Phonological Restructuring in Odawa

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Introduction

- Rhythmic syncope systems undergo radical restructuring.

Outline

- Transitional Odawa extended phonetic reduction to deletion.[1]
  - This created opaque syncope for language learners.
- New Odawa promptly restructured with:
  - a levelled lexicon,
  - reanalyzed prefixes,
  - transparent syncope.
- Opaque rhythmic syncope has triggered restructuring elsewhere.
- But transparent rhythmic syncope does not.
- Phonological theories should reflect rhythmic syncope's instability.

Transitional Odawa

–1930s Adults–

Rhythmic Syncope

- Core generalization: delete unstressed vowels (Bloomfield 1957, Kaye 1973, Piggott 1983).

$(\sigma\ \acute{\sigma})$	$\rightarrow$	$(_\ \acute{\sigma})$
(nɪkʌ́)		(n_kʌ́) ‘goose’

- Vowel deletion depends on feet.
- But deletion destroys the feet.

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‘book’	‘my book’	
/mʌzɪnʌʔɪgʌn/	/nɪ-mʌzɪnʌʔɪgʌn/	UR
(mʌzí)(nʌʔí)(gʌ́n)	(nɪmʌ́)(zɪnʌ́)(ʔɪgʌ́n)	Stress
(m_zí)(n_ʔí)(gʌ́n)	(n_mʌ́)(z_nʌ́)(ʔ_gʌ́n)	Syncope
[mzínʔígʌ́n]	[nmʌ́znʌ́ʔgʌ́n]	SR

- To learn this, you can't use Classic OT (Kager 1997, Blumenfeld 2006).

mʌzɪnʌʔɪgʌn	*WEAKV	MAX-V
a. ☞ (mzí)(nʔí)(gʌ́n)		**
b. (mʌzí)(nʌʔí)(gʌ́n)	**!	
c. ☹ (mʌ́z)(nʌ́ʔ)(gʌ́n)		**

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- Classic OT tries to make footing and syncope apply simultaneously.
- An intermediate representation guides deletion (McCarthy 2008).

Reduction → Deletion

Old Odawa	17th - 19th centuries (Baraga 1878, Blackbird 1887)
↓	
Increased Reduction	1912 (Sapir, in Rhodes 2008)
↓	
Transitional Odawa	1938 (Bloomfield 1957)

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- "The vowels are . . . *never* silent" (Baraga 1878:4, emph. orig.).
- "The reduced vowels are rapidly spoken and often whispered or entirely omitted" (Bloomfield 1957:5).

New Odawa

–1930s Children–

Transitional Lexicon

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	Unprefixed	Prefixed	
a.	d_ngíʃk_w-á꞉-d	n_-dʌ́ng_ʃkʌ́w-á꞉	kick
b.	d_gʊ́n_gé꞉	n_-dʌ́g_nígé꞉	mix things
c.	b_zʊ́gé꞉ʃín	n_-bíz_gé꞉ʃín	stumble

New Lexicon

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	New Unprefixed	New Prefixed	
a.	dngɪʃkw-aː-d	ndʌ-dngɪʃkw-aː	kick
b.	dgʊngeː	ndʌ-dgʊngeː	mix things
c.	bzʊgeːʃɪn	ndʌ-bzʊgeːʃɪn	stumble

	T. Unprefixed	T. Prefixed	
a.	d_ngíʃk_w-áː-d	n_-dʌ́ng_ʃkʌ́w-áː	kick
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∴ New URs come from Transitional unprefixed forms (Bowers 2012).

