

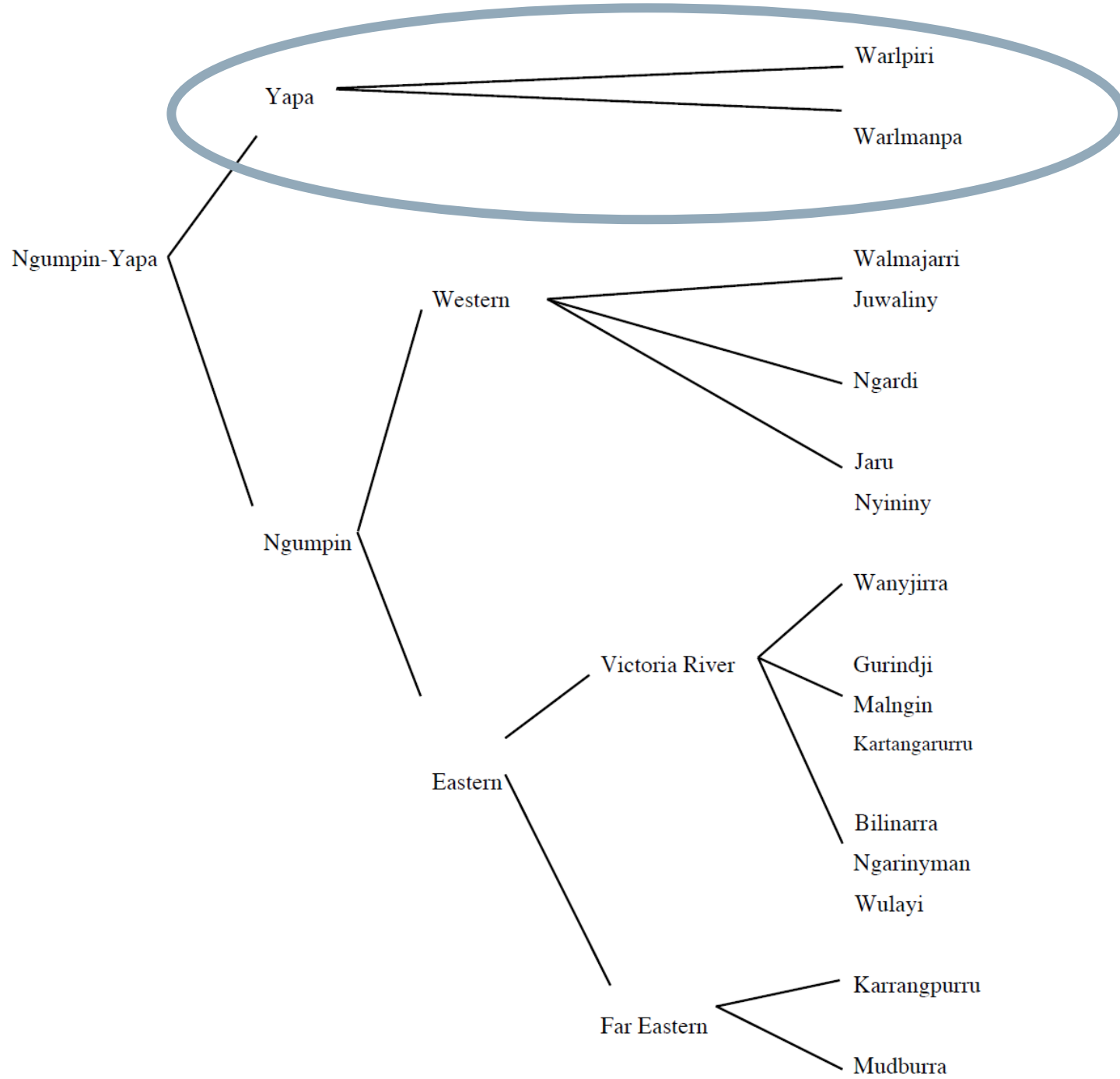
Sound changes in Warlmanpa

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(adapted from Meakins et al. forthcoming; cartographer:
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(Meakins et al. forthcoming)

Sound changes in Warlmanpa

- Focusing on three sound changes (some comprised of multiple stages)
- Non-lateral continuant deletion (*arra > a)
- Nasal + stop cluster reduction (*ngka > nga)
- Vowel deletion + alveolar nasal place change (*rninya > nnya)

Non-lateral continuant deletion

- A sequence of VCV (where C is a non-lateral continuant) is reduced to V
 - though also $rr > \emptyset / _ C$
- Two points of interest:
 - The resolution of which V is preserved
 - If either V is a low vowel, keep the low vowel
 - No examples of distinct high vowel resolution (i.e. i_u or u_i)
 - How to formalise?

