), verb and theme (given information). The use of word order to indicate information structure does not mean that other modes of expression such as intonation or morphological means are excluded. It has been reported that a number of Australian languages express information focus with an intonational prominence - a pitch accent. An example is Bininj Gun-wok (Bishop, 2003: 201-204)
Butcher and Harrington (2003) reported on focus in Warlpiri sentences, and showed that phrase initial focused elements had a pitch accent which does not occur in postverbal elements, which are not in focus.
To further investigate the relationship between intonation and information structure in Warlpiri, this study analysed recordings of three narrative texts, from three different Warlpiri speakers. The analysis of these texts confirms that intonation is related to the information structure, and that a higher initial intonation can be found on words that contain relatively new information (rheme rather than theme) . This higher intonation does not seem to be directly related to word order or to those aspects of focus which contribute to 'prominence'. Moreover, the intonational prominence found on new information is relatively small compared to the changes in fundamental frequency associated with pitch accents found in a language such as English, raising questions about the phonological status of the change in intonation found in Warlpiri.

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Janet Fletcher, Andy Butcher, and Debbie Loakes

Positional variation in consonant articulation in Warlpiri

Previous articulatory research on $C_{1\#}C_2$ sequences in languages like English has shown that the first consonant is overlapped somewhat by C_2 particularly if the latter is alveolar (e.g. Byrd 1996). In a related vein, Butcher (2006) suggests that unlike Germanic languages, Australian languages show remarkable stability in C_1C_2 sequences where C_1 is coronal and C_2 is non-coronal as in –nk- sequences. He lists the following examples from Warlpiri which show no anticipatory assimilation of the nasal in heterorganic clusters:

/ ' jinka/ "sorcerer" [' ji**ngɐ**]

/ ' manca/ "mulga tree" [' ma**nɟ**a]

In an earlier electropalatographic study of alveolar assimilation in connected Southern British English speech, Barry (1985) found evidence of either partial assimilation or residual traces of apical gestures in sequences like "handgun" suggesting (as others had previously), that anticipatory coarticulation is highly gradient.. In this study we will examine an EPG corpus of Warlpiri to address the question from the opposite direction i.e. whether there is evidence of "residual" carryover coarticulation in C_1C_2 sequences. We will discuss our findings in light of recent theories of coarticulatory resistance, and models of syllable phonotactics in Australian languages (e.g. Tabain et al. 2004).

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Simone Graetzer - University of Melbourne

Vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in Arrernte VCV sequences

Since Ohman (1966) presented his important paper on vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in Swedish, American English, and Russian, several papers on long distance coarticulatory effects have been published. However, very few have examined Australian languages. In this study, plots of formant two trajectories for V^1-C-V^2 sequences in Arrernte are shown to support Ohman's (1966) claim for a diphthongal vowel gesture in such sequences. Trajectories differ for the sequences /ama/ and /ami/ such that an increase in formant two frequency is visible even before V^1-offset, indicating vowel-to-vowel coarticulation. The articulatory implication is that, as in Ohman's model, the articulators begin assuming configurations needed for V^2 before the achievement of the occlusion for the medial consonant.

John Ingram & Mary Laughren - University of Queensland.

Gradients of lenition in Warlpiri rhotics and phonetic conditions of sound change.

Like most Australian languages, all dialects of Warlpiri contrast a post-alveolar apical rhotic glide *r* [ɻ] with an alveolar apical tap [ɾ] (with trilled allophone) *rr* [r]. Warlpiri has a third post-alveolar apical rhotic, a flap, [ɽ] which in eastern dialects is an allophone of the post-alveolar apical stop *rt* [ʈ], realized [ɖ] in intervocalic position, unless the following consonant is also post-alveolar. In western dialects, however, the flap functions as a third rhotic phoneme *rd* contrasting with *r* and *rr* and also with *rt*. In Warlpiri, glides, stops and the flapped *rd* are confined to onsets while *rr* may also constitute a coda. In word initial position the contrast between alveolar and post-alveolar apical consonants is neutralized, with only the post-alveolar series being realized. Consequently *rr* is not found word initially.

We postulate gradients of lenition for Warlpiri rhotics (see Table 1) that operate across different phonetic environments, speakers, and speaking styles. Post tonic (following an initial stressed vowel) is the phonetic environment that favors maximal realization of phonological contrasts.

