Unifying the comparative analysis of tonal systems

WS24

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Why compare tonal systems

motivation We are interested in the diversity and complexity of tonal systems problem to find a sufficient and informative set of features for adequate characterisation of this diversity

result which would allow to state unversal tendencies of the tonal systems — the explanandum for the typology of tonal systems

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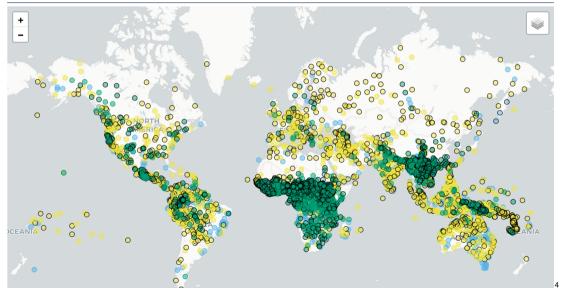
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Tone in WALS

Three options:

- No tone
- Simple tone system (a two-way basic contrast)
- Complex tone system (a more complex set of contrasts)



4 / 11





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Language	TDI(s) TBU	glottocode	Description author	charge	Last modified	Status	view Texts
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Dom	0.69 sylla	ble domm1246	Dmitry Gerasimov	dgerasimov	3 months ago	ready	View Texts 4 / 11
							4/11

Features of tonal systems

Analyze selected features

Feature name	Label	Section	Languages	Values
☐ TBU (Tone Bearing Unit)	TBU	2. Prosodic units	<u>13</u>	mora / syllable
 Language has a prosodic foot 	FOOT	2. Prosodic units	<u>13</u>	no / yes
Does prosodic foot play a role in establishing boundaries of tonal spans?	FTSPAN	2. Prosodic units	10	no / yes
 Number of tonal levels 	NUMTL	3. Tonal inventory	12	2/3/4/5
$\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ $	TL	3. Tonal inventory	<u>12</u>	H L / H M L / H M L xL / xH H M L xL
☐ Downdrift	DOWNDRIFT	3. Tonal inventory	10	no / yes
☐ Non-automatic downstep	DOWNSTEP	3. Tonal inventory	<u>10</u>	no / yes
□ Number of tonemes	NUMTON	3. Tonal inventory	11	1/2/3/6
 Minimal tonal span size (in TBUs) 	MINTSPAN	4. Tonotactics	11	0.0 / 0.5 / 1.0
$\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ $	MAXTSPAN	4. Tonotactics	11	2.0 / 3.0 / 4.0 / inf
☐ Tonal span prototypically coincides with what unit?	TD	4. Tonotactics	<u>11</u>	foot / mora / none / syllable / word
Which boundaries can appear	TSPANBND	4. Tonotactics	12	mora svllable morpheme / mora svllable morpheme

https://thot.huma-num.fr/db/



In search for comparative categories

 c-categories (substance-based, not distribution-based) [Haspelmath 2010, 2018, 2020, 2024]

I conclude that as long as we have not made good progress on identifying innate building blocks of universal grammar, comparative grammar research is best served by system-independent comparative concepts, and there is no impediment to broad cross-linguistic comparison.

[Haspelmath 2024: 1]

Example of a rich feature (WALS)

Feature 57A: Position of Pronominal Possessive Affixes

Concepts involved:

- noun
- pronoun
- affix
- posessive
- relative order

Example of a rich feature (ThoT)

Feature TSPANBND: Which boundaries can appear inside a tonal span

Concepts involved:

- toneme
- tonal span
- morphological structure
- prosodic hierarchy

Ù	b'a`	tòli.
[L ù	b'- a][L `]	[L tò.li]
3PL	IPFV.AFF-	rotten
	3SG	
They s	spoil it.	

Framework-free or theory-bound?

Most phonologists would probably agree that there is little, if any, difference between doing phonological typology vs. phonological theory.

[Hyman 2006: 226]

How much theory is there in our concepts:

- TBU ?
- floating tone ?

Good concepts

• good categories (with a track record of useful inferences) [Spike 2019]

Good categories earn their status: "in induction nothing succeeds like success" (Quine, 1969). Establishing the respectability of cross-linguistic categories is an empirical matter.

[Spike 2019: 21]

In search for good concepts

- inspiration from descriptions of other languages
- clarity (due to choice of transparent terminology)