	Gloss	Warlmanpa	Warlpiri	
(1)	kangaroo	<i>wawirri</i>	<i>wawirri</i>	
(2)	south	<i>kurlarra</i>	<i>kurlarra</i>	
(3)	moon	<i>partangarra</i>	<i>partangarra</i>	
(4)	Skin name	<i>Jupula</i>	<i>Jupurrurla</i>	<i>urru > u</i>
(5)	Skin name	<i>Nakama</i>	<i>Nakamarra</i>	<i>arra > a</i>
(6)	1EXCL.DU.NS	<i>=jangu</i>	<i>=jarrangku</i>	<i>arra > a</i>
(7)	say/call, to	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>arri > a</i>
(8)	become, to	<i>-ja-</i>	<i>-jarriya-</i>	(1) <i>iya > a</i> (2) <i>arra > a</i>
(9)	place, to	<i>ya-</i>	<i>yirra-</i>	<i>irra > a</i>
(10)	speak.IMP	<i>wangka</i>	<i>wangkaya</i>	<i>aya > a</i>
(11)	shoot	<i>la-</i>	<i>luwa-</i>	<i>uwa > a</i>
(12)	climb, to	<i>waka-</i>	<i>warrka-</i>	<i>arrka > aka</i>
(13)	front, ahead	<i>kampa</i>	<i>kamparru</i>	<i>arru > a</i>
(14)	FUTURE	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngarra</i>	<i>arra > a</i>
(15)	ALLATIVE	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-kurra</i>	<i>urra > a</i>

Exceptions to continuant deletion

- Complementising suffix *-karra* (marks a same-subject non-finite clause)
 - If reduced to *-ka* then it would be homophonous with *-ka* which marks a **different**-subject non-finite clause
- Words which would have become monosyllabic
 - leads to interesting verb paradigm reanalyses:

Development stage	be.PRES	be.FUT	be.IMP
Proto-Yapa	* <i>karri-nya</i>	* <i>karri-mi</i>	* <i>karri-ya</i>
Continuant deletion	<i>kanya</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>karra</i>
Modern Warlmanpa form	<i>ka-nya</i>	<i>ka-mi</i>	<i>ka-rra</i>

Exceptions to continuant deletion

- Still synchronically active as variation in one particular context:
- Some verbs + imperfective/away suffix *-rra*:
 - *panangurra* ~ *pananga*
 - (See Browne 2021: 203-205 for conditioning)

And...

- The same synchronic imperative form is found for associated motion / inceptive construction
 - which also shares its present inflection with this verb class
- However, the associated motion / inceptives share their past and future inflection forms with V5

Inflection	V5	Inceptive / AM	V1d
Imperative	<i>Xnta</i>	<i>Xrra</i>	<i>Xrra</i>
Present	<i>Xnnya</i>	<i>Xnya</i>	<i>Xnya</i>
Past	<i>Xnu</i>	<i>Xnu</i>	<i>Xngu</i>
Future	<i>Xnmi</i>	<i>Xnmi</i>	<i>Xmi</i>

ka-rra sit!
 ka-nya he's sitting
 ka-ngu he sat
 ka-mi he will sit

wanga-nji-rra start speaking!
 wanga-nji-nya he's starting speaking
 wanga-nji-nu he started speaking
 wanga-nji-nmi he will start speaking

Nasal + Stop reduction

- Nasal + stop clusters reduced to nasals
- Only applied to closed class items (inflecting verbs, suffixes, bound pronouns)
- Did not apply to:
 - Palatal clusters (e.g. *wanganja* ‘speak.INF’)
 - Disyllabic words (e.g. *manta* ‘get.IMP’)

