Microvariation in Turkic laryngeal systems

Synchrony and diachrony

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Overview

 Turkic languages and their place within the Laryngeal Realism landscape

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- 2. Case study in microvariation: Turkish and Azeri

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- 2. Case study in microvariation: Turkish and Azeri
- 3. Diachronic account: language contact and/or the life cycle

Variation and microvariation in laryngeal phonology

The Laryngeal Realism Conjecture

- Languages fall into a small number of types with respect to their system of laryngeal contrast and patterning of laryngeal features
- · Laryngeal specification is fundamentally privative
- The marked pole of the contrast
 - · Shows greater phonological activity
 - · Shows invariant phonetic realization
- Phonetic realization is defined in terms of phonation, usually measured by VOT

(Honeybone 2005, also e.g. Avery & Idsardi 2001, Beckman, Jessen & Ringen 2013)

The major types

- \cdot Voicing: [voiced] v. $oldsymbol{arnothing}$
 - · Phonetics: fully voiced v. short-lag VOT
 - · Phonology: voicing assimilation, final devoicing
 - Examples: Bulgarian, Catalan, Russian, Hungarian (Petrova et al. 2006, Beckman, Jessen & Ringen 2013)

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- Other two-way systems
 - 'Overspecified' [spread glottis] v. [voiced]: Central Standard Swedish
 (Pétur Helgason & Ringen 2008)
 - · Geminate v. singleton: Alemannic German (e.g. Kraehenmann 2003)
 - · 'Strong' v. 'weak': Finnish, Estonian

Some issues with the typology

- Within-language variation (Kirby & Tan 2023, Puggaard-Rode 2024)
- Mixed evidence from other correlates (Kirby & Ladd 2019)
- Mismatches between phonological and phonetic evidence (Blaho 2008, Cyran 2013, Iosad 2017)
- · Microvariation: our focus here

The Laryngeal Realism Conjecture underdetermines some aspects of the pattern

- If the |fortis| stops are long-lag VOT, then the |lenis| stops can be
 - · Variably voiced: English, German, Welsh
 - Fully voiced: Qatari Arabic (Kulikov 2019)
 - Short-lag VOT: Icelandic, Danish, Scottish Gaelic (Beckman, Jessen & Ringen 2013, Nance & Stuart-Smith 2013)

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Maybe?

Our focus: diachronic typology of the (sub)types

Diachronic relationships between the types

- Changes in types often ascribed to contact (see also Natvig 2019)
 - Yiddish: aspirating → voicing (Slavic, Baltic)
 - Dutch: aspirating → voicing (Romance)
 - Breton: aspirating → voicing (Romance)

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 - Breton: aspirating → voicing (Romance)
- \cdot ... but otherwise the diachronic typology is not too clear

What was the laryngeal phonology of Proto-Germanic?

- Prototypical aspirating (Iverson & Salmons 1995, 2003, Salmons 2020)
 - · Contact-induced change in Dutch, Yiddish...
 - · Endogenous (?) change to voicing in Scots
 - · Endogenous |lenis| voicing in Swedish
 - · Endogenous (?) loss of voicing in Danish, Icelandic...
- Prototypical voicing (Steblin-Kamenskij 1963, Goblirsch 2005, Kümmel 2007)
 - · Peripheral archaism: Dutch, Yiddish, Scots
 - · Archaism: weak aspiration in some Low German (Schmidt & Vennemann 1985)
 - · Loss of |lenis| voicing, push chain to aspirated |fortis|
 - · Partial: English, German...
 - Full: Danish, Icelandic...

