

Consonantal tone and the development of autosegmentality

Marc Brunelle, *University of Ottawa*

Pittayawat Pittayaporn, *Chulalongkorn University*

Gwendolyn Hyslop, *Australian National University*

The most common tonogenetic scenario is a phonologization of micro-prosodic f₀ variation accompanying the neutralization of voicing contrasts (Haudricourt, 1954; Hyman, 1977; Hyman, 2008). What is less clear is how a consonantal contrast becomes autosegmental. Languages that have onset tones point to possible paths for the desegmentalization of tone.

Three types of cases are reviewed. The first one consists of a number of African languages that have depressors or elevators consonants, in which a tone is phonologically inserted, without any neutralization of voicing (Bradshaw, 1999; Lee, 2008; Tang, 2008). The second type is composed of languages in which a laryngeal contrast has been replaced with a tone contrast, but in which the tone is still phonologically linked to the onset (Mussey, Siswati, Korean...). Here, evidence comes from positional restrictions, word games and interactions with other types of tones.

In the final type of languages, illustrated by Northern and Western Kammu (Svantesson, 1983; Svantesson and House, 2006), tone can be either interpreted as a consonantal or an autosegmental contrast. On the one hand, these dialects show some distributional restrictions between consonant types and tones, and have word-games in which tones must go with onsets. On the other hand, when a syllable is headed by a consonant cluster or is preceded by a sesquisyllable (a phonologically reduced syllable), the tone of the first consonant of the cluster or of the sesquisyllable overrides other tones. We propose that faced with this ambiguous evidence, learners are likely to adopt a new autosegmental analysis.

References

- Bradshaw, M. (1999). "A Crosslinguistic Study of Consonant-Tone Interaction," in *Linguistics* (Ohio State University, Columbus).
- Haudricourt, A. (1954). "De l'origine des tons en vietnamien," *Journal Asiatique* **242**, 69-82.
- Hyman, L. (2008). "Enlarging the scope of phonologization," UC Berkeley Phonology Lab Annual Report, 382-409.
- Hyman, L. M. (1977). "Phonologization," in *Linguistic studies presented to Joseph H. Greenberg*, edited by A. Juillard (Anima Libri, Saratoga), pp. 407-418.
- Lee, S. J. (2008). "Consonant-Tone Interaction in Optimality Theory," in *Linguistics* (Rutgers).
- Svantesson, J.-O. (1983). *Kammu Phonology and Morphology* (CWK Gleerup, Malmo).
- Svantesson, J.-O., and House, D. (2006). "Tone production, tone perception and Kammu tonogenesis," *Phonology* **23**, 309-333.
- Tang, K. (2008). "The Phonology and Phonetics of Consonant-Tone Interaction," in *Linguistics* (UCLA).