

# *Constraints on contrast motivate nasal cluster dissimilation*

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## **Supplementary materials**

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### **Appendix A: Summary of the nasal cluster dissimilation survey**

This appendix provides more information about the survey of nasal cluster dissimilation discussed in §2 and §3. Each of the surveyed languages is annotated with details about nasal cluster dissimilation, genetic affiliation and available references.

For each of the columns under ‘Restrictions’, there are three possible values: dark grey shading denotes that the relevant restriction is active, and light grey shading denotes that it is not active. A question mark indicates that the status of this restriction cannot be assessed, due to language-specific phonotactic restrictions.

For the column labelled ‘Repair’, there are five possible values, given in (22). Where more than one is listed, this often means that the attested repair varies according to a word’s morphology. For more information, see the cited sources.

- (22) NC<sub>1</sub> nasalisation: NC<sub>1</sub>VN(C)<sub>2</sub> → (N)N<sub>1</sub>VN(C)<sub>2</sub>  
NC<sub>1</sub> oralisation: NC<sub>1</sub>VN(C)<sub>2</sub> → (C)C<sub>1</sub>VN(C)<sub>2</sub>  
NC<sub>2</sub> nasalisation: NC<sub>1</sub>VNC<sub>2</sub> → NC<sub>1</sub>VN(N)<sub>2</sub>  
NC<sub>2</sub> oralisation: NC<sub>1</sub>VN(C̄)<sub>2</sub> → NC<sub>1</sub>V(C)C<sub>2</sub>  
Static restriction: no evidence from alternations

Language (family)	Sources	Restrictions				Repair	Comments
		NCVNC?	NCVNV?	NCVN#?	NCVN*		
1 Arabana (Pama-Nyungan)	Hercus 1994			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Applies only across a stem-suffix boundary; there is no nasal cluster dissimilation within roots, across compounds or between suffixes.
2 Bangubangu (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Bangubangu is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
3 Bamba (Niger-Congo)	Kim 1999 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the rule applies only if there is a nasal compound in second position', but this is contradicted by Kim's data.
4 Bilinara (Pama-Nyungan)	McConvell 1988				?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Only homorganic NC <sub>2</sub> is the target of nasal cluster dissimilation. See §2.2 for further discussion of this case.
5 Bobangi (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Whitehead 1964			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that the existence of nasal cluster dissimilation in Bobangi is a 'mere possibility' and may affect or have affected only one word.
6 Bokote (Niger-Congo)	Hulstaert 1957 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	See §2.1 for discussion of this case.

7	Bolia (Niger-Congo)	Mamet 1960 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Only palatal NC <sub>1</sub> is the target of nasal cluster dissimilation. See §2.1 for further discussion of this case.
8	Budya (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Budya is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
9	Buyu (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Buyu is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
10	Caga (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Caga is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
11	Dayak (Austronesian)	Herbert 1977			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Herbert cites Dempwolff 1922 for these facts.
12	Djaru (Pama-Nyungan)	Tsunoda 1981 McConvell 1988			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation targets at least alveolar, retroflex and velar NC <sub>2</sub> ; it is unclear if other places of articulation participate as well.
13	Luganda (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Kamoga & Stevick 1968			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Not a lot of information is provided by Meeussen, except a basic description of the pattern.
14	Gikuyu (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Armstrong 1967			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that nasal cluster dissimilation in Gikuyu is similar to nasal cluster dissimilation in Luganda.
15	Gooniyandi (Pama-Nyungan)	McConvell 1988 McGregor 1990			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Restrictions across morpheme boundaries are more stringent than those within morpheme boundaries. See §2.2 for more discussion of this case.

16	Gurindji (Pama- Nyungan)	McConvell 1988				?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation can apply non-locally in this language; for more information see McConvell.
17	Gwamba- Thonga (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Gwamba-Thonga is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
18	Hemba (Niger-Congo)	Vandermeiren 1912 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	The lack of nasal cluster dissimilation in NC <sub>1</sub> VN <sub>2</sub> is noted explicitly by Meeussen. Vandermeiren's description suggests that nasal cluster dissimilation only applies when NC <sub>1</sub> is a voiced labial.
19	Ila (Niger-Congo)	Smith 1907 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Smith's description suggests that nasal cluster dissimilation only applies when NC <sub>1</sub> is a voiced labial or alveolar.
20	Kalkatungu (Pama- Nyungan)	Blake 1979 McConvell 1988			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation, NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation is restricted to certain suffixes, but there are no clear phonological regularities.
21	Kami (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation may only apply when NC <sub>1</sub> is velar, and in one or two words where NC <sub>1</sub> is labial or coronal; this is unclear from Meeussen.
22	Kaonde (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation may only apply when NC <sub>1</sub> is velar, and in one or two words where NC <sub>1</sub> is labial or coronal; this is unclear from Meeussen.

