

# Proto-Qiándōng-Hmongic

The Development of Aspirated Fricatives

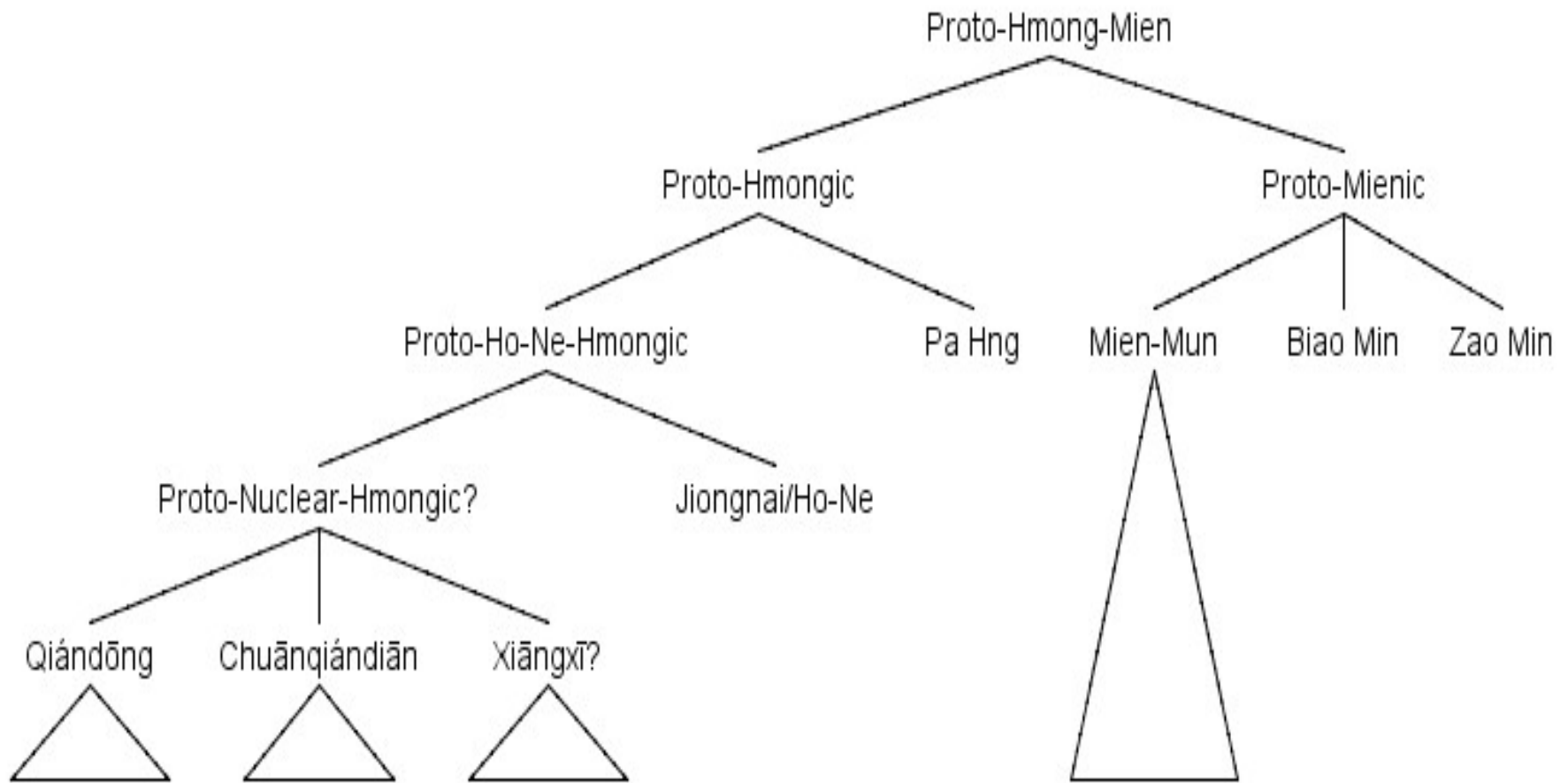
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# Background Information

