

Luciano Canepari & Francesca Balzi (2016)

Turkish Pronunciation & Accents

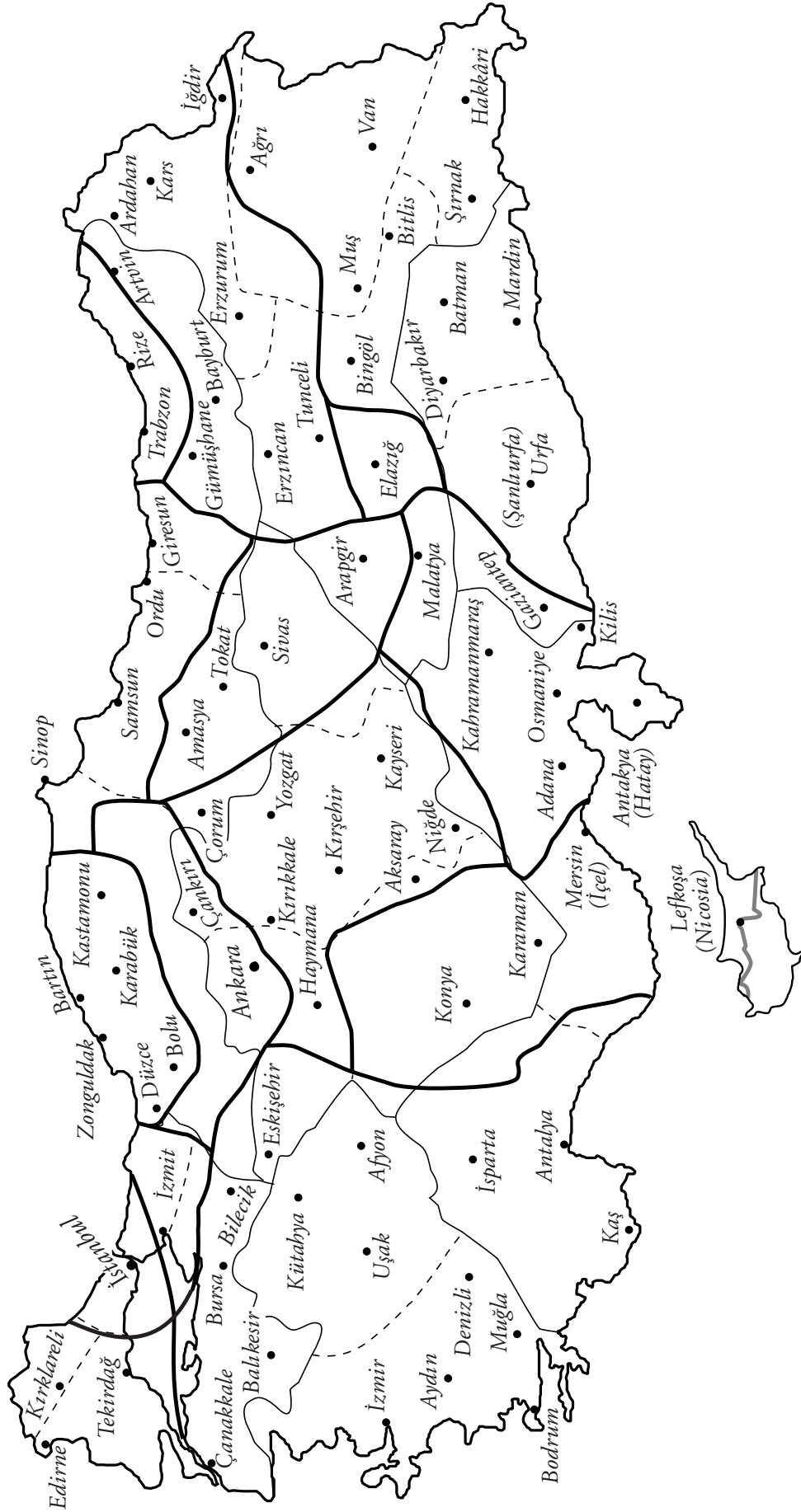
Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

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254	<i>Bulgarian</i>
254	<i>Greek</i>
255	<i>Hungarian</i>
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256	<i>Arabic</i>
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fig 12.o.4. Turkish pronunciation koinés, with regions, main subregions and places, and Cyprus.



6. Turkish vowels

The vowels of *international* Turkish

6.1. For *international* Turkish, eight short and eight ‘long’ vowels are necessary, as shown in the vocogram, orograms, labiograms, and palatograms of fig 6.1-4.

The ‘long’ ones are actually monotimbric diphthongs: [i(i), y(y), ʊ(ʊ), u(u); ɛ(ɛ), ø(ø), σ(σ); a(a)] (using the same vocoids as for the short vowel phonemes).

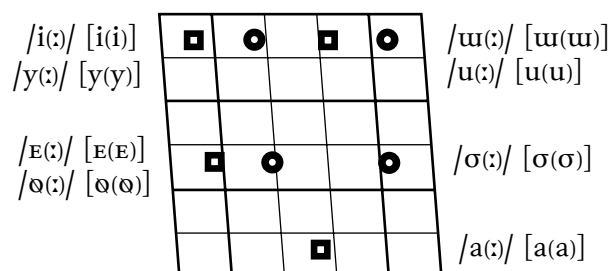
Thus, we took examples from some of the books listed in our Bibliography and transcribed, or retranscribed, them using the *can*IPA notation and criteria, derived by accurately hearing to several recordings expressly made for this purpose.

So we can really show what our four accents actually use, in spite of the too many approximate and superficial and mixed ‘transcriptions’ and ‘descriptions’ we find even in the books we had to list in our Bibliography.

6.2. Thus, limiting ourselves to the *international accent*, for now, we have what the following examples show:

/i(:)/: *iplik* [ip'lic], *iğne* [i'i'ne], *bir* ['biɾ], *iletişim* [i,leti'ʃim],
 /y(:)/: *düş* ['dyʃ], *düğme* [dyy'me], *üzüldüm* [yzy'l'dym],
 /ʊ(:)/: *kına* [ku'na], *ıtır* [u'tuɾ], *kılıbık* [kuɫu'buk],
 /u(:)/: *ulak* [uɫak], *uğur* [uu'uɾ], *upuzun* ['upu:zun],
 /ɛ(:)/: *sen* ['sen], *kel* ['cel], *ekmek* [ec'mec], *perende* [pe'rende],
 /ø(:)/: *örtü* [øɾty], *öğle* [øø'le], *göl* [ɣøɫ], *şoför* [ʃø'føɾ],
 /σ(:)/: *kol* ['kɔɫ], *oğlan* [σσ'ɫan], *protokol* [pɾotσ'kɔɫ],
 /a(:)/: *laf* ['laf], *kâr* ['caɾ], *kar* ['kar], *almak* [aɫ'mak], *karavana* [kara'vana].

fig 6.1. Turkish: international-vowel vocogram.



6.3. Let us also have a careful look at fig 6.2-4. They, respectively, show the *orograms*, *labiograms*, and *palatograms* of the vocoids given in fig 6.1. It is very important to accurately relate these figures to the positions of the markers in the vocogram.

fig 6.2. International Turkish: vowel orograms.

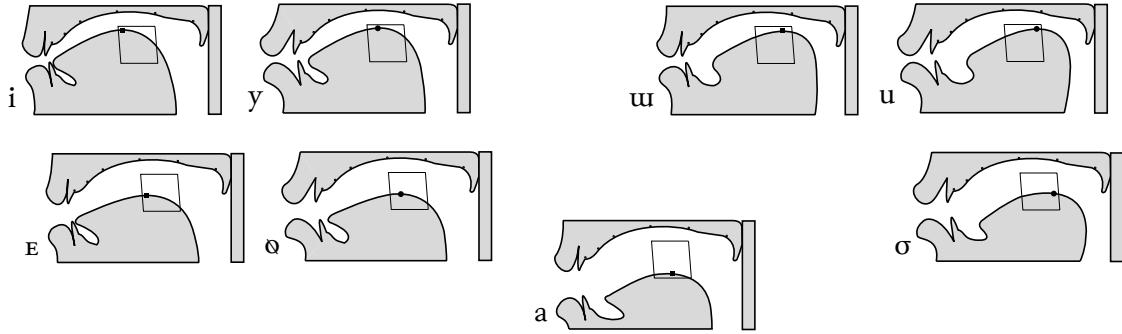


fig 6.3. International Turkish: vowel labiograms.

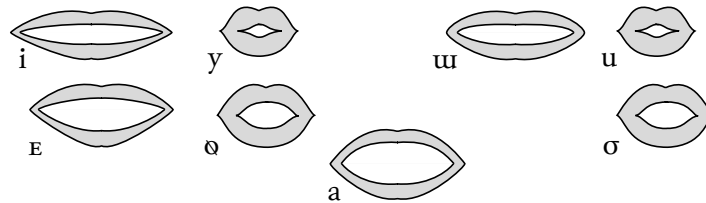
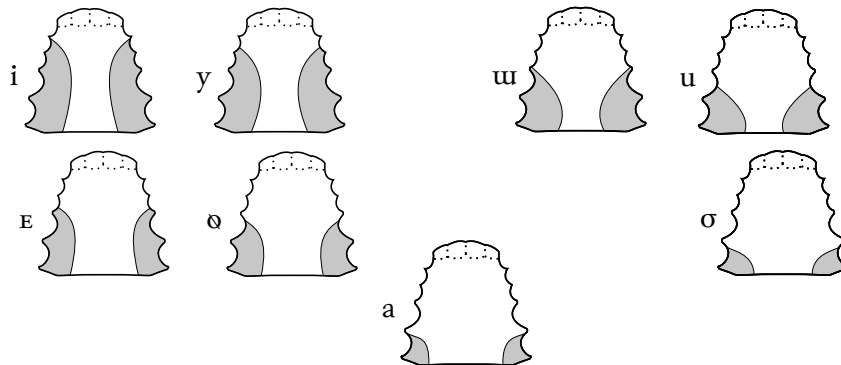


fig 6.4. International Turkish: vowel palatograms.

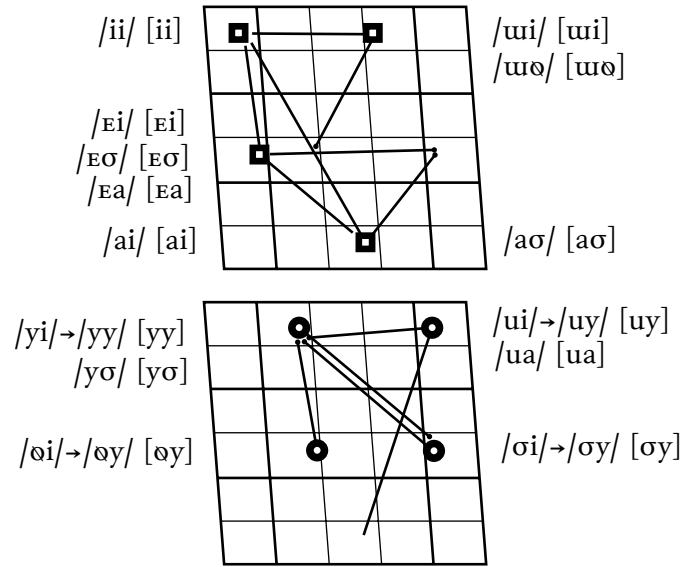


6.4. Passing to fig 6.5, the two new vocograms show the eight /Vi/ diphthongs which can certainly occur in Turkish words. Let us notice that /ii, yi/ coincide with ('long') /i, y:/ [ii, yy], although we had to read too many times that there should be a difference between them. But such wrong deductions and conclusions seem to be sadly derived from naïve and harmful spelling addictions.

Let us also notice that /yi/ is actually /yy/. In fact, when the first element of these diphthongs is a rounded vocoid, the final element is rounded, as well. So, we have:

/ii/: *giymek* [ʒii'mɛç], /ei/: *bey* [ˈbɛi], /ai/: *ay* [ˈai], /ui/: *kıymet* [kui'mɛt], /yi/: *tüy* [ˈtɥy], /øi/: *köy* [ˈçøy], /oi/: *boy* [ˈbøy], /ui/: *duy* [ˈduy] (including cases like /ea, eσ, aσ, yσ, uσ, øσ, ua/: *realizm* [rɛaˈlizm], *neon* [ˈnɛσn], *kaos* [ˈkaσs], *düo* [ˈdyσ], /uσ/: *açölçer* [aˈtʃuσçɛɾ], *sual* [ˈsual] – traditionally /suaal/: [ˈsɯaɑɫ]).

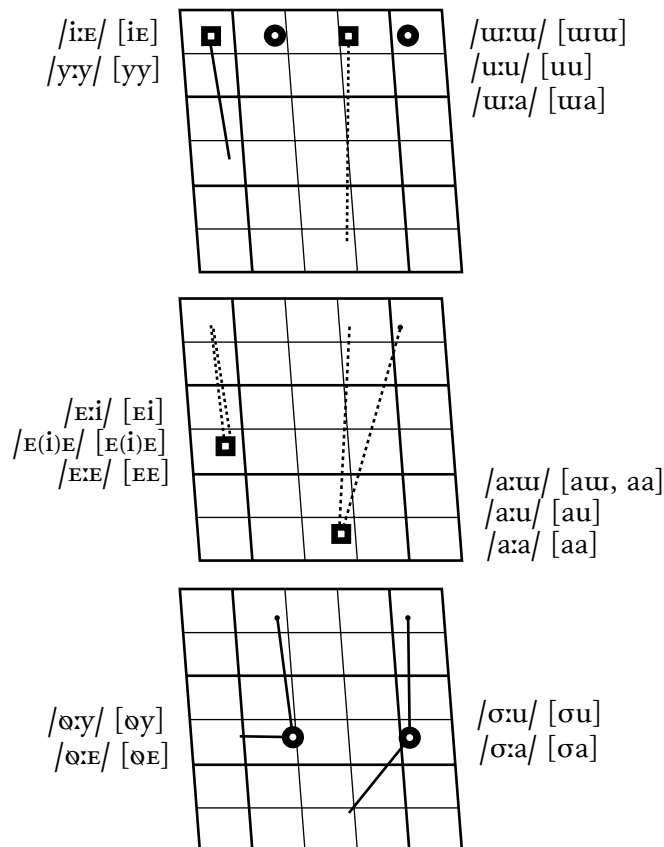
fig 6.5. International Turkish: diphthongs.



6.5. In addition, the three vocograms in fig 6.6 show the ‘long’ diphthongs (also if with elements alike) deriving from $V\check{g}V$ structures, where $V\check{g}$ are ‘long’ vowels followed by another (in the same syllable, *not in two*, as often people, and linguists, and phonologists think, being deflected by spelling ‘deductions’).

It is very important to state that, actually, these (more theoretical than real) ‘triphthongs’ are normally realized as plain diphthongs, except in traditional ac-

fig 6.6. International Turkish: ‘long’ diphthongs and /E(i)E/.



cents, which force them to ‘remain’ triphthongs, as they are supposed to be.

Here are some examples: /i:ɛ/: *diğer* [ˈdiɛɾ], /yɪy/: *züğürt* [ˈzyyɾt], /u:u/: *ığıl* [ˈuɯuɰ], /u:a/: *sığa* [ˈsɯa], /u:u/: *uğur* [ˈuɯɾ], /ɛi/: *eğic* [ˈɛitɰ], /ɛ:ɛ/: *eğ* [ˈɛ(i)ɛ], /a:a/: *ağa* [ˈaa], /a:u/: *ağı* [ˈaɯ], /a:u/: *ağustos* [austɔs], /ø:y/: *öğün* [ˈøyn], /ø:ɛ/: *öğ* [ˈøɛ], /σ:u/: *soğuk* [ˈsøuk], /σ:a/: *soğan* [ˈsøan].

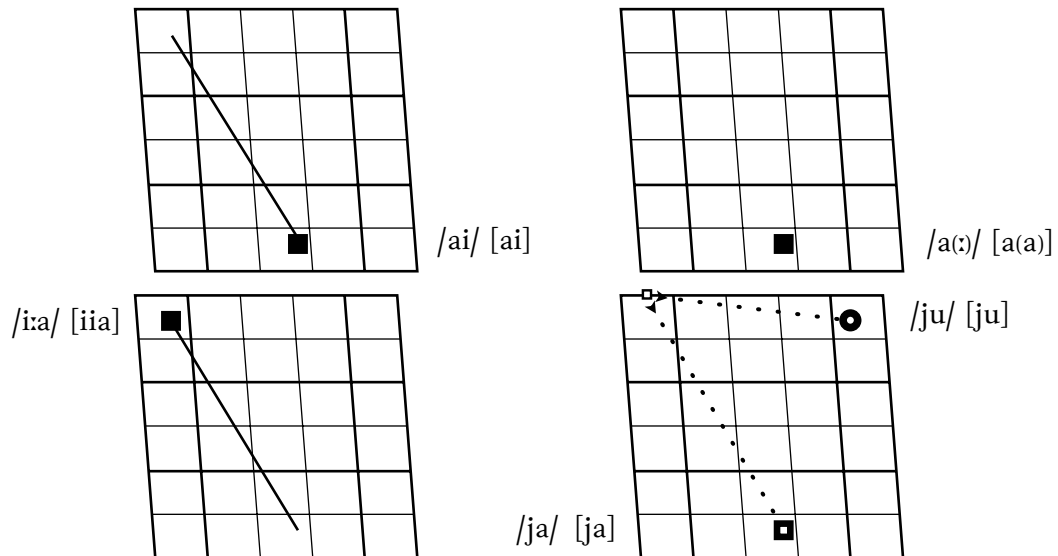
Further vocalic sequences (either diphthongs or hiatuses) can appear especially in alloglottic technological terms, such as *aerodinamik* [aɛɾσdinaˈmic], or *flüör* [flyˈɔɾ].

6.6. Let us add fig 6.7, which shows the difference between the diphthong /ai/, the vowel(s) /a(:)/, and the triphthong /i:a/, in stressed position, followed by the sequences /ja, ju/, which are *not diphthongs* at all (both in stressed and unstressed positions).

In these vocograms, the syllabic nuclei are indicated by the big markers. The (solid) lines indicate the direction and extension of the diphthongs (including /a:/ [aa]) and triphthongs (including /i:a/ [iia]), while the ‘dotted’ lines show the path of /CV/ sequences, from the small white markers to the nuclei (in this case /ja, ju/ [ja, ju]).

6.7. In § 6.13-14, we will see how all these vowel structures are treated in the (native) *neutral*, *traditional*, and *mediatic* accents, as well. Of course, these accents are more complex than the *international* one. Thus, we will show them together, and using the same examples, so that useful and constructive comparisons can easily be drawn.

fig 6.7. International Turkish: some useful comparisons.



The vowels of *neutral* Turkish

6.8. Let us start by showing the ‘long’ and short vowels of the **neutral accent** (fig 6.8, cf fig 6.1), notice that \mathcal{N} indicates sonant elements, ie /m, n; r; l, ʎ/. In fig 6.9 we can see the diphthongs (cf fig 6.5).

In addition, the three vocograms of fig 6.10 show the triphthongs, which realize the sequences /V:V/ (cf fig 6.6). They are not generally reduced to simple diphthongs.

fig 6.8. Neutral Turkish: ‘long’ and short vowels.

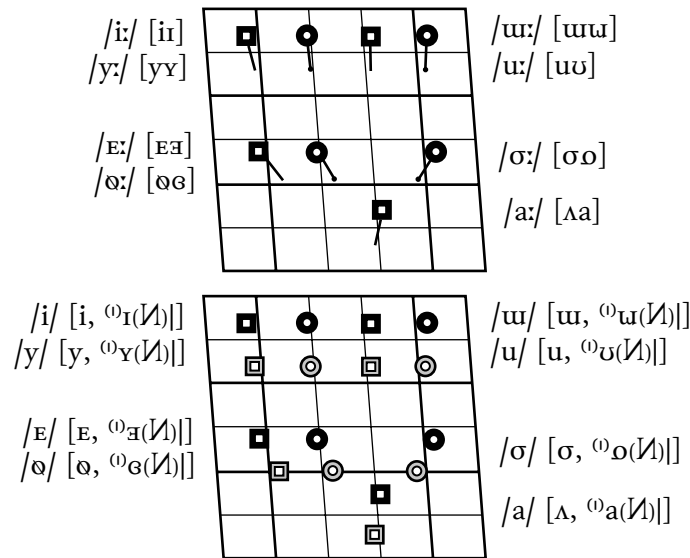
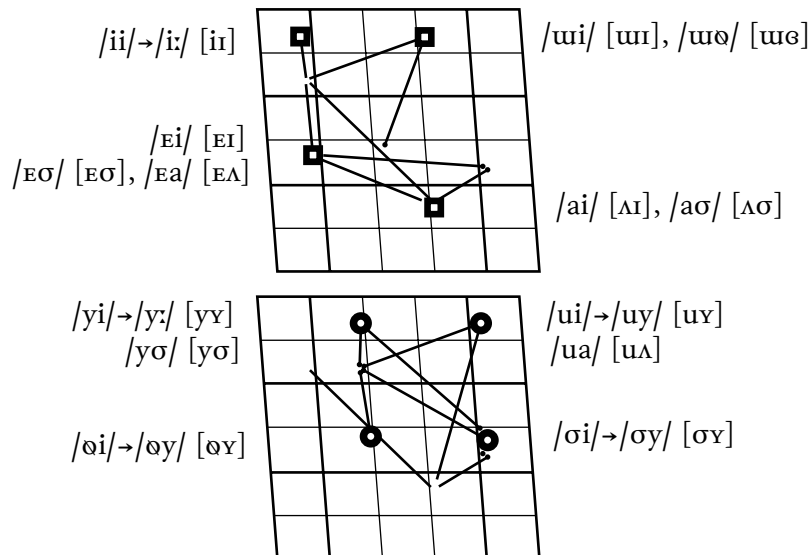
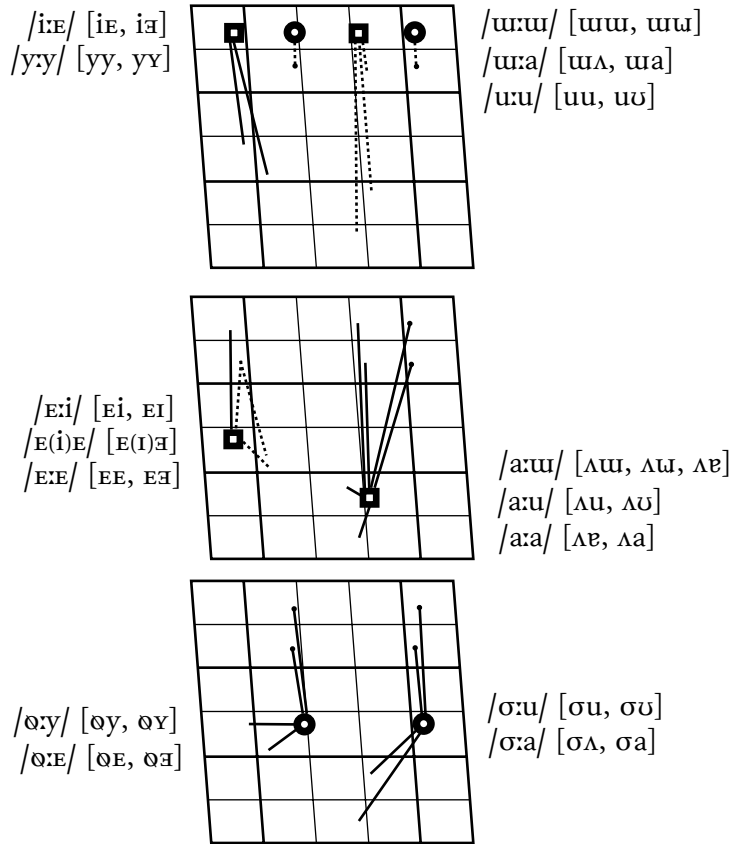


fig 6.9. Neutral Turkish: diphthongs.



6.10. Let us add fig 6.11, which –like fig 6.7– shows the difference between /ai/, /a(ɔ)/, /ia/, and /ja, ju/. By comparing these two figures, it is immediately clear that the neutral accent is more complete (and more ‘complicated’) than the international one. In fact, fig 6.7 has only one starting point, while each of the other three

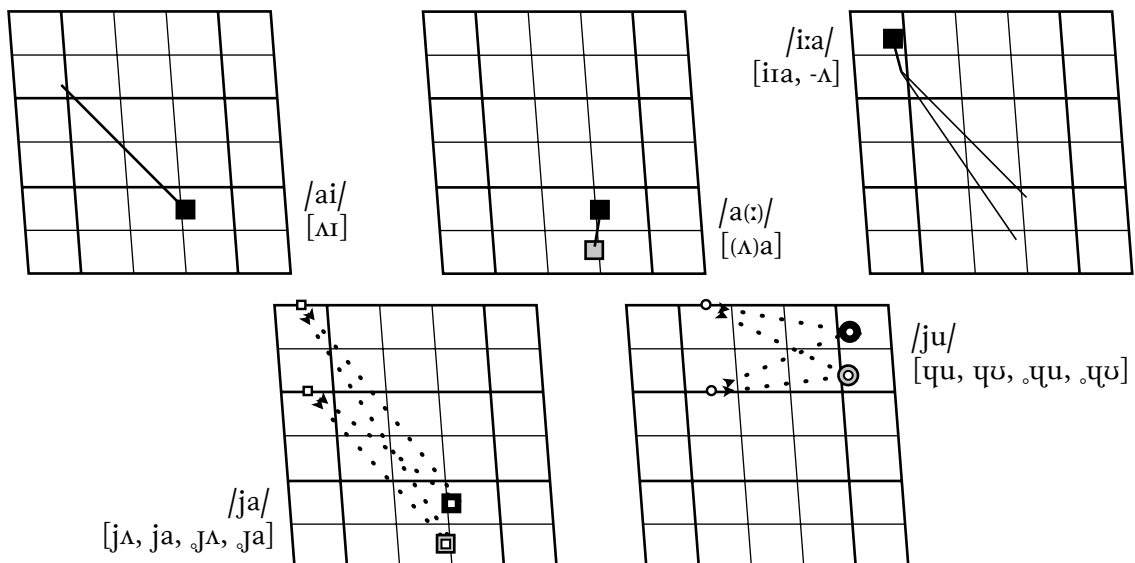
fig 6.10. Neutral Turkish: 'long' diphthongs and /E(i)E/.



accents has four, with some differences, which can be seen in fig 6.12.