23	Kerebe (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the consonant in second position must be a nasal compound, and the relevant words are all nominals belonging to a rather fixed series'.
24	Kok-Kaper (Pama-Nyungan)	Jones 2000			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Jones' description of the pattern suggests that nasal cluster dissimilation may differentiate between onset nasals and word-final nasals, but this isn't further discussed and the relevant examples are not provided.
25	Kikuria (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Cammenga 2004			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	'The extent of nasal cluster dissimilation is somewhat unclear; Meeussen's description suggests that it applies in a limited way, and Cammenga's description contains words with co-occurring N(C)s.
26	Kwanyama (Niger-Congo)	Herbert 1977			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation applies apparently across the board, except when NC <sub>2</sub> is velar.
27	Lamba (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the rule applies only if there is a nasal compound in second position', and that NC <sub>2</sub> may be voiceless.
28	Luba-Katanga (Niger-Congo)	Theuvs 1954 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the rule applies only if there is a nasal compound in second position', and notes that in Luba-Katanga there are many exceptions.
29	Lumasaaba (Niger-Congo)	Brown 1972 Herbert 1977			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Brown notes that the underlying C <sub>1</sub> must be a continuant (e.g. /β/).

30	Makonde (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Odden 1990		?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen originally categorises Makonde as a language that lacks nasal cluster dissimilation, but then claims it is a case where one or two words with labial/coronal NC <sub>1</sub> undergo it.
31	Manambu (Sepik)	Aikhenvald 2008			?	NC <sub>1</sub> oralisation	These alternations may be restricted to palatal and velar NC <sub>1</sub> when it is in word-initial position.
32	Matumbi (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Odden 1996		?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen lists this language as part of a group where nasal cluster dissimilation is attested directly or indirectly for one or two words with labial or alveolar NC <sub>1</sub> , potentially in addition to words with velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
33	Mori Bawah (Austronesian)	Esser & Mead 2011 Blust 2012		?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> oralisation, NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Process only applies when NC <sub>2</sub> is voiceless. Due to external factors, NC <sub>1</sub> must be voiceless as well; see §3.1 on this point.
34	Mudbura (Pama- Nyungan)	McConvell 1988			?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation, NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation occurs when N <sub>2</sub> is word-final; NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation occurs elsewhere.
35	Mwanga (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962		?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Mwanga is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .

36	Myene (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Rékanga 2014			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	The scope of nasal cluster dissimilation is not clear; Meeussen provides three examples, but also two exceptions. Rékanga's grammar does not discuss nasal cluster dissimilation, and provides several words with co-occurring N(C)s.
37	Ndonga (Niger-Congo)	Herbert 1977 Fivaz 1986			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Herbert discusses Ndonga in the same context as Kwanyama; however, no examples are given, and Fivaz' grammar does not mention nasal cluster dissimilation at all.
38	Ngaju Dayak (Austronesian)	Blust 2012			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	See §3.2 and §4 for discussion and analysis of this case.
39	Ngarinyman (Pama-Nyungan)	McConvell 1988 Nichols 2016			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation in Ngarinyman can apply non-locally; see Nichols.
40	Ngazija (Niger-Congo)	Herbert 1977			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Herbert notes that nasal cluster dissimilation in Ngazija is 'similar to the Kwanyama rule'.
41	Nhanda (Pama-Nyungan)	Blevins 2001 Blust 2012			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation applies mostly when NC <sub>1</sub> is homorganic and is morphologically restricted (only some suffixes trigger it). Limited non-local application is possible; see Blevins.
42	Nilamba (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Yukawa 1989			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen's description notes that nasal cluster dissimilation appears to apply only to labial and coronal NC <sub>1</sub> . Forms with multiple NCs are difficult to find in Yukawa, though several are present.

43	Nkore (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Taylor 1998			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the consonant in second position must be a nasal compound, and the relevant words are all nominals belonging to a rather fixed series'.
44	Ntomba (Niger-Congo)	Mamet 1955 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation may target only alveolar NC <sub>1</sub> . There is one example of NC...N in Mamet's description, but this example is difficult to find, and is not discussed explicitly.
45	Nyamwezi (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Maganga & Schadeberg 1992			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Maganga & Schadeberg note that nasal cluster dissimilation is no longer productive, and that there are numerous counterexamples.
46	Nyiha (Niger-Congo)	Busse 1960 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen categorises this as a language where nasal cluster dissimilation applies somewhat infrequently, which is echoed in Busse's description.
47	Nyoro (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Rubongoya 1999			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the consonant in second position must be a nasal compound, and the relevant words are all nominals belonging to a rather fixed series'. Rubongoya's description suggests that NC <sub>1</sub> must also be labial.
48	Ombo (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1952 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen's discussion is somewhat confusing, but the examples provided suggest restrictions on both NC <sub>1</sub> VNC <sub>2</sub> and NC <sub>1</sub> VN <sub>2</sub> .