New Prefixes

- New prefixes arose via reanalysis of Transitional Odawa vowel-initial words:

‘He hangs’	‘I hang’	
/ʌgoːd͡ʒɪn/	/nɪ-ʌgoːd͡ʒɪn/	UR
—	nɪ[d]ʌgoːd͡ʒɪn	Hiatus Resolution
(ʌgóː)(d͡ʒín)	(nɪdʌ́)(góː)(d͡ʒín)	Stress
(_góː)(d͡ʒín)	(n_dʌ́)(góː)(d͡ʒín)	Syncope
[góːd͡ʒín]	[ndʌ́góːd͡ʒín]	SR

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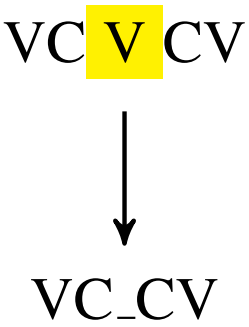
- A plausible analysis (repeatable for [ɪ, ʊ], see Bowers 2012; 2013):

	goːd͡ʒɪn	‘He hangs’
ndʌ	goːd͡ʒɪn	‘I hang’

New Grammar

- New syncope is in the two-sided open syllable.



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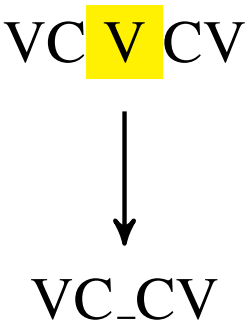

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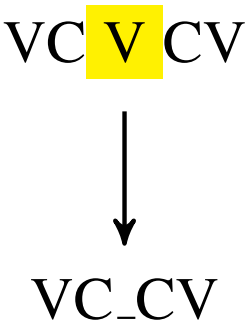

- This is transparent: “delete if the cluster is ok”.
- No reference to stress is needed.

a.	mkɪzɪn	mkɪz_n-ʌn	shoe
b.	aːnʌk	aːn_k-ʌg	brown thrasher
c.	waːgʊʃ	waːg_ʃ-ʌg	fox
d.	pwaːgʌn	pwaːg_n-ʌg	pipe

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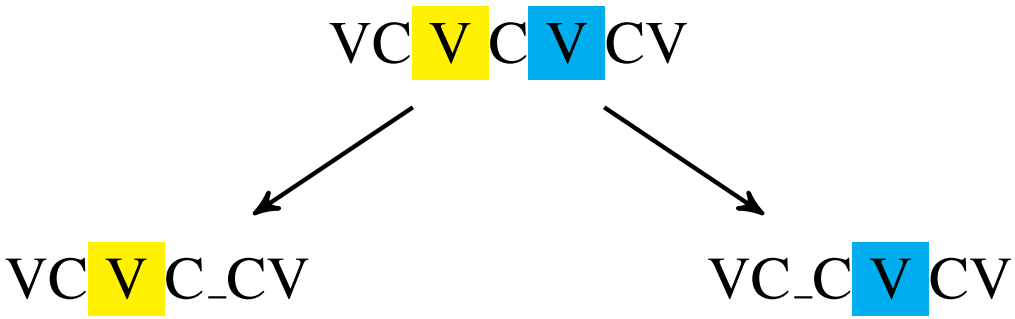
- New syncope blocked elsewhere.

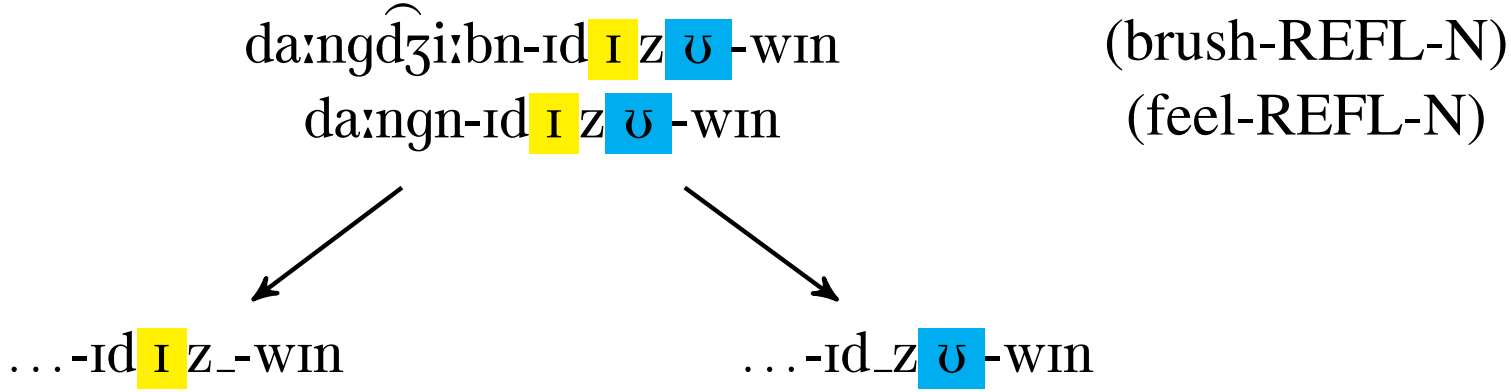
a.	miːknʊd	miːknʊd-ʌn	pants
b.	miːʒmɪn	miːʒmɪn-ʌn	acorns
c.	aːbd͡ʒɪt͡ʃgʌn	aːbd͡ʒɪt͡ʃgʌn-ʌn	tool
d.	d͡ʒiːgdʌbgʌn	d͡ʒiːgdʌbgʌn-ʌn	broom

