Moraic onsets in Arrernte

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Supplementary materials

Appendix A: Arrernte transcription

Arrernte transcription conventions are at times confusing, given the multitude of systems that have been used in the literature. As well as the typical orthographic system (e.g. Breen 2009: 73), we find IPA-based representations (e.g. Breen & Dobson 2005 and some cases in Henderson 2013), or a mixture of those (e.g. Breen & Pensalfini 1999: App. A). In (43) we present the consonantal sounds of Arrernte in IPA and the orthographic system, largely following Breen & Dobson (2005).

(43)	bilabial		dental laminal		alveolar apical		retroflex/ post-alveolar laminal		alveo-palatal apical		velar	
plosive	p	*p*	t̪	*th*	t	*t*	ʈ	*rt*	tʲ/c	*ty*	k	*k*
nasal	m	*m*	n̪	*nh*	n	*n*	ɳ	*rn*	nʲ/ɲ	*ny*	ŋ	*ng*
prestopped nasal	ᵖm	*pm*	ᵗn̪	*thn*	ᵗn	*tny*	ᵗɳ	*rtn*	ᵗnʲ/ᶜɲ	*tny*	ᵏŋ	*kng*
lateral			l̪	*lh*	l	*l*	ɭ	*rl*	lʲ/ʎ	*ly*		
approximant	w	*w*					ɻ	*r*	j	*y*		
tap/trill					ɾ	*rr*						

Henderson's (2013) representations for a number of combinations are given in (44).

(44) tw = tʷ   nty = ɲc   rnp = ɳp   rlk = ɭk   lty = ʎc/ʎɟ

Appendix B: Rabbit Talk forms

Rabbit Talk data as presented in Breen & Pensalfini (1999: 7–8) are given in (45), retranscribed in IPA (cf. Breen & Dobson 2005).

(45)   *Arrernte*   *Rabbit Talk*

a. əmən̪   əŋəm   'plant food'
    əkʷənət̠ʲək   ənət̠ʲəkəkʷ   'to put in'
    itiɾəm   iɾəmit   'thinking'
    aɾaŋkʷ   aŋkʷaɾ   'no'
    iŋʷən̪t̪   ən̪t̪iŋʷ   'tomorrow'
    əjan̪   an̪əj   'there (nearby)'
    əlʲat̠   at̠əlʲ   'now, today'
    əkəl   ələk   'right, OK'

b. ən̪t̪əm   əmən̪t̪   'giving'
    ulkət̠   ətulk   'perentie (lizard sp.)'
    alpət̠ʲək   ət̠ʲəkalp   'to go back'

c. at̠ʷ   əjat̠ʷ   'initiated man'
    iŋk   əjiŋk   'foot'
    əmp   əjəmp   'come on'

Appendix C: Arrernte clusters

1 Medial clusters

Henderson (2013: 22) lists the surface medial clusters in Table I.

		C₂										
		p	t̪	t	c	ʈ	k	m	ŋ	ᵖm	ᶜɲ	ᵏŋ
C₁	m	mp⁽ʷ⁾										
	n̪		n̪t̪⁽ʷ⁾									
	n	np⁽ʷ⁾		nt⁽ʷ⁾	nc⁽ʷ⁾		nk⁽ʷ⁾	nm	nŋ⁽ʷ⁾			
	ɲ				ɲc⁽ʷ⁾							
	ɳ	ɳp⁽ʷ⁾				ɳʈ⁽ʷ⁾	ɳk⁽ʷ⁾	ɳm	ɳŋ			
	ŋ						ŋk⁽ʷ⁾					
	l̪		l̪t̪⁽ʷ⁾									
	l	lp⁽ʷ⁾		lt⁽ʷ⁾	lc		lk⁽ʷ⁾			lᵖm⁽ʷ⁾		lᵏŋ⁽ʷ⁾
	ʎ	ʎp⁽ʷ⁾			ʎc⁽ʷ⁾							
	ɭ	ɭp⁽ʷ⁾				ɭʈ⁽ʷ⁾	ɭk⁽ʷ⁾			ɭᵖm⁽ʷ⁾		ɭᵏŋ⁽ʷ⁾
	ɾ	ɾp⁽ʷ⁾	ɾt̪⁽ʷ⁾		ɾc⁽ʷ⁾		ɾk⁽ʷ⁾			ɾᵖm⁽ʷ⁾	ɾᶜɲ	ɾᵏŋ⁽ʷ⁾

Table I
Surface medial clusters (Henderson 2013: 22).

Superscripted [ʷ] indicates rounding; it does not count as a separate consonant. Certain rounded counterparts are missing: *[nmʷ], *[ɳmʷ], *[ŋŋʷ], *[lcʷ], [ɾᶜɲʷ]. These are presumably accidental gaps. Henderson states that in most cases it cannot be established whether the first or the second part of the cluster bears the rounding, and therefore represents rounding – when it appears – as affecting both consonants. However, we follow here Breen & Pensalfini's notation, which only indicates it on the second consonant.

Breen & Pensalfini (1999: 21) do not list the clusters with prestopped nasals (in dark grey in Table I), but they do mention clusters such as [lm⁽ʷ⁾], [lŋ⁽ʷ⁾⁾], [ɭm⁽ʷ⁾], [ɭŋ⁽ʷ⁾], [ɾm⁽ʷ⁾], [ɾŋ⁽ʷ⁾] and [ɾɲ], which look very similar to the corresponding sequences with prestopped nasals in Henderson (2013). We thus take these to be notational variants. The cluster [ʎp⁽ʷ⁾] is only mentioned as a probable one for some Northern speakers in Henderson (2013).

Our claim in §4.2 is that the NC clusters in light grey behave as partial geminates, and cannot be split by processes such as Rabbit Talk (Geminate Integrity). In principle, the other clusters could be split.

2 Initial and final clusters

While we were not able to find a concrete discussion of final clusters, for initial ones Henderson (2013: 23) reports that 'the set of clusters which can occur immediately after word-initial underlying /ə/ is more restricted than the set found in other environments … For example, *arrkene* /aɾkən/ [aɾkənˠ] 'playing' but */əɾk…/ *[ɾk…]'. Initially, we find words with an initial singleton C or with a partial geminate, e.g. [(ə)ɻ] (3sɢ ɴoᴍ) or [(ə)mp] 'come on' respectively, but not with an initial heterorganic cluster, e.g. *[(ə)lk]. We might treat these partial geminates as tautosyllabic (which captures the non-splitting of the cluster, and is also in line with the fact that Arrernte doesn't have true onset clusters); if the only clusters found initially are the partial geminate ones, then that would provide additional evidence for syllabification wholly in the onset. Recall bases like [(ə)mp], which are compatible with this. This would be because, in the former case, where onsets are present, the epenthetic final schwa could be added to provide a nucleus even in the absence of the initial schwa, thus producing [mpə] and [ɻə], but the same mechanism would not salvage *[lkə], since this would require an impossible coda–onset initial cluster.

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Breen, Gavan (2009). Arrernte. In Keith L. Brown & Sarah Ogilvie (eds.) *Concise encyclopedia of languages of the world*. Oxford: Elsevier. 72–75.
Breen, Gavan & Veronica Dobson (2005). Central Arrernte. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* **35**. 249–254.