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How would we even decide? One possibility: a more developed diachronic typology

Turkic laryngeal phonology

Laryngeal contrast in Turkic

- Generally |fortis| p t f | k~q ≠ |lenis| b d d3 g~y~s
- · Some neutralization/much disagreement in word-initial position
- Modern Turkish
 - atı 'horse-3sg' + adı 'name-3sg'
 - · otu 'grass-3sg' ≠ odu 'fire-3sg'
- · Generally agreed
 - Aspirated | fortis | (Kallestinova 2004)
 - Partially voiced/otherwise 'weak' |lenis|

• Pervasive: progressive devoicing in clusters

Kyrgyz	'father'	'lake'	'guest'
NOM	ata	køl	qonoq
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· Common in some parts: final ~ intervocalic |fortis| ~ |lenis|

Gagauz	'handle'	'bottom'
NOM	sap	dip
POSS.3SG	sapi	dibi
PL	saplar	dipler
LOC	sapta	diptε

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· So far, so aspirating

Voicing and lenition

- · Word-medial allophony
 - · |fortis| / Ŭ __
 - · |lenis| / V̄ _

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 - · |fortis| / Ŭ __
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PTu	Gloss	Turkmen	Sakha	Turkish	Tukha	Tofa	Tyva
*at	'horse'	at	at	at	a ^h t	a ^s t	a ^s t
*at-I	'horse-3sg'	at i	ata	at i	aʰtə	a°t i	a°d i
*āt	'name'	a:d	a:t	ad	at	at	at
*āt-I	'name-3sg'	a:dɨ	a:ta	ad i	adə	ad i	ad i

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*at	'horse'	at	at	at	a ^h t	a [°] t	a ^s t
*at-I	'horse-3sg'	at i	ata	at i	aʰtə	a°t i	a°d i
*āt	'name'	a:d	a:t	ad	at	at	at
*āt-I	'name-3sg'	a:dɨ	a:ta	ad i	adə	ad i	ad i

 In line with the phonological typology of lenition (Balogné Bérces & Honeybone 2012), but phonetically a bit baffling (Kümmel 2007)

Evidence for voicing?

· Turkish initial weakening

Front			Back		
*täŋiz	'sea'	deniz	*tïg	'needle'	tığ
*köz	'eye'	göz	*kuš	'bird'	kuş
*til	'tongue'	dil	*kara	'black'	kara

Controversial, but possibly linked to vowel [ATR] and closure voicing of |lenis| series (Valux 2009)

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· Lenis outcomes after V̄ traditionally described as 'Oghuz voicing'

Phonetic (micro)variation

- General agreement that |p t ff k| are 'strong', but what does this mean?
 - · Longer closure
 - Aspiration v. voicing, though unclear how variable this is (Tenishev 2002: p. 49, Brendemoen 2021: p. 227)
- Pre-closure glottal activity in |fortis| stops
 - Preaspiration: Tukha (Ragagnin 2011), Salar (Tenishev 1976), Western Yugur (Roos 1998),
 Uigur (Dwyer 2000)
 - Preglottalization: Tyva (Kunaa 1957), Tofa (Rassadin 1971), Uigur (Yakup 2005)

Regional microvariation

What variation is traditionally described is often explicitly or implicitly explained by appeal to areality or contact

- Aspirated |fortis| v. voiceless |lenis| described for the Caucasus/Caspian area: Azeri, Karachai-Balkar, Urum... (Pritsak 1959, Gadzhieva 1996)
- Aspirated |fortis| v. voiceless |lenis| in Salar, Western Yugur: 'Amdo Sprachbund' (Janhunen 2016)
- Geminate voiceless | fortis | v. weakly voiced singleton | lenis | in Chuvash (Savelyev 2020): the Volga-Kama Sprachbund (Johanson 2000)

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Our aim

Can we make progress on understanding the diachronic typology of laryngeal contrast in Turkic?

Laryngeal microvariation in Oghuz

- · What is the basic type of laryngeal phonology and phonetics?
- How are the reflexes of the two stop categories distributed?
- What is the phonetic and/or phonological status of relevant patterns?
- What are the diachronic trajectories between the types we can identify?