In all the vocograms given in fig 6.11 (as in fig 6.7), the syllabic nuclei are indicated by the big markers. The (solid) lines indicate the direction and extension of the diphthongs (including /a:/ [ɔa]) and triphthongs, while the 'dotted' lines show the path from the small white markers to the nuclei.

fig 6.11. Turkish: some useful comparisons between different structures for the neutral accent.



Arguably, the small markers indicate the points where the approximants [j, ɥ] and semi-approximants [ɟ, ɥ̟] begin their paths (in stressed or unstressed syllables): [jʌ, ja, ɟʌ, ɟa] and [ʏu, ʏʊ, ɥu, ɥʊ]. Of course, these sequences begin with a(n initial) *contoid* and end with a (final) *vocoid*. So they are *not* diphthongs.

In fig 6.12, we show the starting points of the approximants and semiapproximants which occur in the four accents: ⁱ[j], ⁿ[j, ɟ; ɥ, ɥ̟], ^t[j, ɟ; ɥ̟, ɥ̟], ^m[j, ɟ; ɥ̟, ɥ̟]. Arguably, the last two have to be seen in connection with the figures that we are

fig 6.12. Turkish: comparisons between the starting points of /jV/ sequences in the four accents.

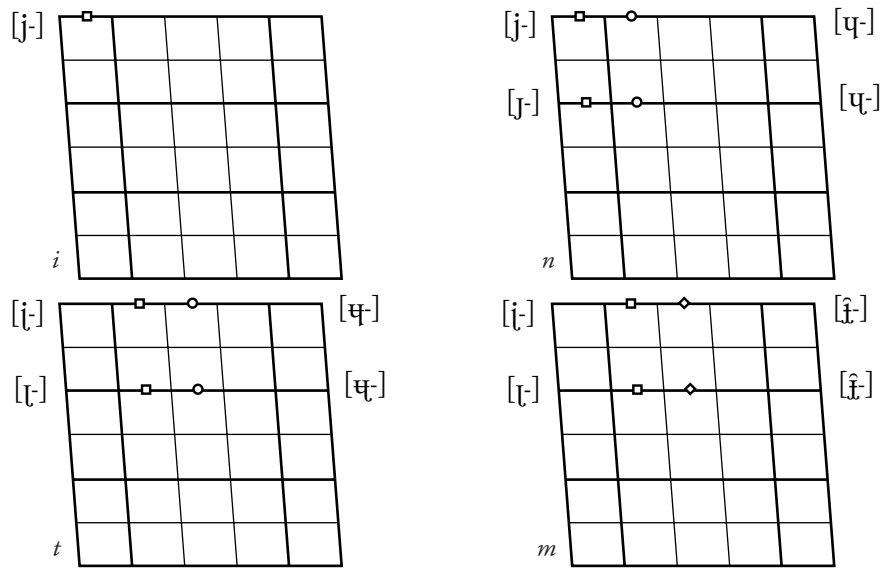
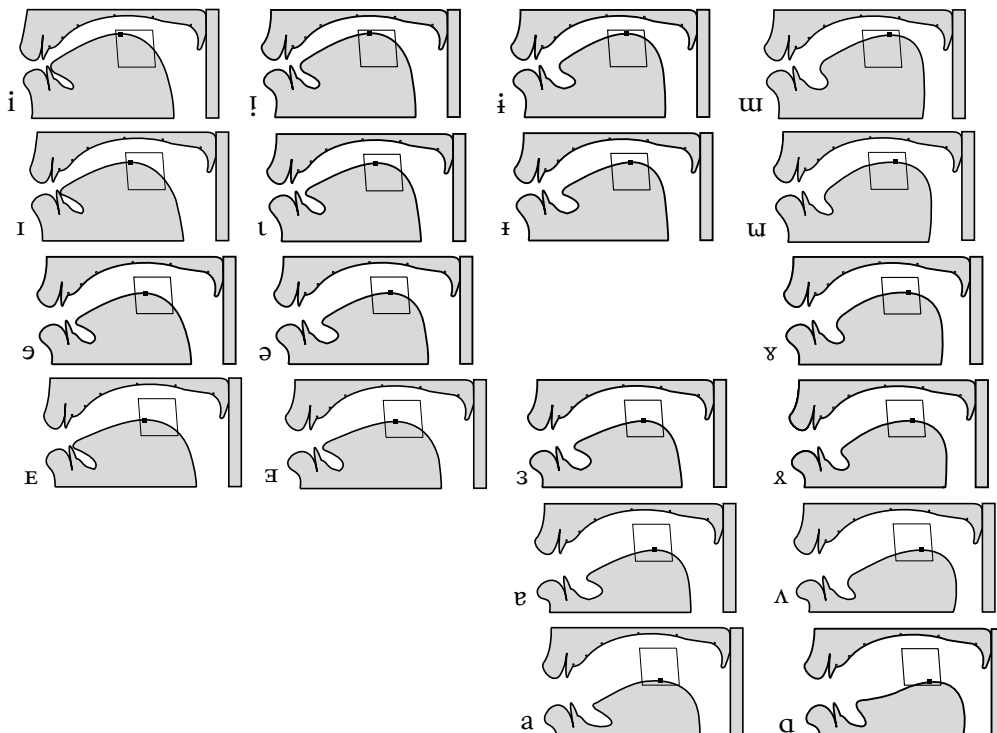


fig 6.13.1. Neutral, traditional and mediatic Turkish: unrounded orograms.



immediately going to show. Let us add fig 6.13-15, which show the orograms, palatograms, and labiograms of the neutral, traditional, and mediatic accents.

fig 6.13.2. Neutral, traditional and mediatic Turkish: rounded orograms.

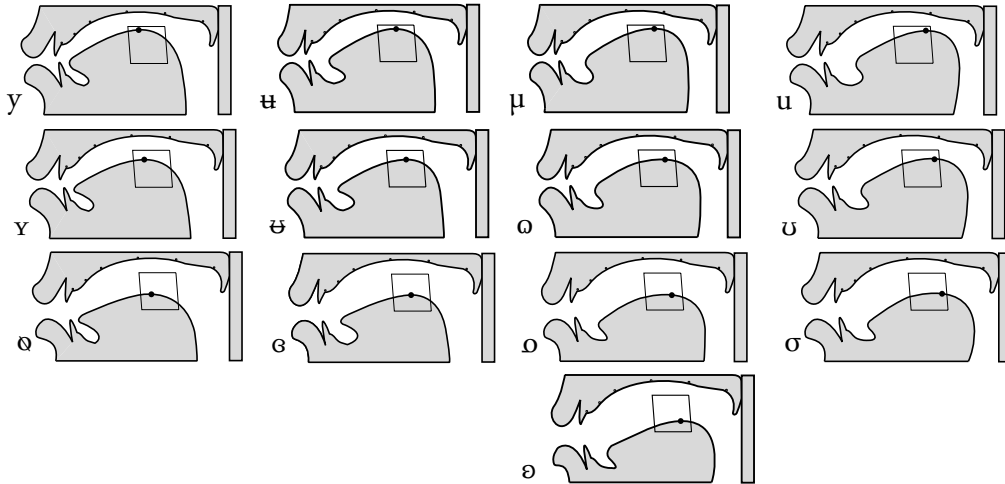
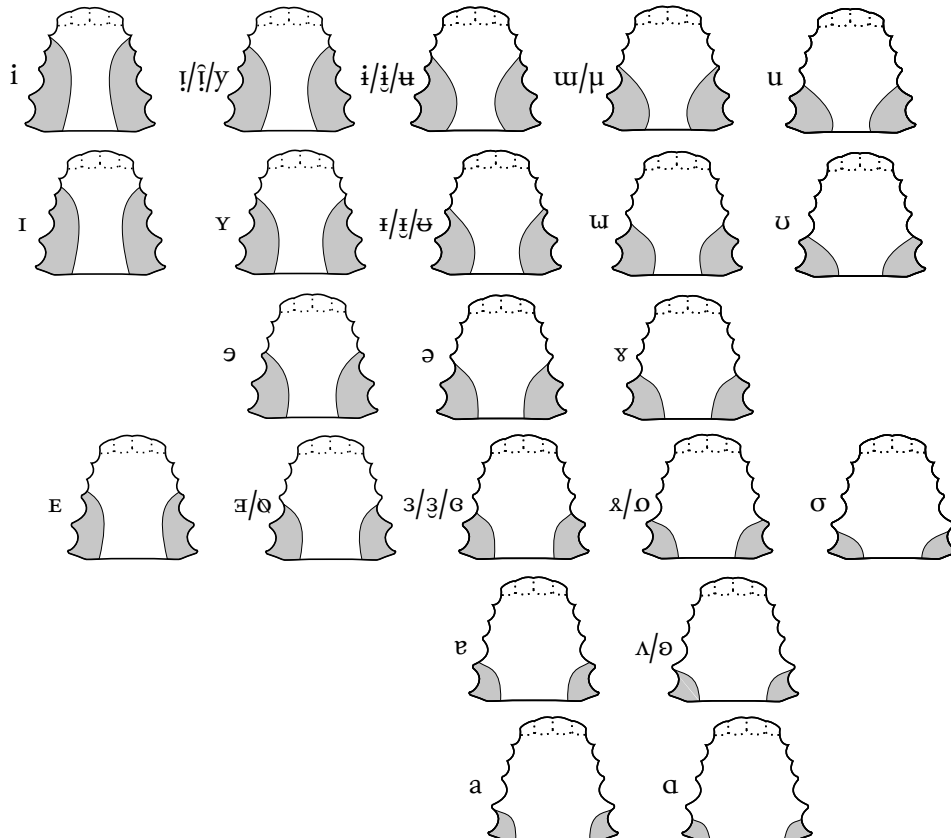


fig 6.14. Neutral, traditional and mediatic Turkish: palatograms.



The vowels of *traditional* Turkish

6.10. The ‘long’ and short vowels of the **traditional (neutral) accent** are shown in fig 6.16 (cf fig 6.1 & fig 6.7), while the diphthongs can be seen in fig 6.17 (cf fig 6.5 & fig 6.8), and the triphthongs in fig 6.18 (cf fig 6.6 & fig 6.9). As in the neutral accent, these last are not generally reduced to simple diphthongs.

Let us notice that the orograms, labiograms, and palatograms of all these vocoids can be found in \mathcal{G} 5, except for those of mediatic pronunciation, which are given in fig 6.22, being additional phones.

fig 6.16. Traditional Turkish: ‘long’ and short vowels.

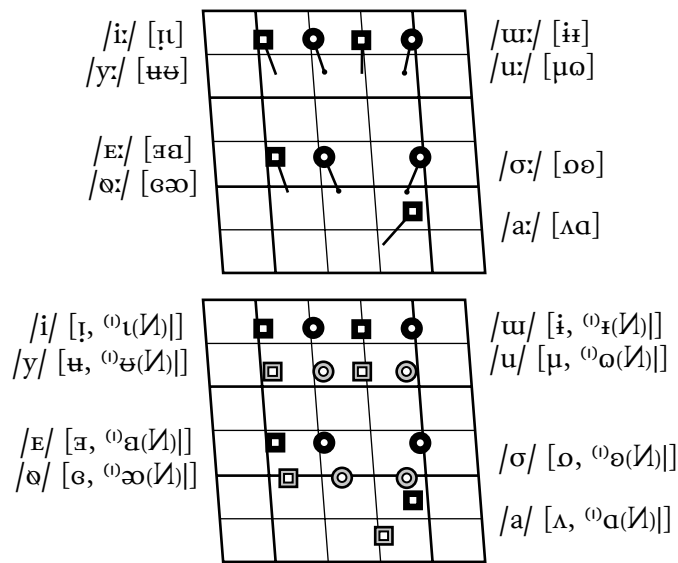


fig 6.17. Traditional Turkish: diphthongs.

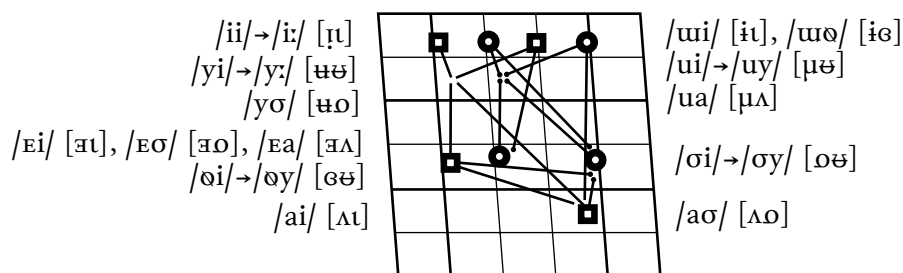
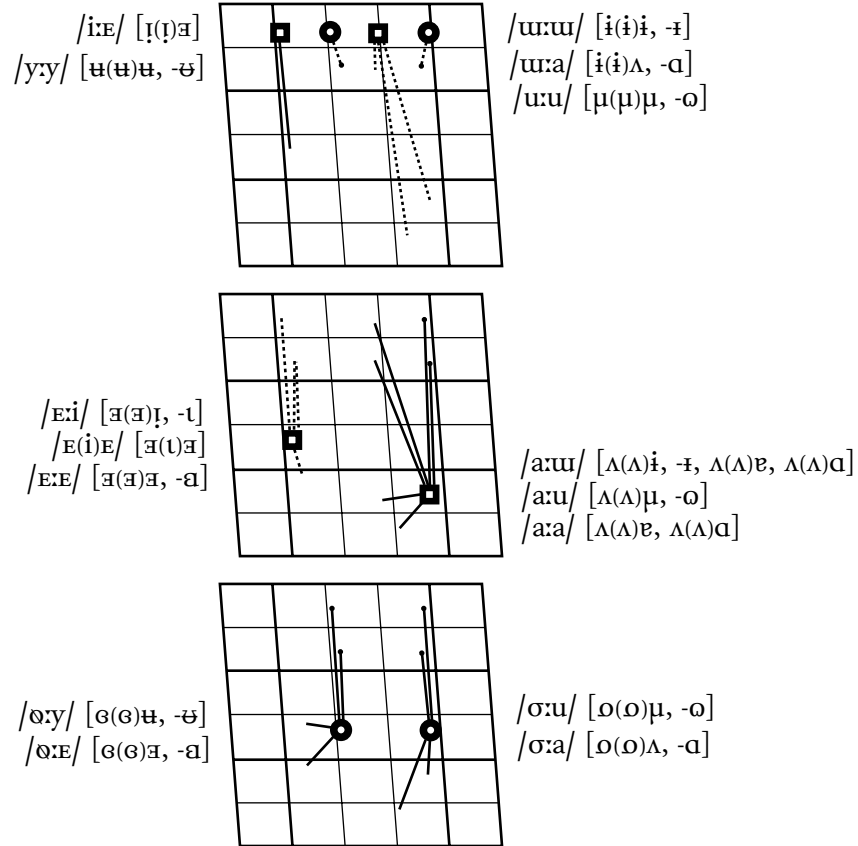


fig 6.18. Traditional Turkish: 'long' diphthongs and /E(i)E/.



The vowels of *mediatic* Turkish

6.11. The ‘long’ and short vowels of the **mediatic accent** are shown in fig 6.19 (the second vocogram gives *milder* (↑) or *broader* (↓) variants; again, cf fig 6.1 & fig 6.7). The third vocogram (in fig 6.19) provides *subjectively milder* variants (‡); while the diphthongs (including some variants) can be seen in fig 6.20 (cf fig 6.5 & fig 6.8).

fig 6.19. Mediatic Turkish: vowels.

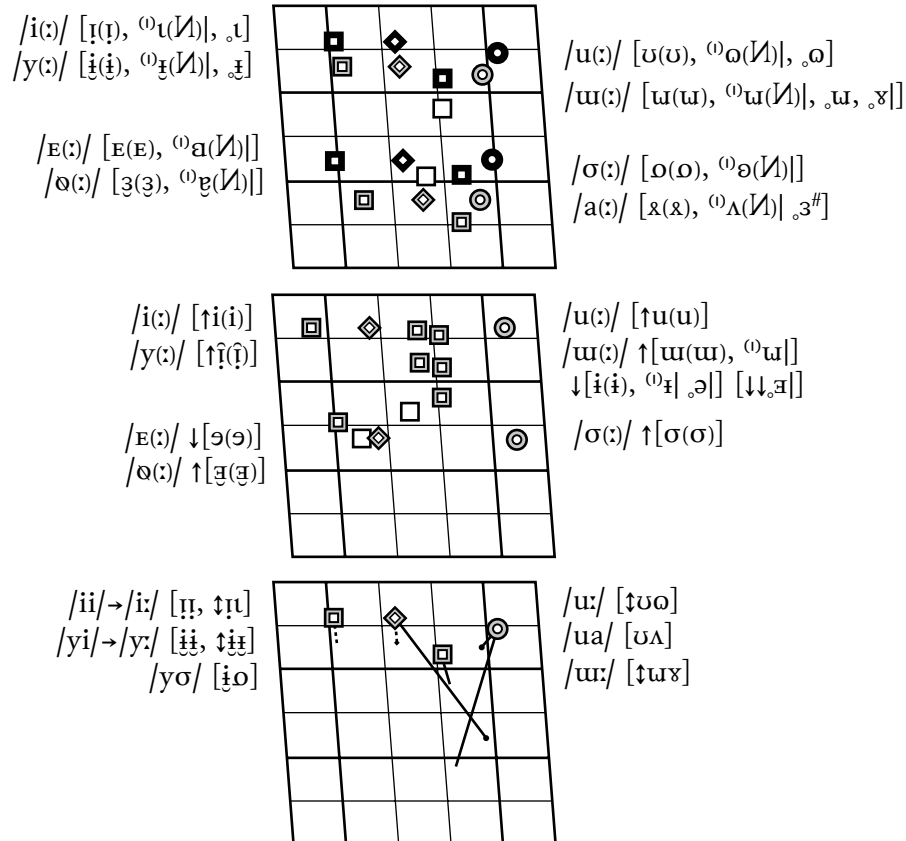
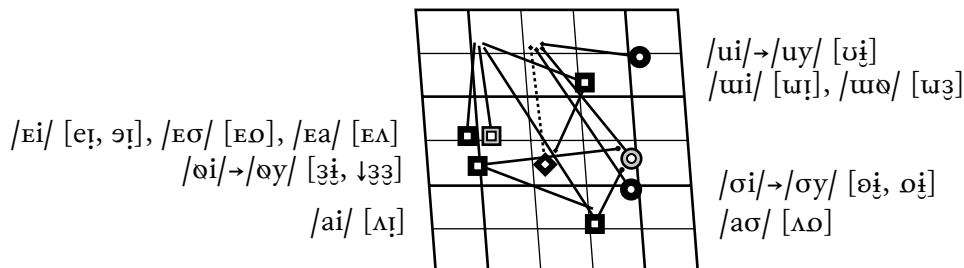


fig 6.20. Mediatic Turkish: diphthongs.



The triphthongs are given in fig 6.21 (cf fig 6.6 & fig 6.9). As in the international accent (but not in the neutral and traditional ones), when these triphthongs do not occur in a tune, they can readily become simple diphthongs, as shown after the sign ‘;’.

The orograms, labiograms, and palatograms of all these vocoids can be found in \mathcal{G} 5, except for the orograms of [j̇, j̇, ø̇] and [i̇, ø̇, ø̇], which are given in fig 6.22.

fig 6.21. Mediatic Turkish: 'long' diphthongs and /E(i)E/.

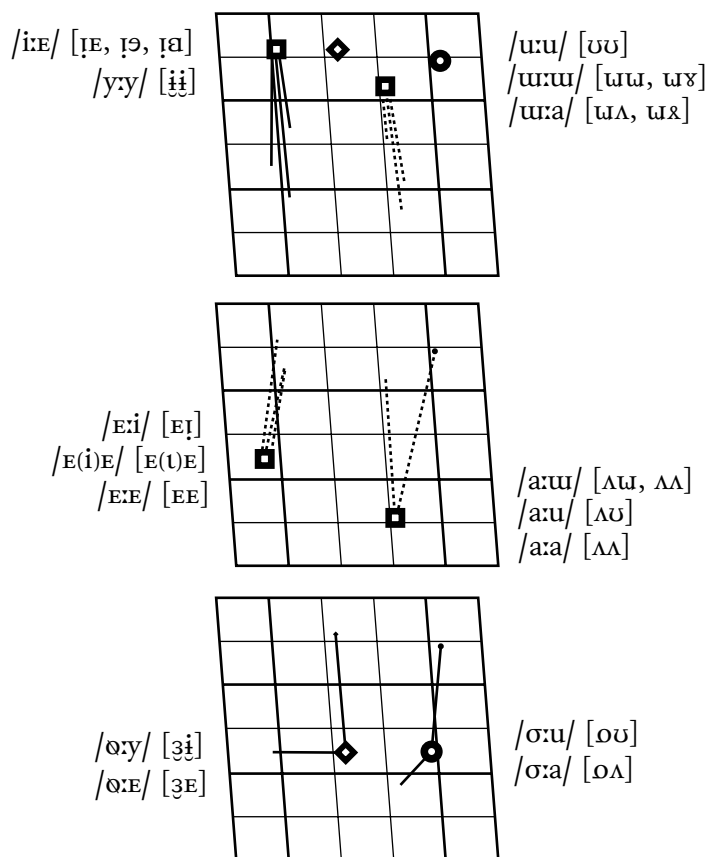
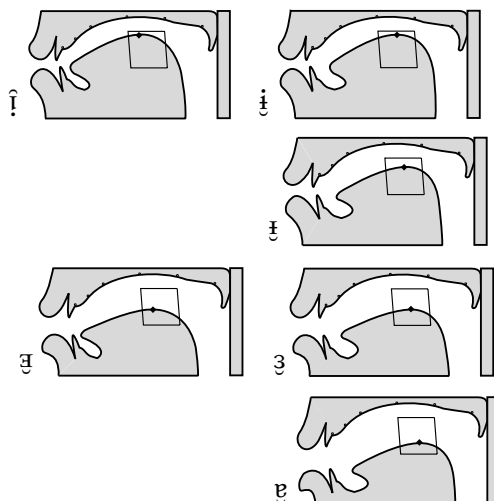


fig 6.22. Turkish: supplementary mediatic orograms.



6.12. Arguably, the mediatic accent presents a bigger number of differences with respect to the neutral and traditional ones.

In fact, mediatic accents, by definition, are less systematic and more fluctuating than the neutral one(s), because they are the result of a 'deworsening' operation, to improve their realizations, generally starting from more or less regional pronunciations.

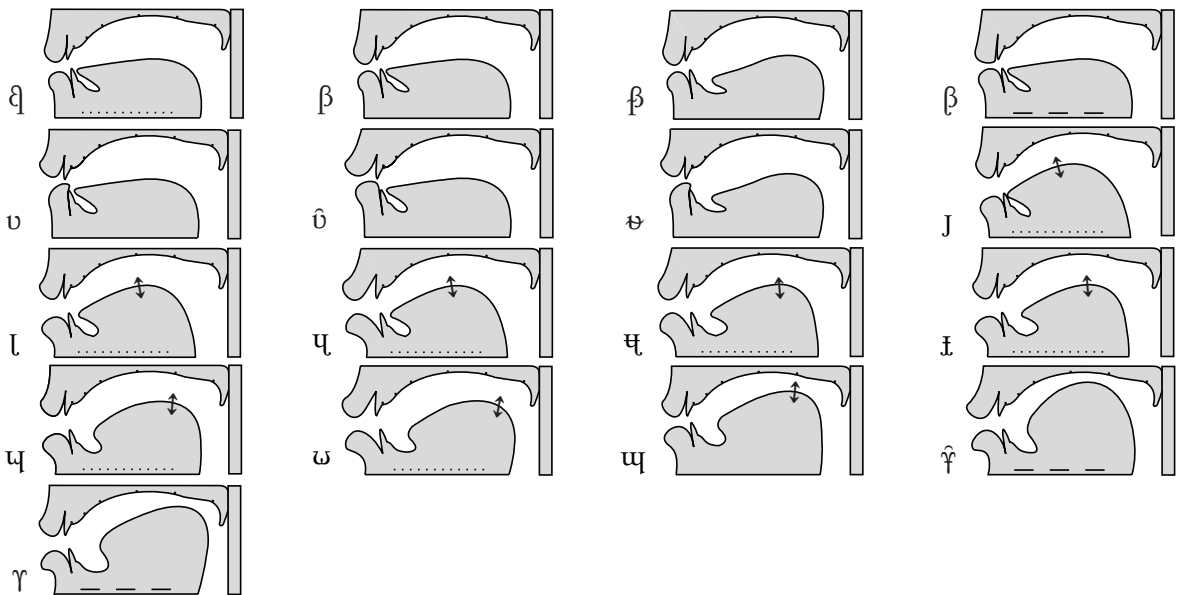
Thus, in addition to the triphthongs that can be reduced to diphthongs, the opposite trend often occurs. The triphthongs, [VVV], can be changed into bisyllabic sequences, [VVCV], where [C] can be semiapproximant, approximant, semiconstrictive, or constrictive (as shown in 6.8).

So, we can find [ɟ, β, β̥, β̥; ʋ, û, ɸ; ʝ, ɭ, ɥ, ɧ, ɬ, ɰ, ω, ɯ, ɰ̆, ɣ] (cf fig 6.23). Certainly, [ʝ, ɭ] can prevail before front unrounded vowels, [ɥ, ɧ] before front rounded vowels, while [β̥, ʋ, û, ɸ, ω] prevail before back rounded vowels.

In mediatic pronunciation, we can also find [ɰ̆, ɣ] for word-final or syllable-final ğ, as in: *sığ* ['sɯɯ, 'sɯɰ̆], *buğday* [bʊʊ'dɬɰ̆, bʊɣ'dɬɰ̆], *diğme* [dɰ̆'ma, dɰ̆'ma].

