A new case of “rhinoglottophilia:” from nasalisation to aspiration

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Overview

- **Cheke Holo** (Oceanic) nominalisation patterns
  - apparently unrelated phonomorphomorphological correspondences between sets of verbs and nouns

- **Rhinoglotophillia**: “the mysterious connection between nasality and glottality” (Matisoff 1975)
  - from aspiration/voicelessness to nasalisation (H > N)
  - opposite direction seemed rarer (N > H)
Cheke Holo, Santa Isabel

Figure 1: Solomon Islands

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Cheke Holo, Santa Isabel

Figure 2: Languages of Santa Isabel

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**Cheke Holo consonants**

**Table 1:** Phonemic consonants of Cheke Holo (adapted from White 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vls. un.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vls. asp.</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td></td>
<td>y yʰ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m m̥</td>
<td>n n̥</td>
<td>n n̥</td>
<td>n n̥</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r r̥</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l l̥</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2: Patterns of correspondences in verbs and nouns in Cheke Holo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>p-, t-, k-/pore/ ‘to comb’</td>
<td>pʰ-, tʰ-, kʰ-/pʰore/ ‘comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>r-, l-/lehe/ ‘to die’</td>
<td>gr-, gl-/glehe/ ‘death’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>ɣ-/ɣor̥a/ ‘to paddle’</td>
<td>g-/gor̥a/ ‘paddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>h-/haru/ ‘to tie’</td>
<td>η-/ɲaru/ ‘knot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/dafi/ ‘to be bright’</td>
<td>/nadafi/ ‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>D/N/?/CC-/moia/ ‘to be dry’</td>
<td>na-(D/N/?/CC)/namoia/ ‘reef’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʔugra/ ‘to fish’</td>
<td>/naʔugra/ ‘fishing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/fnera/ ‘to wound’</td>
<td>/nafnera/ ‘wound’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One source?

- Tryon & Hackman (1983:63)
  - don’t mention all the patterns
  - POc *ga- ‘instr’ for Pattern II (gL)
  - obscure morphological process for Pattern I (Cʰ)

- White et al. (1988) and White (1995)
  - they recognise all patterns
  - do not provide a unified account and simply “relegate” them in the morphology of the language

→ the key is **Pattern V**: D/N/?/CC ~ na-D/N/?/CC
POc article *na 1

- POc *na (Lynch et al. 2011:70–72, Blevins & Kaufman 2012)
  - marks NP as definite
  - mostly with non-human nouns
  - reflexes of *na in several Oceanic languages

- Santa Isabel: Zabana *na-/∅, Kokota/Blablanga -*na
POc article *na II

- **Pattern V** (*na-): *retention* of ancient article
  - prefix *na-* is found with voiced consonants, nasals, glottal stop and consonant clusters (but there are exceptions)
  - *syncope* of vowel in all other patterns: *na-* > *n-*
Pattern IV (*nh > ɳ-): it follows the historical change *H(V)R and *R(V)H > Ɂ in Cheke Holo

- PSIs *namaha > Z namaha, CH /nama/ ‘love’
- PCH *na-haru (from /haru/ ‘to tie’) > *nharu > /na attraverso/ ‘knot’
Deriving Cheke Holo nominalisation II

- **Pattern III** (*nɣ > *ng > *ⁿg > g): *fortition and loss of prenasalisation*
  - record of loss of prenasalisation in Bughotu (Ivens 1933)
  - PCH *na-ɣapa > CH *nɣapa > *ⁿgapa > /gapa/ ‘step’

- **Pattern II** (*nr > *nʳ > *ⁿr > r, *nl > *nˡ > *ⁿl > *ⁿl > gl): *excrecent stop and loss of prenasalisation*
  - PCH *na-lehe (from /lehe/ ‘to die’) > *nlehe > *ⁿglehe > /glehe/ ‘death’
  - place lenition to nasal glide (placeless) N/[ŋ] (Ohala & Lorentz 1977, Howe 2004), velarised liquids (Recasens 2011)
Rhinoglottophilia I

- **Pattern I** (NC > Cʰ): rhinoglottophilia

- Matisoff (1975) for Written Tibetan

- *interaction between nasal and laryngeal features*

- Laryngeals nasalise surrounding vowels (H>N)
  - English, Thai and Lao (Tai-Kadai), Lahu, Lisu, Hayu, Arakanese (Sino-Tibetan), East Gurage (Semitic), Ponapeic (Oceanic), Bantu languages
Rhinoglotphilia II

- from nasalisation to aspiration (Blevins & Garrett 1993):
  - Owerri (variety of Igbo): *CVNV > *CNV > CⁿṼ > CʰṼ (both voiceless and voiced)
  - Algonquian: *NC > hC
  - Old Tibetan: Old Tibetan NC > Cʰ in modern Tibetan varieties that lost clusters (Jacques 2011, Hill 2007)
**From NC to Cʰ**

- **Pattern I** (*nC > *ŋC > *ʰC > Cʰ): nasal place lenition and devoicing, ŋ > h (*rhinoglottophilia*), post-aspiration

- *link to Pattern II*: place lenition


- PCH *na-pore (from /pore/ ‘to comb’) > *npore > *ŋpore > *ʰpore > /pʰore/ ‘comb’
Conclusions

- apparent idiosyncratic patterns of correspondences between verbs and nouns in Cheke Holo
- no previous study proposed an unified account
- POc article *na as the source
- voiceless aspirated consonants of Pattern I can be explained with rhinoglottophilia
- new evidence for N > H
Thanks for your attention!


References II


