

Phonology of Kaytetye song

Myfany Turpin, University of QLD/Charles Darwin University

1. Regular motivations for phonological alterations of words in *Akwelye* songs, e.g.

- (1)
- | | | |
|----------|--------------|-----------------------|
| ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♪ | |
| x | x | (rhythmic) |
| [laʊɪa | lətərpə] | (thigh clap beat) |
| /l+awere | # ertwerrpe/ | (song text) |
| quick | sandhill | (speech equivalents) |
| | | (morphological gloss) |
-
- (2)
- | | | |
|------------|----------|--|
| ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪ | |
| x | x | |
| [wurowa | wera] | |
| /awere=awe | # awere/ | |
| quick=EMPH | quick | |

Phonotactic/metrical requirements

1. Strict CV syllable structure: *awere* ‘quick’ → /lawere/; → /were/
2. Final vowel sound patterning of RT foot → [lawuɪa], [wuɪowa], [wuɪa]
3. Optional elision of glide on 2nd metrical position of RT foot ♪ ♪ → [laʊɪa]

Rhythmic Text (RT) foot: sequence of rhythmic syllables set to 4 quaver beats 3 x
 ♪ ♪ ♪ . Equals a single thigh slap. Max. of 2, min. of 4 rhythmic syllables. 2 x x
 Long notes ♪ must not precede short notes ♪ 1 x x x x


2. Differences between speech and song due to different phoneme inventories

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

	<i>Peripheral</i>		<i>Coronal</i>				
	Labial	Velar	Laminal		Apical		
			Dental	Alveo-palatal	Alveolar	Retroflex	Prepalatal
Stop	p	k	t̪	c	t	ʈ	t̪
Nasal	m	ŋ	ɳ	nʲ	n	ɳ	ɲ
Prestopped Nasal	^p m	^k ŋ	^{t̪} ɳ	^{t̪} ɲʲ	tn	^{t̪} ɳ	^{t̪} ɲ
Lateral			ɺ	lʲ	l	ɭ	ɺ
Tap					r		
Approximate	w	ɥ		j			ɻ


Table 1 Arandic consonants in song

2.1 Prestopping in Kaytetye: *atnenke* ‘stand’ *anenke* ‘sit’


- (3) 
 [l̥əŋaka t̥owil̥a]
 /l̥+a^tnake=a^te#a^wel̥e/
 long.ago-(EMPH) women's ceremony (textline 23a)

2.2 Rounding in Arandic languages:


- (4) *erlwe* (K) 'eye' [ʊ^wa], [ʊa] or [ə^wa]
 (5) *intweralwenke* 'follow someone' (K) [i^hntʊa^lʊngə]

- (6)(i) 
 [kurimpi kura] (ii) *[kurimpukura]
 /k^werimpe#k^were/
 Dreamtime.woman#girl (textline 18b)

- (7)(i) spoken version: [a^həŋa^lel̥t̥urpə]
 /il̥əŋa^lə=a^le#e^tw^{er}pə/ [ʊt̥urpə]~[t̥urpə]~[ʊt̥ərpə]~[t̥urupə]
 when=REL sandhill

- (ii) sung version: 
 [l̥əŋa^lε [ə^tərpε] (textline 21a)

- (8) 
 [ŋ^win̥ja t̥əpaŋa]
 /k^we^le# n̥i^at̥əpaŋe/
 another that-EMP (textline 5b)

- (9) 
 [ŋara^a wija]
 /ik^we-re-[ewe-yewe/ [i^kŋúru^lɔwiyɔw]
 ask-RECIP-go&do quickly-PURP (textline 18a)

- (10) [lat̥əŋei pə^apə^ləi]
 (i) /l+a^tl̥əŋe#a^pe^apə(=a^le)
 1sgDAT#conkerberry(=REL)
 (ii) /l+a^tl̥əŋe#p^we^e#p^we^e/
 1sgACC#skin.name#skin.name (textline 30a2)

2.3 Apical alveolar/retroflex/prepalatal neutralisations in song

Arandic languages: no alveolar/retroflex contrast following apical: CVC (C=apical) e.g.

- (11) *alele* [al̥ə] 'soon' *ape-nke* [ap̥ənkə] 'go-PRS'; *ane-nke* [an̥ənkə] 'sit-PRS';

3 apicals in Kaytetye & Alyawarr:

- (12) *aylperre* 'fish', *alperre* 'leaf' *arlperre* 'whitewood' (K)

How to distinguish /ə^jC/ (K) from /iC/ (Arr) (where C = apical) in song ?

(13) [...paralindipai ...]