Furthermore, let us notice that short /i, y, u, u/ occurring in weaker syllables next to either voiceless or voiced consonants (sometimes, also in /Vi/ diphthongs, when final before a pause), can be realized as partially –[V̥] (or totally [V̥])– devoiced: *çikarmak* [tʃɯkɰ̆'mɰ̆k, tʃɯ̆-], *memnuniyet* [mɛmɰ̆nʊnɰ̆'jɛt, -nɰ̆'jɛt], *sayın dinleyiciler* ['sɰ̆jɯɰ̆ dɰ̆n.lɛjɰ̆'ɰ̆lɛɣ, 'sɰ̆jɯɰ̆ dɰ̆n.lɛjɰ̆'ɰ̆lɛɣ, dɰ̆n.nɛ-], *yayınımıza başlıyoruz* [jɰ̆jɯɰ̆ɯɯ'mɯ'zɰ̆ bɰ̆ʃɰ̆'ɰ̆ɣɯɰ̆, -ɯɰ̆mɯ'zɰ̆, ʃɰ̆'ɰ̆ɣɯɰ̆], *ay* ['ɰ̆i], *tüy* ['tɰ̆i], *duy* ['dɰ̆i].

fig 6.23. Turkish: different mediatic contoids which can be inserted between vowel sequences.



6.13. Another peculiarity of the *mediatic* accent is the actual possibility of *stress shifts*, both for diphthongs, [VV] → [V̆V] (becoming hiatuses), as in (giving only one mediatic realization): *ait* [ʔɰ̆ɰ̆t] → [ʔɰ̆'ɰ̆t], *reis* [ʔɛɰ̆ɰ̆s] → [ʔɛ'ɰ̆ɰ̆s], *sual* [ʔsɯɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆] → [ʔsɯ'ɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆], *diio* [dɰ̆iɰ̆] → [dɰ̆'ɰ̆], or becoming bisyllabic, with or without stress shift, [VV] → [V̆V, V̆CV], as in: *ait* → [ʔɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆t, ʔɰ̆'ɰ̆t], *reis* → [ʔɛɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆s, ʔɛ'ɰ̆ɰ̆s], *sual* → [ʔsɯɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆, sɯ'ɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆], *diio* → [dɰ̆iɰ̆ɰ̆, dɰ̆'ɰ̆ɰ̆ɰ̆].

Synoptic presentation of the vowel elements for the four Turkish accents

6.14. The vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs are indicated, with their similarities and differences. However, not every single peculiarities are presented here, they can be found in the sets of figures and pertinent sections:

- /i(ɨ)/ ⁱ[i(i)], ⁿ[iɨ, i, i(N)], ^t[iɨ, i, i(N)], ^m[i(ɨ), i(N)|, ɨ],
 /y(ɨ)/ ⁱ[y(y)], ⁿ[yɨ, y, y(N)], ^t[ɨɨ, ɨ, ɨ(N)], ^m[ɨ(ɨ), ɨ(N)|, ɨ],
 /ʉ(ɨ)/ ⁱ[ʉ(ʉ)], ⁿ[ʉʉ, ʉ, ʉ(N)], ^t[ɨɨ, ɨ, ɨ(N)], ^m[ʉ(ʉ), ʉ(N)|, ʉ, ʉ],
 /u(ɨ)/ ⁱ[u(u)], ⁿ[uʉ, u, u(N)], ^t[μʉ, μ, ʉ(N)], ^m[ʉ(u), ʉ(N)|, ʉ],
 /ɛ(ɨ)/ ⁱ[ɛ(ɛ)], ⁿ[ɛɨ, ɛ, ɨ(N)], ^t[ɨɨ, ɨ, ɨ(N)], ^m[ɛ(ɛ), ɨ(N)],
 /ø(ɨ)/ ⁱ[ø(ø)], ⁿ[øʉ, ø, ʉ(N)], ^t[øʉ, ø, ʉ(N)], ^m[ø(ø), ø(N)],
 /σ(ɨ)/ ⁱ[σ(σ)], ⁿ[σʉ, σ, ʉ(N)], ^t[øʉ, ø, ʉ(N)], ^m[ø(σ), ø(N)],
 /a(ɨ)/ ⁱ[a(a)], ⁿ[ʌa, ʌ, a(N)], ^t[ʌa, ʌ, a(N)], ^m[ʌ(a), ʌ(N)|, ʌ[#]];

 /ii/ ⁱ[ii], ⁿ[iɨ], ^t[iɨ], ^m[iɨ, iɨ],
 /ei/ ⁱ[ei], ⁿ[ei], ^t[ɨi], ^m[ei, ɨi],
 /ai/ ⁱ[ai], ⁿ[ʌi], ^t[ʌi], ^m[ʌi],
 /wi/ ⁱ[wi], ⁿ[wi], ^t[iɨ], ^m[wi],
 /wø/ ⁱ[wø], ⁿ[wø], ^t[iɨ], ^m[wø],
 /yi/ ⁱ[yy], ⁿ[yɨ], ^t[ɨɨ], ^m[iɨ, iɨ],
 /øi/ ⁱ[øy], ⁿ[øy], ^t[øɨ], ^m[øi, øi],
 /σi/ ⁱ[σy], ⁿ[σy], ^t[øɨ], ^m[øi, øi],
 /ui/ ⁱ[uy], ⁿ[uy], ^t[μɨ], ^m[uɨ];

 /ea/ ⁱ[ea], ⁿ[eʌ, ea(N)], ^t[ɨʌ, ɨa(N)], ^m[eʌ],
 /eσ/ ⁱ[eσ], ⁿ[eσ, eσ(N)], ^t[eσ], ^m[eσ],
 /aσ/ ⁱ[aσ], ⁿ[ʌσ, ʌσ(N)], ^t[ʌσ], ^m[ʌσ],
 /yσ/ ⁱ[yσ], ⁿ[yσ, yσ(N)], ^t[ɨσ], ^m[iσ],
 /wø/ ⁱ[wø], ⁿ[wø], ^t[iɨ], ^m[wø],
 /ua/ ⁱ[ua], ⁿ[uʌ, ua(N)], ^t[μʌ, μa(N)], ^m[uʌ];

 /iɛ/ ⁱ[iɛ], ⁿ[iɛ, iɨ(N)], ^t[i(ɨ)ɨ, i(ɨ)ɨ(N)], ^m[iɛ, iɨ, iɨ],
 /yɨ/ ⁱ[yy], ⁿ[yy, yɨ(N)], ^t[ɨ(ɨ)ɨ, ɨ(ɨ)ɨ(N)], ^m[iɨ],
 /ʉɨ/ ⁱ[ʉʉ], ⁿ[ʉʉ, ʉʉ(N)], ^t[i(ɨ)ɨ, i(ɨ)ɨ(N)], ^m[ʉʉ, ʉʉ],
 /uɨ/ ⁱ[uu], ⁿ[uu, uʉ(N)], ^t[μ(μ)μ, μ(μ)ʉ(N)], ^m[uʉ],
 /ɛi/ ⁱ[ei], ⁿ[ei, ei(N)], ^t[ɨ(ɨ)ɨ, ɨ(ɨ)ɨ(N)], ^m[ei],
 /ɛɛ/ ⁱ[ɛɛ], ⁿ[ɛɛ, ɨɨ(N)], ^t[ɨ(ɨ)ɨ, ɨ(ɨ)ɨ(N)], ^m[ɛɛ] (cf /ɛ(i)ɛ/ below),
 /aʌ/ ⁱ[aa], ⁿ[ʌʌ, ʌa(N)], ^t[ʌ(ʌ)ʌ, ʌ(ʌ)ɨ(N)], ^m[ʌʌ],
 /aʉ/ ⁱ[aʉ], ⁿ[ʌʉ, ʌʉ(N)], ^t[ʌ(ʌ)ɨ, ʌ(ʌ)ɨ(N)], ^m[ʌʉ, ʌʉ],
 /aɨ/ ⁱ[au], ⁿ[ʌu, ʌu(N)], ^t[ʌ(ʌ)μ, ʌ(ʌ)ʉ(N)], ^m[ʌu],
 /øy/ ⁱ[øy], ⁿ[øy, øy(N)], ^t[ø(ø)ɨ, ø(ø)ɨ(N)], ^m[øi],
 /øɛ/ ⁱ[øɛ], ⁿ[øɛ, øɨ(N)], ^t[ø(ø)ɨ, ø(ø)ɨ(N)], ^m[øɛ],
 /σu/ ⁱ[σu], ⁿ[σu, σu(N)], ^t[ø(σ)μ, ø(σ)ʉ(N)], ^m[øu],
 /σa/ ⁱ[σa], ⁿ[σʌ, σa(N)], ^t[ø(σ)ʌ, ø(σ)ɨ(N)], ^m[øʌ];

/E(i)E/ ⁱ[E(i)E], ⁿ[E(I)E], ^t[E(U)E], ^m[E(U)E],
 /i:a:/ ⁱ[ia], ⁿ[iΛ, ia], ^t[I(I)α], ^m[IΛ].

Comparing examples for the four Turkish accents

6.15. At last, let us see the basic examples, which will make things clear, showing the four accents together:

/i(:)/: *iplik* ⁱ[ip'lic] ⁿ[ip'likç] ^t[ɾip'likç] ^m[ip'lic],
igne ⁱ[ii'nE] ⁿ[ir'nE] ^t[ɾi'nE] ^m[i(I)'nE],
bir ⁱ['bir] ⁿ['biɾ] ^t['bɪɾ] ^m['b̥ɪɾ],
iletişim ⁱ[i,letit'iʃim] ⁿ[i,letit'iʃim̥] ^t[i,letit'iʃim̥] ^m[i,letit'iʃim̥],
 /y(:)/: *düş* ⁱ['dyʃ] ⁿ['dyʃ] ^t['dʉʃ] ^m['d̥iʃ],
düğme ⁱ['dyɣ'mE] ⁿ['dyɣ'mE] ^t['dʉɣ'mE] ^m['d̥iɣ'mE],
üzüldüm ⁱ['yzy'l'dym] ⁿ['yzy'l'dym̥] ^t['ɾyzy'l'd̥ɪm̥] ^m['ɟzy'l'd̥ɪm̥];
 /w(:)/: *kına* ⁱ['kw'na] ⁿ['kw'na] ^t['kw'na] ^m['khw'na],
ıtır ⁱ['w'twɪɾ] ⁿ['w'twɪɾ] ^t['ɾi'tɪɾ] ^m['w'thwɪɾ],
kılıbık ⁱ['kwɪlɪw'biwk] ⁿ['kwɪlɪw'biwk] ^t['kɪlɪ'bik] ^m['khwɪlɪw'biwk],
 /u(:)/: *ulak* ⁱ['uʃak] ⁿ['uʃak] ^t['ɾuʃak] ^m['uʃak],
uğur ⁱ['uu'ur] ⁿ['uu'ur] ^t['ɾu'ur] ^m['u'ur],
urupuzun ⁱ['uru'zun] ⁿ['uru'zun̥] ^t['ɾuru'zun̥] ^m['u'uzun̥],
 /E(:)/: *sen* ⁱ['sEŋ] ⁿ['sEŋ] ^t['sEŋ] ^m['sEŋ],
kel ⁱ['cEɫ] ⁿ['kçEɫ] ^t['kçEɫ] ^m['chEɫ],
ekmek ⁱ['Eç'mEç] ⁿ['Eç'mEç] ^t['ɾEç'mEç] ^m['Eç'mEç],
perende ⁱ['pE'ɾEŋdE] ⁿ['pE'ɾEŋdE] ^t['pE'ɾEŋdE] ^m['pE'ɾEŋdE],
 /ø(:)/: *örtü* ⁱ['øɾ'ty] ⁿ['øɾ'ty] ^t['ɾøɾ'ty] ^m['øɾ'ty],
öğle ⁱ['øø'ɫE] ⁿ['øø'ɫE] ^t['ɾøø'ɫE] ^m['øø'ɫE],
göl ⁱ['ɟøɫ] ⁿ['ɟøɫ] ^t['ɟøɫ] ^m['ɟøɫ],
şoför ⁱ['ʃø'føɾ] ⁿ['ʃø'føɾ] ^t['ʃø'føɾ] ^m['ʃø'føɾ],
 /σ(:)/: *kol* ⁱ['køɫ] ⁿ['køɫ] ^t['køɫ] ^m['køɫ],
oğlan ⁱ['oç'ɫan] ⁿ['oç'ɫan] ^t['ɾoç'ɫan] ^m['oç'ɫan],
protokol ⁱ['pɾøtø'køɫ] ⁿ['pɾøtø'køɫ] ^t['pɾøtø'køɫ] ^m['pɾøtø'køɫ],
 /a(:)/: *laf* ⁱ['ɫaf] ⁿ['ɫaf] ^t['ɫaf] ^m['ɫaf],
kâr ⁱ['cEɾ] ⁿ['kçEɾ] ^t['kçEɾ] ^m['chEɾ],
kar ⁱ['kEɾ] ⁿ['kEɾ] ^t['kEɾ] ^m['kEɾ],
almak ⁱ['aɫ'mak] ⁿ['aɫ'mak] ^t['ɾaɫ'mak] ^m['aɫ'mak],
karavana ⁱ['kEɾa'vEɾnE] ⁿ['kEɾa'vEɾnE] ^t['kEɾa'vEɾnE] ^m['kEɾa'vEɾnE];
 /ii/: *giymek* ⁱ['ɟii'mEç] ⁿ['ɟii'mEç] ^t['ɟii'mEç] ^m['ɟii'mEç],
 /Ei/: *bey* ⁱ['bEi] ⁿ['bEi] ^t['bEi] ^m['bEi],
 /ai/: *ay* ⁱ['ai] ⁿ['ai] ^t['ai] ^m['ai],
 /wi/: *kiymet* ⁱ['kwɪ'mEç] ⁿ['kwɪ'mEç] ^t['kwɪ'mEç] ^m['kwɪ'mEç],
 /yi/: *tüy* ⁱ['tyy] ⁿ['tyy] ^t['tʉy] ^m['t̥yy],
 /øi/: *köy* ⁱ['cøy] ⁿ['kçøy] ^t['kçøy] ^m['chøy],

- /ɔi/: *boy* ⁱ[ˈbɔy] ⁿ[ˈbɔY] ^t[ˈbɔθ] ^m[ˈb̥ɔ̥ɨ̥, ˈb̥ɔ̥ɨ̥],
 /ui/: *duy* ⁱ[ˈduy] ⁿ[ˈduY] ^t[ˈd̥uθ] ^m[ˈd̥u̥ɨ̥];
 /ɛa/: *realizm* ⁱ[ɾɛaˈlizm] ⁿ[ɾɛaˈlizm̥] ^t[ɾɛaˈlizm̥] ^m[ɾɛaˈliʂm̥],
 /ɛɔ/: *neon* ⁱ[ˈnɛɔn] ⁿ[ˈnɛɔn̥] ^t[ˈnɛɔn̥] ^m[ˈnɛɔn̥],
 /aɔ/: *kaos* ⁱ[ˈkaɔs] ⁿ[ˈkɫaɔs] ^t[ˈkɫaɔs] ^m[ˈkɫaɔs],
 /yɔ/: *düo* ⁱ[ˈdyɔ] ⁿ[ˈdyɔ] ^t[ˈd̥uɔ] ^m[ˈd̥i̥ɔ],
 /uθ/: *açıölçer* ⁱ[aˈtʃuθ̥l̥tʃɛɾ] ⁿ[aˈtʃuθ̥l̥tʃɛɾ] ^t[ɾaˈtʃi̥θ̥l̥tʃɛɾ], ^m[zˈtʃuθ̥l̥tʃɛɾ],
 /ua/: *sual* ⁱ[ˈsual] ⁿ[ˈsuaɫ̥] ^t[ˈs̥maɫ̥] (/uaa/) ^m[ˈs̥uaɫ̥];
 /iɛ/: *diğer* ⁱ[ˈdiɛɾ] ⁿ[ˈdiɛɾ] ^t[ˈdi̥(ɨ)ɛɾ] ^m[ˈd̥i̥ɛɾ],
 /y:y/: *züğürt* ⁱ[ˈzyyɾt] ⁿ[ˈzyyɾt] ^t[ˈz̥u̥(θ)u̥ɾt] ^m[ˈz̥i̥ɨ̥ɾt],
 /u:u/: *ıgıl* ⁱ[ˈu:uɫ̥] ⁿ[ˈu:uɫ̥] ^t[ˈɾi̥(i)ɫ̥] ^m[ˈu:uɫ̥],
 /u:a/: *sığa* ⁱ[ˈsua] ⁿ[ˈsua] ^t[ˈsi̥(ɨ)ɔ] ^m[ˈsua],
 /u:u/: *uğur* ⁱ[ˈu:uɾ] ⁿ[ˈu:uɾ] ^t[ˈɾ̥u̥(μ)u̥ɾ] ^m[ˈu:uɾ],
 /ɛi/: *eğiç* ⁱ[ˈɛitʃ] ⁿ[ˈɛitʃ] ^t[ˈɾɛ(θ)itʃ] ^m[ˈɛitʃ],
 /ɛ:ɛ/: *eğ* ⁱ[ˈɛɛ] ⁿ[ˈɛɛ] ^t[ˈɾɛ(θ)ɛ] ^m[ˈɛɛ] (cf /ɛ(i)ɛ/ below),
 /a:a/: *ağa* ⁱ[ˈaa] ⁿ[ˈaa] ^t[ˈɾa(ɫ)ɔ] ^m[ˈaa],
 /a:u/: *ağr* ⁱ[ˈau] ⁿ[ˈau] ^t[ˈɾa(ɫ)ɨ̥, ɾa(ɫ)ɔ] ^m[ˈau, ˈaa],
 /a:u/: *ağustos* ⁱ[aʊsˈtɔs] ⁿ[aʊsˈtɔs] ^t[a(ɫ)ʊsˈtɔs] ^m[aʊsˈtɔs],
 /ø:y/: *öğün* ⁱ[ˈøyn] ⁿ[ˈøyn̥] ^t[ˈɾø(θ)u̥n̥] ^m[ˈz̥i̥ɨ̥n̥],
 /ø:ɛ/: *öğ* ⁱ[ˈøɛ] ⁿ[ˈøɛ] ^t[ˈɾø(θ)ɛ] ^m[ˈz̥i̥(θ)ɛ],
 /s:u/: *soğuk* ⁱ[ˈsɔuk] ⁿ[ˈsɔuk] ^t[ˈsɔ(ɔ)uk] ^m[ˈsɔuk],
 /s:a/: *soğan* ⁱ[ˈsɔan] ⁿ[ˈsɔan̥] ^t[ˈsɔ(ɔ)an̥] ^m[ˈsɔan̥];
 /ɛ(i)ɛ/ ⁱ[ɛ(i)ɛ], ⁿ[ɛ(i)ɛ], ^t[ɨ̥(i)ɛ], ^m[ɛ(i)ɛ].

8. Turkish consonants

The consonants of *international* Turkish

8.1. First of all, let us carefully look again at some of the figures of \mathfrak{C} 7. For *international* Turkish, we have to posit 24 consonantal phonemes, 4 of which are more diaphonemes than real phonemes, because they are mostly used by good speakers (cf fig 8.1, where they are shown in round brackets).

If these diaphonemes are not respected, communication is not actually prevented, because whole sentences can ensure their proper meaning, in spite of some minimal (or subminimal) pairs.

They are /ç, ɟ; l; ʔ/ and occur in loanwords from Arabic and Persian. In a broad kind of phonemic transcription, they might even be rendered as /ḳ, g̣; ḷ; ʔ̣/, because they could be realized as plain [k, g; l], and [∅] (= zero, generally changing /Vʔ/ into /V:/).

fig 8.1. International Turkish: consonants.

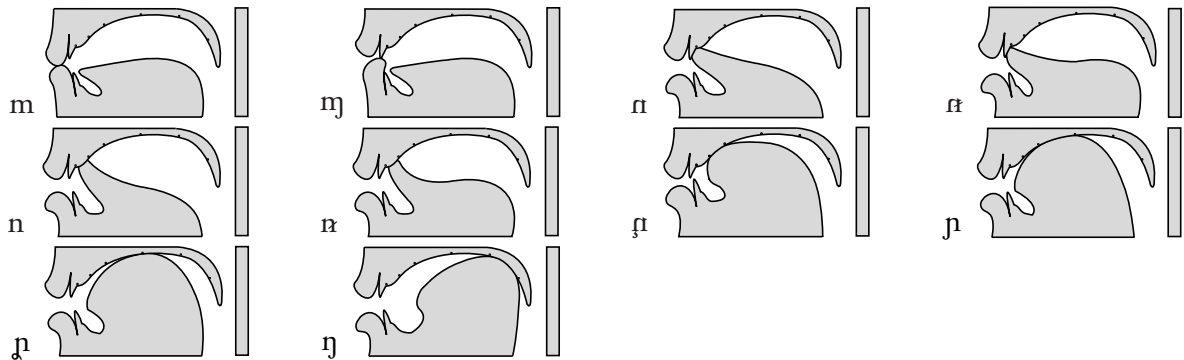
bilabial	labiodental	dental	semivelarized dental	alveolar	semivelarized alveol.	postalveo-palatal	postalveo-palatal protruded	palatal	postpalatal	prevelar	velar	laryngeal
m	[m]	[n]	[ṇ]	n	[ṇ]	[ɲ]		[ɲ]	[ɲ]	[ŋ]	[ŋ]	
p	b	t	d				tʃ	dʒ		ç	ɟ	(ʔ)
	f	v					ʃ	ʒ				
		s	z					j				h
		[l]	[ḷ]	r	ḷ							

8.2. In fig 8.1, mostly *nasal* taxophones are put in square brackets, because they are automatically realized as homorganic contoids to the following ones.

Thus, fig 8.2 shows all these nasal contoids, so that it is easier to accurately compare them, both with the two nasal phonemes, /m, n/, and between themselves, as well.

Here are some examples: *emin* [ɛ'min], *kendim* [çɛndim], *kambur* [kam'bur],

fig 8.2. International Turkish nasals.



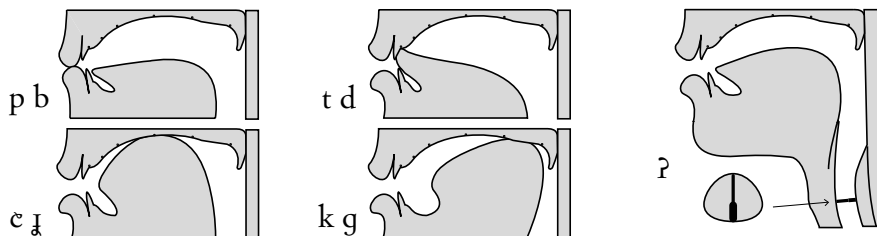
İstanbul [is'tambuɫ], *enfes* [ɛnɲ'fɛs], *insancil* [ɪnsaɳɪ'tʃɪɫ], *anten* [aɳ'tɛn], *sonra* ['sɔɔ-ra, 'sɔnɾa], *inlemek* [ɪnɫɛ'mɛɔ], *senin lalangan* [sɛ'nɪn ɫa'ɫaŋɔn], *manca* [maɳ'dʒa], *kanyon* [kaɳ'jɔn], *denk* ['dɛɳɔ], *bank* ['baɳk], *inha* [in'haa], *ben Almanım* ['bɛ naɫ'maɳɪm], *bugün öğleden sonra* ['buɣy nɔɔɫɛ'dɛɳsɔɔɾa, -sɔnɾa].

8.3. In addition, fig 8.3 gives the *stops*, [p, b; t, d; ɕ, ɟ; k, g], including the laryngeal diaphone(me), [ʔ]. In international Turkish pronunciation [p, t, ɕ, k] have no 'aspiration' and [b, d, ɟ, g] no devoicing.

Examples: *polip* [pɔ'lip], *baba* [ba'ba], *tatlı* [tat'ɫɯ], *dede* [dɛ'dɛ], *gaga* [ga'ga], *kitap* [ci'tap], *kek* ['ɕɕɕ], *kâr* ['caar], *kar* ['kar], *kok* ['kɔk].

The sequences *kl* and *gl*, in loans, have /ɕl, ɟl/: *klan* [ɕlan], *klik* [ɕlic], *kloş* [ɕloʃ], and *glase* [ɟ-la'sɛ] (but *glikol* [g-li'kɔl]).

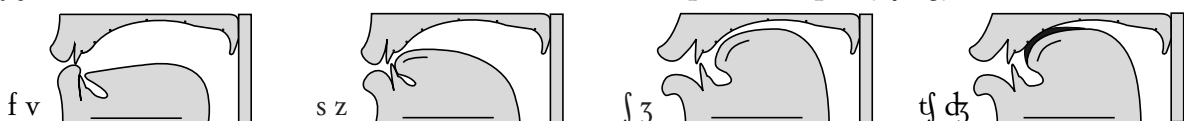
fig 8.3. International Turkish: stops.



8.4. fig 8.4 shows the *constrictives*, [f, v; s, z; ʃ, ʒ], and the *stop-strictive* pair, [tʃ, dʒ], which is homorganic to the last constrictive pair, for comparison.

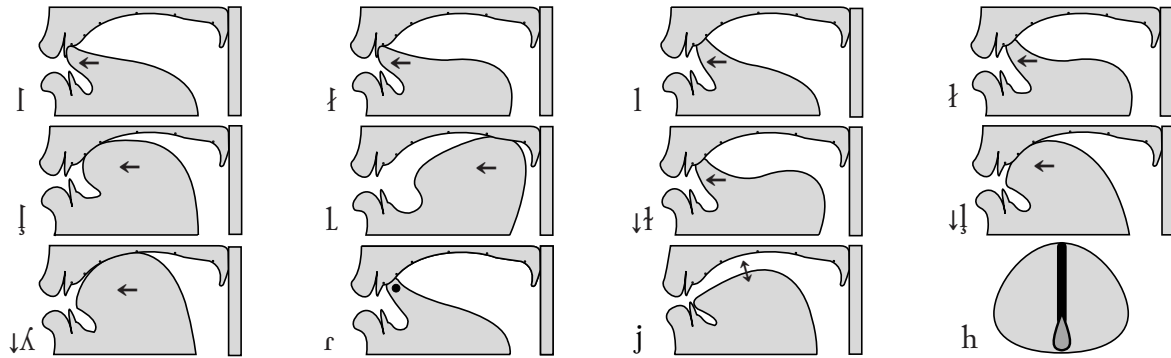
Examples: *figüratif* [fiɟyɾa'tɪf], *verev* [vɛ'ɾɛv], *ses* ['sɛs], *zevalsiz* [zɛval'siz], *şişe* [ʃi'ʃɛ], *jeoloji* [ʒɛɔɫɔ'zi], *garaj* [ga'raʒ], *çeç* ['tʃɛtʃ], *cici* [dʒi'dʒi], *çocuk* [tʃɔ'dʒuk].

fig 8.4. International Turkish: constrictives and the stopstrictive pair /tʃ, dʒ/.