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Languages

- · Two closely related varieties of the Oghuz branch: Turkish and Azeri
- · Phonetics: previous claims
 - Turkish aspirated v. weakly/variably voiced (Kallestinova 2004)
 - Azeri aspirated v. voiced (Ghaffarvand Mokari & Werner 2017)
- Phonology
 - · Two-way contrast on the surface
 - Possibly more complex underlyingly (at least in Turkish)
- · Likely extensive dialect variation

Phonological patterns

- · Diachronic basis:
 - · Voicing after \bar{V} but not \check{V}
 - Merger of V̄ > V̄
 - · Coda devoicing (?)
 - · Progressive devoicing
- Outcomes: 'intervocalic voicing' (e.g. Lewis 1967, Sezer 1981)

Turkish	*ka:p	*at	a:t
	'covering'	'horse'	'name'
NOM	kap	at	ad
3sg	kabı	atı	adı
PL	kaplar	atlar	adlar
ABL	kaptan	attan	addan
	lenis	fortis	lenis+

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 - · Progressive devoicing
- · Outcomes: no final devoicing

Azeri	*ka:p	*at	a:t
	'covering'	'horse'	'name'
NOM	qab	at	ad
3sg	qabı	atı	adı
PL	qablar	atlar	adlar
ABL	qabdan	atdan	addan
	lenis	fortis	lenis

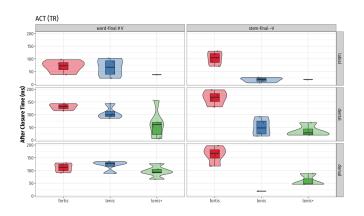
The experiment

- · 3 (so far) speakers each
- · Stem-final stops crossing these variables:
 - Expected category: |fortis|, |lenis|, |lenis+|
 - Hypothesised |lenis| and |lenis+| are orthographic (for now): öd, rab, arkeolog v. şehit, sebep, ufak.
 - · Place: labial, coronal, (postalveolar), dorsal
 - · Vowel backness: front, back
 - · Position: word-internal, word-final phrase-internal, phrase-final
 - · Following context: vowel, nasal, pause
- Set in frame sentences extracted from naturalistic corpora, presented in standard spelling
- 136 test sentences + controls (nasals) + (postalveolar) affricates, fricatives, and rhotic (beyond scope of talk).

Measurements

- · Closure duration
- · VOT
- · Closure voicing
- F0 across following vowel

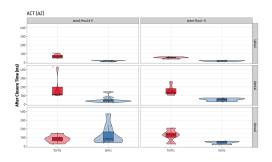
Post-release: Turkish



Expected aspirating type with final fortition, which |lenis+| escapes

| fortis | long-lag in all contexts | lenis | short-lag word-medially, long-lag word-finally | lenis+ | short-lag in all contexts

Post-release: Azeri



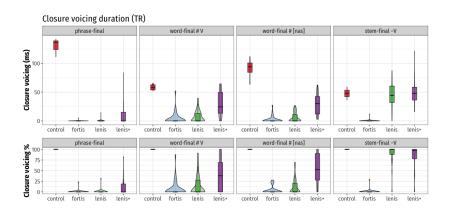
Aspirating type, no final fortition

|fortis| long-lag |lenis| short-lag

In fact: very extensive manner lenition (47 tokens \rightarrow vfric, 35 \rightarrow j, \emptyset)

- · Some of it already stabilized: göy 'blue', yox 'no' v. Turkish gök, yok
- · Also in our data: preaspiration, fricativization, affrication...

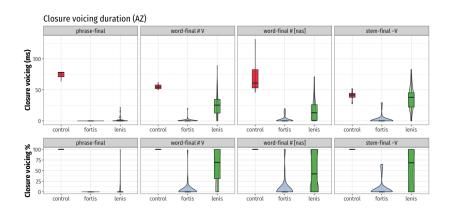
Closure voicing: Turkish



Expected aspirating type with final fortition, which |lenis+| is exempt from

| fortis | no voicing | lenis | incomplete voicing word-medially, no voicing word-finally | lenis + | incomplete voicing, even less phrase-finally

Closure voicing: Azeri



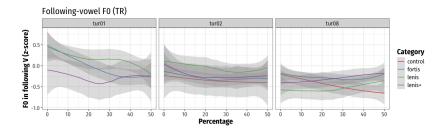
Aspirating type with no final fortition

|fortis| no voicing

|lenis| incomplete voicing, almost none phrase-finally

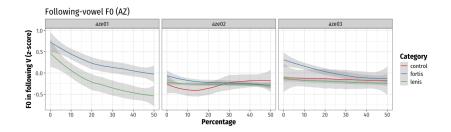
Voicing starts at the left edge, i.e. carries over from the preceding vowel.