49	Rundi (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Rodegem 1967			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the consonant in second position must be a nasal compound, and the relevant words are all nominals belonging to a rather fixed series'. Rodegem's grammar doesn't discuss nasal cluster dissimilation.
50	Rwanda (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Kimenyi 2002			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that 'the consonant in second position must be a nasal compound', but Kimenyi suggests that NC <sub>1</sub> VN <sub>2</sub> V is repaired as well.
51	Sanga (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that nasal cluster dissimilation applies 'only if there is a nasal compound in second position'.
52	Sango (Ngbandi-based creole)	Meeussen 1962 Samarin 1967			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Samarin does not mention nasal cluster dissimilation, and additionally provides numerous examples of NC <sub>1</sub> VNC <sub>2</sub> and NC <sub>1</sub> VN <sub>2</sub> . I follow Meeussen's description, but its basis is unclear.
53	Saramaccan (English-Portuguese creole)	McWhorter & Good 2012					Static restriction	Final nasals are not common in this language, but none of the examples provided are preceded by NC.
54	Shambala (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Besha 1993			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Shambala is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> . Words with the shape NC <sub>1</sub> VN <sub>2</sub> V are fairly easy to find in Besha, suggesting a discrepancy between the two sources, but NC <sub>1</sub> VNC <sub>2</sub> words are absent.

55	Soli (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen notes that nasal cluster dissimilation only applies when there is a nasal compound in second position.
56	Suthu (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Louwrens <i>et al.</i> 1995			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Suthu is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> . Louwrens <i>et al.</i> 's sketch provides no NC <sub>1</sub> VNC <sub>2</sub> words.
57	Swahili (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Mpiranya 2015			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen mentions that Swahili is a language where application of the rule is restricted to velar NC <sub>1</sub> .
58	Tabwa (Niger-Congo)	van Acker 1907 Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation may only apply when NC <sub>1</sub> is velar, and in one or two words where NC <sub>1</sub> is labial or coronal; this is unclear from Meeussen.
59	Taita (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation may only apply when NC <sub>1</sub> is velar, and in one or two words where NC <sub>1</sub> is labial or coronal; this is unclear from Meeussen.
60	Tetela (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Jacobs 1964			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Restriction on NC <sub>1</sub> VNC <sub>2</sub> applies for all parts of speech; restriction on NC <sub>1</sub> VN <sub>2</sub> V applies only for nouns.
61	Timugon Murut (Austronesian)	Blust 2012			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation is restricted to voiceless NC <sub>1</sub> , but this is because it only applies across morpheme boundaries, and only voiceless NCs can be created across these boundaries.
62	Vira (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation may only apply when NC <sub>1</sub> is velar, and in one or two words where NC <sub>1</sub> is labial or coronal; this is unclear from Meeussen.

63	Yao (Niger-Congo)	Hyman 2003			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation only applies with coronal NC <sub>1</sub> , but this is apparently because all other NCs reduce to Ns.
64	Yaunde (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962 Essono 2000			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Descriptions are not consistent with one another; Meeussen notes nasal cluster dissimilation across an imperative suffix boundary, but this is not discussed by Essono. See §2.1.
65	Yindjibarndi (Pama-Nyungan)	Wordick 1982			?	?	NC <sub>2</sub> oralisation	Nasal cluster dissimilation only applies when NC <sub>2</sub> is labial or velar. Limited non-local application is possible (see Wordick). See §2.3.
66	Zande (Niger-Congo)	Gore 1931 Herbert 1977 Boyd 1995			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Herbert notes that nasal cluster dissimilation is a 'tendency' in Zande; Gore's grammar does not discuss restrictions on nasal vowels explicitly, but contains no examples of NCs followed by nasal vowels.
67	Ziba (Niger-Congo)	Meeussen 1962			?	?	NC <sub>1</sub> nasalisation	Meeussen writes that the rule applies 'only if there is a nasal compound in second position'.

**Appendix B: Summary of the NC $\tilde{V}$  survey**

This appendix provides more information about the NC $\tilde{V}$  survey, focusing on languages with NCs and a vocalic nasality contrast, as discussed in §6.1. The 23 languages that were included in this survey are given in (23), with references to their descriptions.