Deletion Sites Vary

- Free variation if two vowels are in the two-sided open syllable (Bowers 2012).



- *VC_C_CV



- We don't see . . .-ɪd_z_-wɪn
- Transitional Odawa did not have this variation.

Restructuring was Abrupt

- Speakers born in the 1930s created New Odawa (Piggott 1980:2, Rhodes 1985a; 1985b).
- Phonetic change culminated in Transitional Odawa around 1938 (Bloomfield 1957).

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∴ Conjecture: New Odawa was a response to Transitional Odawa.

  - Leveling to a single member of the paradigm,
  - Recut prefixes,
  - Development of a transparent syncope process.

Restructuring beyond Odawa

Old Irish

- Vowels deleted in left-to-right trochees (Thurneysen 1946, McManus 1983).

‘similar’	‘neg-similar-pl’	
/kosamil/	/e-kosamil-i/	UR
(kósa)(míl)	(éko)(sámi)(lí)	Stress
(kós_)(míl)	(ék_)(sám_)(lí)	Syncope
[kósmíl]	[éksámlí]	SR

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- Old Irish promptly restructured (Thurneysen 1946).
  - *(tí̇m_)(θírext) → tim.θ_rext ‘service’

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[kósmíl]	[éksámlí]	SR

- Old Irish promptly restructured (Thurneysen 1946).
  - *(tí̇m_)(θírext) → tim.θ_rext ‘service’
- Free variation observed:
  - tomon_tis ∼ tom_nitis ‘that they would think’

Slavic - Havlík's Law

- Jers ([ɪ, ʊ]) deleted in right-to-left trochees (V. Kiparsky 1979).

'hermit-acc.sg'	'hermit-nom.sg'	
/otʊʃʲɪlɪt͡sʲ-a/	/otʊʃʲɪlɪt͡sʲ-ɪ/	UR
(ótʊ)(ʃʲílɪ)(t͡sʲá)	(ó)(tʊ́ʃʲɪ)(lít͡sʲɪ)	Stress
(ót_)(ʃʲíl_)(t͡sʲá)	(ó)(tʊ́ʃʲ_)(lít͡sʲ_)	Syncope
(ót)(ʃʲél)(t͡sʲá)	(ó)(tóʃʲ)(lét͡sʲ)	Lowering
[ótʃʲélt͡sʲá]	[ótóʃʲlét͡sʲ]	SR

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(ótʊ)(ʃʲílɪ)(t͡sʲá)	(ó)(tʊ́ʃʲɪ)(lít͡sʲɪ)	Stress
(ót_)(ʃʲíl_)(t͡sʲá)	(ó)(tʊ́ʃʲ_)(lít͡sʲ_)	Syncope
(ót)(ʃʲél)(t͡sʲá)	(ó)(tóʃʲ)(lét͡sʲ)	Lowering
[ótʃʲélt͡sʲá]	[ótóʃʲlét͡sʲ]	SR

- Multiple vowel/zero alternations are the hallmark of rhythmic syncope.