F0 effect: Turkish



- \cdot No effect of stop category on F0 in following vowel
- · Ask us about tur01

F0 effect: Azeri



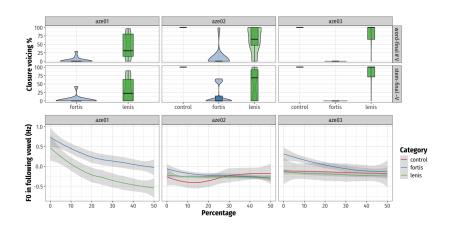
Robust effect of stop category comparable to other languages (Hanson 2009, Kirby & A)

Ladd 2016, Kirby & Tan 2023)

|fortis| raised F0 relative to control (onset nasal)

| lenis | F0 similar to control

FO effect: a closer look at Azeri



- · No stance on whether effect is
 - · F0 depressed by active voicing
 - F0 raised by the phonation of the |fortis| stops
- FO effect independent of closure voicing (cf. Kirby & Tan [2023] for Swedish)

Analysis

- · Overall, both languages are broadly in line with the 'aspirating' type
- · Differences:
 - Turkish final fortition of |lenis| stops, but not |lenis+| stops Contrast the traditional account with intervocalic voicing, which seems problematic
 - Azeri no phonological rule of final fortition, but incomplete devoicing of |lenis| stops
- · Azeri, but not Turkish, shows the F0 effect

Phonological architecture and the life cycle

- Proposed analysis within the life cycle model (Bermúdez-Otero 2015)
 - F0 effect has phonologized to a phonetic rule in Azeri, but not in (most of) Turkish
 - Phonologized positional devoicing of |lenis| stops in Azeri, stabilized in Turkish

Stage	Turkish	Azeri
Mechanical effect	F0	
Phonologization		F0, final fortition
Stabilization	Final fortition	

Discussion

Our results v. previous findings

- · |fortis| stops are aspirated in both Turkish and Azeri
- Turkish
 - Prototypical 'aspirating' language with partial voicing of |lenis| stops
 - |lenis| stops undergo neutralizing coda devoicing, |lenis+| stops do not
- Azeri
 - · Extensive manner lenition in codas
 - · Variation in the voicing of |lenis| stops
 - · Coda devoicing exists, but is non-neutralizing
 - · F0 effect can be present even where closure voicing is weak

Diachronic interpretation

 Prototypical aspirating system, perhaps with a phonetic version of coda devoicing

2 Turkish

- · More consistent late timing of glottal opening in |fortis|
- · Stabilization of coda devoicing
- Split of the old |lenis| category

3. Azeri

- · No stabilization of coda devoicing
- More variable timing of glottal opening in |fortis|
- Some varieties: decrease in closure voicing but the phonologized F0 effect persists

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Diachronic typology

- Disaggregating developments into steps along the life cycle gives us a way to approach microvariation across both phonetic rules and phonological patterns
- If the F0 effect is driven by active voicing, Azeri shows how phonologization emancipates phonetic-phonological patterns from their substantive grounding
- Tentative reconstruction: diachronic development from classic 'aspirating' systems towards those with no voicing at all
- Endogenous development perfectly in line with the life cycle: what would appealing to contact add?

Summary

- Microvariation in phonological and phonetic patterns across Oghuz
 - Generally 'aspirating' type
 - · Different status of final fortition
 - FO effect in Azeri but not in Turkish
- The architecture of the life cycle helps us reconstruct internal trajectories
- · More informed approach to evaluating contact hypotheses

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Teşekkür ederiz! Təşəkkür edirik!

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