- Part of Hmong-Mien language family of southwest China and northern Indochina, which has roughly 6.5 million speakers
- Qiándōng is subgroup of Hmongic branch, and has 1.4 million speakers
- Speakers mostly ethnic Miao/Hmong minorities, esp. Black Hmong/Hmu living in the mountains in SE Guizhou province, China



# Subgrouping



# Sources of Qiándōng Data

- **Data on 5 Qiándōng dialects drawn from Purnell (1970)**
- **19 others from a translation of a Chinese fieldwork document from the 1950s (Ma & Tai 1956)**

# Notable Qiándōng Features

- **Typical Hmongic traits: Isolating, tonal, no codas**
- **Lack of prenasalized consonants, common elsewhere in Hmongic**
- **Aspiration distinctions in a wide variety of fricatives**

# Rarity of Aspirated Fricatives

Inventory of aspirated fricatives	Languages	Inventory of aspirated fricatives	Languages
s <sup>h</sup>	many (Korean, Shan, Burmese, some Iroquoian)	s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> ʂ <sup>h</sup>	Zhaba, Shuiluo Pumi
s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup>	Chumashan, some Oto-Manguean	s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> ʂ <sup>h</sup> x <sup>h</sup>	Cone Tibetan, Geshizha Rtau
f <sup>h</sup> s <sup>h</sup>	Ofo (Siouan)	f <sup>h</sup> s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> x <sup>h</sup>	Heqing Bai
s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> ʂ <sup>h</sup>	Puxi Rtau	s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> z <sup>h</sup> ʒ <sup>h</sup>	Dikundu !Xǔ
s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> ʂ <sup>h</sup>	Eastern Tibetan dialects	f <sup>h</sup> s <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup> ʂ <sup>h</sup> ʂ <sup>h</sup>	Yǎnghāo (Qiándōng)

(Jacques 2011:5)



# Alveolar and Palatal Aspirated Fricatives

From Wang (1979)'s Proto-Hmong-Mien to Modern Yǎnghāo:

- $*^n\text{ts-} > \text{s-}$
- $*^n\text{ts}^h\text{-}, *^n\text{ts}^h\text{-} > \text{s}^h\text{-}$
- $*^n\text{t}\zeta\text{-} > \zeta\text{-}$
- $*^n\text{t}\zeta^h\text{-} > \zeta^h\text{-}$
- $*\text{s-} > \text{s}^h\text{-}$
- $*\zeta\text{-} > \zeta^h\text{-}$

- Pull chain shift
- Explains loss of prenasalized consonants, major Qiándōng trait
- Uses that loss to explain other major Qiándōng trait, aspiration in fricatives, at least for alveolars and palatals



# Analogous Process in Burmese

- From Middle (15th century) to Modern Burmese
- s > [t̪ʰ]
- c [ts] > [s]
- ch [tsʰ] > [sʰ]
- kr-, ky- > [t̪ʰ]
- khr-, khy- > [t̪ʰʰ]
- (Jacques 2011:7)

# Analogous Process in Shan

- From Proto-Hmong-Mien to modern Qiándōng (Wang 1979):
  - \*s- > sh-
  - \*ç- > çh-
- Prenasalized consonant reductions
- Southern Shan analogue (Edmondson 2008:197)
  - \*s/z > sh-
  - \*tɕ-/dzɕ- > s-

# Remaining Fricatives

- Still need an explanation for  $f^h$ ,  $\phi^h$ ,  $\phi^jh$
- The two laterals can probably simply be reconstructed with a differing adjacent vowel
- Two consonants to explain
- Different and new development for each

# Labiodentals

- **Burmese-type lenition unlikely: no \*pf- or \*<sup>n</sup>pf- anywhere else in Hmongic**
- **Shan-type also not a good solution: Qiándōng [f], not [f<sup>h</sup>], corresponds regularly with [f] elsewhere in Hmongic**
- **Instead, here the best analogue is in reconstructed Middle Chinese**