Table 1: Gradients of Lenition for Warlpiri rhotics

	strong ←				→ lenited
/rt/	[ʈ]	[ɖ]			
/rd/		[ɖ]	→ **[ɽ]**	[ɽ]	[0]
					[ɻ]
/rr/			[r] →	[ɾ]	
/r/					[ɹ]
					[ɻ]
	stop		trill	strong flap	weak flap/tap approx.

Lenited forms are encouraged by connected speech. There are also significant speaker and dialect differences with respect to preferences in usage for strong versus lenited forms of a phonological target.

In the paper we present auditory and acoustic (mainly spectrographic) attestation of these gradients of lenition for two female speakers of Western Warlpiri, with the aim of clarifying phonetic mechanisms underlying the acquisition of the additional rhotic contrast, which renders the maximal 4-way contrast in Warlpiri highly marked in the world's languages. Our data consists of recordings of isolated words and also of fluent connected speech, allowing us to compare each relevant segment under different utterance conditions as well as in different phonological environments, e.g. utterance initial position vs word initial position (not utterance initial).

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PHONOTACTIC STRUCTURE AND WORD FORMS IN LAMALAMA, AN INITIAL-DROPPING LANGUAGE OF CAPE YORK PENINSULA

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Lamalama is a Paman language, belonging to a small sub-group of languages from the lower Princess Charlotte Bay region of Eastern Cape York Peninsula known as Lamalamic. It is an 'initial-dropping' language (Alpher 1976; Blevins 2001), which is a term used to describe those languages which are classed as Pama-Nyungan but which have developed distinctive phonological characteristics associated with the loss of word-initial consonants. Initial-dropping followed the loss of a vowel length contrast in word-initial syllables and, it is hypothesised, stress shift to the second syllable; in many cases, initial vowels were also lost, producing monosyllabic words. Another important effect, originally remarked on by Ken Hale (1964) in his analysis of sound change in Northern Paman languages, was the development of phonemic contrasts word-initially which reflected residual features from the 'old' C1, e.g., Lamalama *mba* < Proto-Paman **pama* 'person, man', which has produced large and more complex consonant systems. Lamalama conforms to this pattern by having a large consonant inventory, including a 3-way stop contrast (voiced, voiceless and pre-nasalised), contrasting voiced and voiceless fricatives, and three rhotics (a voiced tap or trill, a voiceless trill 'R', and a post-alveolar approximant).

In this talk I will describe the distribution of consonants and consonant clusters, and the shape of words and syllables in Lamalama from data collected from wordlists and field recordings made by Bruce Rigsby in the 1970s. Preliminary observations suggest the following:

- Noun roots are monosyllabic CV(C) or disyllabic CVCV(C); final C is a sonorant.

thal	[t̪ál]	'bone'
Rɨ	[r̥ɨ́]	'name'
thu	[θú]	'string'
torr	[tór]	'dog'
dhurr	[d̪úr]	'skin'
kaba	[kába]	'belly'

- Many polysyllabic forms are complex words, analysed as compounds or phrases depending on where the main stress falls:

i. Words containing the root *lam* ‘hand’:

lamdu	[lámdù]	‘hand’
lamwarr	[lámwàrr]	‘fingernail’
lamdulalkonham	[làmdu-lálkonham]	‘little finger’

ii. Words containing the root *Ranh* ‘fire, wood’:

Ranh	[r̥áṉ]	‘fire’
Rancirr	[r̥àɲcɨ́r]	‘charcoal’
Ranhalndirr	[r̥àṉalndɨ́r	‘ashes’
Randhurr	[r̥àṉḏúr]	‘bark’

- There are also vowel-initial words of the form V(C)CV(CV); if the main stress falls on the first syllable, the initial vowel is preceded by [ʔ].

arpayi	[aɻpáji]	‘seasnake’
arinyi	[aɻíɲi]	‘carpetsnake’
arlurr	[ʔáɭur]	‘kookaburra’
alanh	[ʔálaṉ]	‘rain’

- A number of vowel-initial words begin with *arr-* which, I hypothesise, may be a generic term similar to *ku* ‘game’ (<*yuku ‘tree, thing’) and *nhya ~ nhye* ‘meat’ (< *minya ‘meat’), although its origin is unknown at this stage.

arrdharr	[arḏár]	‘trees’
arrmyen	[armʲɛ́n]	‘hill’
arrkulinh	[arkúliṉ]	‘moon’
arrnjel	[arrɲɟɛ́l]	‘smoke’

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KRISTINE RICKARD - LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

PHRASING AND BOUNDARY TONES IN TWO ARRERNTE NARRATIVES

This study presents a preliminary analysis of acoustic data from two Arrernte narratives showing phonetic evidence for higher-level phrasing and further evidence for lower prosodic phrasing. Prior to this study, no research has been presented on intonation in Arrernte, although in depth analyses have been presented on Bininj Gun-wok (Fletcher and Evans, 2000; Bishop, 2002; Bishop and Fletcher, 2005); Dalabon (Fletcher and Evans, 2002) and Kayardild (Fletcher, Evans and Round, 2002).