8.5. Lastly, the first five orograms of fig 8.5 are the *laterals* which are needed in a good accent of international Turkish, including the diaphone(me) [l]. The first two

fig 8.5. International Turkish laterals, and /r, j, h/ (and some different laterals for comparison).



of them, [l, ɭ], are the taxophones which occur before dental articulations, while [ɭ] is used before [tʃ, dʒ; ʃ, ʒ]. The second row also gives the neutral realization of /ɭ/: [l] (*velar lateral, not the velarized lateral so often described and symbolized as [ɭ]*, as shown straight after).

The last two lateral orograms show two further unfit articulations, often indicated for the opposite realization. They are prepalatal and palatal, [ɭ, ʌ], certainly sounding ‘clearer’ than their ‘dark’ counterpart, but far too ‘clear’ to be adequate. In fact, [l] is sufficiently different to oppose [ɭ], without sounding forced. For instance, *sol* [ˈsɔɭ] ‘left’, and *sol* [ˈsɔl] ‘sol, G’.

This clearly shows that Turkish has two lateral phonemes: /ɭ, l/. The latter can be classified as xenophoneme, or as diaphoneme used particularly in loanwords (as also /c, ɟ/ do), or, as a taxophone next to front vowels, /i, y, e, ø/.

However, the neutral-accent contoid is a little different, as we will see, being alveolar itself, although not *bilateral*, but *unilateral*, [ʌ], increasing the difference between the two contoids.

Examples for the laterals: *lala* [ˈɭala], *pul* [ˈpuɭ], *lolo* [ˈlɔlɔ], *lale* [laaˈlɛ], *bil* [ˈbil], *gül* [ˈɟyl], *malul* [maaˈlul], *iltimas* [iltiˈmas], *maltız* [maɫˈtuuz], *malca* [ˈmaɫdʒa], *salon* [saɫˈɔn], *rol* [ˈrɔl], *plaj* [pˈɭaʒ], *salisilat* [saɭˈlisiˈlat].

8.6. fig 8.5 also gives /r, j, h/ [r, j, h], respectively an *alveolar tap*, a *palatal approximant*, and a *laryngeal approximant*, to complete the international inventory.

Examples for /r/: *raf* [ˈraf], *iri* [iˈri], *sor* [ˈsɔr], *dört* [ˈdørt], *kırk* [ˈkɯrk], *rezerv* [rɛˈzɛrv], *tren* [ˈtrɛn].

Examples for /j/: *yiv* [ˈjiv], *yır* [ˈjɯr], *yağ* [ˈjaa], *oya* [ɔˈja], *ısyayım* [ɯˈsuɟajɯm], *somya* [ˈsɔm-ja], *radyan* [radˈjan], *radio* [radˈjɔ], *istasyon* [istasˈjɔn] (but *reaksiyon* [rɛaksɯˈsɯn]), *yüz* [ˈjyz], *yol* [ˈjɔɭ].

Sequences of /ijV/ are realized as [iV], except in traditional pronunciation, which has [ijV]: *Fethiye* [ˈfɛt-hiɛ]. In mediatic pronunciation, also /ejV/ and /Vji/ can have /j/ [ø]: *Doğubeyazıt* [ˈdøubɛ(j)azɯt], *acayip* [aˈdʒa(j)ip].

Arguably, words like *çay* [ˈtʃai], *huy* [ˈhuy] have normal diphthongs, /ai, ui/ [ai, uy], and cannot be part of the /j/ phoneme, as too many authors think, instead. Thus, not [ˈtʃaj, ˈhuj]!

Examples for /h/: *hala* [ˈhaɭa], *hilaf* [hiˈɭaf], *saha* [saaˈha], *halhal* [haɫˈhaɫ], *sulh*

['sulh], *Salihli* [saa'lihli], *hah* ['hah], *talih* [taa'lih]. The following examples, with /VhC, VhV/ are also given here with /Vh → V:/, because even in international pronunciation they are often changed as shown: *ahşap* [ah'ʃap; aa'ʃap], *bahşiş* [bah'ʃiʃ; baa'ʃiʃ], *Ahmet* [ah'met; aa'met], *kahve* [kah've; kaa've], *ihlal* [ih'lal; ii'lal], *müthiş* [my'thiʃ], *ahar* [a'har; aa'ar], *seher* [se'her; see'er].

Colloquially, however, we can find /VhV/ → [VhV, VØV], ie [VV] with no vowel lengthening: *ahar* [a'har; a'ar], *seher* [se'her; se'er], *mühendis* [my'hen'dis, myen-].

Geminate consonants are uttered as such. Words like *konseptualizm* [kɔnseptu'alizm/ can have intense consonants [kɔn,septu'alizm, -lizm].

The consonants of *neutral* Turkish

8.7. Arguably, as for the vowels, also the consonant situation of the *neutral* accent is more complex than for the international one. Following the exposition order of § 8.1-6, we will highlight mostly the differences, which will become clearer in a while.

There is nothing to indicate about the *nasals* (with homorganic taxophones to following consonants), with the addition that, before a pause, they are partially devoiced, [ṁ, ṅ].

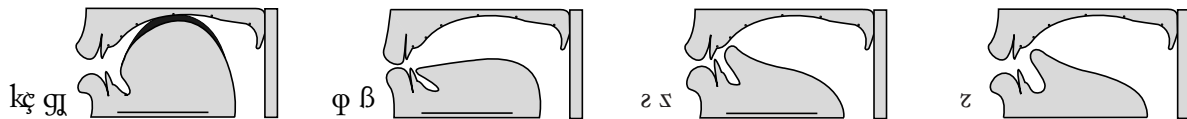
As for the *stops* (which are not ‘aspirated’, even in this accent), it should be noted that, generally, /c, ɟ/ are realized as *stopstrictives*, [k̟, ɡ̟] (cf fig 8.6). So this accent has two pairs of contoids for this manner of articulation: [k̟, ɡ̟] in addition to [t̟, d̟].

The voiced ones also become partially devoiced before a pause: [ɡ̟̥, d̟̥], as also /b, d, g/ do: [b̟̥, d̟̥, ɡ̟̥]; but they remain voiced in word-internal position, even before voiceless consonants.

The laryngeal stop, /ʔ/, is used in certain cases, but less so than in traditional pronunciation (as we will see in § 8.11). It is also used before word-initial vowels when stressed.

As for the *constrictives*, the only real peculiarity is that /f, v/ are not *labiodental*, but *bilabial*, [ɸ, β]. Let us add that, before a pause, the voiced ones become partially devoiced: [β̟̥, z̟̥, ʒ̟̥].

fig 8.6. Neutral Turkish: consonants /c, ɟ; f, v; r/.
k̟ ɡ̟ ɸ β z̟ z̟̥

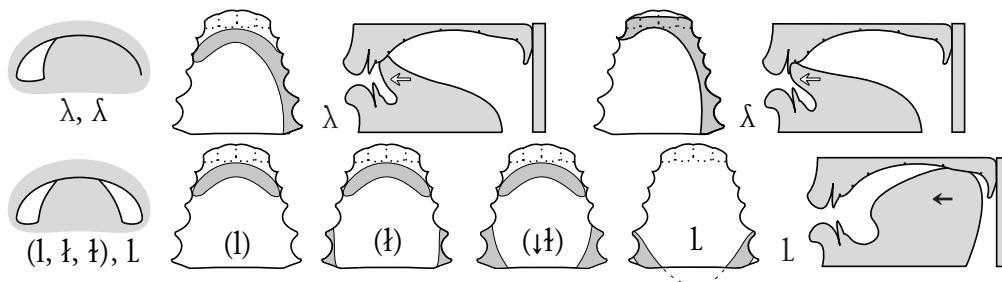


8.8. The most peculiar characteristics are found for /r/ and /ʀ, l/. In fact, for /r/, instead of a *tap*, [r], we have the following (still *alveolar*) contoids: [ʀ̟̥, -z̟̥, z̟̥] (cf fig 8.6). Thus: [ʀ̟̥] voiced slit constrictive in word-initial position, [z̟̥] voiceless slit constrictive in word-final position, and [z̟̥] voiced approximant, in middle position.

Let us also notice that partial devoicing, as [ʀ̟̥], is generally not so common today, as a word-internal tap, [r], is not any more (both between vowels, and either preceded or followed by a consonant).

For the *laterals*, we find: /ʀ/ [L] (a *velar* bilateral, as already said, not a *velarized*

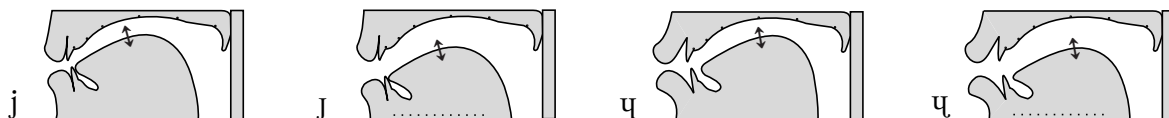
fig 8.7. Neutral Turkish: laterals.



one), and /l/ [λ] (an alveolar *unilateral*, not *bilateral*), respectively. In addition, before a pause, these two laterals become partially devoiced: [l̥, λ̥] (cf fig 8.7).

8.9. As for the *palatal approximant*, it should be noted first that we have a rounded *postpalatal* version of /j/, before rounded vowels: /j/ → [j̠, ɥ̠]. In addition, in weaker syllables, instead of full approximants, we find *semiapproximants*, [ɟ, ɥ], respectively; in /ijV/ sequences, /j/ is generally dropped.

fig 8.8. Neutral Turkish: consonant /j/.



Let us repeat, once again, that we cannot seriously consider sequences like ‘/Vj#, VjC/’, instead of the more realistic and sensible true diphthongs, /Vi/ [V_I, V_Y].

For the *laryngeal approximant*, /h/, in addition to plain [h], we find a homocromatic *palatal* taxophone, [h̠], with tautosyllabic ‘front’ vowels, ie /i, y, e, ø/ (either before or after them, and also in word-initial or word-final position). With ‘back’ vowels, ie /u, u, σ, a/, the common taxophone is *laryngeal*, [h].

While, in contact with a consonant (either before or after it), a *velar* taxophone, [h̠], is common, which generally prevails on the influence of adjacent back vowels. In absolute final position, especially before a pause, we find [h], both after /u, u, σ, a/ or consonants – but [h̠], after /i, y, e, ø/, as already said.

Geminate consonants are uttered as such.

fig 8.9. Neutral Turkish: consonant /h/.



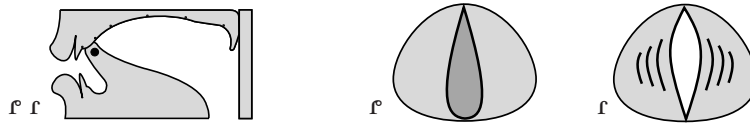
The consonants of *traditional* Turkish

8.10. In comparison with the (modern) neutral accent, the peculiarities of the *traditional* one are that, /n^(#)C/ may not undergo assimilation. In addition, in stressed syllables, /p, t, c, k; t͡ʃ/ are slightly ‘aspirated’, [Ch] ([h] *laryngeal semiapproximant*, rather than approximant, [h]).

There is no difference for /c, ʃ; t͡ʃ, d͡ʒ; f, v; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/ [kç, gğ; t͡ʃ, d͡ʒ; φ, β; s, z; ʃ, ʒ], also for final prepausal partial devoicing, [C̥], and full voicing before word-internal (even voiceless) consonants.

Instead, for /r/, we find [r, -r, r̥] ([r̥] is a completely *voiceless* alveolar *tap*, with the same articulation as [r], but with no vibration of the vocal folds, as fig 8.10 shows).

fig 8.10. Traditional Turkish: consonant /r/.



There is no difference even for /k, l; h/ [L, λ; h, ħ, ħ]. The same for /j/, which, before rounded vowels, becomes rounded: /j/ → [j̠, ɥ̠], and with semiapproximants taxophones in weak syllables, [j, ɥ]; generally, /ijV/ sequences maintain /j/.

8.11. The diaphoneme /ʀ/ is completely maintained (even in cases where the neutral accent drops it), and also used before either stressed or unstressed word-initial vowels (unless a preceding final consonant is resyllabified: /C[#]V/ [ʰCV]).

Examples: *fiil* /fiil/ [ʰfi̯ɾi̯ɾɪλ], *saat* /'saat/ [ʰsɑɾʀɑt], *kura* /ku'raa/ [kɯɾʀɑɑ], *müdafaa* /mydaa'faa/ [mɯdɑɑ'ʰɑɾʀɑ], *sanat* /sa'nat/ [sɑnʀɑt], *mesele* /mese'le/ [meseɾʀe] *Kuran* /ku'raan/ [kɯɾʀɑn̩], *telin* ‘denunciation’ [tɛɾʀi̯n̩] (cf *telin* ‘of the wire’ [tɛɾ'li̯n̩]).

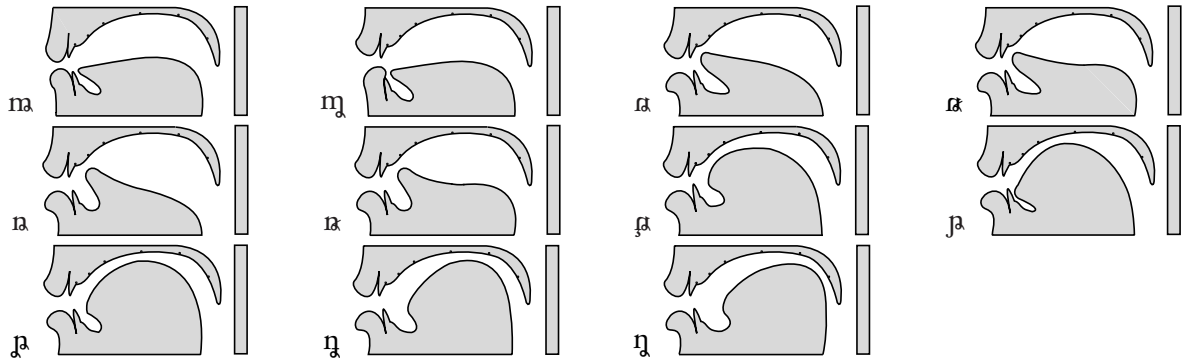
Geminate consonants are always realized as such: *evvel* [ɾɛββɑλ], *milli* [mɪλ'li̯], *anne* [ʀɑnnɑ], *bakkal* [bɑk'kħɑl].

Many ‘long’ vowels (in loans from Arabic and Persian) are kept, more than in (modern) neutral pronunciation.

The consonants of *mediatic* Turkish

8.12. The first peculiarity of this accent concerns the possibility of having syllable- or word-final *seminasals*, instead of full nasals (fig 8.11). This can happen more systematically before continuous consonants, rather than before stops or stopstrictives.

fig 8.11. Mediatric Turkish: seminasals.



Furthermore, /p, t, t̥, c, k/, in stressed syllables, or in postpausal even unstressed position, are ‘semiaspirated’, [Ch, |Ch] (fig 8.12).

For /c, ɟ/, in addition to [c, ɟ; k̟, g̟], we can also find *palatal* [c, ɟ], or *prevelar* [k̟, g̟], stops, and even *postpalatal stop-semi(con)strictive* [k̟̟, g̟̟]. Not rarely, /c, ɟ/ can happen to be realized as [k, g].

For /t̥, d̥; ʃ, ʒ/, also slit phones, [t̥̟, d̥̟; ʃ̟, ʒ̟], can be heard, or *protruded postalveo-palatal stopstrictives* and *constrictives*, [t̥̟, d̥̟; ʃ̟, ʒ̟], as an alternative (fig 8.13).

fig 8.12. Mediatric Turkish: consonants /c, ɟ/ and their possible variants.

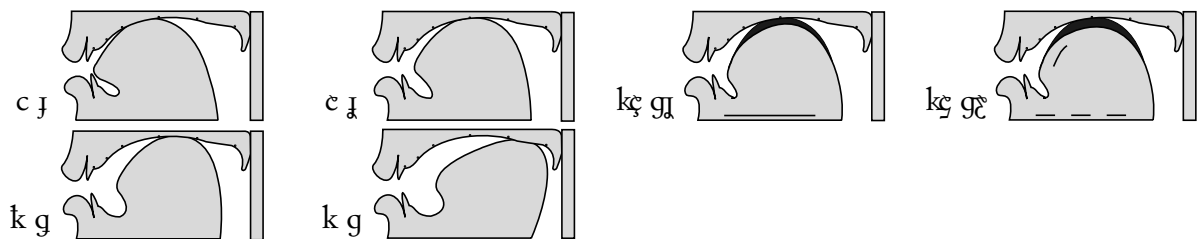
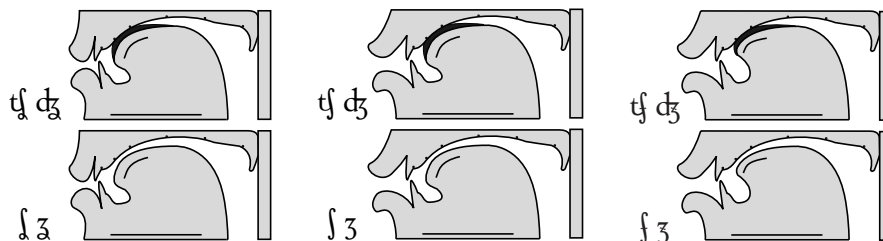
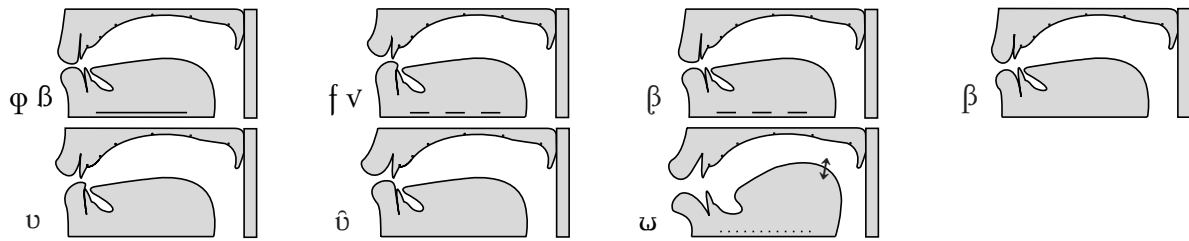


fig 8.13. Mediatric Turkish: consonants /t̥, d̥; ʃ, ʒ/ and their possible variants.



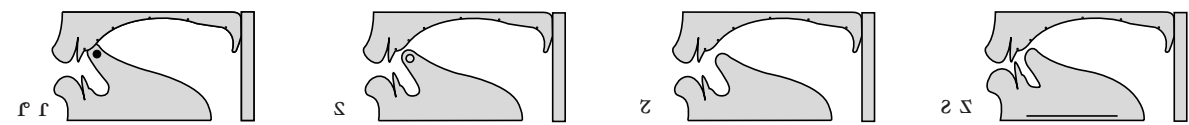
/f, v/ vary even more, adding to [ɸ, β] the *labiodental semiconstrictive* pair, [f, v]. In intervocalic position, /v/ can also be [β, β̟] (*bilabial approximant*, or *semiconstrictive*), [v, v̟] (*plain or velarized labiodental approximant*), or [w] (*rounded semi-velar approximant*, especially next to rounded back vowels – fig 8.14).

fig 8.14. Mediatic Turkish: consonants /f, v/ and their possible variants (mostly for /v/).



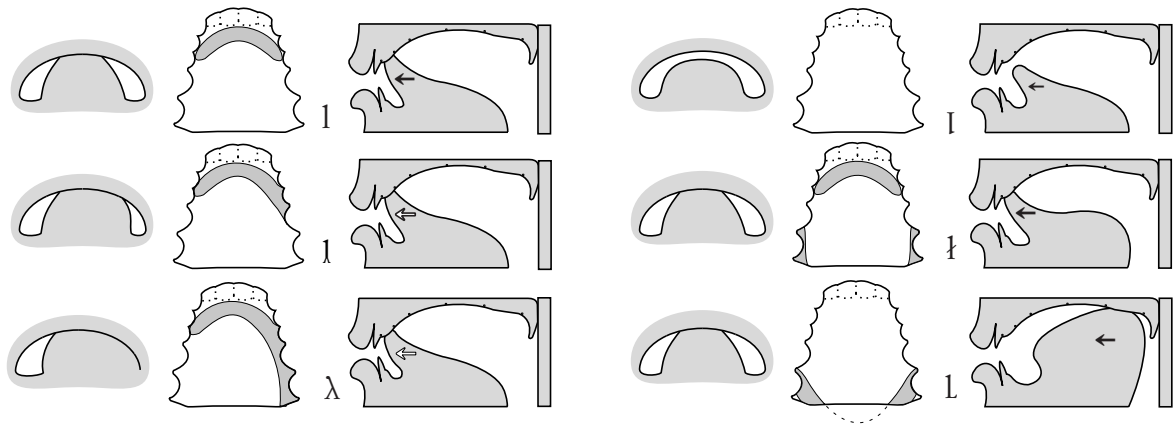
8.13. As for /r/, in addition to [r, ɾ, r̥, ɺ], we also find [z] (and [s], an *alveolar semi-tap*, intermediate between [r] and [z], with which it can actually alternate – fig 8.15).

fig 8.15. Mediatic Turkish: consonant /r/.



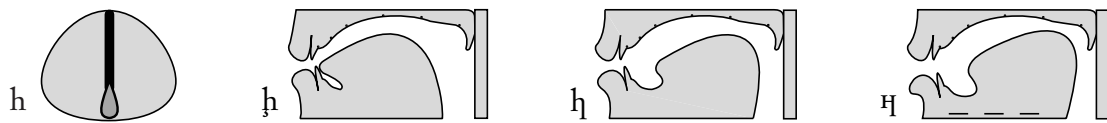
Furthermore, /l/ [l] can also be [l̥] (*alveolar semi-unilateral*, intermediate between [l] and [λ]), or, before consonants, [λ, l̥] (the latter is an *alveolar semilateral*). For /ʎ/, we generally find [ʎ, l̥] (fig 8.16). Often, /l/ and /ʎ/ are exchanged.

fig 8.16. Mediatic Turkish: consonants /ʎ, l/ and their possible variants.



For /h/, in addition to normal [h, h̥, h̥], a *velar semiconstrictive* can be very frequent, [ɸ] (which is the voiceless counterpart of [ɣ]), occurring especially before consonants (fig 8.17), while before a pause, [h] is more frequent (and [h̥] after front vowels).

fig 8.17. Mediatic Turkish: consonant /h/.



The voiced consonants, including the sonants, become completely voiceless before a pause. Before voiceless consonants, they become partially or completely de-

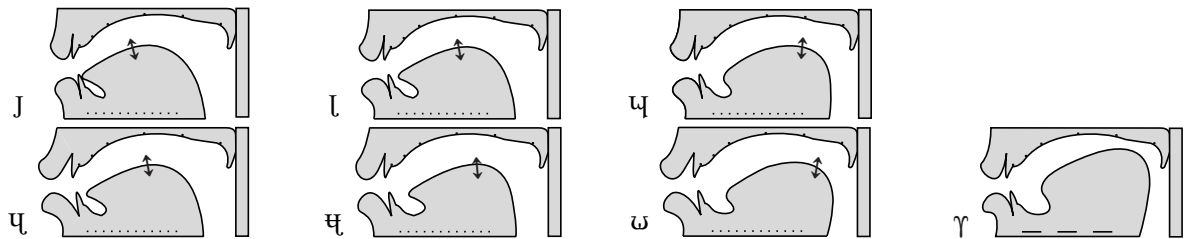
voiced, but they may also remain voiced. After a pause, they may also become partially devoiced, especially the non-continuous ones, in addition to remaining fully voiced.

8.14. /ʀ/ can be present, although more frequently it is dropped, both where it would be correct in traditional pronunciation, and in word-initial position (either in stressed or unstressed syllables).

For /j/, both in stressed and unstressed syllable, we generally find semi-approximant realizations: [j, ɹ], also before rounded vowels: [jV]; in /ijV/ sequences, /j/ is generally dropped. Often, ğ is realized as [j, ɹ, ɰ; ɰ, ɸ, ɯ], in addition to the velar semiconstrictive [ɣ], both within a word and finally (cf fig 8.18). The choice of the taxophones depends on the quality of the vowels, for their lip and tongue positions.

Geminate consonants can often be simplified, as ‘long’ vowels can be, as well.

fig 8.18. Mediatic Turkish: consonant /j/.



Synoptic presentation of the consonant elements for the four Turkish accents

8.15. The consonants of the four accents are here shown in a synoptic way (as we did for the vowels in § 6.13-14), so that we can immediately see if they are similar or different. However, not every single peculiarity is presented, which can be found in the sets of figures and pertinent sections:

/m/ ⁱ[m] [m̄], ⁿ[m, m̄] [m̄], ^t[m, m̄], ^m[m] & *seminasals*: [m̄C, m̄C, m̄C, m̄C, m̄],
 /n/ ⁱ[n] [m, n̄, n, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄], ⁿ[n, n̄] [m, n, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄], ^t[n, n̄], ^m[n] & *seminasals* + [C]: [m̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄], *devoiced seminasals* + [C]: [m̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄], *voiceless seminasals* + [C]: [m̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄, n̄]

/p/ ^{i/n}[p], ^t[p, 'ph], ^m[p, 'ph, |ph],
 /b/ ⁱ[b], ^{n/t}[b, b̄], ^m[b, b̄C, |b, p],
 /t/ ^{i/n}[t], ^t[t, 'th], ^m[t, 'th, |th],
 /d/ ⁱ[d], ^{n/t}[d, d̄], ^m[d, d̄C, |d, t],
 /c/ ⁱ[c], ⁿ[kç], ^t[kç, 'kçh], ^m[c, 'ch, |ch (c, k, k)],
 /ğ/ ⁱ[ğ], ^{n/t}[ğ, ğ̄], ^m[ğ, ğ̄C, |ğ, c], (ğ, g, g; ğ, ğ, ğ; c, k, k),
 /k/ ^{i/n}[k], ^t[k, 'kh], ^m[k, 'kh, |kh],
 /g/ ⁱ[g], ^{n/t}[g, ğ], ^m[g, ğC, |ğ, k],
 /r/ ⁱ[∅, r], ⁿ[r, ∅], ^t[r], ^m[∅, r],
 /tʃ/ ^{i/n}[tʃ], ^t[tʃ, 'tʃh], ^m[tʃ, 'tʃh, |tʃh],
 /dʒ/ ⁱ[dʒ], ^{n/t}[dʒ, dʒ̄], ^m[dʒ, dʒ̄C, |dʒ, tʃ],
 /f/ ⁱ[f], ^{n/t}[f], ^m[f],
 /v/ ⁱ[v], ^{n/t}[β, β̄], ^m[v, v̄C, |v, f],
 /s/ ^{i/n/t/m}[s],
 /z/ ⁱ[z], ^{n/t}[z, z̄], ^m[z, z̄C, |z, s],
 /ʃ/ ^{i/n/t}[ʃ], ^m[ʃ],
 /z/ ⁱ[z], ^{n/t}[z, z̄], ^m[z, z̄C, |z, s],
 /l/ ⁱ[l] [l̄t-d], ^{n/t}[L, l̄], ^m[l, l̄C, l̄t-d-s-z, l̄],
 /l/ ⁱ[l] [l̄t-d, l̄t-d-ʒ-ʒ], ^{n/t}[λ, λ̄, λ̄t-d], ^m[l, l̄C, l̄t-d-s-z, l̄],
 /r/ ⁱ[r], ⁿ[r, z, z], ^t[r, r, r], ^m[r-s, r-z, r-ʒC, r-z],
 /j/ ⁱ[j], ^{n/t}[j, j̄; y, ȳ], ^m[j, j̄],
 /h/ ⁱ[h], ^{n/t/m}[h, h̄, h̄, h̄, h̄, h̄] ^{n/t}[h̄C, Ch], ^m[h̄C, Ch].