	Gloss	Stop type	Warlmanpa	Warlpiri
(16)	‘fall’	Alveolar	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wanti-</i>
(17)	‘sing’	Bilabial	<i>yina-</i>	<i>yunpa-</i>
(18)	‘leave’	Bilabial	<i>ya-</i>	<i>yampi-</i>
(19)	WITH	Retroflex	<i>-parna</i>	<i>-parnta</i>
(20)	ERG	Velar	<i>-ngu</i>	<i>-ngku</i>
(21)	LOC	Velar	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-ngka</i>
(22)	2SG.NS	Velar	<i>=ngu</i>	<i>=ngku</i>
(23)	‘speak’	Velar	<i>wanga-</i>	<i>wangka-</i>

NVN reduction

- Sequences of nasal₁ + vowel + nasal₂ were reduced to *nny* (where nasal₁ is coronal and nasal₂ is any non-retroflex nasal)
 - rnVny > nny; nVny > nny
- Only affected the verb paradigm

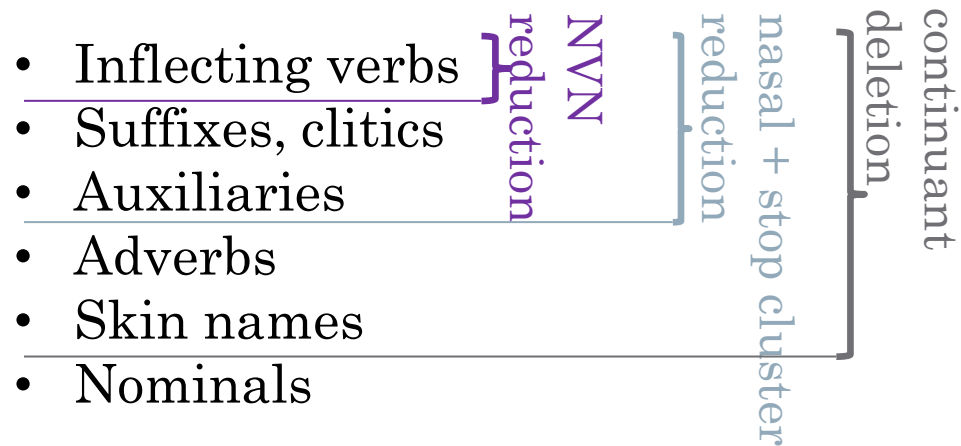
Gloss	'get.PRS'	'fall.PRS'	'fall.FUT'	'tell.PRS'
Proto form	* <i>mananya</i>	* <i>wantinya</i>	* <i>wantimi</i>	* <i>ngarrirninya</i>
1 Nasal + stop reduction	—	<i>waninya</i>	<i>wanimi</i>	—
2 Vowel deletion	<i>mannya</i>	<i>wannya</i>	<i>wanmi</i>	<i>ngarrirnnya</i>
3 Alveolar place change	—	—	—	<i>ngarrinnya</i>
4 Continuant deletion	—	—	—	<i>ngannya</i>
Warlmanpa form	<i>mannya</i>	<i>wannya</i>	<i>wanmi</i>	<i>ngannya</i>

Summary / insights

- Continuant deletion difficult to formalise in a single rule because it seems to require some constraint-based mechanism to account for urra > a & arri > a (and urru > u)
- How to incorporate ‘maintain minimal disyllabic word’ into sound change rule?
- How to incorporate ‘affect words classes other than nominals’ into sound change rule?

Summary / insights

- Sound changes affecting various levels of closed class words (no sound changes seemed to affect nominals – some but probably not all can be explained by borrowings after change)



References

- Browne, M. 2021. A Grammatical Description of Warlmanpa. PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.
- Meakins, F., Ennever, T.B., Osgarby, D.J., Browne, M. and Hamilton, A. Forthcoming. Ngumpin-Yapa Languages. In *Handbook of Australian Languages*, edited by C. Bower, forthcoming. Oxford: Oxford University Press.