# Analogous Process in Middle Chinese

- From Early Middle Chinese to Late Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank 1984:63-69):
  - \*pj > \*f
  - \*pjh > \*fh
- We know that Late Middle Chinese had an aspirated fricative and not an affricate for philological reasons (Chinese rhyme tables)

# Labiodentals Pt 2

- I posit the same scenario in Qiándōng
- From Pre-Qiándōng to Proto-Qiándōng:
- \*pj- > \*f
- \*pjh- > \*fh
- Not reconstructing this all the way back to Proto-Hmong-Mien as it appears more complicated at that point

# Laterals

- **Could posit [tl] or similar clusters and assume a process like Shan or Burmese**
- **However, correspondence series relative to such clusters elsewhere in Hmongic do not match up**
- **No sign of existing lateral series being removed from the system to actuate chain shift**
- **New pathway must be posited**



# Laterals Pt 2

- Note lack of aspirated liquids

	<b>Aspirated, palatalized</b>	<b>Aspirated, unpalatalized</b>	<b>Unaspirated, palatalized</b>	<b>Unaspirated, unpalatalized</b>
<b>Liquid</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>
<b>Fricative</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Present</b>

# Laterals Pt 3

- **Note lack of any aspirated liquid reflexes**
- **Aspirated sonorants widespread elsewhere in Hmongic**
- **Solution: aspirated liquids spirantized and maintained aspiration distinction**
- **Sonorants known to do this in other languages (Tibetan, Mazatec) and retain aspiration distinction (Jacques 2011)**
- **Also explains palatalization gap in fricatives**

# Laterals Pt 2

- No unaspirated palatalized lateral fricative

	<b>Aspirated, palatalized</b>	<b>Aspirated, unpalatalized</b>	<b>Unaspirated, palatalized</b>	<b>Unaspirated, unpalatalized</b>
<b>Liquid</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>
<b>Fricative</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Present</b>

# Prior to Spirantization

- If we assume liquid spirantization, the asymmetry disappears

	<b>Aspirated, palatalized</b>	<b>Aspirated, unpalatalized</b>	<b>Unaspirated, palatalized</b>	<b>Unaspirated, unpalatalized</b>
<b>Liquid</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>
<b>Fricative</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Present</b>

# Prior to Palatalization

- If palatalization only affected liquids, then prior to the palatalization the chart can be reduced to that below

	<b>Aspirated</b>	<b>Unaspirated</b>
<b>Liquid</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Present</b>
<b>Fricative</b>	<b>Not present</b>	<b>Present</b>

# Analogous Process in Tibetan

- Old Tibetan [r<sup>h</sup>al] > Cone Tibetan [ʂ<sup>h</sup>è] 'coarse' (Jacques 2011:9)
- No known etymology for other instances of /ʂ<sup>h</sup>/
- Cone /ʂ/ comes from [spr], [sr]
- Old Tibetan [sprin-] > Cone Tibetan [ʂí:] 'cloud'

# Analogous Process in Mazatec

- From Mazatec (Jamieson 1996, Jacques 2011:10):
- Proto Mazatec \*j<sup>h</sup> > Chiquihuitlán Mazatec ʃ<sup>h</sup>
- In both examples, aspirated sonorant becomes aspirated fricative when comparable unaspirated fricative already exists, and language already has other aspirated fricatives



# Laterals Pt 4

- Thus, in Qiándōng:
- Posit for Pre-Qiándōng-Hmongic, \*ɬ, \*l<sup>h</sup>, and \*l
- \*l<sup>h</sup> > Proto-Qiándōng-Hmongic \*ɬ<sup>h</sup>
- [+lateral, +son] > PQH [+high] / \_V[+high]

# Summary

- **Four different types of change producing aspiration distinctions across different fricatives in Qiándōng**
- **These changes probably reinforced each other to create the large inventory of aspirated fricatives seen today**