Comparing examples for the four Turkish accents

8.16. At last, let us see the basic examples, which will make things clear, showing the four accents together. Let us compare them carefully. Starting with the *nasals*:

emin ⁱ[E'min] ⁿ[E'min̄] ^t[r̄E'min̄] ^m[E'min̄],
kendim ⁱ[c̄Ēndim] ⁿ[k̄c̄Ēndim̄] ^t[k̄c̄Ēndim̄] ^m[c̄hĒndim̄],
kambur ⁱ[kam'bur] ⁿ[k̄am'bur̄] ^t[k̄am'bur̄] ^m[kh̄am'bur̄],

Istanbul ⁱ[is'tambʊɫ] ⁿ[is'tʌmbʊɫ] ^t[ʔis'tʌmbʊɫ] ^m[is'thʌmbʊɫ],
enfes ⁱ[ɛnɫ'fɛs] ⁿ[ɛm'fɛs] ^t[ʔɛm'fɛs] ^m[ɛnɫ'fɛs],
kansız ⁱ[kʌn'suɯz] ⁿ[kʌn'suɯz] ^t[kʌn'siɯz] ^m[kʰʌɫɫ'suɯs],
insancil ⁱ[insʌn'dʒɪɫ] ⁿ[insʌn'dʒɪɫ] ^t[ʔinsʌn'dʒɪɫ] ^m[insʌn'dʒɪɫ],
anten ⁱ[ʌn'tɛn] ⁿ[ʌn'tɛn] ^t[ʔʌn'tɛn] ^m[ʌn'tɛn],
sonra ⁱ[sʊsɾʌ, 'sɔnɾʌ] ⁿ[sʊsɾʌ, 'sɔnɾʌ] ^t[sʊsɾʌ, 'sɔnɾʌ] ^m[sʊsɾʌ, 'sɔnɾʌ],
inlemek ⁱ[inlɛ'mɛç] ⁿ[inlɛ'mɛç] ^t[ʔinlɛ'mɛç] ^m[inlɛ'mɛç],
senin lalangan ⁱ[sɛ'nin lʌ'lʌŋɒŋ] ⁿ[sɛ'nin lʌ'lʌŋɒŋ] ^t[sɛ'nin lʌ'lʌŋɒŋ] ^m[sɛ-
 'niɫ lʌ'lʌŋɒŋ],
manca ⁱ[mʌn'dʒʌ] ⁿ[mʌn'dʒʌ] ^t[mʌn'dʒʌ] ^m[mʌn'dʒʌ],
kanyon ⁱ[kʌn'jɔn] ⁿ[kʌn'jɔn] ^t[kʌn'jɔn] ^m[kʰʌn'jɔn],
denk ⁱ[dɛŋç] ⁿ[dɛŋç] ^t[dɛŋç] ^m[dɛŋç],
bank ⁱ[bʌŋk] ⁿ[bʌŋk] ^t[bʌŋk] ^m[bʌŋk],
inha ⁱ[in'haa] ⁿ[in'haa] ^t[ʔin'haa] ^m[in'haa],
ben Almanım ⁱ[bɛ nʌl'mʌnɯm] ⁿ[bɛ nʌl'mʌnɯm] ^t[bɛ nʌl'mʌnɯm] ^m[bɛ nʌl-
 'mʌnɯm],
bugün öğleden sonra ⁱ[bʊɯŋ nɔɫlɛ'dɛn,sʊsɾʌ, -sɔnɾʌ] ⁿ[bʊɯŋ nɔɫlɛ'dɛn,sʊsɾʌ,
 -sɔnɾʌ] ^t[bʊɯŋ nɔɫlɛ'dɛn,sʊsɾʌ, -sɔnɾʌ] ^m[bʊɯŋ nɔɫlɛ'dɛn,sʊsɾʌ, -sɔnɾʌ].

And the stops:

polip ⁱ[pʊ'lip] ⁿ[pʊ'lip] ^t[pʊ'lip] ^m[pʰʊ'lip],
baba ⁱ[bʌ'bʌ] ⁿ[bʌ'bʌ] ^t[bʌ'bʌ] ^m[bʌ'bʌ],
tatlı ⁱ[tʌ'tɫɯ] ⁿ[tʌ'tɫɯ] ^t[tʌ'tɫɯ] ^m[tʰʌ'tɫɯ],
dede ⁱ[dɛ'dɛ] ⁿ[dɛ'dɛ] ^t[dɛ'dɛ] ^m[dɛ'dɛ],
gaga ⁱ[gʌ'gʌ] ⁿ[gʌ'gʌ] ^t[gʌ'gʌ] ^m[gʌ'gʌ],
kitap ⁱ[ci'tʌp] ⁿ[kɛi'tʌp] ^t[kɛi'tʌp] ^m[chi'tʌp],
kek ⁱ[kɛç] ⁿ[kɛç] ^t[kɛç] ^m[kɛç],
kâr ⁱ[caar] ⁿ[kɛʌʌr] ^t[kɛʌʌr] ^m[chʌʌr],
kar ⁱ[kar] ⁿ[kaʌ] ^t[kʰʌr] ^m[kʰʌr],
kok ⁱ[kɔk] ⁿ[kɔk] ^t[kʰɔk] ^m[kʰɔk].

The constrictives and /tʃ, dʒ/:

figüratif ⁱ[fiɯɾʌ'tɪf] ⁿ[fiɯɾʌ'tɪf] ^t[ʔfiɯɾʌ'tɪf] ^m[fiɯɾʌ'tɪf],
verev ⁱ[vɛ'rɛv] ⁿ[bɛ'zɛv] ^t[bɛ'rɛv] ^m[vɛ'rɛv],
ses ⁱ[sɛs] ⁿ[sɛs] ^t[sɛs] ^m[sɛs],
zevalsiz ⁱ[zɛvʌ'siz] ⁿ[zɛβʌ'siz] ^t[zɛʌʌ'siz] ^m[zɛvʌ'siz],
şişe ⁱ[ʃi'ʃɛ] ⁿ[ʃi'ʃɛ] ^t[ʃi'ʃɛ] ^m[ʃi'ʃɛ],
jeoloji ⁱ[zɛɔlɔ'zi] ⁿ[zɛɔlɔ'zi] ^t[zɛɔlɔ'zi] ^m[zɛɔlɔ'zi],
garaj ⁱ[gʌ'rʌz] ⁿ[gʌ'zʌz] ^t[gʌ'rʌz] ^m[gʌ'rʌz],
çeç ⁱ[tʃɛtʃ] ⁿ[tʃɛtʃ] ^t[tʃhɛtʃ] ^m[tʃhɛtʃ],
cici ⁱ[dʒi'dʒi] ⁿ[dʒi'dʒi] ^t[dʒi'dʒi] ^m[dʒi'dʒi],
çocuk ⁱ[tʃɔ'dʒuk] ⁿ[tʃɔ'dʒuk] ^t[tʃɔ'dʒuk] ^m[tʃhɔ'dʒuk].

For the *laterals*:

lala ⁱ[ʎaʎa] ⁿ[ʎaʎa] ^t[ʎaʎa] ^m[ʎaʎa],
pul ⁱ[pʉʎ] ⁿ[pʉʎ] ^t[pʉʎ] ^m[pʉʎ],
lolo ⁱ[ʎoʎo] ⁿ[ʎoʎo] ^t[ʎoʎo] ^m[ʎoʎo],
lale ⁱ[ʎaʎa] ⁿ[ʎaʎa] ^t[ʎaʎa] ^m[ʎaʎa],
bil ⁱ[bʉʎ] ⁿ[bʉʎ] ^t[bʉʎ] ^m[bʉʎ],
gül ⁱ[gʉʎ] ⁿ[gʉʎ] ^t[gʉʎ] ^m[gʉʎ],
malul ⁱ[maʎʉʎ] ⁿ[maʎʉʎ] ^t[maʎʉʎ] ^m[maʎʉʎ],
iltimas ⁱ[iltʉʎmas] ⁿ[iltʉʎmas] ^t[iltʉʎmas] ^m[iltʉʎmas],
maltız ⁱ[maʎʉʎ] ⁿ[maʎʉʎ] ^t[maʎʉʎ] ^m[maʎʉʎ],
malca ⁱ[maʎʉʎ] ⁿ[maʎʉʎ] ^t[maʎʉʎ] ^m[maʎʉʎ],
salon ⁱ[saʎʉʎ] ⁿ[saʎʉʎ] ^t[saʎʉʎ] ^m[saʎʉʎ],
rol ⁱ[roʎ] ⁿ[roʎ] ^t[roʎ] ^m[roʎ],
plaj ⁱ[pʉʎ] ⁿ[pʉʎ] ^t[pʉʎ] ^m[pʉʎ],
salisilat ⁱ[saʎʉʎ] ⁿ[saʎʉʎ] ^t[saʎʉʎ] ^m[saʎʉʎ].

Examples for /r/:

raf ⁱ[raf] ⁿ[raf] ^t[raf] ^m[raf],
iri ⁱ[iri] ⁿ[iri] ^t[iri] ^m[iri],
sor ⁱ[sor] ⁿ[sor] ^t[sor] ^m[sor],
dört ⁱ[dört] ⁿ[dört] ^t[dört] ^m[dört],
kırk ⁱ[kırk] ⁿ[kırk] ^t[kırk] ^m[kırk],
rezerv ⁱ[reʎeʎeʎ] ⁿ[reʎeʎeʎ] ^t[reʎeʎeʎ] ^m[reʎeʎeʎ],
tren ⁱ[tren] ⁿ[tren] ^t[tren] ^m[tren].

Examples for /j/:

yiv ⁱ[jiv] ⁿ[jiv] ^t[jiv] ^m[jiv],
yir ⁱ[jir] ⁿ[jir] ^t[jir] ^m[jir],
yağ ⁱ[jaa] ⁿ[jaa] ^t[jaa] ^m[jaa],
oya ⁱ[oja] ⁿ[oja] ^t[oja] ^m[oja],
yayaya ⁱ[jaʎjaʎ] ⁿ[jaʎjaʎ] ^t[jaʎjaʎ] ^m[jaʎjaʎ],
somya ⁱ[som-ja] ⁿ[som-ja] ^t[som-ja] ^m[som-ja],
radyan ⁱ[radʎan] ⁿ[radʎan] ^t[radʎan] ^m[radʎan],
radio ⁱ[rad-jo] ⁿ[rad-jo] ^t[rad-jo] ^m[rad-jo],
istasyon ⁱ[istasʎon] ⁿ[istasʎon] ^t[istasʎon] ^m[istasʎon],
 (and *reaksiyon* ⁱ[reʎaksiʎon] ⁿ[reʎaksiʎon] ^t[reʎaksiʎon] ^m[reʎaksiʎon]).

Examples for /h/:

hala ⁱ[haʎa] ⁿ[haʎa] ^t[haʎa] ^m[haʎa],
hilaf ⁱ[hiʎaf] ⁿ[hiʎaf] ^t[hiʎaf] ^m[hiʎaf],
saha ⁱ[saʎa] ⁿ[saʎa] ^t[saʎa] ^m[saʎa],
halhal ⁱ[haʎhaʎ] ⁿ[haʎhaʎ] ^t[haʎhaʎ] ^m[haʎhaʎ],
sulh ⁱ[sulh] ⁿ[sulh] ^t[sulh] ^m[sulh],
Salihli ⁱ[saʎlihli] ⁿ[saʎlihli] ^t[saʎlihli] ^m[saʎlihli],
hah ⁱ[hah] ⁿ[hah] ^t[hah] ^m[hah].

talih ⁱ[taa'lih] ⁿ[taa'liḥ] ^t[taa'liḥ] ^m[th̥x̥liḥ],
müthiş ⁱ[myt'hiʃ] ⁿ[myt'hiʃ] ^t[m̥t'hiʃ] ^m[m̥t'hiʃ].

And:

ahşap ⁱ[ah'ʃap; aa'-] ⁿ[ʌh'ʃap; ʌa'-] ^t[ʔʌh'ʃap; ʌa'-] ^m[x̥h'ʃap; x̥a'-],
bahşiş ⁱ[bah'ʃiʃ; baa'-] ⁿ[bʌh'ʃiʃ; bʌa'-] ^t[bʌh'ʃiʃ; bʌa'-] ^m[b̥x̥h'ʃiʃ; b̥x̥a'-],
Ahmet ⁱ[ah'met; aaʒ-] ⁿ[ʌh'met; ʌaʒ-] ^t[ʔʌh'met; ʌaʒ-] ^m[x̥h'met; x̥a'-],
kahve ⁱ[kah've; kaa'-] ⁿ[kʌh'βe; kʌa'-] ^t[kʌh'βe; kʌa'-] ^m[kh̥h've; kh̥x̥a'-],
ahar ⁱ[a'har; aa'ar] ⁿ[ʌ'haz; ʌa'az] ^t[ʔʌ'hʌar; ʔʌa'ʌar] ^m[z'hʌar; x̥x̥'ʌar],
seher ⁱ[se'heɾ; see'eɾ] ⁿ[se'h̥eɾ; see-] ^t[s̥e'h̥ar; s̥eə-] ^m[se'h̥ar; see'ar],
ihlal ⁱ[ih'lal; i'lal] ⁿ[iḥ'laɫ; iɾ'-] ^t[ʔiḥ'laɫ; iɾ'-] ^m[iḥ'lal; iɾ'-].

Examples for /ʔ/:

fiil /fiil/ ⁱ[fiil] ⁿ[ʔiil] ^t[ʔiil] ^m[ʔiil],
saat /saat/ ⁱ[saat] ⁿ[sʌat] ^t[sʌʔat] ^m[s̥x̥at],
kura /ku'raa/ ⁱ[ku'raa] ⁿ[ku'zʌa] ^t[k̥u'ʔʌa] ^m[k̥u'ʔʌa],
müdafaa /mydaafaa/ ⁱ[mydaafaa] ⁿ[mydʌa'ʔʌa] ^t[m̥dʌa'ʔʌa] ^m[m̥dʌa'ʔʌa],
sanat /sa'nat/ ⁱ[sa'nat] ⁿ[sʌ'nat] ^t[sʌn'ʔat] ^m[s̥ʌ'nat],
mesele /meɾe'le/ ⁱ[meɾe'le] ⁿ[meɾe'le] ^t[m̥eɾe'le] ^m[m̥eɾe'le],
Kuran /ku'raan/ ⁱ[ku'raan] ⁿ[k̥u'zʌaŋ] ^t[k̥u'ʔʌaŋ] ^m[k̥u'ʔʌaŋ],
telin 'denunciation' ⁱ[te'lin] ⁿ[te'liŋ] ^t[t̥e'liŋ] ^m[t̥e'liŋ]
 (cf *telin* 'of the wire' ⁱ[te'e'lin] ⁿ[te'e'liŋ] ^t[t̥e'e'liŋ] ^m[t̥e'e'liŋ]).

Geminate consonants are always realized as such, although in mediatic pronunciation they can often be shortened or simplified:

evvel ⁱ[ev'vel] ⁿ[eβ'βeɫ] ^t[ʔeβ'βeɫ] ^m[ev'vel],
milli ⁱ[mil'li] ⁿ[mi'l'li] ^t[mi'l'li] ^m[mi'l'li],
anne ⁱ[ʌnne] ⁿ[ʌnne] ^t[ʔʌnne] ^m[ʌnne],
bakkal ⁱ[bak'kaɫ] ⁿ[bʌk'kaɫ] ^t[bʌk'k̥h̥aɫ] ^m[b̥ʌk'k̥h̥aɫ],
kattı 'he added' ⁱ[kat'tuɯ] ⁿ[kʌt'tuɯ] ^t[kʌt't̥h̥ɪ] ^m[k̥h̥ɪt't̥h̥ɪ],
 (cf *kattı* 'it was a floor' ⁱ[katt̥u] ⁿ[kʌtt̥u] ^t[k̥h̥ɪt't̥h̥ɪ] ^m[k̥h̥ɪt't̥h̥ɪ])
 (cf *kati* 'hard' ⁱ[ka'tuɯ] ⁿ[kʌ'tuɯ] ^t[kʌ't̥h̥ɪ] ^m[k̥h̥ɪt't̥h̥ɪ]).

9. Turkish structures

Vowel harmony

9.1.1. By following one of the most striking properties of Turkish pronunciation, the distribution of vowels within words is rather rigorously determined by *vowel harmony*. Vowels are classified as *front* /i, y, e, ø/, or *back* /ɯ, u, ɔ, a/, and *high* /i, y, ɯ, u/ or *low* /e, ø, ɔ, a/, and *unrounded* /i, e, ɯ, a/ or *rounded* /y, ø, u, ɔ/.

According to vowel harmony, the kind of (*front* or *back*) vowels occurring in the first syllable of a word determines the kind of the vowels in subsequent syllables.

Thus, we have (with *front* vowels): *sekiz* [sɛ'ci:z], *seksen* [sɛk'sɛn], *sinirlerimiz* [si.ni.rɫɛ'ri:miz], *ölmediler* [ølmɛdi'lɛr]; *eller* [ɛ'lɛr], *ellerim* [ɛllɛ'rim], *ellerime* [ɛllɛ'ri:mɛ].

And (with *back* vowels): *dokuz* [dɔ'kuz], *doksan* [dɔk'san], *sınırlarımız* [su.nu.rlarɯ'mu:z], *olmadılar* [ølmadı'lar]; *atlar* [at'lar], *atlarım* [at-ła'rɯm], *atlarıma* [at-ła'ru:ma].

9.1.2. Arguably, *exceptions* are not missing, like: *anne* ['annɛ], *kardeş* [kar'dɛʃ], *inanmak* [ɫɯnam'mak, -n'm-], *şişman* [ʃiʃ'man], *hangi* ['haŋɟi], *elma* [ɛ'lma], *imza* [im'zaa], *memur* [mɛɛ'muɾ].

Invariable suffixes are exceptions: *-daş* [daʃ], *-gen* [ɟɛn], *-gil* [ɟil], *-en* [ɛn], *-izm* [izm], *-ken* [cɛn], *-ki* ['ci], *-leyin* [lɛ(j)in], *-mtrak* [mtrak], *-yor* [jɔɾ].

Some examples: *altıgen* [aɫtu'ɟɛn], *kısmen* [kɯsmɛn], *fatalizm* [fata'lizm], *akşamleyin* [akʃamɫɛ(j)in], *ekşimtrak* [ɛcʃim'trak].

Certain *clitics* are exceptionally invariable, too: *bile* [bi'lɛ], *ile* [i'lɛ], *ise* [i'sɛ], *ki* [ci], *ya* [ja], as in: *bunlar ise* [bun'ları:sɛ].

9.1.3. Normally, *unrounded* vowels are followed by *unrounded* vowels. But *rounded* vowels are followed by either *high rounded* ones or *low unrounded* ones. Thus, we have:

i or *e* /i, e/ + *i* or *e* /i, e/,
ɨ or *a* /ɯ, a/ + *ɨ* or *a* /ɯ, a/,
ü or *ö* /y, ø/ + *ü* or *e* /y, e/,
u or *o* /u, ɔ/ + *u* or *a* /u, a/.

But, since simple things are not part of this world, we find these further *exceptions* (with *m*, *p*, *b*, *v* /m, p, b, v/ between *a* /a/ and *u* /u/): *çamur* [tʃa'muɾ], *tapu* [ta'pu], *kabuk* [ka'buk], *tavuk* [ta'vuk].

9.1.4. Except for the invariable suffixes, as seen above, the other suffixes may appear with *e* or *a* /ɛ, a/, or either with *i*, *ü* /i, y/, or *ı*, *u* /u, u/. Thus, we find:

ev [ˈɛv], *eve* [ɛˈvɛ], *evin* [ɛˈvin],
otobüs [ɔtɔˈbys], *otobüse* [ɔtɔbyˈsɛ], *otobüsün* [ɔtɔbyˈsyn],
orman [ɔrˈman], *ormana* [ɔrmaˈna], *ormanın* [ɔrmaˈnuɯn],
okul [ɔˈkuɫ], *okula* [ɔkuˈɫa], *okulun* [ɔkuˈɫun].

9.1.5. Some loans take front-vowel suffixes in spite of having back-vowel lexemes: *golü* [gɔˈly], *kapler* [kapˈɫɛɾ], *saatin* [saatin], *hakikatsiz* [haːciikatˈsiz].

Taxophonics

9.2.1. Turkish has a very limited choice concerning consonant clusters. In fact, *word-initially*, genuine Turkish words can only present single consonants.

For *loanwords*, only the ‘official’ language can include initial clusters formed by stops (/p, b, t, d, ɟ, k, g/) followed by /r/, /ʎ/, /l/. In some cases, these foreign cluster may start with /s/ followed by /p, t, ɟ, k/; in rarer cases, we can also find /#sCr, #sCɫ, #sCl/ clusters (including /ps, pt/, which, in English correspond to /s, t/ for Greek *ps-*, *pt-*. All these can certainly be used by educated Westernized people.

9.2.2. However, currently, all these clusters colloquially are mostly changed into bisyllabic sequences, by adding /i/ or /u/ within the clusters or in front of them. But, those words which entered Turkish several years ago have been adapted even in their spelling: *istasyon* [istasˈjɔn] (station), *iskele* [isˈɟɛɟɛ] (scalo), *istavroz* [istavˈrɔz] (stavros), *Üsküdar* [ysˈɟydar] (Scutari).

Examples: *grev* [gˈɾɛv, guˈɾɛv], *kral* [kˈraɫ, kuˈraɫ], *plan* [pˈlan, piˈlan], *tren* [tˈɾɛn, tiˈɾɛn], *psikoz* [p-iˈkɔz, piˈsiː, piˈsɪː], *psişik* [p-siˈʃic, piˈsiː, piˈsɪː], *ptiyalin* [p-ti(j)aˈlin, piˈti-, iˈpti-], *program* [p-ɾɔgˈram, puˈɾɔː], *potpuri* [pɔt-puˈri, pɔtu-], *spor* [sˈpɔɾ, isˈpɔɾ, siˈpɔɾ], *stil* [sˈtil, isˈtil, siˈtil], *stres* [stˈɾɛs, istˈɾɛs, sitˈɾɛs], *klüp* [ɟˈlyp, cyˈlyp, kuˈlyp], *spiker* [s-piˈɟɛɾ, ispiːˈsiˈpiː], *grip* [gˈɾip, guˈɾip], *fren* [fˈɾɛn, fiˈɾɛn], *santral* [sanˈtraɫ, santuˈraɫ], *plaj* [pˈlaʒ, piˈlaʒ], *elektrik* [ɟɛɟɛˈtɾic, -tiˈɾic], *stadyum* [stˈad-juːm, isˈ-], *film* [ˈfilm, ˈflim, ˈfilim].

9.2.3. In *word-final* position, two-element clusters are allowed (provided they are not geminates): *sarf* [ˈsarɫ], *fark* [ˈfark], *zamk* [ˈzamk], *renk* [ˈɾɛŋɟ], *kart* [ˈkart], *üst* [ˈyɯst], *aşk* [ˈaʃk], *baht* [ˈbaht], *teyp* [ˈtɛip], *genç* [ˈɟɛŋɟ], *felç* [ˈfɛɟɟ], *bronz* [bˈɾɔnɯz], *şans* [ˈʃans], *alarm* [aˈɫarm], *bant* [ˈbant], *kiürk* [ˈɟyɾɟ], *kazanç* [kaˈzaŋɟ], *çift* [ˈɟift], *boks* [ˈbɔks], *raks* [ˈraks], *inanç* [iˈnaŋɟ], *tunç* [ˈtuŋk], *gülyünç* [ɟyˈlyɯɟ], *alt* [ˈaɫt], *cilk* [ˈɟyɯɫk], *ilk* [ˈilɟ], *erk* [ˈɛɾɟ], *turp* [ˈtuɾp], *ders* [ˈdɛɾs], *kent* [ˈɟɛnt], *dört* [ˈdɔɾt].

9.2.4. In *word-medial* position, clusters of two or three consonants are divided, leaving the last element at the beginning of the second syllable: *ızgara* [uɯzˈgara], *ahçı* [ahˈɟu], *şapka* [ʃapˈka], *akşam* [akˈʃam], *kahve* [kahˈvɛ, kaaˈvɛ], *kibrit* [ciˈbrit],

köprü [çöp'ry], *dünya* ['dyp-ja], *eşya* [eʃ'ja], *kertenkele* [çer'teɾçele], *Ankara* ['aŋka-
ra], *lütfen* [lyt'fɛn], *hafta* [haf'ta], *ayırtmak* [ajurt'mak], *boşaltmak* [boʃalt'mak],
karpuz [kar'puz], *doktor* [dɔkt'ɔɾ], *banka* ['baŋka], *birkaç* [bir'katʃ], *makbuz* [mak-
'buz], *içmek* [itʃ'mɛç], *çiftçi* [tʃift'tʃi], *farkta* [fark-ta], *abartmak* [abart'mak], *kork-
mak* [kɔɾk'mak], *silkmek* [silɛ'mɛç], *iflas* [if'las], *ifşa* [if'ʃa], *ihbar* [ih'tar], *şaplak* [ʃap-
'lak], *stadyum* [stad-juɱ, is-], *israf* [is'raaf], *çiftsayı* [tʃift-sajɱ], *çiftkapı* [tʃift-ka-
pɱ], *çitlik* [tʃit'lic].