Slavic - Havlík's Law

- "Multiple vowel/zero alternations were eliminated simultaneously with the jer-shift itself" (Isačenko 1970:96).
- Modern Russian "did not preserve *a single case* of multiple vowel/zero alternations" (but residues in prefixes, Isačenko 1970:122, emphasis original).

- Modern Russian jer deletion is cyclic and regulated by phonotactics (Gouskova 2012, Pesetsky 1979, Yearley 1995).

See Also . . .

- Britonnic (Jackson 1953).
- Mandaic (Malone 1997).
- Potawatomi (Hockett 1948:5).
- Unami (Goddard 1979; 1982).
- Aguaruna (Payne 1990, Deicat 1996, McCarthy 2008, Bowers In Press).

Tonkawa - Transparent Rhythm

- Vowels delete in left-to-right trochees (Hoijer 1933; 1946; 1949).
- But the preceding consonant became longer and syllabic.

‘I lick him’	‘He licks me’	
/netale-oʔs/	/ke-netale-oʔ/	UR
netal_oʔs	kenetal_oʔ	Hiatus Resolution
(néta)(lóʔs)	(kéne)(tálo?)	Stress
(nétṭ_)(lóʔs)	(kénṇ_)(tálo?)	Syncope and Lengthening
[nétṭlóʔs]	[kénṇtálo?]	SR

Tonkawa - Transparent Rhythm

- This could be done in Classic OT.

kenetaleo?	MAX-SYLL	LMOST	*WEAKV	ID-SYLL
a. ☞ (kénn̥)(tálo?)			*	*
b. (kéne)(tálo?)			**!	
c. (kén)(tálo?)	*!		*	
d. ke(nétt̥)lo?		*!		*

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b. (kéne)(tálo?)			**!	
c. (kén)(tálo?)	*!		*	
d. ke(nétt̩)lo?		*!		*

- Transparent metrical structure → no restructuring.
- Gradient/optional syncope is likewise stable (Munsee: Goddard 1979; 1982, Macushi: Hawkins 1950).

Summary and Conclusion

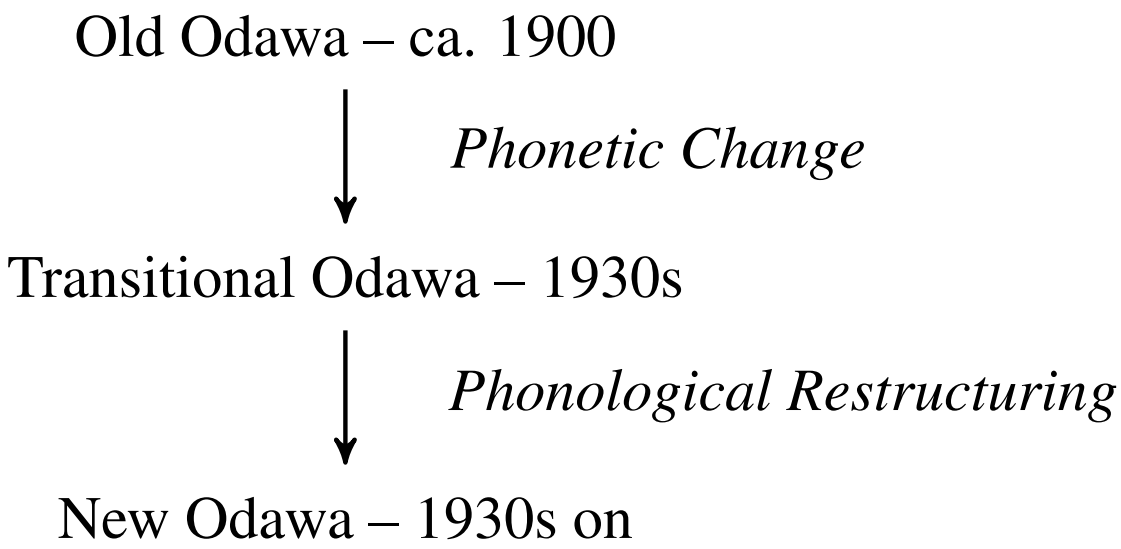
Old Odawa – ca. 1900

↓ *Phonetic Change*

Transitional Odawa – 1930s

↓ *Phonological Restructuring*

New Odawa – 1930s on



- McCarthy (2008): harmonic serialism best explains rhythmic syncope.
- Odawa and similar cases suggest rhythmic syncope is unstable.