/-pare# inte-p-inte-me/ (Arr)
-SEQ lie-LIG-CNT-PRS

(textline 20a, 20b)

(14) 


[pində{a...}]
/apēinte-le/ (K, Aly)
spring.water-LOC

(textline 35b)

(15) 

[lɔti nʲtjəra]
/aʎewe# aʎenʲtʲeʎe/
1duSMSG.ACC orphaned

(textline 27b)

(16) 

[waləmɛi tinʲɔwan.....]
/aleme# eʎtenʲe-we /
stomach love-DAT#

(textline 27b)

3. Alterations due to the conditioning environment of a particular metrical position

- a) alteration of final vowels of RT feet (long note);
- b) elision of glides in second position of a RT foot (creates long note).

(17) A₁



[wʊŋŋəʎɜ rəŋɜ]

B₁



[wɪʎɪla tʲəŋŋəʎa rəŋɛi]

A₂



wʊŋŋəʎɛi rəŋɛi]

B₂



wɪʎɪla tʲəŋŋəʎa rəŋa]

(song text 6)

3.1 Three types of final vowel patterning in *Akwetye*:

- i. Contrast of final vowels within a textline pair (example 17)
- ii. Contrast of final vowels between textline pairs
- iii. Same final vowel throughout the song text cycle

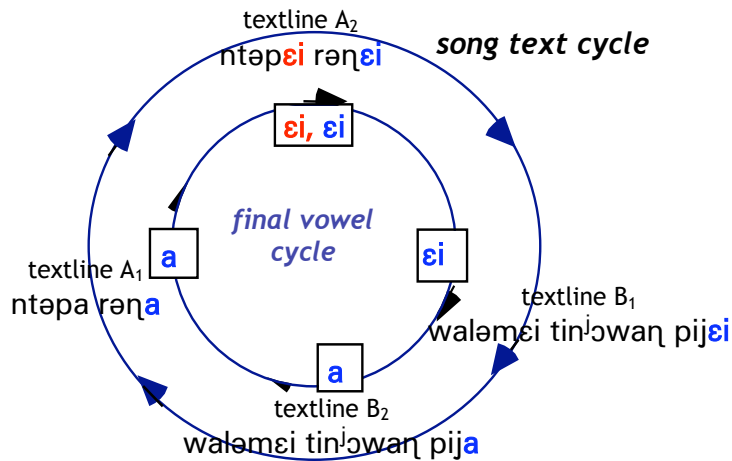

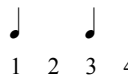
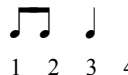
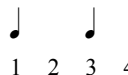

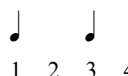


Figure 1 Palindromic final vowel pattern of song text 37

3.2 Elision of glide initial syllables in second position

(18) underlying  actually sung 
 1 2 3 4 → 1 2 3 4
 /ɬawerŋa/ [ɬei ŋei] (elision not in speech)
 /aɬawerŋe/ ‘worry’

(19)  → 
 1 2 3 4 → 1 2 3 4
 /aherke/ [ar kɛ] (elision in speech)
 /aherke/ ‘sun’

(20)  → 
 1 2 3 4 → 1 2 3 4
 /rewe#alenje / [ɬɔ li] (elision in speech)
 floodwater

(21) *arrangeye* ‘FF’ [arəŋi:] baby talk [əŋi:] (spelt *ahangeye*)
arrete ‘yonder’ [arətəmə] younger speakers [á:təmə] (spelt *aherteme*)

References

- Koch, Harold 1997a. Pama-Nyungan reflexes in the Arandic languages. In *Boundary rider: Studies in honour of Geoffrey N. O'Grady*, eds, Darrell Tryon and Michael Walsh, 271-302. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Breen, Gavan 2001. The wonders of Arandic phonology. In *Forty Years On. Ken Hale and Australian languages*, eds, Jane Simpson, David Nash, Mary Laughren, Peter Austin and Barry Alpher, 45-69. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics Series.
- Ellis, Cath 1997. Understanding the Profound Structural Knowledge of Central Australian Performers from the Perspective of T.G.H. Strehlow. *Strehlow Research Centre Occasional Papers* 1:57-78.
- Fabb, Nigel 1997. *Linguistics and Literature*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Green, Jenny and Myfany Turpin. 2001. Common Sense: Continuing the comparative tradition. In *Forty Years On. Ken Hale and Australian languages*, eds Jane Simpson, David Nash, Mary Laughren, Peter Austin and Barry Alpher, 89-111. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics Series.
- Henderson, John 1998. Topics in Eastern and Central Arrernte Grammar. Linguistics, University of Western Australia: PhD thesis.
- Jakobson, Roman 1960. Closing statement: Linguistics and Poetics. In *Style in Language*, ed., T. Sebeok, 350-377. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Liberman, Mark 2004 Language Log. An internet pilgrim's guide to accentual syllabic verse. <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/language-log/archives/001172.html> July 06, 2004)
- Strehlow, T.G.H. 1971. *Songs of Central Australia*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.