9.2.5. Turkish can oppose *simple* and *geminate* consonants, but only in word-medial position: *beyine* [beji'ne], *beyyine* [bejji'ne], *eli* [e'li], *elli* [el'li], *kese* [çe'se], *kesse* [çes-
'se], *katı* [ka'tu] 'hard', *kattı* [kat'tu] 'he added' (cf *katı* [ka'tuɱ] 'hard', *katı* [kaa'tu] 'secant', and *kattı* [katt'u] 'it was a floor'), *biti* [bi'ti], *bitti* [bit'ti], *ama* ['ama] (but also [a'ma]), *amma* ['amma] (cf *âmâ* [aa'maa]).

Some examples of 'long' (geminate) consonants: *milli* [mil'li], *belli* [bel'li], *yol-
lamak* [jɔɫlam'mak], *yollanmak* [jɔɫlan'mak] (traditionally [jɔɫlan'mak]), *dikkat* [dic'kat], *bakkal* [bak'kaɫ], *muhakkak* [muhak'kak], *teşekkül* [teʃɛçyl], *hatta* ['hat-
taa], *müfettiş* [myfɛt'tiʃ], *Allah* [aɫɫah], *anne* ['anne], *evveli* [evve'li].

9.2.6. As we already know from § 6, Turkish can also oppose short and 'long' vowels (rather geminates or narrow diphthongs): *hal* [hal] 'solution; (covered) market', *hal* [haal] 'condition', *da* [da], *dağ* [daa], *sat!* [sat], *saat* [saat] (traditionally: [sɑt]), *adet* [a'dɛt], *âdet* [aa'dɛt], *ama* ['ama], *âmâ* [aa'maa], *dahi* [da'hi] (sometimes also [da'hii]), *dâhi* [daa'hi], *tarihi* [tari'hi], *tarihî* [tari'hii], *katil* [ka'til] 'murder', *katil* [kaa'til] 'murderer', *dün* [dyn], *düğün* [dyyn].

9.2.7. Turkish spelling does not always show long vowels (but, the circumflex accent, which in some cases should be written to indicate vowel length, is less and less used, nowadays). Also the following words have 'long' vowels, in spite of their spelling: *memur* [mɛɛ'mur], *mide* [miidɛ], *munis* [muu'nis], *tane* [taa'ne], *giyya* [jyyja].

9.2.8. A number of previous examples have already shown that, not only in medial position, but also in initial position (cf § 9.2.2), even /Cj, Cr, Cɫ, Cl/ sequences are separated: *iplik* [ip'lic], *abla* [ab-ɫa], *katla* [kat'ɫa], *etnik* [ɛt'nic], *etli* [ɛt'li], *evrim* [ɛv-
'rim], *bakla* [bak'ɫa], *parkta* [park'ta], *partner* [part'ner], *parya* ['par-ja], *saçma* [saç-
'ma], *süprüntü* [syp-rynt'y], *tedris* [tɛd'ris], *meklik* [mɛç'lic], *radio* [rad-jo]; *glikol* [g-
li'kɔɫ], *gnays* [g'nais].

9.2.9. In phrases, simple or clustered final consonants (/C[#]V/) followed by a vowel are resyllabified as [#CV[#]] (except in pedantic traditional pronunciation): *te-
şekkür ederim!* [teʃɛçyɾɛ'dɛrim], *çok iyi!* [tʃɔci'ji].

Colloquially, the same rule of voice assimilation (cf § 9.2.11-12), which is active in the formation of words, is generally active in phrases, as well. Thus, as *şarap* [ʃa-
'rap] gives *şarabı* [ʃara'bu], so we can find *şarap aldım* [ʃarabaɫ'dum], instead of [ʃaɾapaɫ'dum], which is more typical of *careful speech*.

Assimilation

9.3.1. It is time, now, to systematically consider *assimilation*. Of course there are at least two kinds of assimilation: *articulatory* assimilation, including *loss* or *fusion* of certain segments, and *sonority* assimilation.

We have already seen the quite normal assimilation of /n^(#)C/ (and the more limited one of /m/ → [m̥] + /f, v/), cf § 8.2. This happens quite naturally, although, in traditional pronunciation, rather surprisingly because of spelling pronunciation, speakers try to avoid it. Also /k^(#)C, l^(#)C/ present moderate assimilations (cf § 8.5).

The same also happens with /n^(#)ɫ, n^(#)l/, which currently become [nn] (although neutral and traditional pronunciations tend not to assimilate): *dinlemek* [ˌdinneˈmɛc; -nɫ-], *günler* [ɟynˈnɛr; -nɫ-], *karanlık* [ˌkaranˈnɪc; -nɫ-], *onlar* [ɔnˈnar; -nɫ-], *yanlış* [janˈnuʃ; -nɫ-], *zamanlı* [ˌzamanˈnu; -nɫ-]. More rarely, we also find /m̥ɫ, ml/ [mm]: *akşamlar* [akʃamˈmar; -m̥ɫ-].

9.3.2. In sequences of /z/ + the voiceless consonants /p, t, ç, k, tʃ, f, s, ʃ, h/, we have /z/ → /s/: *yüz para* [ˈjys paˈra], *göztaşı* [ɟøstaʃu], *pezkür* [peʃcyɾ], *mezhep* [mesˈhep], *düzse* [dysˈse], *gelmezse* [ɟɛlmesˈse], *gözsüz* [ɟøʃsyz], *tuzsuz* [tusˈsuz], *yazsın* [jasˈsɯn], *sekiz sene* [seˈcis seˈne], *dokuz şehir* [døˈkus ʃeˈhir, ʃeˈir].

On the contrary, in sequences of /s, ʃ/ + diphonic voiced consonants, /b, d, ɟ, g, dʒ, v, z, ʒ/, or sonants, /m, n, r, l, j/, there is no change in the kind of phonation used: *esna* [esˈna], *esri* [esˈri], *hasbi* [hasˈbi], *kasdoku* [ˈkasdøku], *kaşmer* [kaʃˈmeɾ], *kuşbaz* [kuʃˈbaz].

In addition, we often find /ts/ → /ss/: *yatsı* [jasˈsu], *Fatsa* [ˈfassa]; and /tʃs/ → /ts, ss/: *gençsin* [ɟɛntˈsin, ɟɛntˈsin]; and /tʃz/ → /sz, tsz/: *geç zaman* [ɟes zaˈman, ɟets]. Let us also note cases like /t[#]ʃ/: *git şuradan!* [ɟiʃˈʃuraˌdan].

9.3.3. In sequences of /tʃ/ + /p, t, ç, k/ (but also + /b, d, ɟ, g/), we can have /tʃ/ → /ʃ/ (except in *traditional* pronunciation): *içplazma* [iʃpˈlazma], *geçtin* [ɟeʃˈcin], *içki* [iʃˈci].

Again except in *traditional* pronunciation, we also find /dʒ/ → /z/ + /b, d, ɟ, g/: *secde* [seʒˈde]. Further changes are /tʃ, dʒ/ → /ʃ, ʒ/ + sonants, as well: *güçlük* [ɟyʃˈlyc], *göçmen* [ɟøʃˈmen], *Necla* [neʒˈla], *ecnebi* [eʒneˈbi].

Also, /dʒz/ → /zz, zz/: *ecza* [eʒˈzaa, ezˈzaa], *eczacı* [eʒˈzaadʒu, ezˈz-]; and /ʃs/ → /ss, ʃ/: *beş sene* [ˈbeʃ seˈne, ˈbes seˈ-, ˈbe ʃeˈ-], *kalmışsın* [kaɫmuʃˈsɯn, -uʃˈsɯn, -uʃˈɯn], *yazmışsınız* [ˌjazmuʃˈsuɾˈnuʒ, -uʃˈsuɾ-, -uʃˈɯ-]; and /ʒz/ → /sz/: *iş zamanı* [iʃ zaˈmaˈnu].

9.3.4. When *bir* is used as an article, instead of a numeral, colloquially it becomes /bi/, both before consonants and vowels: *bir ev* [biˈev, biˈrev], *bir daha* [biˈdaˈha, biˈdaa, ˈbidaa, ˈbirda, ˈbirda], *bir anda* [biˈanˈda, ˈbiranˈda], *bir dakika* [biˈdaˈciˈka, -ciˈka, ˈbidakˈka, ˈbir-, ˈbir-], *bir baktım* [ˈbibakˈtım, ˈbir-], *bir ünlü* [biˈynˈny, ˈbiryn-].

Also the grammeme *-yor* /jɔɾ/ colloquially loses its /ɾ/: *geliyor* [ɟeli(j)ˈɔ(r)], *oturuyor* [ɔˌtuɾu(j)ˈɔ(r)], *beni seviyor* [beˈni seˈvi(j)ˈɔ(r)].

9.3.5. When /t/ is in the middle of a consonant cluster, it is generally dropped (but not in cases like *astronot* [ast-rɔ'nɔt]): *astsubay* [as(t)su,baɪ], *çiftlik* [tʃif(t)'lic], *çiftçi* [tʃif(t)'tʃi], *rastgele* [ras(t)ʒe,le], *rastlamak* [ras(t)la'mak], *üstgeçit* [ys(t)ʒe,tʃit].

In Ç 6, we have already seen that, also in *neutral* and *mediatic* pronunciations, but generally not in *international* and *traditional* ones, *ağır* /a:ɯ/ can generally become /a:(a)/: *çağır* ⁱ[tʃaaar] ⁿ[tʃʌaz] ^t[tʃhʌar] ^m[tʃʌar].

9.3.6. We also saw the use of /ʔ/ in *traditional* pronunciation (cf § 8.11): *teessüf* [tɛɛs'syf] ^t[thɛʔas'sɛɸ], *taarruz* [taar'ruz] ^t[thʌʔar'ruz], *aba* [a'ba] ^t[ʔa'ba].

As we already know from Ç 6, the *neutral* and *traditional* accents have the lowered vowel taxophones, which occur before a pause in absolute final position, but also if followed by sonants.

Mediatic pronunciation, which generally does not use such pre-sonant taxophones, can on the contrary have them in word-internal position: *bende* [bɛn'dɛ] ^m[bɛɛ'dɛ, bɛɛ-], *geldi* [ʒel'di] ^m[ʒɛl'di, ʒal-], *Danca* [danɔʒa] ^m[dʌɛɔʒʌ].

9.3.7. In some *mediatic* accents, these taxophones can also be used according to neutral usage, ie in prepausal absolute, or pre-sonant, position. While, in some *traditional* accents, the same kind of taxophones can be used in word-internal pre-sonant position, either in checked or unchecked syllables: *orun* [ɔ'run] ^t[ɔ'rɔŋ], *ir-sen* [ir'sɛn] ^t[ir'sɛŋ], *görme* [ʒɔr'mɛ] ^t[gɔɛr'mɛ], *longa* [lɔŋga] ^t[lʌŋga], *par-sel* [par'sɛl] ^t[par'sɛλ].

Here we list a few words that can have some kind of 'special' pronunciation: *sonra* [sɔnra, 'sɔɔra, 'sɔra], *değil* [dɛil, 'diil, dil, ɔdil] (sometimes [dɛ'il]), *daha* [da'ha, 'daaa, daa, da(a)], *iyi* [i'ji, i'i, 'ii, 'ji], *iddia* [id'diaa, iddi'aa, id'daa], *beyaz* [bɛ-(j)az], *allahaismarladık* [aɫla'hausmarlaɔɔk, aɫla(a)s-]. Often, words like *burada* /'burada/, *orada* /'ɔrada/, lose their middle vowel: ['bur(a)da, 'ɔr(a)da].

In Ç 11 some other modifications of certain words will be shown as possible variants, which might be classified as (more) colloquial ones.

9.3.8. In *traditional* pronunciation, words like the following generally have long vowels as shown: *imal* [ii'ma(a)], *maksut* [mak'su(u)t], *makul* [ma'ku(u)ɫ], *malumat* [maʌuma(a)t], *meşgul* [mɛʃ'gu(u)ɫ], *tefrik* [tɛf'ri(i)ɛ], *iştirak* [iʃ'ti'ra(a)ɛ], *istiklal* [istik'lɛ(a)], *takip* [taa'ci(i)p], *tercih* [tɛr'dʒi(i)h], *üslup* [ys'lu(u)p]. Nowadays, however, 'long' vowels in checked syllables are regularly shortened.

9.3.9. Normally, in *neutral* pronunciation, /ijV/ is /i(j)V/, also in *iyi* [i'ji, i'i]; this also occurs in *international* pronunciation. In *mediatic* pronunciation, /j/ (which is generally [j]) is often dropped even when it is surrounded by identical front vowel: *eyer* [ɛ'jɛɛ, ɛ'ɛɛ, 'ɛɛɛ], *büyük* [by'jyɛ, by'yc; 'byyc].

Stress

9.4.1. In Turkish, the *unmarked* position of word stress is on the *last* syllable. Here are some examples: *sari* [sa'ri], *kuyu* [ku'ju], *hasta* [has'ta], *dünya* [dyp'jaa], *lazım* [laa'zum], *görmece* [gørmE'dʒE], *kalabalık* [ka,ɫaba'ɫuk], *nakliyat* [nak-li(j)at], *kadın* [ka'duun], *garson* [gar'son], *profesör* [prɔfE'søɾ]. Afterwards, we will see the different exceptions, which we have to know.

When *suffixes* are added, they are stressed, unless they are unstressable items: *onur* [o'nur], *onurlan* [o'nurɫan], *onurlandır* [o'nurɫan'duɾ], *onurlandırıl* [o'nurɫan'duɾɫ], *onurlandırılmış* [o'nurɫan'duɾɫ'muʃ].

Let us also consider well the following examples: *kitap* [ci'tap], *kitaplar* [ci'tapɫar], *kitaplarım* [ci'tapɫa'ruum], *kitaplarımda* [ci'tapɫaruum'da], *kitaplarımdaki* [ci'tapɫa,ruumda'ci], *kitaplarımdakiler* [ci'tapɫa,ruumdacilEɾ], *kitaplarımdakilere* [ci'tapɫa,ruumda,cilE'ɾE].

9.4.2. Let us anticipate that words with marked non-final accent do not change their stressed syllable, when suffixes are added: *teyze* [tEIZE], *teyzemin* [tEIZE,min], *teyzelerimden* [tEIZE,ɫEɾim,dEɾn].

Longer examples: *iskemle* [is'cEMLE], *iskemleler* [is'cEMLE,ɫEɾ], *iskemlelerimiz* [is'cEMLE,ɫEɾi,miz], *iskemlelerimizde* [is'cEMLE,ɫEɾimiz,dE], *iskemlelerimizdeki* [is'cEMLE,ɫEɾi,mizdE,ci], *iskemlelerimizdekiler* [is'cEMLE,ɫEɾi,mizdE,ci,ɫEɾ].

In addition, when an added suffix is not stressable, the resulting word is stressed on the syllable which precedes that suffix: *yaz* [jaz] and *yazıyor* [ja'zujuɾ], *git* [git] and *gidilemiyorsa* [gidilE,mi(j)ɾsa].

9.4.3. *Vocatives* take a stress on their second last syllable: *kadın!* [kaduun], *garson!* [garson], *profesör!* [prɔfE'søɾ].

Interjections are mostly stressed on their initial syllable (but with frequent variants): *haydi!* [haidi], *hayhay!* [haihai, hai'hai], *eyvah!* [Ei'va(a)h, 'Eiva(a)h], *mübarek!* [mybaa,ɾEç], *inşallah!* [iŋʃaɫɫah], *maşallah!* [maaʃaɫɫah], *oha!* [o'haa], *yallah!* [jaɫɫah], *yapma!* [japma, jap'ma], *yarabbi!* [jaarab'bi].

Many *loanwords* have a marked stress position on second last syllables: *banka* [ban'ka], *fasulya* [fa'sul-ja], *futbol* [f'utboɫ], *jaluzi* [za'luzi], *lobi* [l'ɔbi], *lokanta* [lɔ'kanta] (also with suffixes: *lokantalarımızdan* [lɔ'kantaɫaruumuz,dan]), *politika* [poli'tika], *taksi* [tak'si].

However, some *loanwords* have unmarked stress (though with possible colloquial or mediatic variants for timbres or stress): *metot* [mE'tɔt], *kitap* [ci'tap], *lale* [laa'lE], *otomobil* [ɔtɔmɔ'bil], *otobüs* [ɔtɔ'bys; ɔtɔ'bɔs, ɔtɔ'bys]. But we find: *penaltı* [pE'naɫtu; pE'naɫtu; pE'naɫtu].

Also *place names* have their marked position on second last syllables: *İzmir* [iz'mir], *Mersin* [mErsin], *Manisa* [ma'nisa], *Adana* [a'dana], *İstanbul* [istambul], *Antalya* [an'tal-ja], *Erzincan* [Eɾziŋdʒan], *Fatsa* [fat'sa], *Afrika* [afrika], *Fransa* [fran'sa], *İngiltere* [iŋgil'tEɾE].

9.4.4. However, when the second last syllable in a polysyllabic place name is unchecked (or free), the stress falls on the third last syllable, as shown in the following examples: *Ankara* [a'ɲka,ɾa], *Edremit* [ˈɛd-ɾɛ,mit], *Türkiye* [ˈtyɾci,(j)ɛ], *Marmaris* [ˈmarma,ris], *Erzurum* [ˈɛɾzu,ɾum], *Fethiye* [ˈfɛt-hi,(j)ɛ], *Eskişehir* [ɛsˈciʃɛ,hir], *İskenderun* [isˈɛɛndɛ,ɾun], *Kayseri* [ˈkaise,ri], *Çaykara* [ˈtʃaika,ɾa], *Aksaray* [ˈak-sa,ɾai], *Akhisar* [ˈak-hi,saɾ], *Kastamonu* [kasˈtamɔ,nu], *Eryatağı* [ˈɛɾ-ja,taaɯ]. But, let us notice: *Kuşadası* [ˈkuʃa,dasɯ].

Also note: *Hindistan* [ˈhindisˈtan], *Gürcistan* [ˌɟyɾdʒisˈtan], and so on (which, in mediatic pronunciation, often become [hinˈdistan, ɟyɾˈdʒistan]).

9.4.5. In addition, let us compare *place names* and *common words*: *Alaca* [aˈladʒa], *Bebek* [ˈbɛbɛç], *Bodrum* [ˈbɔd-ɾum], *Mısır* [ˈmuɯsɯɾ], *Ordu* [ˈɔɾdu], *Tokat* [ˈtɔkat], *Mısır’dakiler* [ˈmuɯsɯɾ,daciˈlɛɾ], but: *alaca* [ˌaˈlaˈdʒa], *bebek* [ˌbɛˈbɛç], *bodrum* [ˌbɔd-ˈɾum], *mısır* [ˌmuɯˈsɯɾ], *ordu* [ˌɔɾˈdu], *tokat* [ˌtɔˈkat], *mısırdakiler* [ˌmuɯsɯɾ,daciˈlɛɾ].

Place names also retain their stress when suffixes are added: *Ankara’da* [ˈaɲkara,da], *İstanbul’a* [isˈtambu,ɫa], *İstanbulumuzu* [isˈtambu,ɫumuzu], *Mersin’de* [ˈmɛɾsin,dɛ].

However, we can provide some minimal pairs with distinctive position of stress: *kattı* [katˈtu] ‘he added’, *kattı* [ˈkattɯ] ‘it was a floor’, *gelin* [ˌɟɛˈlin] ‘bride’ and *gelin* [ˈɟɛlin] ‘you come! (pl.)’, *hayır* [haˈjɯɾ] ‘kindness’ and *hayır* [ˈhajɯɾ] ‘no’, *benim* [ˌbɛˈnim] ‘my’ and *benim* [ˈbɛnim] ‘I’m’, *yalnız* [ˌjaˈɫnɯz] ‘only’, *yalnız* [ˈjaˈɫnɯz] ‘alone, lonely’, *bende* [ˌbɛnˈdɛ] ‘in/on me’ and *ben de* [ˌbɛnˈdɛ] ‘me too’.

9.4.6. *Adverbs* are never stressed on their final syllable: *ancak* [ˈaɲdʒak], *ansızın* [ˈansɯzɯn], *belki* [ˈbɛlci], *burada* [ˈbuɾa,da], *evet* [ˈɛvɛt], *şimdi* [ˈʃimdi], *yarın* [ˈjaɾɯn], *yazım* [ˈjazɯm], *yalnız* [ˌjaˈɫnɯz] (cf the adjective *yalnız* [ˌjaˈɫnɯz]).

The following words have initial stress: *hangi* [ˈhaɲɟi], *hani* [ˈhani], *nasıl* [ˈnasɯɫ], *niçin* [ˈniçin] (traditional pronunciation: [ˈniçin]), but also [niçin], cf § 9.4.14). The same goes for words like: *asosyal* [ˈasɔs,jaɫ], *kapkara* [ˈkapka,ɾa].

9.4.7. *Iterated* words (even if with slight modifications) have a primary stress on the pertinent syllable of the first part: *abuk sabuk* [aˈbuksa,buk], *gizli gizli* [ˌɟizˈliɟizˈli], *şıpır şıpır* [ʃuɾˈpuɾʃuɾ,puɾ], *sürüm sürüm* [syɾˈymɯsyɾ,ym], *gizli mizli* [ˌɟizˈlimizˈli], *şapır şupur* [ʃaˈpuɾʃu,puɾ]; *pisi pisi* [piˈsipi,si] (but *pisipisi* [pi,si,piˈsi]). Also: *mosmor* [ˈmɔsmɔɾ], *yemyeşil* [ˌjɛmˈjɛʃil], *sapsarı* [ˈsap-sa,ɾɯ].

The same stress pattern is maintained when the *iteration* is only semantic, not lexical (as a normal compound): *ite kaka* [iˈteka,ka], *içli dışlı* [itçˈlidɯʃɫɯ]. Note, however: *ana baba* [a,na,baˈba], *ara sor* [a,raˈsɔɾ].

9.4.8. *Compound words*, in fact, are mostly stressed on the prominent syllable of their first element (even if written separately):

Abanozgiller [abaˈnozɟil,ɫɛɾ], *artık yıl* [arˈtuɯkˌjɯɫ], *başbakan* [ˈbaʃba,kan], *başöğretmen* [ˈbaʃɔɾɛt,mɛn], *bilgisayar* [bilɟisajˈɾaɾ], *bugün* [ˈbuɟɯn], *buzdolabı* [ˈbuzdɔˌɫa,bɯ], *dereotu* [dɛˈɾɛɔtu], *ışınınmölçer* [ɯʃɯˈnuɯmɔɫçɛɾ], *karagöz* [kaˈɾaɟɔz] (but *Karagöz* [ˌkaɾaˈɟɔz]), *kasımpatı* [kaˈsumpa,ɫɯ], *okulkitabı* [ɔˈkuɫci,ta,bɯ], *yayınevi*

[ja'juNEvi], *yeryüzü* [jɛɾ-jyzy].

And: *çay bardağı* [ˈtʃaibar,daaɯ], *ders kitapları* [ˈdɛɾsci,taplaɾɯ], *dolma kalem* [dɔɫ'maka,lɛm], *iş adamı* [iʃ'ada,mɯ], *sokak lambası* [sɔ'kak,ɫamba,sɯ], *telefon rehberi* [tɛlɛ'fɔnɾɛhbɛ,ɾi], *anlamış olmak* [anɫa'mɯʃɔɫ,mak], *bitiriyor gözükmek* [biti-ri(j)ɔɾ,ɟɔzyɛ,mɛɕ], *hasta olmak* [has'taɔɫ,mak], *hayat bilgisi* [ha'jatbilɟi'si], *tiyatro bileti* [ti'(j)at-ɾɔ,bilɛ,ti], *yardım etmek* [jaɾ'duɯmɛt,mɛɕ], *yazı masası* [ja'zuɯmasa,sɯ].

9.4.9. *Foreign words and names* do not keep their original stress, if not accidentally (unlike many linguists claim): *atölye* [a'tɔl-jɛ] ‘atelier’ [atɔ'lje], *Vaşington* [vaʃiŋk-ˈtɔn] ‘Washington’ [ˈwɔʃiŋtən], *Mendelson* [ˌmɛndɛl'sɔn] ‘Mendelssohn’ [ˌmɛndɫsɔ'n].

For the time being, the so-called ‘Sezer rule’ seems to provide the best generalization: primary stress is on the last but one syllable, whenever this is strong, as in: *jandarma* [zan'darma] ‘gendarme’ [zɔ'daɾm], and on the last but two syllable if the last but one is weak, as in: *Şevrole* [ʃɛvɾɔ,lɛ] ‘Chevrolet’ [ʃɛvɾə'lɛɾ, ʃɛvɾə,lɛɾ].

9.4.10. The *numbers* from 11 to 19 are real compounds, so their main stress falls on *on* (10, but the second element can vary a lot): *on beş* [ˈɔn,bɛʃ], *on iki* [ˈɔni,çi, 'ɔniçi], *on altı* [ˈɔnaɫ,tɯ, 'ɔnaɫtɯ], *on yedi* [ˈɔn-jɛ,di, 'ɔn,jɛdi], *on sekis* [ˈɔnɛɕ,çis, 'ɔn,ɛɕçis], *on dokuz* [ˈɔndɔ,kuz, 'ɔn,dɔkuz]. The same pattern occurs with *en*: *en az* [ˈɛn,az], *en büyük* [ˈɛmbyjyɕ, 'ɛm,byjyɕ], *en geç* [ˈɛn,ɟɛɕ], *en son* [ˈɛn,sɔn].

However, some compounds have unmarked stress: *alışveriş* [aɫɯʃvɛ'riʃ], *bilgisayar* [bil,ɟisa'jar], *böcekapan* [bɔ,ɕɛkka'pan], *gelinboğan* [ɟɛlim'bɔsan], *kabakulak* [ka,bakuɫak], *vatansever* [va,tanɛ'veɾ].

But, let us also consider a ‘phrase-word’ like: *almayacak* ‘she won’t take’ [aɫma-jaɕzak] (with the infix negative suffix *ma*, which places stress before it). The same is true for *alma!* [aɫma], which has two reasons to have initial stress, being an exclamation with the negative suffix *ma*.

