

Radical Allomorphy in Southwestern Turkish dialects
Eyüp Bacanlı & Darin Flynn | University of Calgary

Turkic languages are famous for suffix allomorphy, generally from phonological processes that operate left-to-right, in keeping with the agglutinating/suffixing/encliticizing nature of these languages. As Johanson (1998) puts it in his discussion of vowel harmony and consonant assimilations, “the quality of the last syllable of stem determines the quality of a following suffix” (p. 37); see, e.g., Krueger (1962: 95-97) on Sakha, Kirchner (1998: 346) on Kyrgyz, Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 3-25) on Turkish, etc. The present paper/poster departs from this familiar picture by documenting a variety of Turkish — the first author’s dialect — that shows tremendous allomorphy in roots, due to various (morpho)phonological rules. On the one hand, root-final consonants undergo such changes as complete regressive assimilation, regressive voicing assimilation, positional debuccalization and glottalization (plosives), and positional deletion (/l, n, v/). These consonantal alternations are illustrated in Table 1:

Table 1. Root-final consonant shifts

SUFFIX TYPE	ROOTS WITH PLOSIVE CODA				ROOTS WITH SONORANT CODA	
	DENTAL PLOSIVES		VELAR AND LABIAL PLOSIVES			
	yat- /jat/	gid- /gid/	yak- /jak/	yap- /jap/	gon-	al-
COND	<i>jassa</i>	<i>gisse</i>	<i>jaksa</i>	<i>japsa</i>	<i>gonsa</i>	<i>a:sa</i>
FUT	<i>jadʒɰzek</i>	<i>gidʒɰzek</i>	<i>jaqɰzek</i>	<i>jabɰzek</i>	<i>gonɰzek</i>	<i>aldɰzek</i>
PRET	<i>jaddu</i>	<i>giddi</i>	<i>jaqdu</i>	<i>jabdu</i>	<i>gondu</i>	<i>aldu</i>
EVID	<i>jaʔmuʃ</i>	<i>giʔmiʃ</i>	<i>jaʔmuʃ</i>	<i>jaʔmuʃ</i>	<i>gommuf</i>	<i>a:muʃ</i>
VOWEL-INITIAL SUFFIXES	<i>jatup, jatujo:, jata:</i>	<i>gidip, gidijo:, gide:</i>	<i>jakup, jakujo:, jaka:</i>	<i>japup, jajujo:, japa:</i>	<i>gonup, gonujo:, gona:</i>	<i>alup, alujo:, alu:</i>
RADICAL ALLOMORPHS	/jat/, /jas/, /jadʒ/, /jad/, /jaʔ/	/gid/, /gis/, /gidʒ/, /giʔ/	/jak/, /jaq/, /jaʔ/	/jap/, /jab/, /jaʔ/	/gon/, /gom/	/al/, /a:/

On the other hand, root vowels undergo such shifts as raising and umlauting. For instance, Table 2 illustrates that the final low unrounded vowels /a, ɛ/ are umlauted or raised under certain morphological and phonological conditions:

Table 2. Some suffixes causing final vowel shift

TYPE OF THE SUFFIX	NOMINAL ROOTS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES		TYPE OF THE SUFFIX	VERBAL ROOTS WITH VARIOUS SUFFIXES	
	<i>buba</i> ‘father’	<i>ɛbe</i> ‘grandma’		<i>saʔla-</i> ‘to hide’	<i>sø:le-</i> ‘to tell’
1SG.POSS	<i>bubam</i>	<i>ɛbem</i>	PRET	<i>saʔladu</i>	<i>sø:ledi</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>bubeŋ</i>	<i>ɛbeŋ</i>	CONV	<i>saʔlep</i>	<i>sø:lep</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>bubasu</i>	<i>ɛbesi</i>	FUT	<i>saʔle:cek</i>	<i>sø:le:cek</i>
1PL.POSS	<i>bubamuʒ</i>	<i>ɛbemiz</i>	PRES	<i>saʔle:jo:</i>	<i>sø:le:jo:</i>
2PL.POSS	<i>bubeŋiz</i>	<i>ɛbeŋiz</i>	NEG.AOR	<i>saʔlumaz</i>	<i>sø:lymez</i>
3PL.POSS	<i>bubularu</i>	<i>ɛbiləri</i>	COND	<i>saʔlusa</i>	<i>sø:lyse</i>
	/buba/, /bube/, /bubu/	/ɛbe/, /ɛbe/, /ɛbi/		/saʔla/, /saʔle/, /saʔlu/	/sø:le/, /sø:le/, /sø:ly/

Beyond the changes above, Southwestern dialects of Turkish also show more familiar stem changes, such as final /k/ lenition, final consonant voicing, and vowel syncope, as in standard Turkish. By contrast, the regressive consonantal assimilations illustrated above are poorly documented, and the rules behind these and other root alternations shown in Tables 1 and 2 have yet to be analyzed comprehensively in the existing literature, although some authors have mentioned them in their works (Korkmaz 1994; Tok 2002; Demir 2012). Our paper/poster will fill a descriptive and explanatory gap in this regard.

References:

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