This paper will examine the relationship between pitch accents and prominence in continuous speech in Arrernte, given that a previous study (Rickard, 2006) suggests that Arrernte is a "syllable-timed" language. This is contrary to the perception that most Australian languages appear to be "stress-timed" (Evans, 1995:753). This study finds that intonational phrasing is consistent with some or all of the following: pausing, the surfacing of a word-final /ə/ and an L-L% boundary tone. The data from the narratives will be compared to that of one recording of read speech to examine any differences between natural continuous speech and read speech.

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Hywel Stoakes – University of Melbourne

The absence of anticipatory nasalisation in the Northern Australian language, Kunwinjku Kun-Wok, a dialect of Bininj Gun-Wok.

This paper examines nasal stop sequences in the Northern Australian language Bininj Gun-Wok (BGW). Aerodynamic data were recorded in the field with both oral and nasal airflow registered. The aim is to measure the degree of anticipatory and carryover nasalisation in various VNCV, VNV and NVN sequences. The results show that there is very little anticipatory nasalisation, similar to previous findings by Butcher (1999) for other Australian languages. There is also some evidence of prestopping, in BGW indicating the velum is lowered after the oral closure. This supports Butcher's hypothesis that spectral cues to the place of articulation are maintained in the vowel prior to the lowering of the velum.

Marija Tabain – La Trobe University

An EPG study of the apical contrast in Arrernte.

This study presents EPG (electropalatographic) data from two female speakers of Arrernte, a language which contrasts alveolar and post-alveolar (= "retroflex") consonants in the stop, nasal and lateral series. Speakers twice read through a list of real words in the language, producing each word three times in a row. Words containing apical consonants were examined for place of articulation and contact profile (i.e. whether place of articulation was static or moving during the consonant closure) using the Centre of Gravity measure developed by Hardcastle, Gibbon & Nicolaidis (1991 - JPhon, 19, 251-266).

Results show that in words with more than one apical consonant, the second apical is clearly retroflexed (i.e. with movement from the post-alveolar to the denti-alveolar region during closure). However, in words where there is only one apical consonant, the two speakers behave differently. The younger speaker has a clearly alveolar articulation in all words that contain only an alveolar apical; and a retroflex (or at least post-alveolar) articulation in words which contain only a post-alveolar apical. The older speaker, however, is much more variable in her articulation of words which contain only one apical. It is suggested that despite the presence of a small number of minimal pairs (such as "ateke" [burst] and "arteke" [built]), the apical contrast is not reliably produced in Arrernte.

Myfany Turpin - University of Queensland

Phonological Features of Kaytetye Song

It is well known that the language of traditional Aboriginal songs differs from that of ordinary speech (Dixon 1984, Strehlow 1971); and phonological modification is one of the ways in which songs differ. It has often been assumed that the phonological modification is irregular (Ellis 1997:60), meaning that in a given song genre, a particular word may be altered in one song and yet remain unaltered in another. In contrast, my analysis of an Arandic song series finds two types of regular phonological alterations:

1. changes to an entire series of sounds across all songs in the genre;
2. changes to sounds due to the conditioning environment of a particular metrical position.

As well, 'irregular' phonological alterations can be seen as a preference towards particular types of sound patterning.

This paper focuses on the regular alterations, (1) and (2). Across-the-board phonological alterations in the song series consist of:

- deletion of rounding on consonants other than velar stops;
- deletion of prestopping;
- neutralisation of the 3-way (2-way in some dialects) apical contrast.

Changes due to the conditioning environment of a particular metrical position consist of:

- deletion/alteration of word-initial vowels that begin a line;
- alteration of final vowels of rhythmic text units;
- elision of glides in second position of a particular rhythmic text unit.

(In addition, consonants are often added so that songs adhere to CV syllable structure, as most Arandic words are vowel initial).

The phonological variations between speech and song discussed here have parallels in spoken Arandic languages. A comparison of Arandic cognates reveals differences in rounding, prestopping, prepalatalisation/retroflexion of apicals and presence/quality of initial vowels. The optional elision of glides is also attested in most (all?) Arandic varieties, although only in 'baby talk' is this taken to the extent as in song.