- (23) a. *Languages that allow NC $\tilde{V}$*   
 Day (Nougayrol 1979)  
 Kabba (Moser 2004)  
 Lua (Boyeldieu 1985)  
 Mbay (Keegan 1996, 1997)  
 Mbum (Hagège 1970)  
 Ngambay (Vandame 1963)  
 Ngbaka (Thomas 1963, Henrix 2015)  
 Nizaa (Endresen 1991)  
 Tinrin (Osumi 1995)  
 Vouté (Guarisma 1978)  
 Xârâcùù (Lynch 2002)  
 Yakoma (Boyeldieu 1975)
- b. *Languages that ban NC $\tilde{V}$*   
 Acehnese (Durie 1985)  
 Apinayé (Oliveira 2005)  
 Gbaya Kara (Monino & Roulon 1972)  
 Gbeya (Samarin 1966)  
 Ndumbea (Gordon & Maddieson 1999)  
 Nheengatu (Moore *et al.* 1994)  
 Páez (Rojas Curieux 1998, Jung 2008)  
 Paici (Gordon & Maddieson 2004)  
 Sango (Samarin 1967)  
 Saramaccan (McWhorter & Good 2012)  
 Vai (Welmers 1976)

More information regarding the languages that allow NC $\tilde{V}$  is provided in Table XV. The minimal or near-minimal pairs in the NCV–NC $\tilde{V}$  column demonstrate that vocalic nasality is contrastive following NCs; the forms in the NCVN(C) column demonstrate that NCVN and NCVNC sequences are allowed. Where applicable, translations are my own. (Note that for Lua and Mbum, only NCVN forms are provided, because NCs are prohibited outside of initial position. See Stanton 2016a: 1108–1110 for discussion of the distribution of NCs in these languages.)

language (source)	NCV–NCṼ	NCVN(C)
Day (Nougayrol 1979)	ndéé ‘people’ (p. 61) ndé ‘little’ (p. 61)	mbòmbóro ‘jawbone’ (p. 35) ndèem ‘to suffice’ (p. 61)
Kabba (Moser 2004)	mbi ‘ear’ (p. 36) mbi ‘nausea’ (p. 36)	ngòm ‘lie’ (p. 20) mbámbá ‘soldier’ (p. 20)
Lua (Boyeldieu 1985)	mbàri ‘to flatten’ (p. 43) mbá: ‘regularly’ (p. 43)	ndōŋ ‘it’s too wide, narrow’ (p. 49) ndwāam ‘Ndam of Ndam’ (p. 52)
Mbay (Keegan 1996)	mbòj ‘in a panic’ (p. 293) mbòj ‘pleasantly’ (p. 294)	ngōn ‘son, daughter’ (p. 355) mbíndiŋg ‘very heavy’ (p. 290)
Mbum (Hagege 1970)	nzáu ‘spark’ (p. 41) nzá ‘balafon’ (p. 59)	mbàm ‘rain’ (p. 30) ndàm ‘poison’ (p. 32)
Ngambay (Vandame 1963)	ndà ‘to be white’ (p. 197) ndà ‘to pick’ (p. 15)	ndàng ‘to be crazy’ (p. 9) mbūnā ‘interval’ (p. 197)
Ngbaka (Thomas 1963)	zàlānzè ‘orange’ (p. 46) nzē ‘blood’ (p. 30)	mbàngà ‘river sand’ (p. 28) mbānā ‘wing’ (p. 50)
Nizaa (Endresen 1991)	mbεε ‘to judge’ (p. 42) mbēē ‘to limp’ (p. 42)	mbèmbèm ‘wind instrument’ (p. 48) ndaŋni ‘disobedience’ (p. 48)
Tinrin (Osumi 1995)	ŋɖi ‘leaf, be humid’ (p. 17) ŋɖũ ‘hawk’ (p. 15)	ŋɖaŋɖɔŋɔ ‘to hurt the foot’ (p. 5) ŋɖinawa ‘coconut leaves’ (p. 290)
Vouté (Guarisma 1978)	ngór ‘thinness’ (p. 45) ngóō ‘grass (sp.)’ (p. 45)	ngúŋ ‘stick’ (p. 45) ngónbé ‘paddle’ (p. 24)
Xârâcùù (Lynch 2002)	ba:ru ‘two’ (p. 768) mb <sup>w</sup> ā ‘distant and invisible’ (p. 768)	ndɔmb <sup>w</sup> a ‘thing’ (p. 775) mbanī: ‘how many?’ (p. 775)
Yakoma (Boyeldieu 1975)	péndá ‘back’ (p. 126) ndé ‘different(ly)’ (p. 100)	ngúni ‘the water falls’ (p. 22) ngàmbii ‘youngest’ (p. 39)

Table XV

Additional information on NCṼ-allowing languages.

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