# The phonological (in)stability of consonants is feature-based

Karolina Broś

University of Warsaw

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- Several manner features and glottal configurations can be subsumed under one broader category
- Phonological divisions based on certain phonetic distinctions are not necessarily correct or explanatory
- o A redefinition or change in approach is necessary

### Northern Corsican



### voiceless stops

'prede 'priest' kada'lina 'Catherine'

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- some overlap (both /b/ an /g/ change to [w])

# Central/Southern Italy



#### voiceless stops (initial)

'parte 'part' 'terra 'land' 'karne 'meat'

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- tenseness-based analysis proposals (acoustic correlates: duration, intensity, partial voicing, Nocchi & Schmid 2007)



# (Vogel 1997, Giannelli & Savoia 1978, Dalcher 2008)

#### voiceless stops

la 'xaza 'the house' la 'θorta 'the cake' la 'φal:a 'the ball'

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- differing degrees of aperture and tenseness: weak approximant, approximant, fricative, semi-fricative, fricated stop, stop (Marotta 2001, Dalcher 2008)

# Campidanian Sardinian



#### initial stops

'piſ:i 'fish' 'tas:i 'taxi' 'kwat:ru 'four'

#### postvocalic stops

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- Oftedal (1985) reports overlap: both /t/ and /d/ give [ð], /b/ deletes in Logudoro (north)

(Herrera 1989, Hualde 2011, Lewis 2001, Machuca 1997, Torreblanca 1976, Torreira & Ernestus 2011, Oftedal 1985)



voicing

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ko'miða 'food'

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#### spirantisation

'boka 'mouth'
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# Canary Islands (Broś 2018, Broś & Lipowska 2019)

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inside words
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/kopa/ 'kob(y)a 'glass'
 /pata/ 'pad(ð)a 'leg'
 /makina/ 'mag(y)ina
'machine'
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/ablaba/ a'βla(wa) 'was talking'
/kaida/ ka'i(ð)a 'fall'
/diga/ 'di(\gamma)a 'say', subj.
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#### across words

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/las pokas/ la 'poga 'few'
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- non-categorical contrasts, gradual phonetic effects, overlap in approximant distribution, possible gliding
- contrast no longer based on voicing: aperture, relative tenseness, possible restructuring

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- Contrast maintenance regardless of (standardised) feature configurations (features change but what features?)





### Polish (Cyran 2014, Broś 2018)

final devoicing

/xlεb/ 'xlεp 'bread' /sklεp/ 'sklεp 'shop' /vuz/ 'vus 'cart' voice assimilation

'xlɛp+ka 'bread', gen. dim. 'xlɛp 'polski 'Polish bread 'sklɛb 'vandɨ 'Wanda's shop' Cracow voicing

'xlɛb a'dama 'Adam's bread' 'sklɛb a'dama 'Adam's shop' 'xlɛb 'magdɨ 'Magda's bread' final devoicing

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### Observations:

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- possibly passive voicing/incomplete (de)voicing, no voice spreading (Strycharczuk 2014, Rojczyk 2019)

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- solutions: laryngeal relativism, suspension of final devoicing

### Swiss German



# Swiss German (Fleischer & Schmid 2006, Ladd & Schmid 2018)

#### fortis

'hu:pə 'to honk'
'lɒtə 'lath'
'grɒ:t 'ridge'
'tɒ: 'done'

#### lenis

'hu:bə 'bonnet'
'lɒdə 'shop'
'grɒ:d 'degree'
'dɒ: 'here'

#### aspirated

't<sup>h</sup>e: 'tea'
't<sup>h</sup>i:m 'team'
'p<sup>h</sup>aul 'Paul'
'p<sup>h</sup>o:lə 'Poland'

fortis	lenis	aspirated
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- possibly represented as a tense/lax distinction

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- In case of discrepancies, phonology has to rely on 'phonetic implementation' (weak explanatory power)
- The phonetic basis is more robust than traditionally assumed:
   VOT, length, tenseness, F0 effects, maybe more
- Language change and many (semi)neutralisation processes initially depend on phonetics: the featural mismatch between phonetics and phonology has to be somehow resolved

Conclusions

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Thank You!

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