

## Inter-Morpheme Asymmetry in Vowel Informativity is a Path to Mutation

Stefon Flego, Indiana University (IUB). Paper presented at the 50<sup>th</sup> Poznań Linguistic Meeting.

Keywords: vowel mutation, agent-based simulation, Dinka-Nuer, informativity, coarticulation

Vowel Quality Mutation (VQM) is defined here as stem vowel quality alternation that has its diachronic origin in anticipatory coarticulation with the vowels of former inflectional suffixes, e.g. English *full* ~ *fill* < \*full-az ~ \*full-janã [1], Agar Dinka [rí̄m] ~ [rj̄ɛ̄m], *blood*.PL ~ SG, cf. Surkum [rí̄m] ~ [rí̄m-át̄] [2]. In early Germanic and Dinka-Nuer (Western Nilotic), VQM is pervasive throughout the vowel system and in nearly all areas of grammatical exponence, as illustrated by the examples from Old Icelandic and Nuer in the table below.

Old Icelandic [1, 3]			Nuer [4-6]			
Base		<i>i</i> -mutation	Base		<i>a</i> -mutation	
bjōð-a	~	býð-r	bid.INF ~ 3SG.IND	p̄āāat-í	~ p̄āāat-á	clap.MUL.2SG ~ 1SG
full-r	~	fyll-a	full.M.NOM.SG ~ fill	t̄é̄et-í	~ t̄é̄aat-á	claim back.2SG ~ 1SG
fall-i	~	fell-r	fall.3SG.SBJV ~ IND	k̄ít-í	~ k̄í̄et-á	start singing.2SG ~ 1SG
fjarð-ar	~	firð-i	firth.SG.GEN ~ DAT	k̄òh	~ k̄ò̄ah	hole.SG.LOC ~ GEN
fōt-r	~	fōt-r	foot.NOM.SG ~ PL	t̄ít	~ t̄í̄et	sorcerer.NOM.PL ~ SG
dauð-r	~	deyð-a	death.NOM.SG ~ kill	t̄ù̄ut	~ t̄ù̄̄t	bull.SG.NOM ~ GEN/LOC

These languages exhibit several typologically rare properties through VQM relative to their antecedent concatenative systems: nonlinear fusion type [7], a cross-linguistically high number of contrastive vowel quality classes [8], and polyexponence [9] of both lexical and grammatical categories through stem vowel quality (see *full* and *fall* in Old Icelandic, *sorcerer* and *bull* in Nuer). The diachronic shift away from a more common monoexponential concatenative system is not explained by appealing to the fundamental components of VQM's diachronic development: vowel-to-vowel coarticulation and the erosion of affixal material are both extremely common (if not universal) phenomena, and could therefore affect any concatenative system in which contrastive vowel quality classes obtain in suffixes. In this paper it is argued that the emergence of VQM can be best understood in an evolutionary framework, where coarticulatory variation becomes exapted for information transmission through language-specific selective pressures.

Previous work has identified a strong association between the inferability of a linguistic unit in the speech stream and its degree of signal autonomy, such that less inferable units are encoded in the signal with greater phonetic specificity and vice versa [10-13], which in turn has been proposed to play a role in long-term phonological change [14-16]. Likewise, it has been demonstrated that coarticulatory variation relates to the inferability of both target and trigger, such that the magnitude of the trigger's coarticulatory influence is greatest when the target has high inferability (low informativity) and the trigger has low inferability (high informativity) [12]. Evidence is presented for such an asymmetry in the informativity of VQ between stems ( $V_1$ ) and inflectional suffixes ( $V_2$ ) in early stages of Germanic and Western Nilotic.

This analysis is supported by results from an agent-based simulation designed to model how informativity shapes phonological structure over iterated communicative interaction. The model allows adaptive agents to exchange phonetically detailed signals of words comprising two ordered trajectories in F1xF2 space ( $V_1$ - $V_2$ ), and the informativity of  $V_1$ Q and  $V_2$ Q can be manipulated independently across trials. Covariance between the two vowels in the form of V-to-V coarticulation is introduced during each iteration, as well as a small number of  $V_2$ -less productions. VQM (e.g.  $e_1$ - $i_2$  ~  $e_1$ - $a_2$  →  $e_1$ - $\emptyset_2$  ~  $\varepsilon_1$ - $\emptyset_2$ ) emerges only during trials in which the informativity of  $V_1$ Q is low, but high for  $V_2$ Q. Other permutations of model parameters result either in stability of the original concatenative system, or loss of  $V_2$  without concomitant bifurcation of  $V_1$ Q (i.e.  $e_1$ - $i_2$  ~  $e_1$ - $a_2$  →  $e_1$ - $\emptyset_2$  ~  $e_1$ - $\emptyset_2$ ).

## References

- [1] Orel, V. (2003). *A handbook of Germanic etymology*. Leiden: Brill.
- [2] Andersen, T. (2014). Number in Dinka. *Number – Constructions and Semantics: Case Studies from Africa, Amazonia, India and Oceania*, 44, 221-263.
- [3] Noreen, A. (1970). *Altnordische Grammatik I*. Tübingen.
- [4] Bond, O., Reid, T., Monich, I., & Baerman, M. (2020). *Nuer lexicon*. [www.nuerlexicon.com](http://www.nuerlexicon.com).
- [5] Monich, I., & Baerman, M. (2019). Stem modification in Nuer. *Theory and Description in African Linguistics*, 499-520.
- [6] Reid, T. (2019). *The phonology and morphology of the Nuer verb* [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Surrey.
- [7] Bickel, B., & Nichols, J. (2013). Fusion of selected inflectional formatives. In M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (Eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/20>
- [8] Maddieson, I. (2013). Vowel quality inventories. In M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (Eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/2>
- [9] Bickel, B., & Nichols, J. (2013). Exponence of selected inflectional formatives. In M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (Eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/21>
- [10] Cohen Priva, U. (2015). Informativity affects consonant duration and deletion rates. *Laboratory Phonology*, 6(2), 243-278.
- [11] Tang, K., & Bennett, R. (2018). Contextual predictability influences word and morpheme duration in a morphologically complex language (Kaqchikel Mayan). *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 144(2), 997-1017.
- [12] Turnbull, R., Seyfarth, S., Hume, E., & Jaeger, T. F. (2018). Nasal place assimilation trades off inferability of both target and trigger words. *Laboratory Phonology: Journal of the Association for Laboratory Phonology*, 9(1), 1-27.
- [13] Winters, J., Kirby, S., & Smith, K. (2018). Contextual predictability shapes signal autonomy. *Cognition*, 176, 15-30.
- [14] Blevins, J., & Wedel, A. (2009). Inhibited sound change: An evolutionary approach to lexical competition. *Diachronica*, 26(2), 143-183.
- [15] Hall, K. C., Hume, E., Jaeger, T. F., & Wedel, A. (2018). The role of predictability in shaping phonological patterns. *Linguistics Vanguard*, 4(s2).
- [16] Winter, B., & Wedel, A. (2016). The co-evolution of speech and the lexicon: The interaction of functional pressures, redundancy, and category variation. *Topics in Cognitive Science*, 8(2), 503–513.