Old Odawa – ca. 1900

↓ *Phonetic Change*

Transitional Odawa – 1930s

↓ *Phonological Restructuring*

New Odawa – 1930s on

- McCarthy (2008): harmonic serialism best explains rhythmic syncope.
- Odawa and similar cases suggest rhythmic syncope is unstable.

∴ Rhythmic syncope may be unlearnable, undermining McCarthy's argument.

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Concrete Lexical Theory

- To generate unstressed vowel deletion, URs need all the vowels.
- Learners would have to build URs from several surface forms.
	m	ʌ	k	ɪ	z	ɪ	n	UR
	m		k	ɪ	z	ɪ	n	SR 1
n-	m	ʌ	k		z	ɪ	n	SR 2
- Some theories require URs to correspond to one surface form (Albright 2002; 2010).

- Over 400 words in Rhodes (1985a) would be exceptional.
- E.g: *ndʌ-d͡ʒeːpɪ̲z* 'I am lively' vs *d͡ʒeːpzɪ-d* 'if he is lively'.
-

	d͡ʒ	eː	p	ɪ	z	ɪ		New Odawa UR
	d͡ʒ	eː	p		z	ɪ	d	T. Odawa SR
ndoː	d͡ʒ	eː	p	ɪ	z			T. Odawa SR

- Also:

Unsuffixed	Suffixed	
ndʌ-biːndgeːbɪ̲z	biːndgeːbzʊ-d	zip inside
ndʌ-bkʊdʌ̲b	bkʊdbɪ-d	perch
ndʌ-nd͡ʒɪnʌ̲z	nd͡ʒɪnzʊ-d	dispute

Newness of New Syncope

- Cluster simplification feeds novel deletions.
- Free variation when two vowels in the two sided open syllable.
- Optional deletion with new prefixes.

$\therefore$ New Odawa syncope is indeed new.

Syncope has Spread

- Vowels that never deleted in Transitional Odawa delete in New Odawa.

‘If he misses him’	‘Drums’	
/meːdʌs ɪ n-aː-d/	/deːweːʔɪg ʌ n-ʌn/	UR
(méː)(dʌsí)(náːd)	(déː)(wéː)(ʔɪgá)(nʌ́n)	Stress
(méː)(d_sí)(náːd)	(déː)(wéː)(ʔ_gá)(nʌ́n)	Syncope
[méːds í náːd]	[déːwéːʔg á nʌ́n]	SR

- The [ds] and [ʔg] clusters are now simplified to [s] and [g].
- Deletion observed: *meːs_n-aː* ‘miss him’ and *deːweːg_n-ʌn* ‘drums’.

Optional at Left Edge

- ndʌ- + CVCVː = ndʌC V CVː
- V deletes optionally.

	Non-deletion	Deletion	Old Form
a.	ndʌ-ʒ ɪ daːbaːn-aː	ndʌ-ʒ_daːbaːn-aː	n_-[d]ɪʒ_daːbaːn-aː
b.	ndʌ-n ɪ zeːkweː	ndʌ-n_zeːkweː	n_-[d]ɪn_zeːkweː
c.	gdoː-k ʌ waːteːʃɪn	gdoː-k_waːteːʃɪn	g_-[d]ʌk_waːteːʃɪn

Glosses: ‘I drag him’, ‘I cook so’, ‘you cast a shadow’

Aguaruna

- Vowels deleted in left-to-right iambs (Payne 1990, McCarthy 2008).
- But now deletion in VC_CV is cyclic.