9.4.11. Always by taking indications from some of the books listed in the *Bibliography* and transcribing some of those examples (in this case: Göksel & Kerslake: 30-34), we will complete our treatment of stress.

Words with suffixes with stress on their first syllable: *bakmaksızın* [bak'maksɯ-zɯn], *geliyor* [ɟɛ'li(j)ɔɾ], *geliyorlan* [ɟɛ'li(j)ɔɾɫaɾ], *kazarak* [ka'zarak], *şaşakaldım* [ʃa-ʃakaɫ,dɯm], *tutuver* [tu'tuɛɾ], *tutuvermiş* [tu'tuɛɾ,miş], *tutuveriyor* [tu'tuɛɾi(j)ɔɾ].

There are also cases with two possibilities, like: *Afrikalılaşıarak* [af,rikaɫɯɫa'ʃa-arak, af,rikaɫɯɫa,ʃarak], *Afrikalılaşıyor* [af,rikaɫɯɫa'ʃɯjɔɾ, af,rikaɫɯɫa,ʃɯjɔɾ].

9.4.12. *Prefixes* tend to be stressed. This is true only for the native category of intensifiers obtained by duplication: *masmavi* [ˈmasmaaɽi], *gizli gizli* [ɟizli'ɟizli]) and for loaned prefixes, such as *a-* (*asosyal* [ˈasɔs,jal]), *anti-* (when the meaning of the prefix is maintained, as in *antidemokratik* [ˈanti,dɛmɔk-ɾa,tic]), the family prefix *kayın-* (as in *kayınpeder* [ka'jɯmpɛ,dɛɾ]), and the rare Persian prefixes *na-* and *ma-* (as in *natamam* [ˈnata,mam], *maaile* [ˈma(ɾ)ai,lɛ]).

Some *suffixes* and *clitics* put a stress before them: *gelseymiş* [ɟɛ'lɛ'imiş], *giderse*

[ɟi'dɛɾsɛ], *otururken* [ɔtu'rurɕɛn], *okuyacaktır* [ɔkuja'dʒaktur]; *Aliyle* [a'liilɛ], *eliyle* [ɛ'liilɛ]; *kadınca* [ka'duɲɕa], *kışın* [kɯʃɯn], *nereye* [nɛɾɛjɛ], *orada* [ɔɾa'da], *tamamen* [ta'mamɛn], *uçarcasına* [u'tʃarɕasɯ'na], *ufacık* [ufaɕɯk], *ayyla* [jaila].

Other cases: *uyurum* [u'juɾum], *anlamışsın* [anla'mıʃsɯn], *anlayassınız* [anla'ja-sɯ'nuʒ], *tutsaklar* [tu'tsak-lar], *Ahmet bile* [ah'mɛtbi,lɛ], *gittiniz mi?* [ɟitti'nizmi], *bense* [bɛnsɛ], *gitmedik* [ɟitmɛ,dic], *bakmadan* [bakma,dan] (but: *bakmazdık* [bak'mazduɕ], *yazmayız* [jaz'majɯz]), *anlıyorum da* [anlɯjɔ'rumda], *bakmıyordum ki* [bak,mıjɔ'rdumci], *gördüm ki* [ɟɔɾ'dymci], *gördüm ya* [ɟɔɾ'dym-ja].

More cases (with a negative suffix) to be carefully compared:

seviyor [sɛ'vi(j)ɔɾ], *sevmiyor* [sɛvmi(j)ɔɾ], *İstanbululaş* [is'tambuɫlu,ʃaʃ], *İstanbululaşma* [is'tambuɫlu,ʃaʃma], *istemıştim* [istɛ'miʃtim], *istememiştim ki* [istɛmemiʃ'timci], *anlayamıyorum* [anla'jamıjɔ'rum], *anlayamıyorum ki* [anla'jamıjɔ'rumci], *söylememiş* [sɔiylɛmɛmiʃ], *söylememiş ya* [sɔiylɛmɛ'miʃ-ja], *yürüyorum* [jy'ryjɔ'rum], *yürüyorum da koşamıyorum* [jy'ryjɔ'rumda|koʃ'amıjɔ'rum] (but not with a 'continuative' *da*).

9.4.13. Here are examples where suffixes do not change the original stress patterns: *geldiler* [ɟɛldi'lɛɾ], *geldilerse* [ɟɛldi'lɛɾsɛ], *geldiler bile* [ɟɛldi'lɛɾbi,lɛ], *yorgun* [jɔɾ'gun], *yorgunum* [jɔɾ'gu-num], *yorgunmu* [jɔɾ'gummu], *bisiklet* [bisic'lɛt], *bisikletle* [bisic'lɛt-lɛ], *bisikletse* [bisic'lɛt-sɛ], *çocuk* [tʃɔ'ɕuk], *çocuğa* [tʃɔ'ɕuk-sa], *çocukça* [tʃɔ'ɕuk-tʃa], *İstanbul* [is'tambuɫ], *İstanbul'la* [is'tambuɫla], *İstanbul'daydım* [is'tambuɫ'daidum], *oturma* [ɔ'turma], *oturmadı* [ɔ'turma,dɯ], *okulda* [ɔkuɫ'da], *okuldaymışlar* [ɔkuɫ'daimıʃlar].

9.4.14. However, very often we can find two possibilities, as in: *İstanbul bile* [is'tambuɫbi,lɛ, ɪstam'buɫbi,lɛ], *İstanbul mu?* [is'tambuɫmu, ɪstam'buɫmu], *İstanbulsa* [is'tambuɫsa, ɪstam'buɫsa], *İstanbul da* [is'tambuɫda, ɪstam'buɫda].

Let us also consider these other examples: *oturuyormuşsun bile* [ɔtu'rujɔɾ,mıʃsumbi,lɛ], *oturacaksa da mı?* [ɔtura'dʒak-sada,mı], *istememiş miydin ki?* [istɛmɛ'miʃmii-dinçi].

9.4.15. Thus far, we have seen how stress behaves in 'proper' Turkish. According to the rules for a 'good' pronunciation. However, in actual fact, things are very different, as even 'good' speakers vary a lot as far as stress assignment is concerned.

First of all, it must be clear that, in Turkish, stress is not as strong as, for instance, in English or German. It is also weaker than in Italian or Spanish. In fact, instead of the sign [ˈ], the following would be more adequate [ˑ] (generically indicating a degree of strength which is intermediate between [ˈ] and [ˑ]).

9.4.16. In addition, Turkish [ˑ], actually, can freely range between [ˑ] and [ˈ] (which is weaker than [ˑ]). But, what is more, instead of 'normal' [ˑ], we can often hear even [ˑ̇] (which is a little stronger, as just seen in § 9.4.13). Certainly, this does not make things easier.

In addition, even the stressed syllables oscillate for the same words and phrases, not only between different speakers who happen to repeat the same utterances, but also for the same speakers who happen to repeat them in other circumstances, or even shortly after.

For instance, a recurring pattern when informants are asked to say twice each word in a list, they generally use a kind of bookish intonation, which consists in uttering the first performance with a suspensive tune, /:/, and the second with a conclusive one, /./.

But, their stress pattern very often (too often, indeed) changes from their ‘normal’ structure, say [\$_\$\$\$\$], or [\$_\$\$\$\$], to something like [\$'\$\$\$\$], or [\$\$'\$\$\$], respectively.

Let us add, once again, that an even worse bookish intonation is generally used by such speakers, guiltily unaccustomed to a correct *orthology*, ie to a normal and authentic way of using intonation correctly. This happens with partial questions, which are uttered as /ç ?/, instead of normal /ç ./.

Another sad problem, typical of such speakers who read questionnaires with no control by the researcher, consists in reading words as a boring shopping list, using a kind of suspensive tune, /:/, to ‘connect’ its items quite unorthologically. In fact, their performances become a sort of dull saying their prayers, taking no account of what they are saying.

The saddest thing is that they also do so even when recording sentences designed to the analysis of intonation!

9.4.17. Many words can be considered to be able to vary, as we will also see in \mathfrak{C} 10-11. Oscillations like *niçin* [ni'çin, 'niçin], or *çünkü* [ç'ünkü, 'ünkü] are quite current, and normal, although dictionaries generally give only one stress pattern, if any. Often native speakers think that the first forms indicated above are (more) used in İstanbul, the second ones (more) in Ankara. Also *peki!* [p'eci, p'eci], and *ancak* [a'ncak, an'cak], *tamam* [ta'mam] (traditionally [ta'maam]), or, as an exclamation, [t'amam].

However, we also provided some real minimal pairs for stress (§ 9.4.5): *kattı* [kat'tu] ‘he added’, *kattı* ['kattu] ‘it was a floor’, *gelin* [g'elin] ‘bride’ and *gelin* [g'elin] ‘you come! (pl.)’, *hayır* [ha'jır] ‘kindness’ and *hayır* ['hajır] ‘no’, *benim* [b'nim] ‘my’ and *benim* ['benim] ‘I’m’, *yalnız* [ja'nız] ‘only’, *yalnız* [ja'nız] ‘alone, lonely’. Free or bound enclitics can also be contrastive: *bende* [b'nde] ‘in/on me’ and *ben de* [b'nde] ‘me too’.

We also saw: *ordu* [o'rdı] and *Ordu* ['o'rdı], *tokat* [to'kat] and *Tokat* ['to'kat], *bodrum* [bo'drum] and *Bodrum* ['bo'drum], *alaca* [a'laça] and *Alaca* [a'laça], *bebek* [b'bec] and *Bebek* ['b'bec], *mısır* [mu'sır] and *Mısır* ['mu'sır].

Unfortunately, even educated native speakers can frequently confuse the stress patterns, not only of words written alike, but also those with lower and upper case initial letters.

9.4.18. Of course, this confusion is allowed by the fact that, in real sentences and talks, there are continuous logical predictions about the general meaning of what is being said, especially for native speakers. So, as for real homophones, the hearers will certainly compensate and find out the more suitable meaning for what they are listening to.

In fact, Turkish stress is quite different from that of the most typical Germanic languages, where it is an intrinsic part of the stressed syllable of most lexemes. Instead, in Turkish, stress is just a physical support to enable phrases to be uttered and perceived.

9.4.19. As we saw in § 6.12, it is mostly in the *mediatic* accent that an actual possibility of *stress shift* exists, both for diphthongs, [ʷV] → [VV] (becoming hiatuses), as in (though here we give only one possible variant of the same mediatic realizations): *ait* [ʔΛʔt] → [ʔΛʔt], *reis* [ʔeʔs] → [ʔeʔs], *sual* [ʔuʔʔ] → [ʔuʔʔ], *diio* [dʔo] → [dʔo], or becoming bisyllabic, with or without stress shift, [ʷV] → [VV, VCV], as in: *ait* → [ʔΛʔt, ʔΛʔt], *reis* → [ʔeʔs, ʔeʔs], *sual* → [ʔuʔʔʔ, ʔuʔʔʔ], *diio* → [dʔoʔ, dʔoʔ].

Of course, this happens even in regional accents, including that of İstanbul (cf § 12.2), which many speakers consider as a kind of neutral accent, almost in opposition to that of Ankara (cf § 12.11).

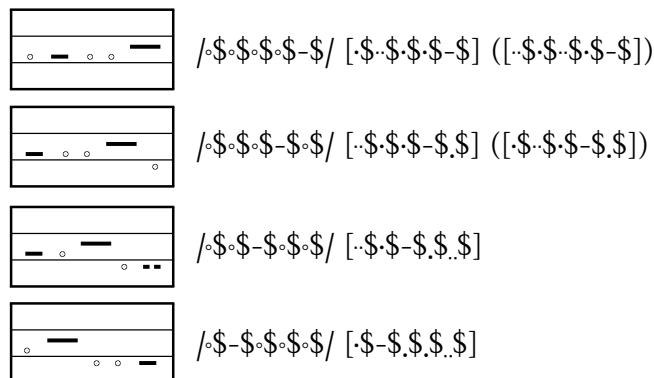
In conclusion, the distribution and real realization of stress in Turkish, even in its neutral accent, is extremely fluid, and less important than in a number of other languages, where stress minimal pairs are both more numerous and more important (although some speakers may present mistakes for some particular words). Also see § 14.

Pitch accent in traditional Turkish ('stritch')

9.5.1. Things are still more complicated because people can oscillate even between real stress and stress combined with pitch, which might be called 'stritch'.

In fact, at least in *traditional* pronunciation, we happen to find what is shown in fig 9. Of course, the longer dash ([-]) indicates stressed syllables. As can be seen, even if it is still in the middle tonetic band, it is anyway higher than both the preceding and following syllables. These syllables include half-stressed ones (obviously indicated by [·]).

fig 9. Traditional Turkish: stress & pitch structure in words and phrases ('stritch').



9.5.2. Thus, as just seen, in traditional-pronunciation transcriptions, a ‘stretched’ syllable is indicated by the sign [-], instead of [ː]. Arguably, weaker syllables are indicated by [·] or [ˑ], according to their relative pitch height. Of course, completely ‘unstretched’ syllables are [ː] or [ˑ].

Naturally, in actual sentences, these relative pitch heights will certainly be fused with the intonation patterns of Turkish (as we will see in \mathcal{G} 10 and fig 10.9.1-2).

9.5.3. For the time being, let us state that real *traditional* Turkish pronunciation strictly applies stretch and intensity & tonality, by combining them as shown in fig 9 & fig 10.9.1-2. However, as already said above, different speakers actually oscillate even in the nature of the stress they use, mixing the two types in different ways.

Of course, all this certainly does not render things simple, when we want to accurately describe the prosodic facts of a language like Turkish.

10. Intonation (English & Turkish)

10.1. For a complete treatment of intonation and prosodic & paraphonic features in language, the readers are invited to see ¶ 12-14 of *Natural Phonetics & Tonetics*, or the corresponding updated sections on the *canIPA* website.

INTONATION is constituted by the relative pitch of syllables forming more or less long sequences of connected speech.

These sequences are called TUNINGS and can consist of pause groups (which, in turn, consist of rhythm groups); but they can also consist in a single word – which can even be monosyllabic: *No. – No? – No! – No...*

What is essential is that pitch –through given differences– adds (or, rather, gives) different pragmasemantic nuances –such as ‘statement, question, command’ &c– to phonic sequences which could otherwise be identical.

Thus the difference obtained is not merely semantic, or conceptual, as in the case of ton(em)e languages, such as Chinese or Vietnamese.

However, by using the same principles and the same symbols of syllabic-tone notation, one can accurately (and without too many problems) transcribe the characteristics of pitch and strength of the syllables in a whole utterance.

In fact, stress-tonal signs show both the relative pitch and degrees of stress on the syllables before which they are put.

First, let us see (fig 10.1) an iconic and simple way to introduce people to intonation (applied to neutral British English, as recordings are easy to be found): by carefully reading the examples given, and following the heights shown for every grapheme.

fig 10.1. ‘Icono-tono-graphic’ representation of neutral British-English intonation.

1	<i>See you on Saturday.</i>	
2	<i>(Will they) see you on Saturday?</i>	
3	<i>(If they don't) see you on Saturday...</i>	<i>(it'll be a total disaster.)</i>
4	<i>(If they don't) see you on Saturday...</i>	<i>(don't worry about it.)</i>

10.3. The best way of dealing with the intonation of a language consists in presenting its structures through appropriate and clear diagrams (ie tonograms), with clear examples and a simple and sufficiently complete notational system (not a cumbersome and useless one).

First of all, we must repeat that the use and choice of intonation patterns do not depend on syntax at all, but on *semantics* and *pragmatics*, and above all on *communicative goals*.

In fact, even if the syntactic formulation is, in the end, the most evident linguistic rendering (for those who are used to reading and writing), in actual fact it is nothing but a faithful representation of the pragma-semantic way to express concepts and thoughts, which are peculiar to every language.

If, for instance, one writes –and beforehand says– *I've been looking for this for ages* [aɐvbɪn lɔk-ɪŋ fəðɪs.. fɪ'ɛɪdʒɪz..], the superficial formulation at hand is only the inevitable result of the mental and linguistic processes that produce, in English, the sentence just seen, although with slight possible variations.

In actual fact, it results from the juxtaposition of different concepts (each one indicated by /./, or [·' ..]) in a single syntactic string, seemingly simple and straightforward, but actually very complex, as is obvious from its prosodic structure, if supported by an appropriate intonation pattern, as indicated by the small but precious signs used.

Let us now examine the intonation structure of neutral British English, with the figures given below, and considering again the general scheme which will enable us to really *see* its characteristics. Thus, recalling that fig 10.2 gives the diagram of tunings (or intonation groups). It shows the use one makes –when speaking normally– of pitch heights on the various syllables forming the different possible utterances in a given language.

Tunings

10.4. Tunings consist (as already seen) of a protune (in our example *I am transcribing the following example* [aɐm tɹænskɹɪbɪŋ ðə'fɔl-əʊɪŋ ɪg'zɑmpəl]) and a tune (*phonetically* [fə'nɛɪ-ɪk-li..]). In this case, one has a normal protune and a conclusive tune.

The latter is represented, tonemically (ie in a theoretical way) by /./, and tonetically (ie in a more realistic way) by [·' ..].

The number of syllables in the example has been calculated on purpose in order to have full correspondence between the tonogram and the syllables of the sentence, to be able to show the characteristics more clearly.

Of course, in normal speech, it is unlikely to find sentences with the same number of syllables; nevertheless, the usefulness of the diagram is not jeopardized, since the actual syllables available (whether more or less than 14) share pitch heights in a fair way.

So they may either compress the movement of several syllables into only one or two, or expand it over a larger number of syllables (cf fig 10.5 for the tunes).

For instance: *Yes, we do* or *Our aim is to pass on ideas, techniques, and practical activities, which we know work in the classroom* (even if this last example, more realistically, will be divided into more parts, with the addition of the respective tunes, mostly continuative).

Thus: *Our aim is to pass on ideas, techniques, and practical activities, which we know work in the classroom*. In a phono-tonetic transcription, you have: [ɑːɹ̄ɛɪm ɪzː ʃəˈpɦɑːs ɒːnː əˈdɪːzɪzː ʃɦɛkˈniːks̩ əmˌpɦɛkˈtɪkɪzː ækˈtɦɪˌvəʃɪzː ɪwɪtʃwɪˌnɜːɔ ɪwɜːk̩ˌɪnˌdʊˌkɦlɑːsɪˌdʊmˌɪ].

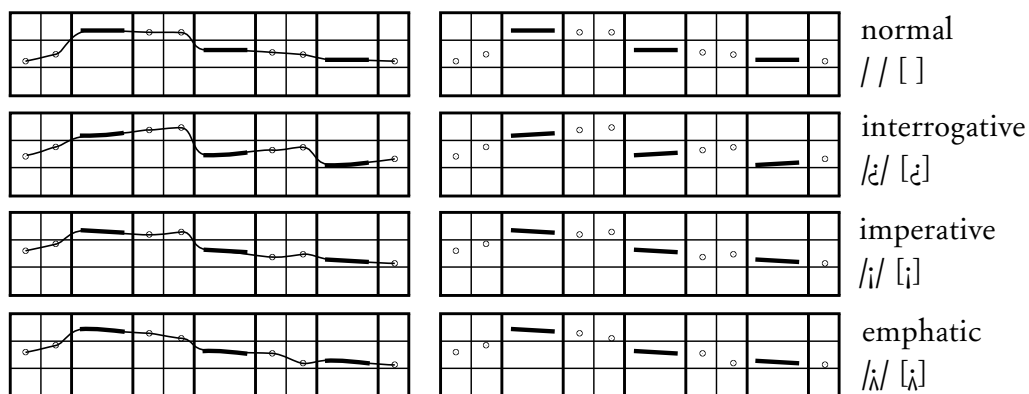
Protunes

10.5. fig 10.3 shows the four protunes (of neutral British English): one is unmarked, or *normal*, and has no symbol; three are marked: *interrogative* /ɛ̇/ [ɛ̇], *imperative* /i̇/ [i̇] (for instance: *Pay attention!* [ɪˌpɦɛɪ əˈtɦɛnʃn̩]), and *emphatic* /ɿ/ [ɿ] (*We have to check everything very carefully!* [ɿwɪˌhæv ʃəˈtɦɛk̩ˌɪˈv̩ɪθɪɪˌv̩ɪˌkɦɛʃfɪˌɪ]).

fig 10.3 shows, on the right, sketchy tonograms; on the left, they are given in a more realistic way. Actually, the schematic diagrams are sufficient indeed (as will be done for Turkish), since these tonograms necessarily generalize and normalize the data, allowing slight differences of realization, as well.

On the contrary, for teaching and learning purposes, these schematic tonograms are decidedly more useful. In fact, they make comparisons with those of other languages not only possible, but even easier. Furthermore, the schematic tonograms are less distracting, ultimately, than the realistic ones.

fig 10.3. The four protunes of neutral British English.



Tunes

10.6. fig 10.4 shows the three marked tunes (of neutral British pronunciation, again both realistically and schematically) – *conclusive* /./ [ˈ.], *interrogative* /ʔ/ [ˈ.ʔ], and *suspensive* /:/ [ˈ.:] – in addition to the unmarked one, *continuative* /|/ [ˈ.|].

The marked tunes have a functional charge, which is crucial for communication, as they oppose one another distinctively. The unmarked tune –the continuative one– may be considered as the neutralization of the three marked ones (since each of them would be inappropriate in certain –less important– contexts, being too specific and having very definite functions).

The aim of the continuative tune is, above all, to oppose a theoretical ‘zero’ tune. It is quite different from a straightforward and progressive flow of enunciation, without the slightest variations (or breaks), even theoretical or potential.

Its only purpose is to slightly highlight a word, compared to a complete non-occurrence of tunes (as happens within a protune).

Indeed, there is a difference between *I saw six men* [aəˈsɔː ˈsɪks ˈmɛnː.] and *I saw six men* [aəˈsɔː ˈsɪks ˈmɛnː.]; in the latter, of course, *six* is more prominent than in the former, since it has its own tune (although no pause follows it), instead of being a part of the same protune.

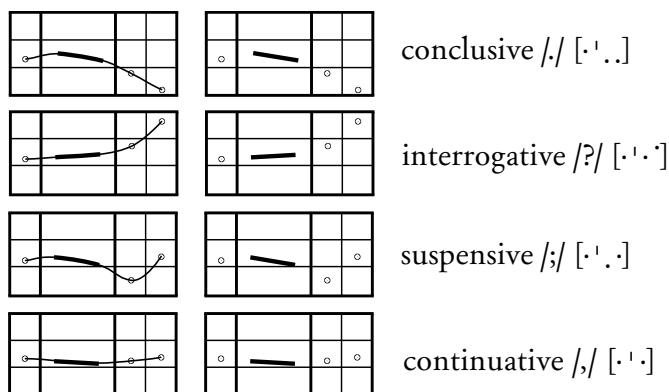
At the end of § 10.4, we have seen that a syntactic string does not generally correspond to just one tune; in fact, more or less numerous continuative tunes occur, otherwise the sentence would not sound spontaneous and convincing.

At first, one does not fully realize this internal subdivision, which is completely natural. Its appropriate use goes entirely unnoticed; whereas, its absence would *not* pass unnoticed at all (as happens in unprofessional reading or recitation).

For instance, if one considers an utterance such as *Look! the imprints of a bear*, it is soon realized that it can be said in many ways – apart from actual and paraphonic considerations such as the *fright* taken at the sight, or the *delight* expressed by naturalists, or the *satisfaction* felt by hideous poachers... (all of them are rendered with different nuances, clear and easy to interpret).

Of course, this is different from a unitary sentence such as *Look at the imprints of a bear*, in just one tuning: [ˈlɒk-ɪt ðɪˈɪmpɪnts əvəˈbɛɜː.].

fig 10.4. The four tunes of neutral British English.



10.7. Thus, if you go back to the original utterance, what you find is something closer to a natural exposition, as *Look: the imprints of a bear* [ˈlɒkː ðɪˈɪmpɪnts əvəˈbɛɜː.]; in fact, in the same sentence, there are two pragmatic concepts: the imprints and the sighting of them.

If one then divides it into three parts (of course, with three tunes), the nuances expressed are more detailed: *Look at the imprints of a bear* [lɒk. ði'ɪmpɪnts. əvə'beɪ.]; in this way, one can manage to separate, conceptually too, imprints of different shapes.

After all, it is possible to use some continuative tunes (ie unmarked /,/ as already seen in the previous section), and this will add something to elocution (in opposition to a unitary utterance, although this is not for emphasis, of course).

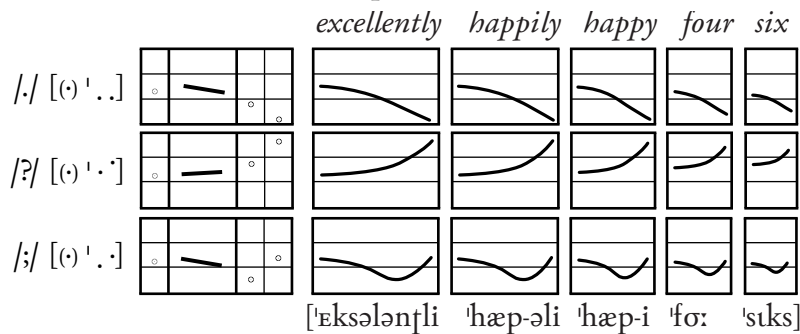
It is only a way to make enunciation a little more effective and natural: [lɒk-ut. ði'ɪmpɪnts. əvə'beɪ.]. (and variations).

By considering an example like *You must read further books on this particular subject*, again, one can easily see that there are several ways of saying it.

Apart from a quite flat realization in a single tuning, as: [jʊməs'ɪrɪd̩ fɜːðə 'bʊks ɒn,ðɪspə'fɪkjələ 'sɛbdʒɪkʃ.], one can have: [jʊməs'ɪrɪd̩ fɜːðə 'bʊks. ɒn,ðɪspə'fɪk-jələ 'sɛbdʒɪkʃ.], or: [jʊməs'ɪrɪd̩. fɜːðə 'bʊks. ɒn,ðɪspə'fɪk-jələ 'sɛbdʒɪkʃ.], or else: [jʊməs'ɪrɪd̩. fɜːðə 'bʊks. ɒn,ðɪspə'fɪk-jələ. 'sɛbdʒɪkʃ.].

