

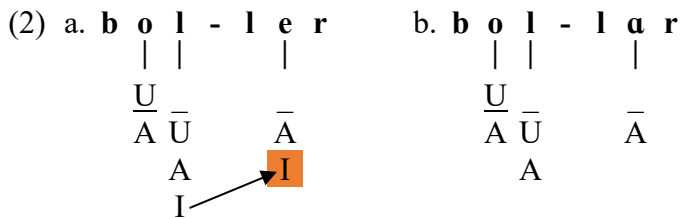
## Consonant-Induced Harmony in Turkish: I-Spreading and Disharmonic Patterns under Headedness

Semra Baturay Meral & Göktuğ Börtlü  
*Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi & Selçuk Üniversitesi*

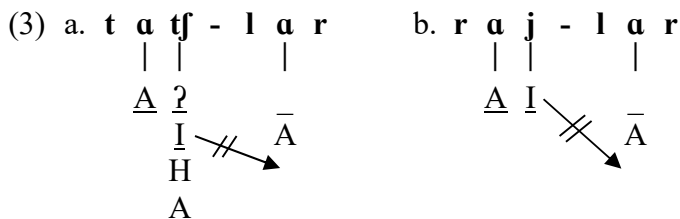
Turkish vowel harmony has been widely studied, with debates on “disharmonic” patterns (Clement & Sezer, 1982; Denwood, 1998; Polgárdi, 1999). Pöchtrager (2010) links internal disharmonies to phonological elements **I** and **U**, constrained by: (i) *Non-initial positions can contain any phonological expression*; (ii) *I only spreads into empty-headed positions*; (iii) *U spreads into empty expressions only*. The present study extends Pöchtrager’s framework by examining consonant-induced external harmony.

(1)	a. <b>sürat-ler</b>	speed.pl	* <i>sürat-lar</i>	f. <b>vals-ler</b>	waltz.pl	* <i>vals-lar</i>
	b. <b>gol-ler</b>	goal.pl	* <i>gol-lar</i>	g. <b>alp-ler</b>	hero.pl	* <i>alp-lar</i>
	c. <b>rab-ler</b>	god.pl	* <i>rab-lar</i>	e. <b>harf-ler</b>	letter.pl	* <i>harf-lar</i>
	d. <b>had-ler</b>	limit.pl	* <i>had-lar</i>	h. <b>harp-ler</b>	war.pl	* <i>harp-lar</i>

For the disharmonic cases in (1a-h), we propose that the disharmony reflects consonant-to-vowel element spreading, where the element **I** in stem-final consonants spreads to adjacent vowels under specific phonological constraints.



Examining minimal pairs like *bol* [bol] (2a) ‘a type of drink’ and *bol* [boɫ] (2b) ‘loose’ shows that different phonemes (/l/ vs. /ɫ/) imply distinct elemental structures, affecting vowel outcomes. For example, /l/ in [bol] (2a) has the structure  $|\_ (UAI) |$ , allowing the element **I** to spread and produce [e], whereas /ɫ/ in [boɫ] (2b) has  $|\_ (UA) |$ , leading to [a] due to the absence of **I**. This pattern is consistent in other disharmonic cases given in (1a-h). Our analysis suggests that palatal consonants containing element **I** in the stems of examples (1a-h) represent distinct phonemes, differing from non-palatal consonants (e.g. *sürat-ler* vs. *lügat-lar* ‘dictionaries’; *harp-ler* vs. *eşarp-lar* ‘scarves’). Additionally, element **I** spreads to a vowel only if it is in a non-head position and the vowel is empty-headed, which explains why some consonants with element **I** do not exhibit spreading (e.g. *taç-lar* ‘crowns’ (3a) and *ray-lar* (3b) ‘rails’).



Accordingly, we propose that **I**-spreading must adhere to three constraints to prevent excessive spreading:

- (4) C1: **I** can only spread to empty-headed vowels.  
C2: **I** can only spread when it is in non-head position in the source expression.  
C3: **I** can only spread to the closest vowel on the right.

Constraint C1 ensures that **I** spreads only to vowels that are empty-headed, specifically those with structures  $|\_ (A) |$  or  $|\_ ( ) |$ . C2 restricts **I** from spreading when it is a head element, while C3 limits **I**-spreading to the closest available vowel to the right. These constraints collectively define the conditions under which **I** can spread from consonantal positions, maintaining specific elemental and positional requirements.

Previous researches on Turkish consonant-vowel interactions have revealed gaps in data (İskender, 2021) and theory (Canalis & Dikmen, 2021), particularly concerning palatalized consonants and vowel harmony. The present study extends Pöchtrager's work by incorporating Balcı's (2006) elemental composition and proposing a model of **I**-spreading with three constraints to clarify how consonantal elements affect vowel harmony, especially in disharmonic cases.

**Selected References:** •Balcı, E. (2006). *A government phonology analysis of Turkish consonants* [Ph.D. Dissertation]. Boğaziçi University. •Canalis, S., & Dikmen F. (2021). Turkish palatalized consonants and vowel harmony. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Turkic and Languages in Contact with Turkic*, 6, 41–55. •Clements, G. N., & Sezer, E. (1982). Vowel and consonant disharmony in Turkish. In H. van der Hulst & N. Smith (Eds.), *The structure of phonological representations, part II* (213–255). Cinnaminson. •Denwood, A. (1998). A template for Turkish. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 8, 177–190. •Denwood, A. (2002). Vowel harmony in Government Phonology: Three for the price of one. *Altai Hakpo Journal of the Altaic Society of Korea*, 12, 155–182. •İskender, H. (2021). A case of absolute neutralization in Turkish: T-Palatalization and its predictability. *Zemin*, 2, 78–111. •Kabak, B. (2007). Hiatus resolution in Turkish: An underspecification account. *Phonology*, 24(3), 317–360. •Polgárdi, K. (1998). *Vowel Harmony: An account in terms of Government and Optimality*. Holland Academic Graphics. •Polgárdi, K. (1999). Vowel harmony and disharmony in Turkish. *The Linguistic Review*, 16(2), 187–204.