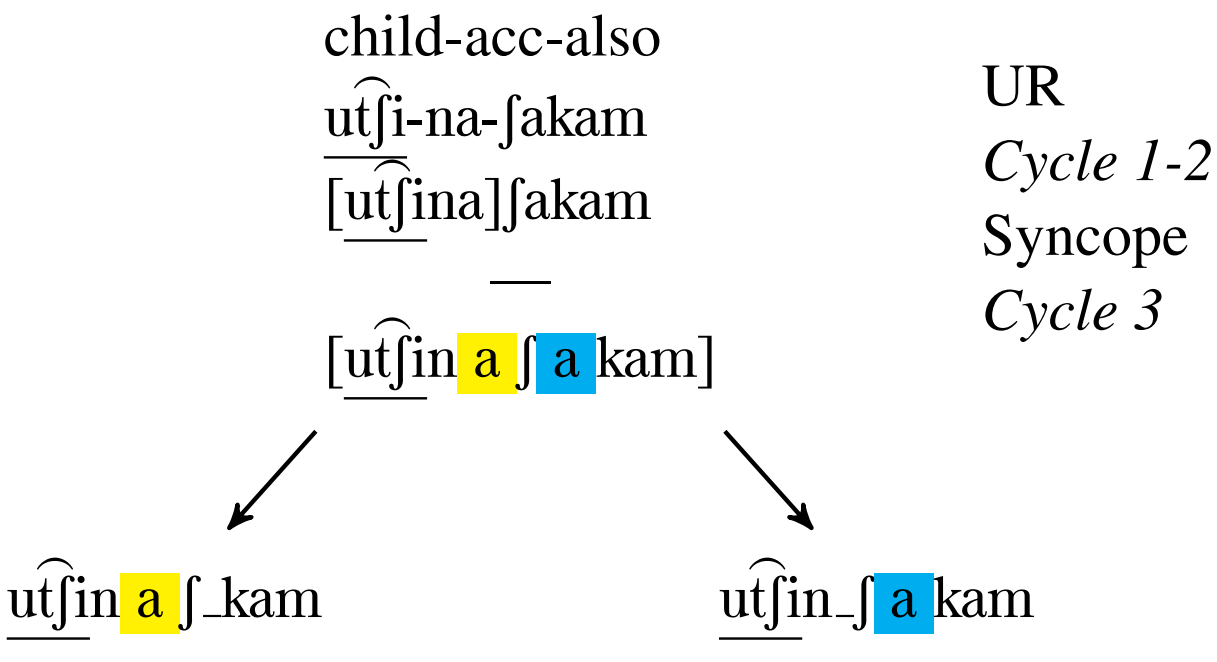
Aguaruna 2

- When affixes are short, this mimics iambic syncope.

/it͡ʃinaka-ŋu-mi-na/	UR	‘clay pot-pos-2-acc’
[it͡ʃin a ka]ŋumina	*Cycle 1*	
[it͡ʃin _ ka]ŋumina	Syncope	
[it͡ʃinkaŋu]mina	*Cycle 2*	
—	Syncope	
[it͡ʃinkaŋ u mi]na	*Cycle 3*	
[it͡ʃinkaŋ _ mi]na	Syncope	
[it͡ʃinkaŋmina]	*Cycle 4*	
[it͡ʃinkaŋmin_]	Apocope	
—	Syncope	
it͡ʃin_kaŋ_min_	SR	(it͡ʃí)(n_ká)(ŋ_mí)n_

Aguaruna 3

- But when affixes are long, free variation results.



What About Arabic?

- Palestinian Arabic has an opaque stress-syncope interaction (Brame 1974, Kenstowicz 1980, Kiparsky 2000)

/fihim-na/	/fihim-∅-na/	UR
[fihímna]	[fihím]na	Stress (stem)
—	[fihímna]	Stress (word)
f_hímna	—	Syncope (word)
[fhímna]	[fihímna]	SR

- But this is due to phonology-morphology interface. And . . .
- There is surface justification for lost stress (*fíhim*-∅ 'he understood')