One could also have [jʊ-], or even: [jʊr. məs'ɪrɪd̩. fɜːðə. 'bʊks.. ɒn,ðɪs. pə'fɪk-jələ. 'sɛbdʒɪkʃ.] (with more and more numerous nuances and implications).

fig 10.5.1. The four tunes of neutral British English, expanded or contracted according to the number of their syllables (here with no pretonic one).



10.8. A *conclusive* tune is necessarily used whenever a given concept is completed in the speaker's mind. Thus, in addition to the words which form the sentences, it concerns communicative functions as well, as if, in saying *It's raining cats and dogs*, you added 'I am stating' – so: *It's raining cats and dogs* [ɪts'ɹeɪnɪŋ 'kætɪz ən'dɒgz.].

Each tune has a specific function: the *interrogative* communicates 'I am asking': *Is it raining cats and dogs?* [ɪzɪt'ɹeɪnɪŋ 'kætɪz ən'dɒgz?]; the *suspensive* one communicates 'I am underlining': *If it's raining cats and dogs... (it's a calamity!)* [ɪfɪts'ɹeɪnɪŋ 'kætɪz ən'dɒgz. | (ɪt's ɪkæləməti.)].

The *continuative* tune, instead, simply communicates 'I'm not finished': *It's raining cats and dogs (but I don't care)* [ɪts'ɹeɪnɪŋ 'kætɪz ən'dɒgz. (bət aɪdɒnt'keə.)].

It is possible to have a series of conclusive tunes: *Yesterday it rained. Today it's raining. Tomorrow it'll pour. I'm sick and tired. I'll go away!* [jɛstə'dɛɪ ɪt'ɹeɪnɪd̩. | tə'dɛɪ ɪt's'ɹeɪnɪŋ. | tə'mɒrɒ'zɔ ɪt'pɔː. | aɪm'sɪk ən'taɪəd̩. | aɪ'l'gɔ ɪ'weɪ.]. However, a suspensive tune is very likely for *Tomorrow it'll pour* [tə'mɒrɒ'zɔ ɪt'pɔː.].

Too often, current writing (which is not at all sophisticated) uses only commas: *Yesterday it rained, today it is raining, tomorrow it'll pour, I am sick and tired, I'll go away.*

Thus, with the guilty complicity of schools, one is led to a kind of 'child-like' reading, which makes people utter things like: [°jESʔəqEɪ ʔʔjEɪndʒ...° ʔəqEɪ ʔtsʔEɪnɪŋ...° ʔəmqɔɪzɔ ʔʔpʰɔː...°] əmˌstɪk ənʔhæəðdʒ...° əʔtˌgɜːw ʔwEɪ...°].

The small rings show the additional pitch movement which is typical of 'bookish intonation', which must be kept well apart from normal (ie conversational) intonation, and also from the typical intonation of text exposition (even if simply done mentally).

A further example to show that, normally, writing and punctuation are just miserable devices with syntactical functions, and not at all helpful for reading: *I'm terribly busy: I can't come; I'll let you know; don't be cross* [əm ʔhEɪtˌəbli ˈbɪzi.. əˈkʰɑːŋ ˈkʰɛmː.] əʔtˌlEtʃ-ɪ ˈnɜːw.. ʔqɜːm bɪkʰɪps..].

Also the example *I've been looking for this for ages* [əvbiŋˌlɔk-ɪŋ ʔəðɪs.. ʔʔEɪdʒɪz..] shows this characteristic.

Contrary to what grammars keep on repeating, a *comma* does not necessarily indicate a short pause, as a *semicolon* does not indicate a pause which is half-way between the 'short' one of commas and the 'long' one of *full stops* (as it is absurdly 'prescribed').

However, these are the results achieved by schools, ie sadly rigorous and monotonous pauses, which are not able to convey appropriate meaning to sentences (especially when they are read).

And all those who today abuse punctuation, by omitting it almost completely, will they ever pause?

fig 10.5.2. Difference between *total* questions (1) and *partial* questions (2).

1	(Will they) see you on Saturday?
2	(Why won't they) see you on Saturday?

Parentheses & quotations

10.9. Lastly, fig 10.6 shows the diagram of *parenthetical phrases*, or simply *parentheses* (either *low*, [ɿ]); or *mid*, [ɿ ɿ]), and of *quotations*, [ɿ ɿ] (*high*). In the following sentence, each of them occurs once:

First of all –he said– let's consider 'Natural' Phonetics, as it's properly called.
 [ˈfɜːst əvˈɔːtˌhɪˈsEɪdˌlEtˌs kɔnsɪdˌə ˈnætʃ-ɪʔ.. ʔəˈnEɪ-ʔks.. ʔzɪtsˌpʰɪʔp-əli ˈkʰɔːtʃd..].

Parentheses typically feature an overall reduction of their stress and an increase in the rate of speech, while the pitch is compressed in the low –or mid– range of the tonogram.

Quotations, instead, are quite the opposite, as their role is –precisely– to put one or more words in full evidence, by means of a slightly louder and distinct enunciation: thus, their stress is increased, their speech rate is reduced, and their pitch is raised (*without* compression).

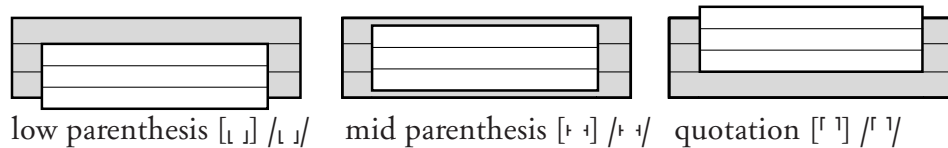
Marking such prosodic subtleties in phonetic –let alone *phonemic*– detailed transcriptions is neither necessary nor recommendable. The symbols [l ɹ], [t ɹ], [r ʲ] are more than sufficient to bear in mind all these differences, with respect to ‘normal’ utterances.

Quotations must not be confused with *direct speech*. Let us go back to *First of all –he said– let’s consider ‘Natural’ Phonetics, as it’s properly called.*

In that sentence, only *he said* should be excluded, because all the rest –and what may follow– *is* direct speech, indeed.

Turkish *parentheses* are generally low, [l ɹ], but mid, [t ɹ], after non-conclusive tunes; *quotations*, as said, are high, [r ʲ].

fig 10.6. Tonograms of parentheses and quotations.



Turkish intonation

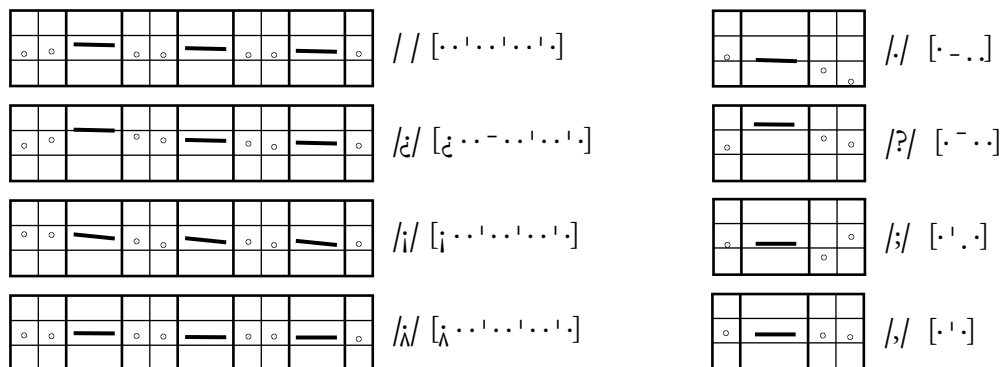
10.10 As far as Turkish intonation is concerned, fig 10.7 shows the four *protunes* and *tunes* of neutral Turkish. Any combination of two of them is called a *tuning*, as we know.

Aural imitation –but not prone aping!– plays an important role in acquiring linguistic intonation (and even more so, paraphonic intonation).

We are confident that a good number of examples accurately annotated with our intonational symbols will greatly help learners get the most out of their listening practice.

In addition, fig 10.8-9 show the intonation patterns of *international* and *medi-*

fig 10.7. The four protunes & tunes of neutral Turkish.



atic Turkish. The real differences consist in the international conclusive and interrogative tunes, and the initial part of the mediatic protune.

fig 10.8. International Turkish: intonation patterns.

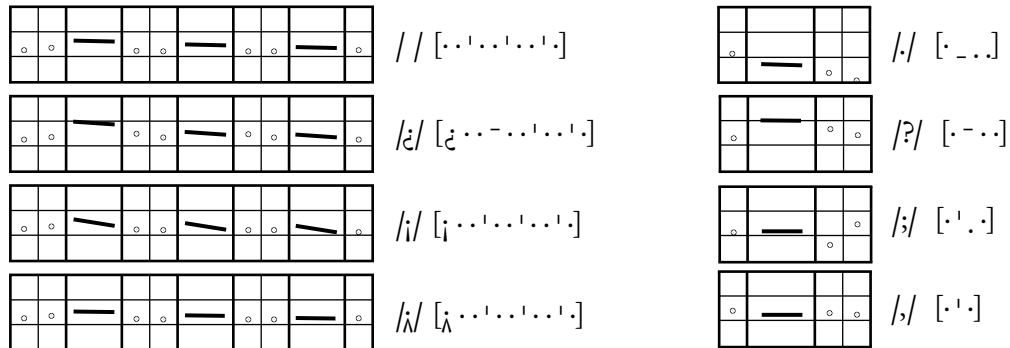
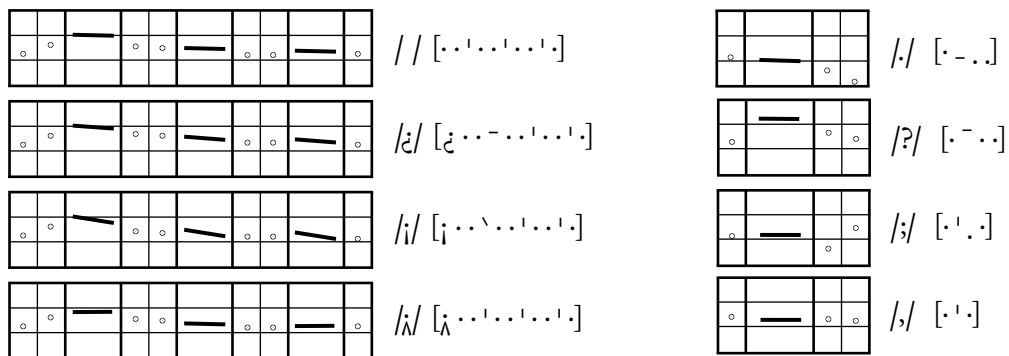


fig 10.9. Mediatic Turkish: intonation patterns.



10.11. Instead, as fig 9 has already pointed out, in *traditional* pronunciation, the intonation patterns are not exactly like those of the other Turkish accents just seen. In fact, the traditional Turkish accent has some tonetic similarities with such languages as Swedish, Norwegian, Croatian, and Serbian (cf *Natural Phonetics & Tonetics*), and Japanese (cf *Japanese Pronunciation & Accents*).

However, while in these languages there are two ‘stritch’ patterns which can oppose different meanings, in traditional Turkish there is not such a possibility, in a similar way as in the local dialect, or language, of Shanghai (cf *Chinese Pronunciation & Accents*).

As a matter of fact, the patterns given in fig 10.10.1-2 clearly show that stress is not simply intensity, but also tonality. Thus, a ‘stressed’ syllable has a slightly higher pitch than its neighboring syllables. This determines the prominence effect, which does not exactly coincide with that of the other Turkish accents described (although the difference is not very obvious).

Of course, languages like Chinese or Vietnamese have some real tonemes, which produce semantically different words, only by changing their tonetic structures. For instance, let us see these Mandarin words *mā*, *má*, *mǎ*, *mà* [̄ma, ‘ma, ,ma, `ma/ [̄ma, ‘ma, ,mǎ, `mà] ‘mother, hemp, horse, to curse’.

fig 10.10.1. Traditional Turkish: protunes (with some syllables indicated).

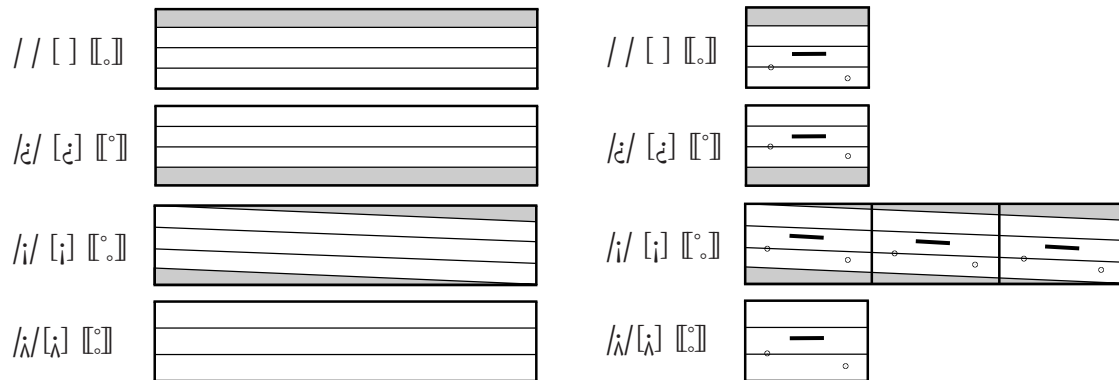
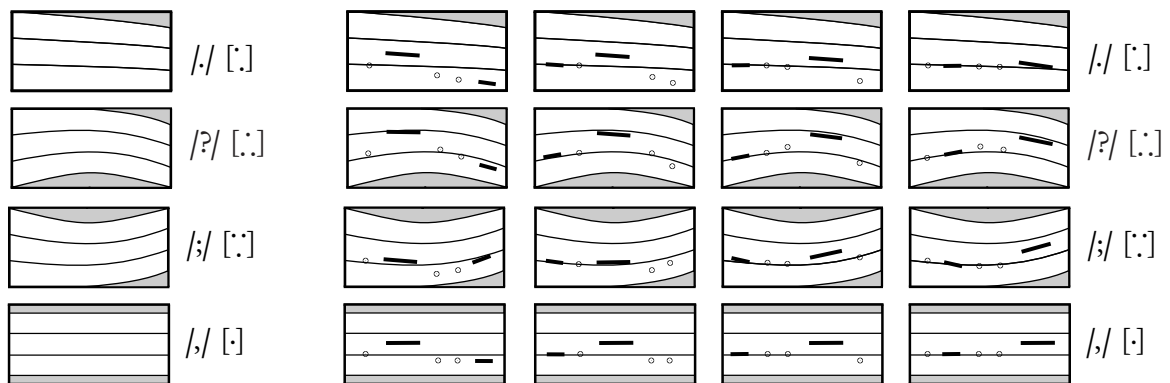


fig 10.10.2. Traditional Turkish: tunes (with different kinds of syllables indicated).



10.12. Now, let us provide some sufficient examples to practice the intonation patterns of Turkish. They are given in international pronunciation, which serves better as a kind of phonemic transcription.

Let us start, then, from the *conclusive* tune, / / [· ..], in the following examples (further examples of it will be given when dealing with the other tunes):

Türkçe'yi güzel konuşmak istiyorum.

[tyɾ'ɕɛi ɟy'zɛl kɔnuʃ'ma ɛisti_σrum..]

(I want to speak good Turkish)

Ne demek istediğini biliyoruz.

[nɛ dɛ'mɛ ɛistedii'ni bili_σruz..]

(We know what you mean)

Çok teşekkür ederim.

[tʃɔk tɛʃɕɕy tɛ_dɛrim.. {_tɛdɛ_rim..} {,tɛdɛ_rim..}]

(Thank you very much).

10.13. The conclusive tune is used in *partial questions*, as well, but in that case it follows an *interrogative protune*, /ɛ / [ɛ · ..]. Depending on the relevant paraphonic settings used, and the very issue referred to in the conversation, such combination may sound like anything ranging from a neutral question without any particular undertone, down to a cold-hearted, even hostile, police-style interrogation.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, all languages feature a somewhat milder version of asking *partial questions*, in general with a *continuative* tune instead of a conclusive one: /ç̣ . / [ç̣ · ' ·] (in order to sound gentler, especially when talking to strangers).

By keeping the post-tonic coda in the mid tonal band, instead of letting it fall brusquely, the hearer perceives that the question is posed with discretion, almost with a courteous hesitation.

It is not rare, however, that foreigners lacking politeness ^{or} education use the conclusive tune, often, making them sound rude and impolite...

So, /ç̣ . / should be regarded as *the first and primary* pattern to be chosen, and taught to foreigners, as far as partial questions are considered, reserving /ç̣ . / to informal and casual conversation, not talking to strangers, or if one *really wants* to convey indifference, impatience, dissatisfaction, suspicion, hostility...

Regardless of how gentle a speaker aims to sound, let us make it quite clear, though, that it is completely wrong to conclude a partial question with a full interrogative pattern, /ç̣ ? / [ç̣ · - · ·].

However, that is quite typical and frequent on the part of many who passively interpret a question mark at the end of a sentence as a peremptory call for rising their voice pitch, to signal that they are putting a question... with incredibly annoying results (and possible misunderstanding, as well). Therefore, let us examine the following examples:

Onun hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?

[ç̣'σnun {ç̣σ'nun} haḳkunda'NE dyʃyny-σrsum··]

(What do you think about it/him/her?)

Bugün nasılsın?

[ç̣'buɣyn {ç̣'buɣyn} na-suɣsun··]

(How are you today?)

Nereye gidiyoruz?

[ç̣'NEɾEjE {NE'ɾE(j)E} ɣidi-σruuz··]

(Where are we going?)

10.14. A question requiring an overall answer, such as *yes* or *no* (or *maybe*, *dunno*, &c), is called a *total question*, and requires an interrogative tune on the word, or group of words, which the question is focused on: [ç̣ · - · ·].

That implies that the interrogative tune may not necessarily occur at the end of the sentence, as the graphemic question mark, once more, leads many to think.

Secondly, more than one interrogative tune (and possibly as many interrogative protunes) may occur in a row, in longer and more articulated questions, even though only one 'total' answer is expected, anyway. Let us examine the following examples:

Türkçe biliyor musun?

[ç̣'tyɾetʃE bili-σrmu,sun··]

(Do you know Turkish?)

Erkek kardeşin onu anlıyor mu?

[ɛʔɛʔɛʔ kardɛʃi noʔnuan nuʔjɔʔmu. {noʔnuan, -aŋ ɫu-}]
(Does your brother understand it/him/her?)

Yarın mı geliyor?

[ɛʔaʔuʔmmu ʔeli-ɔʔ. {ɛʔaʔuʔm,mu}]
(Is it tomorrow that he/she/it is coming?)

10.15. In most languages, *alternative questions*, like some in the examples that will follow, are said with (/ɛʔ ;/ +) /ɛʔ ;/ + /ɛʔ ./ – that is they end with a conclusive tune, /ɛʔ ./, which is preceded by a suspensive one, /ɛʔ ;/. In case of more than two parts, all the others occurring before /ɛʔ ;/ + /ɛʔ ./ are generally said with a continuative tune, /ɛʔ ;/. Also in Turkish, such questions behave likewise.

10.16. The *suspensive tune* is used to create... ‘suspense’, with very different implications depending on whether the sentence is a question or a statement and, as usual, the nuances provided by paraphonics.

As a general rule, /;/ [·'·] calls for the hearer’s attention on a part of the sentence. Or simply adds vividness to long sentences made of multiple clauses, which would otherwise sound flat and inexpressive, or even hard to parse into meaningful units.

In some languages, like neutral (and most regional) Italian, the suspensive tune is tonetically more conspicuous than in others. Contrary, for instance, to modern Arabic, where it is only minimally higher than the unmarked *continuative tune*.

10.17. The *continuative tune*, /;/ [·'·], can be seen as the terminal part of an unmarked protune bearing a full stress, with two functions: to attract less attention than a suspensive tune, or to underline a word, or concept, without resorting to emphasis.

The following examples will be helpful (especially when compared with some of the similar ones given shortly):

Eğer cumartesi gelemeyeceksen, sorun olur.

[ʔɛʔ {ʔɛʔ} ɔʔuʔmartɛsi ʔɛʔlɛmɛjɛɔʔɛʔsɛn. | ʔɔʔu _noʔur..]
(If you could not come next Saturday, it will be a problem)

İstasyona vardığımda tren gitmişti.

[iʔstasʔɔna ʔarduuʔm'da. | t(i)'ɛʔɫ ʔit_miʃti..]
(When I reached the station the train had gone)

Otobüsle mi gidelim yoksa yürüyerek mi?

[ɛʔɔʔɔʔbyslɛmi ʔi'dɛlim. | ɛʔɔksa jɔʔɔjɛ_recmi. {ɛʔɔksa jɔʔɔ-}]
(Shall we go by bus, or on foot?)

Bir, iki, üç, dört, beş tane var.

[ʔbir·içi·yɔʔ·dɔʔt. | ʔɛʃ _tane.var..]
(There are one, two, three, four, five)

Eğer cumartesi gelemeyeceksen, sorun yok.

[ˈɛɛɾ {ˈɛˈɛɾ} d͡ʒuˈmartesi ɣ̣eˈlemeˌjed͡ʒeˈsenˌ | ˈsoɾun ˌjɔkˌ.]

(If you can't come next Saturday, it won't be a problem)

Otobüsle mi, trenle mi, yoksa araba ile mi gidiyorsun?

[ɔˌtɔbʏsˌleˌmiˌ | ɔˌt(i)ˈɾenneˌmiˌ | ɔˌjɔksaa {ɔˌt(i)ˈɾenleˌmiˌ | ɔˌjɔkˈsaa} raˈbaileˌmi ɣ̣idiˌoɾˌsumˌ.]

(Are you going by bus, by train, or by car?)

Bu çok faydalı bir sözlük.

[buˈt͡ʃɔk faidaˈɫu bi(r)sɔzˌlyeˌ. {bi(r)ˈsɔzlyeˌ.}]

(This is a very useful dictionary)

10.18. The following examples show how *emphasis* can affect the general sense of a sentence (without possibly changing its structure) by assigning more prominence to certain words. Let us consider the following examples, which also feature the *emphatic protune* /ɫ/ [ɫ]:

Bu çok faydalı bir sözlük.

[ɫˈbuˌ ˈt͡ʃɔk faidaˈɫu bi(r)sɔzˌlyeˌ. {bi(r)ˌsɔzlyeˌ.}]

(**This** is a very useful dictionary)

Bu çok faydalı bir sözlük.

[ɫˈbuˌ ˈt͡ʃɔkˌ faidaˈɫu bi(r)sɔzˌlyeˌ. {bi(r)ˌsɔzlyeˌ.}]

(This is a **very** useful dictionary)

Bu çok faydalı bir sözlük.

[ɫˈbuˌ ˈt͡ʃɔk faidaˈɫuˌ bi(r)sɔzˌlyeˌ. {bi(r)ˌsɔzlyeˌ.}]

(This is a very **useful** dictionary)

Bu çok faydalı bir sözlük.

[ɫˈbuˌ ˈt͡ʃɔk faidaˈɫuˌ bi(r)sɔzˌlyeˌ. {bi(r)ˌsɔzlyeˌ.}]

(This is a very useful **dictionary**)

10.19. Finally, we provide a few examples of *parentheses*, [ɫ] (after /./) & [ɫ ɫ] (in other cases, including at the beginning), and *quotations*, [ɫ ɫ] (see fig 10.6):

Hayır, dedi, onu yapmadım.

[ˈhajɯɾˌ ɫdɛˈdiˌ | ˈonu ˌjapmaˌdumˌ.]

(No, he/she said, I didn't do it)

Tabii ki, canım.

[taˈbiiciˌ {taaˈ} ɫd͡ʒanumˌ.]

(Of course, dear)

Tabii ki, canım. Yarın sende olacak.

[taˈbiiciˌ {taaˈ} ɫd͡ʒanumˌ. | ˈjarɯn ˈsendeˌ ˌoɫad͡ʒakˌ.]

(Of course, dear. You'll have it tomorrow)

Tabii ki, canım, yarın sende olacak.

[ta'biici· {taa¹} | dʒanum· | jaruɯ· ʃeɯde_ɫadʒak·.]

(Of course, dear, you'll have it tomorrow)

Aslında, dedi, ben hiç de emin değilim.

[as'lɯnda· {aslɯnda·} | dɛ'di· | ben'hiʃ {·hiʃ d·} dɛɛ'min _deylim·.]

(Actually, I'm not sure at all, he/she said)

Hatırlamıyor musun, canım, o resmi geçen hafta gördük?

[ɫhatır'lamıjor musuɯ· | dʒanum· | ɫɫ'ɛsmi {ɫɫ'ɛsmi} ʒɛ'tʃɛn,hafta ʒordyc·.]

(Don't you remember, dear, we saw that painting last week?)

Merak ediyorum, tersi doğru iken, neden «umurumda değil» dedin?

[mɛ'ra ɛdi'ɫurum· | tɛ'si dɫɫ'ruɫi _ɛɛn· | ɛnɛ'dɛ 'numu'rumda _deil·¹ _dedin·. {dɛ-_din·.}]

(I wonder, when the opposite is true, why you said 'I don't care').

10.19. Let us add some different usages concerning pauses and punctuation. In fact, in a sentence like *Herkes bilir ki dünya yuvarlaktır* 'Everyone knows that the Earth is round', there is a pause after *ki*, rather than before it: [hɛɛɛs bilirci | dɫɫ'jaa ju,ɫar'lak_tur·.].

However, in European languages, a pause is found in front of the conjunction. In English, we have: *Everyone knows that the Earth is round* [ˈɛv-ɹi wɒn 'nɜːwɔːz· | ðæt-ðɪz θ ɪz'jɑːrɒŋd]. Or, in German: *Jeder weiß, dass die Welt rund ist* [jɛːdɐ ˈvaes· | d̩as-ɔ'vɛlt ʁʊntɪst·.].

Another Turkish peculiarity is that in a sentence like *Ahmet Ankara'dadır* 'Ahmet is in Ankara', a more accurate and formal writing would certainly put a comma after the subject, where a short pause in more than natural: *Ahmet, Ankara'dadır* [ah'mɛt· | aŋkara_dadıɫr·.].

In European languages this would be a serious grammatical error, in spite of the same orthologic rendering, which avoids painful realization.

10.20. fig 10.11 provides a diagram for paraphonic tonetic usages, which are normal and more or less frequent in all languages (cf *Natural Phonetics & Tonetics*).

fig 10.11. Paraphonic use of pitch.

